

A Q-METHODOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF FEMALE
LEADER SOCIAL IDENTITIES WITHIN THE SOCIAL
IDENTITY FRAMEWORK

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ABSTRACT

There is increasing interest globally in understanding the subjective experiences of “unexpected leaders”, such as women. Despite the many advances that women leaders have made in breaking down barriers to achieve leadership positions, there is still a lack of critical mass of women following in their footsteps. Furthermore, female leaders face different outcomes to male leaders when occupying leadership positions with many of them opting out of leader roles or being forced out. Most of the academic research is primarily focused on leaders emerging from majority groups resulting in a limited understanding of the subjective experiences of female leaders. Hence, the studies in this thesis were aimed at understanding the subjective representations of female leader social identities in an intergroup context. Specifically, this thesis used the Social Identity Theory framework to examine the intergroup dynamics in social identity construction and contestation amongst male leaders and female leaders. Several Q methodological studies were conducted with participants across several countries including South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Finland and India. The findings reveal that there is no single representation of a female leader social identity. Rather, a female leader’s social identity is a complex phenomenon of group-based cognitions and group-based emotions integrally intertwined with issues of gender, status and legitimacy in the intergroup context. Furthermore, the findings of this thesis illustrate the asymmetrical representations of social identities of male leaders and female leaders in the intergroup context which has implications for women leaders progressing into positions of leadership and also for their tenure in such positions. Finally, the results of the studies in this thesis illuminates the barriers to and possibilities for social change for women as a collective.

Key Words: social identity; group-based cognitions; group-based emotions; Q methodology, gender; status; legitimacy; female leaders, male leaders, group dynamics

DECLARATION

I declare that:

A Q-Methodological Exploration of Female Leader Social Identities within the Social Identity Framework

Is my own, unaided work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated by means of complete references. This thesis is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Signed this _____ day of _____ 2018

Saloshni Muthal

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CHAPTER ONE

Background, Rationale, and Scope

An identity can be considered as a psychological process through which meanings are organized and which enables the person to position themselves as a social actor. Social identity in this sense is a way of organizing experience which contributes towards the definition of self but does so by locating the self within the collective world.

(Duveen, 1993, p.2)

1.1. Introduction

This thesis is concerned with understanding how male leaders and female leaders construct the social identity of those who belong to the social category "Female leader" in the intergroup context. This thesis argues that to move gender diversity forward and bring about social change for women, we need to critically examine how representations of their identity can potentially impede or trigger social change. Representations of female leaders matter because they may serve to create, reinforce and maintain stereotypes that serve to exclude women from positions of power and influence, thus reinforcing the cycle of illegitimacy that maintains gender inequality. However, representations are not resistant to change, and they can alter over time creating positive, identity enhancing stereotypes that may serve to combat inequality and drive social change. These positive representations of a female leader's social identity may signal change, inspire hope, motivate other women and bring about social transformation.

Globally, there are 655 million fewer women than men in the workforce, and even though women comprise over 50% of global higher education graduates, only 25 percent of them occupy managerial positions (Mckinsey Women Matter Report, 2017). A report by consulting firm, Mckinsey suggests that achieving gender parity could add roughly \$12 trillion to the global GDP by 2025 (Mckinsey, Global Institute Report, 2015). However, as of 2018, only 24 women hold CEO roles in Fortune 500 companies. Furthermore, women account for less than 4.8% of leader roles in Fortune 500 companies (Catalyst, 2018).

Women also derive less financial rewards and recognition compared to their male peers for equivalent positions, even when delivering the same level of performance (Joshi,

Son, & Roh, 2015; Trevino, Gomez-Meija, Balkin, & Mixon, 2015). There is limited evidence suggesting that gender diverse top leadership teams tend to give higher remuneration to their top female executives compared to companies where the top leadership team is less gender diverse (Perryman, Fernando, & Tripathy, 2016). Remuneration aside, even at the top levels of leadership such as the CEO level, female leaders face different outcomes to their male counterparts. Glass and Cook (2016) found that female CEO's relative to male leaders were less likely to get dual appointments as CEO and chair of boards which significantly reduced their ability to influence and achieve the company vision. In the event of unsuccessful performance outcomes, these female CEO's were more likely to retire or opt out of corporate companies whereas their unsuccessful male peers went on to occupy positions in other corporate companies.

Many champions of diversity initiatives extol the economic benefits associated with diversity, specifically the effect of diverse gender boards on company performance. A recent analysis of the annual data of 3000 US firms, between 2007 and 2014 indicate that firms with women directors show better financial performance than those that are not gender diverse at the board level (Conyon & He, 2017). These findings are in contrast to those of Adams and Ferreira (2009) who examined data from 1, 939 firms in the United States from 1996-2003. They found that increased gender diversity is associated with poorer business outcomes including company performance. The disparate findings between these two studies highlight the current debate in diversity research. On the one hand, many researchers argue that gender diversity at the board and top executive level is associated with reduced susceptibility to bankruptcy, less risk-taking and better governance (Adams & Ferreira, 2009; Cook & Glass, 2017; Perryman et al., 2016). On the other hand, Eagly (2018; 2016) argue most studies are limited statistically and methodologically, and hence no conclusive claims can be made about the causality or even the strength of the relationship between female diversity on boards and company performance.

Moving beyond a capital perspective on diversity, it is argued that increasing gender diversity at leadership levels improves gender diversity at all levels of an organization. Like Cohen and Huffman (2007), this thesis argues that women occupying powerful positions can be instrumental in reducing gender inequality. Limited empirical data suggests that the representation of women in leadership roles increases opportunities for women below them and reduces gender segregation at non-leadership levels (Stainback, Kleiner, & Skaggs, 2016; Stainback & Kwon, 2012). The increased presence of women in leadership roles may

also serve to eradicate stereotypes that leadership roles are typically male-typed in nature (Koenig & Eagly 2014; Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). Women leaders could serve as role models to other women inspiring them to aspire to leadership roles. The presence of women in leader roles could communicate to other women that barriers preventing female advancement could be overcome (Mcintyre, Paulson, Taylor, Morin, & Lord, 2011; Morgenroth, Ryan, & Peters, 2015), that they can find congruity between their career goals and their internalized values (Fuesting & Diekmann, 2017) and that they can manage both their work and family roles (for a review see Diekmann, Clark, & Belanger, 2018).

Furthermore, female leaders in powerful positions can influence policies aimed at addressing gender equality and they may support diversity initiatives such as serving as mentors and opening doors for other women below them. A series of studies by Alison Cook and Christy Glass demonstrates that women in positions of power help other women to get to power and to remain in power. For example, Cook and Glass (2013) investigated female and male CEO transitions within Fortune 500 companies from 1990 to 2011. They found that having women on the board of directors increases the likelihood that a woman will be appointed CEO. Furthermore, they found a significant positive relationship between a woman CEO's length of tenure and the proportion of women sitting on the board. This was in contrast to all-male boards or predominantly male boards who are more likely than diverse boards to appoint male CEOs. In a follow-up study, Cook and Glass (2015) found that as the percentage of women on boards increase the success of female CEOs increase. More recent research by Arvate, Galilea, and Todescat (2018) found that when females in public organizations ascend to leadership positions there is an increase in females in top and middle management roles compared to those public organizations where males were elected to top leadership positions.

While the business case for diversity appears mixed when interpreted purely from an economic lens, there is consensus that driving diversity is essential for social change reasons. From a social change perspective, increasing gender diversity opens doors to those excluded from positions of power and influence. Minority women, which include women in general *and* women of colour occupy a lower social status compared to males in general and White males (Ridgeway, 2014). Their lower social status shapes assumptions that minority women are less deserving of power and resources and contributes to them having a disproportionate share of negative social value and occupying a less dominant

position relative to males (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006; Wood & Eagly, 2012). Thus, the competence and leadership potential of minority women gets devalued as a result of negative gender and race stereotypes associated with their less dominant social position (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). The effect of this is that minority women are perceived as generally atypical or unexpected leaders which results in negative social expectations and prejudice as a result of the incongruity between the leader role and the female gender role (Eagly, 2018; Eagly & Karau, 2002). However, Koenig et al. (2011) argue that increasing gender diversity will over time serve to erode beliefs that leadership roles are the domain of males, which will then increase of perceptions of congruity between the leader role and the gender role. Thus, driving diversity aids in redressing equality in both the short term, for women who are already in leadership positions or on the cusp of leadership positions, and in the long term for women who aspire to leadership positions

1.2. Context: where are the woman leaders?

It is now well established that females are vulnerable candidates for leadership in the first place. Across various domains such as academics, Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths (STEM), business and politics women are sparsely represented in roles where success is thought to require power, eminence, raw brilliance and innate talent (Brescoll, Okimoto, & Vial, 2018; Eagly & Miller, 2016; Meyer, Cimpian, & Leslie, 2015). Furthermore, Eagly (2018) argues that women are *unexpected leaders* and as such their leadership journey requires “extra effort, careful navigation, and persistence” (p.186). Furthermore, Kulich and Ryan (2017) argue that structural barriers such as organizational gender segregation together with social psychological dynamics such as gender stereotypes “form a relatively subtle and, thus, “invisible” impact on women's career outcomes and lead to very different experiences for women and men” (p.2).

Experiences cumulating from early childhood, schooling and early careers serve to limit and constrain women on their path to more senior roles in companies (for a review see Fitzsimmons & Callan, 2016). Fitzsimmons, Callan, and Paulsen (2014) compared the career experiences and life trajectories of thirty male and thirty female CEOs to understand how these experiences affected progression to CEO positions. They found that early childhood experiences were critical in determining whether males and females would develop characteristics that would later become *leadership capital*. Specifically, they established that experiences that helped to build self-efficacy, early leadership experiences,

parental influences, role models and mentors were important factors that contributed to the eventual career paths of males and females.

Cultural barriers operating at a national, organization and industry level also serve to prevent women from entering into leadership and thriving in leadership positions. For example, Toh and Leonardelli (2012) interrogated a sample of 25 nations and found that cultures with strong cultural norms and social sanctions that penalize violation of those norms are negatively associated with the emergence of women as leaders as their leader norms are male. Certain professions such as STEM and politics become culturally associated with masculinity (Harmer, Savigny, & Ward, 2015; Smyth & Nosek, 2015). In these professions, women are "feminized," and as a result evaluated and penalized against the masculinized criterion for these professions. For example, Leslie, Cimpian, Meyer, and Freeland (2015) found that cultures that equate success with certain innate, raw talent block women due to perceptions that they are not talented. Furthermore, organizational culture cues such as masculine worded job advertisements, serve to signal to women that they are not safe, not welcome and do not possess characteristics that are valued (Gaucher, Friesen, & Kay, 2011).

There is a significant body of research that suggests that gendered stereotypes and biases interact to provide an "invisible barrier" or *glass ceiling* stopping women's career progression at mid-management level (Kulich & Ryan, 2017). Gender stereotypes interact with leader stereotypes to position women as having less of the attributes that are thought to be necessary for success in male-typed domains (Heilman & Caleo, 2018). Research indicates that the leader prototype is implicitly male (Eagly & Karau, 2002) and in some countries implicitly White male (Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008). These gender biases also negatively affect the evaluation of woman's ability and performance which can have material employment consequences in terms of recruitment, promotion and job evaluation (Heilman & Caleo, 2018). For example, female STEM candidates are rated as less competent, less desirable to mentor and less hireable than male candidates by science faculty professors (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012). Women are aware of gender biases, and research demonstrates that cues in the work environment demonstrating that one of their identities is devalued may result in stereotype threat which has negative consequences ranging from decreases in performance to disengagement and dis-identification with the domain (for a review see Hoyt & Murphy, 2016).

Empirical data suggests that women with multiple sub-identities may deal with a qualitatively different experience of discrimination due to them being non-prototypical of their specific sub-identities (Remdios, Chasteen, & Paek, 2011; Sesko & Biernat, 2010). Thomas, Dovidio, and West (2014) illustrated this by having participants categorize a series of face photographs by race and gender. They found that participants experience greater difficulty in categorizing Black women than White women according to their gender and greater difficulty in categorizing Black women than Black men according to their race. One implication of this is that the others' perceptions of and reactions to Black women may qualitatively differ to their perceptions of and reactions to White women which suggests that Black and White women leaders may experience their social identity in very different ways. For example, Livingston, Rosette, and Washington's (2012) experimental study demonstrated that Black females face less backlash relative to White women when demonstrating dominance rather than prescription. However, another experimental study by Rosette and Livingston (2012) also shows that Black female leaders relative to White female leaders and Black male leaders are evaluated more severely when they make mistakes. This may be due to Black males and White females experiencing the benefits of having one of their sub-identities, either being male or being White being perceived as close to the White male leader prototype.

1.3. Context: opting out or being pushed out?

Women are disproportionately selected for precarious leadership positions while men are more likely to be selected for leadership positions when organizational circumstances are more favorable (for reviews, Kulich & Ryan, 2017; Ryan, Haslam, Morgenroth, Rink, Stoker, & Peters, 2015). In times of crisis people believe that stereotypically feminine characteristics including interpersonal skills are needed while in times of success these stereotypical feminine characteristics are deemed as not necessary (Bruckmuller & Branscombe, 2010). Furthermore, women are more likely to be preferred as leaders in times of crisis when there is a long organizational history of male leadership with women being selected for these roles not because of their suitability for the leader roles but because they are perceived as signalling change (Kulich, Lorenzi-Cioldi, Iacoviello, Faniko, & Ryan, 2015). However, taking on precarious leadership roles and not being able to turnaround these organizations could create stereotypes that females are associated with non-performing companies rather than performing companies. For example, Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, and Bongiorno (2011) found that prescriptive stereotypes about the qualities of managers in

unsuccessful companies are associated with stereotypically female attributes rather than stereotypically male attributes.

Women often choose to take on precarious leadership roles. For example, Glass and Cook (2016) compiled a dataset including the biographical sketches and career trajectories of 52 female CEOs that served as a CEO of a fortune 500 company up to 2014 and complemented this with 12 interview transcripts of top female leaders. They found that women often asked for these positions believing that it would allow them to showcase their transformational leadership and crisis management skills and because they believed it would get them visibility. However, their analysis demonstrated that woman leaders experience shorter tenure than male leaders and are more likely than men to be forced to step down from their position or be fired.

Women may choose to suspend their careers or "opt out" due to the dual demands of being a caregiver and a professional, especially when organizational cultures and work environments discriminate against women for being caregivers. Research suggests that work environments do not support the working conditions that women need in order to be both professionals and caregivers (Fitzsimmons & Callan, 2016). Furthermore, women who initiate flexible work arrangements such as part-time work face discrimination in the form of lesser opportunities and perceptions that they put in lesser effort (Stone & Hernandez, 2013). Research also suggests that women have to make difficult career choices at crucial transition points in their life that impacts their decisions to stay or to leave. Specifically, women who chose to take maternity leave are perceived to be less competent and less worthy of organizational rewards while choosing not to take maternity leave leads to perceptions that women are not competent parents (Morgenroth & Heilman, 2017).

It is further proposed that women choose to opt out of careers when they perceive that others are misidentifying them. This *internal identity asymmetry* occurs when other's perceptions of a professional woman's identity are misaligned to how she sees herself in the context of work (Meister, Jehn, & Thatcher, 2014; Zheng, Kark, & Meister, 2018). A recent study by Veldman, Meeusen, Van Laar, and Phalet (2017) illustrates this point. They found that female police officers more than male police officers believe that their team perceives their gender identity as conflicting with their work identity. This perceived gender-work identity conflict was related to lower team identification, higher turnover intentions, more

burnout symptoms and lower work motivation. There is empirical evidence that women cope with conflicting gender-work identities by emphasizing their masculinity or actively distancing themselves from their gender group to emphasize that they are different to other women (Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2016). However, a recent qualitative study by Meister, Sinclair and Jehn (2017) is noteworthy due to its exploration of the different phases that women go through before opting out. In this qualitative analysis with 21 women employed in male-dominated industries in Australia, the researchers found that women used a number of strategies to *resolve asymmetry*. These included finding a sponsor, active self-presentation aimed at minimizing the “irrelevant” identities, over-emphasizing work identities and exaggerating their commitment to work, confronting others or in some cases, internalizing this other imposed identity. When these strategies do not work, women *endure the asymmetry* by reframing it, avoiding it, or seeking social support. If this does not result in the desired outcome, women decide to *escape the asymmetry* by choosing to leave the job.

In sum, several inequalities that disproportionately affect women compared to men have been proposed as resulting in women leaders opting out or being pushed out in a work context. Stigmatizing women who need more flexible working arrangements, glass cliff effects, inflexible work environments and experiences of gender discrimination may lead to women leaders dis-identifying with an organization and them eventually leaving the organization. This has negative economic and psychological consequences for both the individual woman who leave but also for women in general. Women may perceive the failure of a woman leader as indicating that they themselves would be unable to overcome obstacles in the workplace. Others may also perceive the failure of a woman leader as indicative that women do not belong and are not effective in leadership roles, thus reinforcing gender stereotypes.

1.4. Context: zero-sum games

It is proposed that for women to succeed, they will need to engage men as allies (Cihangir, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2014; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Subasic, Hardacre, Elton, Branscombe, Ryan, & Reynolds, 2018). However, males as members of a higher status group are motivated to maintain the status quo. For example, even though racial minorities and women have increased in managerial representation, white males still have relatively stable access to managerial jobs (Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2009). Empirical data suggests that men display *zero-sum beliefs (ZSBs)* in the workplace, that is, the perception that gains for women mean losses for men (Kuchnyka, Bosson, Vandello, & Puryear, 2018).

Even a single instance of one man claiming anti-male sexism is enough for males to endorse ZSBs (Wilkins, Wellman, Babbitt, Toosi, & Schad, 2015). Men and Whites are more likely to espouse zero-sum beliefs regarding discrimination than low-status groups such as Women and Blacks (Wilkins et al., 2015). Furthermore, men demonstrate higher ingroup identification when they believe that they are outperformed by women in a low-status domain and respond to this perceived threat with stronger ingroup-prototypicality and agentic behaviours (Reinhard, Schindler & Stahlberg, 2013). This indicates that men are more vulnerable to identity threat when they perceive that their higher status is in jeopardy and are likely to react in ways that serve to maintain the gender hierarchy.

More recently, there has been burgeoning interest in how masculine workplace norms and masculine organizational cultures continue to impede gender equality in the workplace (Berdahl, Cooper, Glick, Livingstone, & Williams, 2018). Specifically, Glick, Berdahl, and Alonso (2018) argue that workplace cultures may support “zero-sum competition played according to the rules defined by masculine norms” (p. 424), i.e., *masculinity contest cultures (MCCs)*. These cultures privilege male role norms that value stamina, ruthlessness and work devotion. It also encourages men to adopt stronger “us” versus “them” mind-sets casting women in the role of competitors. This results in increased hostile and benevolent sexism towards women (Kuchynka et al., 2018).

Males are primed to act out their masculinity in status roles and women who aspire to those status roles are treated as illegitimate competitors in men's status contests (Payne, 2018). This is particularly evident in domains such as politics which is positioned as a male-typed domain with women politicians always having to occupy the position of the other or outsider (Sorrentino & Augoustinos, 2016; Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). One insidious implication is that women are likely to face gender presentation concerns in masculine domains and may have to orient away from their gender in order to enter and succeed in these cultures. This argument is supported by Berdahl et al. (2018) who also argue that women who want to engage and win masculinity contests may need to distance themselves from their other identities and engage in *MCCs* behavior themselves, such as putting other women down. For example, data suggest that in hiring contexts women who acknowledge their gender are negatively evaluated and favorable fit is only reached when women talk about their agentic traits (Wessel, Hagiwara, Ryan, & Kermond, 2014).

In sum, ZSBs and MCCs may result in men and organizations resisting any initiatives that threaten masculine role status beliefs (Kuchnyka et al., 2018). Men in these organizations may perceive that policies such as affirmative action discriminate against them as a majority group, giving preferential treatment to unqualified women as a minority group (Bond & Haynes, 2014). One of the most significant implications is that these organizations and men in them may not support diversity initiatives. These policies are likely to be perceived as upsetting the status quo and designed to restrict the autonomy and independence of men (Brannon, Carter, Murdock-Perriera, & Higginbotham, 2018).

1.5. Problematizing the social identity of a female leader

The behaviour of senior women is sometimes portrayed as dysfunctional and morally aversive. This serves to reinforce stereotypes about how women ought to behave which reinforces the gender hierarchy. Furthermore, positioning female leaders negatively without being sensitive to the gender frame that blind even researchers serves to reproduce stereotypes about differences between men and women by portraying the behaviour of women as the effect to be explained (Bruckmuller, 2013). For example, a number of studies have explored the *Queen Bee* phenomenon which is the tendency of senior women to disassociate themselves from their own gender and to prevent other junior women from advancing (Derks et al., 2011; Ellemers, van den Heuvel, de Gilder, Maas, & Bonvini, 2004; Faniko, Ellemers, Derks, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2017). It can be argued that this behaviour amongst women has garnered significant research interest but studies investigating the same phenomenon in men is under-researched. To a layman or laywoman, prejudice against these women may seem justified, after all, they are prejudicial to other women. However, Queen Bee behaviour is a *response to identity threat*, that these women perceive in their own environments and distancing themselves from younger women is a self-presentation strategy used by them to manage their negative sub-group identities which they may perceive to be irrelevant to that particular context.

Leadership is perceived as a masculine domain, and female leaders face sanctions and penalties when they display behaviours that conflict with their gender roles. Competent and agentic women often experience dislike and personal derogation when others perceive they are acting contrary to prescribed behaviours set by gender stereotypes (for reviews see Heilman, 2001; Williams & Tiedens, 2016). These women are often labelled in derogatory terms and portrayed as “destroyers of male virility” (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Glick, & Phelan, 2012, p.167). The success of women generally seems to imply the emasculation of

men (Harmer et al., 2015). For example, Okimoto and Brescoll (2010) found that the higher the perception of power seeking of a female politician, the more moral outrage displayed by observers. This also results in penalties such as decreased intentions to vote for her and increased perceptions that she is less competent, less caring and less sensitive. These results were not apparent for an equivalent power seeking male politician. Displaying agency threatens the legitimacy of the gender hierarchy and discredits notions that males deserve their higher status and power as they alone demonstrate high-status agentic attributes such as competence (Brescoll, Okimoto, & Vial, 2018). However, expecting women to behave in communal ways regardless of context counteracts social change efforts as it reinforces positively evaluated but low-status communal traits (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012; Rudman & Glick, 1999). For example, assertive, self-promoting women are less liked whereas non-assertive other promoting women are presumed to have lower competency (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013; Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). This places women in an impossible situation. They have to display agency or else be overlooked for leadership positions which demand agency. However, in displaying agency, women are perceived as violating gender-based stereotypes and expectations and face sanctions.

1.6. Locating female leaders within the social identity framework

The research within this thesis is located within the Social Identity theoretical framework (SIT) which includes Tajfel's *Social Identity theory*, Turner's *Self-Categorization Theory* and Smith's *Intergroup Emotions Theory*. A detailed formulation of SIT is provided in chapter two. Here, it is proposed that SIT is a robust framework that can be used to understand the ways in which groups who are excluded from power can utilize collective processes to increase their social power and change the status quo (Reicher, Spears, & Haslam, 2010; Reicher, Hopkins, Levine & Rath, 2005; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). One way that groups can do this is by using representations to foster common consciousness among group members, to unite them around common goals and to mobilize them to collectively redefine the content and boundaries of their social category (Breakwell, 1993).

Tajfel (1982) defined social identity as

that part of the individual's self-concept that is derived from one's knowledge of membership in social group or groups, together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (p.24)

According to SIT, individuals are motivated to maintain a positive social identity through social comparison processes that favor the ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, several lines of research indicate that members of low-status groups find it more difficult to maintain positive views of the self, due to negative stereotypes and resulting negative expectations and treatments by others (for a review see, Van Laar, Derks, Ellemers, & Bleeker, 2010). For example, women with low levels of leadership self-efficacy when explicitly primed with gender leader stereotypes assimilate the negative stereotype by performing poorly and showing deflated self-report measures (Hoyt & Blascovich, 2007). In another study Hoyt and Simon (2011) exposed women to role models that activated gender stereotypes before completing a leadership task. These women reported lower self-perceived performance, lowered leadership aspirations, greater perceived task difficulties and feelings of inferiority compared to women primed with stereotype disconfirming role models. In a follow-up study, women exposed to media images of women in counter-stereotypical roles displayed a more egalitarian, non-traditional attitude, had lower negative self-perceptions and displayed greater leadership aspirations than participants who were exposed to women in stereotypical roles (Simon & Hoyt, 2012).

Women are more likely than men to encounter adverse reactions that make it more difficult for them to *reach and hold on* to positions of power, influence, and leadership (Hoyt, 2010). Vial, Napier, and Brescoll (2016) propose that women leaders are at the mercy of “low legitimacy perceptions” (p.400), resulting from *social identity contingencies* which refer to the “range of vulnerabilities and opportunities” (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davis, Dittmann, & Crosby, 2008, p.617) posed by one of their identities. Women leaders possess a number of intersecting identities (Rosette, Koval, Ma & Livingstone, 2016). It is likely that these will nuance their own and other perceptions of their social identity in ways that we do not yet fully understand. For example, research with women from different racial backgrounds indicates that women of different race groups do not face the same perceptions, biases, treatments, and outcomes (Biernat & Sesko, 2013; Livingston et al., 2012; McMahon & Kahn, 2015; O'Brien, Biodorn, Adams, Garcia, & Hammer, 2015; Rattan, Steele & Ambady, 2017). This suggests that subgroup identities potentially affect both the lived experiences and outcomes for senior women such that there may be no singular representation of a social identity for female leaders.

1.7 Research aims and questions

The research in this thesis uses Eagly and Carli's (2007) and Eagly and Antonakis's (2015) definition of a leader, that is, someone who exercises authority over other people by having to influence, motivate, organize and coordinate the work of others. Thus, this definition encompasses those that are in senior management and in executive leadership. In this thesis, several propositions are made. *Proposition One*: the subjective experience of being a female leader is likely to differ resulting in more than one representation of a female leader social identity. *Proposition Two*: female leaders are not free to develop uncontested, positive social identities. Due to their minority group position, the more dominant male leader group is also likely to generate representations of a female leader social identity. From the first two propositions, a third and fourth proposition is provided. *Proposition Three*: female leaders by themselves may be constrained in their efforts to drive social change. It would need the combined effort of both male leaders and female leaders to change the status quo. *Proposition Four*: To fully understand the social identity of female leaders, it is necessary to understand both the group-based cognitions and group-based emotions experienced by female leaders in response to group-based negative evaluations made by others.

Bearing the above propositions in mind, the primary aim of this thesis is to critically examine the content of female leader identities as constructed by the ingroup, i.e. female leaders themselves and the dominant outgroup, i.e., male leaders. To support this aim, it is argued that to arrive at a fuller understanding of *what it means to be a female leader (or who female leaders are)*, one would need to understand this in relation to what it means to be a male leader (*or who the female leaders are not*). This will allow for a more critical understanding of the intergroup dynamics operating in social identity creation as female leaders and male leaders craft the outgroup's social identity vis-a-vis the representations they make regarding their own ingroup identity. It is further argued that in order to understand the full meaning, content, and experience of female leaders, one would need to consider the *group-based emotion experience*, consisting of the group-based appraisals, group-based emotions, and group-based action tendencies of female leaders when faced with negative representations of their social identities.

Thus, the specific research objectives guiding this thesis are

1.7.1 What is the meaning and content of the female leader social identity as generated by female leaders and male leaders in the intergroup context?

1.7.2 What is the meaning and content of the group based emotion experience of female leaders in response to group-based negative evaluations made by others?

1.7.3 What are the barriers to social change and possibilities for social change for women as a collective?

1.8. Positioning the contribution of this thesis

This thesis answers the call made by researchers including Rast III, Hogg, and de Moura (2018) for more research into the experiences of traditionally unexpected leaders, including women. They argue that marginal leadership is a “timely topic that not only advances science but also addresses a significant social issue with relevance to policymakers, practitioners, and the general public” (Rast, et al., p.16). There are limited studies within social psychology that have explicitly investigated the subjective group-based experience of female leaders. Previous studies with female leaders are limited to experimental studies and surveys with the research placing more focus on understanding the outcomes of being a female leader and less on understanding their subjective experiences. It is acknowledged that this prior body of research provides significant insight into the inequality between men and women. It has also influenced policy makers to ramp up diversity initiatives aimed at fostering equality. However, research focusing only on outcomes misses the social power generated by mobilizing women leaders who acting together through the social identity processes of belonging and shared group identification can bring about significant social change. SIT posits that group members can use their social power as a group to bring about change in social roles and structures (Reicher, 2004). It is through a sense of shared social identity that group members can produce shared beliefs about perceiving, thinking and doing that can define and change social reality (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994).

Furthermore, this thesis argues that representations of female leaders could lead to a greater understanding of not only the barriers to social transformation but also it could illuminate possibilities for social transformation. Similar to Eagly (2018), this thesis proposes that marginalized leaders can become symbolic vanguards for social change serving to inspire other women to follow in their footsteps. However, most research within SIT with female leaders as its target seems to imply that the social category of female leader constrains the responses, actions, and outcomes of women leaders. Furthermore, the majority of social psychological research implicitly assumes that female leaders are passive

recipients of an ascribed identity rather than actively engaging with their social identity. This position ignores the agency of female leaders to construct and shape their identities, to negotiate these in context and to change the position and meaning of their identities. Leach and Livingstone (2015) criticize the discipline of psychology for positioning those who belong to disadvantaged groups as having only two options, surviving their disadvantage or fighting their disadvantage. They argue that focusing on these two positions ignores the “everyday experience of giving psychological meaning to one’s disadvantage by perceiving, interpreting, feeling, and acting on it” (Leach & Livingstone, 2015, p.615). Critically examining the subjective experiences of female leaders could reveal the non-obvious attempts that these women make to oppose their disadvantaged position.

One noteworthy contribution of this thesis is in its investigation of the intergroup dynamics in female leader social identity creation. The meanings and evaluations that we attach to our identities are comparative in nature as we seek positive group distinctiveness through the differentiation of our group from other groups on valued dimensions of comparisons (Reicher et al., 2010). Members of a group are not free to generate positive and unchallenged social identities (Cinnirella, 1998). Instead, social identities are contested against a backdrop of contrary, social representations which often involve struggle, conflict, and resistance (Howarth, 2002, 2006). As a more powerful group, male leaders have the ability to construct their own representations of female leader social identity and to impose this onto female leaders and others around them. This is likely to impact their intergroup engagement with female leaders and also the intergroup conditions that constitute the subjective experiences of female leaders. Thus, our perceptions might just be reflective of the ideas of more powerful groups rather than reflecting our own idiosyncrasies. Therefore, in understanding the social identities of female leaders one would have to understand the views of those who make up the social consensus that defines the social reality of group members. Thus, it is posited that it is not enough to highlight the (possibly) multiple experiences of being a female leader but it is also necessary to critically evaluate how these constructions of female leader identities have come into being in the first place. This is critical if we are NOT to reify and propagate current norms, standards, biases, and prejudices.

In sum, the overall goal of this thesis is to explore the complex and contested meaning of what it means to be a female leader in an intergroup context. This thesis potentially provides a complete understanding of the female leader social identity by

exploring all components of the derivation of a social identity as proposed by the SIT perspective including the group-based cognitive and the group-based emotional components within an intergroup context. In this way, this thesis can make a significant theoretical contribution to the social psychology field.

1.9. Chapter outline

Chapter Two presents a critical overview of social identity theory focusing on relevant research in group-based cognitions and group-based emotions in response to negative evaluations by others. This chapter argues that while there has been significant research conducted in this space with female leaders being the target of the research, there is still an under-researched domain of inquiry within this field of investigation with much of the research focusing on the outcomes being a woman leader without understanding the relational nature of social identity construction.

Chapter Three engages with literature in the female leadership context focusing on outcomes and consequences of female leadership. Focusing on the gendered frame of leaders and women's asymmetrical occupation of power, status, and legitimacy, this chapter argues for a more critical understanding of how women leaders can become *agents of change* rather than being *cogs in the machine*.

Chapter Four introduces the QM framework adopted in the study, exploring the analytical approach and method and the utility of employing this approach for understanding contested social identities. The processes of data collection, analysis and the strengths and limitations of this methodological approach are also discussed.

Chapter Five presents a first analytical report and discussion of the data from the first research study that explored the subjective experiences of female leaders as they make sense of their social identity as female leaders.

Chapter Six presents a second analytical report and discussion of two sets of studies that explored the representations made by female leaders of male leader social identities relative to the representations made by them about their own social identities in the intergroup context.

Chapter Seven presents a third analytical report and discussion of the data from two separate studies that explored representations of female leader identities made by male leaders relative to representations made by them of their own social identities. This report highlights issues around legitimacy, gender, status, and surfaces invisible representations of female leaders that exist in the intergroup context.

Chapter Eight presents a fourth analytical report and discussion of the data from a study that aimed to understand the group based emotional experience of female leaders in response to negative representations of their social identity. This report is essential because it highlights issues related to social change, power and status for women leaders.

Chapter Nine presents a comprehensive discussion of the main themes arising from the different studies discussing key implications for social identity construction, intergroup relations and the potential for social change.

Chapter Ten provides a conclusion and reflexive discussion of the various studies in this thesis by presenting a summary of the research findings, possible study limitations as well as future avenues for research.

CHAPTER TWO

Social Identity and Group-Based Possibilities for the Future

Consensus about “who is who” will be in many cases shared by the group socially categorized in certain ways, and the surrounding groups by which and from which it is perceived as distinct. A stronger statement can be made: the consensus may often originate from other groups and determine in turn the creation of various kinds of internal membership criteria within the ingroup.

(Tajfel, 1978a, p.99-p.100)

2.1. Positioning group members as active agents

This thesis conceptualizes group members as intentional, social agents who strive to make meaning of their group based positions through their representations of social identity (Doise, 1988; Turner & Oakes, 1997). Breakwell (1993) argued that representations are influenced by the asymmetrical power positions of different groups. Representations endorsed by majority groups are motivated by their desire to maintain the status quo and to protect their social identity, whilst the representations endorsed by minority groups are motivated by their desire to alter the status quo and to enhance their social identity (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2006). Individuals will attempt to convince others to share their self-perceptions (Barreto, Ellemers, Scholten, & Smith, 2010). However, Schmitt, Branscombe, Silvia, Garcia, and Spears (2006) propose that the comparative nature of the intergroup context alters the meaning of the self from a group perspective and shapes the meaning of the social comparisons. This imposes a *consensual definition* of social reality which limits the freedom of low-status groups to claim ingroup superiority. In contrast to the *consensual definition*, proposed by Schmitt et al. (2006), Cinnirella (1998) proposes that representations can also be forced on one even if one attempts to resist them. Similarly, Elchereth, Doise, and Reicher (2011) contend that groups create, produce, negotiate and contest shared understandings of the social world.

It is argued that SIT provides a sound theoretical framework to explore how female leaders and male leaders construct, contest and negotiate their representations of female leader social identities by their different power positions and their shared or different beliefs about women leaders. Reicher et al., (2010) state that one of the foundational premises of SIT is in trying to understand the group dynamics operating within differentially structured worlds and the conditions under which these dynamics lead people to act together to change their social world. In sum, representations of a female leader's social identity would have to take into account the asymmetrical power positions occupied by male leaders and female

leaders. Furthermore, these representations would need to be critically examined to determine how they serve ingroup interests for both male leaders and female leaders. Reicher (2004) cautions psychologists against blindly accepting social categories and urges them to critically examine how they came about in the first place to not reify them.

2.2. Social identity theory's main postulates

SIT originated out of a series of minimal group experiments conducted by Henri Tajfel which showed that merely categorizing individuals into meaningless groups led to participants favouring their ingroup over the outgroup (Turner & Reynolds, 2010). Over time, Tajfel and his research colleagues including John Turner proposed several postulates of SIT which are fundamental to understanding the theory.

2.2.1. Social categorization and self-categorization

SIT posits that *social categorization* processes result in individuals categorizing themselves as belonging to particular social groups which results in them making “us” and “them” distinctions (Hornsey, 2008). Social categorization tends to accentuate similarities between ingroup members and accentuate differences to outgroup members (Martiny & Rubin, 2016). Activation of a social identity depersonalizes the individual self, and people start seeing themselves more as a prototype of the group rather than as individuals (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Through social categorization processes, the person's self-concept becomes integrally linked with the group to which they belong, and they will derive value and emotional significance from that group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1982). Social categorization is thus important in defining a person's position relative to others (Tajfel, 1972). Also, it ensures that collective concerns become more important than individual concerns (Ellemers, 2012). More recently Hogg and Rinella (2018) note that social categorization "creates a sense of intersubjectivity grounded in shared perceptions, feelings, and worldview – a sense of shared reality" (p.7) for group members.

John Turner extended social identity theory with *Self-Categorization theory (SCT)* by proposing that the cognitive process of self-categorization causes people to identify with groups and to manifest group behaviours (Hogg & Reid, 2006). SCT posits that individuals cognitively represent social categories as prototypes which Hogg, Abrams, Otten, and Hinkle (2004) defined as a set of attributes that defines a particular social category and that sets it apart from other categories. These prototypes are "context-specific, multidimensional, fuzzy

set of attributes that define and prescribe attitudes, feelings, and behaviours" (Hogg, 2001, p.187). Huddy (2001) asserts that a prototype can either be the most typical group member while Hogg et al. (2004) believe that it describes the ideal and sometimes hypothetical groups member who is very distinct to that of a prototypical member of a specific outgroup.

According to SCT the activation of a social identity results in depersonalization. At the group level of self-analysis, the self-concept becomes collective, the basis of self-evaluation is the group prototype, the frame of reference is the intergroup comparison, and the basic social motivation is collective welfare (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). While SCT posited that self-categorizations are cognitive tools that are used to segment, classify and describe one's social context and thus make one's social world more ordered and manageable (Tajfel & Turner, 2004), the action of categorization comes with consequences. People belonging to a particular social category are perceived to be more similar to one another than they really are (assimilation) and more different to other social categories than they really are (contrast), (Krueger & Didonato, 2008) which can result in people believing that all members of a group share the same characteristics and therefore generalize characteristics across group members producing strong stereotypes (Dovidio, Gaertner, Pearson, & Riek, 2005). For example, research indicates that the gender of the leader target under consideration influences what trait-implying leader behaviours participants believe this leader target would possess. Specifically, participants who had read about a male manager were more likely to endorse agentic traits as self-descriptive relative to those participants who had read about a female manager (Scott & Brown, 2006).

2.2.2. Social identity salience

Group membership alone does not guarantee that one will identify with the group and individuals may belong to multiple social groups with not all of them having the same cognitive and affective value to a person. Turner et al., (1994) proposed that people have various bases for self-categorization in any given context and those specific social identities may be activated at some times and not at others. One's social identities are not salient across all situations. The activation of a particular social identity is a function of both "accessibility", that is the readiness of a group member to use a particular category and "fit" which is the extent to which social categories are perceived to reflect social reality (for a review see Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 2002; Hornsey 2008; Turner et al., 2004). Fit has two aspects. The first is *comparative fit* where individuals perceive that within group differences are less than between-group differences and in turn they perceive a high level of fit. To use

an example, a female leader will increasingly identify with other female leaders when she perceives that there are more differences between male leaders and female leaders than there are differences between female leaders themselves. The second is *normative fit* where a social category is more likely to have high fit if social behaviour and group membership align to the stereotypical expectations of the category. For example, one of the most stereotypical notions of a woman is that of being warm and nurturing so a female leader who displays aggression and dominance will display poor normative fit as her behaviour is misaligned to the stereotypical expectations of being a woman. Stets and Burke (2000) argue that some categories such as gender are chronically accessible, while the accessibility of other categories is situationally dependent. For example, a working mother may find that social category relevant when she is at home but may find that this category is irrelevant in the work context.

Cameron (2004) posits that the likelihood of group members committing to a social identity such that they perceive and act from that identity position is dependent on the importance of the group identity to perceptions of oneself (*centrality*); the subjective evaluation of belonging (*ingroup ties*); and, the positive feelings derived from group membership. Finally, Roccas, Sagiv, Halevy, and Eidelson (2008) found that group members are more committed to groups that they perceive as meaningful, finding them more critical to their identity than groups that are not as meaningful. Furthermore, the group's importance to the self is likely to vary across contexts and may change if the context changes (Roccas & Hazan, 2012).

2.2.3. Social comparison processes, positive distinctiveness, and self-esteem

Tajfel (1978d) argued that when a person is interacting with others with the group self in mind, their self-image derives from intergroup *social comparisons* and the need for *positive self-esteem*. Favorable social comparisons promote high self-esteem, and negative social comparisons promote low-self-esteem (Cameron, Duck, Terry, & Lalonde, 2005; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). SIT asserts that all individuals strive for a positive self-concept and that individuals who internalize their social identities are motivated to create and maintain *positive group distinctiveness* of their ingroups relative to outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As a result of this, people are motivated to represent themselves positively relative to others, and they do this in ways that favor the ingroup (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995).

This *self-esteem hypothesis* has been refined in recent times. Rubin, Badea and Jetten (2014) demonstrated that low-status group members might use ingroup favoritism to become *equal* in status with higher status outgroup rather than to move ahead of them. They propose the *negative identity avoidance hypothesis* which suggests that group members are also motivated to avoid negative ingroup status and negative social identity. More recent studies indicate a relationship between ingroup favoritism and norm perceptions (Iacoviello & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2018; Iacoviello, Berent, Fredric, & Pereira, 2017). For example, Iacoviello et al., (2017) study demonstrates that ingroup favoritism leads to higher self-esteem only when such behaviour is congruent with group norms. Certain domains may have norms against discriminatory behaviour, and people who value conforming to the norms of that domain are unlikely to violate those norms by demonstrating ingroup favoritism. Finally, Martiny and Rubin (2016) put forward a reformulation of the self-esteem hypothesis. According to their proposal, *collective self-esteem* motivates high identifiers to engage in socially-competitive behaviour to improve ingroup status, and this may take the form of intergroup discrimination if social norms allow it. Furthermore, this behaviour is more likely to be demonstrated by group members with high collective self-esteem who have experienced identity threat.

2.3. Group-based emotions

An understanding of both group-based cognitions and group-based emotions is necessary in order to fully understand the subjective experiences of belonging to the social category 'female leader.' Tajfel (1981) argued that cognitive representations of social identities contain emotional value and affect distinct to that particular group membership. For example, women leaders may experience a sense of pride in their group identity due to appraisals that as a group they have overcome severe obstacles. As a result of this, they may feel an increased sense of belonging with other women in leadership roles, whom they perceive as sharing the same life experiences. Most of the research within SIT focused mainly on the self-categorization part of the theory until Smith (1993) postulated that people can experience group-based emotions as a result of appraisals made concerning their group membership and that these group-based emotions lead to specific group based action tendencies. Events that harm or favor the ingroup will harm or favor the individual, and the individual experiences affect and emotion on behalf of the group as a result of this (Mackie, Devos, and Smith, 2000).

Based on these premises, Smith (1993) developed the *Intergroup Emotion Theory* (IET). IET theorizes that we invest ourselves in a group through group identification. This in turn elicits group-based emotions and group-based appraisals which result in intergroup action tendencies. These are behavioural intentions that accompany specific emotions (Giner-Sorolla, Mackie, & Smith, 2007). Mackie, Smith, and Ray (2008) posited that self-categorization leads people to interpret the world with ingroup outcomes in mind. These group-based appraisals lead to group-based emotions that shape the way group members perceive the world. Furthermore, they argue that with time and repetition, these group-based emotions become part of the content of group membership itself and direct group-based behaviour. Smith et al., (2007) demonstrated that group-based emotions are meaningfully distinct from individual-based emotions with individuals feeling emotions on behalf of a group even when they are not personally affected by it. Finally, Kuppens and Yzerbyt (2012) demonstrated that group-based emotions are responsive to changes in self-categorization. Specifically, their research found that young Muslim women felt more anger, fear, and disgust towards Muslims when their social identity as women are made salient in comparison to their other identities and this also increased their intention to avoid Muslims. In sum, it is argued that understanding the group-based emotional experience of female leaders is vital for two reasons. Firstly, interrogating the group based emotional experience of female leaders is likely to add richness and depth to our understanding of their social identity allowing us the opportunity to *feel as they do*. Secondly, it can provide insight into the right cocktail of group-based emotions and group-based cognitions that need to come together to facilitate collective action.

2.4. Social identity threat

Women report more personal experience with discrimination, perceive more disadvantages and believe they have fewer privileges as women compared to men (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002). One effect of categorization is that people tend to emphasize intragroup similarities and intergroup differences which produce strong intra-group and inter-group stereotypes (Dovidio et al., 2005). Group members who strongly value their group are especially vulnerable to social identity threat as negative comparisons conflict with their group image (Martiny & Kessler, 2014). Social identity threat is the perception that a particular social identity may be devalued in a particular social context (for a review see Steele, Spencer & Aronson, 2002). Two specific social identity threats have been found to differentially affect females and female leaders compared to males and male leaders. The first is *stereotype threat* which occurs when stigmatized group members fear that they might confirm negative stereotypes associated with their group in a particular domain (Steele, et

al., 2002; Steele & Aronson, 1995). For example, Bergeron, Block, and Echtenkamp (2006) found that women experience significantly more stereotype threat than men when put into managerial positions. Managerial positions trigger concern and anxiety about proving the stereotype of incompetence. The second social identity threat is *categorization threat* which occurs when an individual perceives that others are ascribing characteristics of an identity to him/her that is not personally relevant in the context under consideration (Barreto et al., 2010). Empirical evidence suggests that even positive gender stereotypes can lead to stereotype threat and performance deficits (Kahalon, Shnabel, & Becker, 2018).

Research studies indicate that stereotype threat can have many adverse outcomes for vulnerable groups including women. It undermines their aspirations by lowering their desire for power and status (Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005). Individuals tend to respond to stereotype threat by lowering their interest in the threatening domain, perceiving that they do not belong and sometimes dis-identifying with the domain altogether (Logel, Spencer, Iserman, Walton, Von Hippel, & Bell, 2009). Fear of violating gender stereotypes can result in women hiding their counter-stereotypical behaviour to avoid negative perceptions and penalties. In doing so, they reinforce gender stereotypes (Phelan & Rudman, 2010). Women with low gender identification who perceive that their gender identity is unwelcome in masculine-typed organizations tend to distance themselves from their gender group identity (Ellemers, Heuvel, Gilder, Maas, & Bonvini, 2010; Derks et al., 2011).

Women relative to men demonstrate reduced collective action tendencies in response to stereotype based identity threat. Researchers exposed both men and women to two separate discrimination conditions, one that targeted a gendered stereotype identity or one that targeted an identity based on gendered social experience. They found that despite the same identity and experience of discrimination, an identity based on stereotypes was disempowering for women but not for men and women endorsed taking less action against the discrimination than men did (Foster, Arnt, & Honkola, 2004). Reynolds et al., (2013) contend that stereotypes impedes awareness of cognitive alternatives, diminishes the perception of system illegitimacy and prevents the emergence of sub-group identification that could lead to opposition. However, SIT investigators argue that stereotypes are flexible mental representations open to change (Hornsey, 2008). The first step to addressing them is to understand why people have these stereotypes in the first place, as prejudicial views may be a reflection of how groups experience social realities (Haslam, Reicher, & Reynolds, 2012). According to SIT, low-status groups may choose to redefine characteristics of their

identity in order to attain a more positive, empowering identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It is possible that female leaders will redefine the content of their female leader categories and through this redefinition, they are likely to positively position themselves, even in the face of disempowering stereotypes.

2.5. Social identity complexity

In understanding the representations of female leaders, one would need to consider the multiple additional groups to which female leaders belong, such mothers, wives, single women etcetera. Individuals may have multiple social identities as any one person belongs to multiple groups simultaneously which means that an individual can derive their sense of self from more than one group (Brewer, 2001). Some social identities hold more subjective importance than other identities (Deaux & Martin, 2003). Belonging to multiple groups results in partially overlapping social identities such that even social identities that appear to be very inclusive may still have distinctive meanings and individuals may derive distinctiveness in different ways from the same identity (Roccas et al., 2008; Vignoles, Chryssochoou, & Breakwell, 2000). Roccas and Brewer (2002) coined the term *social identity complexity* which is concerned with the inter-relationships among an individual's multiple group identities. When the perceived overlap among multiple groups is high, one's identity structure is relatively simple, because the various group identities converge into one single all-encompassing identity. However when the perceived overlap is minimal, one's identity structure becomes more complex with each group identity having its distinct profile with values associated with one social identity potentially clashing with the values of another social identity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Miller, Brewer, & Arbuckle, 2009). An example of this would be a female leader who is intent on progressing her career which entails sacrifices and long hours away from her family juggling the additional demands of being a mother which requires her to spend time with her children. In such an instance, this female leader is likely to experience significant tension from the clashing values associated with both her identities.

Ridgeway (1991) posits that gender and race have clear status value in society with cultural belief systems communicating that it is more valuable to be a male than a female and more valuable being White rather than being Black. Thus, Ridgeway asserts that a Black woman occupies less status than a White woman or a Black man all of whom are accorded less status than a White man. This is important as the differential status implications of their subordinate identities are likely to ensure that female leaders experience

their identities in very different ways. Rosette, et al. (2016), in a review and analysis of the stereotype content of Black, Asian American and White women, showed that there were distinct stereotypes associated with each group which has particular consequences for women leaders belonging to each of these groups. Their review indicates that Black women are viewed as dominant but not competent, Asian American women are seen as competent but passive and White women are seen as communal without being particularly dominant or excessively competent. Black women are the least likely to face penalties when behaving in an agentic manner while White women are the most likely to suffer penalties associated with being perceived as agentic. The research on the intersection of race with gender is mixed. Rosette and Livingstone (2012) argue that Black female leaders face *double jeopardy* which they describe as "heightened disadvantage of Black women due to adverse consequences of both their Black and female subordinate identities" (p.1162). Furthermore, Rosette and Livingstone's research found that in contexts of organizational failure, Black women leaders were evaluated more harshly because both their subordinate identities, that is being Black and being a woman were perceived to be incongruent to leadership success. In contrast, White women and Black men were evaluated less harshly due to one of their subordinate identities, being White or being male, being congruent with the leader role.

Purdie- Vaughns and Eibach (2008) offer a different perspective. They argue that Black women face *intersectional invisibility* as a result of their multiple subordinate group identities such that they do not fit neatly into the category 'Black' or category 'woman' which may offer them advantages and disadvantages compared to the more prototypical members of their groups. This effect appears in several studies. Black women demonstrate weaker implicit gender STEM stereotypes compared to White women (O'Brien et al., 2015). Black women do not receive the same backlash that dominant White women do (Livingston, Rosette & Washington', 2012). Benevolent sexism is directed more towards White women than Black women (McMahon & Kahn, 2016). Black women are buffered against gender stereotypes linking women to low competence, while White women when paired with White men face low competence perceptions (Biernat & Sesko, 2013). Rattan, et al.'s (2017) study provides different findings to Biernat and Sesko (2013). Rattan et al. (2017) conducted three studies in which one identity (gender) was negatively stereotyped, and the other (race) was positively stereotyped to determine whether an identical applicant could be evaluated differently and receive different outcomes based on the salience of her negatively stereotyped gender and positively stereotyped Asian identities. In each study, men rated Asian American women as less skilled and less hireable for a technology position when primed with her gender rather than her race. In this research, only one of the subordinate

identities was negatively stereotyped, and therefore the results did not shed light on the interaction of two negatively stereotyped identities such as both race and gender. The studies mentioned here, while important, focused primarily on outcomes associated with being a woman of colour (and mostly using the evaluations of White respondents) and they do not delve into the subjective experience of being a Black woman occupying a category (leader) that is non-prototypical for both women and Black people.

In sum, race and gender are not the only superordinate identities that intersect. Female leaders possess other superordinate social identities related to religion, relationship status, motherhood, and sexual orientation to name a few of them. Thus, in this thesis, it is argued that there is no single representation of the female leader social category. Instead, multiple subordinate identities, each with their unique status and differential meanings will add distinctive meanings to the overall subjective experience of being a female leader.

2.6. Alternative theories of intergroup relations

While SIT has been one of the most dominant theories of groups within Social Psychology, it is by no means the only theory that has group dynamics at the heart of its theory. *Social Dominance Theory* (SDT) was formulated to understand how group-based social hierarchy is formed and maintained. SDT argues that outgroup discrimination maintains group-based hierarchy, motivated by the desire to favor dominant groups over subordinate groups. The production and sustenance of "legitimizing myths" ensures that dominant groups have disproportionate power and status relative to subordinate groups. Thus, ingroup bias serves the purpose of perpetuating existing group-based hierarchies (Levin, Federico, Sidanius, & Rabinowitz, 2002; Pratto et al., 2006; Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994). *Social dominance orientation* (SDO) is when one's orientation is to see one's group as superior to or dominant over another group. SDO arises from socialization experiences, situational contingencies or context, and individual temperament (For a review see, Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004). Research on (SDO) has demonstrated that men display more SDO than women and that male-female differences in SDO do not show any systematic change across major cultural or situational factors (Sidanius et al., 1994) with individuals with high social dominance orientation likely to seek hierarchy-enhancing professional roles and low social dominance orientation individuals seeking hierarchy attenuating roles (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). One of the main difference between SIT and SDT is that SIT posits that intergroup discrimination is motivated by positive group distinctiveness due to a desire for positive self-esteem while SDT proposes

the desire for social dominance drives ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation (Sidanius et al., 2004, p.864).

Jost and Banaji (1994) proposed *Systems Justification Theory (SJT)* to explain why people will legitimize existing social structures even when it is not in their personal or group interest. Central to their theory is the notion that the stereotypes that arise out of the classification of people into classes, positions, or statuses need to be justified by those who participate in this system of stratification and therefore they will defend and justify existing social, economic and political structures. According to SJT, inequality is also maintained by members of subordinated groups, who perpetuate inequality through outgroup favoritism (for a review see Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). For example, Bonnot and Jost (2013) found that women who demonstrated high system justification concerns reported autobiographical memories that were more stereotype consistent and judged their math abilities to be poorer in comparison with reports and judgments of men. However, Owuamalam, Rubin, and Spears (2016; 2018) provide data showing that system justification is unlikely to occur amongst low identified disadvantaged group members as group interest concerns do not motivate them. Research conducted within SJT has found that people desire to preserve their view of the social system as fair and this motivates the cognitive and behavioural defence of meritocratic beliefs (Ledgerwood, Mandisodza, Jost, & Pohl, 2011). Furthermore, advantaged and disadvantaged groups internalize rather than reject existing hierarchies favoring advantaged groups over disadvantaged groups on both explicit and implicit measures (Jost & van de Toorn, 2012). Thus, system justification is negatively associated with anger and willingness to protest (Jost, Chaikalis-Petrtsis, Abrams, Sidanius, van der Toorn, & Bratt, 2011).

In sum, whilst SDT and SJT are also group-based theories, their postulates do not make any predictions relevant to the subjective lived experiences of social identities. However, these theories have been a useful framework to outstand the differential status relations, outcomes and treatments for male leaders and female leaders.

2.7. Intergroup dynamics

Turner and Oakes (1997) propose that what a *“person perceives is a function of the interaction between the person doing the perceiving and the object being perceived”* (p.309). According to Turner and Oakes, the same processes operating on different perceivers in

different social locations would produce different judgments which are equally accurate psychologically. They called this '*relativity*' that is a logical, selective, purposeful representation of the world from a specific vantage point rather than a sign of cognitive deficit, prejudice or subjective bias (Turner & Oakes, 1997). With this in mind, this thesis argues that to define oneself as a female leader is to represent oneself in terms of similarities with other ingroup female leader members AND differences to other relevant outgroups who are not female leaders which in this thesis include male leader groups. In this definition, the individual who defines herself as a female leader will give the social category "female leader" specific meaning from her vantage point. Utilizing the same social cognitive processes, male leaders will also reflect on the category of female leader from their vantage point and give it meaning which would include all the subjective characteristics that they perceive to be true of individuals who fall into the female leader category.

Current research investigating intergroup dynamics with male leaders and female leaders as the targets provides mixed results. Men tend to evaluate women leaders more harshly, demonstrate more significant resistance to female influence and agency and hold more stereotypical impressions of both men and women in general (Carli, Alawa, Lee, Zhao & Kim, 2016; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). However, Sidanius and Pratto (1999) propose that intergroup conflict and prejudice is primarily a male on male phenomenon motivated by needs for dominance and power. They argue that females as the non-dominant outgroup are less relevant to these power struggles compared with outgroup males. However, Kunda and Spencer (2003) found that men are more likely to apply negative stereotypes rather than positive stereotypes to women, primarily when in direct competition with individual women for specific resources or job opportunities. As high-status group members who hold power, they are motivated to protect the status of their ingroup and display prevention focused decision making (Scheepers, Ellemers, & Sassenberg, 2011). Furthermore, as the stereotypes of women change over time to reflect greater agency and competence (Eagly, 2018), it is possible that women will be perceived as being in direct competition with men.

Recent empirical data suggests that male leaders may be more effective than female leaders at rallying for social change (Subasic et al., 2018). Men who confront sexism position sexism as a serious issue and their stance against sexism legitimize efforts to combat sexism (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). In addition, one study found that females demonstrate less self-handicapping, higher performance self-esteem and better task performance when men

speak out about sexism occurring compared to when claims of sexism come from a female (Cihangir et al., 2014). Positioning men as agents of change enhances their support for gender equality through collective action intentions, feminist solidarity and lower perceived legitimacy of inequality (Bella & Crisp, 2015). In sum, these mixed findings provide support for further investigation of the intergroup dynamics between male leaders and female leaders.

2.8. Social identity and social change

Pratto, Korchmaros, and Hegarty (2007) argue that one of the most significant contributors to social inequality is asymmetrical constructions of specific social identities with some people being a more logical fit for that category versus other people. Gender is an asymmetrical social category that is saturated with inequality in social status and power (Batalha, Reynolds, & Newbigin, 2011). According to Tajfel (1978b), characteristics of one's group such as its power, status, perceived stability, perceived possibility of change and perceived flexibility or rigidity of group boundaries will only be meaningful in comparison to perceived differences from other groups and the value connotations of these differences. Women find it difficult to access leader roles as others perceive that they possess fewer of the qualities necessary for success in that role while males are perceived to be more prototypical candidates for leader roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Furthermore, as members of low status or stigmatized groups constrained by objectively lower outcomes, negative expectations, and stereotypes, women are likely to find it more difficult to maintain a positive image for themselves and their groups (Schmitt et al., 2002; Van Laar et al., 2010). If group members believe that they belong to a group that is consensually inferior, they are likely to experience a negative social identity (Sindic & Condor, 2014).

SIT was developed primarily to understand and explain strategies that are open to groups who have been excluded from power as they attempt to develop a more positive identity (Reicher, et al., 2010). SIT proposes that group members can employ *social creativity* strategies such as comparing the ingroup to the outgroup on some other evaluative dimension, or by positively reframing their lower group status or by changing the group with which comparisons are made (Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2007; Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish, & Hodge, 1996; Trepte & Loy, 2017). Individuals who perceive their group's status as being legitimate and stable and who perceive that group boundaries are permeable are more likely to engage in *social mobility* strategies in order to move to the higher status group. However, this strategy serves to benefit individual group members but does not

improve the conditions of the group as a whole (Ellemers & Van Laar, 2010). Individuals who perceive that their group status is illegitimate and unstable and that group boundaries are impermeable are more likely to embark on a social change strategy aimed at improving conditions for the group as a whole (Major & Kaiser, 2017).

According to SIT, collective action makes it possible for the low-status group to contest their lower status and bring about social change (Reynolds, Jones, O'Brien, & Subasic, 2013). Collective action depends on three conditions. These are related to group efficacy beliefs, perceptions of subjective injustice and group identification (De Lemus & Stroebe, 2015; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). These conditions are not mutually exclusive, and they interact in complex ways. *Group efficacy beliefs*, that is, the belief that the ingroup can achieve social change through concerted action is a significant predictor of collective action (for a review see Van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). Collective action is dependent on the perceived security of intergroup comparisons which consists firstly, of the perceived legitimacy of the status quo, that is, whether people perceive that their inferior status is deserved and secondly by the presence of cognitive alternatives, that is, the possibility of imagining changes to the existing intergroup status quo. Collective action is only likely to happen when existing group hierarchies are believed to be illegitimate and where cognitive alternatives are readily available (Sindic & Condor, 2014). Social identification with movements and perception that system is unstable positively predict group efficacy, which increases the sense of empowerment, which in turn predicts legitimacy of collective action protests with people believing that they can transform the social structure (Jiminez-Moya, Drury, Saavedra & Gonzalez, 2018). More recent research indicates that group efficacy brings about collective action only when hope for the future is high. However, when hope for the future is low, group efficacy does not affect collective action intentions (Cohen-Chen, & Van Zomeren, 2018).

In order for collective action to occur, people first need to be aware that they and members of their group face discrimination due to their group membership. Thus, they need to perceive *subjective injustice* against their group (Subasic, Reynolds, & Reicher, 2012). Group-based emotions have been implicated as an association with injustice perceptions. Anger motivates strongly identified group members to embark on collective action to address perceived injustice either through appraisals of unfairness or through appraisals of moral outrage (Livingstone, Spears, Manstead, & Bruder, 2009; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, less obvious forms of discrimination in the workplace, that is, those that do not

have explicit cues regarding potential illegitimacy, are not automatically perceived as illegitimate discrimination and individuals are less likely to respond to this exclusion with anger and collective action compared to more obvious forms of discrimination (Iyer, Jetten, Branscombe, Jackson & Youngberg, 2014). Pervasive gender discrimination perceived as legitimate leads to lower collective action tendencies (Jetten, Schmitt, Branscombe, Garza & Mewse, 2011). Pervasive discrimination is harmful to the individual self because it indicates that the attainment of future personal goals may be more difficult to attain due to one's group membership (Stroebe, Barreto & Ellemers, 2010). Thus, pervasive gender discrimination which is perceived as legitimate serves to reinforce the system of inequality which does not bode well for social change intentions. A study by Jost et al. (2011) illustrates this point. These researchers found that system justification is negatively associated with anger and willingness to protest and in the absence of a system-rejecting mindset, people are unlikely to take meaningful action to address group-based bias.

Shared group membership builds trust, respect, and cooperation which could result in coordinated and effective collective action resulting in group members mobilizing to act together (Reicher, et al., 2005). Hence, *group identification* is a crucial condition for collective action. Highly identified group members are more likely to see harm against their group as illegitimate, feel angrier about it and engage in collective action than low identified group members (Gordijn, Yzerbyt, Wigboldus, & Dumont, 2006; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). For example, working men and women were presented with a BBC news article that reviewed evidence that women are more likely to be appointed to precarious leadership positions that are likely to fail compared to men (the glass cliff effect). Women with strong gender identification perceived the glass cliff to be more illegitimate and unfair felt more anger about it and were more likely to indicate that they would like to take action to address this glass cliff phenomenon relative to lower identified women (Iyer & Ryan, 2009).

Additionally, McGarty, Blüch, Thomas, and Bongiorno (2009) propose that perceptions of a common cause make collective action possible. Despite pervasive discrimination, women leaders, in general, do not challenge gender inequality (Glick et al., 2000). Furthermore, empirical data suggests that exposing women to certain types of discrimination such as benevolent sexism results in them displaying more positive emotions, less willingness to engage in collective action and an increase in gender-specific system identification compared to women exposed to hostile sexism (Becker & Wright, 2011). Hence, one of the primary concerns of this thesis is in understanding the conditions under

which social change becomes possible for female leaders and women who aspire to be female leaders.

2.9. Concluding remarks

In summary, SIT is a powerful framework within which to critically examine the subjective experiences of female leader social identity in the intergroup context. The precepts and principles of social identity are important from a social change perspective as it illuminates the possible conditions under which female leaders may mobilize and use their social power to effect change in the status quo. Within SIT, the relationship between representations of a social identity and what constitutes social reality for group members with that identity has been noted. It is proposed that exploring the subjective experiences of male leaders and then comparing that to their perceptions of the subjective experiences of female leaders may surface 'invisible' facets of representations that go un-voiced or un-researched. In the same vein, understanding the subjective experiences of female leaders compared to their perceptions of the experiences of male leaders may surface the 'untold stories' that could be hidden by the simple analysis of the subjective experiences of female leaders in isolation.

CHAPTER THREE

The Social Category of Female Leaders

Status differences are one of the reflections of differences in power: differences in power are one of the determinants of relative status; and sometimes when status confers power, these relationships may be reversed

(Tajfel, 1982, p.18)

3.1 Agents of change or cogs in the machine?

Cultural and structural impediments may ensure that even when women leaders obtain positions of power, their position is still relatively weaker to male leaders (Hoyt, 2010). Furthermore, cultural status beliefs can contribute to inequality at the “social relational level” (p.3), by shaping people’s expectations for themselves and others and by shaping their resultant actions in a social context (Ridgeway, 2014). It is argued that women can be either agents of change chipping away at inequality, or cogs in the machine acting in ways that preserve or even increase inequality (Cohen & Huffman, 2007; Srivastava & Sherman, 2015). This argument, initially proposed by Cohen and Huffman (2007) to explain how women’s representation in management affects the gender wage gap is relevant when examining how the presence of female leaders affects inequality.

The agent of change perspective suggests that women’s representation in managerial jobs is likely to reduce gender inequality, by reducing male ingroup preference, by increasing women’s access to career enhancing social networks, by providing mentoring opportunities with successful females, and by changing the content of gender stereotypes (Koenig et al, 2011; Stainback & Kwon, 2012). For example, Chizema, Kamuriwo, and Shinozawa (2015) investigated the social triggers and barriers that explained the presence of women on corporate boards across a sample of 45 countries between 2007 and 2013. They found that increased representation of women in parliament is associated with the increased prevalence of women on boards of companies. Chizema et al. (2015) propose that the presence of women in key social institutions such as government may diminish gender expectations, making it more acceptable for women to hold leader roles. Furthermore, the success of women can inspire other women, potentially serving as a beacon of hope that change can happen (Morgenroth et al., 2015). A series of studies within the STEM domain supports this point. Women who internalize gender roles have gender stereotypic goals, pursuing female-typed professions aligned to these goals. These women demonstrate decreased interest in occupational domains perceived as masculine-typed as these domains conflict with their positively endorse communal goals. The presence of communal female

experts in these stereotypically masculine domains results in greater subjective identification and connectedness. This has a positive effect in terms of promoting more implicit positive attitudes, stronger implicit identification with the domain, increased self-efficacy, and more effort (Brown, Thoman, Smith, & Diekman, 2015; Diekman, Brown, Johnson, & Clark, 2010; Belanger, Diekman, & Steinberg, 2017; Evans & Diekman, 2009). In their recent review, Diekman, Clark, and Belanger (2018) present research demonstrating that the presence of female role models in STEM can increase women's sense of belonging in STEM even though these women may perceive that their female identity is devalued in STEM,

The cogs in the machine perspective suggests that successful females are unlikely to affect gender inequality for females below them either because they are severely constrained by the larger cultural system of gender which privileges men over women (Ridgeway, 1991; Ridgeway, 2008). Specifically, Ellemers, Rink, Derks, and Ryan (2012)) argue that gendered leadership beliefs and expectations interact with self-identified identity salience and gender identification to bring about *Glass Cliff* and *Queen Bee* phenomena which results in decreased career opportunities for women individually and for women as a collective. Several studies investigating the *Queen Bee* phenomena demonstrate this in action. Women who perceive that their gender identity constrains their individual ambitions, are more likely to pursue individual success at the expense of the group (Zaal, Van Laar, Stahl, Ellemers, & Derks, 2015). Furthermore, senior women may distance themselves from junior women and oppose policies aimed at improving the outcomes of more junior females due to their belief that they themselves had made personal sacrifices to succeed and that other women should do the same instead of having special treatment (Faniko, et al., 2017). In addition, senior women may describe themselves as non-prototypical members of their gender group and demonstrate gender stereotyped views of younger women (Ellemers et al, 2004).

Females may also act as cogs in the machine by demonstrating outgroup favouritism and/or endorsing benevolent sexism. For example, weakly gender identified women who advance in domains where women are underrepresented may hinder the advancement of other women by showing preference for male rather than female subordinates (Kaiser & Spalding, 2015). Empirical data suggest that women evaluators are more likely to perceive self-promoting women as less competent, less socially attractive and less hireable than self-promoting men (Rudman, 1998). Furthermore, in experimental settings, women judges set stricter criteria for hiring female applicants than for hiring male applicants and make less

favourable hiring decisions directed towards females (Biernat & Fuegen, 2001). One explanation for these findings is that feelings of power as a result of occupying a high status position can result in lower identification with the group that has traditionally been associated with less power. Vial and Napier's (2017) study provides support for this proposal. Across three experiments, women who were made to feel more powerful reported lower levels of gender identification compared to women in the control and low power conditions. Furthermore, women primed with high power were more likely to endorse benevolent sexism. The implication of this is that women who accept sexism which is positioned in a benevolent manner legitimize discrimination and reinforce gendered expectations that women are not suited for certain roles. For example, Becker, Glick, Ilic, and Bohner (2011) found that a woman who accepted benevolent sexist help was perceived by observers as warm but incompetent and less suited for competence-related jobs.

Finally, women leaders may perpetuate the cycle of inequality by not acknowledging their negative experiences of discrimination which could position discrimination as rare and which could potentially caution other women against speaking out against inequality. Members of disadvantaged groups often avoid labelling their negative experiences as discrimination or prejudice even when their experiences suggest that they are victims of discrimination (Kaiser & Major, 2006). Furthermore, when gender discrimination is perceived as rare, others tend to devalue those who complain about being discriminated against (Garcia, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Ellemers, 2010).

3.2. The gender frame of leadership

Women leaders are constrained by beliefs and cultural rules that arise from their ever present 'background identity' of gender even when gender is irrelevant to the leadership situation (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004, p.516). This means that gender dynamics is at the heart of prejudice directed towards female leaders (Wood & Eagly, 2012). For example, Kittilson and Fridkin (2008) demonstrated that male and female candidates in the US election campaigns are covered differently by media with candidates often being portrayed in terms of long standing gender stereotypes. They argue that gender differences have important implications for voter perceptions of candidates and that these perceptions shape the sometimes discriminatory attitudes towards women in politics.

Rudman et.al (2012, p.166) proposed the *Status Incongruity Hypothesis* (SIH) which

posits that women who possess or pursue power are already status incongruent, but this effect is exacerbated when their behaviour violates status expectations. This violation occurs when a female who is ascribed low status due to her gender group membership displays agentic behaviours associated with the high status masculine behaviours, which undermines the gender system because historically the power and resources given to men were seen as legitimate due to the perception that they alone possessed the valued agentic behaviours such as competence, power and dominance. Violations of the gender hierarchy elicit powerful sanctions and penalties in the form of 'backlash'. In their review of the literature on backlash, Rudman et al. (2012) further posits that women in leadership roles face a dominance penalty in that there is a tendency for their behaviours to be evaluated as more extreme than men, that is more dominant and more controlling and this drives backlash due to status incongruity effects i.e. women are perceived to be too powerful resulting in backlash. Okimoto and Brescoll (2010) also found that a woman is likely to experience backlash not only in situations where she actually defies gendered norms, but also in situations where people think she has an intention of defying gender norms. Hence, any investigation into the subjective experiences of female leaders would need to consider the gendered nature of leadership.

3.2.1. The big two: agency and communion

Gender is culturally constructed and is used to refer to the socio-psychological categories of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' which are associated with two classes of attributes namely agentic and communal (Keshet, Kark, Pomerantz-Zorin, Koslowsky, & Schwarzwald, 2006; Wood & Eagly, 2012). Biased leader evaluations in favour of men still stem from the perception that the leader role requires agency and there is a greater male-agency stereotype and a greater discrepancy between leader prototypes and female gender stereotypes (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Ellemers, 2018; Hoyt & Burnette, 2013; Lyness & Heilman, 2006). Eagly and Karau (2002) propose that prejudice arises when individuals hold stereotypes about the characteristics of social groups that are a mismatch with the characteristics that are thought to be important for success in certain social roles. Their *role congruity theory of prejudice* explains that there is a mismatch between the attributes ascribed to women and the perceived attributes ascribed to leaders. Leaders are mostly associated with the agentic characteristics typically displayed by men, such as being self-assertive and motivated to master. In contrast, women are more often associated with communal characteristics such as being selfless and concerned with others (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Koenig et al., 2011). Communal characteristics are believed to be

inconsequential to success in leader roles, resulting in a negative expectation of performance (Heilman & Eagly, 2008).

3.2.2. Gendered expectations: prescriptive and descriptive stereotypes

Gender stereotypes are insidious. They describe how men and women differ but also dictate how men and women should behave (Heilman, 2001). Descriptive stereotypes give rise to descriptive norms of gender roles. These are expectations about what females are supposed to be like, manifested in the belief that women have certain characteristics that are stereotypically feminine and not desired qualities in leaders. In contrast prescriptive stereotypes give rise to injunctive norms of gender roles that is the expectation about how women ought to behave or ideally behave. In enacting leader roles, females violate these injunction norms, resulting in less favourable evaluations (Eagly, 2018; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Heilman, 2012). For example, Lammers, Gordjin, and Otten (2009) found that male politicians are rated as better candidates when participants are told that the problems they would have to fix involve having agentic skills like competitiveness while females are rated as better candidates when participants are told that the problems that needed fixing requires communality skills for example, health care.

3.2.3. Gendered double standards

It has been proposed that male leaders and female leaders may be judged relative to different standards of competence based on these stereotypes about their gender group which see men as agentic but women as communal. Their shifting standard model suggests that a woman will be judged relative to a lower level of competence than a man. (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat, Manis & Nelson, 1991). Eagly (2007) argues that there is a tension between the communal qualities that people prefer in women and the predominantly agentic qualities that they expect in leaders and this produces cross-pressures on female leaders. From a judgement perspective, they often experience disapproval for their more masculine behaviours such as asserting authority over others, as well as for their more feminine behaviours such as being supportive of others. These description and prescription biases may also bring about a double standard. For example, Pratch and Jacobowitz (1996) found that women who expressed strong agentic behaviour were negatively perceived as leaders, however displaying a communal orientation did not create a disadvantage for men. Empirical data consistently indicates that women face penalties when they violate beliefs about how women ought to behave and this undermines their ability to act in ways that counter gender

stereotypes (Rudman et al., 2012). For example, Moss-Racusin and Rudman (2010) found that women who endorse female communality stereotypes are inhibited in their ability to self-promote during a job interview, whereas men are not constrained by this stereotype.

Some researchers have demonstrated that the perceived incongruity between attributes of women and attributes of leaders may diminish and even disappear over time. In two experimental studies, Bosak and Sczesny (2011) demonstrated that when people perceive that women are likely to increase in male dominated roles over time, this corresponds with a convergence in the perceived traits of women and leaders. Consequently, the perceived incongruity between women and leaders was reduced over time, and even eliminated in a participant's future projections of both groups. However, the increasing agency of some women leaders may also be accompanied with subtle discrimination against more tentative female leaders, who are found to be less likeable and have less influence compared to tentative male leaders or assertive women leaders (Bongiorno, Bain, & David, 2013).

3.3. Hurdles to overcome

3.3.1. The first hurdle: accessing positions of power and influence

Women find it difficult to access positions of influence and power. It is proposed that a female's lack of fit for leader roles, males' dominance orientation and males' ingroup favouritism works separately and together to block access to women who aspired to positions of influence and power. According to the lack of fit hypothesis, the category "man" is associated with forcefulness, aggression, decisiveness and independence. These attributes give status and imbue their category with notions of competence. These agentic and achievement orientated characteristics are also most associated with the category "leader". The attributes associated with the category "woman" are those of kindness, helpfulness, sympathetic and being concerned for others which suggest that there is a lack of fit between the leader category and the more communal category of woman (Heilman & Caleo, 2018; Heilman, 2012). This gives rise to descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes about the nature of men and women as well as proscriptions on how men and women should behave (for reviews see Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001; Koenig et al, 2011). In the context of leadership, women's perceived lack of agency means that they are often overlooked for leadership positions unless they portray themselves as atypical females. However, behaving in an agentic manner results in negative social and economic

repercussions or backlash effects which serve to penalize these women for acting in a manner not befitting them (Rudman & Phelan, 2008, Rudman et al., 2012). Even when the competence of assertive female managers are acknowledged, they are still perceived as cold and unlikeable (Rudman & Glick, 1999). Their position is often fragile with a single mistake resulting in loss of status, and perceptions of incompetence (Brescoll, Dawson & Uhlmann, 2008).

A second dominant school of thought is that our gender belief systems privilege men over women. Men are disproportionately represented in roles that enhance ingroup inequality and women are disproportionately represented in roles that attenuate group based inequality (Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius, & Siers, 1997). Men have also been socialized to have higher social dominance orientation (Sidanius et al., 1994). This serves to motivate men and some women who benefit from male dominance to maintain the system (Ridgeway, 2009). Even when men and women occupy equivalent leadership positions, men are still perceived to have higher status, more power and greater legitimacy compared to women (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Wood & Eagly, 2012). For example, Eagly and Carli (2007) found that male leaders are more influential than female leaders because male leaders are perceived as more capable even when objective measures rate them as equivalent. The belief that a male leader is more capable is a historical artefact due to males traditionally having control over resources. Even when women occupy powerful positions, they are still victim to status beliefs that give men an advantage over women (Ridgeway, 2014).

A third reason put forward by SIT is that group members are motivated to favor their ingroup thereby limiting access to outgroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In the leadership context, female leaders are seen as outgroup outsiders by the numerically dominant male leader group (Eagly, 2018). According to the precepts of SIT, male leaders will not be motivated to provide access to female leaders as this would likely diminish their status, and this would have an impact on their positive distinctiveness. High status groups perceive social change favouring low status groups as threatening as it means that high status groups lose their privilege (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). On the basis of recent research, Kahn, Barreto, Kaiser, and Rego (2015) propose that high status group members are unlikely to support attempts to confront pervasive prejudice as this would threaten their collective status. Rather, high-status groups are more likely to confront prejudice directed towards low status members, when they perceive it as rare, as this does not threaten their status. This is demonstrated in diversity studies indicating that high status group members

are threatened by pro-diversity diversity measures, perceiving increased discrimination directed towards them (Dover, Major, & Kaiser, 2016).

Gender biases coupled with agentic stereotypes make it seem appropriate for men to hold authority positions which imply that they have the legitimacy to set agendas and to control resource allocations (Pratto & Pitpitan, 2008). The dominant view that male leaders are needed for the success of an organization is only challenged when organizations with a long history of male leaders suddenly enter a crisis. In the face of this uncertainty, a change in leadership is believed to be the only way to turn around the organization and female leaders are associated with change whilst male leaders are not (Brown, Diekmann & Schneider, 2011; Bruckmüller & Branscombe, 2010) resulting in female leaders finding themselves in precarious leadership positions. For example, Ryan and Haslam (2005) conducted an archival examination of the performance of FTSE 100 companies and found that women are particularly likely to be placed in positions of leadership in circumstances of general financial downturn and downturn in company performance.

3.3.2. The second hurdle: overcoming illegitimacy perceptions

Even when women attain leadership positions, they often face difficulties arising from perceptions of low legitimacy, i.e. powerful women relative to men are less likely to be perceived as legitimate authorities with women leaders often needing to gain respect and admiration from subordinates to legitimize their authority (Vial, et al., 2015). If these perceptions of illegitimacy continue, it is likely that women leaders will step down from roles because they do not feel that they belong or because subordinates could engage in actions to undermine these women leaders. For example, Ratcliff and Vescio (2017) found that illegitimate leaders often feel less belonging and are more likely to relinquish power as a result of this. Additionally, when subordinates feel that leaders are wielding power illegitimately, they become angrier and less supportive of the leader. Glass and Cook (2016) investigated the career trajectories male and female CEOs of Fortune 500 companies and found that women relative to men, faced more subtle and explicit challenges, from peers, subordinates and superiors that undermined their authority. This resulted in a shorter tenure length for female CEOs compared to male CEOs.

Females may actually reinforce the illegitimacy of their own positions in several ways. Ridgeway (2014) argues that a person's status as a result of belonging to a particular social group can affect not only how they are perceived by others but also how they perceive

themselves (Ridgeway, 2014). In their attempt to gain access to the high status male leader groups, female leaders may engage in a number of strategies that could serve to reinforce their illegitimacy. Extensive research has been conducted on the Queen Bee Phenomenon (Derks et al., 2016). Senior women present themselves to be more like men, physically and psychologically distancing themselves from other women and by endorsing and legitimising the gender hierarchy. Derks et al. (2011) argue that this behaviour arises when women with low gender identification enter an organisation where their gender is devalued. These women experience social identity threat when others categorize them according to their gender which they believe is not relevant in that particular context. In this instance, they may be motivated to enhance their identity (Scheepers et al., 2006) and they may do this by demonstrating Queen Bee behaviour. Dovidio et al. (2009) propose that minority group members would be motivated to strategically steer representations away from their minority group status. According to this senior women would be motivated to steer people from representing them according to their gender. Instead they would steer them to their preferred self-categorization. This is demonstrated in two different studies. The first study shows that senior faculty women describe themselves as non-prototypical gender group members, presenting a more masculine self-image and holding more stereotypic perceptions of younger female doctoral students believing that they show less commitment than their male peers (Ellemers et al., 2004). However, recent research demonstrates that senior women self-distance from junior women but not from other senior women like themselves. Senior women also reluctant to support policies/quotas that would improve the professional opportunities of junior women but supported those policies/quotas that would benefit other senior women (Faniko et al., 2017). Whilst these senior faculty women are strategically managing their self-categorization, their position is likely to be weaker with their younger female faculty members and younger female students who may look for ways to challenge or undermine them.

3.3.3. The third hurdle: the difficulty of maintaining a positive sense of self

SIT argues that group members are motivated by a desire for a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, this is potentially difficult for female leaders working in a male-typed leadership domain, where their numerical minority status and gender category membership positions them as outsiders. This is likely to result in a number of challenges including having to deflect prejudice by others, managing one's emotions as social identity cues in the environment trigger stereotype threat and dealing with the attributions made by others about one's skills, capabilities and her future possibilities. For

example, Schmitt and Branscombe (2002) argue that attributions to prejudice creates uncertainty for disadvantaged groups as they are always at risk of negative treatment. This has negative effects on their well-being as they expect that prejudice associated with their group membership will explain many of their negative outcomes. This in contrast to advantaged groups who can rest assured that their group membership will not be a cause of negative outcomes. Schmitt, Branscombe, and Postmes (2003) demonstrated this effect with women who when told that sexism is pervasive exhibit lower group-based self-esteem and lower positive affect than women who were told that sexism was rare. It is also acknowledged that situational cues in a woman's work environment are likely to trigger adverse outcomes for women leaders. Research demonstrates that perceptions of tokenism (Baretto, Ellemers, & Palacios, 2004), exposure to patronising behaviour from powerful men (Vescio, Gervais, Snyder, & Hoover, 2005) and even selection policies aimed at increasing diversity (Autin, Branscombe, & Croizet, 2013) result in diminished performance and more negative emotions such as anger.

3.4. Blinded by outgroup privilege

Gender stereotypes still persist though the female gender stereotype is now accorded more competence than in the past. However outside perceivers still expect women to display communality and men agency (Eagly, 2018). However, other research demonstrates that even in contexts where women leaders are significantly under-represented, the presence of a sole woman candidate fosters complacency, communicating that gender inequality is improving or that it does not exist. Specifically, Brown and Diekmann (2013) found that the presence of a female political candidate leads to increased perceptions that the socio-political system is just, increased perceptions that the gender status hierarchy is legitimate and a greater implicit preference for stability. However, as discussed in the introductory chapter, this is not true.

While attitudinal prejudices against women have decreased significantly, women still face discriminatory barriers in male dominated and masculine environments with male evaluators. This is a concern as higher levels of authority and higher wages are controlled by men, making this prejudice highly consequential for women's advancement (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Eagly, Makhijani & Klonsky, 1992). Women leaders on average, manifest valued, effective leadership styles that are often associated with successful business outcomes (Eagly, 2007). However, Prime, Carter, and Wellbourne (2009) examined the perceptions of women's and men's effectiveness at ten key leadership activities among 296 managers and

found that both male and female respondents believed that sex was a reliable predictor of leadership effectiveness with very senior managers prone to misjudge and/or overestimate the degree to which the leader sex and leadership performance are related. Specifically, whilst females in their study showed more favorable stereotypes of women leaders, males held far fewer favorable stereotypes of women leaders.

A key question then is how do we get more male leaders and female leaders themselves to support the cause of social change for women? There have been various strategies proposed. One of these strategies entails making male leaders aware of their privileged positions relative to the disadvantaged positions held by female leaders. Some like Pratto and Stewart (2012) argue that members of dominant groups do not have the social comparison information to recognize the discrimination that they do not experience and members of high status groups either downplay their privilege (Kahn, Ho, Sidanius, & Pratto, 2009) or minimize the disadvantage experienced by the low status group (Adams, Tormala, & O'Brien, 2006). It is possible that if male leaders start emphasizing with inequality that affects female leaders, then they may be more motivated to extend a helping hand.

It has also been proposed that getting male leaders to see female leaders as belonging to a common group of "leaders" creates one common group representation. The *Common Group Identification Model* is an off-shoot of SIT and SCT and proposes that if members of different groups are persuaded to think of themselves as a single, more inclusive, superordinate group, rather than as two completely separate groups, attitudes towards ex outgroup members would become more positive because of ingroup favouritism bias (Dovidio et al., 2007; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). This implies that should the boundaries of the leader group extend to encompass not just male leaders but female leaders then potentially male leaders could be motivated to think well of their female leader group members which should lead to increased ingroup favouritism towards female leaders. Though the principles of the *Common Group Identification Model* seem promising, empirical data suggest that this may be hard to do. People may struggle to give up highly valued existing group identities and sometimes the prospect of replacing a highly valued identity with a superordinate identity can produce identity threat that exacerbates intergroup bias (Dovidio et al, 2007).

3.5. Possibilities for the future

Research demonstrates that women believe that leadership roles are less possible for them as a group and social identity threats further enhances this belief. For example, Logel et al. (2009) found that the sexist attitudes of men in engineering and math trigger stereotype threat amongst females as the interpersonal behaviour of these males demonstrated that they devalue women's abilities. This resulted in the women performing worse on a test in comparison to their female counterparts who were not exposed to negative stereotypes. In another study, participants in Spain and the United Kingdom were asked to envision themselves in a leadership role and then to indicate how positive and possible the role would be and to estimate the outcomes that would follow from occupying that role. Men regarded managerial roles as more possible than women did although both men and women regarded the roles as equally positive overall. In addition, women had stronger reservations about managerial roles believing that it would limit their chances for good close relationships (Killeen, Lopez-Zafra, & Eagly, 2006). In another noteworthy study, women exposed to gender stereotypic ads designed to elicit the female stereotype express less interest in assuming leader roles and more interest in assuming problem solver/follower roles compared to women in the neutral condition (Davies et al., 2005). This suggested that women exposed to stereotypes use a pre-emptive strategy of avoiding the targeted domain. According to the premises of *Stereotype Threat Theory* individuals underperform in situations that remind them that they are stereotyped to do poorly. In these situations, these individuals become extra sensitive to not confirming the stereotype which requires increased cognitive effort and this results in decreased performance in complex cognitive tasks as their effort is elsewhere (Schmader, 2010).

More recently, Ellemers and Barreto (2015) found that the nature of stereotypes has shifted over time. Perpetrators no longer explicitly devalue and exclude targets. Instead, modern discrimination is enacted through a more subtle and implicit cycle of group based social expectations that tends to undermine the self-confidence of those who are disadvantaged and impedes their ability to perform. Modern discrimination is much harder to notice and challenge making it more likely to be perceived as legitimate and more likely that it can continue unchecked. Pervasive discrimination can undermine group commitment when discrimination is perceived as legitimate and group identification and collective action tendencies are lower when discrimination is perceived as pervasive and legitimate compared to rare and legitimate (Jetten et al., 2011). This could be due to ingroup members perceiving that the discriminatory treatment to other ingroup members is deserved and thus

not worthy of warranting any collective action on behalf of the group. In this situation, these group members are more likely to use social mobility strategies.

Research indicates that when individuals perceive that their social identity is under threat, high identifiers are motivated to cope by assimilating to the ingroup and following its norms. However, low identifiers tend to engage in self-group distancing and go against the group norms (Lacoviello, Lorenzi-Cioldi, & Kulich, 2018). Furthermore, low identifiers may use social creativity strategies to find ways to differentiate themselves from their low status groups (Lacoviello & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2015). However, empirical data also suggests that even highly identified individuals may embark on individual mobility strategies under conditions of threat. These high identifiers may boost their identification with the achieved group without sacrificing or reducing their identification with the lower status inherited group. However, their achieved status means that they demonstrate lower concern for their lower status inherited group members as a result of their increased identification with the achieved group (Kulich, Lorenzi-Cioldi, & Lacoviello, 2015). Decreased ingroup concern may mean that high-identifiers become less interested in and vested in their lower status group whilst maintaining their identification. This decreases the likelihood of them becoming vanguards for social change as well.

3.6. Concluding Remarks

In sum, the literature suggests that in order for female leaders to become agents of change they would need to overcome structural and social identity hurdles. These include overcoming potential illegitimacy perceptions, attempting to maintain or achieve a positive social identity, overcoming stereotype threats and discrimination and engaging with male leaders in the intergroup context. Furthermore, female leaders would have to maintain both high identification and high concern for their gender group on their own journey to success.

CHAPTER FOUR

Q- Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will provide a brief overview of Q Methodology (QM) before outlining the history of QM and its main principles around subjectivity, abduction and operants. This will be followed by a selective summary of literature using QM that is pertinent to this thesis. Thereafter, this thesis will engage in a detailed discussion of the various steps involved in a QM study with particular reference to the different studies completed in this thesis. The chapter will end with the ethical considerations.

SIT researchers argue that subjectivity is 'intrinsic to the formation and cultural representation of what gets marked out as an identity' (Wetherell, 2008, p.78). Therefore, in attempting to understand the subjective experiences of female leaders from a social identity and intergroup perspective, a methodology was needed that was best suited to make emergent the diverse subjectivities around the topic. QM was developed by William Stephenson as a science for subjectivity (Stephenson, 2004) with the emphasis being on discovery rather than on testing hypothetico- deductive hypotheses (Knight & Rupp, 1999; Stephenson, 1980). Particularly relevant for this thesis is its procedures that are well suited to pick commonalities and differences in viewpoints by contrasting a particular point of view with the point of view of others (Good, 2010; Stenner, Cooper, & Skevington, 2003). The procedures used in QM are aimed at exploring an individual's subjectivity that is their experiences, opinions, ideas, beliefs and perspectives (Kitzinger, 1999). This makes QM particularly suited to exploring the lived experiences of female leaders.

4.2. History of QM

William Stephenson was concerned with developing a technique for the study of subjective science which would later become QM. Stephenson believed that matters of objective fact or singular bits of information that do not spread can be distinguished from matters of self-reference which he argued can be infinite about anything and spreads in all directions which he called subjective spread (Stephenson, 1993/1994). By self- reference, he meant that data should be considered in terms of "subjective rankings as opposed to seeking objective definitions of tests" (Kitzinger, 1999, p.267). Furthermore, Stephenson proposed that when interpreting the data, the researcher should assess the whole patterns of responses obtained from each individual "rather than looking for patterns item by item or test by test across people" (Kitzinger, 1999, p.267). Stephenson introduced this factor

analytic approach in a letter to Nature in 1935, and elaborated on it further in a series of papers including “Correlating persons instead of tests” (Stephenson, 1935a).

Stephenson (1935a) aimed to address the problem that factor analysts had at the time which was that they required large samples of people to perform experiments which in his mind limited the tests, apparatus and controls that could be applied and which resulted in long, tedious and complex experimentation which negatively affected the quality of the testing. Stephenson believed that the experimental method had limitations when it came to investigating subjective human behaviour such as one’s preferences, sentiments, motives and ideals. Hence, he proposed an alternative factor technique which was inverse to the factor analytical techniques of his day. Stephenson proposed that it was possible to give a small number of people a large number of tests or test items, to obtain scores for these items and obtain saturations for individuals leading to factor estimates for test items. This was inverse to the standard factor process of administering a small number of tests to a large number of people, obtaining scores for individuals, and then through factor analysis, obtaining factor saturations or loadings of tests.

Stephenson claimed that the main advantages of this new factor technique lay in it requiring smaller number of persons, more rapid experimentation and being able to take the results of earlier testing and create more homogeneous tests for further application. Stephenson (1936b) agreed with Prof G.H. Thomson that “r will stand for correlations between tests, etc. as variables, whilst Q will stand for correlations between persons as variables” p.353. Thus he named his inverted factor technique, Q technique and set out the concerns of Q technique as follows

“N tests or other items can be measured or scaled by M persons, and the M (M-1)/2 correlations for these M variables can be factorized in terms of appropriate theorems.”

This was different to R technique which was concerned with

“a selected population of persons (n) each of whom has been measured or scaled in m tests or traits etc. The m(m-1)/2 correlations for the m variables are subjected to factor analysis using Spearman, Thurstone, or other theorems” p.353.

These articles and his subsequent work in building on and refining QM was followed by decades where QM faced criticism and misunderstanding on many fronts. This included criticism by Sir Cyril Burt that Q technique and R technique were very similar in that they had

the same aims, methods, and theorems and that they were just different ways of analysing the same correlation matrix (Burt & Stephenson, 1939). Furthermore, Loevinger (1965) was concerned that only persons could be sampled and that there could be no random sampling of populations of tests, items or testing conditions. Cattell (1952) argued that the Q technique was best suited find to subpopulations in a non-homogenous population and claimed that the nature of a factor was more easily recognizable from a test than from a person. Thus, Cattell challenged the notion that by-person factor analysis would reveal psychologically meaningful factors (Cattell, 1951).

In fact, the critics mentioned above were judging QM by criteria that were appropriate to the evaluation of R technique (Kitzinger, 1999) and critics such as Burt were looking at superficial procedural similarities between Q and R techniques overlooking Stephenson's aim of providing a methodology that aimed to investigate matters of psychological significance rather than that of statistical significance (Burt & Stephenson, 1939).

4.3. Main principles of QM

Whilst many of QM's critics focused on its factor analytical operations, the main epistemological underpinnings of QM which relate to subjectivity, operantcy and abduction have not been critiqued in much detail. The following sections will elaborate on the epistemological underpinnings of this methodology. The typical procedures of a QM study involve identifying participants or the P Set who are often purposively chosen from the population of interest and chosen to reflect a diversity of views; developing an exhaustive concourse that aims to capture all communicability about the topic under investigation; drawing a thought sample or Q set that reflects the main ideas of the concourse and validating the Q set; administration of the Q sort by the participants in the P Set and finally factor analysis and interpretation of the data. Mckeown (2013) describes QM as a

“combination of interrelated components: technique (Q sorting), analytical methods (correlation, factor analysis, and computing factor scores), methodology (a comprehensive logic of inquiry drawing on behaviourism, indeterminacy, quantum theory and abductory logic” p.69.

4.3.1 Measurement of Subjectivity

The main premise of QM is that all subjectivity is transformable into operant factor structure and that the measurements of that subjectivity should be made by the person doing

the sort since only that person has access to his or her subjectivity and not by the researcher (Brown, 1980; Stephenson, 1980; Watts, 2011). Stephenson (1986) posited that Q method allows individual subjectivity to emerge without quantitative artefacts like scales and norms determining what is important. It is clear from this that subjectivity does not refer to inner experience which suggests non-testable operations (Watts, 2011) but to an individual's idiosyncratic viewpoint (Good, 2010). All the procedures including the analytical procedures in a QM study are designed with the aim of surfacing subjectivity. Unlike survey research where participants are asked to rate items in a questionnaire that often have scales with pre-determined meaning, in QM participants compare items with every other item in a rank ordering procedure which forces participants to reveal their underlying values, beliefs, feelings and opinions about a topic thus surfacing their subjectivity (Paige & Morin, 2016). Furthermore the items in the concourse and the Q set are subjective opinion rather than objective fact (Brown, Danielson & van Exel, 2015). Lastly, the Q sort gives structure to the data but still allows for the voices of the participants to be heard. This allows the subjective interpretations and manifestations of a particular viewpoint to come through more clearly than if the researcher had imposed structure in advance by using for example, content analysis of interviews (Billiard, 1999).

4.3.2 Abduction as inference

Deduction that is showing that something must behave in a certain way to prove or disprove an empirical statement has been the favoured form of positivist scientific inference. However, Stephenson was more interested in abductive inference which assumes that a variate will probably, although not necessarily, behave in a certain way. Deduction implies the development of hypotheses which are then empirically tested whereas abduction generates new hypotheses and advances new understandings (Goldman, 1999). QM is not concerned with testing hypotheses through hypothetico- deductive methods which is the norm for R technique. Rather its premises are abductive involving what Stephenson called dependency factor analysis. Interpretation of Q factors leads to subjective understanding not objective explanations (Stephenson, 1986). Whilst the factors produced in QM studies are operant in that they are not produced or effected by any of the procedures of a QM study, the factors become meaningful or "make sense" (Stephenson, 1980, p.882) by the interpretation of the researcher. There are two specific procedures within QM that facilitate this abduction. The first is through the design of the concourse and the second is through the factor analysis which is free of a-priori categorization.

4.3.3 Operantcy of Factors

Operant factors are “factors which have no critical dependency on test ‘construction’ effects.” (Stephenson, 1977, p. 8.). This means that the factors cannot be explained by the manner in which the test is constructed and the statements in a Q study serve to induce an operant change without imposing any apriori meaning. Thus the factor structures in QM are independent of any of the procedures used in the study (Stephenson, 1980; Stephenson, 1970). Specifically, the factor structures in Q Methodology are not dependent on the characteristics of the Q set, the shape of the frequency distribution (forced or unforced), the condition of instruction, or the act of Q sorting (Stephenson, 1986, 2014). Furthermore the subject doing the sorting exercise cannot influence or intentionally create the resultant factors or the factor arrays that result from the sorting exercise (Stephenson, 1979). Additionally factor analysis does not impose structure but makes manifest and brings to light the hidden or latent structure that is already present. The actual meaning of an item is showcased through how each participant score a particular item relative to other items in a Q sort. The same item by being scored in different ways relative to other items convey different meanings for different respondents (Kitzinger, 1999). Perceived in this light, all subjectivity is operantly expressed through the Q sort (Watts, 2011).

4.4. Differences between Q and R techniques

In one the first articles describing the differences between Q and R, Stephenson described them as factor systems with the fundamental difference between R and Q from a factor analytical perspective being that R technique is concerned with “correlations (r) between tests or separate traits” (Stephenson, 1936a, p. 198) and Q technique is concerned with “correlations (Q) between persons or whole aspects of persons” (Stephenson, 1936a, p. 198). However, in a later article Stephenson went on to expound that Q and R went beyond factor techniques and were complex methodologies each with their own principles (Stephenson, 1952). In R the measurements were made objectively by mental tests. In Q it was the person himself who made the measurements, subjectively, within himself, helped by Q technique. There were two matrices, not one and they were axiomatically incommensurate (Stephenson, 1979). Furthermore, R measures variables as applied to individuals whereas in Q individuals can measure themselves relative to variables (Knight & Rupp, 1999).

Another difference between R and Q relates to sampling. In R, a researcher draws a sample from a population whereas in Q a researcher samples from a ‘statistical universe’ (Stephenson, 1952, p.487) and even a one person sample can have infinite statistical

universes. Furthermore, while R is concerned with populations of people as the source of data, QM is concerned with using a universe of subjective statements as the primary source of statistical data with these statements being written, verbal, visual or physical (Stephenson, 1980). In R, test items may have pre-imposed value and meaning whilst in Q all statements have equal value and meaning at the outset (Stephenson, 1980). It is the act of sorting the statements into self-referent configurations that impose value and meaning on the factor structure. Finally, while R is concerned with statistical significance, Q is concerned with psychological significance (Burt & Stephenson, 1939).

4.5. Rationale for the use of QM

4.5.1 Democracy in the production of knowledge

Subasic et al. (2012) argued that research participants are often treated as passive perceivers rather than active agents of change. This is most typically demonstrated in laboratory or experimental studies where researchers expose participants to an intervention and measure or observe the resultant effects. This artificial set up misses an important point which is that “the process of sense-making is loud and it is communal” (Subasic et. al., 2012, p.68). Therefore Subasic and colleagues call for researchers to actively involve their participants in sense-making. One of the key advantages of QM in comparison to traditional interviews or questionnaires is that it requires high levels of task engagement and item discrimination as all items in a Q set have to be ranked relative to each other making it difficult for respondents to be unengaged or to provide socially desirable responses (Papworth & Walker, 2008). Furthermore, the process of evaluating statements in a Q set vis-a-vis each other means that there is an active decision-making process that each participant goes through as he or she constructs meaning through interaction with the research instrument (Mckenzie & Swartz, 2011).

A further criticism is made by Hegarty and Bruckmuller (2013) who called for researchers to change the way they frame explanations by calling out the characteristics of normative groups which serves the function of problematizing non-normative groups. In this research it was important to ensure that female leaders not be singled out as the effect to be explained. Bruckmuller’s (2013) study indicates that members of non-normative groups who have to explain themselves relative to the implicit standard of a normative group feel a negative sense of self-worth regardless of the evaluative content of the intergroup comparisons with normative groups benefitting when non-normative group members are

singled out.

In light of the concerns raised above, this thesis attempted to democratize the studies in a number of ways. For example, the same Q set was used in both the male leader and female leader perceptions studies with the only exception being that the items were reverse gendered, that is, *male leader* became *female leader*; *her* became *him* etc. Furthermore, even though the aim of the research is to understand the construction of female leader representations in an intergroup context, it is believed that a direct comparison of male leaders versus female leaders would have positioned the female leaders in this study as the effect to be explained. Instead, the comparative analyses were done in a series of two separate studies. In the first study, male leaders provided an account of how they perceived their own male leader identities. In a separate study male leaders used the same Q set to construct their accounts of female leader identities. The same procedure was followed with female leaders to understand their constructions of male leaders' identities as well as their construction of their own female leader social identities. It was hoped that by doing this, female leaders would not be singled out as the effect to be explained, positioned against the male leader. In doing so, the research answers the criticism made by Bruckmuller, Hegarty and Abele (2012) that psychological science should not present intergroup research findings in ways that contribute to the reproduction of unequal power relations between groups through this subtle androcentrism.

4.5.2 Surfacing the dominant and less dominant perspectives

In designing this research it was important to ensure that a multiplicity of perspectives were captured to "identify patterns of communality and divergence of viewpoint" (Stenner et al., 2003, p.2164). QM allows these patterns of communality and divergence in perspectives to surface. However it also allows dominant and less dominant narratives, accounts and perspectives to be heard (Baker & Nash, 2013). This is important for several reasons. Firstly, it is argued that male leaders as the dominant group have perpetuated the inequalities of the gender hierarchy as their positions and views have become the dominant representations of any topic or event that is of significance. Any methodology used would need to surface the less dominant viewpoints that were held by others and not just them. Furthermore, the methodology would need to surface the multiple and competing understandings held by ingroup and outgroup members in an intergroup context. Researchers within QM believe that QM "allows access to layers of individually and collectively shared meaning without sacrificing 'scientific rigour'" (Rayner & Warner, 2003,

p.313) and from an intergroup perspective they argue that the end results of Q analysis is the definition of a collectively defined account rather than an individual level account which is in line with the objectives of this thesis.

4.5.3 Minimizing researcher interference

Barbosa, Willoughby, Rosenberg, and Mrtek (1998) argue that surveys and questionnaires tend to reflect preconceived ideas of researchers and thus restrict the opinions of the participants into the confines of the conceptual framework of the investigators who designed them. Researchers working within QM have argued that the typical procedures of a QM soften the impact of the cultural expectations and stereotypes of the researchers on the research process (Jacobson & Aaltio-Marjosola, 2001). One way in which this happens is that the analytical procedures of QM decreases the possibility for researcher biases and assumptions to distort findings because the analysis of the factor scores is directly related to the way in which people sorted their items which then comes through in the factor scores in terms of what is and is not significant (Baker & Nash, 2013). Thus, the findings of a Q study reveals the patterns and meanings of an individual's subjectivity rather than being a result of methodological artefacts. It is also important to note that the exploratory nature of QM is focused more on generating theory rather than proving or disproving hypotheses (Stenner, Dancey & Watts, 2000). This potentially minimizes any researcher driven agenda because the researcher cannot force a respondent to sort statements in any particular manner.

4.5.4 Placing participants at the heart of their own subjectivity

In this research the intention was to ensure that the female leaders and male leaders were not passive observers in the research. Instead, they needed to take centre stage. Therefore, collecting data and presenting it in a way that averaged the responses of the respondents would not have satisfied the intention of designing research to allow subjectivity to surface. Barbosa et al. (1998) argue that both quantitative and qualitative research hinders the emergence of subjectivity. Specifically they believed that aggregating data in survey results hide intersubjective individuality whilst qualitative techniques used to transform an individual's subjective feelings into an analysable format often incorporates the researcher's own biases.

An additional concern in designing this research was that the participants, in particular male leaders, could potentially subdue their real perspectives due to presentational concerns and thus not be as open about their true opinions. In this respect QM researchers have argued that QM can be a more sensitive research tool than survey and interview methods as it can deal with complex issues where there may be a conflict between the personal beliefs and values of a person and what the person believes to be politically correct (Bryant et al, 2006). Other researchers have found that the process of Q sorting allows people to make sense of their experiences in a manner that is less threatening than if they were asked to answer direct questions (Jones et al., 2003). This is further facilitated by Q factor analysis where the positions of the items are inverted as it looks for patterns across participants rather than across items (Jordan et al., 2005).

One way in which a QM study addresses these methodological concern is by the outputs that it generates. Whilst a researcher can potentially introduce his own biases into the interpretation, the outputs of typical QM studies which are the factor arrays, factor scores, distinguishing and consensus statements generally guide the researcher in the direction of the participant's subjectivity. By doing so, the outputs of a QM study allows the researcher to understand how people "make sense of themselves as selves" (Eccleston, Williams, & Stainton Rogers, 1997, p. 700).

4.6. Conducting a QM study

It has been established that QM is particularly suitable for studies aimed at understanding subjective representations of any kind. This section is concerned with the four main steps involved in a QM study which is the development of the concourse, the development and validation of the final Q set, the selection of the P Set and the collection of data through the Q sort.

4.6.1. Development of the concourse

The first step in a QM study is to develop an exhaustive concourse that aims to capture all communications about the topic under investigation. Every idea has its own concourse and meaning and is represented theoretically, a priori in factor structure (Stephenson, 2014). A concourse is "a universe of statements for any situation or context" (Stephenson, 1986, p37). The statements in a concourse is made up of a number of self-

referent statements which have equal value at the outset but the same statement can hold different meaning for different people and different meanings for the same person in different contexts (Stephenson, 1979; 1980). Furthermore, some statements in the concourse may be more objective than others (Stephenson, 1993/1994). Thus, a concourse is the “common coinage of societies large and small, and is designed to cover everything from community gossip and public opinion to the esoteric discussion of scientists and philosophers” (Brown, 1998, p.7).

The concourse can be *naturalistic*, where the statements are derived from the oral and written communication of participants such as in the form of direct quotes, or *ready-made*, where the statements come from the academic literature, popular press or from experts (Stephenson, 1993/1994). Concourse items can also take the form of pictures, objects, recordings, etc. (Brown, 1996). The concourses in this research used ready-made statements derived from the academic literature, statements transcribed from video interviews that were publicly available on the internet and statements from popular press articles. In addition, the group based emotional experience study used scale items from previous research studies on group-based emotions. The items in a concourse can vary in length. The concourse for the studies that explored the subjective representations of male and female leader social identities contained 118 statements clustered around 28 themes. Some studies have generated extremely large concourses, for example one study had a concourse of 1751 statements (Skorpen et al, 2014) whilst other studies have generated concourses between 50 -100 statements (Baker & Nash, 2013; Harvey, Good, Mason & Reissland, 2015; Paradise, 2001; Richards, Papworth, Corbett & Good, 2007; Shinebourne & Adams, 2007). The aim in building the concourse should be to capture the breadth and depth of opinions on the topic (McKeown & Thomas, 2013).

4.6.2. The development and validation of the Q set

The next step in designing a QM study is to draw a broadly representative sample of statements from the concourse that reflects the main ideas of the concourse. This collection of statements is referred to as the Q set or Q-sample and usually contains between 40 - 80 items (Watts & Stenner, 2005) even though Brown (1980) recommends a Q-sample of between 40 - 60 statements. However, some Q sets have contained fewer items. For example, Brown (1996) conducted a health care study focusing on the quality of care experienced by a single case under different conditions and used a Q set of 24 statements. Other studies have utilized a 31 statement Q sort (Harvey et al, 2015); a 48 statement Q set

(Richards et al, 2007; Wright, Simons & Campbell, 2007); and a 36 item picture Q sort (Combes, Hardy & Buchan, 2004). Based on personal experience with piloting several Q sets in this research, it was believed that it is wiser to have fewer statements than more statements because respondents can get fatigued by the length. This could become a problem in online studies where the researcher is not present and may result in large numbers of uncompleted studies. Furthermore, with certain populations such as the female leader and male leader respondents, getting the time needed to complete the Q sorts is quite difficult especially when they have to commit more than 30 minutes to participating in a study.

The selection of statements to be included from the concourse should be a capsule representing the same breadth and diversity of opinions that were contained in the concourse (Paige & Morin, 2016). In selecting statements from the concourse for inclusion in the Q set the researcher can either apply a structured approach where there is relevant theory that provides a framework for what gets included and excluded or an unstructured approach where there is no existing theory to guide the Q set selection. In this instance the researcher utilizes a thematic approach to select statements from the concourse (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Watts and Stenner (2005) argue that Q sets can never be complete, not least because context around any topic is always in flux, which always introduces new ideas to any topic being investigated. It is important that the Q set is piloted with either participants who meet the profile of the P Set or with experts to ensure that the items at least have content and face validity (Finchilescu & Muthal, in press).

4.6.3. Recruitment of the P set

In this thesis, the aim was in recruiting for diversity of opinion and perspectives rather than for representation of opinion amongst male leaders and female leaders. This approach to purposively recruiting respondents of interest has been extensively utilized within QM (Eccleston et al, 1997; Harvey et al, 2015; Jones, Guy & Ormrod, 2003). In Q-studies, the aim is to achieve breadth and diversity of perspective and not statistical power (Kitzinger & Stainton-Rogers, 1985) hence there is no need for large numbers of randomly selected respondents. Watts and Stenner (2005) suggest a 'rule of thumb' of between 40-60 respondents but also note that effective Q studies have been carried out with fewer numbers.

Most Q studies are performed with $N < 60$ respondents. For example, Brown (2002) conducted a study on national identity using 28 respondents. Ramlo and Berit (2013) recruited a P-sample of 11 caregivers to understand their perspectives around the caregiving experience; Shinebourne and Adams (2007) had 13 therapists sort through their experiences of working with clients with problems of addiction. Eaton (2004) had 17 mothers, mid-wives and obstetricians sort through their perspectives on what constituted a good birth; Jones et al. (2013) used a sample of 20 individuals who had experience of hearing voices; Wood, Price, Morrison and Haddock (2013) used a P-sample of 40 participants who had previously experienced psychosis; Richards et al (2007) had 23 adolescent mothers sort through statements related to adolescent motherhood and finally Combes, Hardy and Buchan (2004) administered a Q sort to 16 people with intellectual disabilities and the people who supported them. The most important aim of recruitment is to identify information rich cases of respondents who are likely to hold a variety of views on the topic being investigated.

4.6.4. Administration of the Q sort

According to Stephenson (1979) the act of ranking the statements according to a condition of instruction ensures that “disparate statements become a schema, with an indication of the same feeling from one end of a factor to the other” (Stephenson, 1979, p.356). A Q sort can be conducted either face to face or online. However, a few Q-studies have been conducted by sending the Q sort statements via postal mail for a participant to sort and send back. For example, Rayner and Warner (2003) were interested in defining self-harm and in understanding the different accounts presented by people who self-harm. They identified 40 participants through convenience sampling and mailed these respondents packs of Q sets with the condition of instruction and distribution grid to be completed. Even though the researchers claimed that they had 100% completion rates, it can be argued that as the researchers were not present, participants could have randomly completed the distribution grid without truly engaging in the Q sort. This is a problem that is likely to appear in online Q sorts as well, an issue that was addressed in this thesis, by the researcher using technology such as Skype video to virtually be present.

In another study, Lister and Gardner (2006) sent 75 Q packs to strategically sampled clinical psychologists in their aim to determine the techniques that clinical psychologists used to ensure that hard to engage clients remained in therapy. Forty-four

completed Q sorts were returned to them. However after factor analysis they had to discard one factor as an investigation of Q sort statements for the participants loading onto that factor indicated that the Q sort statements were not sorted but were being placed in an ordinal fashion. Hence, it is argued that the ideal method of administering Q sorts would be face to face or a virtual online study similar to what was used in the studies in this thesis. Being virtually present with the participants makes it possible for the researcher to monitor the sorting process as well as to be available to assist participants when they have any queries around the procedures. The QM studies in this research utilized either an online Q sort programme (Q-assessor) or a desktop Q sort application (FlashQ) and Skype video to monitor the participants as they completed the electronic sorts. This also allowed the researcher to be present throughout the study to answer participants' questions and to guide them when they experienced difficulties with regards to understanding the instructions or sorting procedures.

Generally the Q sort part of the research process starts with the respondent being provided with the condition of instruction for the sorting process followed by a two-step sorting process. In the first step respondents familiarize themselves with the statements and in the second step respondents place the statements onto the distribution grid. A typical paper distribution grid resembles figure 4.1. Brown (1971) demonstrated that the shape of the distribution has a negligible effect on the factors that emerge and is not statistically or theoretically significant. There is no predefined meaning attached to the distribution as factor types are more influenced by ordering preferences than they are by distribution preferences. In all the studies in this thesis the number of statements that were in the eventual Q set determined the shape of the distribution and a forced distribution grid was used. The primary reason for choosing a forced distribution grid with two equivalent poles was to establish *psychological significance* that is, to determine which statements were the most important to the participant. Mckeown (2013) argues that even though respondents are tasked to rank items along a pre-defined continuum, for example, from what is most important (+4) to what is least important (-4) to them and even though they are constrained in terms of the number of items to be placed at each interval, the forced distribution grid still allows the sorter to determine the contextual significance of each item. Forcing the sorter to proceed in this manner ensures that they deliberate and discriminate when they rank items which they might not do using an unforced distribution grid.

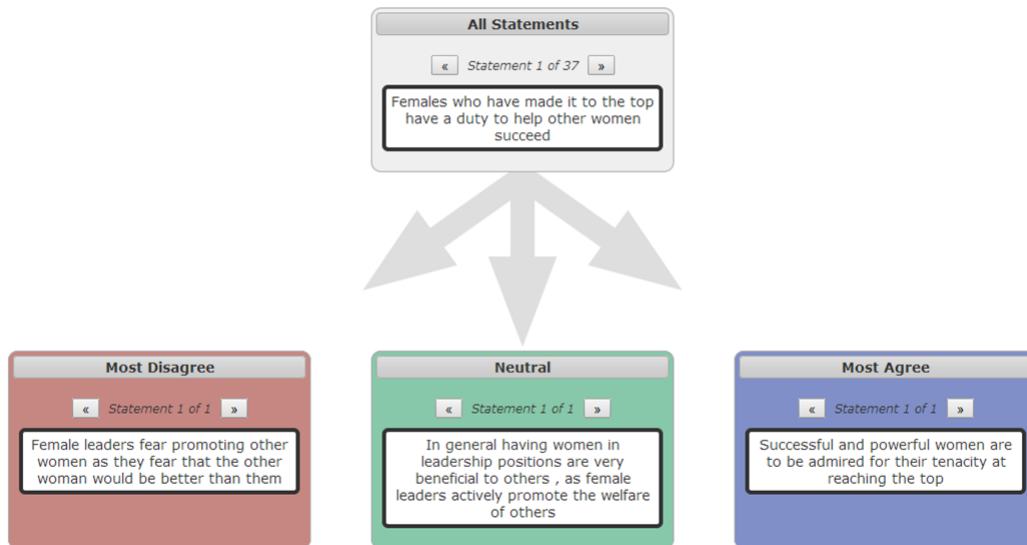
Strongly disagree

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

Strongly agree

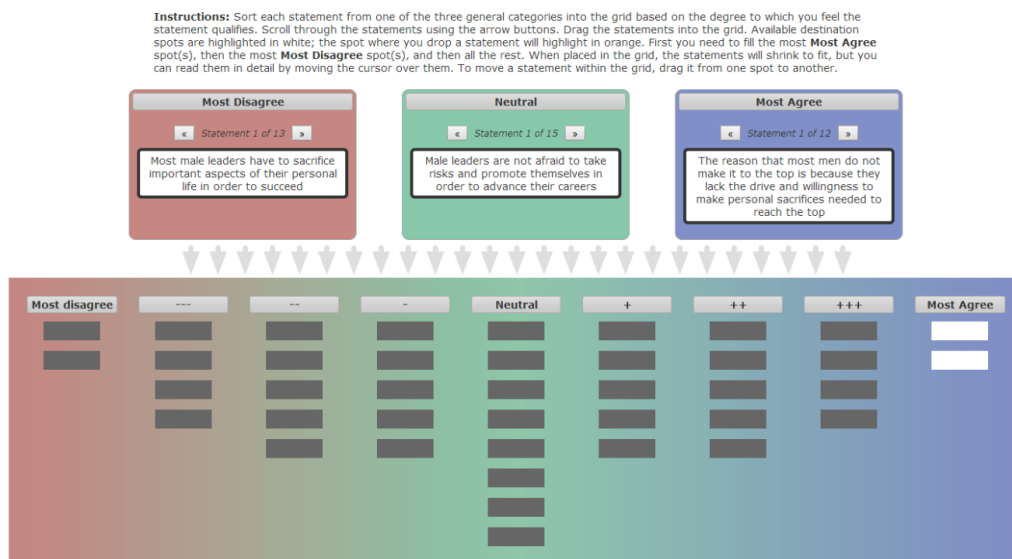
Figure 4.2 First Order Q sort (step 1)

Instructions: Read each statement, decide how you feel about it, and then drag it to the most appropriate box. You can scroll through the statements using the arrow buttons. When you drag a statement, the available destinations where you can drop it will highlight.



*Example from Perceptions of Female leader study

Figure 4.3. Second Order Q sort (step 2)



* Example from Perceptions of Male Leader Study

Figure 4.4. Example of Completed Q sort

Instructions: Sort each statement from one of the three general categories into the grid based on the degree to which you feel the statement qualifies. Scroll through the statements using the arrow buttons. Drag the statements into the grid. Available destination spots are highlighted in white; the spot where you drop a statement will highlight in orange. First you need to fill the most **Most Agree** spot(s), then the most **Most Disagree** spot(s), and then all the rest. When placed in the grid, the statements will shrink to fit, but you can read them in detail by moving the cursor over them. To move a statement within the grid, drag it from one spot to another.

* Example of a Q sort from Perceptions of Female Leader Study using Q-Assessor

4.6.5 Factor analysis

The factors that emerge during factor analysis are “theoretical” Q sorts (Stephenson, 1993/1994) and are merely averages of the Q sorts for the individuals loading on them (Stephenson, 1986). QM differs to conventional factor analysis due to persons becoming the variables of interest rather than test-items/traits (Brown, 1998). Thus, the “subjects” of a Q study are the Q statements and the “variables” are people’s Q sorts, and the intention is to look for patterns across people’s Q sorts for each Q statement (Danielson, Webler, & Tuler, 2009). Most researchers working within QM still use PQMethod which is a FORTRAN program designed specifically to analyse Q sort data (Schmolck, 2014). However, there are other programs such as PCQ (Stricklin & Almeida, 2004); an R application built by Zabala and Held (Zabala, 2014), and the online Q sort programme Q-assessor also runs analysis of the Q sort data (Epimetrics Group, LLC, 2010).

Factor analysis is a data reduction technique that involves by-person correlation amongst individual Q sorts (Watts & Stenner, 2005) and factor rotation which is meant to refine the factor structure (Ramlo, 2016). There are two methods to conduct by-person correlation, the centroid method or principal components analysis (PCA). There are two methods to conduct factor rotation which are varimax rotation and hand/judgemental rotation. Whilst Brown (1980) argues that the factor method used should be dependent on the data collected and on the aims of the research, Stephenson (2014) argued that centroid analysis and rotation to simple structure using varimax rotation is enough to bring operant

factors into focus whilst on certain occasions hand rotation may be better. In contrast, PCA maximises the variance of each succeeding factor (Brown, 1980). The main difference between centroid method and PCA is that centroid analysis is based solely on the commonality amongst Q sorts and ignores the specificity of individual sorts whereas PCA considers both the commonality and specificity. However, both PCA and centroid tend to provide fairly similar results (Mckeown, 2013; Danielson et al., 2009). In this research centroid analysis and PCA analysis was initially run and both provided fairly similar results. Centroid analysis was settled on due to it providing clearer and sharper factors.

Brown (1980) proposed that judgmental rotation “permits the observation of reality, represented by the Q sorts performed, from the theoretical vantage point of the observer” (p.165). This is useful if one wants to focus on one particular Q sort or a set of Q sorts during analysis and interpretation, or to test theories, or to approach a particular issue from many different perspectives (Mckewown, 2013; Watts & Stenner, 2012). However, Watts and Stenner (2012) also argue that factor solutions derived through judgmental rotation could be open to bias from the researchers’ imposed understanding of what they perceive to be happening. Varimax solution on the other hand seeks to “maximize the purity of saturation of as many variates (Q sorts) as possible on one or the other of the m factors extracted initially” (Mckeown, 2013, p.54) which maximises the similarities within factors and the differences between factors (Baker, Thompson, & Mannion, 2006) which aids in the interpretation of the factor. Furthermore varimax rotation reduces the possibility of any researcher bias or judgment entering into this phase of analysis. It was for this reason that I favoured the centroid method with varimax rotation to arrive at the best solution. In deciding how many factors to extract initially, Watts and Stenner (2012) recommend extracting one factor for every 6-8 sorts. Once that is done, the researcher needs to investigate the unrotated factor matrix to see how many of the factors have significant loadings as determined by their correlation coefficients. A significant loading is determined by the formula $1/\sqrt{N}$, where N equals the number of statements, multiplied by 2.58, the standard error of a zero-order correlation at the 0.01 level.

The authors recommend only keeping factors that have at least two significant loadings. Both Brown (1980) and Mckeown (2013) also recommends keeping only those factors with eigenvalues (measures relative contribution of a factor to the explanation of total variance in a correlation matrix) in excess of 1.00 as those that are less than 1.00 are considered to be insignificant, however both authors also caution that focusing on statistical

criteria alone could result in discounting factors that could have theoretical or practical interest. For example, a factor could comprise of only one Q sort, but that Q sort is of the most powerful individual who has more influence than all other participants. Furthermore, studies with large numbers of participants tend to yield many factors with eigenvalues in excess of 1.00 (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Thus, an additional method that can be used for determining how many factors to keep is *Humphrey's rule* as described in Brown (1980) and in Watts and Stenner (2012) which states that a factor is significant if the cross-product of its two highest loadings (ignoring the sign) exceeds twice the standard error.

All studies in this thesis considered the number of significant factor loadings, Humphrey's rule, and the eigenvalues of the factors to determine how many factors to keep. A second key decision is in terms of deciding how many factors to extract. The number of factors that emerge is generally dictated by the extent of the multiplicity of perspectives that exist across the Q sorts. Stainton-Rogers and Stainton Rogers (1990) pointed out that Q-studies in the USA generally report two - four factors whilst British studies have found ten or more factors which they suggest points to the plurality of perspectives that may exist in Britain and not in the US.

4.6.6. Factor interpretation

The factor array does not represent individual sorts but is an account of how people who defined the factor performed their sorting in total. According to Kitzinger(1999), in interpreting a factor array, "a researcher is telling a plausible story about the choices made by the research participants whose sorts load on that factor, seeking to explain the pattern of their rankings" (p.269). Thus, Stenner et al. (2000) recommend that in order to interpret a factor correctly, one needs to pay attention to the pattern of scoring for all items as a whole rather than focusing on the scores of individual items. Barchak (2004/2005) have also argued that even items scored in the 'neutral' column need to be interpreted within the configuration of all other sorts because in doing so, the items that are placed in the neutral column take on whole new meaning thus negating their supposed neutrality.

PQMethod provides a number of outputs that are useful in interpreting the factors. These consist of a factor matrix with defining sorts that assists the researcher in determining which people defined a factor; correlations between factor scores which helps the researcher to determine distinctiveness/similarity between factors; *normalized factor scores* for each

factor which indicates how far each statement is from the midpoint of the Q sort; tables that indicate the *descending array of differences between factors*; lists of *distinguishing statements* by factor, that is, the statements that were ranked significantly differently at $p < 0.1$ and at $p < 0.5$ compared to how it was ranked by other factors and finally a list of *consensus statements* which are those statements that are ranked similarly by all factors. There are several methodology texts and papers that assist the novice researcher in understanding how to interpret the different outputs (Watts & Stenner, 2012; Mckeown, 2013).

4.7 Limitations

There are several instances that privileges a researcher in a QM study. Firstly the researcher gets to decide which statements from the concourse gets included into the Q set which could introduce bias towards some statements being included and not others. However many studies like the studies in this thesis use respondents who are typical of the profile of the P Set to assist in ensuring that the Q set is reflective of the concourse, to suggest additional items and to provide feedback as to whether it is practical and whether it makes sense from their own perspectives (Shinebourne & Adam, 2007). Furthermore, many studies use experts or academics when more technical topics are being investigated.

An additional consideration is the importance of the pilot studies that are conducted before the Q set is finalized. In this thesis, two pilot studies were conducted in developing the Q set for understanding the subjective experiences of female leaders and male leaders. These Q sets were then piloted with male leaders and female leaders. Based on their recommendations, items were refined, omitted, or new items were added. It is also important for a researcher to employ a reflexive stance in all stages of a QM study. One way to do this during the selection of the statements phase is by making a deliberate attempt to think carefully about why the researcher includes and exclude some statements over other statements (Skorpen et al, 2014).

Bias can also be introduced through researcher interpretation of the factor arrays which may impose the meanings and perspectives of the researcher rather than the implied meanings and perspectives of the participants. Kitinger (1999) suggests that researchers use the original Q sorters to assist with interpreting the factor arrays. However, Billard (1999) found that this strategy may be cumbersome because often the participants may not have

the experience needed to interpret which is a skill that the researcher has. Kampen and Tamas (2013) argue that a limitation of QM studies is that there is no way of assembling and verifying the completeness of a concourse and therefore it is difficult to validate the Q set and challenge the representativeness of the sample drawn from the concourse. The sorting process can be quite time consuming leading to respondent fatigue. Some researchers have found that the sorting process can take up to an hour to complete the Q sort and the post sort interview (Westbrook et al, 2003).

Some researchers have argued that it would be better to combine QM with other methods such as thematic analysis to provide analyses with more depth and substance (Lazard, Capdevila & Roberts, 2011) as the analysis is confined to the items that were contained in the Q set. Another limitation of QM is that the results cannot be generalizable to populations beyond the sample due to the purposive sampling methods used. However, whilst QM is interested in understanding the subjectivity that exists about a particular topic, it makes no claims that it reflects all subjectivity that exists. Finally, the use of purposive sampling can sometimes be criticized, however many researchers such as Bryant et al. (2006) have found its flexibility to be useful. For example, in their study an analysis of Q sorts obtained during a first round of recruitment suggested that certain perspectives related to ethnic and religious diversity had been omitted and so they embarked on a second purposive sampling phase to cover these perspectives.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

The research was approved by the University of the Witwatersrand Ethics Committee. Participants were not coerced to participate in the study if they felt uncomfortable with doing so. None of the participants received any monetary payment for participating in the study. Consent was obtained from all participants, who were fully informed of the purpose and intentions of the research. They were assured that all information obtained was going to be kept strictly confidential. They were also told that they could withdraw from the study at any time if they felt uncomfortable with answering the questions, or if they found the questions too intrusive.

Given the sensitive nature of the topic, throughout the interview process the researcher demonstrated sensitivity in terms of the different viewpoints that emerged and for

the well-being of the participant, specifically in terms of not passing judgement or expressing an opinion on their sorts or interview answers. Furthermore, the researcher was sensitive to the possibility that having female leaders complete certain tasks such as viewing a video that portrayed negative representations of them would impact their emotional well-being and therefore attempted to create a positive interview atmosphere.

The research was also sensitive to potential privacy concerns. In the collection of data, participants had the option of electronically submitting their final sorts under an anonymous name. Furthermore, from a data analysis perspective, participant's data was secured through the use of numeric number descriptions in the data analysis and data outputs. For example, John Smith's data was presented as MLP1234 so as to avoid privacy issues. Finally, the research was conducted with due professionalism and competence.

4.9 Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate that QM is well-positioned to deliver on the objectives of this thesis. To summarize, QM provides the procedures, tools and practices that allowed for the democratization of research in this thesis, allowing participants to own their subjectivity. Furthermore, it ensured that participants were not positioned as the effect to be explained. It also enabled participants to be actively engaged with the research rather than being forced to be passive recipients of a research intervention. As subsequent chapters will demonstrate, QM allowed for the understanding of multiple, competing representations of female leaders. It surfaced both the dominant accounts and those accounts that were sensitive that would not have ordinarily been voiced had traditional questionnaires been used.

CHAPTER FIVE

The subjective experience of being a woman leader

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the background, objective, methods and findings of the first study are discussed. This study explored the subjective group-based experience of women who identified as belonging to the category female leader. SIT posits that when the group self is activated, people will strive for a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, research suggests that female leader social identities are coloured by negative gender stereotypes and negative gender expectations (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Ellemers, 2018; Hoyt, 2010). Furthermore, Ridgeway and Correll (2004) argue that gender status beliefs actually reflect society's *consensual beliefs* that shape gender equality. This implies that even though female leaders may strive for a positive social identity, they may be constrained by their own self-perceptions due to the unconscious acceptance of these consensual beliefs. For example, empirical data suggests that women with high gender identification tend to perform worse than women with low gender identification in domains where there is a negative stereotype against their gender (Schmader, 2002; 2010). This effect is only mitigated when they are provided with information about their own individual contribution to the success of the outcome, or their negative performance expectations of themselves are superseded (Haynes & Heilman, 2013; Heilman, Manzi, & Braun, 2015).

Recently, Rast et al (2018) called for more research into the experiences of leaders that come from minority backgrounds. Currently, there are limited studies within social psychology that explicitly explore how women think of their own identities as leaders. However, Sorrentino and Augoustinos's (2016) study is noteworthy. These researchers investigated the transcripts of interviews given by Australia's first female Prime Minister, Julia Gillard to the media. They found that Gillard responded by orienting away from her gender in response to the media's constant reference to her gender. Furthermore, Gillard actively avoided appearing ambitious, an agentic attribute associated with backlash. Instead she reframed her ambition, positioning herself as a servant leader in service to her country. On the basis of this, it can be argued that female leaders have to resort to *strategic social identity management* in order to avoid negative penalties associated with being a woman in a leadership role. However, it can be argued that Gillard's strategy is more likely to aid her own individual mobility efforts, rather than create broader social change for women as a collective. Gillard is in a position to refute gendered stereotypes regarding women's perceived lack of agency required for leadership roles. However, by playing down her

gender identity and hiding her agentic skills, she potentially serves to reinforce perceptions that the female gender role is incongruent with the leader role. Subasic et al (2012) argue social change can only be instigated when individuals perceive themselves as members of a collective that occupies an illegitimate position relative to other groups and believe in the social power of their group in changing this position. Thus, it is important to understand the subjective group-based experiences of women leaders to critically examine the conditions under which social change might be possible for women leaders as a collective.

Thus, the aim of this first study is to understand how female leaders represent their social identity with particular focus on the barriers to, and possibilities for social change for female leaders as a collective.

5.2 Method

In order to understand the subjective group-based experiences of women leaders, a methodological approach was needed that would provide a dynamic and holistic understanding of the nature of this experience. Tajfel (1978c) believed that group membership should be understood in the context of the subjectivity displayed by the group members involved. This implies that the methodology used should be sensitive to the dynamic nature of social identity construction. Hence, QM is an ideal methodology to surface the subjectivity that makes up the group-based experience of female leaders. An in-depth discussion on the methodology has already been provided so, the study procedures presented here and in the subsequent chapters, will be succinct.

5.2.1. Participants

In this study, purposive sampling methods were used to firstly select information rich cases of female leaders living in Finland, South Africa and the United Kingdom that were employed in a large international company. These individuals then provided the names of other female leaders who worked outside their company, but who they thought would also provide an interesting perspective. I was interested in recruiting for diversity of opinion and perspectives and therefore this purposive approach to recruiting is permissible within QM and has been utilized extensively for QM studies (Eccleston et al., 1997). Ninety-six female leaders were contacted via email, and in the end 42 female leaders participated with women leaders coming from a variety of sectors including technology, academia and global

corporate companies. All the studies in this research uses Eagly and Carli's (2007) and Eagly and Antonakis's (2015) definition of a leader, that is, someone who exercises authority over other people by having to influence, motivate, organize and coordinate the work of others. In the organisational space, the participants occupied positions ranging from senior managers to directors. Whilst, those participants not working in corporate companies were owners of their own businesses or occupied senior positions in academia. The research for this study was conducted during 2014-2015. The characteristics of the sample are listed in Table 5.1 below. FLPoFL is the identifier for this study and will be used throughout this thesis to refer to this study (*FLPoFL - Female leader perceptions of female leader social identities*).

Table 5.1: Characteristics of Participant Sample or P Set (FLPoFL)

Age	18-25 : 6 26-35 : 20 36-45 : 12 46 – 55 :2 Over 56 : 1 Undisclosed : 1	Nationality	South African : 13 Finnish: 8 British : 4 Australian : 1 Malaysian : 1 Irish : 2 Taiwanese:1 Italian :1 Canadian : 1 Egyptian :1 German :1 American : 6 Indian : 2	Ethnicity	Black : 2 White : 22 Indian : 14 Coloured : 1 Hispanic : 1 Asian : 1 Native American: 1
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5.2.2. Procedures

The main procedures in a QM study involve constructing the concourse, building the final Q set and administering the Q sort. A detailed overview of the methodology has been provided in chapter four, hence, only pertinent methodological points relating to this study will be discussed here.

5.2.2.1. Constructing the concourse

The first step was to define the universe of discourse that surrounds female leaders in order to build the concourse. For this study, the concourse was the collection of statements reflecting the feelings, emotions, experiences and attitudes about a 'female leader'. The concourse for this study was obtained in the following manner. Firstly, a thorough search was conducted on News 24, Tech Crunch, Fortune, Forbes Women, CNN Money, New York Times, Washington Post, BBC, The Atlantic and Huffington Post for articles, videos and interviews relating/involving/written by/about female leaders between 2009 and 2014. Key words such as female leaders, female bosses, workplace diversity, women in power and derivatives of these words were used. Over 100 popular press and academic articles and 30 interview videos with female leaders (that were publicly available on the above sites) eventually formed part of the data corpus and eventual data set.

An in - depth thematic analysis of this material was conducted following the procedures outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). The broad questions that initially guided the coding were

- What are the current representations of female leaders?
- How do female leaders construct their leader identities?
- What identity politics are at play in the construction of female leader identities?
- How are female leader identities created, rejected, ascribed to or ignored?

Whilst the above questions very generally guided the coding in the first instance, an inductive approach was used in the thematic analysis. The data was read and re-read for themes relating to these research questions. However, they were still coded diversely without omitting any themes that were identified in previous studies in the organizational, social and feminist psychology literature. Therefore, some of the themes also expanded on themes that have come up in the past. The final themes were reviewed for internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity which Patton (1990) suggests for judging categories. The thematic analysis identified 28 themes. Three - five statements that encapsulated these themes were included in the concourse which resulted in 118 statements.

5.2.2.2. Constructing the final Q set

The 118 statements were clustered into the 28 themes. These themes were examined by two female leaders and one male leader. They first identified the most important themes and then examined the individual statements accompanying each theme

for clarity and face validity (i.e. they were instructed to check if the individual items were representative of one of the 28 themes and to ensure that it was meaningful to them and the eventual respondents). Based on their recommendations, the statements were refined and 58 statements were discarded on the basis that they were repetitious, ambiguous and in some cases potentially insensitive to the respondents. These 60 statements were then entered into an online Q sort program called Q-Assessor. The 60 item online Q set was then piloted with one male leader and one female leader who were asked to give feedback on statements that were irrelevant, ambiguous, overlapping or which needed to be discarded. On the basis of their feedback, a further 20 statements were discarded.

The Q set was piloted with five male leaders and five female leaders to test that the electronic Q sort was simple, easy and intuitive for potential respondents. In addition, male leaders were included throughout the process of constructing the Q set, validating and piloting the Q set because this same Q set was going to be used in a separate independent study at a later date with male leaders. A Q set of between 40 and 80 statements is considered satisfactory in that it is large enough to capture the full diversity around a topic (Shinebourne, 2009; Shinebourne & Adams, 2007). Whilst a Q set can never be complete because there will always be innumerable points of view on a topic, it need only represent a condensation of the concourse as it is a participant's engagement with the Q set via the sorting process, where they impose their viewpoints via the set of statements, which provides meaning and interpretation (Watts & Stenner, 2005). The grid used in the sorting exercise for the final 40 statements followed a bell shaped normal distribution curve ranging from most agree (+4) to most disagree (-4). The grid allowed for two statements to be placed at the +4 and -4 poles, four statements to be placed at the +3 and -3 poles, five statements to be placed at the +2 and -2 poles, five statements to be placed at the +1 and -1 poles and eight statements to be placed in the neutral column.

5.2.2.3. Administration of the Q sort

Once respondents agreed via email to participate, they were sent a welcome email with a link to the study. On clicking through to the link, they entered a welcome page which introduced the study's objectives. This page further explained their rights in terms of participation and confidentiality and asked their permission for their data to be used. If participants wanted to proceed further they then went on to the next page where there were

presented with the first stage sorting instruction. Here they were randomly presented with the 40 statements one by one and were asked to read each statement, decide how they felt about it and then drag and drop it into a neutral, agree or disagree pile. This first sort was to ensure that they familiarized themselves with the statements. They were then taken to a second stage instruction page. Here they were asked to rank order the statements according to their level of agreement in terms of perceptions of female leaders, from the ones that they most disagreed with (-4) to the ones that they most agreed with (+4). This second stage sorting task took, on average, 15 minutes to complete. Once the sorting was completed, respondents were taken to the next page where they were asked to elaborate on the statements with which they most agreed (+4) and most disagreed (-4) and to provide some demographic criteria such as age, gender, category identifier (i.e. female leader, male leader, male subordinate of female leader etc.), nationality and ethnic group status.

5.2.3. Analysis

The raw data was exported from Q-assessor and then captured into PQMethod (PQM). Centroid analysis was chosen because of its *indeterminateness*. Centroid analysis does not offer one best solution which allows a researcher to employ multiple best options using abduction, a key principle of QM (Brown, 1980; Watts & Stenner, 2012). Forty Two completed Q sorts were captured in the data so initially seven factors were extracted, one factor for every six to eight respondents as per the guideline provided by Watts and Stenner (2012). As discussed in the methodology section, there are three methods used to determine how many factors to keep. The first is the Kaiser-Guttman criterion which states that only factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00 be extracted as eigenvalues less than 1.00 accounts for less study variance than a single Q sort. (Watts & Stenner, 2005). In this study, all seven factors had eigenvalues in excess of 1.00.

The second recommendation is to look at only those factors with two or more significant loadings following extraction (Watts & Stenner, 2012).

Significant factor loading = $2.58 \times (1/\sqrt{\text{no of items in the Q set}})$

$$= 2.58 \times (1/\sqrt{40})$$

$$= 2.58 \times 0.1581$$

$$= 0.4078 \text{ rounded up to } \pm 0.41$$

A look at the unrotated factor matrix indicated that three factors had two or more sorts that loaded significantly on the factor. The second method to determine how many factors to keep is Humphrey's rule which says that a factor is significant if the cross-product of its two highest loading regardless of the direction exceeds twice the standard error (Brown, 1980). The standard error (SE) for this study is calculated as follows.

$$SE = 1/(\text{Sqrt of the no of items in the Q set})$$

$$= 1/(\text{sqrt } 40)$$

$$= 1/6.3246$$

$$= 0.1581 \text{ rounded up to } 0.16$$

Only the first factor had a $SE > 0.32$ with three other factors having a SE greater than or equal to 0.16. Watts and Stenner (2012) have suggested that Humphrey's rule can be applied less stringently and a factor can be retained as long as the cross-product of its two highest loadings exceed the standard error. Applying the rule that a factor needed to have at least two significant loadings and that the cross-product of its two highest loadings should be greater than the standard error of the study, it was decided to retain only three factors.

Once this decision was made, PQM was re-run again using centroid analysis with only three factors extracted and rotated. Varimax rotation was utilized to maximize the statistical differences between factors. The forty-two Q sorts were inter-correlated and factor analysed, and three factors were extracted and rotated which explained 50% of the study variance. Thirty of the Q sorts loaded significantly on at least one factor, where the factor loading was ± 0.4078 or higher at $p < 0.01$. Seven sorts were confounded and five were insignificant. Table 5.2 below presents a summary of the characteristics of the final factors.

Table 5.2: Factor Characteristics of the Final Three Factor Solution (FLPofFL)

FACTOR A	FACTOR B	FACTOR C
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Significant loadings	13	8	9
% Variance explained	19	16	15
Eigenvalues	16.1	2.2	2.04
Composite reliability	0.981	0.970	0.973
S.E. of Factor scores	0.137	0.174	0.164
Average reliability coefficient	0.800	0.800	0.800

5.3. Results

A detailed overview of all three factor results will be presented. Each factor analysis will be preceded by a brief overview of the characteristics of the participants loading significantly onto each factor, as well as a brief summary of the factor before proceeding to a detailed analysis of the factor. A closer examination of the demographic characteristics of the respondents loading onto the factors indicated that demographics did not differentiate the perspectives that emerged. Whilst, these demographics are presented for every factor, they are provided for completeness only. In addition, the qualitative comments captured at the end of the Q sorting exercise did not provide any additional insight into the perspectives. Most of the comments were very brief with a number of respondents not providing any feedback. This is a limitation of electronic Q sorts which will be discussed in the limitations section at the end of the thesis. A detailed crib sheet is provided for each factor. Table 5.9. at the end of this chapter details the factor arrays for all three factors together with the distinguishing and consensus statements for each factor.

5.3.1. Factor A: Progressing on her own despite pervasive discrimination

Table 5.3: Demographic characteristics of participants loading onto Factor A (FLPofFL)

Age	18-25 : 1 26-35 : 7 36-45 : 3 46 – 55 :1 Over 56 : 1	Nationality	South African : 5 Finnish : 3 British : 3 Australian : 1 Malaysian : 1	Ethnicity	Black : 2 White : 5 Indian : 6
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Thirteen participants loaded significantly onto Factor A. Participant characteristics are detailed in Table 5.3. Seven of the thirteen participants were between the ages of 26-35 years, suggesting that they had achieved senior roles quite rapidly in their career. Five of the participants were South Africans and six of the participants were European. Furthermore, eight of the respondents were women of colour.

In summary the female leaders loading onto this factor believe they have made important personal sacrifices on their path to success as they acknowledge the existence of pervasive discrimination. These women leaders believe that females who aspire to leadership positions often have their careers disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them into the baby risk category. Furthermore, they believe that female leaders of colour face a double disadvantage due to their race and gender. Despite acknowledging the existence of pervasive discrimination, these women disagree with the notion that female leaders who have it made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed. They admire successful and powerful women for their tenacity in reaching the top which indicates that they admire individual mobility efforts. They seem to suggest that they engage in strategic identity management through their agreement that female leaders downplay elements of their female identity in order to be accepted by male leaders. The sum of this is their belief that women leaders should not accept things as they are, abiding by existing rules and expectations. These women believe that the better female leaders should not attempt to be like their male counterparts but should tap into their own unique qualities. Despite this, this factor believes that female leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than with females in general.

Table 5.4: Factor A crib sheet showing statements ranked relative to each other and relative to other factors

	DSL	Diff
Statements ranked +4		

18. Most female leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life in order to succeed (+4 0 0)	X	X
39. The better female leader's do not try to be like their male counterparts, but tap into their own unique leadership qualities (+4 +3 +2)		X
Statements ranked higher than the other factors		
6. Successful and powerful women are to be admired for their tenacity at reaching the topic ($\pm$) (+3 +2 +2)	X	X
20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by male leaders (+2 0 +1)		X
37. Female leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than females in general ($\pm$) (+1 0 -1)		
40. Females who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the 'baby risk' category (+2 0 +1)	X	X
10. Female leaders often isolate themselves from the people who work from them and come across as aloof and distant (-1 -4 -2)	X	X
16. Women make good leaders until they get other responsibilities like family responsibilities which then distracts them (-2 -3 -4)		
Statements ranked lower than the other factors		
5. Female Leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and better rational thinkers (0 +2 +1)	X	X
9. Women leaders often instigate other women to vote on issues based on sticking together as women rather than voting for the best option ($\pm$) (-3 -1 -2)	X	X
25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed (-1 +1 +3)	X	
28. Successful female leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together (+1 +4 +2)	X	X
33. In general female leaders have many doubts. They doubt what they have to say, doubt what they can handle and doubt their decisions. In the process they undermine their abilities (-2 0 0)	X	
34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers (0 +2 +4)		
36. Female leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than with females in general (-1 +1 +1)		
Statements ranked -4		
19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful (-4 -1 -3)	X	X
29. It is a good thing for female leaders to fit in and adhere to existing rules and expectations and not try and change things too much (-4 -2 -3)		
Statements on the distinguishing list but not in any of the other categories		
7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group (+2 -1 +3)	X	X
11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands (+1 +3 0)	X	
32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice etc. (+1 +3 -1)	X	X
	X	X

27. Females have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership (0 +2 -2)	X	X
4. Female leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering (0 -3 -2)		
38. In general, having women in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others (0 +2 0)	X	X
26. Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons women do not succeed as leaders (0 +2 0)	X	
12. Women leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way men do (0 -3 0)	X	

Note: the figures in parenthesis are the rankings of the statements for factors A, B and C in that order. DSL (distinguishing statements); Diff (all statements with Z scores one standard deviation from all the other factors); ($\pm$) refers to consensus statements

This factor provides an account of female leadership that is coloured by sacrifice ("S18. Most female leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life in order to succeed +4").

S14. The reason most women do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top (-1)

S4. Women who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky (-3)

They are aware that biases and stereotypes are impediments to their advancement. They are especially aware that women leaders of colour are placed in a difficult situation due to the biases against both their gender and their race group.

S23. Female leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing (+3)

S24. Female leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted (+2)

S7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group (+2)

S40. Females who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them into the 'baby risk' category (+3)

The participants loading onto this factor admire women who have fought these constraints and have made it to the top, believing that they are role models.

S6. Successful and powerful women are to be admired for their tenacity in reaching the top (+3)

S22. It's inspiring to see female leaders succeed against all odds, and in doing so they make powerful role models (+3)

There seems to be tension in the narrative of this factor. On the one hand, these women leaders believe that change is needed. They recognize that there are many impediments in front of women. However they do not seem engaged with the idea of collective change to benefit women as a collective.

S29. It is a good thing for female leaders to fit in and adhere to existing rules and expectations and not try and change things too much (-4)

S25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed (-1)

S37. Female leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than females in general (+1)

This is also seen in their neutral response to the statement (*"3S8. In general, having women in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others"*). These women leaders are also disengaged with women leaders as a collective (*"36. Female leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than with females in general -1"*). Their neutral responses when compared to the responses of the other factors on these items reinforce this.

S4. Female leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering (0)

S5. Female managers tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and rational thinkers (0)

The participants loading on Factor B and factor C disagreed with S4. Therefore the neutrality of participants loading onto Factor A on this statement could potentially be indicating cautious agreement. In the same way, both Factor B and Factor C agreed with S5, so the neutrality on S5 could also be cautious disagreement.

A potential reason for this disengagement could be due to these women being vanguards who progress on their own merit. Thus, they believe that other women should make it on their own.

S30. In general female leaders have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement as their experience and competence were not enough to guarantee their progression (-3)

S21. The most crucial thing for a woman to have if she is going to get to the top is a sponsor to look out for her (-1)

These women could have also experienced backlash in the past because they do not perceive their work environment as safe and are struggling with perceived social identity constraints and identity threats.

32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choices etc. (+1)

They endeavour to fit in with their male peers even at the expense of downplaying their gender identity.

S20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by male leaders (+2)

S15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know (+2)

Despite this, there is a clear tension between their fear of upsetting the balance and their beliefs that women leaders should differentiate themselves from male leaders

S19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful (-4)

S31. Women who are likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys (-2)

S39. The better female leaders do not try to be like their male counterparts but tap into their own unique leadership qualities (+4)

Their fear of potential backlash is likely to impede further career progression and advancement as they downplay their achievements

S17. Most women downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others (+1)

S34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers (0)

5.3.2 Factor B: Legitimizing the status quo

Table 5.5: Demographic characteristics of participants loading significantly on Factor B (FLPoFL study)

Age	18-25 : 1 26-35 : 3 36-45 : 3 44 – 56 :1	Nationality	South African : 2 Finnish : 3 German : 1 Irish : 1 India : 1	Ethnicity	White : 5 Indian : 3
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Eight participants loaded significantly onto this factor. Their demographic characteristics are detailed in Table 5.5. Five of the participants were White and three of the participants were Indian. Four of the participants were under the age of 36 and four of the participants were over the age of 36. Furthermore, five of the participants were European. Female leaders loading onto this factor believe that female leaders have a communal leadership advantage. This was demonstrated through their perceptions that female leaders have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership and that female leaders have strong communal strengths. Thus, it is not surprising that they perceive that having females in leadership positions is beneficial for others as women leaders actively promote the welfare of others, a stereotypically communal characteristic ascribed to females. However, these female leaders deny the existence of pervasive discrimination. Specifically, these female leaders are neutral about stereotypes and biases impeding women, about the existence of the exclusionary old boy network, about the existence of a motherhood penalty and about female leaders having to downplay their female identity in order to be accepted by male leaders. Furthermore, they disagree that female leaders of colour are disadvantaged by their race and gender. Thus, they do not believe that female leaders of colour have to work harder to be accepted.

Table 5.6: Factor B Crib sheet showing statements ranked relative to each other and relative to other factors

	DSL	Diff
Statements ranked +4		
22. It's inspiring to see female leaders succeed against all odds and in doing so they make powerful role models (+3 +4 +2)		
28. Successful female leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together (+1 +4 +2)	X	X
Statements ranked higher than the other factors		
2. Female leaders often display counter-stereotypical behaviours so that people don't stereotype them as similar to other females in general ($\pm$) (0 +1 0)		X
5. Female Leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and better rational thinkers (0 +2 +1)		
9. Women leaders often instigate other women to vote on issues based on sticking together as women rather than voting for the best option ($\pm$) (-3 -1 -2)	X	X
11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands (+1 +3 0)	X	X
13. A female leader's failure is indicative that she doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility (-3 -2 -4)	X	X
19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful (-4 -1 -3)	X	X
26. Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons women do not succeed as leaders (0 +1 -3)	X	X
27. Females have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership (0 +2 -2)	X	
31. Women who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys (-2 0 +1)	X	
32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice etc (+1 +3 -1)		
38. In general, having women in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others (0 +2 0)		
Statements ranked lower than the other factors		
4. Female leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering (0 -3 -2)	X	X
7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group (+2 -1 +3)		X
12. Women leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way men do (0 -3 0)		X
15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know (+2 0 +3)	X	X
20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by male leaders (+2 0 +1)		X
23. Female leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing (+3 0 +3)	X	X

24. Female leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted (+2 -2 +2)	X	X
40. Females who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the 'baby risk' category (+2 0 +1)	X	X
Statements ranked -4		
8. Women who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky (-3 -4 -1)		X
10. Female leaders often isolate themselves from the people who work from them and come across as aloof and distant (-1 -4 -2)	X	X
Statements on the distinguishing list but not in any of the other categories		
34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers (0 +2 +4)	X	X
25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed (-1 +1 +3)	X	
29. It's a good thing for female leaders to fit in and adhere to existing rules and expectations and not try and change things too much (-4 -2 -3)	X	
1. Females on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other women face in an organisation (-2 -2 0)	X	

Note: the figures in parenthesis are the rankings of the statements for factors A, B and C in that order. DSL (distinguishing statements); Diff (all statements with Z scores one standard deviation from all the other factors); (±) refers to consensus statements

The participants loading onto Factor B sees women leaders as a distinct social group who are different to women as a collective. Furthermore, their gender identity is not at the forefront of the consciousness.

S36. Female leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than with females in general (+1)

S20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by male leaders (0)

S2. Female leaders often display counter-stereotypical behaviours so that other people don't stereotype them as similar to other women in general (+1)

Both Factor A (+2) and Factor C (+1) agreed with S20.

These female leaders explicitly indicate that differences between male and female leaders should be celebrated, and that women should not adopt masculinized behaviours. However, they seem to tentatively agree that women who are likely to succeed are the ones

that act like one of the guys. This can be abducted when contextualising their neutrality on S31 against the disagreement conveyed by Factor A (-2) and Factor C (-1) on S31.

S35. Differences between men and women's leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success (+3)

S19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful (-2)

S31. Women who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys (0)

The women leaders comprising this factor perceive women leaders to have a communal leadership advantage.

S5. Female leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and better rational thinkers (+2)

S11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands (+3)

There is a strong belief in the efficacy of women leaders (*"S28. Successful female leaders have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together +4"*) with the belief that females are instinctively better leaders (*"S27. Females have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership +2"*) and that they possess unique leadership qualities (*"S39. The better female leaders do not try to be like their male counterparts but tap into their own unique leadership qualities +3"*).

They are quite self-assured in their perceptions of positive group-based outcomes, unafraid of any considerations that their agentic behaviour may be perceived negatively

S39. The better female leaders do not attempt to be like their male counterparts but tap into their own unique leadership capabilities (+3)

S34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers (+1)

S6. Successful and powerful women are to be admired for their tenacity at reaching the top (+2)

S29. It is a good thing for female leaders to fit in and adhere to existing rules and expectations and not try and change things too much (-2).

S12. Women leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way men do (-3)

In fact, they believe women in general thwart themselves by not being confident in their own ability (*"S26. Lack of confidence and/or ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some reasons that women do not succeed as leaders +1"*) and that representational concerns driven by fear prevent women from putting themselves forward

S17. Most women downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others (+1)

S32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choices (+3)

They do not perceive themselves as being of the same mould as women in general (*"S34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers +1"*). Interestingly, whilst they are unafraid of displaying agency, they endeavour to show that they have communal characteristics such as *warmth* (*"S10. Female leaders often isolate themselves from people who work for them and come across as aloof and distant -4"*) not wanting to appear ruthless and power seeking (*"S4. Female leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering -3"*).

Participants loading onto this factor believe that having women in leadership positions improves the welfare of others.

S38. In general, having women in leadership positions is very beneficial to others as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others (+2)

S1. Females on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other women face in an organisation (-2)

S25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed (+1)

However, these women leaders do not believe that women should have sponsors to look out for them (*"S21. The most crucial thing for a woman to have if she is going to get to the top is*

a sponsor to look out for her -1"). This could be due to their perception that the women leaders who have been successful have done so through their own experience and competence ("S30. In general females have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement as their experience and competence were not enough to guarantee their progression -3"). Based on their own experience, it would seem that they displayed personal agency and drive and so they probably expect other women to do the same

S14. The reason most women do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top (-1)

S16. Women make good leaders until they get other responsibilities like family responsibilities which then distracts them (-3)

This factor is distinguished by their denial of the existence of pervasive discrimination. They disagree that stereotypes and biases constrain women and do not acknowledge the sacrifices made by women.

S7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group (-1)

S24. Female leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted (-3)

S40. Females who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them into the 'baby risk' category (0)

S18. Most female leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life in order to succeed (0)

Whilst participants comprising Factor A (+3) and Factor C (+3) agreed with the S23. *Female leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing*, Factor B's neutrality (0) actually tends to imply possible disagreement with this statement. The female leaders who loaded onto this factor do not perceive any subjective group-based injustice concerns. Whilst participants on Factor A (+2) and Factor C (+3) agreed with the statement (*"The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know.* Factor B ranked this item 0. In light of their responses on the above item, this actually suggests that Factor B disagrees with this statement.

5.3.3 Factor C: The promise of hope

Table 5.7: Demographic characteristics of participants significantly loading on Factor C (FLPofFL study)

Age	18-25 : 1 26-35 : 5 36-45 : 3	Nationality	South African : 2 Finnish : 1 American : 4 India : 1 British : 1	Ethnicity	White : 5 Indian : 2 Hispanic : 1 Coloured : 1
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Nine participants loaded significantly onto this factor. Their demographic characteristics are detailed in Table 5.7. One participant was aged between 18-25 years, and was an entrepreneur, running a business. Five participants were aged between the age of 26-35 years and three of the participants were aged between 36-45 years. The participants had diverse nationalities with four being American, one being Indian, one being Finnish, one being British and two being South Africans. Furthermore, five of the respondents were White, two were Indian, one was Hispanic and one was Coloured. The female leaders who loaded onto this factor see female leaders as a social category distinct from that of male leaders and distinct from that of their gender group. Furthermore, the women on this factor demonstrate strong agency. Compared to Factor A and Factor B, the women on this factor also demonstrate decreased communality. The women on this factor are also differentiated from Factor A and Factor B, by their greater support of initiatives aimed at helping other women succeed. This is evident in their agreement that female leaders have a duty to help other women succeed, and that sponsors are necessary for women to progress. This could be due to their perception that discrimination is pervasive and that women with intersecting identities are discriminated against in multiple ways.

Table 5.8: Factor C Crib sheet showing ranking of statements relative to each other and relative to other factors

	DSL	Diff
Statements ranked +4 34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers (0 +2 +4) 35. Differences between men and women leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success ($\pm$) (+3 +3 +4)	X	X
Statements ranked higher than the other factors 1. Females on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other women face in an organisation (-2 -2 0) 7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group (+2 -1 +3) 8. Women who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky (-3 -4 -1) 15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know (+2 0 +3) 21. the most crucial thing for a woman to have if she is going to get to the top is a sponsor to look out for her (-1 -1 +1) 25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed (-1 +1 +3) 30. In general females leaders have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement as their experience and competence were not enough to guarantee their progression (-3 -3 -1)	X X X X X X X	X X X X X X
Statements ranked lower than the other factors 11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands (+1 +3 0) 14. The reason most women do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top (-1 -1 -3) 26. Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons women do not succeed as leaders (0 +1 -3) 17. Most women downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others ($\pm$) (+1 +1 0) 27. Females have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership (0 +2 -2) 32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice etc. (+1 +3 -1) 37. Female leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than females in general ($\pm$) (+1 0 -1)	X X X X X	X X X X X
Statements ranked -4 13. A female leader's failure is indicative that she doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility (-3 -2 -4) 16. Women make good leaders until they get other responsibilities like family responsibilities which then distracts them (-2 -3 -4)		

Statements on the distinguishing list but not in any of the other categories		
28. Successful female leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together (+1 +4 +2)	X	
22. it's inspiring to see female leaders succeed against all odds and in doing so they make powerful role models (+3 +4 +2)	X	X
39. The better female leader's do not try to be like their male counterparts, but tap into their own unique leadership qualities (+4 +3 +2)	X	
38. In general, having women in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others (0 +2 0)	X	
20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by male leaders (+2 0 -1)	X	X
12. Women leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way men do (0 -3 0)	X	
10. Female leaders often isolate themselves from the people who work from them and come across as aloof and distant (-1 -4 -2)		

Note: the figures in parenthesis are the rankings of the statements for factors A, B and C in that order. DSL (distinguishing statements); Diff (all statements with Z scores one standard deviation from all the other factors); (±) refers to consensus statements

Female leaders loading onto this factor have strong group efficacy beliefs and identify themselves as a distinct social group distinct to their gender group but also distinct to other male leaders.

S28. Successful female leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together (+2)

S36. Female leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than with females in general (+1)

S37. Female leaders have more in common with other male leaders than females in general (-1)

They do not want to imitate the behaviours of their male counterparts ("S39. *The better female leaders do not try to be like their male counterparts, but tap into their own unique leadership qualities +2*") and believe in charting their own way ("S35. *Differences in men and women's leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success +4*").

Unlike the participants on Factor B, who portrayed women as having a communal leadership advantage, participants on Factor C do not believe that women are intuitive leaders ("S27. *Females have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership -2*") or

that they have communal strengths (*S11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands 0*”).

Furthermore, the women leaders on Factor C display increased agency compared to Factor A and Factor B

S34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers (+4)

S29. It is a good thing for female leaders to fit in and adhere to existing rules and expectations and not try and change things too much (-3)

Furthermore, whilst both *Factor A* (+1) and *Factor B* (+1) agreed with S17 (*“S17. Most women downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others”*), *Factor C* ranked this statement 0 which possibly indicates the factor’s disagreement with the statement. Thee female leaders seem unafraid of drawing negative attention towards themselves.

S37. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention; fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choices etc (-1).

S26. Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons women do not succeed as leaders (-3).

They do not believe that failure is indicative that they are not right for a *role* (*“S13. A female leader’s failure is indicative that she doesn’t belong in that role or shouldn’t be given that responsibility -4”*).

Whilst they acknowledge that their female identity could stand in the way of being respected by male peers, they do not feel compelled to adopt perceived masculinized behaviours.

S20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by male leaders (+1).

S19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful (-3).

They are aware of their disadvantaged status and of the pervasive discrimination that impedes women from progressing.

S23. Female leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing (+3).

S40. Females who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the 'baby risk' category (+1).

S15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know (+3).

S14. The reason most women do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top (-3)

Furthermore, they are acutely aware of the stereotypes that impede those with multiple sub-identities

S7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group (+3)

S24. Female leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted (+2)

These women leaders believe that female leaders should help other women succeed and they are supportive of female leaders getting sponsors.

S25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed (+3).

S21. The most crucial thing for a woman to have if she is to get to the top is a sponsor to look out for her (+1).

Finally, these female leaders may believe that female leaders as a collective are not doing enough to address the struggles faced by other women. This was the only factor that ranked statement one neutrally. Both, Factor A (-2) and Factor B (-2) disagreed with this statement.

S1. Females on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other women face in an organisation (0)

5.4. Discussion

The objective of this first study was to understand the meaning and content of a female leader social identity as constructed by female leaders themselves. A key proposition

was that that the subjective experience of being a female leader is likely to differ resulting in more than one representation of a female leader social identity. The results of this study provide support for this proposition. Specifically, three distinct representations of female leader social identity emerged. The first account displayed by Factor A, *“Progressing on her own despite pervasive discrimination”* constructs a story of individual drive and determination despite the existence of structural barriers, such as exclusionary old boy networks and social psychological barriers, such as stereotypes and biases arising from intersectional identities. The second account provided by Factor B, *“Legitimizing the status quo”* produces a strong communal portrait of a female leader who ignores the pervasive discrimination that impedes both her gender and female leader group. The final account provided by Factor C, *“The promise of hope”* creates a picture of female leaders who display strong group efficacy beliefs, and who feel the injustice dealt to their group as a result of pervasive discrimination.

5.5.1 Factor A Discussion: Progressing on her own despite pervasive discrimination

This representation of female leader social identity, positions female leaders as individuals, who have progressed on their own merit through sheer tenacity despite the odds stacked against them. Eagly (2016; 2018) propose that due to the numerical minority of female leaders in leader roles, they are perceived as outsiders by male leaders. This means that they do not receive any benefits associated with ingroup favouritism. Hence, they would need to make it on their own. Research shows that their individual mobility reduces their concern for their disadvantaged group. For example, Chipeaux et al (2017) provided empirical data to show that the mere anticipation of social mobility causes people to deny collective discrimination and display less interest in collective action. The female leaders on this factor did not deny the existence of pervasive discrimination. In fact, the female leaders on this factor are aware that multiple intersecting identities such as race, age and/or motherhood interact with structural factors such as exclusionary male networks to impede their success.

In light of their acknowledgment of pervasive discrimination, it is noteworthy that they do not support ingroup initiatives such as sponsors to look out for women. Furthermore, they do not believe that female leaders should help other women succeed. This lack of ingroup favouritism could be due to multiple reasons. Recent research demonstrates that ingroup favouritism is only likely to occur when the norms of a relevant domain or group supports it (Iacoviello, Lorenzi-Cioldi, & Kulich, 2018). The perception of pervasive discrimination suggests that these women could potentially be working in environments with *masculinity*

contest cultures (Berdahl, et al, 2018; Glick et al, 2018). Recent research has indicated that these cultures are likely to value individualistic norms such as autonomy and independence (Brannon et al, 2018; Kuchnyka et al, 2018). It may be that the female leaders on this factor do not display ingroup favouritism as this is likely to violate MCC norms of their work environments.

An alternative explanation for this lack of ingroup favouritism could be that due to their own individual mobility experience, they believe boundaries between groups are permeable when individual merit warrants it. In this way, they perceive that whilst discrimination is pervasive, it is also legitimate. Therefore, they may also believe that, other women who show merit and put in the sacrifices are likely to succeed hence they do not need any ingroup help. This is supported by Hersby, Jetten, Ryan and Schmitt (2011) who found that perceiving pervasive discrimination as legitimate lowers group commitment and reduces willingness to help other ingroup members.

Female leaders on this factor oriented away from their gender category to be accepted by their male peers. They do this by hiding their gender identity and by espousing more commonality with male leaders than with their gender group. This effect has been reliably demonstrated in research on the Queen-Bee phenomenon, demonstrating that senior women with low gender identification, tend to self-group distance in response to perceived social identity threats (Derks et al, 2016). Like Julia Gillard, the women leaders on this factor tried to manage their gender identity to avoid *backlash effects*, economic and social penalties associated with violating perceived gender stereotypes. Rudman et al's (2012) *Backlash and Stereotype Maintenance Model* argues that backlash effects reinforce stereotypes by ensuring that the targets of stereotypes engage in defensive behaviour that proves that they are not violating stereotypes, and in doing so, allow stereotypes to go unchallenged. Several studies have provided similar results to those displayed by the women on this factor. Women respond to the gender identity-dilemma posed by their occupation of the masculine-typed roles by either disproving group-based expectations or claiming the possession of more masculine (and less feminine traits) or by rejecting those who reject them (Cihangir et al, 2013). Some like Julia Gillard reframe their ambition to make it less agentic and more communal to manage the risk associated with violating gender prescriptions (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010; Sorrentino & Augoustinos, 2016).

In sum, even though the women leaders on this factor believed that women leaders should not attempt to fit within existing rules, it can be argued that their behaviour in leader roles undermines the potential for social change due to their lack of ingroup favouritism, self-group distancing and display of individual mobility beliefs.

5.4.2. Factor B: Legitimizing the status quo

The female leaders on this factor were distinguished from Factor A and Factor C by their belief that female leaders had a leadership advantage due to their communal strengths such as promoting the welfare of others, being collaborative, getting people to cooperate and work together etc. It is noteworthy that these female leaders believe that enacting communal behaviours in a stereotypically male-typed leader role gives them a leadership advantage. One of the implications is that they are more likely to be fulfilled in their roles because their social identity as female leader is aligned to their communal values. For example, studies in STEM have demonstrated that perceiving congruity between internalized communal values and masculine-typed domains like STEM is associated with higher career interest, more implicit attitudes, and stronger implicit identification with the domain (Diekmann et al, 2018). Perceiving symmetry between one's work identity and one's gender identity is likely to be beneficial to these women, decreasing the likelihood of them opting out of their careers. Prior research demonstrates that women who perceive greater *internal identity asymmetry* are likely to opt out of their careers should they not resolve this tension. (Meister et al, 2014; Zheng et al, 2017). From a social change perspective, these women could serve as role models to other women who also endorse communal goals. Seeing these female leaders enact communal behaviours and still be successful could promote more positive implicit attitudes and stronger identification among women who aspire to leadership. The positive impact of communal role models in masculine-typed domains has been demonstrated in several studies (Fuesting et al, 2017; Stout et al, 2011).

It was also noteworthy that these female leaders do not acknowledge the existence of discrimination. Specifically, female leaders on this factor are neutral about stereotypes and biases impeding women, about the existence of the exclusionary old boy network, about the existence of a motherhood penalty and about female leaders having to downplay their female identity in order to be accepted by male leaders. Their stance is particularly noteworthy considering that both Factor A and Factor C believe that discrimination impedes women in multiple ways. Research demonstrates that the possession of multiple sub-group identities may lead to multiple disadvantages for females. For example, working mothers

face a *motherhood penalty*, where others perceive them as less competent, less committed and less worthy of organisational rewards (Bear & Glick, 2016; Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2005; Morgenroth et al, 2017). One explanation for the contrary finding of Factor B could be that these women have not faced discrimination themselves and therefore do not acknowledge it. This coupled with their relatively higher status, by virtue of occupying a leader role, could make them less aware of discrimination. For example, Radke, Hornsey and Barlow (2018) demonstrate that males as a high status group are less aware of gender inequality compared to females as a low status group.

The participants on this factor also disagreed that female leaders of colour are disadvantaged by their race and gender. From a race perspective, research has shown that women of colour face *intersectional invisibility* which makes it difficult for others to fit them into the descriptive and prescriptive expectations of their gender and race groups (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Research by Livingston et al (2012) demonstrates that Black female leaders do not fit neatly into either their race or gender category. Thus, one explanation for the finding that these female leaders do not see race as an impediment could be that they themselves do not see female leaders of colour as belonging to their constituent race group, but see them just as women leaders.

5.4.3. Factor C: The promise of hope

The female leaders loading onto Factor C construct a more agentic representation of social identity compared to Factor A and Factor B. They endorse risk taking, and claim that neither fear nor doubt nor lack of confidence impedes them. It is likely that these women do not fear backlash from upsetting the status or gender hierarchy. It is noteworthy that they manage to be agentic without endorsing masculinized behaviours. Whilst they do not endorse communality as much as Factor A and Factor B, they reject any notion that masculinized behaviours are something that women should adopt in order to be accepted. Furthermore, unlike Factor A, these women see female leaders as distinct to both male leaders and to their gender category. This supposition is somewhat limited by the fact that group identification measures were not explicitly measured in this study. However, it can be argued that highly identified female leaders with strong agency can drive policies aimed at addressing inequality. Furthermore, women in powerful positions who are not afraid of backlash, are more likely to challenge gender stereotypes and act as vanguards of social change (Rudman et al, 2012). Previous research indicates that perceptions of shared group membership builds trust and cooperation necessary for collective action (Reicher et al,

2005). Furthermore, highly identified group members who perceive discrimination to be illegitimate are more likely to embark on collective action than those who are less identified (Van Zomeren et al, 2008).

Another necessary ingredient for collective action is perceptions of subjective injustice, people need to feel that their group is being discriminated against. Female leaders who represent Factor C believed that females were being discriminated against on almost every measure including their race, gender, age, motherhood status. Furthermore, female leaders on Factor C demonstrated greater support for initiatives aimed at helping other women succeed. Appraisals of unfairness coupled with strong beliefs that one's group can achieve change by acting together as a collective positively predicts group efficacy (Van Zomeren et al, 2012). In sum, Factor C represents an account of female leader identity that possesses all the right ingredients to effect social change.

Table 5.9: Factor Q Sort Values for FLPofFL Study: This table provides the prototypical Q sort rankings (termed Q-SV), without the factor scores (termed Z-SCR).

*Distinguishing statements with significance at $p < .01$ are denoted with * in the factor column and consensus statements (those that do not distinguish between factors) are denoted with $\pm$ in the statement column.*

No of Statement	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
1. Females on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other women face in an organisation	-2	-2	0
2. Female leaders often display counter-stereotypical behaviours so that people don't stereotype them as similar to other females in general ($\pm$)	0	+1	0
3. Female leaders fear promoting other women as they fear that the other woman would be better than them ($\pm$)	-2	-2	-2
4. Female leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering	*0	-3	-2
5. Female Leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and better rational thinkers	*0	+2	+1
6. Successful and powerful women are to be admired for their tenacity at reaching the topic ($\pm$)	+3	+2	+2
7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group	*+2	*-1	*+3
8. Women who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky	-3	-4	*-1
9. Women leaders often instigate other women to vote on issues based on sticking together as women rather than voting for the best option ($\pm$)	-3	-1	-2
10. Female leaders often isolate themselves from the people who work from them and come across as aloof and distant	*-1	-4	-2
11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands	*+1	*+3	*0
12. Women leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way men do	*0	*-3	*0
13. A female leader's failure is indicative that she doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility	-3	*-2	-4
14. The reason most women do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top	-1	-1	*-3
15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know	+2	0	*3

No of Statement	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
16. Women make good leaders until they get other responsibilities like family responsibilities which then distracts them	*-2	-3	-4
17. Most women downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others (±)	+1	+1	0
18. Most female leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life in order to succeed	*+4	0	0
19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful	*-4	-1	-3
20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by male leaders	*+2	*0	*+1
21. the most crucial thing for a woman to have if she is going to get to the top is a sponsor to look out for her	-1	-1	*+1
22. it's inspiring to see female leaders succeed against all odds and in doing so they make powerful role models	+3	+4	+2
23. Female leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing	+3	*0	+3
24. Female leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted	+2	*-2	+2
25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed	*-1	*+1	*+3
26. Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons women do not succeed as leaders	*0	*+1	*-3
27. Females have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership	*0	*+2	*-2
28. Successful female leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together	*+1	*+4	*+2
29. It is a good thing for female leaders to fit in and adhere to existing rules and expectations and not try and change things too much	-4	-2	-3
30. In general females leaders have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement as their experience and competence were not enough to guarantee their progression	-3	-3	*-1
31. Women who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys	-2	0	-1
32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice etc.	+1	*3	-1

No of Statement	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
33. In general female leaders have many doubts. They doubt what they have to say, doubt what they can handle and doubt their decisions. In the process they undermine their abilities.	-2	0	0
34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers	*0	*+2	*+4
35. Differences between men and women leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success ($\pm$)	+3	+3	+4
36. Female leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than with females in general	-1	+1	+1
37. Female leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than females in general ($\pm$)	+1	0	-1
38. In general, having women in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others	0	+2	0
39. The better female leader's do not try to be like their male counterparts, but tap into their own unique leadership qualities	+4	+3	*+2
40. Females who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the 'baby risk' category	+2	*0	+1

CHAPTER SIX

My Identity in the Intergroup Context

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored the similarities and differences in the construction of female leader and male leader identities by male leaders. The aim of this chapter is to interrogate the commonalities and differences in the constructions of female leader and male leader identities by female leaders themselves. This will build on our understanding of the subjective experiences of female leaders by exploring the accounts that were left unsaid in the study detailed in chapter five. A critical examination of female leader social identities would need to be sensitive to the contested nature of female leader identities as well as the omnipresent gender frame. Hegarty (2006) believes that “psychologists have a responsibility to report gender similarities and differences as accurately as possible” (p. 386), so as to not perpetuate ‘*beta bias*’ where women are ignored and ‘*alpha bias*’ where gender differences are exaggerated.

Thus, in this intergroup analysis it was necessary to understand the *perspectival* nature of the female leader social category. Abele, Bruckmuller, and Wojciszke (2015) demonstrated this effect in their study investigating communion and agency. They found that taking the positions of either actor or observer changed perceptions of the extent of self and other rated agency and communion. Specifically, observers tend to rate actors as higher in communion while actors tend to rate themselves higher in agency. Gillespie, Howarth, and Cornish (2012), argue that categorization or the process of assigning people to categories, is always taken from a “social position, a historical way of seeing and particular interests” (p.392). Thus, it is important to understand the differences in the perceptions of female leaders as they enact the role of *actors* (make ingroup observations) and *observers* (make outgroup observations) in social interactions (Gillespie et al., 2012).

One significant limitation of the research literature with female leaders as the target is that it positions women as the “effect to be explained”. Most research focuses on the outcomes of being a female leader trying to find reasons as to why female leaders are the target of stereotypes and biases and why female leaders experience glass cliff effects or display Queen Bee effects. Apart from perpetuating stereotypes and biases, the effect of

positioning female leaders as the “effect to be explained” communicates that their group is less valuable, or more problematic in some manner. In doing so, it positions the asymmetrical privilege and status of male leader groups as legitimate and unchallengeable. Several studies have found that positioning one group as the norm and the other group as the group whose differences from the norm need to be explained affects the self-esteem of the group members who are in the non-normative group and also positions the normative group as more powerful and higher in status (Bruckmuller, 2013; Bruckmuller & Abel, 2010).

In sum, it is argued that a richer level of insight is gained when we see how social identities are constructed by ingroup members vis-a-vis the social identities that they create of relevant outgroups. In addition, in designing and interpreting this research it was important female leaders do not become the “effect to be explained”. The main objective of this analysis is to understand how female leaders construct the social identity of male leaders and to use these representations to compare and contrast it with the representations of social identity made by female leaders in chapter five.

6.2. Method

As described in chapter five, 42 female leaders completed an online QM study that was aimed at understanding the subjective experience of female leaders during 2014-2015 (FLPoFL). Thereafter, in a separate study during 2014-2015, 15 female leaders completed an online QM study that was designed to understand female leader's perceptions of male leaders. This later study will be referred to as the FLPofML study. The two studies were identical in all respects except for the gender framing of statements in the two studies. In the FLPofFL study, all statements were gendered female and in the FLPofML study, all statements were gendered male. A succinct summary of the procedures and participants for the FLPofML study will be presented below. For more detail regarding the procedures and participants on the FLPofFL study, please refer to chapter five.

6.2.1. Procedures

6.2.1. Concourse and Q set

The first objective of this thesis was to understand the subjective representations of female leaders. To meet this objective, an exhaustive concourse aimed at capturing the full breadth of diversity and subjectivity around the representations of female leaders, was

developed using 100 articles from academic journals and the popular press and 30 publicly available videos published online during the period 2009-2014. Extensive piloting with both male leaders and female leaders resulted in a final 40 item Q set that was then used to elicit perceptions of female leaders (discussed in chapter five). The same Q –set was also used in a separate study with a male leader sample to understand their representations of female leaders. Those results have been presented in chapter seven. The grid used in the sorting exercise for the 40 statements followed a bell shaped normal distribution curve ranging from most agree (+4) to most disagree (-4). The grid allowed for two statements to be placed at the +4 and -4 poles, four statements to be placed at the +3 and -3 poles, five statements to be placed at the +2 and -2 poles, five statements to be placed at the +1 and -1 poles and eight statements to be placed in the neutral column.

However, a secondary objective of this thesis was to understand how male leaders and female leaders perceive their own ingroup relative to how they perceive the outgroup in an intergroup context. Therefore, a third study was developed where the items in the Q set used in the FLPofFL study were reverse gendered and administered via an online Q sort using the Q-assessor program, to both male leaders (MLPofML study) and female leaders to understand how they represented the identities of male leaders (FLPofML study). It should be noted that the reverse gendered items were piloted with two male leaders and one female leader to ensure that the reverse gendering was logical. Based on their feedback, only one item was changed. This was statement S40, which in the female leader perception studies read “Female leaders who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the ‘baby risk’ category.” Based on feedback from the pilot, for the male leader perception studies it was rewritten to read “Male leaders who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them into the ‘family responsibility risk’ category”.

The aim of this chapter is to critically compare and contrast the representations made by female leaders, of their own and male leader identities. As mentioned, the procedure, participants and analysis for the FLPofFL study are already detailed in chapter five. Therefore in this section, I will only detail the procedures used in the FLPofML study. However, as this is a comparative analysis, I will illustrate relevant tables and figures from chapter five again where needed.

6.2.2. Participants

For this study (FLPofML), purposive sampling methods were once again used to identify female leaders living in South Africa, Finland and the United Kingdom employed at a large global technology firm. As in the FLPofFL study, this the study used Eagly and Carli's (2007) and Eagly and Antonakis's (2015) definition of a leader, that is, someone who exercises authority over other people by having to influence, motivate, organize and coordinate the work of others. Twenty-nine potential participants were identified due to them occupying senior manager or director level roles but only 15 of them finally participated in this study. It has already been mentioned that large, randomly selected individuals are not necessary for Q-methodological studies as the objective is on achieving breadth and diversity of perspective and not on achieving statistical power (Kitzinger & Stainton, Rogers, 1985). Several of the female leaders who participated in the FLPofFL study also participated in this FLPofML study with the research conducted in 2015. Table 6.1. provides an overview of the P Set characteristics.

Table 6.1. Characteristics of the P Set (FLPofML)

Age	26-35 : (5) 36-45 : (9) 46 –55 : (1)	Nationality	Finnish : (7) China : (1) South African : (3) British : (1) Malaysian : (1) New Zealand : (1)	Ethnicity	White : (10) Indian : (2) Asian : (3)
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6.2.3. Analysis

The raw data from the 15 Q sorts was exported into PQMethod. The 15 sorts were inter-correlated and factor analysed using centroid analysis with varimax solution, the preferred analytical strategy for all Q sort analyses throughout this thesis. Two factors were extracted and rotated which together accounted for 44% of the study variance which according to Watts and Stenner (2012) is respectable. Eleven Q sorts loaded significantly onto at least one factor, where the factor loading was +/-0.4078 at $p < 0.01$. Three Q sorts were confounded and one Q sort was found to be insignificant. Table 6.2. below details the factor characteristics of the final two factor solution.

Table 6.2: Factor Characteristics of Final 2 Factor Solution (FLPofML study)

	Factor A	Factor B
Significant Loadings	8	4
% Variance explained	37	7
Eigenvalues	5.60	1.04
Composite reliability	0.966	0.941
S.E. of Factor scores	0.186	0.243
Average reliability coefficient	0.800	0.800

*Standard Error for study = 0.1581 and *Significant factor loading = 0.4078

6.3. Results

In this section, a comparative analysis is conducted using the findings from the FLPofFL study and discussing this study in relation to the findings from the FLPofML study. Please note, only a few participants from the FLPofFL study participated in the FLPofML study. Therefore, samples used in both studies should be treated independently. It would be erroneous to say that the participants loading onto Factor A in the FLPofFL study are the same as the participants loading onto Factor A in the FLPofML study. The factor arrays, with distinguishing and consensus statements are presented in Table 6.4.

Table 6.3 Participant characteristics of Factor A and Factor B in the FLPofML study

Factor A	Age	Factor B	Age
Age	26-35 (2)		26-35 : (2)
	36-45 (5)		36-45 : (2)
	Nationality		Nationality
	Finnish (5)		South African (2)
	South African (1)		Finnish (2)
	Chinese (1)		Race
	Race		White (3)
	White (4)		Indian (1)
	Indian (1)		
	Asian (1)		

6.3.1 Theme 1: Social and structural constraints affect male and female leaders differentially

When comparing the constructions made by female leaders of female leader social identities in the FLPofFL study versus the constructions made by female leaders of male leader social identities in the FLPofML study, female leaders across two factors in FLPofFL believed that female leaders had to contend with stereotypes and biases S23; A(+3). B(+3) whereas in the FLPofML study female leaders disagreed across both factors that male leaders faced stereotypes and biases S23; A(-4), B(-2). Furthermore, women leaders across two factors in the FLPofFL study believe that they were disadvantaged because of perceived 'baby risk' concerns by others S40; A (+2), C(+1), but across both factors in the FLPofML study, female leaders did not perceive that male leaders faced any family responsibility biases S40; A (-2), C(-4)

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPofFL] S23. Female leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing	+3	0	+3
[FLPofML] S23. Male leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing	-4	-2	
[FLPofFL] S40. Females who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the 'baby risk' category	+2	0	+1
[FLPofML] S40. Males who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the Family Responsibility category	-2	-4	

Female leaders across two factors in the FLPofFL study and the two factors in the FLPofML study believed that the old boy network constrained progression unless they were part of the network. However, female leaders were unanimous in stating that men were more likely to succeed if they behaved like one of the guys whereas Factor A (S31,-2) and Factor C (S32,-1) in the FLPofFL study did not think that women could succeed by just being one of the guys.

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPofFL] S15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know	+2	0	+3
[FLPofML] S15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know	+3	+3	
[FLPofFL] S31. Women who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys	-2	0	-1
[FLPofML] S31. Men who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys	+1	+2	

Across both FLPofFL and FLPofML, the results indicate that female leaders have different views of how the double bind of gender and race constrained leaders of colour. Both Factor A and Factor C in the FLPofFL study believed that female leaders of colour face a double bind S7; A(+2), C (+3) and agreed that female leaders of colour have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts in order to be accepted S24; A(+2), C (+2). However, Factor B in the FLPofFL study did not think that female leaders of colour face a double bind (S7, -1) and did not perceive that female leaders of colour have to work harder than their white peers in order to be accepted S24, B (-2). The same mixed result was evident in female leaders' perceptions of male leaders. Factor A in the FLPofML study disagrees that male leaders of colour were disadvantaged more than their White peers (S7, -1) while Factor B agrees (S7, +3). However, both Factor A (S24, +1) and Factor B (S24, +2) agreed that male leaders of colour have to work twice as hard as their male counterparts in order to be accepted.

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPofFL] S7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group	+2	-1	+3
[FLPofML] S7. Male leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group	-1	+3	
[FLPofFL] S24. Female leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted	+2	-2	+2
[FLPofML] S24. Male leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted	+1	+2	

6.3.2 Theme 2: Hiding attributes of one's identity in order to be accepted

In the FLPofFL study, female leaders across Factor A (S17, +1) and Factor B (S17, +1) believe that female leaders hide their accomplishments due their concerns about not wanting to be disliked or to be seen as a threat by others. In contrast, female leaders in Factor A (S17, -4) and Factor B (S17,-1) of the FLPofML study disagree that male leaders demonstrate the same presentational concerns and behaviours. Furthermore, whilst female leaders in the FLPofFL study (S20, Factor A +2; Factor C +1) believe that female leaders downplayed elements of their gender identity in order to be accepted by their male peers, female leaders in the FLPofML study across both Factor A (S20, -3) and Factor B (S20, -2) disagree that male leaders had the same concern. Furthermore, whilst Factor B (S2, +1) in the FLPofFL study believe that female leaders display counter-stereotypical behaviours to avoid being stereotyped as similar to other females, female leaders across both Factor A (S2,-2) and Factor B (S2, -2) in the FLPofML study believed that male leaders did not share the same concerns about being stereotyped as similar to other males.

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPofFL] S17. Most women downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others.	+1	+1	0
[FLPofML] S17. Most men downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others.	-4	-1	
[FLPofFL] S20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by male leaders	+2	0	+1
[FLPofML] S20. Males in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their male identity to be respected and accepted by female leaders	-3	-2	
[FLPofFL] S2. Female leaders often display counter-stereotypical behaviours so that people don't stereotype them as similar to other females in general	0	+1	0
[FLPofML] S2. Male leaders often display counter-stereotypical behaviours so that people don't stereotype them as similar to other males in general	-2	-2	

Both Factor A (S32, +1) and Factor B (S32, +3) in the FLPofFL study and Factor A (S32, +1) in the FLPofML study believe that fear is a barrier to success for both male leaders and female leaders. Despite this, female leaders believe that female leaders just like male leaders aren't afraid to take risks to further their careers. Interestingly Factor B (S12, -3) in the FLPofFL study and Factor A (S12, -3) in the FLPofML study believed that female leaders and male leaders respectively weren't afraid of making mistakes.

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPofFL] S32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice etc.	+1	+3	-1
[FLPofML] S32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that men face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice etc.	+1	0	
[FLPofFL] S34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers	0	+2	+4
[FLPofML] S34. Male leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers	+4	+3	
[FLPofFL] S12. Women leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way men do	0	-3	0
[FLPofML] S12. Male leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way women do	-3	0	

6.3.3. Theme 3: Intra-group welfare concerns

Female leaders across Factor A (S1,+2) and Factor B (S1,+2) in the FLPofML study perceive that male leaders on achieving leadership positions ignore the struggles of other males in an organisation whereas they disagreed that female leaders demonstrate the same lack of concern for the struggles of other females (S1; *Factor A -2; Factor B -2*). Whilst Factor B (S9, +1) in the FLPofML study believe that male leaders instigate males to stick together based on their male gender identity, Factor A (S9, -3); Factor B (S9, -1) and Factor C (S9,-2), in the FLPofFL study perceive that female leaders do not exhibit this behaviour.

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPofFL] S1. Females on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other women face in an organisation	-2	-2	0
[FLPofML] S1. Males on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other men face in an organisation	+2	+2	
[FLPofFL] S9. Women leaders often instigate other women to vote on issues based on sticking together as women rather than voting for the best option	-3	-1	-2
[FLPofML] S9. Male leaders often instigate other men to vote on issues based on sticking together as men rather than voting for the best option	0	+1	

Both Factor B (S25, +1) and Factor C (S25, +3) in the FLPofFL study believe that female leaders have a duty to help other females succeed. Whilst, in the FLPofML study, female leaders loading significantly on Factor A (S25, -1) disagree that male leaders had a duty to help other males succeed. Furthermore, whilst in the FLPofFL study female leaders on Factor A (S38, 0) and Factor C (S38, 0) were neutral in terms of their perceptions that female leaders actively promoted the welfare of others, female leaders loading significantly on Factor A (S38, 0) in the FLPofML study were also neutral about whether male leaders actively promoted the welfare of others with Factor B in the FLPofML study disagreeing that male leaders actively promote the welfare of others (S38, -3).

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPofFL] S25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed	-1	+1	+3
[FLPofML] S25. Males who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed	-1	0	
[FLPofFL] S38. In general, having women in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others	0	+2	0
[FLPofML] S38. In general, having men in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as male leaders actively promote the welfare of others	0	-3	

6.3.4. Theme 4: Gender group identity vs. leader group identity

Female leaders across Factor B (S36, +1) and Factor C (S36, +1) in the FLPofFL study believe that female leaders have more in common with female leaders rather than with females while female leaders across both Factor A (S36, +1) and Factor B (S36, +3) in the FLPofML study believe that male leaders have more in common with other male leaders than with males. Interestingly, female leaders on Factor A (S37, +1) in the FLPofFL study and Factor B (S37, +1) in the FLPofML believe that female and male leaders shared more commonalities with each other rather than with their respective gender groups. Conversely, Factor A in the FLPofFL study does not see female leaders as a distinct group from that of their female gender group (S36,-1).

While Factor C in the FLPofFL study saw female leaders as distinct from their gender group (S36, +1), they still believe that female leaders had more in common with their female gender group than they did with the male leader group (S37,-1). Interestingly when thinking about the male leader group, both Factor A (S36, +1) and Factor B (S36, +3) perceive male leaders as quite distinct from their male gender group. Furthermore, Factor B (S37, +1) also saw male leaders having more in common with female leaders than with their male gender group suggesting that they perceived both male leaders and female leaders as belonging to a superordinate category of “leader”.

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPofFL] S36. Female leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than with females in general	-1	+1	+1
[FLPofML] S36. Male leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than with males in general	+1	+3	
[FLPofFL] S37. Female leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than females in general	+1	0	-1
[FLPofML] S37. Male leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than with males in general	0	+1	

6.3.5. Theme 5: Different dimensions of comparison

Across both studies female leaders across all factors believe that male and female leaders should not try to emulate each other but tap into their distinctive leadership attributes. In addition, across both studies, female leaders across all factors believe that

differences in leadership style should be celebrated. Furthermore, whilst all three factors in FLPOfFL did not believe that masculinized behaviours should be adopted by female leaders, Factor B (+2) in FLPOfML believed that male leaders should adopt more feminized behaviours.

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPOfFL] S39. The better female leaders do not try to be like their male counterparts, but tap into their own unique leadership qualities	+4	+3	+2
[FLPOfML] S39. The better male leaders do not try to be like their female counterparts, but tap into their own unique leadership qualities	+3	+4	
[FLPOfFL] S35. Differences between men and womens' leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success	+3	+3	+4
[FLPOfML] S35. Differences between men and womens' leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success	+3	+4	
[FLPOfFL] S19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful	-4	-1	-3
[FLPOfML] S19. Feminized behaviours are something men should emulate in order to be successful	0	+2	

Across all three factors in FLPOfFL, female leaders disagreed that lack of drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices was the reason behind women not making it to the top, however, female leaders on Factor B (+1) in FLPOfML believe that the reason that males do not succeed is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top.

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPOfFL] S14. The reason most women do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top	-1	-1	-3
[FLPOfML] S14. The reason men do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top	-1	+1	
[FLPOfFL] S13. A female leader's failure is indicative that she doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility	-3	-2	-4
	0	-2	

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPofML] S13. A male leader's failure is indicative that she doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility			
[FLPofFL] S6. Successful and powerful women are to be admired for their tenacity in reaching the topic	+3	+2	+2
[FLPofML] S6. Successful and powerful men are to be admired for their tenacity in reaching the topic	+2	0	

6.3.6 Theme 6: Perceived communal female leadership advantage

Female leaders in the FLPofFL study across Factor B (+2) and Factor C (+1) believe that female leaders are better managers, better advisors, mentors and better rational thinkers whereas female leaders on Factor B (-2) in the FLPofML study disagree that male leaders are better managers, advisors, mentors and rational thinkers. Furthermore, female leaders loading onto Factor A (+1) and Factor B (+3) in the FLPofFL study think that female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands. Furthermore, female leaders on Factor B in the FLPofML study did not believe that male leaders were better managers (-2) or good listeners or strong collaborators (-3). Additionally, Factor B (+1) in the FLPofML study believe that male leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering, traits which Factor B (-3) and Factor C (-2) in the FLPofFL study disagree are true of female leaders.

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPofFL] S5. Female leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and better rational thinkers	0	+2	+1
[FLPofML] S5. Male leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and better rational thinkers	0	-2	
[FLPofFL] S11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands	+1	+3	0
	+2	-3	
[FLPofML] S11. Male leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands			
[FLPofFL] S4. Female leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering	0	-3	-2

Statement	A	B	C
[FLPofML] S4. Male leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering	0	+1	
[FLPofFL] S10. Female leaders often isolate themselves from the people who work from them and come across as aloof and distant	-1	-4	-2
[FLPofML] S10. Male leaders often isolate themselves from the people who work from them and come across as aloof and distant	0	-1	

6.4. Discussion

This comparative analysis was done in order to understand the representations made by female leaders of their own group identity compared to representations made by them of the outgroup identity. Hornsey (2008) argue that groups

become psychologically real only when defined in comparison to other groups. [and] group members are motivated to think and act in ways that achieve or maintain positive distinctiveness between one's own group and relevant outgroups (p.207).

The most significant finding was that female leaders perceive that structural and social factors influence male leaders and female leaders differently. The female leaders in this study believed that they have to contend with stereotypes and biases whereas they perceived that male leaders did not experience any such stereotypes and biases. It is well established that prescriptive and descriptive gender stereotypes propagate norms that stipulate what is appropriate behaviour for men and women and essentially dictate how women are and how they should behave (Rudman & Phelan, 2010) with agentic women being perceived as less likeable, less competent and viewed as interpersonally deficient (Rudman & Glick, 1999). This results in gender biases in hiring decisions (Heilman & Eagly, 2008); discrimination against women in contexts where they go outside their gender imposed boundaries by either applying for male-typed jobs (Heilman & Wallen, 2010) or by behaving in agentic ways more typical of what is expected of men (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). It has been argued that this discrimination arises from the perceived incongruity between the gender role of women and the characteristics required of a specific masculine typed role (for a review, see Eagly & Karau, 2002). Successful women who violate prescriptive gender stereotypes are penalized in contexts where jobs are male gender-typed, but not when jobs are female gender-typed or neutral in gender type. This suggests that their success implies that gender stereotypic norms have been violated and this induces social penalties

(Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). Thus, it is unsurprising that the female leaders perceived that stereotypes and biases constrained female leaders. However, female leaders also do not acknowledge that these stereotypes and biases can also affect male leaders. However, research demonstrates that males may also face backlash effects even though it is not as widely studied as the literature on backlash against women (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). For example, men who are perceived to be caregivers receive lower salary allocations in laboratory settings compared to males who are breadwinners (Bear & Glick, 2016).

A noteworthy finding was that some female leaders in the FLPofFL study believe that female leaders face a 'baby risk' penalty whereas in the FLPofML study, female leaders disagreed that male leaders face 'family responsibility' penalties. Cuddy, Fiske and Glick (2004) argue that women who become mothers lose perceived competence and gain perceived warmth, with the loss in perceived competence resulting in discrimination in hiring, promoting, and training decisions. Working mothers face biased evaluations of their performance, decreased likeability, are held to stricter standards and face lower hiring recommendations (Aranda & Glick, 2013; Benard & Corell, 2010). In laboratory studies, mothers are rated as less competent and less committed than identically matched candidates, who are not mothers (for a review, see Benard, Paik, & Correll, 2008). Other research by Heilman and Okimoto (2007; 2008) and Okimoto and Heilman (2012) demonstrates that parenthood in general leads evaluators to expect that parents (regardless of sex) would demonstrate lower job commitment and achievement striving in work contexts and this produces expectations of lower dependability. However, this same research demonstrated that parenthood is more of a liability for mothers, with mothers being rated as significantly less likely to be competent than female applicants without children and male applicants with or without children.

A further finding was that female leaders demonstrate a variety of social identity presentational concerns and strategies aimed at avoiding backlash. In contrast, they perceive male leaders do not have to do the same. Specifically, female leaders hide their accomplishments to avoid being disliked and to avoid being viewed as a threat by others. Furthermore, female leaders downplay elements of their gender identity in order to be accepted and respected by their male peers with some female leaders displaying counter-stereotypical behaviours to avoid being stereotyped as similar to other females. These findings suggest that female leaders are aware that their gender identity is devalued in their

chosen occupational domain. These female leaders may also have experienced the effect of 'lack of fit' perceptions (Heilman, 2012). Stereotype threat theory suggests that people who are invested in succeeding in a domain are the most vulnerable to stereotype threat (Steele, 1997). Furthermore, the finding that female leaders strive to hide their successes to avoid being seen as a threat by others and to avoid being disliked suggest that they have experienced reprisals in the past. Females aspiring to leadership roles face an impression management dilemma in interviews, salary negotiations and in promotion considerations in the workplace context. They have to counter the perceptions that there is a perceived "lack of fit" between their gender and their leadership role while having to convey their ambition and ability by demonstrating agency. They argue that this forces women leaders to choose between respect and liking, a choice that men do not have to make (Phelan & Rudman, 2010; Rudman et al., 2012; Rudman & Phelan, 2010).

In contrast, female leaders perceive that male leaders do not experience the same negative penalties or backlash. However, males who are perceived to violate gender stereotypes, including those who show proficiency in feminine domains or demonstrate communality also face negative reprisals and sanctions (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Rudman and Fairchild (2004) conducted a laboratory study where male and female subjects were randomly assigned to a deviant or normative condition. They found that both deviant men and women feared backlash more than normative men and women. Furthermore, these men and women who feared social reprisals were more likely to hide their success and deceive others into thinking that their performance were normative with women more likely to conform to gender norms than men. One way for women leaders to avoid potential backlash is by presenting outsider perceivers with information that suggests that they possess communal characteristics even though they demonstrate agency by their success. For example, a study by Heilman and Okimoto (2007) found that women who were depicted as being more successful at male gender-typed jobs were not liked, were viewed as having very undesirable interpersonal attributes, and were seen as less desirable as bosses relative to similarly described male managers. However, this negativity disappeared when communal information was provided, leading the researchers to conclude that negative reactions to women who succeed in male-typed tasks and roles is due to the perception that they are deficient in their communality. They further found that providing information that a successful female manager was a mother, created perceptions that she was a communal person, thus eliminating the negativity directed towards her.

Table 6.4: Factor Q Sort Values for Each Statement in the FLPofFL study and FLPofML study: This table provides the prototypical Q sort rankings (termed Q-SV), without the factor scores (termed Z-SCR).

(±) Non-significant statements at $p > .01$ or $p > .05$.

(*) Significant at $p < .05$ or $p < .01$

Study Name	No of Statement	FA	FB	FC
FLPofFL	1. Females on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other women face in an organisation	-2	-2	0
FLPofML	1. Males on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other men face in an organisation (±)	+2	+2	
FLPofFL	2. Female leaders often display counter-stereotypical behaviours so that people don't stereotype them as similar to other females in general (±)	0	+1	0
FLPofML	2. Male leaders often display counter-stereotypical behaviours so that people don't stereotype them as similar to other females in general (±)	-2	-2	
FLPofFL	3. Female leaders fear promoting other women as they fear that the other woman would be better than them (±)	-2	-2	-2
FLPofML	3. Male leaders fear promoting other men as they fear that the other woman would be better than them (±)	-1	-1	
FLPofFL	4. Female leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering	0*	-3	-2
FLPofML	4. Male leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering (±)	0*	+1	
FLPofFL	5. Female Leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and better rational thinkers	0*	+2	+1
FLPofML	5. Male Leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and better rational thinkers (±)	0	-2	
FLPofFL	6. Successful and powerful women are to be admired for their tenacity at reaching the topic (±)	+3	+2	+2
FLPofML	6. Successful and powerful men are to be admired for their tenacity at reaching the topic (±)	+2	0	
FLPofFL	7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group	+2*	-1*	+3*
FLPofML	7. Male leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group	-1*	+3	
FLPofFL	8. Women who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky	-3	-4	-1*

Study Name	No of Statement	FA	FB	FC
FLPofML	8. Men who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky (±)	-1	0	
FLPofFL	9. Women leaders often instigate other women to vote on issues based on sticking together as women rather than voting for the best option (±)	-3	-1	-2
FLPofML	9. Male leaders often instigate other men to vote on issues based on sticking together as men rather than voting for the best option (±)	0*	+1	
FLPofFL	10. Female leaders often isolate themselves from the people who work from them and come across as aloof and distant	-1*	-4	-2
FLPofML	10. Male leaders often isolate themselves from the people who work from them and come across as aloof and distant (±)	0	-1	
FLPofFL	11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands	+1*	+3*	0*
FLPofML	11. Male leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands	+2*	-3	
FLPofFL	12. Women leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way men do	0*	-3*	0*
FLPofML	12. Male leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way women do	-3*	0	
FLPofFL	13. A female leader's failure is indicative that she doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility	-3	-2*	-4
FLPofML	13. A male leader's failure is indicative that he doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility (±)	0*	-2	
FLPofFL	14. The reason most women do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top	-1	-1	-3*
FLPofML	14. The reason most men do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top	-1*	+1	
FLPofFL	15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know	+2	0	+3*
FLPofML	15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know (±)	+3	+3	
FLPofFL	16. Women make good leaders until they get other responsibilities like family responsibilities which then distracts them	-2*	-3	-4
FLPofML	16. Men make good leaders until they get other responsibilities like family responsibilities which then distracts them (±)	-2	-1	

Study Name	No of Statement	FA	FB	FC
FLPofFL	17. Most women downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others ($\pm$)	+1	+1	0
FLPofML	17. Most men downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others	-4*	-1	
FLPofFL	18. Most female leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life in order to succeed	+4*	0	0
FLPofML	18. Most male leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life in order to succeed	+3*	-4	
FLPofFL	19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful	-4*	-1	-3
FLPofML	19. Feminized behaviours are something men should emulate in order to be successful	0*	+2	
FLPofFL	20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by male leaders	+2*	0*	+1*
FLPofML	20. Male in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by female leaders ($\pm$)	-3	-2	
FLPofFL	21. the most crucial thing for a woman to have if she is going to get to the top is a sponsor to look out for her	-1	-1	+1*
FLPofML	21. the most crucial thing for a man to have if she is going to get to the top is a sponsor to look out for him	+2*	-3	
FLPofFL	22. it's inspiring to see female leaders succeed against all odds and in doing so they make powerful role models	+3	+4	+2
FLPofML	22. it's inspiring to see male leaders succeed against all odds and in doing so they make powerful role models ($\pm$)	+2	+1	
FLPofFL	23. Female leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing	+3	0*	+3
FLPofML	23. Male leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing	-4*	-2	
FLPofFL	24. Female leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted	+2	-2*	+2
FLPofML	24. Male leaders of colour have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted	+1*	+2	
FLPofFL	25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed	-1*	+1*	+3*
FLPofML	25. Males who have made it to the top have a duty to help other men succeed ($\pm$)	-1	0	
FLPofFL	26. Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons women do not succeed as leaders	0*	+1*	-3*

Study Name	No of Statement	FA	FB	FC
FLPofML	26. Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons men do not succeed as leaders	+1*	-3	
FLPofFL	27. Females have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership	0*	+2*	-2*
FLPofML	27. Males have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership ($\pm$)	-2	0	
FLPofFL	28. Successful female leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together	+1*	+4*	+2*
FLPofML	28. Successful male leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together	+4*	+2	
FLPofFL	29. It is a good thing for female leaders to fit in and adhere to existing rules and expectations and not try and change things too much	-4	-2	-3
FLPofML	29. It is a good thing for male leaders to fit in and adhere to existing rules and expectations and not try and change things too much ($\pm$)	-2	-1	
FLPofFL	30. In general female leaders have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement as their experience and competence were not enough to guarantee their progression	-3	-3	-1*
FLPofML	30. In general male leaders have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement as their experience and competence were not enough to guarantee their progression	-3*	0	
FLPofFL	31. Women who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys	-2	0	-1
FLPofML	31. Men who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys ($\pm$)	+1*	+2	
FLPofFL	32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice etc.	+1	+3*	-1
FLPofML	32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that men face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice etc. ($\pm$)	+1	0	
FLPofFL	33. In general female leaders have many doubts. They doubt what they have to say, doubt what they can handle and doubt their decisions. In the process they undermine their abilities.	-2	0	0
FLPofML	33. In general male leaders have many doubts. They doubt what they have to say, doubt what they can handle and doubt their decisions. In the process they undermine their abilities.	-3*	0	
FLPofFL	34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers	0*	+2*	+4*

Study Name	No of Statement	FA	FB	FC
FLPofML	34. Male leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers (±)	+4	+3	
FLPofFL	35. Differences between men and women leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success	+3	+3	+4
FLPofML	35. Differences between men and women leadership styles should be celebrated, there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success (±)	+3	+4	
FLPofFL	36. Female leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than with females in general	-1	+1	+1
FLPofML	36. Male leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than with males in general	+1*	+3	
FLPofFL	37. Female leaders have more in common with other male leaders than females in general (±)	+1*	0	-1
FLPofML	37. male leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than males in general	0*	+1	
FLPofFL	38. In general, having women in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others	0	+2	0
FLPofML	38. In general, having men in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others	0*	-3	
FLPofFL	39. The better female leader's do not try to be like their male counterparts, but tap into their own unique leadership qualities	+4	+3	+2*
FLPofML	39. The better male leader's do not try to be like their female counterparts, but tap into their own unique leadership qualities (±)	+3	+4	
FLPofFL	40. Females who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the 'baby risk' category	+2	*0	+1
FLPofML	40. Males who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the 'family responsibility risk' category	-2*	-4	

CHAPTER SEVEN

Outgroup Representations of Female Leaders

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an account of how the dominant male leader outgroup constructs and contests female leader social identities in an intergroup context. The aim of this chapter is to explore the subjective representations of female leaders that are made by male leader group members. The chapter will start with a brief overview of pertinent literature before describing and presenting the results of two Q-methodological studies that were aimed at uncovering the intergroup comparative representations made by male leaders about their own social identities versus the social representations made by male leaders about female leaders.

It is important to understand how male leaders construct female leaders' social identities for two reasons. Firstly, it is argued that it is not enough to just understand the experience of being a female leader but it is also necessary to critically evaluate how representations of this social category came into being in the first place. This is important if we are to challenge the knowledge production of illegitimate representations. SIT asserts that our social identities are defined, constructed and evaluated through comparisons with other groups and our evaluations of others are motivated by the need to protect valued identities in a particular social context (Schmitt, Silvia & Branscombe, 2000). Viewed from a SIT framework, this suggests that male leaders would be more likely to think better of their group in comparison to female leader groups to protect their self-esteem.

Whilst there has not been any direct research testing this hypothesis amongst this target group, a recent meta-analysis by Paustian-Underdahl et al. (2014), investigating 58 journal publications, 30 unpublished theses and several other sources such as books, white papers and unpublished data is noteworthy. Firstly, the analysis showed that in *self-ratings* males rate themselves as significantly more effective in senior leader positions whilst women rate themselves lower in terms of effectiveness for senior level positions. However, in 64 studies women were seen as more effective than men in *other-ratings* when they held senior-level management positions in organizational settings due to perceptions of extra competence. The findings that women are rated more effectively than men for senior level positions by others suggests that positive attitudes to women alone is not sufficient to

prevent disadvantage for women. A possible reason for this could be that male leaders could be threatened by the progress of female leaders which then motivates them to act in ways that will defend the gender hierarchy in ways that constrain women's progress. Support for this comes from research by Morton, Postmes, Haslam and Hornsey (2009). They found that perceptions of women's progress were seen as identity threatening to men especially those who saw it as a threat to their status. In response to threat appraisals they were more likely to express sexism via expression of essentialist beliefs around biological gender differences that favoured men which then increased their support for discriminatory practices and led them to believe that gendered practices were appropriated and increased their feelings of self-esteem.

A more recent study also demonstrated that when men compared contemporary women to women in the past, they experienced more social identity threat and more negative emotion (agitation) than when they made comparisons between contemporary men and women (Spoor & Schmitt, 2011). This suggests that the potential progress of women over time could be seen as threatening by male leaders as this challenges their dominant status position. A further issue to be considered is that male leaders who support female leaders could also be judged negatively by outside perceivers which could pose a threat to their identity which would prevent them from supporting social change for women. Support for this idea comes from West, Heilman, Gullet, Moss-Racusin and Magee's (2012) study where they found that as the proportion of women in a group increased, men were evaluated just as negatively as women because they came to be associated with the women.

It is also important to understand how male leaders as the dominant group perceive the discrimination and prejudice that constrains female leaders. Previous research indicates that dominant groups are likely to see inequality as an outgroup issue with little relevance to self unless the dominant group is called upon to reflect on that inequality which then brings about an attitude change towards the subordinate group (Powell, Branscombe & Schmitt, 2005). An online study by Ryan, Haslam and Postmes (2007) with 164 self-selected respondents aimed to understand perceptions of the reasons behind the glass cliff phenomenon. The participants were asked to read an online news article on research conducted on the glass cliff phenomenon that appeared on a BBC website. The researchers found that highly gender identified men were more sceptical about the research and believed that men were more likely to be exposed to precarious leadership positions than women. Furthermore, 50% of the male respondents questioned the existence of the glass cliff, with

most of them attributing this phenomenon to women's lack of suitability for difficult leadership tasks, the need for strategic decision making or company factors unrelated to gender. This is in contrast to highly identified women who perceived the glass cliff phenomenon to be legitimate with only 5% of women being doubtful about the glass cliff existence and most of the women attributing its existence to sexism, lack of alternative opportunities and men's in-group favouritism.

It is not surprising that Schmitt et al. (2002) found that women believe that they have personal experience with discrimination and perceive greater disadvantage and fewer privileges for their group than did men. Whilst the findings from Ryan et al.'s (2007) study cannot be generalizable due to sample constraints in terms of representation and self-selection, their data supports the argument that male leaders could be blind to the constraints faced by their female peers. Potentially getting them to acknowledge these constraints could increase their support for social change for women. Previous research provides mixed findings. For example, a study by Miron, Branscombe and Schmitt (2006) investigated the relationship between legitimacy appraisals and collective guilt with male undergraduate students. The students were asked to read an article about why gender inequality is still prevalent in America. Half of the participants read the article where it argued for the legitimacy of gender inequality (that is women were positioned as lacking leadership abilities compared to men) and the other half of participants read the article where it argued that the existing inequality is illegitimate (women were positioned as having the same levels of leadership abilities as men). They found that the male participants expressed less collective guilt when the article was appraised as legitimate. However collective guilt amongst those who perceived the article as illegitimate was undermined via reductions in self-focused distress rather than in reductions in other-focused empathy.

The selected research studies reviewed here suggests that there is complex meaning making happening behind the scenes in male leaders' perceptions of female leaders. In designing this research it was important to ensure that social desirability biases did not prevent subjectivity of viewpoint to emerge. It was believed that male leaders may possibly be sensitive to the context of the research and may present "politically correct" answers to avoid being seen as discriminating against women. In this way, true subjectivity would have been lost. To overcome this, a methodology was needed, that would surface the invisible, or 'unsaid' viewpoints which wouldn't come through in traditional scales and

measures. On the basis of this, Q Methodology was once again used. The main objectives of this study are as follows

- 7.1. What representations do male leaders construct about female leaders?
- 7.2. What representations do male leaders construct about male leaders and does this surface any “invisible” representations about female leaders?
- 7.3. In an intergroup context, do male leaders perceive female leaders as a legitimate outgroup with power and status?

The next section will provide detail on two Q-methodological studies that were designed to address these objectives.

7.2. Study One: Male leader perceptions of female leaders (MLPofFL)

The aim of this first study was to understand how male leaders subjectively represented female leaders from a social identity perspective (MLPofFL study). Once again Q Methodology was utilized. The advantages of Q Methodology and the justification for its use in this thesis has already been argued in chapter four.

7.2.1 Method

7.2.1.1. Procedures

(a.) Developing the concourse and validating the Q set

One of the main objectives of this thesis is to understand the subjectivity of representations around female leader social identities that exist in the intergroup context. In designing this research, it was necessary to capture the shared knowledge that existed in the minds of both male leaders and female leaders. Hence, one common concourse was designed to be used for all studies with male leaders and female leaders exploring their ingroup and outgroup representations of social identity. The procedures used to arrive at this common concourse has already been described in chapter four. 118 statements clustered around 28 themes were derived from 100 popular press and academic journal articles and 30 publicly available interview videos published in the period between 2009 and 2014. The 118 statements were examined by two female leaders and one male leader. Based on their recommendations, the statements were refined and 58 statements were discarded. A 60 item Q set was then piloted with one male leader and one female leader where a further 20 items were discarded due to their feedback that the statements were overlapping and ambiguous. The final 40 item Q set was then entered into an online Q sort program, Q-

assessor. A final pilot was then conducted with five female leaders and five male leaders to ensure that the electronic procedures in the online Q sort study was simple, intuitive and easy to use. The online software, Q-assessor used a grid that followed a bell shaped normal distribution curve ranging from most agree (+4) to most disagree (-4). The grid allowed for two statements to be placed at the +4 and -4 poles, four statements to be placed at the +3 and -3 poles, five statements to be placed at the +2 and -2 poles, five statements to be placed at the +1 and -1 poles and eight statements to be placed in the neutral column.

(b). Recruiting the participants or P Set

Purposive sampling methods were used to select male leaders working within a large global corporation living in Finland, South Africa and Britain. A leader was defined as someone who exercises authority over other people by having to influence, motivate, organize and coordinate the work of others (Eagly & Antonakis, 2015; Eagly & Carly, 2007). Potential candidates occupying senior manager and director positions were contacted via email and on confirmation that they were interested in participating, a second email was sent to them with a link to the online study. Fifty-two male leaders were approached to participate with 21 male leaders eventually participating. This study was conducted during 2014-2015.

Demographic characteristics of the male leader participants in this study are presented in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1: Demographic Characteristics of the P Set (MLPofFL study)

Age	26-35 (7) 36-45 (10) 46-55 (3) Undisclosed (1)	Nationality	South African (5) Finnish (2) Indian (4) British (5) American (2) Italian (1) Undisclosed (1) Singaporean (1)	Ethnicity	White (6) Black (1) Indian (10) Asian (2) Other (1) Undisclosed (1)
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(c.) Administering the Q –sort

The process following in this study was identical to the process that was followed in the study assessing female leaders' perceptions of their own social identity. Once respondents agreed via email to participate they were sent a welcome email with a link to

the study. On clicking through to the link they entered a welcome page which introduced the study's objectives. This page further explained their rights in terms of participation and confidentiality and asked for their permission for their data to be used. If participants wanted to proceed further they then went on to the next page where there were presented with the first order sorting instruction. Here they were randomly presented with the 40 statements one by one and were asked to read each statement, decide how they felt about it and then drag and drop it to into a neutral, agree or disagree pile. This first step sort was to ensure that they familiarized themselves with the statements. They were then taken to a second step instruction page. Here they were asked to rank order the statements according to their level of agreement in terms of their perceptions of female leaders, from the ones that they most disagreed with (-4) to the ones that they most agreed with (+4). This second step sorting task took on average 15 minutes. Once the sorting was completed, respondents were taken to the next page where they were asked to elaborate on the statements with which they most agreed (+4) and most disagreed (-4) and to provide some demographic criteria such as age, gender, category identifier (i.e. female leader, male leader, male subordinate of female leader, female subordinate of female leader etc.), nationality and ethnic group status.

7.2.1. Analysis

The raw data was exported from Q-assessor and entered into PQMethod. As there were 21 completed Q sorts, three factors were initially extracted following the guideline of Watts and Stenner (2012) who suggest that one factor be extracted for every six to eight respondents. Examination of the unrotated factor matrix indicated that only two factors had 2 or more significant loadings which suggested that a two factor solution would be the most appropriate. Thus the decision was made to run a two factor solution based on the Kaiser-Guttman criteria of retaining only factors of eigenvalues greater than 1.00 (Watts & Stenner, 2005) and only factors that had two or more significantly loading sorts (Watts & Stenner, 2012). The calculations for the significant factor loadings are presented in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2. Significant Factor Loadings and Standard Error for the study (MLPofFL study)

Significant factor loading = $2.58 \times (1/\sqrt{\text{no of items in the Q set}})$ $= 2.58 \times (1/\sqrt{40})$ $= 2.58 \times 0.1581$ $= 0.4078$ rounded up to +/- 0.41	SE = $1/(\sqrt{\text{no of items in the Q set}})$ $= 1/(\sqrt{40})$ $= 1/6.3246$ $= 0.1581$ rounded up to 0.16
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PQMethod was re-run again using centroid analysis with only two factors extracted and rotated using Varimax rotation. The two factors that emerged explained 46% of the variance post rotation. Seven of the 21 Q sorts loaded significantly on factor A and 4 of the Q sorts loaded significantly on Factor B where the factor loading was +/- 0.4078 or higher at $p < 0.01$. Seven Q sorts were confounded and four were insignificant. Table 7.3 below presents a summary of the characteristics of the final factors.

Table 7.3: Factor Characteristics of final two factor solution (MLPofFL study)

	FACTOR A	FACTOR B
Significant loadings	7	4
% Variance explained	41	6
Eigenvalues	8.50	1.17
Composite reliability	0.966	0.941
S.E. of Factor scores	0.186	0.243
Average reliability coefficient	0.800	0.800

7.2.2 Results

The results are presented below. As per all the other studies in this thesis, most participants did not enter qualitative comments at the end of the Q sort to explain their positions on the most agreed and most disagreed statements. This is a potential limitation of electronic Q sorts. Hence, no qualitative comments were included in the analysis.

7.2.2.1 Factor A: Different but the same

Table 7.4: Demographic Characteristics of participants loading into Factor A (MLPofFL study)

Age	Nationality	Ethnicity
26-35 (2)	British (2)	Asian (1)
36-45 (2)	South African (2)	Indian (4)
45-56 (2)	Italian (1)	White (1)
Undisclosed (1)	Indian (1)	Undisclosed (1)
	Undisclosed (1)	

Seven of the 21 Q sorts loaded onto Factor A. The demographic characteristics of the respondents are detailed in Table 7.4. The respondents were evenly spread across age groups. Furthermore, two of the respondents were British, two were South African, one was Italian, one was Indian and one nationality was not disclosed. In addition, four of the male leaders were Indian, one was White, one was Asian and one participant did not disclose his ethnicity status. The participants loading onto Factor A perceive female leaders to be a distinct social group, but were ambivalent about female leaders sharing more commonalities with male leaders than with their gender group. Descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes associated with the female gender category made up much of the content of representations within this factor. However, these communal characteristics did not confer female leaders with any leadership advantage. In fact, there was a suggestion of potential backlash should female leaders display agentic behaviours. Male leaders loading onto this factor did not agree in general that stereotypes and biases prevented female leaders from progressing. However, this factor indicated that they were aware of female leaders downplaying elements of their female gender identity in order to be respected and accepted by their male peers. They also acknowledge that female leaders are disadvantaged by “baby risk” stereotypes, by lack of access to male dominated ‘boys clubs’ and by intersectional identities such as race and gender. Though despite acknowledging the constraints facing female leaders, they do not believe that these are problematic enough to prevent the progress of female leaders. The findings will be discussed in more detail below.

The male leaders, loading significantly on *Factor A* recognized female leaders as a discrete social category different to the female category (“S36. *Female leaders have more in common with other female leaders than with females in general +2*”) but were ambivalent whether women leaders were similar to their own male leader group (“S17. *Female leaders*

have more in common with other male leaders rather than with females in general 0"). They believe that the strength of a female leader lay in her communal characteristics:

S28. Successful female leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together (+1)

S38. In general having women in leadership positions are very beneficial to others as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others (+1)

S11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands (+2)

They rejected any notion that she would not display communal characteristics:

S10. Female leaders often isolate themselves from the people who work for them and come across as aloof and distant (-3)

S2. Female leaders often display counter-stereotypical behaviours so that people don't stereotype them as similar to other females in general (-1)

Interestingly, whilst they recognize the communal characteristics of female leaders and assert that successful female leaders tap into these qualities (refer to statements S28 (+1); S38 (+1); S11 (+2), they do not necessarily believe that these give women any leadership advantage:

S5. Female leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and better rational thinkers (0)

S27. Female leaders have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership (0)

Whilst believing that communal characteristics define female leader identities, these male leaders acknowledge that female leaders are not afraid of taking risks

S34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers (+3)

S12. Women leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way men do (-1)

They believe that women downplay their female identity in order to be respected by their male peers ("*S20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by male leaders +1*"). However, they

believe that masculinized behaviours should be avoided by women (*"S19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful -4"*) and that differences between male and females' leadership styles is something to be appreciated (*"S35. Differences between men and women's leaderships styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success +4"*). They believe that female leaders should tap into their own unique qualities and not try to be like their male peers (*"S39. The better female leaders do not try to be like their male counterparts, but tap into their own leadership qualities +3 "*) and believe that women are not any more likely to succeed by being one of the guys (*"S31. Women who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys -2"*).

They seem to imply an understanding that a female leader's failure is not indicative of her lack of capability; or that she is not fit for the role (*"S13. A female leader's failure is indicative that she doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility -1"*) or that she was not confident enough (*"S26. Lack of confidence and/or ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons women do not succeed as leaders -2"*) or that her doubts undermined her ability (*"S33. In general female leaders have many doubts. They doubt what they have to say, doubt what they can handle and doubt their decisions. In the process they undermine their abilities -2"*), but could be due to structural barriers (*"S15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know +4"*) and certain types of stereotypes that impede female leaders such as female leaders of colour being constrained by the dual effect of their gender and race:

S7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group (+3)

S24. Female leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted (+3)

They also perceive the biases that come from social expectations (*"S40. Females who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their gender and age puts them into the 'baby risk' category +2"*) and recognise the sacrifice that women make in order to be successful (*"S18. Most female leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life to succeed +1"*). Interestingly, they were neutral on the statement (*"S23. Female leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent*

them from advancing 0”) which could imply that they do not see the less obvious discrimination that women face including prescriptions of how her nature should be (for example, more communal). Thus they do display admiration of female leaders:

S6. Successful and powerful women are to be admired for their tenacity in reaching the top (+3)

S22. It is inspiring to see female leaders succeed against all odds and in doing so they make powerful role models (+2)

And believe that female leaders should try to change existing rules (“S29. *It is a good thing for female leaders to fit in and adhere to existing rules and expectations and not try and change things too much -4”*).

7.2.2.2 Factor B: You are not one of us

Table 7.5: Demographic Characteristics of participants loading onto Factor B (MLPofFL study)

Age	26-35 (1)	Nationality	British (1)	Ethnicity	Indian (2)
	36-45 (2)		South African (2)		White (2)
	45-56 (1)		American (1)		

Four Q sorts loaded significantly onto this factor. The demographic characteristics of the participants are provided in Table 7.5. One of the male leaders was between the ages of 26-35, two were between the ages of 35-45, and one male leader was between the ages of 45-56. One male leader was British, two were South African, and one was American. Furthermore, two of the male leaders were Indian and one was White. Male leaders loading onto this factor did not see female leaders as a distinct social category. Rather, they believed that female leaders were inextricably linked to their gender category. Furthermore, they did not see female leaders as sharing any commonalities with male leaders and once again believed that female leaders had more in common with their gender group. There was acknowledgment that female leaders faced stereotypes and biases that prevented them from progressing but they did not believe that race or motherhood penalties were an impediment to female leaders. Furthermore, they disagree that female leaders are faced with presentational identity concerns in order to be accepted by male peers. The respondents loading onto this factor believe that it is innate characteristics, such as fears, risk averseness

and lack of confidence that hold female leaders back. Like Factor A, participants on factor lauded the communal characteristics of females without believing that it gives females a leadership advantage. Furthermore, like Factor A, there seemed to be a suggestion that female leaders would face backlash should they not behave in accordance with their gender.

Unlike Factor A, the male leaders who comprised this factor do not see female leaders as being distinct from women in general (“S36. *Female leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than with females in general* -1) and believe that female leaders had more in common with females in general rather than male leaders (“S37. *Female leaders have more in common with male leaders rather than females in general* -2”). They could not perceive why female leaders would not want to be portrayed as similar to other women in general (S2. *Female leaders often display counter-stereotypical behaviour so that people don’t stereotype them as similar to other women in general* 0”) and eschewed any notion that female leaders should display masculine typed behaviours (“S19. *Masculinized behaviours are something that women should emulate in order to be successful* -4”). Like Factor A they believe that the better female leaders should not emulate their male peers (“S39. *The better female leaders should not try to be like their male counterparts but tap into their own unique qualities* +4”) and like Factor A, they perceive that the strengths of a female leader lay in her communal characteristics:

S38. In general having women in leadership positions is very beneficial to others, as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others (+2)

S28. Successful female leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together (+2)

They believe that female leaders should help other women and believe that female leaders do help other women to overcome barriers:

S1. Females on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other women face in an organisation (-1)

S25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed (+3)

Whilst they perceive that women have a natural intuition for leadership (“S27. *Females have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership +1*”), they do not see female leaders as necessarily being effective on all leadership behaviours:

S5. Female leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and rational thinkers (-2)

S11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands (0)

This could have been due to their perception that innate characteristics constrain female leaders. These include female leaders’ fears (“S32. *Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choices etc. +2*”) as well as their lack of confidence (S26. *Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk or money are some of the reasons women do not succeed as leaders +1*”) and their risk averseness (“S12. *Women leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don’t have the luxury of making mistakes the same way men do +1*”).

Whilst the male leaders who gave this account acknowledge the stereotypes and biases that prevent women from progressing (“S23. *Female leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing +2*”), they do not believe that female leaders of colour are more disadvantaged than their White counterparts:

S24. Female leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their White counterparts to be accepted (-3)

S7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group (0).

Or that females are disadvantaged due to social expectations (“S40. *Females who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the baby risk category -3*”).

They acknowledge that male dominated networks could prevent advancement if you were not in the right circles (“S15. *The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know +1*”) and believe that having a sponsor is important if a female wants to progress (“S21. *The most crucial thing for*

a woman to have if she is going to get to the top is a sponsor to look out for her +1) but at the same time believe that a female leader would not be more successful by being one of the guys (*"S31. Women are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys -2"*), which taps into the proscriptive nature of the female gender category (*"S35. Differences between men and women leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success +3"*). This factor does not acknowledge that there are penalties for defying gender stereotypes:

S17. Most women downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others (0)

S20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity in order to be respected and accepted by their male peers (-1)

Interestingly, the participants on this this factor acknowledges the hard work that women put in to become leaders:

S26. Most female leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life in order to succeed (+2)

S8. Women who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky (-3)

S14. The reason that most women do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top (-1)

They therefore acknowledge that should a female leader fail, it does not reflect on her capability (*"S13. A female leader's failure is indicative that she doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility -3"*.) They also acknowledge that women carve their own path:

S30. In general female leaders have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement as their experience and competence were not enough to guarantee progression (-4)

The participants on this factor indicated that they respect female leaders for their tenacity:

S6. Successful women are to be admired for their tenacity in reaching the top (+4)

S22. Its inspiring to see female leaders succeed against all odds and in doing so they make powerful role models (+3)

7.2.2.3. Consensus statements or what we all agree on about you

Across both these factors there is a dominant “gender narrative”. The first is related to *proscriptive behaviour*, that is, things that women should not do. Both these factors were against female leaders adopting masculinized behaviours:

S19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful **Factor A (-4) and Factor B (-4)**

S35. Differences between men and women leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success **Factor A (+4) and Factor B (+3)**

S39. The better female leaders do not try to be like their male counterparts, but tap into their own unique leadership qualities **Factor A (+3) and Factor B (+4)**

Secondly, both these factors attribute *prescriptive* communal characteristics to a female leader:

S28. Successful female leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together **Factor A (+1) and Factor B (+2)**

S38. In general, having women in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others **Factor A (+1) and Factor B (+2)**

Furthermore, the male leaders in this study do not directly acknowledge that there is backlash directed towards female leaders who violate these prescriptive and proscriptive rules:

S17. Most women downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others **Factor A (0) and Factor B (0)**

But their response on statement (“S31. Women who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys **Factor A (-2) and Factor B (-2)**”), suggest that there could be *backlash* directed at female leaders who act against the gender rules.

Thirdly, whilst the male leaders in this study claimed that female leaders should tap into their unique leadership qualities, there is no indication from them that a female leader doing so will be conferred any leadership advantage:

*S5. Female leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and rational thinkers **Factor A (0) and Factor B (-2)***

*S27. Females have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership **Factor A (0) and Factor B (+1)***

Yet, these male leaders see the agency that female leaders display when it comes to pushing for their career goals and admire and respect them for achieving against the odds:

*S34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers **Factor A (+2) and Factor B (+3)***

*S6. Successful and powerful women are to be admired for their tenacity at reaching the top **Factor A (+3) and Factor B (+4)***

*S22. It's inspiring to see female leaders succeed against all odds and in doing so they make powerful role models **Factor A (+2) and Factor B (+3)***

Finally, across both factors, it seemed that male leaders do not believe that they have anything in common with female leaders with Factor B negating statement 37 and Factor A demonstrating neutrality:

*S37. Female leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than with females in general **Factor A (0) and Factor B (-2)***

In light of their response on statement 37, their response on statement 39 ("*S39. The better female leaders do not try to be like their male counterparts but tap into their own unique leadership qualities **Factor A (+3) and Factor B (+4)***"), can also suggest that female leaders as a group are excluded from the superordinate category of leader in the perceptions of male leaders.

In summary, the findings of the MLPofFL study suggest that female leaders may not be seen as a distinct social group by some male leaders. Furthermore, they are very linked to their gender group in the minds of some male leaders. Furthermore, male leaders do not

seem to believe in a superordinate 'leader' category believing that male and female leaders have little in common. These findings open up important questions around dimensions of comparison in the intergroup context. Male leaders in this study strongly believe that female leaders should tap into their own unique communal leadership qualities but despite acknowledging and even valuing the many communal characteristics of female leaders, male leaders do not believe that these give female leaders any leadership advantages. Furthermore, it would seem from this study, that the stereotypes and biases that impede female leaders are not at the forefront of male leader's minds and in some cases male leaders are completely oblivious to the social, racial and structural stereotypes, biases and impediments that face their female peers. Rather, some male leaders as evidenced by factor B, are likely to believe that a female's lack of progress is due to her innate characteristics such as fear, risk averseness and doubts. In not acknowledging the instability of female leaders' positions, they also pass the onus onto women leaders to help other women to break through the barriers.

7.3. Study Two: Male leader Perceptions of Male Leaders (MLPofML)

7.3.1. Method

A second study was carried out with male leaders to understand their perspectives of male leaders in order to assess those understandings vis-à-vis their understandings of female leader social identities. This study will be referred to as the MLPofML study. The procedures used in this study was identical to the procedures used in the MLPofFL study with the only difference being the reverse gendering of the items in the Q set. Hence, a discussion around the procedures related to the administration of the Q sort will be omitted from this section.

7.3.1.1. Procedures

This second Q-methodological study used the same Q set from the MLPofFL study with one important difference. The items in this study were reverse-gendered. The reverse-gendered items were piloted with two male leaders and one female leader to assess whether the reverse gendering made logical sense. Based on their feedback, only one item was changed. This was statement S40 in the Q set, which in the female leader perception studies read "Female leaders who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the 'baby risk' category." Based on feedback from the pilot, for the MLPofML study, it was rewritten to read

“Male leaders who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them into the ‘family responsibility risk’ category”.

The reverse-engineered Q set was then loaded onto online Q sort programme, Q-assessor and the procedures followed were identical to those presented in the MLPofML study above. Administration of the Q sort followed the exact same procedures detailed in the MLPofML study so for the sake of brevity, it will not be discussed again.

7.3.1.2 Participants

Twenty-two male leaders were purposively contacted to participate in this study, however only 15 male leaders eventually participated. These male leaders worked in academia and for a global technology company. Six of these male leaders also participated in the MLPofFL study. Fieldwork was completed in 2015. Their demographic characteristics are presented in Table 7.6 below.

Table 7.6: Demographic Characteristics of the P Set (MLPofML study)

Age	26-35 (4) 36-45 (9) 45-56 (1) Over 56 (1)	Nationality	British (2) South African (5) Indian (2) Finnish (3) Polish (1) Italian (1) Singaporean (1)	Ethnicity	Indian (8) White (6) Asian (1)
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7.3.1.3 Analysis

The raw data from the 15 Q sorts was exported into PQMethod. The 15 sorts were inter-correlated and factor analysed using centroid analysis with varimax solution. The justification for this analytical strategy has already been extensively discussed in the Methodology chapter. In the end three factors were extracted and rotated which together accounted for 49% of the study variance. Each factor had at least two significant sorts loading onto it and

each factor had an eigenvalue greater than 1.00. 11 Q sorts loaded significantly onto at least one factor, where the factor loading was ± 0.4078 at $p < 0.01$. Three Q sorts were confounded and one Q sort was found to be insignificant. Table 7.7. details the factor characteristics of the final three factor solution.

Table 7.7: Factor Characteristics of Final Three Factor Solution (MLPofML study)

	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
Significant loadings	5	2	4
% Variance explained	21	12	15
Eigenvalues	5.04	1.22	1.01
Composite reliability	0.952	0.889	0.941
S.E. of Factor scores	0.218	0.333	0.243
Average reliability coefficient	0.800	0.800	0.800

*Standard Error for study = 0.1581 and *Significant factor loading = 0.407

7.3.2. Results

The results of this study will be written up in a different manner compared to the MLPofFL study because the aim of this second study was to gain data that would allow for exploration of how male leaders position the social identities of female leaders relative to how they construct their own social identities as male leaders. This was necessary to surface the “invisible” representations of female leaders that may not have come up in the MLPofFL study. Hence the results of the MLPofML study will be presented in a thematic format with reference to the results of the MLPofFL study. Before presenting the results, an overview of the participants who loaded onto the three factors in the MLPofML study will be presented below.

Table 7.8: Demographic characteristics of participants loading onto Factor A, Factor B and Factor C of MLPofML study

Factor A	Age : 26-35 (2) 36-45 (1) 45-56 (1) Over 56 (1) Nationality: Finnish (2) Italian (1) Indian (1) South African (1) Race: Indian (2) White (3)	Factor B	Age : 36-45 (2) Nationality: British (1) South African (1) Race: Indian (2)	Factor C	Age : 26-35 (1) 36 – 45 (3) Nationality: South Africa (2) Polish (1) Singaporean (1) Race: White (1) Asian (1) Indian (2)
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7.3.2.1 Theme 1: Gender category rules dominate expected behaviour

Across both the MLPofML study and the MLPofFL study, male leader participants across all factors expressed agreement that male and female leaders have unique leadership qualities (S39) and that differences between male and female leadership styles should be celebrated (S35). In the MLPofML study, both Factor B (S19; -2) and Factor C (-1) disagree that male leaders should adopt feminized behaviours and both Factor A (S19; -4) and Factor B (S19; -4) in the MLPofFL study believe that women should not adopt masculinized behaviours.

Furthermore, both Factor A (S31; -2) and Factor B (S31; -2) in the MLPofFL study did not believe that women who are more likely to succeed are ones that act like the guys. In addition, whilst male leaders across all three factors in the MLPofML study disagree that they are afraid of taking risks because they do not have the luxury of making mistakes the same way women do (S12), Factor B in the MLPofFL study agree that female leaders are afraid of taking risks because they do not have the luxury of making mistakes the same way

men do (S12; +1) suggesting that this factor was aware that a mistake on the part of a female leader came with negative consequences which were not there for males. Taken together, these results suggest that male leaders in both studies endorse strong gender stereotypes around how women should behave and believe that both male and female leaders should conform to the rules of their gender categories. It is noteworthy that Factor C (S31; +1) agreed that male leaders should adopt more feminized behaviours in order to succeed, suggesting that these male leaders have more flexibility to bend the boundaries of their gender category.

Statement	A	B	C
[MLPofML] S39. The better male leaders do not try to be like their male or female counterparts, but instead tap into their own unique leadership qualities (CS)	+4	+3	+3
[MLPofFL] S39. The better female leaders do not try to be like their male counterparts, but instead tap into their own unique leadership qualities	+3	+4	
[MLPofML] S35. Differences between men and women's leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success (CS)	+3	+3	+4
[MLPofFL] S35. Differences between men and women's leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success	+4	+3	
[MLPofML] S31. Men who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys (CS)	0	0	+1
[MLPofFL] S31. Women who are more likely to succeed are ones that act like one of the guys (CS)	-2	-2	
[MLPofML] S19. Feminized behaviours are something men should emulate in order to be successful	-2	-1	+1*
[MLPofFL] S19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful (CS)	-4	-4	
[MLPofML] S12. Male leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way as women do (CS)	-3	-2	-3
[MLPofFL] S12. Female leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way as male do (CS)	-1	+1	

Statement	A	B	C
[MLPofML] S34. Male leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers (CS)	+2	+2	+2
[MLPofFL] S34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers	+2	+3	
[MLPofML] S4. Male leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering	+2*	-1	-1
[MLPofFL] S4. Female leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering (CS)	-2	-2	

Distinguishing Statements: (**) indicates significance at $p < .05$; (*) Indicates Significance at $p < .01$. CS indicates consensus statements that did not distinguish between any factors

7.3.2.3 Theme 2: The glimmer of a superordinate category?

Male leaders on Factor A in the MLPofFL study believe that female leaders have more in common with other female leaders than with females in general (S36; +2) suggesting that respondents who loaded onto this factor saw women leaders as a distinct social category separate to their gender group. However, Factor B in this same study disagree that female leaders have more in common with other female leaders compared to females in general (S36; -1) and Factor B in this study also do not agree that female leaders share more commonalities with other male leaders than with other females in general (S37; -2). This suggests that respondents who loaded onto this factor do not separate female leaders from their gender identity.

Factor A, in the MLPofML study believe that male leaders are a distinct social category as evidenced by their agreement that male leaders share more commonalities with other male leaders than they do with males in general (S36; +3) and their neutrality on the statement that male leaders have more in common with other female leaders than with other males in general (S37; 0). Factor B in the MLPofML study do not perceive that male leaders share more commonalities with female leaders than they do with males in general (S37; -4) and this taken with their neutrality on the statement that male leaders share more commonalities with male leaders than with males in general (S36; 0) suggests that respondents loading onto this factor do not see male leaders as different to males in general but definitely perceive that male leaders have no commonalities with female leaders. This could be because they associate women leaders with feminized behaviours and they already reject

the notion that males should adopt more feminized behaviours in order to succeed (S19; -1). Interestingly Factor C in the MLPofML study believed that male leaders had more in common with other female leaders rather than with male leaders in general (S37; +1) suggesting that Factor C believes that both male and female leaders belong to a superordinate “leader” category.

Statement	A	B	C
[MLPofML] S36. Male leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than with males in general	+3*	0	-1**
[MLPofFL] S36. Female leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than with females in general	+2*	-1	
[MLPofML] S37. Male leaders often have more in common with other female leaders than with other males in general	0**	-4*	+1
[MLPofFL] S37. Female leaders often have more in common with other male leaders than with other females in general	0**	-2	

Distinguishing Statements: (**) indicates significance at $p < .05$; (*) Indicates Significance at $p < .01$. CS indicates consensus statements that did not distinguish between any factors

7.3.2.3 Theme 3: Double standards for leadership effectiveness

In the MLPofML study, Factor A agreed that successful male leaders knew how to get people to cooperate and work together (S28; +4) but do not believe that male leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands (S27; 0). Neither do they agree that male leaders have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership (S11; 0). They were also neutral on the statement that male leaders are better managers, advisors and rational thinkers (S5; 0). Taken together, it would seem that Factor A on the MLPofML study believe that the only leadership strength of male leaders was that they knew how to get people to work together and collaborate.

Factor B in the same study disagrees that male leaders are effective in getting people to cooperate and work together (S28; -1) or that they have better instincts and intuition with regards to leadership (S27; -1). However, participants loading onto this factor do believe that male leaders are good listeners, naturally perceptive, strong collaborators and good at managing conflicting demands (S11; +1) and also believe that male leaders are better managers, better advisors, better mentors and better rational thinkers (S5; +1).

Factor C in the MLPofML study believes that male leaders knew how to get people to cooperate and work together (S28; +2) and that they were good listeners, naturally perceptive, strong collaborators and good at managing conflicting demands (S11; +2) but disagrees that male leaders have better instincts and intuition when it came to leadership (S27; -2).

In summary, all three factors in the MLPof ML study believe that male leaders possess certain characteristics that make them effective at leadership but there is no agreement across factors as to which of the characteristics were definitely male leadership strengths. In contrast in the MLPofFL study, both Factor A and Factor B agree that female leaders know how to get people to cooperate and work together (S28, Factor A +1; Factor B +2). Furthermore, Factor A believes that female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands (S11; +2). Despite these strengths Factor A does not believe that females have innate advantages when it comes to leadership expressed through their neutrality on S27 regarding women having better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership (S27; 0) and their neutrality on S5, that female leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, better mentors and better rational thinkers (S5;0).

In the same vein, Factor B in the MLPofFL study also acknowledges that in addition to their ability in getting people to cooperate and work together (S28; +2), female leaders also have better leadership instincts and intuition (S27; +1). However, the respondents on this factor disagree that female leaders are better managers, advisors, mentors or rational thinkers (S5; -2) suggesting that despite perceptions that female leaders have clear strengths, Factor B like Factor A do not believe that female leaders make better managers. When exploring the perceptions of male leaders and female leaders across both studies, it would seem that male respondents participating in these studies were operating under double standards. For example, in the MLPofML Factor A did not believe that male leaders had any strengths apart from their agreement with S11 (+1). In fact they disagreed with S28(-1) and S27(-1) but despite this they still believed that male leaders made better managers, mentors, advisors etcetera, whereas in the MLPofFL study, despite clear perceived leadership strengths, male respondents do not believe that female leaders are better managers, mentors, advisors etcetera.

Statement	A	B	C
[MLPofML] S28. Successful male leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together	+4**	-1*	+2**
[MLPofFL] S28. Successful female leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together (CS)	+1	+2	
[MLPofML] S27. Males have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership (CS)	0	-1	-2
[MLPofFL] S27. Females have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership (CS)	0	+1	
[MLPofML] S11. Male leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands (CS)	0	+1	+2
[MLPofFL] S11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands	+2*	0	
[MLPofML] S5. Male leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, better mentors and better rational thinkers (CS)	0	+1	0
[MLPofFL] S5. Female leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, better mentors and better rational thinkers (CS)	0**	-2	
Distinguishing Statements: (**) indicates significance at $p < .05$; (*) Indicates Significance at $p < .01$. CS indicates consensus statements that did not distinguish between any factors			

7.3.3.4. Theme 4: Asymmetrical experiences of prejudice

One of the clearest findings across both the MLPofML and MLPofFL studies was that male leaders across all the factors acknowledge the existence of the old boy network and the fact that progression happens when you have access to that network (S15) or when you have a sponsor to look out for you (S21). Furthermore, male leaders across all three factors in the MLPofML study disagree that male leaders face stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing (S23) and that male leaders who aspire to leadership have their career disadvantaged through family responsibility concerns (S40). In the MLPofML study, both Factor A (S14; +1) and Factor B (S14; +4) believe that the only barrier preventing men from reaching the top is their own drive and willingness to make the sacrifices necessary to reach the top. However, In the MLPofFL study, Factor A acknowledges that females have their careers disadvantaged because their gender and age led to “baby risk” perceptions (S40; +2). However, they were neutral on the statement female leaders face powerful stereotypes

and biases that prevent them from advancing (S23; 0) possibly suggesting that they minimized or were not fully aware of the extent of the impediments faced by female leaders as a result of stereotypes and biases. Conversely, whilst Factor B in the MLPofFL study agrees that female leaders face powerful biased and stereotypes that prevent them from advancing (S23; +2), they disagree that female aspirants to leadership are disadvantaged because of baby risk perceptions (S40; -3)

Statement	A	B	C
[MLPofML] S23. Male leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing	-4*	-3	-1
[MLPofFL] S23. Female leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing	0*	+2	
[MLPofML] S40. Males who aspire to leadership often have their careers disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the 'family responsibility risk' category (CS)	-3	-2	-3
[MLPofFL] S40. Females who aspire to leadership often have their careers disadvantaged because their age and gender put them in the "baby risk" category	+2*	-3	
[MLPofML] S15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is very much about who you know	+1*	+3	+3
	+1*	+4	
[MLPofFL] S15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is very much about who you know			

Distinguishing Statements: (**) indicates significance at $p < .05$; (*) Indicates Significance at $p < .01$. CS indicates consensus statements that did not distinguish between any factors

Factor B in the MLPofML study believes that male leaders who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky (S8, +2) and that in general male leaders have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement (S30, +1). It could be why they are the only factor that do not agree that male leaders should have a sponsor to look out for him (S21, 0). Conversely, Factor A and Factor B in the MLPofFL study disagree that luck in involved in women's progression S8; A (-2), B (-3) or that females have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement S30; A (-3), B (-4)

Statement	A	B	C
[MLPofML] S8. Men who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky	-4	-1*	+2*
[MLPofFL] S8. Women who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky	-2	-3	
[MLPofML] S21. The most crucial thing for a man to have if he is going to reach the top is a sponsor to look out for him	+1	+1	0
[MLPofFL] S21. The most crucial thing for a woman to have if she is going to reach the top is a sponsor to look out for her (CS)	0	+1	
[MLPofML] S30. In general male leaders have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement as their experience and competence wasn't enough to guarantee their progression	-2	-1	+1*
[MLPofFL] S30. In general female leaders have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement as their experience and competence wasn't enough to guarantee their progression (CS)	-3	-4	

Distinguishing Statements: (**) indicates significance at $p < .05$; (*) Indicates Significance at $p < .01$. CS indicates consensus statements that did not distinguish between any factors.

The findings across both studies in terms of perceptions around race and gender are noteworthy. In the MLPofML study, male leaders loading onto Factor A do not perceive that male leaders of colour face a double bind of having to deal with stereotypes against both their race and gender group (S7; -1). However, they still agree that male leaders of colour have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts in order to succeed. However, both Factor B (S7; +2) and Factor C (S7; +3) acknowledges the double bind of race and colour that are faced by male leaders of colour. In the MLPofFL study, Factor A acknowledges the difficulties that female leaders face (S7; +3) and also acknowledges that female leaders of colour have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts in order to be accepted (S24; +3). However, Factor B disagrees that female leaders of colour have to work harder than their white peers (S24; -3) even though they acknowledged that female leaders of colour did face a double bind. This finding could be due to their perception that in general females face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from progressing (S23; +2) and so

possibly they feel that all women would have to work really hard to be accepted regardless of race.

Statement	A	B	C
[MLPofML] S7. Male leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group	-1*	+2	+3
[MLPofFL] S7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group and promote themselves in order to advance their careers	+3*	0	
[MLPofML] S24. Male leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted	+1	0	0
[MLPofFL] S24. Female leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted	+3*	-3	

Distinguishing Statements: (**) indicates significance at $p < .05$; (*) Indicates Significance at $p < .01$. CS indicates consensus statements that did not distinguish between any factors

Furthermore, it seems as if the male leaders in this study believe that in general ascending to the top is much more dependent on individual characteristics of the person. Both Factor A (S14; +1) and Factor B (S14: +4) believe that men who do not succeed are the ones that lack the drive and willingness to make sacrifices to reach the top. In the same vein, both Factor A (S32; +2) and Factor B (S32; +2) believe that fear together with lack of confidence and ambivalent relationships to ambition risk and money prevent men from succeeding as leaders S26; Factor A (+1), Factor B (+2). Furthermore, Factor A believes that a male leader's failure is indicative that he does not belong in that role (S13; +2). From the MLPofML study it would seem that male leaders believe that a male leader's success or lack thereof is purely driven by his own individual characteristics and behaviour and is not really dependant or affected by societal constraints. However, the findings of the MLPofFL study suggest that from a male leader perspective, male leaders acknowledge that a female leader's success or lack thereof does not solely rest on her innate characteristics or behaviour. This was evidenced by Factor B disagreeing that females lack the drive and willingness to make sacrifices to reach the top (S14; -1) but at the same time agreeing that lack of confidence (S26; +1) and fear (S32; +2) were the reasons women were not successful. Factor A in this same study was neutral on S14 (0) and S32 (0) possibly suggesting that the participants who loaded onto this factor did not believe that female leaders were held to the same performance standards as men. While Factor A disagree that

lack of confidence and/or ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the factors that hold women back from success (S26; -2), both Factor A (S3; -1) and Factor B (S1; -3) do not believe that a female leader's failure is indicative that she does not belong in that role.

Statement	A	B	C
[MLPofML] S14. The reason that most men do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices needed to reach the top	+1*	+4*	-1*
[MLPofFL] S14. The reason that most women do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices needed to reach the top (CS)	0**	-1	
[MLPofML] S32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that men face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice.	+2	+2	0*
[MLPofFL] S32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice.	0*	+2	
[MLPofML] S13. A male leader's failure is indicative that he doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility	+2*	-2	-4
[MLPofFL] S13. A Female leader's failure is indicative that she doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility (CS)	-1	-3	
[MLPofML] S18. Most male leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life in order to succeed	+3**	0**	-2**
[MLPofFL] S18. Most female leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life in order to succeed (CS)	+1*	+2	
[MLPofML] S33. In general male leaders have many doubts. They doubt what they have to say, doubt what they can handles and doubt their decisions. In the process they undermine their decisions	-1	-3	-2
[MLPofFL] S33. In general female leaders have many doubts. They doubt what they have to say, doubt what they can	-2*	0	

Statement	A	B	C
handles and doubt their decisions. In the process they undermine their decisions			
[MLPofML] S26. Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons men don't succeed as leaders	+1	+2	+3
[MLPofFL] S26. Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons women don't succeed as leaders	-2*	+1	

Distinguishing Statements: (**) indicates significance at $p < .05$; (*) Indicates Significance at $p < .01$. CS indicates consensus statements that did not distinguish between any factors

7.3.3.5. Theme 5: Self-presentational concerns?

In the MLPofFL study, male leaders across Factor A (S17; -1) and Factor B (S17; -4) agree that male leaders do not downplay their achievements to avoid being seen as a threat and being disliked by others. Interestingly, in the MLPofFL study, male leaders across Factor A and Factor B were neutral in terms of their perceptions that female leaders did the same suggesting that they potentially do not spend time thinking about how female leaders present themselves in an achievement context.

An interesting finding emerged when it came to perceptions of presentational concerns in the context of gender relations. Male leaders in the MLPofML study on Factor A (S20; -2) and Factor B (S20; -3) believe that male leader do not feel compelled to downplay elements of their male identity in order to be respected and accepted by female leaders but in the MLPofFL study, male leaders on Factor A believe that female leaders feel compelled to downplay their female identity in order to be accepted by their male counterparts (S20; +1), whilst Factor B disagreed that this was the case (Factor B; -1). Interestingly, Factor A do not perceive women as displaying counter-stereotypical behaviours to avoid being seen as similar to females in general (S2; -1). Furthermore, Factor B was neutral on this statement (S2; 0). Taken together, it would seem that male leaders are not aware of the presentational constraints that female leaders face in the intergroup context possibly due the fact that they themselves do not necessarily suffer from presentational concerns. The only presentational concern that they acknowledge is that female leaders may downplay their feminine identity in order to be accepted by their male peers.

Statement	A	B	C
[MLPofML] S17. Most male leaders downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others	-1**	-4*	0**
	0	0	
[MLPofFL] S17. Most female leaders downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others (CS)			
[MLPofML] S20. Males in leadership positions often feel compelled to downplay elements of their male identity in order to be respected and accepted by female leaders	-2	-3	0*
[MLPofFL] S20. Females in leadership positions often feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity in order to be respected and accepted by male leaders	+1*	-1	
[MLPofML] S2. Male leaders often display counter stereotypical behaviours, to ensure that people don't stereotype them as similar to other males in general	-2	+2*	-2
	-1	0	
[MLPofFL] S2. Female leaders often display counter stereotypical behaviours, to ensure that people don't stereotype them as similar to other females in general (CS)			

Distinguishing Statements: (**) indicates significance at $p < .05$; (*) Indicates Significance at $p < .01$. CS indicates consensus statements that did not distinguish between any factors

7.3.3.6. Theme 6: Concern for the progression of the ingroup

It is noteworthy that whilst Factor B (S1; +1) and Factor C (S1; +1) in the MLPofML study perceive that male leaders often ignore the barriers that other men face in an organisation, the participants on Factor B in the MLPofFL study disagree that female leaders ignore the struggles and barriers faced by other women (S1; -1). Furthermore, whilst Factor B in the MLPofML study also believe that male leaders fear promoting other men due to concerns that the other men would be better than them (S3; +1), both factors in the MLPofFL study disagreed that this statement was true for female leaders. In fact, both Factor A and Factor B in the MLPofFL study believe that having females in leadership positions is beneficial to others as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others. All three factors in the MLPofML study were neutral on this statement when it came to their perceptions of male leaders.

Statement	A	B	C
[MLPofML] S1. Males on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other men face in an organisation	0	+1	+1
[MLPofFL] S1. Females on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other women face in an organisation	+1*	-1	
[MLPofML] S10. Male leaders often isolate themselves from people who work for them and come across as aloof and distant	-3	+3**	0**
[MLPofFL] S10. Female leaders often isolate themselves from people who work for them and come across as aloof and distant	-3*	0	
[MLPofML] S3. Male leaders fear promoting other men as they fear that the other man would be better than them	0	+1	-1*
[MLPofFL] S3. Female leaders fear promoting other women as they fear that the other woman would be better than them	-3*	-1	
[MLPofML] S38. In general having men in leadership positions are very beneficial to others as male leaders actively promote the welfare of others CS	0	0	0
[MLPofFL] S38. In general having women in leadership positions are very beneficial to others as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others CS	+1	+2	
[MLPofML] S25. Males who have made it to the top have a duty to help other men succeed	-1	-3	-3**
[MLPofFL] S25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed	-1*	+3	

Distinguishing Statements: (**) indicates significance at $p < .05$; (*) Indicates Significance at $p < .01$. CS indicates consensus statements that did not distinguish between any factors

7.4. Discussion

7.4.1. Framed by gender

Some male leaders perceive the female leader category as a discrete social category distinct to that of the female gender category and there were some male leaders who perceived the male leader category as a discrete social category to the male gender

category. However, interestingly only one factor believed that male leaders had more in common with female leaders than with males in general, whilst male leaders when thinking about female leaders did not agree that female leaders had more in common with male leaders than with females in general. One implication of this finding is that female leaders are likely to be judged against the norms of their gender category or the male gender category rather than by the norms of the “leader” category. Whilst it has been suggested that the stereotypes of the female gender category are evolving over time to become slightly more agentic (Eagly, 2018), the male leaders across all factors, endorsed strong communality behaviours for women. This suggests that they still associate agency with males and communion with females. If male leaders judge women leaders against the norms of the male gender category then female leaders are likely to face either *lack of fit* perceptions or potential backlash if they are seen to be violating the prescriptions of their gender category by behaving agentially (Heilman, 2012; Rudman et al, 2012).

7.4.2. Privilege blinds

The findings of the MLPofML study and MLPofFL studies surfaced “invisible representations” of female leaders by male leaders that could potentially constrain them in an intergroup context. The clearest finding was that stereotypes, discrimination and bias are absent from the construction of male leader social identities. In fact, male leaders do not perceive that external impediments constrain them. Rather, they believe that progress is based on individual drive. One of the implications of this is that their privileged position blinds them to the prejudices and biases that impede women leaders and some male leaders judge a female’s lack of progression as being due to her internal characteristics such as risk averseness, doubts and fears. This is quite insidious because by not acknowledging the constraints that bind female leaders, these male leaders place a burden on women leaders to help other women succeed and they seem to believe that female leaders on their own can remove barriers that face other women in the organisation. Furthermore, believing that a female leader’s success or failure depends on her innate abilities, implies that should she fail, this could reinforce their stereotyped views of males being a better fit for leadership because they have the requisite innate characteristics.

7.4.3. Ingroup concerns trump outgroup concerns

It would seem that the progress of a few women into leadership positions creates the perception that the doors to advancement are open to other women. Even those male

leaders who perceive that female leaders were constrained by prejudices and stereotypes did not believe that these were powerful enough to prevent a female leader from progressing. In fact, some male leaders were blind to the disadvantage that male leaders and female leaders of colour face due to the potential accrual of disadvantage related to stereotypes of race and gender. It would seem that male leaders only acknowledge impediments and biases that are relevant to their own social identities. For example, male leaders across all factors in both studies acknowledge the power of the 'old boy' network for progression and therefore were more likely to endorse a man or a woman getting a sponsor to look out for them if they wanted to get to the top. In addition, some male leaders acknowledged that the only way for males to succeed is by acting like one of the boys, whereas across both factors in the MLPofFL study, male leaders did not believe that this strategy would help women to succeed.

7.4.4. Double Standards

The findings of the comparative analysis suggest that male leaders engage in double standards when evaluating the effectiveness of female leaders. All three factors in the MLPof ML study believe that male leaders possess certain characteristics that made them effective at leadership but there was no agreement across all factors as to which of the characteristics were definitely male leadership strengths. However, despite this, male leaders believed that male leaders made better managers, mentors and advisors. In contrast in the MLPofFL study, both factors agreed that female leaders knew how to get people to cooperate and work together and these male leaders perceived that female leaders had definite leadership strengths but despite these strengths, these male leaders do not believe that female leaders made good managers and mentors as evidenced in their disagreement with this statement.

7.4.5. Illegitimate contenders

The legitimacy of the female leader group proved to be questionable in this study due to male leaders not being able to separate the female leader social identity from their gender identity. Furthermore, by not acknowledging commonalities between male leaders and female leaders, this would suggest that female leaders do not hold a legitimate place in the minds of male leaders in the intergroup context. Furthermore, male leaders are aware of some of the gender politics that exist in the leadership context that potentially gives them more social power compared to female leaders. For example, two factors in the MLPofML

study negated any indication that they would downplay elements of their male gender identity in order to be respected by female leaders. However, one factor in the MLPofFL study indicated their awareness that female leaders resorted to minimizing elements of their female gender identity in order to be respected and accepted by their male peers. Furthermore, one factor demonstrated awareness that female leaders were held to a stricter standard than male leaders and therefore could not risk making mistakes as they were not as easily forgiven as a male leader making a mistake.

7.4.6. The unequal playing field

From a status perspective, it would seem that female leaders are not awarded the same status that male leaders have. Male leaders laud the communal strengths that female leaders possess but still believe that they as male leaders make better managers, advisors and mentors. Furthermore, two factors in the male leader study disagreed that male leaders should adopt any feminized behaviours (like being more nurturing and caring) in order to be successful which suggest that these behaviours are not valued as much as they might admire it in women. Finally, one factor associated behaviours such as being ruthless, ambitious and going after power as true for male leaders in the MLPofML study, however, both factors in the MLPofFL study did not see women as possessing these characteristics.

7.4.7. Concluding Remarks

In summary, the intergroup analysis indicated that male leaders still have stereotyped views about what men and women are good at. However, it was also clear, that male leaders did not believe that a female's strengths made her a better leader. There is evidence to suggest that male leaders see female leaders as illegitimate contenders in the leadership space and may not even acknowledge that they are on the same playing field. This gives rise to unequal status relations between male leaders and female leaders. Furthermore, male leaders as a result of their privileged status are blind to the issues and constraints that face minority leaders, expecting that they can progress without impediment. This also ensures complacency on their part, to the extent that ingroup concerns trump outgroup concerns. These findings will be discussed in further detail in the discussion chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Group-Based Emotions and Social Change

8.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of a study on the group-based appraisals, group-based emotions and group-based action tendencies experienced by female leaders in response to negative portrayals of their social identity. One of the main tenets of social identity theory is that individuals strive for a positive image for themselves and their groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Members of low status or stigmatized groups have a more difficult time in maintaining positive views of the self, given their objectively lower outcomes and the negative expectations and stereotypes held by others around them compared to advantaged groups (Schmitt, et.al., 2002; Van Laar et al., 2010). In addition, pervasive discrimination, is harmful to the individual self because it indicates that the attainment of future personal goals may be more difficult to attain due to one's group membership (Stroebe et al., 2010). In the event that group members believe that they belong to a group that is consensually inferior, they are likely to experience a negative social identity (Sindic & Condor, 2014). Negative social identities may motivate group members under certain conditions to engage in one of three strategies, individual mobility, social creativity or social change (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social change strategies are the only strategies that could result in positive outcomes for female leaders as a group, with the other strategies better suited to attain individual success (Reynolds et al., 2012).

SIT proposes that collective action is one of the ways that through which group members can change the status quo and predicts three conditions that lead to collective action. These are related to group efficacy beliefs, perceptions of subjective injustice and group identification. SIT proposes that in order for collective action to occur, group members need to highly identify with their group, perceive that their group is being treated unfairly as a result of their group membership, and they need to believe that acting together as a group can change the status quo, Jiminez-Moya et al., 2018; Van Zomeren et al., 2008; Van Zomeren et al., 2012)

SIT proposes that when people identify as group members, self-categorization processes results in them appraising the world from the perspective of how it affects ingroup outcomes

(Tajfel, 1981), that is, they start making group based appraisals (Smith, 1993). Group based appraisals accompany group-based emotions which are specific emotions that group members experience that are derived from their belonging to specific groups and these emotions differ from those that are experienced on an individual level (Iyer & Leach, 2008; Kuppens & Yzerbyt, 2012; Mackie, et al., 2008). Furthermore, group members can experience emotions on behalf of their group even when they themselves are not personally affected by an event or action that affects their group (Cehajic & Brown, 2008; Mackie et al., 2000). For example, Leonard, Moons, Mackie, and Smith (2011) found that beliefs about how angry one's gender group feels, predicts self-reported group-based anger.

One of the key propositions of this thesis is that to fully understand the social identity of female leaders and the possibilities for social change, it is necessary to understand both the group-based cognitions and group-based emotions experienced by female leaders in response to negative group-based evaluations by others. Group-based emotions have been associated with collective action tendencies or the lack thereof. Recent research suggests that consistently experiencing negative group-based emotions as a result of one's social identity results in people dis-identifying with that specific group and self-categorizing with other groups (for a review, see Mackie & Smith, 2017). Interestingly other research has indicated that positive group-based emotions directed towards an outgroup such as admiration is associated with reduced negative group-based emotions such as anger directed towards the same outgroup (Seger, Banerji, Park, Smith, & Mackie, 2016).

8.2. Research Aims and objectives

The objective of this study is to understand the meaning and content of the group-based emotion experience of female leaders in response to negative group-based evaluations made by others. This study uses Iyer and Leach's (2008) definition of a group-based emotional experience as consisting of a group based appraisal of a specific event that has relevance to one's group identity, combined with the group-based emotion experienced as a result of that appraisal, and the resultant group-based action tendency.

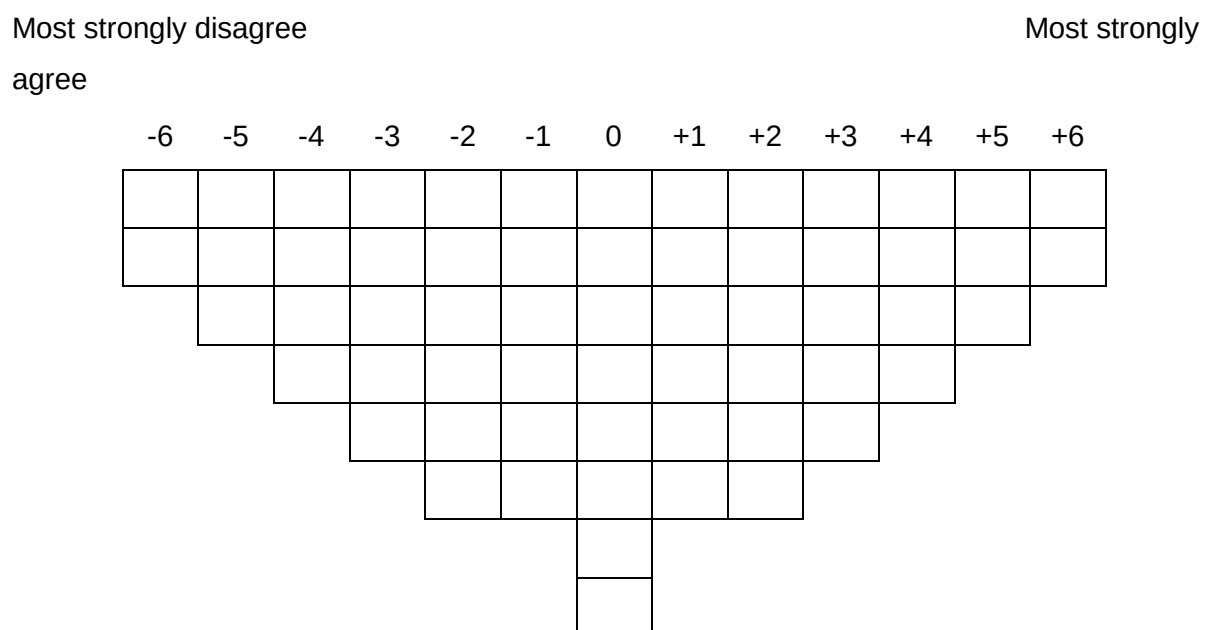
8.3. Method

8.3.1 Procedures

8.3.1.1. Developing the concourse and assembling the final Q set

The concourse for this study was culled from 30 previous academic research studies conducted within the Intergroup Emotions framework that explicitly explored group based emotions, appraisals and action tendencies. A balanced design was used to ensure that a balanced set of statements were captured for each of the three levels, that is group based emotions, group based appraisals and group based action tendencies. This yielded a concourse of 62 statements. This concourse was then assessed by one female leader to assess content and face validity and also to assess whether she believed that it was comprehensive enough given my objectives. On the basis of her feedback, some items were removed and others were edited. The final Q set was then piloted with two female leaders. The Q sort grid design used for this study is displayed below. The grid used in the sorting exercise for the 60 statements followed a bell shaped normal distribution curve ranging from most agree (+6) to most disagree (-6). The grid allowed for two statements to be placed at the +6 and -6 poles, three statements to be placed at the +5 and -5 poles, four statements to be placed at the +4 and -4 poles, five statements to be placed at the +3 and -3 poles, six statements to be placed at the -2 and +2 as well as the -1 and +1 poles and seven statements to be placed in the neutral column.

Figure 8.1. The fixed quasi-normal distribution of the Q sort employed in the GBEofFL study



The final 60 item Q set together with the Q sort grid above was built into an online freeware software FlashQ (www.hackert.biz/flashq). FlashQ replicates the Q sort in the same way that the online program Q-assessor does. However, the researcher has to send a zipped file of the electronic Q sort to participants. The electronic Q sort was necessary as many of the participants lived in several countries which prevented face-to-face administration of the Q sort.

8.3.1.2. Administration of the Q Sort

Participants were invited to participate via email and an interview was set up over skype for business. They were sent a zipped file containing the FlashQ study which could be unzipped and run from their computer. Once the respondent finished the sort, the FlashQ program automatically sends an email back to the researcher with the results. However, some researchers like (Finchilescu & Muthal, in press) believe that not being present with the respondent can result in them not engaging with the task as they should. Therefore, skype video was used to facilitate the Q study with the participant. This allowed for screen sharing with participants, giving them control of the screen to complete the Q sort if they weren't comfortable using their own computer. The additional advantages of a virtual online Q study has already been detailed in chapter four. Participants were first asked to watch a +/- 2 minute video clip that addressed workplace stereotypes. The video clip showed men and women displaying the same behaviours but women being labelled in a negative light, whilst men were positioned in a positive light. An example of one of the vignettes from the video is displayed below. All vignettes from the video are presented in Appendix G. This video together with several other videos had been pre-piloted with the two female leaders who provided feedback on the concourse and Q set. Based on their feedback, it was decided that the video presented in Appendix G was the most suitable for this study to assist with the study objectives. Figure 8.2. shows an example of the vignettes from the video.

Figure 8.2: Examples of vignettes from video clip used in GBEofFL study

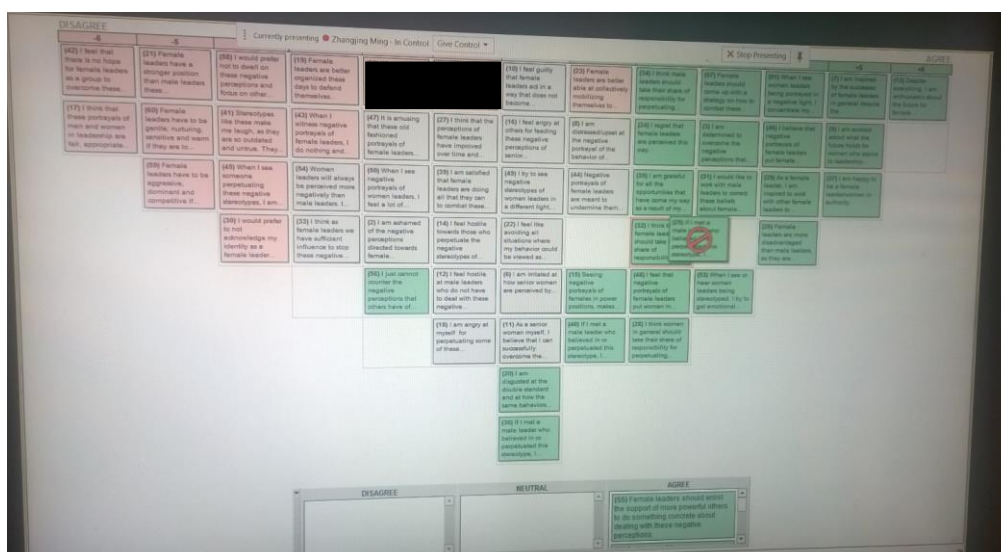


After watching the video, the participants were asked to electronically sort a number of statements according to the following condition of instruction.

“As a female leader, after watching this video clip, of men and women leaders in the same situation exhibiting the same behaviours but being perceived differently, please sort these statements according to the extent to which you experience the following emotions/experiences/thoughts and feelings in response to this video”

As with all Q studies, the participants first pre-sorted the pile of statements to gain familiarity. After which, they were able to pick statements from their various pre-sorted piles and place it into the distribution grid shown in Figure 8.3.

Figure 8.3: Flash Q Program: Example of electronic sorting exercise



8.3.2. Participants or recruitment of the P Set

The participants for this study comprised 35 women who identified themselves as being women leaders living in South Africa, USA, Finland, Dubai, United Kingdom and India. Purposive sampling methods were used to identify female leaders within a global technology company. The use of purposive sampling methods to identify participants who are expected to provide a breadth and diversity of perspective is widely used in QM studies (Kitzinger, 1999). In total, forty-two women leaders were contacted to participate on a voluntary basis with no payment, and thirty-five women eventually participated. The definition of a leader employed in this study is someone who exercises authority over other people by having to influence, motivate, organize and coordinate the work of others (Eagly & Antonakis, 2015; Eagly & Carli, 2007). The participants in this study occupied positions ranging from senior managers to directors. The research was conducted between 2015 -2016. Characteristics of the P Set or participant sample is displayed below.

Table 8.1: Demographic characteristics of participant sample (n=35)

Age	25-34 : 12 35-44 : 20 45 – 54 : 2 Undisclosed : 1	Nationality	British : 8 Lebanonese : 1 Egyptian : 1 South African : 7 Czechoslovakia : 1 Polish : 1 Pakistani : 1 Canadian : 1 Nigerian : 1 Indian : 7 Singaporean : 3 Finnish : 2 Turkish : 1	Ethnicity	Black : 3 Indian : 10 White : 17 Asian : 3 Middle Eastern : 2
No of years in position of responsibility	2-5 years (9) 6-10 years (13) 11-15 years (11) 16-20 years (2)				

8.3.3. Analysis

The data from this study was entered into PQMethod. Centroid analysis was used for factor extraction. Following Watts and Stenner's (2012) guideline for extracting factors, initially five factors were extracted as there were 35 Q sorts. However, exploration of the unrotated factor matrix indicated that whilst all five factors had eigenvalues over 1.00 only three factors had two or more significant loadings following extraction. Furthermore, applying Humphrey's rule, showed that only three factors were significant with the cross-product of its two highest loading regardless of the direction exceeding twice the standard error (Brown, 1980; Watts & Stenner, 2012).

Table 8.2: Significant Factor Loadings and Standard Error Calculations (GBEofFL study)

Significant factor loading = $2.58 \times (1/\sqrt{\text{no of items in the Q set}})$ = $2.58 * (1/\sqrt{60})$ = $2.58 * 0.1291$ = 0.3330 rounded to +/- 0.33	Standard Error = $1/(\sqrt{\text{no of items in the Q set}})$ = $1/(\sqrt{60})$ = 0.1291
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Three factors were retained and PQMethod was re-run again using centroid analysis with only three factors extracted and rotated. Varimax rotation was utilized to maximize the statistical differences between factors. Thirty-five Q sorts were inter-correlated and factor analysed with three factors extracted and rotated. The three factors explained 48% of the study variance. Watts and Stenner (2012) advise that variances in the region 35-40% or above is normally considered a sound solution. Twenty-one Q sorts loaded significantly onto at least one factor, where the factor loading was 0.3330 or higher at $p < 0.01$. Nine sorts were confounded and five sorts were insignificant. Table 8.3 presents a summary of the characteristics of the final factors.

Table 8.3: Factor Characteristics of final 3 Factor Solution (GBEofFL study)

	FACTOR A	FACTOR B	FACTOR C
Significant loadings	10	9	3
% Variance explained	17	19	12
Eigenvalues	13.18	2.49	1.18
Composite reliability	0.976	0.973	0.923
S.E. of Factor scores	0.156	0.164	0.277
Average reliability coefficient	0.800	0.800	0.800

8.4. Results

The full factor array with the distinguishing and consensus statements is provided in table 8.4 below.

Table 8.4: Factor Q Sort Values for Each Statement in the GBEofFL study: This table provides the prototypical Q sort rankings (termed Q-SV), without the factor scores (termed Z-SCR).

*Distinguishing statements with significance at $p < .01$ are denoted with * in the Factor Column and consensus statements (those that do not distinguish between factors) are denoted with $\pm$ in the statement column.*

Q statement	A	B	C
1. I Feel proud of the accomplishments of senior women	+6	+4	*0
2. I'm ashamed of the negative perceptions directed towards female leaders	*-2	*0	*+3
3. I'm determined to overcome the negative perceptions that exist of senior women	+2	+2	-1
4. I'm nervous about the future outcomes for senior women as a group	-2	-3	+1
5. I'm always alert/vigilant to behaviours that may be negatively perceived by others	+1	*-2	+3
6. I'm irritated at how senior women are perceived by others	+1	0	+2

Q statement	A	B	C
7. I'm inspired by the successes of female leaders in general despite the odds	+5	+5	+2
8. I'm distressed/upset at the negative portrayal of the behaviour of female leaders	0	*-2	+1
9. I'm excited about what the future holds for women who aspire to leadership positions	+4	+5	*-2
10. I feel guilty that female leaders act in a way that does not become them	-3	-2	0
11. As a senior woman myself, I believe that I can successfully overcome the barriers that stand in our way	0	*+6	0
12. I feel hostile at male leaders who do not have to deal with these negative perceptions ±	-3	-3	-2
13. Despite everything, I am enthusiastic about the future for female leaders	+4	+5	*-1
14. I feel hostile towards those who perpetuate the negative stereotypes of female leaders	-1	-1	*+6
15. Seeing negative portrayals of females in power positions, makes me want to work harder to prove them wrong	+3	+3	*0
16. I feel angry at others for feeding these negative perceptions of senior women	*-1	0	+2
17. I think that these portrayals of men and women in leadership are fair, appropriate and legitimate	-6	-4	-6
18. I am angry at myself for perpetuating some of these stereotypes	*-2	*-5	*+4
19. Female leaders are better organized these days to defend themselves against these negative perceptions ±	0	0	-3
20. I am disgusted at the double standard and at how the same behaviours are portrayed differently for men and women ±	+4	+3	+5
21. Female leaders have a stronger position than male leaders these days	-6	*-1	-4
22. I feel like avoiding all situations where my behaviour could be viewed as being inappropriate	-2	*-3	-5
23. Female leaders are better able at collectively mobilizing themselves to defend against threats to their identity	+1	-1	-2
24. I regret that female leaders are perceived this way ±	+2	+2	+2

Q statement	A	B	C
25. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would try to change his perceptions	*-1	+1	+3
26. Female leaders are more disadvantaged than male leaders, as they are constrained by society's expectations of how they should behave and what their roles should be	+6	*0	+6
27. I think that the perceptions of female leaders have improved over time and will get better in the future	+3	+3	*-2
28. I think women in general should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these negative perceptions of women	0	+1	+4
29. As a female leader, I am inspired to work with other female leaders to change the situation and how we are perceived	+4	+4	+1
30. I would prefer to not acknowledge my identity as a female leader and/or senior woman of authority ±	-3	-5	-3
31. I would like to work with male leaders to correct these beliefs about female leaders ±	+2	+3	+1
32. I think that female leaders should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these stereotypes ±	0	+1	+2
33. I think as female leaders we have sufficient influence to stop these negative perceptions from being perpetuated further	-4	*+4	-1
34. I think male leaders should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these stereotypes	+5	+2	+5
35. I am grateful for all the opportunities that have come my way as a result of my position	+1	+4	+2
36. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would keep him at a distance	*+2	-4	-3
37. I am happy to be a female leader/woman in authority	*+3	*+6	*-1
38. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would confront or oppose him	-1	0	+3
39. I am satisfied that female leaders are doing all that they can to combat these negative perceptions	-4	*+2	-1
40. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would want nothing to do with him	-1	-5	-3
41. Stereotypes like these make me laugh, as they are so outdated and untrue. They really should be taken lightly	-5	*+1	-4

Q statement	A	B	C
42. I feel that there is no hope for female leaders as a group to overcome these barriers, and I would consider an alternative career if I had the opportunity ±	-5	-6	-4
43. When I witness negative portrayals of female leaders, I do nothing and do not want to hear anything more. I just stop thinking about it	-4	-2	*-6
44. Negative portrayals of female leaders are meant to undermine them and maintain the status quo, so that men can continue having all the power	+2	*-1	+5
45. When I see someone perpetuating these negative stereotypes, I am inclined to intervene	0	+1	+4
46. I believe that negative portrayals of female leaders put female leaders in general at a collective disadvantage	+5	*-2	+4
47. It is amusing that these old fashioned portrayals of female leaders still exist	*-3	*+3	*-5
48. I feel that negative portrayals of female leaders put women in general at a collective disadvantage	*+3	0	0
49. I try to see negative stereotypes of women leaders in a different light, to make it seem more positive ±	0	-1	0
50. When I see negative portrayals of women leaders, I feel a lot of emotional distress and find myself expressing those feelings a lot	*0	*-3	*+3
51. When I see women leaders being portrayed in a negative light, I concentrate my efforts on doing something about it ±	+1	+1	+1
52. When I see female leaders being positioned in a negative light, I am more likely to say to myself this is not real ±	-2	-2	-2
53. When I see or hear women leaders being stereotyped, I try to get emotional support from others and discuss my feelings with others who are interested	*+2	-1	-3
54. Women leaders will always be perceived more negatively than male leaders. I know that this cannot be changed and I have learned to live with it ±	-3	-4	-4
55. Female leaders should enlist the support of more powerful others to do something concrete about dealing with these negative perceptions ±	+3	+2	0

Q statement	A	B	C
56. I just cannot counter the negative perceptions that others have of senior women, so I won't even try to do so ±	-4	-4	-1
57. Female leaders should come up with a strategy on how to combat these stereotypes ±	+1	0	+1
58. I would prefer not to dwell on these negative perceptions and focus on other things	-1	*+2	-2
59. Female leaders have to be aggressive, dominant and competitive if they are to succeed	-2	-3	-5
60. Female leaders have to be gentle, nurturing, sensitive and warm if they are to succeed	-5	-6	*0

8.4.1 Factor A: Feeling impotent to address illegitimate views of one's group

Table 8.5: Demographic characteristics of participants loading onto Factor A in GBEofFL study

Age Range	25 -34 (4) 35-44 (4) 45-54 (2)	Nationality	British (4) South African (2) Pakistani (1) Singaporean (2) Indian (1)	Ethnicity	Black (2) White (3) Indian (3) Asian (2)
No of Years in position of Responsibility	2-5 years (3) 6-10 years (2) 11-15 years (4) 16-20 years (1)				

Ten participants loaded significantly onto this factor. The demographic characteristics of this factor is detailed in table 8.5. In summary, the women leaders loading onto this factor feel a strong sense of disadvantage when exposed to negative portrayals of their group identity and appraised the negative representations as illegitimate. In addition, they believe that male leaders have a part to play in perpetuating some of these negative

representations with the agenda of maintaining the unequal status quo. However, instead of showing group based anger or hostility against the male leader outgroup, they are more likely to demonstrate group-based disgust, regret and irritation at the double standards inherent in the representations. Furthermore, they indicate that they are more likely to employ avoidance action tendencies when confronted with male leaders who perpetuated these stereotypes rather than confronting him directly. In addition, these women leaders doubt their own personal efficacy and the efficacy of women leaders as a group to change the status quo.

The women leaders who loaded significantly onto this factor feel a strong sense of disadvantage and perceive this disadvantage as illegitimate.

S26. Female leaders are more disadvantaged than male leaders, as they are constrained by society's expectations of how they should behave and what their roles should be (+6)

S17. I think that these portrayals of men and women in leadership are fair, appropriate and legitimate (-6)

They further make the appraisal that men play a part in perpetuating these stereotypes ("*34. I think male leaders should take their share of responsibility in perpetuating these stereotypes +5*") and that these negative portrayals of female leaders put women leaders as a group and women in general at a collective disadvantage thus serving the agenda of maintaining the status quo of men having all the power:

S48. I feel that negative portrayals of female leaders put women in general at a collective disadvantage (+3)

S46. I believe that negative portrayals of female leaders put female leaders in general at a collective disadvantage (+5)

S44. Negative portrayals of female leaders are meant to undermine them and maintain the status quo, so that men can continue having all the power (+2)

They show group-based emotions of disgust at the double standards that apply to men and women ("*20. I am disgusted at the double standards and at how the same behaviours are portrayed differently for men and women +4*") and reject any imposition of how women leaders should behave.

S60. Female leaders should be gentle, nurturing, sensitive and warm if they are to succeed (-5)

S59. Female leaders have to be aggressive, dominant and competitive if they are to succeed (-2)

Furthermore, they also display group based-emotions of irritation and regret:

S24. I regret that female leaders are perceived this way (+2)

S6. I am irritated at how senior women [leaders] are perceived by others (+1)

They have various individualistic strategies of coping which include increased scrutiny of their own behaviours that could be misconstrued (*"S5. I'm always alert/vigilant to behaviours that may be negatively perceived by others +1"*) and seeking emotional support from others (*"S53. When I see or hear women leaders being stereotyped, I try to get emotional support from others and discuss my feelings with others who are interested +2"*). Even though these women leaders are not passive observers,

S3. I am determined to overcome the negative perceptions that exist of senior women (+2)

S56. I just cannot counter the negative perceptions that others have of senior women [leaders], so I won't even try to do so (-4)

S51. When I see women leaders being portrayed in a negative light, I concentrate my efforts on doing something about it (+1)

they do not seem to have a sense of efficacy that they can by themselves change the status quo (*"S11. As a senior woman myself, I believe that I can successfully overcome the barriers that stand in our way 0"*).

Surprisingly, group-based emotions such as anger and hostility were absent even though they make strong appraisals of group based disadvantage that they perceive are in part perpetuated by male leaders:

S14. I feel hostile towards those who perpetuate the negative stereotypes of female leaders (-1)

S16. I feel angry at others for feeding these negative perceptions of senior women (-1)

S12. I feel hostile at male leaders who do not have to deal with these negative perceptions (-3)

Perhaps because of the absence of group-based anger emotions, they show no desire or intention to oppose or confront male leaders who perpetuate these stereotypes but claim that they would rather choose to avoid him.

S25. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would try to change his perceptions (-1)

S38. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would oppose confront or oppose him (-1)

S40. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would want nothing to do with him (-1)

S36. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would keep him at a distance (+2)

Possible reasons for them not wanting to confront the outgroup could be because they perceive that women leaders have a more vulnerable position relative to men ("S21. *Female leaders have a stronger position than male leaders these days -6*"); that women leaders do not have sufficient influence to change the status quo ("S33. *I think as female leaders we have sufficient influence to stop these negative perceptions from being perpetuated further -4*"; and they don't believe that women leaders as a collective are doing enough to combat these negative perception ("S39. *I am satisfied that female leaders are doing all that they can to combat these negative perceptions -4*"). This is further reinforced by the assertions that women leaders as a collective should do something (S57. *Female leaders should come up with a strategy on how to combat these stereotypes +1*") and that they would work with other female leaders to change the status quo if the opportunity presented itself ("S29. *As a female leader I am inspired to work with other female leaders to change the situation and how we are perceived +4*"). In the meantime, they believe that female leaders should enlist the support of more powerful others including men to combat these negative perceptions of women leaders:

S55. Female leaders should enlist the support of more powerful others to do something concrete about dealing with these negative perceptions (+3)

S31. I would like to work with male leaders to correct these beliefs about female leaders (+2)

Despite everything, these women leaders have hope for the future for women leaders as a group:

S42. I feel there is no hope for female leaders as a group to overcome these barriers and I would consider an alternative career if possible (-5)

S54. Women leaders will always be perceived more negatively than male leaders. I know that this cannot be changed and I have learned to live with it (-3)

S4. I'm nervous about the future for senior women as a group (-2)

They believe that perceptions of female leaders are improving (*"S27. I think that the perceptions of female leaders have improved over time and will get better in the future +3"*) and also they see that female leaders are better off now at mobilizing (*"S23. Female leaders are better able at collectively mobilizing themselves to defend against threats to their identity +1"*). This makes them excited about the future outcomes for female leaders:

S9. I am excited about what the future holds for women who aspire to leadership positions (+4)

S10. Despite everything I am enthusiastic about the future for female leaders (+4)

Despite their group-based constraints, they are very grateful for the opportunities that have presented themselves (*"S35. I am grateful for all the opportunities that have come my way as a result of my position +1"*) and so they lean into their female leader social identities:

S37. I am happy to be a female leader/women in authority (+3)

S30. I would prefer not to acknowledge my identity as a female leader and/or senior woman of authority (-3)

Overall, they feel very positive about their group identity:

S1. I feel proud of the accomplishments of senior women (+6)

S7. I'm inspired by the successes of female leaders in general despite the odds (+5)

8.4.2 Factor B: Constrained by our lack of social power

Table 8.6: Demographic characteristics of participants loading onto Factor B in GBEofFL study

Age Range	25-34 (2) 35-44 (7)	Nation	British (2) Canadian (1) Nigerian (1) Finnish (1) Indian (2) Egyptian (1) Turkish (1)	Ethnicity	Black (1) White (5) Indian (2) Middle East (1)
No of Years in position of Resp.	2-5 years (2) 6-10 years (3) 11-15 years (3) 16-20 years (1)				

Nine participants loaded significantly onto this Factor and their demographic characteristics are detailed in Table 8.6. Factor B's group-based emotional response to seeing women leaders being portrayed negatively suggests that the women leaders loading significantly onto this factor do not believe that stereotypes of women like this still exist. In fact, they believe that the position of female leaders has improved significantly and do not believe that negative portrayals of female leaders harm female leaders as a group. As a result of this they show few negative group based emotions. Whilst they believe in their own personal efficacy, this factor does not believe that female leaders as a group have the social power to mobilize for change. This factor is discussed in more detail below.

The female leaders in this group believe that the position of female leaders have improved for the better (*"S27. I think that the perceptions of women leaders have improved over time and will get better in the future +3"*), to the extent that they found stereotypical portrayals of women amusing:

S47. It's amusing that these old-fashioned portrayals of female leaders still exist (+3)

S41. Stereotypes like this make me laugh as they are so outdated and untrue. They really should be taken lightly (+1)

Whilst acknowledging that negative stereotypical portrayals were illegitimate (*S17. I think that these portrayals of men and women in leadership are fair, appropriate and legitimate -*

4”), these women did not believe that portraying female leaders in a negative light would disadvantage female leaders as a group (“S46. *I believe that negative portrayals of female leaders put female leaders at a collective disadvantage -2*). Furthermore, these female leaders did not acknowledge that there were constraints that affected women and female leaders negatively;

S44. Negative portrayals of female leaders are meant to undermine them and maintain the status quo so that men have all the power (-1)

S26. Female leaders are more disadvantaged than male leaders, as they are constrained by society’s expectations of how they should behave and what their roles should be (0)

S38. I feel that negative portrayals of female leaders put women in general at a collective disadvantage (0)

The female leaders in this group believe that women as a collective and female leaders themselves should also take some blame for perpetuating negative stereotypes:

S28. I think women in general should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these negative perceptions of women (+1)

S32. I think that women leaders should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these stereotypes (+1)

These participants were unclear about exactly how a female leader should behave. They eschew communal behaviours (“S60. *Female leaders have to be gentle, nurturing, sensitive and warm if they are to succeed -6*”), but did not support agentic behaviours either (S59. *Female leaders have to be aggressive, dominant and competitive if they have to succeed -3*). Interestingly, they don’t believe that they, themselves perpetuate any of these stereotypes (“S18. *I am angry at myself for perpetuating some of these stereotypes -5*”). Thus, they regret that female leaders are perceived negatively (“S24. *I regret that female leaders are perceived this way +2*”) and they are motivated to prove others wrong in their perceptions (“S15. *Seeing negative portrayals of females in power positions, makes me want to work harder to prove them wrong +3*”). If they had their way, these female leaders preferred to ignore the negative portrayals of women (“S58. *I would prefer not to dwell on these negative perceptions and focus on other things +2*”). Possibly due all their appraisals and beliefs mentioned above, they show little negative group-based emotional distress:

S8 .I'm distressed/upset at the negative portrayal of the behaviour of female leaders (-2)

S14. I feel hostile towards those who perpetuate these negative stereotypes of female leaders (-1)

S16. I feel angry at others for feeding these negative perceptions of senior women (0)

S6. I'm irritated at how senior women are perceived by others (0)

They did indicate that they would intervene if someone perpetuates the stereotypes in their presence (*"S45. When I see someone perpetuating these negative stereotypes I am inclined to intervene +1"*) and that they would focus their effort to do something about it if they see female leaders being portrayed in a negative light (*"S51. When I see women leaders being portrayed in a negative light I concentrate my efforts on doing something about it +1"*).

These female leaders have a high degree of personal efficacy believing that they themselves can overcome any barriers in their way:

S11. As a senior woman myself, I believe that I can successfully overcome the barriers that stand in our way (+6)

S3. I'm determined to overcome the negative perceptions that exist of senior women (+2)

And they also believe that female leaders as a group have a high degree of efficacy:

S29. As a female leader, I am inspired to work with other female leaders to change the situation and how they are perceived (+4)

S33. I think as female leaders we have sufficient influence to stop these negative perceptions from being perpetuated further (+4)

However, their responses also suggest that these female leaders do not believe that female leaders as a group have a high degree of power as suggested by their response to the following statement.

S55. Female leaders should enlist the support of more powerful others to do something concrete about dealing with these negative perceptions (+2)

This assertion that these female leaders do not believe that female leaders as a group have a high degree of power to bring about change themselves is reinforced by their responses on other items such as they are satisfied that female leaders are doing all that they can (*"S39. I am satisfied that female leaders are doing all that they can to combat these negative perceptions +2"*) but they did not feel strongly that female leaders as a group should come up with a strategy to address these issues (*"S57. Female leaders should come up with a strategy on how to combat these stereotypes 0"*), and at the same time they don't believe that female leaders are able to mobilize themselves to counter threats to their identity:

S23. Female leaders are better at collectively mobilizing themselves to defend against threats to their identity (-1)

S19. Female leaders are better organized to defend themselves against these negative perceptions (0)

S21. Female leaders have a stronger position than male leaders these days (-1)

This is interesting in light of their assertions that they do not passively let stereotypes against women go unchecked:

S56. I just cannot counter the negative perceptions that others have of senior women so I won't even try to do so (-4)

S43. When I witness negative portrayals of female leaders, I do nothing about and do not want to hear anything about more. I just stop thinking about it (-2)

Whilst, they believed that male leaders may perpetuate stereotypes about female leaders (*"S34. I think male leaders should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these stereotypes +2"*), and they were aware that double standards that existed for men and women (*"S20. I am disgusted at the double standard and at how the same behaviours are portrayed differently for men and women +3"*), they displayed no anger at the male leader group (*"S12. I feel hostile at male leaders who do not have to deal with these negative perceptions -3"*) and did not believe in taking any action to confront, oppose or avoid this group:

S40. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would want nothing to do with him (-5)

S36. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would keep him at a distance (-4)

S38. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype I would confront or oppose him (0)

Instead, they claim that they would prefer to work with these male leaders to correct these beliefs:

S31. I would like to work with male leaders to correct these beliefs about female leaders (+3)

These female leaders strongly identify with their social identity as a female leader:

S37. I am happy to be a female leader/woman in authority (+6)

S30. I would prefer not to acknowledge my identity as a female leader and/or senior woman of authority (-5)

Furthermore, they display strong positive group-based emotions:

S35. I am grateful for all the opportunities that have come my way as a result of my position (+5)

S7. I'm inspired by the successes of female leaders in general despite the odds (+5)

S1. I feel proud of the accomplishments of senior women (+4)

Like the female leaders who loaded significantly on Factor A, the female leaders in this factor also display hope for the future outcomes for female leaders:

S42. I feel that that there is no hope for female leaders as a group to overcome these barriers, and I would consider an alternative career if I had the opportunity (-6)

S54. Women leaders will always be perceived negatively than male leaders. I know that this cannot be changed and I have learned to live with it (-4)

S4. I'm nervous about the future outcomes for senior women as a group (-3)

S13. Despite everything, I am enthusiastic about the future for female leaders

S9. I am excited for what the future holds for women who aspire to leadership positions (+5)

8.4.3 Factor C: I'm not sure "we can" but "I can"

Table 8.7: Demographic characteristics of participants loading on Factor C in GBEofFL study

Age Range	25-34 (2) 35-44 (1)	Nation	British (1) South African (2)	Ethnicity	White (2) Indian (1)
No of Yrs. in position of resp.	6-10 (3)				

Three participants loaded significantly onto Factor C and their details are listed in table 8.7. The respondents who loaded onto this factor express shame and regret on perceiving the negative portrayals of women. They appraise the representations as illegitimate and believe that it serves to disadvantage women and maintain the status quo of men having all the power. However, these female leaders believe that female leaders as a group, and they themselves personally, should also take responsibility for perpetuating some of the stereotypes against their group. In contrast to Factor A and Factor B, the women loading onto this factor express intentions to confront and oppose male leaders who perpetuate these stereotypes rather than avoiding or keeping them at a distance. This factor do not believe that female leaders as a collective are strong enough to mobilize and change the status quo which could be the reason why they express less positive group-based emotions compared to Factor A and Factor B.

When these female leaders were exposed to the negative portrayals of female leaders, they experienced group-based shame (*"S2. I'm ashamed of the negative perceptions directed towards female leaders +3"*) and regret (*"S24. I regret that female leaders are perceived this way +2"*). The feeling of shame could have been driven by their appraisal that female leaders and women in general do perpetuate some of these stereotypes through their actions:

S28. I think women in general should take a share of responsibility for perpetuating these negative perceptions of women (+4)

S32. I think that female leaders should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these stereotypes (+2)

Furthermore, they do not exclude themselves from blame. These female leaders feel anger directed at themselves for reinforcing these negative perceptions to outsiders (*"S18. I am angry at myself for perpetuating some of these stereotypes +4"*) and anger at others for feeding these perceptions (*"S16. I feel angry at others for feeding these negative perceptions of senior women +2"*). This anger could also be due to their strongly belief that in general gender biased portrayals are illegitimate (*"S17. I think that these portrayals of men and women in leadership are fair, appropriate and legitimate +6"*) and serve the function of maintaining the unequal status quo that gives men the power (*"S44. Negative portrayals of female leaders are meant to undermine them and maintain the status quo, so that men can have all the power +5"*), thus reinforcing the collective disadvantage of female leaders (*"S46. I believe that negative portrayals of female leaders put female leaders in general at a collective disadvantage +4"*).

They feel a strong sense of group-based injustice for their female leader group. They believe that female leaders are more disadvantaged relative to male leaders (*"S26. Female leaders are more disadvantaged than male leaders, as they are constrained by society's expectations of how they should behave and what their roles should be +6"*), and they feel strong disgust at the gender bias (*"S20. I am disgusted at the double standard and at how the same behaviours are portrayed differently for men and women +5"*) but unlike Factor A (-5) and Factor C (-6), the female leaders in Factor C do not rebel against the communal roles imposed upon women (*S60. Female leaders have to be gentle, nurturing, sensitive and warm if they are to succeed 0"*) and take issue with female leaders displaying agentic behaviour (*"S59. Female leaders have to be aggressive, dominant and competitive if they want to succeed -5"*). They are keen to ensure that their own behaviour isn't interpreted in a negative light (*"5. I'm always alert/vigilant to behaviours that may be negatively perceived by others +3"*). Therefore, these negative portrayals emotional creates distress for them:

S50. When I see negative portrayals of women leaders, I feel a lot of emotional distress and find myself expressing my feelings a lot (+3)

S43. When I see negative portrayals of female leaders, I do nothing and do not want to hear anything more. I just stop thinking about it (-6)

S8. I'm distressed/upset at the negative portrayal of the behaviour of female leaders (+1)

Even though the female leaders that loaded onto this factor are ambiguous about how women should behave, they still display greater collective action tendencies against the male leader outgroup compared to Factor A and Factor B. This could have been driven by their perceptions that female leaders are worse off than male *leaders* (“S21. *Female leaders have a stronger position than male leaders these days -4*”) and their appraisal that male leaders are partly responsible for the negative representations of female leaders (“S34. *I think that male leaders should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these stereotypes +5*”). They expressed their intention of confronting and opposing those male leaders that engage in this behaviour:

S25. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would try to change his perceptions (+3)

S38. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would confront or oppose him (+3)

They eschew any notion that they would ignore or avoid confrontation with the male leader outgroup:

S36. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would keep him at a distance (-3)

S40. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would want nothing to do with him (-3)

But aren't against working together with male leaders to remedy the situation (“S31. *I would like to work with male leaders to correct these beliefs about female leaders +1*”).

Whilst they want female leaders to take action (“S57. *Female leaders should come up with a strategy on how to combat these stereotypes +1*”) and are willing to work with other female leaders to change the status quo (“S29. *As a female leader I am inspired to work with other female leaders to change the situation and how we are perceived +1*”), these female leaders are dissatisfied with the actions taken by female leaders to combat these negative biases (“S39. *I am satisfied that female leaders are doing all that they can to combat these negative perceptions -1*”) and do not believe in the efficacy of female leaders as a collective to change the status quo:

S33. I think as female leaders we have sufficient influence to stop these negative perceptions from being perpetuated further -1

S23. Female leaders are better able at collectively mobilizing themselves to defend against threats to their identity (-2)

S19. Female leaders are better organized these days to defend themselves against these negative perceptions (-3)

In addition, these women do not strongly believe in their own personal efficacy in changing the status quo for female leaders:

S11. As a senior woman myself, I believe that I can successfully overcome the barriers that stand in our way (0)

S3. I'm determined to overcome the negative perceptions that exist of senior women (-1)

Even though they do not passively accept the gender imbalance:

S51: When I see women leaders being portrayed in a negative light, I concentrate my efforts on doing something about it (+1)

S56: I just cannot counter the negative perceptions that others have of senior women so I won't even try to do so (-1)

S54. Women leaders will always be perceived more negatively than male leaders. I know that this cannot be changed and I have learned to live with it (-4).

S45. When I see someone perpetuating these negative stereotypes I am inclined to intervene (+4)

Possible reasons for this tension between their efficacy beliefs and their actions could be that they do not have coping strategies to deal with the negative group-based emotions of shame, anger and regret ("*S53. When I see or hear women leaders being stereotyped, I try to get emotional support from others and discuss my feelings with others who are interested -3*"). Possibly due to the perceived lack of group efficacy beliefs, these female leaders do not display the same positive group-based emotions shown by other female leaders making up *Factor A* and *Factor B*:

S1. I feel proud of the accomplishments of senior women (0)

S37. I am happy to be a female leader/woman of authority (-1)

They are also more uncertain about the future outcomes for women (*"S4. I'm nervous about the future outcomes for senior women as a group +1"*) and did not feel positive about the future for female leaders as a collective:

S9. I'm excited about what the future holds for women who aspire to leadership positions (-2)

S13. Despite everything I am enthusiastic about the future for female leaders (-2)

Despite this, they feel hope for the future and hope that perceptions of female leaders will change over time (*"S42. I feel that there is no hope for female leaders as a group to overcome these barriers and I would consider an alternative career if I had the opportunity - 4"*)

8.4.4. Consensus statements: what we agree on

It is worthwhile mentioning the consensus statements that are those statements that do not differentiate across factors such that all three factors were in broad agreement with these statements. Firstly, across all three factors, female leaders identify strongly with their social identity as female leaders

S30. I would prefer not to acknowledge my identity as a female leader and/or senior woman of authority. A (-3) B (-5) C (-3).

In addition, all the female leaders on these factors, have strong hope for the future outcomes of female leaders

S42. I feel that there is no hope for female leaders as a group to overcome these barriers, and I would consider an alternative career if I had the opportunity. A (-5) B (-6) C (-4).

They strongly believe that negative perceptions of their group are open to change.

S54. Women leaders will always be perceived more negatively than male leaders. I know that this cannot be changed and I have learned to deal with it. A (-3) B (-4) C (-4).

A second interesting point is that whilst, the female leaders on all three factors express regret that female leaders are portrayed negatively, these female leaders do not

indicate that they employ any social creativity strategies when faced with social identity threats:

S24. I regret that female leaders are perceived this way. A (+2) B (+2) C (+2)

S52. When I see female leaders being positioned in a negative light, I am more likely to say to myself this is not real. A (-2) B (-2) C (-2)

S49. I try to see the negative stereotypes of women leaders in a different light, to make it seem more positive. A (0) B (-1) C (0)

Instead across the study all female leaders indicate that when they encounter negative portrayals of female leaders they do something about it:

S51. When I see female leaders being portrayed in a negative light, I concentrate my efforts on doing something about it. A (+1) B (+1) C (+1)

S56. I just cannot combat the negative perceptions that others have of senior women, so I won't even try to do so. A (-4) B (-4) C (-1)

It is also noteworthy that group based appraisals of gender bias, do not result in hostile group-based emotions directed at the outgroup

S20. I am disgusted at the double standard and at how the same behaviours are portrayed differently for men and women. A (+4) B (+3) C (+5)

S12. I feel hostile at male leaders who do not have to deal with these negative perceptions. A (-3) B (-3) C (-2).

Rather, female leaders indicate their willingness to work with male leaders, even though they acknowledge their disgust at the gender bias.

S31. I would like to work with male leaders to correct these beliefs about female leaders. A (+2) B (+3) C (+1)

Finally, whilst the female leaders on this factor believe that as collective they should take action,

S57. Female leaders should come up with a strategy on how to combat these stereotypes. A (+1) B (0) C (+1)

S56. I just cannot combat the negative perceptions that others have of senior women, so I won't even try to do so. A (-4) B (-4) C (-1)

They still believe that female leaders should enlist the support of more powerful others to address the issue

S55. Female leaders should enlist the support of more powerful others to do something concrete about dealing with these negative perceptions. A (+3) B (+2) C (0)

This could be due to their perception that female leaders are not organized enough to defend their group against social identity threats

S19. Female leaders are better organized these days to defend themselves against these negative perceptions. A (0) B (0) C (-3)

8.5. Discussion

The main aim of this study was to understand the subjective group-based emotional experience of female leaders in response to them encountering negative portrayals of their behaviours by outsider perceivers. The first finding is that group-based appraisals of women's disadvantage does not necessarily translate into anger or hostile emotions at men and therefore these women do not demonstrate collective action tendencies aimed at confronting or opposing the male leader outgroup. The second finding is that female leaders display positive group-based emotions which seems to be associated with lower collective action tendencies towards male leader outgroups. The third finding is that female leaders display a complex cocktail of group-based emotions and group-based action tendencies when confronted by threats to their social identity. In this study, women leaders demonstrated shame (Factor A) at the negative perceptions directed towards female leaders, irritation (Factors A and C) at how senior women are perceived by others, anger at others for feeding the negative perceptions of senior women (Factor C), disgust at the double standards (all factors) and regret (across all factors). However these female leaders also displayed, pride (Factor A and Factor B); inspiration (across all factors), enthusiasm and excitement for the future (Factor A and Factor B) and hope for the future (across all factors). These findings are discussed in more detail below

8.5.1. Negative group-based appraisals and group-based emotions

It is noteworthy that female leaders on being exposed to the negative portrayals of female behaviours, with males demonstrating the exact same behaviour but being labelled in a much more positive manner, demonstrated no hostility towards the male leader group across all three factors. This was despite their appraisal that these portrayals were unfair, inappropriate and illegitimate. Specifically, female leaders loading onto Factor A and Factor C perceiving that female leaders were more disadvantaged than male leaders as they were constrained by expectations about how they should behave. In addition, both Factor A and Factor C agreed that negative portrayals of female leaders are meant to undermine them and maintain the status quo, so that men can continue having all the power. In fact, female leaders across all factors believed that male leaders should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these stereotypes. However, Factor B and Factor C also stated their intentions of trying to change the male leader's perceptions with Factor C claiming the intention of confronting or opposing him and Factor A suggesting that they would keep him at a distance and all three Factor agreeing that they would like to work with male leaders to correct these beliefs about female leaders.

8.5.2. Personal self-efficacy in the absence of group-efficacy

The third interesting finding was that female leaders loading onto Factor A and Factor B demonstrated personal determination to overcome the negative perceptions of female leaders with Factor B believing that being a female leader themselves, they believed that they could successfully overcome the barriers that stand in their way. In addition, both Factor A and Factor B stated that seeing negative portrayals of women in power positions makes them want to work harder to prove their critics wrong. However, it was surprising that only Factor C demonstrated anger at others for feeding these negative perceptions of women with Factor A disagreeing that they felt anger at others and Factor B being neutral. The consensual group-based emotions displayed across all factors were regret and irritation. All female leaders in the study agreed that when they witnessed negative portrayals of female leaders, they tend to think about and want to do something about it, and concentrate their efforts on doing something about it and Factor B and C stated their intention of intervening should they see anyone perpetuating the stereotypes

A novel finding was that there was a lack of expressed collective action tendencies across all factors. Interpretation of the ranking of other statements on the factors suggest that these female leaders perceive that female leaders as a group lack social power. The female leaders in this study across all three factors did not perceive that female leaders have

a stronger position than male leaders these days which suggested that they believed that the power relations between the groups were stable for now. Factor A and Factor B also believed that female leaders should enlist the support of more powerful others to do something concrete about dealing with these negative perceptions. Only Factor B believed that as a female leader themselves, they can successfully overcome barriers in their way suggesting that Factor B believed in their own power.

8.5.3. Positive group-based emotions give hope that things will change

Another interesting finding was on demonstration of positive group-based emotions in the face of categorization threats. Both Factors a and b appraised that the perceptions of female leaders have improved over time and will get better in future, and they further demonstrated pride in the accomplishments of senior women and both Factor A and Factor B were excited for what the future holds for women who aspire to leadership positions. Despite everything, they were also enthusiastic about what the future holds for female leaders. Therefore, they together with Factor C wanted to work with female leaders to change the situation and how they were perceived, even though Factor C's reason for wanting to work with other female leaders was different. Interestingly all three factors demonstrated hope that female leaders as a group will overcome these barriers and all three factors perceived that women leaders will not always be perceived more negatively than male leaders.

Unlike the first study, female leaders were clearer in this study with regards to the subjective injustice, group identification and group efficacy elements of social change. With regards to feelings of subjective Injustice – Across all three factors, the participants believed that the double standards implied by the negative portrayals of women leaders were unfair, inappropriate and illegitimate. These female leaders across the three factors displayed disgust at the double standard implied for men and women and all three factors displayed regret that female leaders are perceived this way. In addition, Factor A and Factor C appraised the female leader group as being more disadvantaged than the male leader group though the dual constraints of the expectations of how they should behave and what their roles should be. Thus both Factor A and Factor C believed that negative portrayals of female leaders put female leaders as a group at a collective disadvantage. With regards to group efficacy – both Factor B and Factor C did not believe that female leaders are better able to collectively mobilize themselves to defend against threats to their identity. And, both factor's a and c disagreed that female leaders have sufficient influence to stop negative perceptions

from being perpetuated further and Factor A and Factor C did not believe that female leaders were doing all that they could to combat these negative perceptions. Furthermore, factor A and Factor B were neutral on the statement that female leaders were better organized these days to defend themselves against these perceptions and Factor C disagreed outright with the notion. Further Factor C was nervous about the future outcomes for senior women as a group. However, across all three factors, the female leaders in this study claimed that they were inspired to work with other female leaders to change the situation. With regards, to group identification, the female leaders across all three factors acknowledged their identity as female leaders and Factor A and Factor B demonstrated happiness to be a female leader with all three factors grateful for the opportunity that they were given as a result of their position.

8.6. Concluding Remarks

In sum, the results indicate a contradictory mix of positive and negative group-based emotions directed at both self and other. The most surprising finding to emerge is that female leaders do not display hostile or negative emotions towards the outgroup when faced with asymmetrical perceptions that positions their group relatively worse in the intergroup context. This is despite acknowledging that male leaders are partly responsible for perpetuating these negative perceptions. It was also surprising that some female leaders believed that they were partly responsible for perpetuating these negative stereotypes themselves, hence the self-directed anger. Furthermore, some female leaders indicate that they are vigilant to how others perceive them, which indicates some degree of self-monitoring on their paths. The other noteworthy finding to emerge is that that women leaders in this study do not believe that as a collective, that have the power to change things, though they had high personal efficacy. This could be why they believe that they should work with more powerful others to change things. These findings will be contextualized in the discussion chapter that follows.

CHAPTER NINE

Discussion

9.1. Intergroup dynamics in identity construction

Females compared to males have a disproportionate share of negative social value and this is also true for female leaders who still occupy a non-dominant position compared to male leaders (Wood & Eagly, 2012). Thus, gender inequality still persists and women are still under-represented in positions of power and influence such as leadership roles (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2018). Most researchers have focussed on the structural and social psychological barriers that prevent women from succeeding (Glass & Cook, 2016; Heilman, 2012; Kulich & Ryan, 2017; Rudman et al, 2012) The research in this thesis attempted to address the question of why there are still so few women in leadership positions and why so many women leaders opt out or are pushed out of leadership roles (Ryan et al, 2016).

The research in this thesis was conducted within the SIT framework which theorizes that representations of social identity contain value and affect related to group membership which is distinctive from the value and affect found in personal identities (Bettencourt & Hume, 1999; Brewer, 1991; Tajfel, 1981). It is argued that female leaders as a social category make up a complex phenomenon which like other social identities is imbued with meanings and expectations that are culturally entrenched (Stets & Burke, 2000). Thus, it is necessary to understand the group-based emotions and group-based cognitions that made up the subjective experience of being a female leader. Furthermore, this thesis proposed that understanding the social identity of a female leader would be incomplete without understanding how the dominant male leader outgroup perceived their female peers. Similar to Wagoner (2012) this thesis further argued that female leaders and male leaders have their own distinctive way of understanding the world and female leaders are not free to generate positive and unchallenged social identities (Cinnirella, 1998; Howarth, 2006). Therefore the studies in this thesis aimed to show how representations of a female leader contained a duality of meaning and ideas that are contested, negotiated and influenced, both by female leaders and the dominant male leader outgroup (Duveen, 1993). In doing so, the research in this thesis attempted to shed light on possibilities for social change, that is, a change in intergroup relations to reflect greater social equality (De Lemus & Stroebe, 2015) which includes actions taken at both the collective and at the individual level. As per Stroebe,

Wang and Wright (2015), this thesis argued that social change reflects the extent to which group-based inequality is reduced rather than the means through which it happens.

Throughout this thesis it has been argued that it is important to understand the social identity of female leaders from the perspective of both female leaders and male leaders as this would potentially suggest ways in which social change could occur. Furthermore, this thesis argues that to fully understand the social identity of female leaders as well possibilities for social change one would need to consider female leaders' group-based emotional experience comprising of the group-based appraisals, group-based emotions and group-based action tendencies in response to negative portrayals of their group in the comparative intergroup context. The previous chapters provided a detailed discussion of the findings of each of the studies. The aim of this chapter is to reflect on the *main themes* that appeared across all studies. These themes are not mutually exclusive and overlap in complex ways. Therefore, this discussion chapter will first critically interrogate the main representations that are made by male leaders and female leaders of female leader social identities before discussing its implications for social change. Thereafter the discussion will focus on the group-based emotional experience of female leaders in response to negative portrayals of their social identity before discussing its implications for social change. For ease of reference in this discussion, the acronyms for the various studies are highlighted below:

- FLPofFL – Female leaders' perceptions of female leaders study (chapter five)
- FLPofML – Female leaders' perceptions of male leaders analysis (chapter six)
- MLPofFL – Male leaders' perceptions of female leaders study (chapter seven)
- MLPofML – Male leaders' perceptions of male leaders analysis (chapter seven)
- GBEofFL – Group-based emotions of female leaders study (chapter eight)

9.2. Female Leaders Constructions of their own Social Identity

9.2.1. Strategic Gender Self-Presentation

Female participants across all three factors in the FLPofFL study strategically managed their identity in terms of gender self-presentation by either downplaying their female identity or by behaving counter-stereotypically to female gender expectations. Female leaders on Factor A and Factor C believed that they face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from succeeding and female leaders comprising Factor A and

Factor C felt compelled to downplay their female identity in order to be respected and accepted by their male peers. In addition, Factor B believed that female leaders display counter-stereotypical behaviours so that people did not stereotype them as similar to women in general. Furthermore, Factor B and Factor C eschewed any notion that female leaders exhibited agentic behaviours such as ruthlessness, power-seeking and ambition to the extent that Factor A and Factor B believe that women downplayed their achievements so as to not appear threatening to others.

It was also noteworthy that female leaders on all three factors rejected any associations with masculinity and disagreed with the notion that women leaders should emulate masculinized behaviours or attempt to be like their male counterparts. Rather these participants believed female leaders should tap into their own unique leadership qualities. These findings run counter to more recent data acquired in an experimental setting that concluded that women believed that it was more important for women to possess agentic rather than communal traits to be effective as a leader (Vial & Napier, 2018). One possible explanation for the differences in findings between Vial and Napier's study and the FLPofFL study could be that the female leaders in real work settings may have faced backlash as a result of violating gender stereotypes in their progression to senior roles and have personally experienced the penalties associated with being perceived as power-seeking and ambitious. Therefore they may have disavowed any notions of possessing masculine traits. Previous empirical data suggests that successful women in gender typed roles are less liked and more personally derogated compared to equivalently successful men (Heilman et al, 2004; Parks-Stamm et al, 2008). These *backlash* effects are attributable to perceived violation of gender norms (Heilman & Eagly, 2008; Heilman, 2012; Rudman et al, 2012). Prior research suggests that women leaders can manage their identity by orienting away from their gender category (Sorrentino & Augoustinos, 2016), by being careful not to demonstrate agentic behaviours that would violate gendered norms of behaviour (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2008) and by ensuring that they display visible communal traits or behaviours (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). On the basis of this past empirical data, the findings of the FLPofFL study suggest that these women were actively trying to manage their gendered identities and avoid the dominance *penalty* associated with incurring sanctions as a result of violating their gender role.

An alternative possible explanation is that the female leaders in the FLPofFL study, were attempting to protect their social identity by maintaining congruity between the

demands of their leader role and their internalized gender role. It stands to reason that perceiving that one is at the risk of confirming gender stereotypes or even violating gender expectations held by self and others could undermine a woman leader's sense of belonging in the leadership domain. This "*belonging uncertainty*" (Hoyt & Murphy, 2016, p.391) potentially undermines one's confidence and motivation in the work domain. Thus, rejecting notions of masculinized or agentic behaviours could be a self-protective strategy used by female leaders in this study to counter this belonging uncertainty. Research suggests that perceived *lack of fit* between masculine prototyped domains and the female gender is one of the reasons that females opt out of certain professions (Peters, Ryan, Haslam, & Fernandes, 2012). Male and female typed careers are perceived to offer different goals that are endorsed differently by men and women. Women who internalize gender roles endorse gender stereotypic goals which leads to interest in occupations that allow them to pursue those goals. Careers that impede communal goals are likely to be of little interest to those women who positively endorse communal goals. (Diekmann et al, 2010; Evans & Diekmann, 2009). Thus, it could be possible that female leaders were attempting to change the descriptive content of the leadership domain to fit the descriptive content of their leader category.

It should be noted that whilst prior studies have illustrated a general incompatibility between female gender stereotypes and stereotypes associated with high status occupational roles (Carli et al, 2016; Heilman, 2012), the findings that pervasive stereotypes remain unchanged runs contrary to the predictions made researchers working within the framework of *Social Role Theory* (Eagly & Karau, 2002). These researchers predicted that prejudice towards female leaders would lessen as the prevalence of females in leader roles increase as this would change the descriptive content of the leader roles to reflect more communal characteristics, thus, increasing the congruency between the female gender role and the leader role (Koenig et al, 2011). Furthermore, it was hypothesized that women occupying these traditional male dominated roles would challenge stereotypical expectations and erode perceptions of *lack of fit* (Heilman & Caleo, 2018). However, the findings of the FLPofFL study corroborate the findings of a study by Haines, Deaux and Lafero (2016) which suggest that gender stereotypes are resistant to change regardless of the progress made by women in entering male dominated roles. These researchers compared gender stereotypes using two data sets collected in 1983 and 2014. They found that gender stereotypes have persisted with there being relatively no change in the typical beliefs about agentic and communal traits of men and women, beliefs about typical male gender roles and beliefs about male and female occupations in the two datasets. The evidence that

stereotypes are still pervasive suggests that the distribution of women in male domains have not increased significantly to levels such that the descriptive content of these roles have changed which implies that there is still a lack of fit between *gender roles* and *gendered roles* such as leader roles.

9.2.2. Multiple identities, multiple disadvantages?

Participants belonging to Factor A and Factor C perceived that female leaders of colour face a double disadvantage due to stereotypes of race and gender necessitating these women to work twice as hard as their White counterparts in order to be accepted. Previously, it has been demonstrated that there is a complex interaction between race, gender and the leader role. The category 'White' is more closely associated with the category 'Business Leader' and White leaders are evaluated as more effective leaders with more leadership potential than non-White leaders (Rosette et al., 2008). Furthermore, White managers are also thought to be more competent and ambitious whilst Black managers are seen as less polished (Block, Aumann, & Chelin, 2012). However, Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) argue that group members with multiple subordinate identities may experience *intersectional invisibility* making it more difficult for others to fit them into the descriptive and prescriptive expectations of their constituent groups. This phenomenon has been demonstrated with Black politicians where the content of stereotypes associated with Black politicians show little overlap with the content of stereotypes associated with Black people in general. (Fiske, Bergsieker, Russell & Williams, 2009; Schneider & Bos, 2011). In the same vein, dominant Black female leaders do not create the same backlash as dominant White female leaders due to Black female leaders not fitting neatly with stereotypes associated with either the female or the Black category (Livingstone et al., 2012). On the basis of this, one would expect that female leaders of colour would derive positive advantage as a result of their multiple group memberships. How then to explain the findings of the FLPofFL study?

It is possible that participants loading significantly on Factor A and Factor C were sensitive to *social identity contingencies* - identity cues in their workplace that suggests that either their race or gender is devalued or that both are. This would then explain their subjective experience of double disadvantage. Identity threatening cues mostly appear in the form of negative stereotypes signalling that one or more identities are undervalued and thus the need to be vigilant (Murphy, Steele, & Gross, 2007; Purdie-Vaughns et al, 2008). However, even positive stereotypes can place a burden of unrealistic expectations of

performance that can lead to frustration and dissatisfaction (Young-Jin Kim & Block, 2017). Lately, there have been a number of interventions aimed at addressing gender issues in the workplace. As well-meaning as it may be, some of these interventions may also signal identity threat. For example, many organisations have embarked on unconscious bias training initiatives. However, research suggests that if minority group members believe that positive feedback is insincere and motivated by concerns to appear racially unbiased, this is likely to result in distrust and threat (Kunstman, Tuscherer, Trawalter & Loyd, 2016; Major, Kunstman, Malta, Sawyer, Townsend & Mendes, 2016). Even diversity policies such as quotas or ‘special’ female leadership training could potentially signal incompetence or that the person is not succeeding on individual merit (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2018; Nater & Sczesny, 2017; Ramos, Hewstone, Barreto, & Branscombe, 2016). Thus, Cundiff, Ryan, and Cech (2018) propose that diversity initiatives should not be framed as for “females” only but should be positioned for all employees regardless of gender so as to communicate identity safety.

Race and gender are not the only identities that were perceived as having multiple disadvantages. The participants loading onto Factor A and Factor C also perceived that female leaders who aspire to leadership are often disadvantaged because their age and gender put them into the ‘baby risk’ category. The existence of a *motherhood penalty* has been shown in a number of studies. Mothers face status-based discrimination due to perceptions that they are less competent and less committed to their jobs (Cuddy et al., 2004; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). Temporarily opting out of work potentially violates expectations that employees should be highly dedicated to their work (Weisshaar, 2018). Thus, working mothers often are deemed less worthy of receiving organisational rewards (Morgenroth & Heilman, 2017) or opportunities for leadership training (Bear and Glick, 2016). It is only by positioning themselves as breadwinners rather than caregivers that they receive a *breadwinner bonus*, that is receive better salaries and opportunities for leadership training.

9.2.3. Making it on my or our own?

Two opposing viewpoints were presented in the FLPofFL study. This has significant implications not only for the further progression of these women but for the other women below them who are depending on them to open doors. Firstly, all female leaders across all three factors in the FLPofFL study believed that they had advanced by virtue of their own competence and experience without relying on others. Further interrogation of the position of

the factors on other statements revealed further nuances. Whilst, Factor B and Factor C believed that female leaders should help other women succeed, Factor A disagreed with this. These findings are in contrast to previous research indicating that members of low status groups generally show ingroup favouritism to compensate for their low status (Rubin et al, 2014). Furthermore previous research has indicated that females tend to express more implicit positive attitudes towards women and more pro-female sentiments in general relative to men (Leach, Carraro, Garcia & Kang, 2015; Rudman & Goodwin, 2004). One explanation for Factor A's lack of willingness to help other women succeed could be that Factor A was already concerned with how they presented themselves to others and that in championing other women, Factor A was potentially opening themselves up to stigma by association, perceptions of favouritism or other threatening representations which they do not want to deal with. Evidence to support this hypothesis is found in Factor A's agreement that most women downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and do not want to be seen as a threat by others. In addition, Factor A agreed that women have many fears that impede them such as fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choices. Previous research has indicated ingroup members evaluate ingroup targets to avoid self-esteem threats. In the event that ingroup targets indicate that they could potentially confirm a negative stereotype, then ingroup denigration or distancing from the ingroup target is more likely to occur rather than ingroup favouritism (Cohen & Garcia, 2005; Lewis & Sherman, 2003).

An alternative explanation can also be provided. In the FLPOfFL study, Factor A also perceived that female leaders had more in common with male leaders than with females in general. This was then reflected in Factor A's disagreement that female leaders have a duty to help other women succeed. Whilst these findings are somewhat limited by the fact that respondents did not complete any identification measures, it could be argued that their lack of willingness to help other women could be due to their increased identification with the higher status leader group which undermines their concern for the 'disadvantaged' lower status female gender group. Previous research shows that status inconsistency between disadvantaged and achieved groups undermines concern for the disadvantaged group which is not explained by a decrease in identification with a lower status group but rather with an increase in identification with the higher status group (Kulich et al, 2015). The self-group distancing effects presented here have also been highlighted in several studies on the "*Queen - Bee*" phenomenon. Women who are low gender identified at the start of their career on encountering negative evaluations against them based on their gender group face stereotype threat and embark on individual mobility strategies as a means of coping with this

threat (Derks et al, 2011a; Derks et al, 2011b). Queen-bee behaviour is argued to be a response to discrimination and social identity threat that women may experience in male dominated organisations (For a review, see Derks et al, 2016), a tactic not limited to female leaders alone, but is a general self-group distancing response that is found on other marginalized groups (Derks et al, 2015).

The finding that Factor A and Factor B in the FLPofFL study did not believe that sponsors were valuable allies in helping women to succeed is noteworthy for two reasons. Firstly, Hewlett, Perraino, Sherbin and Sumberg (2010, p.5) argue that “finding, cultivating, and consistently leveraging powerful alliances offer women not just a career advancement strategy, but an opportunity to practice, refine, and make visible their leadership potential”. Having a sponsor could provide female leaders with someone who could advocate on their behalf and promote their capabilities and talents when self-promotion is likely to be perceived as negative. It is now well established that self-promoting women face the risk of being seen as violating gender prescriptions and are often seen as less-likeable as and less hireable than male counterparts who self-promote (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999; Rudman, et al, 2012). Furthermore, women who endorse communal stereotypes fear reprisals for violating gender stereotypes and display inhibition in their ability to self-promote which handicaps their success in work contexts where perceptions of competence rely on self-promotion (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). Thus, by rejecting the help of potential allies, the women on Factor A and Factor C could potentially be harming their career prospects going forward. One potential explanation for this finding with Factor A and Factor C could be that these female leaders, based on their past experience believed that demonstrating personal drive coupled with the willingness to make sacrifices will ensure that a woman progresses on her own merit. However it could be argued that this is a strategy that can only take them so far.

Secondly, the female leaders on Factor A and Factor B could themselves be sponsors to other women below them. However, like the FLPofFL study, research by Derks et al. (2011) indicate that successful senior women are reluctant to mentor junior colleagues. It is argued that by believing that women can progress on personal ambition and merit alone, female leaders’ position gender discrimination as legitimate and position themselves as separate or *exceptional* to other women. Perceiving discrimination as legitimate (even in instances where it is perceived as pervasive) lowers group commitment and reduces the willingness of women to engage in mentoring (Hersby et al.; Jetten, et al, 2012).

Derks et al., (2016) explains that focusing on individual qualities is a strategy to cope with gender bias and escape gender-based expectations, however, in doing so, senior female women position themselves as different to other women creating further expectations that other women should be like them. In the event that these other women do not perform as per their expectations, senior women themselves contribute to the vicious cycle by devaluing the competence and ambition of more junior women. Furthermore, setting oneself apart as exceptional to other women is also problematic because it suggests that success is the “exception rather” than the rule, thus legitimizing the inferior position of other women.

It would seem that women leaders need to believe that female leader in-group interests are served by helping other women to get to leadership. For example, prior research indicates that when individual and group interests are not aligned, individuals under a promotion focus are more likely than individuals under a prevention focus to pursue individual success at the expense of the group (Zaal et al, 2015). Furthermore, as more women display the norms that are expected by women leaders for members of their category, the more likely they are to accept these women into their group. For example, a series of minimal group experiments demonstrated that situational features that highlight ingroup norms can moderate the effect of categorisation on judgements of ingroup attributes and subsequent positive evaluations of ingroup and outgroup members when these members behaved according to the ingroup norms (Marques, Abrams, Paez & Martinez-Taboada, 1998).

9.3. Intergroup identity dilemmas

9.3.1. Woman first or a woman leader first?

Subasic, Reynolds, and Turner (2008) argue that “the minority challenge to established authority involves a contest for the hearts and minds of the silent majority” (p.331). Comparative analyses made by female leaders and male leaders of their own identity versus the accounts they provided of the outgroups’ social identity provided intriguing findings. The comparative analysis between male leaders perceptions of their own (MLPofML study) versus female leader social identities (MLPofFL study) indicated two opposing viewpoints when it came to gender category and the leader category. The first viewpoint demonstrated by Factor A on the MLPofML study and Factor A on the MLPofFL study suggest that male leaders perceived male and female leaders as belonging to distinct

categories *male leader* and *female leader*, unique to each other and different to their respective gendered *male* and *female* categories. The second viewpoint is demonstrated by male leaders on Factor C in the MLPofML study and Factor B in the MLPofFL study who believed that male leaders as a category was not distinct from the male gender category and that female leaders as a category was not distinct to the female gender category. Hence for these factors, the *superordinate gender category* dominated.

The *distinct male leader and female leader* viewpoint expressed by Factor A in the MLPofML study and Factor A in the MLPofFL study is noteworthy. SIT theorizes that groups are motivated to maintain positive distinctiveness from each other and that ingroup members are evaluated more positively than outgroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). However, an examination of other statements made by Factor A in the MLPofML study and Factor A in the MLPofFL study provides results contrary to the distinctiveness predictions of SIT. Neither factors in both the studies believed that male leaders nor female leaders respectively had better instincts or intuition when it came to leadership. At the same time neither factors believed that male leaders nor female leaders made better managers. Hence, male leaders on both these factors did not seek positive distinctiveness nor differentiation to female leaders. This finding also is contrary to empirical data suggesting that high status groups differentiate themselves positively on stereotypes of competence (Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2010).

One explanation for the this finding could be that male leaders on Factor A in both the studies had low identification with the male leader group, perceiving low distinctiveness between male leaders and female leaders and their low identification makes them less susceptible to intergroup threat. Although ingroup identification was not measured in either of the studies, a meta-analysis by Jetten, Spears, and Postmes (2004) concluded that group identification moderates the distinctiveness-differentiation relationship. They found that high identifiers are more likely than low identifiers to react to distinctiveness threats presented by low intergroup distinctiveness with increased differentiation. One of the implications of the findings of Factor A in the MLPofML study and Factor A in the MLPofFL study suggest that encouraging male leaders to *re-categorize* themselves and female leaders within a new superordinate “leader” ingroup could lead to reduced intergroup bias. This is supported by empirical data suggesting that both salience and identification with a common ingroup identity could reduce intergroup bias, increase perceptions of shared belonging, decrease intergroup threat and increase positive attitudes (Dovidio et al, 2007; Riek, Mania &

Gaertner, 2006; Riek, Mania, Gaertner, McDonald & Lamoreaux, 2010). However, emphasizing a superordinate category has to be managed in a way that maintains the integrity of the original subgroup identity as priming a superordinate identity could result in distinctiveness threat, thus increasing bias (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000)

The finding that male leaders on Factor C in the MLPofML study and Factor B in the MLPofFL study find it difficult to separate gender roles from the leader category role is interesting in light of previous empirical data which suggests that gender ingroup memberships is more salient and more accessible for women than for it is for men (Cadinu & Galdi, 2012). Furthermore, self-activation of gender role stereotypes by men only occurs for those attributes of the male stereotypes that are relevant in specific contexts, hence they self-stereotype in a more flexible way that is dependent on the situation (Casper & Rothermund, 2012). A gendered explanation could be proposed for this finding. It is argued that these male leaders may have perceived that the leader role and the male role has similar descriptive and prescriptive content and therefore, struggle to find objective differences between a male leader and a male. In the same way, the descriptive and prescriptive content of the female category communicates *lack of fit* with the prescriptive and descriptive content of the masculine leader role which makes it difficult for them to see female leaders as congruent with the leader category they share. Hence, they perceived females to share more commonalities with their gendered female group. It is well established that in leadership domains there is a perceived incongruity between the leader role and the role of women (Eagly, 2018; Eagly & Karau, 2002), as well as a perceived lack of fit between the characteristics associated with women and the characteristics of leaders (Heilman, 2001; Heilman, 2012).

The implication that male leaders evaluate both women leaders and men leaders against the norm of their gender categories is problematic. The agentic attributes associated with males is generally perceived to indicate that they have higher competence and possess valued behaviours that justify their higher social status whilst females are perceived to possess communal attributes which are less valued and associated with lower status (Nier et al, 2012). Violating the prescriptive behaviours that are associated with these gender stereotypes leads to sanctions and penalties against these women which serve to reinforce the gender status quo (for a review see, Phelan & Rudman, 2010). Hence, aligning women leaders to their gender category rather than perceiving them as a discrete social category in their own right potentially serves to benefit men and male leaders and impede women and

female leaders by maintaining unequal gender status beliefs that suggest that male leaders have higher competence and have more valued characteristics than female leaders which in turn justifies their higher social status (Ridgeway, 2001).

The pervasiveness of gender is not limited to male leaders alone. Another significant finding arose in the FLPofFL study where female leaders loading significantly onto Factor A perceived that female leaders shared more commonalities with their female gender group than with other female leaders. This was in contrast to female leaders loading significantly on Factor B and Factor C in FLPofFL study who perceived that female leaders shared more commonalities with each other than with their gender category. Whilst the FLPofFL study did not measure gender identification of participants, the perceptions of Factor A is interesting in light of previous reports that suggest that women with low gender identification experience categorization threat on perceiving that others are treating them on the basis of a negatively evaluated group identity as this clashes with their own internal self-views. Their response is usually to distance themselves from their gender group (Derks et al., 2011; Derks et al., 2014; Derks et al, 2016; Faniko et al., 2017). A possible explanation for Factor A's contradictory position could be that the female leaders loading significantly onto this factor self-categorized according to their gender category more strongly than the female leaders loading onto Factor B and Factor C which resulted in stronger self-stereotyping and higher identification with their gender compared to the other factors. In accordance with this hypothesis, a recent study by Fasoli, Carnaghi, Galdi, Guizzo & Tassara (2018) showed that the accessibility of the gender category differs for men and women with women implicitly self-categorizing more strongly with their gender category. Their findings have been supported by previous research which indicates that both implicit and explicit gender self-stereotyping is stronger for women than it is for men (Cadinu & Galdi, 2012; Casper & Rothermund, 2012;).

An additional finding was that whilst Factor A perceived that female leaders had more in common with their gender group than with other female leaders, they also perceived that female leaders had more in common with male leaders than with females in general and Factor A perceived that females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity in order to be respected and accepted by male leaders. One possible explanation for the seemingly contradictory position of Factor A could be that the act of sorting through the statements comparing female leaders with other groups, that is, female leaders compared to other female leaders, female leaders compared to their gender group

and female leaders compared to the male leader group, primed participants into thinking about power differentials between these groups. It could be that when women leaders started reflecting on the power differentials between the high power male leader group and their low power gender group, they felt attracted to the high power male leader group because they aspire to be part of that group and hence saw more commonalities with male leaders than their gender group. This effect did not arise when they reflected on the commonalities between female leaders and their female gender group because they possibly perceive both groups to have low power. Previous research has indicated that when primed with high power, women demonstrate lower levels of gender identification compared to those primed with low power (Vial & Napier, 2017).

An alternative explanation for this finding could be that distancing themselves from their gender group in some comparison contexts and not others is an identity management strategy employed in threatening comparison contexts (commonality with male leaders) and not needed in non-threatening comparison contexts (commonality with other female leaders). It is possible that female leaders felt that they had to distance themselves from their gender group identity in intergroup leader contexts where being perceived as having more commonalities with their gender group would disadvantage them. Furthermore, these women leaders may have perceived that they would gain more positive social value by showing commonality with higher power, higher status male leaders than with their lower power, lower status gender group. Support for this hypothesis comes from empirical data showing that women self-distance from their gender group to cope with social identity threat (Derks et al, 2015; Derks et al, 2016) to the extent that they end up perpetuating stereotypes that undermine aspiring female leaders (Ellemers et al, 2004; Faniko et al, 2017).

Another noteworthy finding was that all female leaders in the FLPofML study saw male leaders as sharing more commonalities with other male leaders compared to their male gender group. This suggests that female leaders perceived male leaders as a discrete social category distinct to their male gender group. Previous research indicates that social structure shapes cultural stereotypes (Caprariello & Fiske, 2009). Thus, one possible explanation for this finding could be that female leaders may share consensual status beliefs about male leaders, males, female leaders and females which could ensure that the content of male leader stereotypes and beliefs are discrete and distinct to the content of female gender stereotypes and beliefs in the minds of female leaders. It could be argued that females have been socialized to see male leaders as a dominant group in ways that make

them more memorable, distinct and unique than males in general. However, it is argued that these beliefs creates unequal playing fields in the leadership domain, as female leaders may be constrained by their own limiting gender self-perceptions in a domain where gender is as irrelevant for them as it is for men.

9.3.2. Males as allies

So far, it has been established that some female leaders are constrained by their fears of affirming negative stereotypes making it difficult for them to become champions for change. Hence, it is necessary to determine whether male leaders could be positioned as those champions. According to SIT, the process of social categorization or dividing people into groups results in *ingroup favouritism*, which is the tendency to react more positively to members of ones ingroup compared to members of the outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982). However, previous research found that members of high status groups are more likely than members of low status groups to emphasize individualistic tendencies (Lacoviello & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2015) and high status group members with a secure social identity do not display strategies aimed at enhancing the value of their social identities (Lacoviello, Lorenzi-Cioldi , & Chipeaux, 2018). These findings are supported by findings of the MLPofML study where male leaders across Factor B and C perceived that male leaders often ignored the struggles and barriers that faced other men in an organisation and male leaders loading significantly across all three factors in the MLPofML study disagreed that males who have made it to the top have a duty to help other men succeed.

One implication of this finding for female leaders, is that male leaders who are privileged due to their higher status could be blinded to the inequality faced by female leaders. This view is supported by empirical data showing that relative to women, men are much less aware of gender inequality (Radke, Hornsey and Barlow, 2018). This is particularly problematic as there is an increasing body of research suggesting that men who confront unequal practices could legitimate efforts to combat inequality (Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Ellemers, 2018). In fact, more recent research by Subasic et al. (2018) demonstrate that male leaders may be more effective than female leaders at mobilizing support for change. In their study, male leaders who advocated that inequality is a common concern for both males and females more readily mobilized men for collective action and decreased their perceptions that inequality is legitimate.

Thus, it is argued that the first step to men becoming the allies of women is for them to become aware of the inequality that exists in the first place. In the MLPofFL study, male leaders on Factor B acknowledged that female leaders face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing and male leaders on Factor A in the same study acknowledged that female leaders had their careers disadvantaged due to motherhood penalties. Furthermore, all three factors in the MLPML study acknowledged that male leaders did not have to contend with stereotypes and biases that prevented men from succeeding and also all factors disagreed that men faced any ‘family responsibility’ penalties. Whilst the research in this thesis does not provide further data that could allow us to hypothesize likely group-based actions as a result of these group-based appraisals, previous empirical data suggest that certain group-based emotions may lead advantaged groups to take action on behalf of disadvantaged groups. Leach, Iyer, and Pederson (2006) found that self-focused anger about ingroup advantages predicts willingness to take specific action on behalf of an outgroup. Additionally, Van Leewen, Van Dijk, and Kaynak (2013) found that high identifiers of advantaged groups can be persuaded to help members of disadvantaged groups by appealing to their sense of collective pride. Furthermore, Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, and Swim (2008) found that outgroup perspective taking and feelings of ingroup guilt work separately and together to increase willingness to participate in collective action on behalf of disadvantaged groups and this effect is most pronounced for those individuals who place less value on being part of the dominant group. The limited data provided here suggests the need for more empirical research to determine how group-based appraisals about female leader outgroups interact with group-based emotions to result in collective action tendencies on behalf of female leaders by male leaders.

9.3.3. Possibilities for social change

SIT argues that collective action is an important way in which low status groups can contest inequality and bring about change (Reicher et al, 2010; Reynolds et al, 2013; Subasic et al, 2012). In order for collective action to occur, group members need to be aware that their group is being treated unfairly (*subjective injustice*), they need to believe that social change can happen through acting together (*group efficacy beliefs*), and they need to feel a sense of strong shared group membership (*group identification*). These conditions are not mutually exclusive and interact in complex ways (for a review, see Van Zomeren et al, 2008). The research in this thesis did not include any quantitative instruments to measure subjective injustice, group efficacy or group identification, however, the position of the factors on statements relating to some of these areas can be deduced. On the basis of the findings of the FLPofFL study, it is argued that female leaders as a collective in the FLPofFL study

did not demonstrate strong group efficacy beliefs. In the FLPOfFL study, female leaders across all factors perceived that they had made it on their own with no help from others and whilst Factor B and Factor C believed that female leaders should help others succeed, Factor B was constrained by fears of affirming stereotypes and biases which suggested that Factor B would not be willing to draw negative attention. Furthermore, Factor A disagreed that senior women had a duty to help other women succeed.

Subasic et al. (2012) argue that for social change to occur, disadvantaged individuals need to perceive themselves as members of a collective that occupy an illegitimate position relative to other groups with the belief that working together they can change this position. Female leaders in the FLPOfFL study were aware of both the social psychological barriers (stereotypes and biases) and the structural barriers (old boy networks) that impede the progression of women. Thus it can be argued that these female leaders see the injustice of their position relative to men. However, this did not necessarily lead to group helping behaviours. Specifically, female leaders on Factor A and Factor C in the FLPOfFL study acknowledged that female leaders face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing. Furthermore, female leaders loading significantly on Factor A and Factor B in the FLPOfML study were in agreement that stereotypes and biases did not impede the progress of male leaders. Factor A and Factor C in the FLPOfFL study also acknowledged the motherhood penalty that disadvantaged female's career, whilst both Factor A and Factor B in the MLPOfML study believed that male leaders did not face any caregiving penalty. Furthermore, Factor A and Factor C in the FLPOfFL study acknowledged that progressing depended on getting into old boy networks and they believed that females are unlikely to succeed even if they acted like one of the guys. Conversely, the female leaders loading on Factor A and Factor B of the FLPOfML study also acknowledged the existence of old boy networks for male leaders but both factors acknowledged that men are more likely to succeed if they act like one of the guys.

However, whilst acknowledging the inequality between male leaders and female leaders, female leaders were not as aligned when it came to helping tendencies towards their gender group. Factor B and Factor C in the FLPOfFL study believed that female leaders had a duty to help other women succeed, however Factor A disagreed. Furthermore, both Factor A and Factor B did not believe in sponsors which is one manifestation of helping. Thus, whilst Factor B *believed* in helping other women succeed, they did not demonstrate that they *would* actually help as was evidenced in their disagreement with sponsors being

necessary to help women succeed. Only Factor C demonstrated both the belief that female leaders should help other women to succeed and the belief that women needed sponsors to look out for them. Possible explanations for these different findings come through in an interrogation of the position of these factors on other statements. One possible explanation is that fear of drawing negative attention is one of the constraints binding Factor A and Factor B which is not a constraint faced by Factor C. This was demonstrated in Factor A and Factor B agreeing that women were afraid of drawing negative attention, of not being liked and afraid of making the wrong choices. In contrast, Factor C wasn't afraid of drawing negative attention. Thus, it seems that the efficacy of female leaders to act as a collective to bring about change could be constrained by their fears. This strategy is not limited to women leaders only. In two separate studies, Lewis & Sherman (2003) and Cohen & Garcia (2005) found that ingroup members evaluate ingroup targets to avoid costly errors and self-esteem threats. In the event that one perceives that one's fellow ingroup members could potentially confirm a negative stereotype, one is more likely to display ingroup denigration or distancing from the ingroup member than ingroup favouritism.

9.4. Group-based emotion experience when confronted with stereotypes

9.4.1. Low group efficacy appraisals undermine collective action intentions

It is argued that female leaders in the GBEofFL study perceived that they occupied *lower subjective status* relative to male leaders. Tajfel and Turner (1979) posited that groups occupying lower subjective status find it more difficult to maintain positive social identity and employ various strategies to manage this, including, individual mobility, social creativity and social competition. In the GBEofFL study, female leaders across all factors disagreed that female leaders were in a stronger position than male leaders these days. Furthermore, both Factor A and Factor C believed that negative perceptions of female leaders put them at a collective disadvantage and also believed that female leaders did not have sufficient influence to stop these negative perceptions. These findings reinforce the argument that female leaders occupy *lower subjective status* relative to male leaders. The female leaders across all three factors in the GBEofFL study believed that the negative stereotypes directed towards senior women were unfair and illegitimate. Despite these appraisals, female leaders on Factor B and Factor C did not believe that female leaders were good at mobilizing as a collective to defend against these negative portrayals. Rather, both Factor A and Factor B believed that female leaders should enlist the help of more powerful others and all three factors in the study wanted to work with male leaders to correct beliefs about female leaders.

It is well established that women are more disempowered than men by their disadvantaged status (Eagly, 2018; Ellemers, 2018; Foster, et al., 2004). In addition, women are very aware that they are discriminated against as a result of their gender group (Stroebe et al, 2010). In addition, Schmitt et al. (2002) found that women reported more personal experience with discrimination compared to men and were more likely than men to see discrimination as a plausible explanation for future negative events. Thus, Vial et al. (2016) argue that others perceive female leaders as having low legitimacy in leader roles, and female leaders are then aware of their illegitimate authority which leads them to act in ways that reinforce this cycle of illegitimacy. Empirical data show that female leaders who are aware of gender stereotypes and who are afraid of confirming them change their behaviour, by actively tentatively which then reduces their likeability and influence (Bongiorno et al, 2013), by being less voluble compared to men which gives men the advantage as power is associated with volubility (Brescoll, 2012) and by self-monitoring which may avoid backlash (O'Neil & O'Reilly, 2011) but could reinforce perceptions that women are tentative. Some researchers such as Koenig et al. (2011) argue that leader stereotypes are changing over time. However, recent research shows that agency is still preferred and expected of women who become leaders (de Moura et al, 2018; Vial & Napier, 2018). The findings of the GBEofFL study suggest that feelings of subjective injustice alone are not sufficient for female leaders to embark on collective action. For collective action to occur, women leaders need to be perceived as legitimate leaders by both themselves and others. Furthermore, they need to highly identify with their gender group and female leader group and have a strong sense that by working together that is by displaying group efficacy they can effect change. Whilst the methodology of the GBEofFL study does not allow for assessing cause and effect, it can be argued that as a result of their *lower subjective status* positions female leaders appraise the female leader group as having low group efficacy which constrains their ability as a collective to engage in group-based actions leading to social change. It is further argued that the female leaders in the GBEofFL study occupy leader positions that provide lower status but not power and legitimacy. However, having status without power and legitimacy undermines the ability of women leaders to challenge existing *status beliefs* that privilege dominant groups and males in particular (Ridgeway, 2001). In this way, female leaders become “cogs in the machine” of inequality rather than “agents of change” (Cohen & Huffman, 2007, p. 682).

9.4.2. The complexity of legitimacy appraisals

In the GBEofFL study female leaders were exposed to senior women being labelled negatively and senior men being labelled positively for demonstrating exactly the same behaviours. Previous empirical data within the SIT tradition concludes that events that threaten the ingroup tend to elicit certain group-based appraisals and group-based emotions that govern specific group-based action tendencies (Smith, 1993). There is significant empirical data concluding that group-based anger in response to perceived group disadvantage and perceived illegitimate group-based discrimination is one of the main driving forces of collective action (Crisp et al, 2007; Leonard, et al, 2010; Iyer et al, 2014; Pennekamp et al, 2007; Shuman, Halperin & Tagar, 2007; Van Zomeren et al, 2004). Hence, it was expected that female leaders on perceiving that they were being illegitimately treated on the basis of their gender group identity would experience strong group-based anger and would display collective action tendencies to redress equality. However, the findings of the GBEofFL study did not fully support this expectation. Female leaders across all three factors acknowledged the unfairness, illegitimacy of the status quo and double standards that benefited men, indicating that these women felt a strong sense of subjective injustice. However, only female leaders loading on Factor C expressed anger (both at others and at themselves for perpetuating some of these stereotypes) and shame. Rather, all three factors expressed feeling regret that women were perceived in a negative way and disgust at the double standards with Factor A and Factor C also expressing irritation.

One possible explanation for the absence of group-based anger by participants loading on Factor B and Factor C could be due to their belief that women in general and women leaders should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these stereotypes. It is possible that appraisals that females and female leaders are partly to blame dilutes group-based anger towards others even when female leaders acknowledge that male leaders have some responsibility in perpetuating negative stereotypes to maintain their power. It could also explain why female leaders felt shame, irritation and regret. Perhaps, these women leaders believed that the stereotypes were legitimate. Previous research indicates that group-based shame negatively predicts ingroup favouritism (Shepherd, Spears & Manstead, 2013). Furthermore individuals are less likely to respond to perceived legitimate exclusion with anger and collective action compared to illegitimate exclusion (Iyer et al., 2014). Research indicates that women themselves can sometimes position discrimination as legitimate (Jetten et al, 2011) and discrimination that is perceived as legitimate garners less outrage and results in decrease group identification and commitment (Jetten et al., 2013; Jetten et al, 2012).

This has several implications for social change. Firstly, female leaders who perceive that their ingroup members or other women share responsibility for perpetuating stereotypes may feel less inclined to support other ingroup members or women in general. They may be more likely to distance themselves from these women in order to ensure that they are not stigmatized by association. They may also be less willing to embark on initiatives aimed at addressing inequality because they may question whether it is deserved. For example, Hersby et al. (2011) found that women who perceived discrimination as legitimate, regardless of whether it was pervasive or not were less willing to engage in mentoring initiatives. The researchers concluded that women are more likely to embark on collective action when discrimination is perceived as illegitimate and pervasive. A second possible implication is that these women themselves may actually perpetuate discrimination (with beliefs that a female deserves unequal treatment in some contexts). Given that females belong to a historically disadvantaged group, one would not expect them to discriminate against other women, hence, claims made by them about other women may not be interrogated as much as it would be had those claims been made by men (Iyer et al, 2014). Thus, the discrimination they direct to other women may become a less obvious form of discrimination which contributes to the cycle of illegitimacy because it is likely to go unchallenged.

9.4.3. Positive group-based emotions protect and constrain

Previous research indicates that subordination to a more powerful outgroup may threaten ingroup status, power and identity (Livingstone et al., 2009). In contrast to this, female leaders loading on Factor A and Factor B in the GBEofFL study displayed strong pride in the accomplishments of their group and demonstrated excitement and enthusiasm for future prospects for their group believing that perceptions of female leaders have improved over time and will get better in future. This was despite their appraisals that male leaders were partly responsible for the inequality that disproportionately affected them. Participants loading onto all three factors in the GBEofFL study believed that female leaders did not have a stronger position than male leaders with all three factors believing that male leaders had some responsibility in perpetuating negative representations of women. The finding that female leaders display positive group-based emotions despite acknowledging their constrained non-dominant position runs contrary to the findings of Van Laar et al. (2010). Their study found that members of low status groups find it more difficult to maintain positive views of self, due to the negative stereotypes and lower expectations held by others.

One possible explanation for this finding in the GBEofFL study, could be that these female leaders have become resilient over time due to their experiences with discrimination and they *deliberately cultivate* positive group-based emotions to cope with threats to their social identity. For example, Tugade and Fredrickson (2004) found that resilient individuals used positive emotions to recover from stressful events whilst Folkman and Moskowitz (2004) found that reappraising negative events more positively can reduce the negative effect of the event. According to Fredrickson (2004), cultivating positive emotions strengthens one's personal, intellectual and physical resources and creates an internal emotion positive repository that can be drawn upon in times of threat and adversity.

A second noteworthy finding is that whilst female leaders demonstrated positive group based emotions, they still did not believe in the efficacy of female leaders as a group to embark on collective action to bring about social change. All three factors in the GBEofFL study claimed that they were inspired by the success of their group despite the odds and displayed gratitude for the opportunities that had come their way as a result of their positions. Furthermore, both Factor A and Factor B displayed hope that perceptions of female leaders will change positively in the future. Whilst, previous research has demonstrated that group affirmation protects group member's willingness to engage in behaviour that improves the position of the group as a whole (Derks, Van Laar & Ellemers, 2009), more recent research indicates a relationship between group efficacy, hope and collective action. Specifically, Cohen-Chen and Van Zomeren (2018) found that high group efficacy beliefs coupled with high hope for change induces more willingness to engage in collective action. Group efficacy is not relevant for collective actions when hope for change is low. One of the implications of the finding that female leaders demonstrate high hope for change but low group efficacy beliefs is that collective action on the part of female leaders is only likely to occur when female leaders start believing that as a collective they can bring about change for their group.

Recent research suggests that positive group-based emotions can undermine motivation for social change. For example, group members who have hope that there can be better relations with the outgroup show reduced motivation for social change efforts (Hasan-Aslih, Pliskin, van Zomeren, Halperin, & Saguy, 2018). Other research indicates that admiration of outgroup members who are perceived to possess legitimate high status inhibits actions aimed at challenging the status quo (Sweetman, Spears, Livingstone, & Manstead, 2013). Furthermore, outgroups that are perceived to be the prototypical ideals for

superordinate categories also elicit admiration (Onu et al, 2016) which could encourage emulation of the outgroup and individual mobility beliefs to join the ranks of the outgroup rather than initiatives to address inequality. In summary, positive group-based emotions can buffer against negative stereotypes but at the same time it can potentially ensure that inequality remains through diminishing collective action tendencies.

9.5. Practical and theoretical Implications

This thesis started with the premise that a critical examination of the representations of a female leader in the intergroup context could illuminate both the barriers to and possibilities for social change. It has been established that female leaders are *unexpected leaders* (Eagly, 2018) who occupy tenuous leader roles. This thesis was concerned with understanding the manner in which female leaders and male leaders construct the social identity of female leaders in the intergroup context. One of the aims of this thesis was to surface the “invisible representations” of female leaders held by male leaders and female leaders. The finding that female leaders themselves do not see the female leader group as being powerful is noteworthy. This suggests that one of the biggest issues that female leaders face is lack of social power. This could be due to the dual effect of having fewer women in leadership as well as these women leaders not being in close proximity to each other in order to mobilize. Hence, it may difficult for them to develop group bonds when, there isn't anyone around to develop it with. This suggests that organizations should provide opportunities for their female leaders to network and engage with other female leaders. Furthermore, it suggests that female leaders themselves should mobilize into groups of common interest so that they can increase their social power. This would provide female leaders with a support network and also go a long way to building group bonds.

The most clear finding was that stereotypes, discrimination and bias is absent from the construction of male leader social identities. Male leaders do not perceive that external impediments constrain them. Rather, they believe that progress is based on individual drive. One of the implications of this is that their privileged position blinds them to the prejudices and biases that impede women leaders. Some male leaders judge a female's lack of progression as being due to her internal characteristics such as risk averseness, doubts and fears. Thus, the failure of a single woman leader could signify to these male leaders that females do not have the innate traits to be a leader, thus perpetuating gender stereotypes.

Furthermore, by not acknowledging the constraints that female leaders have to deal with themselves, these male leaders place a burden on women leaders to help other women succeed. It would seem that the progress of a few women into leadership positions creates the perception that the doors to advancement is then open to other women. Even male leaders who perceived that female leaders were constrained by prejudices and stereotypes, did not believe that these were powerful enough to prevent a female from progressing if she wanted to. It would seem that male leaders only acknowledge impediments and biases that are relevant to their own social identities. For example, male leaders across all factors in both studies acknowledge the power of the 'old boy' network for progression and therefore were more likely to endorse a man or a woman getting a sponsor to look out for them if they wanted to get to the top. This could suggest that one way in which male leaders can support diversity initiatives is by positioning it as something that will drive social change for men and women. This would increase self-relevance and likely support.

One finding that was particularly noteworthy was the lack of legitimacy that female leaders have in an intergroup context. The legitimacy of the female leader group proved to be questionable in this study due to male leaders not being able to separate the female leader social identity from their gender identity. Furthermore, their lack of acknowledgment of commonalities between themselves and female leaders suggest that female leaders do not hold a legitimate position in the intergroup context. One of the implications of this, is that male leaders could undermine female leaders because they do not see these female leaders as part of the overall "leader" group. According to SIT, male leaders are more likely to display outgroup derogation rather than ingroup favoritism to female leaders if they continually see them as outsiders.

9.6. Research limitations

The results detailed in this thesis are but "“a moment of analysis that may illuminate,” Eccleston, et al. (1997, p.710) and cannot be generalizable to entire populations. This thesis presented combined data from respondents of various nationalities. Whilst including female leaders from diverse backgrounds and nationalities led richness to the data obtained and delivered on the objective of understanding the full breadth and diversity around the subjective representations of female leaders, this thesis makes no claims as to the extent of the representations held within a particular country. It may be worthwhile to replicate these studies at a national level to explore the differences between countries. Furthermore, women do not only identify along race lines and representations of social identity are likely to

be different amongst women who have different gender identities, so future research should also focus on women with intersectional identities beyond that of race and gender.

It is also necessary to state that the accounts provided here are by no means the only accounts that could possibly exist on this topic. The accounts provided were dictated by the Q set. It has been argued throughout this thesis that representations of social identity are always changing and is always in a constant state of flux, negotiation and contestation. Whilst the Q set used in this study came from a detailed concourse, the dynamic nature of communicability and the relevance of the topic suggests that new ideas could have emerged since the concourse was developed that may not be accounted for in the studies in this thesis. Furthermore, the participants' responses could possibly have been constrained by the quality of statements, wording of statements and even by the number of statements presented. Whilst every attempt was made to get to a rich and diverse concourse, that is always going to be a consideration. Finally, the participants in the studies in this thesis had multiple nationalities even though all spoke, wrote and read English competently. One possible limitation of the Q set could be language. The same statement in English could mean different things in different countries. Future studies could translate the same Q set into the home languages of the participants to ensure understanding and equivalence of meaning.

In addition, whilst every attempt was made in the interpretation to be faithful to the factor accounts as they appeared in the factor arrays, there is always the potential for bias as the researcher was solely responsible for interpreting the factors. An alternative way of doing the analysis would have been to have other people who were knowledgeable on the subject look through the factor accounts. For example, Billiard (1999) had 16 volunteers aid in making key decisions in a Q methodological study examining perspectives on industrial democracy amongst organisational staff. However, Billiard concluded that whilst this participative stance was empowering when it came to analysing of factors, novice volunteers had difficulty in analysis compared to experienced researchers. However, this can easily be overcome by working with other like-minded researchers with more experience. An additional limitation is that most participants ran out of time and did not provide deep qualitative feedback at the end of the sorting exercise on the ranking of their most extreme items. These insights could have assisted in further interpretation of the factors.

9.7. Future research

Future research should investigate the efficacy of group-based emotions such as inspiration and hope. In this thesis, these emotions seemed to have “protective value” and buffered female leaders against social identity threat. It would be useful to validate this in larger, quantitative studies. Furthermore, potential research could also investigate the specific pathways through which this occurs. A future question for research would be, how do positive group-based emotions broaden and build one’s cognitive alternatives and personal resources such that in the face of threat, minority group members can draw on this broadening effect? Fredrickson’s (2004) *broaden and build theory of positive emotions* could be equally relevant in a group-based context. The findings of the present research indicates that that positive group-based emotions such admiration towards the outgroup decreases collective action tendencies towards the outgroup. More research is needed to in this area.

A second interesting area for future research would be to investigate how dispersed minority leaders are able to build shared group membership. Group identification was not measured in this thesis, however, the present research alluded to female leaders not feeling a shared sense of belonging with female leaders as a collective. A reductionist reason would be to assume that their gender category overpowers their female leader category, a hypothesis that would need empirical testing. However, female leaders are sometimes the sole females in leadership roles in a particular domain. How do these women foster a sense of shared belonging with other female leaders when there are none in their immediate vicinity?

More research is also needed to understand how minority leaders actually ascend to leader roles in the first instance. According to SIT, the numerical male majority in an organisation should not theoretically allow that to happen due to ingroup favoritism effects. However, women are still progressing through the ranks indicating additional group processes at work. Furthermore, more inquiry is needed to understand how female leaders as a minority group, and an outsider to leadership roles are able to influence the majority male organisational population, as a woman leader is not a prototypical of the leader group to begin with.

9.8. Final Comment

In summary, the various studies conducted within this thesis has contributed to a deeper understanding of the subjective experiences of female leaders as they “live” this identity. The findings have shown the pervasiveness of the gender frame in the constructions their identity by both themselves and the male leader groups. It has suggested new understandings on how gender constrains female leaders and perpetuates a vicious cycle of illegitimacy in both the minds of male leaders and female leaders themselves. This thesis has also suggested possibilities through which equality can be addressed. One of the most significant findings was that male leaders can be valuable allies for change when female leaders themselves are constrained. The findings of the group-based emotions study also provides important insights as to why female leaders are more likely to embark on individual mobility rather than collective action by bringing to light the low group efficacy beliefs of female leaders. Finally, whilst the appearance of positive group-based emotions suggest the possibility of another “resistance” strategy to cope with a devalued identity, these positive group-based emotions could also be an inhibitor of collective action. In conclusion, this study indicates that the subjective experiences of minority leaders such as women is a complex phenomenon that is fundamentally linked to intergroup processes.

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APPENDIX A: Final Q set for FLPofFL study and MLPofFL study

Q Set for FLPofFL study and MLPofFL Study
1. Females on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other women face in an organisation
2. Female leaders often display counter-stereotypical behaviours so that people don't stereotype them as similar to other females in general (±)
3. Female leaders fear promoting other women as they fear that the other woman would be better than them (±)
4. Female leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering
5. Female Leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, mentors and better rational thinkers
6. Successful and powerful women are to be admired for their tenacity at reaching the top (±)
7. Female leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group
8. Women who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky
9. Women leaders often instigate other women to vote on issues based on sticking together as women rather than voting for the best option (±)
10. Female leaders often isolate themselves from the people who work for them and come across as aloof and distant
11. Female leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands
12. Women leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way men do
13. A female leader's failure is indicative that she does not belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility
14. The reason most women do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices to reach the top
15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know
16. Women make good leaders until they get other responsibilities like family responsibilities which then distracts them
17. Most women downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others (±)
18. Most female leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life in order to succeed
19. Masculinized behaviours are something women should emulate in order to be successful

Q Set for FLPofFL study and MLPofFL Study
20. Females in leadership positions feel compelled to downplay elements of their female identity to be respected and accepted by male leaders
21. the most crucial thing for a woman to have if she is going to get to the top is a sponsor to look out for her
22. it's inspiring to see female leaders succeed against all odds and in doing so they make powerful role models
23. Female leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing
24. Female leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted
25. Females who have made it to the top have a duty to help other women succeed
26. Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons women do not succeed as leaders
27. Females have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership
28. Successful female leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together
29. It is a good thing for female leaders to fit in and adhere to existing rules and expectations and not try and change things too much
30. In general females leaders have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement as their experience and competence were not enough to guarantee their progression
31. Women who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys
32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that women face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice etc.
33. In general female leaders have many doubts. They doubt what they have to say, doubt what they can handle and doubt their decisions. In the process they undermine their abilities.
34. Female leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers
35. Differences between men and women leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success ($\pm$)
36. Female leaders have more in common with other female leaders rather than with females in general
37. Female leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than females in general ($\pm$)
38. In general, having women in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as female leaders actively promote the welfare of others
39. The better female leader's do not try to be like their male counterparts, but tap into their own unique leadership qualities

Q Set for FLPofFL study and MLPofFL Study
--

40. Females who aspire to leadership often have their career disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the 'baby risk' category

APPENDIX B: Participant Invitation, Thank You and Reminder Emails (FLPofFL study and MLPofFL Study)

Default sender of all emails: **Saloshni Muthal**

Note: Q-Assessor automatically appends the links to participate or refuse the study to the invitation and reminder emails.

Invitation

Subject: **FEMALE LEADER PERCEPTION STUDY**

Hello!

I am conducting research in fulfilment of a PhD degree. **The objective of this particular study is to understand YOUR perceptions of Female Leaders in general.**

Participation in this research will involve completing an online sorting exercise. You will be asked to sort a number of statements according to the degree of your agreement with them, which will take 10 minutes to complete.

By participating in this study, you understand that:

- Participation in this interview is voluntary.
- That you may refuse to answer any questions you would prefer not to.
- You may withdraw from the study at any time.
- No information that may identify you will be included in the research report, and your responses will remain confidential.

Finally by participating in this study you declare that you have read and understood the consent conditions and give your permission/consent for your data to be used for academic purposes only.

Thanks

Best Regards

Saloshni

LINK

To participate in this study, please click on this link:

[Yes, I want to participate in this study.](#)

Your browser should open to the study's start page. If for some reason it doesn't, simply copy and paste this entire link into your browser's location bar:

<http://q-assessor.com/studies/819/responses/new?code=XXXX>

We hope that you want to participate, but if you do not, click on this link:

[No, I do not want to participate in this study.](#)

Your browser should open to the study's page to refuse this invitation. If for some reason it does not, simply copy and paste this entire link into your browser's location bar:

<http://q-assessor.com/studies/819/responses/refuse?code=XXXX>

Thank You Email

Subject: **THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION - FEMALE LEADER PERCEPTION STUDY**

Hello!

Thank you for your participation. If you have any queries please contact
Smuthal@gmail.com

APPENDIX B Cont:Participant Invitation, Thank you and Reminder Emails

Reminder Email

Subject: **FEMALE LEADER PERCEPTION STUDY**

Hello!

This is a gentle reminder to please complete the study regarding your perceptions of female leaders

Thanks in advance

Best Regards

Saloshni

LINK

To participate in this study, please click on this link:

[Yes, I want to participate in this study.](#)

Your browser should open to the study's start page. If for some reason it does not, simply copy and paste this entire link into your browser's location bar:

<http://q-assessor.com/studies/819/responses/new?code=XXXX>

We hope that you want to participate, but if you do not, click on this link:

[No, I do not want to participate in this study.](#)

Your browser should open to the study's page to refuse this invitation. If for some reason it doesn't, simply copy and paste this entire link into your browser's location bar:

<http://q-assessor.com/studies/819/responses/refuse?code=XXXX>

APPENDIX C: Participant Introduction and Electronic Consent Sheet (Used in FLPofFL study and MLPofFL study)

I am conducting research in fulfilment of a PhD degree at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The objective of this particular study is to understand YOUR perceptions of female leaders in general.

Participation in this research will entail completing an online sorting exercise. You will be asked to sort a number of statements according to the degree of your agreement with them, which will take 20 minutes to complete.

Participation is voluntary, and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to complete or not complete the task. While questions are asked about your personal views and opinions, no identifying information will be used in the analysis and as such you will remain anonymous. All information obtained will be kept strictly confidential and no one apart from myself will have access to the data. Your responses will only be looked at in relation to all other responses. You can withdraw from the study, at any time if you feel uncomfortable with answering the questions or if you find the study too intrusive.

By participating in this study, you understand that:

- Participation in this interview is voluntary.
- That you may refuse to answer any questions you would prefer not to.
- You may withdraw from the study at any time.
- No information that may identify you will be included in the research report, and your responses will remain confidential.

Finally by participating in this study you declare that you have read and understood the consent conditions and give your permission/consent for your data to be used for academic purposes only.

Please only proceed if you are fine with these conditions.

If you have any queries on this study, please contact me via email at smuthal@gmail.com.

Your participation in this study is greatly appreciated.

Kind Regards

Saloshni

APPENDIX D: Final Q set for MLPofML study and FLPofML study

Perceptions of Male Leaders: Study Statements

1. Males on achieving leadership positions often ignore the struggles and barriers that other men face in an organisation
2. Male leaders often display counter stereotypical behaviours, to ensure that people don't stereotype them as similar to other males in general
3. Male leaders fear promoting other men as they fear that the other man would be better than them
4. Male leaders come across as ruthless, ambitious and power mongering
5. Male leaders tend to be better managers, better advisors, better mentors and better rational thinkers
6. Successful and powerful men are to be admired for their tenacity at reaching the top
7. Male leaders of colour face a double bind in that they often have to deal with stereotypes against their gender and their race group
8. Men who reach the top often do so because they are quite lucky
9. Male leaders often instigate other men to vote on issues based on sticking together as men rather than voting for the best option
10. Male leaders often isolate themselves from the people who work for them and come across as aloof and distant
11. Male leaders are good listeners, strong collaborators, naturally perceptive and good at managing conflicting demands
12. Male leaders are afraid of taking risks as they don't have the luxury of making mistakes the same way as women do
13. A male leader's failure is indicative that he doesn't belong in that role or shouldn't be given that responsibility
14. The reason that most men do not make it to the top is because they lack the drive and willingness to make personal sacrifices needed to reach the top
15. The mentality of the old boy network still exists. Progressing through the ranks is still very much about who you know
16. Men make good leaders until they get other responsibilities like family responsibilities which then distracts them
17. Most male leaders downplay their achievements as they do not want to be disliked and they do not want to be seen as a threat by others
18. Most male leaders have to sacrifice important aspects of their personal life in order to succeed
19. Feminized behaviors (like being more nurturing and caring) are something men should emulate in order to be successful
20. Males in leadership positions often feel compelled to downplay elements of their male identity in order to be respected and accepted by female leaders
21. The most crucial thing for a man to have if he is going to get to the top is a sponsor to look out for him
22. It is inspiring to see male leaders succeed against all odds, and in doing so they make powerful role models
23. Male leaders often face powerful stereotypes and biases that prevent them from advancing
24. Male leaders of colour often have to work twice as hard as their white counterparts to be accepted
25. Males who have made it to the top have a duty to help other men succeed
26. Lack of confidence and/or very ambivalent relationships to ambition, risk and money are some of the reasons why men don't succeed as leaders
27. Males have better instincts and intuition when it comes to leadership

28. Successful male leaders often have a good sense of how to get people to cooperate and work together
29. It is a good thing for male leaders to fit in and adhere to existing rules and expectations and not try and change things too much
30. In general male leaders have relied on others to guarantee their continued advancement as their experience and competence were not enough to guarantee their progression
31. Men who are more likely to succeed are the ones that act like one of the guys
32. Fear is at the root of so many barriers to success that men face; fear of drawing negative attention, fear of not being liked and fear of making the wrong choice.
33. In general male leaders have many doubts. They doubt what they have to say, doubt what they can handle and doubt their decisions. In the process, they undermine their abilities
34. Male leaders are not afraid to take risks and promote themselves in order to advance their careers
35. Differences between men and womens' leadership styles should be celebrated as there is no gender based blueprint for leadership success
36. Male leaders have more in common with other male leaders rather than with males in general
37. Male leaders often have more in common with other female leaders than with other males in general
38. In general having men in leadership positions are very beneficial to others, as male leaders actively promote the welfare of others
39. The better male leaders do not try to be like their male or female counterparts, but instead tap into their own unique leadership qualities
40. Males who aspire to leadership often have their careers disadvantaged because their age and gender puts them in the 'family responsibility risk' category

APPENDIX E: Participant Invitation, Thank you and Reminder Emails

Default sender of all emails: **Saloshni Muthal**

Note: Q-Assessor automatically appends the links to participate or refuse the study to the invitation and reminder emails.

Invitation

Subject: **Invitation to participate in my research on perceptions of male leaders**

Hello!

My name is Saloshni Muthal, and I am conducting research in fulfilment of a PhD degree Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The objective of this particular study is to understand YOUR perceptions of Male Leaders in general.

Participation in this research will entail completing an online sorting exercise that should take 10-15 minutes of your time.

By participating in this study, you consent to being interviewed by Saloshni Muthal. You understand that:

- Participation in this study is voluntary.
- That you may refuse to answer any questions you would prefer not to.
- You may withdraw from the study at any time.
- No information that may identify you will be included in the research report, and your responses will remain confidential.

By participating in this study you declare that you have read and understood the consent conditions and give your permission/consent for your data to be used purely for academic purposes

Thanks in advance for your time

Best Regards

Saloshni

LINK

To participate in this study, please click on this link:

[Yes, I want to participate in this study.](#)

Your browser should open to the study's start page. If for some reason it doesn't, simply copy and paste this entire link into your browser's location bar:

<http://q-assessor.com/studies/822/responses/new?code=XXXX>

We hope that you want to participate, but if you do not, click on this link:

[No, I do not want to participate in this study.](#)

Your browser should open to the study's page to refuse this invitation. If for some reason it doesn't, simply copy and paste this entire link into your browser's location bar:

<http://q-assessor.com/studies/822/responses/refuse?code=XXXX>

APPENDIX E CONT: Participant Invitation and Reminder Emails

Default sender of all emails: **Saloshni Muthal**

Note: Q-Assessor automatically appends the links to participate or refuse the study to the invitation and reminder emails.

Reminder Email

Subject: **Reminder to complete survey on your perceptions of male leaders**

Hello!

Hi there

This is a gentle reminder to kindly complete the survey on your perceptions of male leaders in general

thanks in advance for your time

Best Regards

Saloshni

LINK

To participate in this study, please click on this link:

[Yes, I want to participate in this study.](#)

Your browser should open to the study's start page. If for some reason it doesn't, simply copy and paste this entire link into your browser's location bar:

<http://q-assessor.com/studies/822/responses/new?code=XXXX>

We hope that you want to participate, but if you do not, click on this link:

[No, I do not want to participate in this study.](#)

Your browser should open to the study's page to refuse this invitation. If for some reason it doesn't, simply copy and paste this entire link into your browser's location bar:

<http://q-assessor.com/studies/822/responses/refuse?code=XXXX>

Thank You

APPENDIX F: Participant Introduction and Electronic Consent Sheet (Used in MLPofML study and FLPofML study)

My name is Saloshni Muthal, and I am conducting research in fulfilment of a PhD degree in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The objective of the study is to understand YOUR perceptions of Male Leaders in general.

Participation in this research will entail completing a sorting exercise. You will be asked to sort a number of statements according to the degree of your agreement with them, which will take 15-20 minutes to complete.

Participation is voluntary, and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to complete or not complete the task. While questions are asked about your personal views and opinions, no identifying information, will be used further and as such you will remain anonymous. All information obtained will be kept strictly confidential. Your responses will only be looked at in relation to all other responses. Feedback will be given to you on completion of the project, if you so desire. You can withdraw from the study at any time if you feel uncomfortable with answering the questions or if you find the study too intrusive.

Participation in this research will entail completing an online sorting exercise that should take 10-15 minutes of your time.

By participating in this study, you consent to being interviewed by Saloshni Muthal. You understand that:

- Participation in this study is voluntary.
- That you may refuse to answer any questions you would prefer not to.
- You may withdraw from the study at any time.
- No information that may identify you will be included in the research report, and your responses will remain confidential.

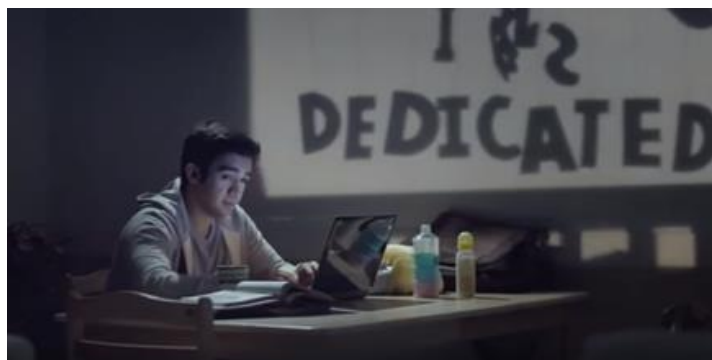
By participating in this study you declare that you have read and understood the consent conditions and give your permission/consent for your data to be used purely for academic purposes

If you have any queries on this study, please contact me via email at smuthal@gmail.com.

Kind Regards

Saloshni

APPENDIX G: Vignettes from video used in GBEofFL study







APPENDIX H: Participant Information and Electronic Consent Form for GBEofFL study using FlashQ programme.



Welcome!

I am conducting research in fulfilment of a PhD degree. The objective of this study is to understand your emotional experience when confronted by stereotypes portraying enior women in a negative light. Participation in this research will involve completing an electronic sorting exercise. You will be asked to sort a number of statements according to the degree of your agreement with them, which will take 20 minutes to complete. By participating in this study, you understand that, participation in this interview is voluntary. You may refuse to answer any questions you would prefer not to. You may withdraw from the study at any time. No information that may identify you will be included in the research report, and your responses will remain confidential. Finally by participating in this study you declare that you have read and understood the consent conditions and give your permission/consent for your data to be used for academic purposes only.

Continue...

APPENDIX I: Final Q set for GBEofFL study

Q statements for GBEofFL study
1. I Feel proud of the accomplishments of senior women
2. I'm ashamed of the negative perceptions directed towards female leaders
3. I'm determined to overcome the negative perceptions that exist of senior women
4. I'm nervous about the future outcomes for senior women as a group
5. I'm always alert/vigilant to behaviours that may be negatively perceived by others
6. I'm irritated at how senior women are perceived by others
7. I'm inspired by the successes of female leaders in general despite the odds
8. I'm distressed/upset at the negative portrayal of the behaviour of female leaders
9. I'm excited about what the future holds for women who aspire to leadership positions
10. I feel guilty that female leaders act in a way that does not become them
11. As a senior woman myself, I believe that I can successfully overcome the barriers that stand in our way
12. I feel hostile at male leaders who do not have to deal with these negative perceptions
13. Despite everything, I am enthusiastic about the future for female leaders
14. I feel hostile towards those who perpetuate the negative stereotypes of female leaders
15. Seeing negative portrayals of females in power positions, makes me want to work harder to prove them wrong
16. I feel angry at others for feeding these negative perceptions of senior women
17. I think that these portrayals of men and women in leadership are fair, appropriate and legitimate
18. I am angry at myself for perpetuating some of these stereotypes
19. Female leaders are better organized these days to defend themselves against these negative perceptions
20. I am disgusted at the double standard and at how the same behaviours are portrayed differently for men and women
21. Female leaders have a stronger position than male leaders these days
22. I feel like avoiding all situations where my behaviour could be viewed as being inappropriate
23. Female leaders are better able at collectively mobilizing themselves to defend against threats to their identity
24. I regret that female leaders are perceived this way
25. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would try to change his perceptions

Q statements for GBEofFL study
26. Female leaders are more disadvantaged than male leaders, as they are constrained by society's expectations of how they should behave and what their roles should be
27. I think that the perceptions of female leaders have improved over time and will get better in the future
28. I think women in general should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these negative perceptions of women
29. As a female leader, I am inspired to work with other female leaders to change the situation and how we are perceived
30. I would prefer to not acknowledge my identity as a female leader and/or senior woman of authority
31. I would like to work with male leaders to correct these beliefs about female leaders ±
32. I think that female leaders should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these stereotypes
33. I think as female leaders we have sufficient influence to stop these negative perceptions from being perpetuated further
34. I think male leaders should take their share of responsibility for perpetuating these stereotypes
35. I am grateful for all the opportunities that have come my way as a result of my position
36. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would keep him at a distance
37. I am happy to be a female leader/woman in authority
38. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would confront or oppose him
39. I am satisfied that female leaders are doing all that they can to combat these negative perceptions
40. If I met a male leader who believed in or perpetuated this stereotype, I would want nothing to do with him
41. Stereotypes like these make me laugh, as they are so outdated and untrue. They really should be taken lightly
42. I feel that there is no hope for female leaders as a group to overcome these barriers, and I would consider an alternative career if I had the opportunity
43. When I witness negative portrayals of female leaders, I do nothing and do not want to hear anything more. I just stop thinking about it
44. Negative portrayals of female leaders are meant to undermine them and maintain the status quo, so that men can continue having all the power

Q statements for GBEofFL study
45. When I see someone perpetuating these negative stereotypes, I am inclined to intervene
46. I believe that negative portrayals of female leaders put female leaders in general at a collective disadvantage
47. It is amusing that these old fashioned portrayals of female leaders still exist
48. I feel that negative portrayals of female leaders put women in general at a collective disadvantage
49. I try to see negative stereotypes of women leaders in a different light, to make it seem more positive
50. When I see negative portrayals of women leaders, I feel a lot of emotional distress and find myself expressing those feelings a lot
51. When I see women leaders being portrayed in a negative light, I concentrate my efforts on doing something about it
52. When I see female leaders being positioned in a negative light, I am more likely to say to myself this is not real
53. When I see or hear women leaders being stereotyped, I try to get emotional support from others and discuss my feelings with others who are interested
54. Women leaders will always be perceived more negatively than male leaders. I know that this cannot be changed and I have learned to live with it
55. Female leaders should enlist the support of more powerful others to do something concrete about dealing with these negative perceptions
56. I just cannot counter the negative perceptions that others have of senior women, so I won't even try to do so
57. Female leaders should come up with a strategy on how to combat these stereotypes
58. I would prefer not to dwell on these negative perceptions and focus on other things
59. Female leaders have to be aggressive, dominant and competitive if they are to succeed
60. Female leaders have to be gentle, nurturing, sensitive and warm if they are to succeed

APPENDIX J: Ethical Clearance



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Muthal

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER H14/03/23

PROJECT TITLE

A Q-methodological exploration of female leader social identities within the Social Identity Framework

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Ms S Muthal

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT

Human & Community Development/Psychology

DATE CONSIDERED

28 March 2014

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

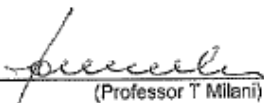
Approved Unconditionally

EXPIRY DATE

27/05/2016

DATE 28/05/2014

CHAIRPERSON

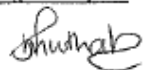

(Professor T. Millani)

cc: Supervisor : Prof G Finchilescu

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10000, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**


Signature

20 / 06 / 2015
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES