Individual Perceptions of Successful Leadership

An Intersectional Feminist Perspective

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ABSTRACT

I analysed individual perceptions of successful leadership, from a feminist intersectional persepctive. The study is based on previous research undertaken by Chamorro-Premuzic (2019), where successful leadership has been argued to be based on embodying the characteristics of 'confidence', 'competence', and 'emotional intelligence'. This study also investigated whether comprehensions of successful leadership are gendered, and, if so, if the gendered perceptions may be related to the social organisation of care. Furthermore, as gender is always racialised and race is always gendered, this study takes an intersectional approach, analysing perceptions of successful leadership as both racialised and gendered. Based on this, I undertook a case study analysing the words of 11 women in the United States, in order to compare the perspectives of what successful leadership entails for certain individuals in particular, to general perceptions on successful leadership, as well across identity locations. By emphasising individual perspectives on successful leadership, this study allowed for an investigation into gendered and racialised notions regarding successful leadership.

KEY WORDS

Female leadership. Confidence. Competence. Emotional Intelligence. Social Responsibility. Double Jeopardy. Glass Cliff. Textual Analysis. Case study.

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1. Introduction

This thesis investigates perceptions of successful leadership, as well as perceptions of successful leadership as being gendered. As gender is directly influenced by, and directly influences, other identities, gender is not an aspect which can be analysed as a separate entity when discussing the individual. In other words, gender is intersectional. The term intersectionality was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), here, using the metaphor of a traffic intersection to clarify the concept;

"Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination"

(Crenshaw 1989:149).

Based on this, gender is always racialised and race is always gendered. As this study analyses individual perceptions of successful leadership, and, in turn, if these perceptions are gendered, two case studies have been utilised in its analysis. As Black women face gendered racism which refers to the double jeopardy of being female and Black (Jean-Marie, Williams, and Sherman 2009:564), Black women face challenges as a direct consequence of being neither white nor male (defined by Jean-Marie, Williams, and Sherman (2009) as a Black/double jeopardy), in attaining and maintaining leadership roles. In investigating the double jeopardy faced by Black women, by analysing Black female leaders' perceptions of successful leadership, as well as the perceptions regarding successful leadership of a white, female leader, then, this study takes an intersectional feminist stance.

Furthermore, since women hold the primary responsibility for social reproduction in capitalist society, a gendered labour market has been maintained by the introduction of insufficient carer-citizen policies. Based on this, social responsibility is analysed as the common denominator shaping women leaders' experience, in order to find whether the social organisation of care affects individual notions of successful leadership, and so, whether social responsibility establishes gendered perceptions of leadership.

The study concludes that perceptions regarding successful leadership have been found to be aligned with the previous findings of Chamorro-Premuzic (2019). Furthermore, perceptions regarding successful leadership have also been found to be gendered and racialised. A paradox has been revealed, where gendered and racialised experiences allow for individuals to perceive themselves as truly successful leaders, though these experiences also make women leaders face a glass cliff to a wider extent than male leaders. Women have been found to perceive themselves as successful leaders based on their confidence, competence, emotional intelligence, and social responsibility. Even so, in facing, more or less, impossible leadership challenges more often than men, women leaders face a dichotomy; when being allowed to take the lead, the traits which women leaders have internalised through their experiences are generally wasted on organisational units that are in crisis and for which saving entails extreme stress, a lack of support, and little guidance. Further research is needed to map what female leaders may be able to accomplish if perceptions regarding successful leadership were to emphasise the skill-set women leaders generally embody, i.e., being caring, competent, and confident.

1.1 Background

The study is based on previous research undertaken by Chamorro-Premuzic (2019). In "Why Do So Many Incompetent Men Become Leaders? (and how to fix it)", Chamorro-Premuzic (2019) asserts that incompetent leadership is everywhere, and most of these leaders are men. By asking two powerful questions: Why is it so easy for incompetent men to become leaders? And why is it so hard for competent people (especially competent women) to advance?; Chamorro-Premuzic (2019) points out that although men make up a majority of leaders, they underperform when compared with female leaders.

Related to the underrepresentation of female leaders, is the social organisation of care. Glenn (2010:5) has defined caring as: '[...] the relationships and activities involved in maintaining people on a daily basis and inter-generationally'. Caring labour entails direct caring for a person (such as physical and emotional care), maintaining the physical surroundings where people live (such as cleaning), and encouraging other people's social relationships (Glenn 2010:5). Caring is part of the reproductive work which has been assigned to women. Moreover, the obligation to satisfy men sexually has been defined as an inherent responsibility of care (James 1975:9-10). The gendered conceptualisation of care causes women to be defined primarily as caring, sexual objects due to the inherent

responsibility in reproductive labour to satisfy men, causing women to physically embody an identity of care.

In order to be perceived as having leadership potential by others, displaying confidence is key, however, the benefits of appearing confident have been found to differ between men and women leaders (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:31). When women challenge social norms and try to access leadership positions, a certain contradiction occurs between traditional leadership and gender roles, leading female leaders to often face social rejection (Bowles and McGinn 2005; Eagly and Karau 2002; Hoyt and Blascovich 2007; Rudman 1998; Rudman and Glick 2001). Despite the fact that, in previous research, women have been found to feel confident in general, appearing confident has no leadership benefits at all for women (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:31). For men, on the other hand, appearing confident has been found to generally suffice to be perceived as having leadership potential (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:31). Women, then, need to be perceived as confident, competent, and caring in order to be perceived as having leadership potential (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:31). This is furthered by previous research stating that the strongest evidence of gender differences in leadership style lies in the fact that male managers have proved to be more task oriented and able to organise activities to accomplish them, the tendency of women to adopt a more democratic and participatory style and that of men to adopt a more autocratic and directive style, and that female managers tend to be oriented towards interpersonal relationships, morale and human well-being (Abdallah and Jibai 2020:12).

Leading to this gendered dichotomy of leadership has been argued by Glenn (2010:5) as caused by different forms of social coercion, having been used to influence and constrain women's choices. Specifically, a coercion to care has been accomplished by the use of status obligations, which induces a woman to care due to her status as a mother, wife, sister or daughter (Glenn 2010:6). Due to status obligations which have been internalised in public and private morals, it is widely taken for granted that women do most of the caring in the family simply because a woman 'ought' to care (Glenn 2010:88). Status obligations also influence shared understandings of social order, conceptualising women's caring as crucial to ensure civilised life (Glenn 2010:88). Caring, then, is not seen as a societal responsibility but as 'a woman's job' (Epstein 2009:377).

Furthermore, another form of care coercion is the racialised gendered servitude, which entails a labour system where one group has the power to command services of the other (Glenn 2010:7). As capitalism institutionalised the wage, the male wage-labourer could demand the reproductive labour of the economically dependent woman in the home. In order

for reproductive work to remain unwaged, caring had to be transformed into a female natural attribute, a responsibility to be fulfilled based on her status obligations. In this way, women have not yet been fully separated from the private sphere, and so, their leadership will be argued to be perceived as an extension of their caring obligations throughout this study.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

This study aims to find whether leadership coaches' own comprehension of successful leadership may be related to the previous findings of Chamorro-Premuzic (2019), where successful leadership has been argued to be based on embodying the characteristics of 'confidence', 'competence', and 'emotional intelligence'. Secondly, this study also aims to find whether comprehensions of successful leadership are gendered, and, if so, if the gendered perceptions may be related to the social organisation of care. Furthermore, as gender is always racialised and race is always gendered, this study takes an intersectional approach, analysing perceptions of successful leadership as both racialised and gendered. Hence, this study seeks to answer the following research questions;

- 1. How is successful leadership described by leaders?
- 2. How do stereotypes of gender and race affect leaders' descriptions of successful leadership?

In answering these research questions, this study aims to increase the understanding of how leaders perceive successful leadership in general, which, in turn, highlights by what parameters they hold themselves accountable. In doing so, this study aims to increase the understanding of the obstacles female leaders face in attaining and maintaining leadership positions, not only by society in general, but within their own minds. In this way, this study may be utilised as the foundation for conducting further research on the subject; mapping the mind blocks female leaders face in perceiving themselves to be successful leaders, as well as the dichotomy between their own perceptions of successful leadership and notions of what a successful leader is/does in wider society. In this way, this study aims to set the foundation for further research to be undertaken to find where, and in what ways, female leaders' own perceptions of successful leadership clashes with society's, in turn, outlining solutions for wiping out the dichotomy between the two.

1.3 Delimitations

For this thesis project, two case studies have been undertaken. Firstly, blog posts of the photographer turned business/leadership coach Jenna Kutcher have been analysed, as she has a large international following of female entrepreneurs running businesses of their own, and emphasises a capitalist perspective on female empowerment. Secondly, the interviews with 10 Black women leaders conducted via the Forbes article 'When Black Women Lead, We All Win: 10 Inspirational Leaders Show Us The Way,' have been analysed. Here, leaders with differing areas of expertise discuss leadership from a social justice perspective.

The samples have been chosen based on the author's/interviewees' gender (i.e., female), publishing date (i.e., 2018-2021), and the author's/interviewees' occupation (i.e., leaders). Since the aim of the study is to find whether a leader's own comprehension of successful leadership may be related to the previous findings of Chamorro-Premuzic (2019), and, subsequently, whether gender stereotypes affect her descriptions of successful leadership, the samples needed to provide data fulfilling the following criteria; being comparable in terms of similarities and differences based on gender stereotypes regarding leaders/leadership (i.e., based on the author's/interviewees' occupation and gender), discussing successful leadership within the same specified period of time (i.e., 2018-2021), and being provided by an exclusively responsible author/interviewee who takes the role of the 'expert' as a leader (i.e., being acknowledged in their field). Therefore, Jenna was chosen due to her specific role as, not only a leader, but a leadership coach (i.e., mentoring others to lead in ways she deems successful). The sampled article was chosen due to the prominent roles held by all interviewees (e.g., ranging from best-selling authors, to business owners, to executive directors). Furthermore, geographical location has been a factor in choosing the samples due to the varying organisation of countries' welfare states. Therefore, leaders based in The United States have been chosen due to the overall lack of emphasis on carer-citizen policies to help reduce the burden of caring obligations in a neoliberal welfare state.

1.4 Contribution

This thesis project aims to fill the research gap of how gendered notions of successful leadership is utilised by experts in the area (e.g., leaders, managers, mentors), to increase knowledge regarding how gendered notions permeates perceptions of successful leadership overall, in order to better understand the impacts of gendered perceptions of successful

leadership. The study compares wider discourses of leadership to feminist persepctives on leadership, including discussions regarding the double jeopardy faced by Black women leaders in attaining and maintaining leadership positions. In taking a relational perspective on leadership (i.e., leadership starts with processes in organisations, rather than with people (Uhl-Bien 2006:661), individual perceptions of successful leadership may be analysed in relation to the advice given, assumptions made, and/or stories told regarding leadership by leaders, directed toward their followers/potential followers. In this way, the organisational culture present in organisations and companies may be compared to the expressions of perceptions of successful leadership on an individual level. Hence, by analysing the words of a leadership coach, perceptions of successful leadership may be investigated based on advice given, assumptions made, and stories told regarding leadership. Furthermore, by analysing the words of 10 Black women leaders, a deeper investigation into the effects of the double jeopardy may be conducted as based on the interviewees' perceptions of leadership, and so, in what ways identity affects perceptions of successful leadership on an individual level. This allows for further research to be undertaken to find where, and in what ways, female leaders' own perceptions of successful leadership clashes with society's, in turn, outlining solutions to challenge the status quo.

2. Methodology

This study has been conducted through a qualitative methodology with an iterative approach regarding theory, data collection and processing (Tracy 2013:184). The qualitative approach has been undertaken since the study is primarily relying on human perception and understanding via secondary data analysis. To allow an in-depth analysis, qualitative data has been utilised to highlight the history of actions and events (Tracy 2013:184). Hence, I decided to undertake textual analyses, specifically thematic content analyses, where case studies of specific experts are analysed and compared to wider discourses regarding leadership. Case studies have been undertaken where experts have been analysed via their written blog posts or their words as told through an interview conducted by a third-party. As the study seeks to answer "how" questions, the focus is placed on a few texts sampled from the same professional area (i.e., leaders), which allows for an analysis of contextual similarities and differences.

2.1 Case Studies

2.1.1 Case Study 1: Jenna Kutcher, Leadership Coach

Jenna is a small-town, Minnesota photographer turned educator and leadership coach. After having started out as a wedding photographer, Jenna launched her first online course in 2015 to teach female entrepreneurs how to go about starting and running a business on their own. Now, Jenna offers seven different courses covering a range of different topics, offering the tools she finds necessary for any business owner to succeed. I analysed two of her blog posts for this study; 'Why Giving Your Team More Freedom Leads To Better Results,' (Sample 1), and '3 Transformative Mindset Shifts To Teach What You Know,' (Sample 2) (Kutcher 2021).

2.1.2 Case Study 2: When Black Women Lead, We All Win: 10 Inspiring Leaders Show Us The Way

In this Forbes article, Schnall (2020) has interviewed 10 Black women leaders on their fight for their civil rights in America, discussing identity and leadership. Insights are provided by: Luvvie Ajayi, *Best-Selling Author;* Aimee Allison, *Business Owner;* Kimberlé Crenshaw, *Professor;* Brittany Packnett Cunningham, *Activist*; Alicia Garza, *Co-Creator #BlackLivesMatter;* Valarie Jarrett, *Senior Advisor To Barack Obama;* Barbara Lee, *Politician;* Amanda Seales, *Comedian, Actress, Writer;* Opal Tometi, *Co-Founder of #BlackLivesMatter;* Raquel Willis, *Writer* (Schnall 2020).

2.2 Sample Frame

This study is based on purposeful sampling (Tracy 2013:134-138), outlining leadership experts as the sampling frame. To find case studies within the sampling frame, opportunistic sampling was utilised (Tracy 2013:134-138), based on the availability of the texts chosen, and the expert position of the individuals (i.e., leader). Hence, a white, female leadership coach and Black women leaders being experts in a range of different areas (e.g., award-winning authors, to Congress women, to activists) are in focus. The data was collected from written texts in the form of blog posts from one chosen leadership expert, as well as via interviews conducted by a third-party (i.e., Marianne Schnall for Forbes). A text analysis was utilised due to the study's focus on the experts' perspectives, in order to capture viewpoints and lived experiences, to widen the knowledge of the general reasoning regarding successful leadership and its gendered and racialised notions, on an individual level.

2.3 Thematic Content Analysis

I discovered themes in the chosen texts, organised the themes based on their relevance to this study, and linked the themes to theory (Ryan and Bernhard 2003:85). The theoretical categories utilised are outlined by Chamorro-Premuzic (2019) (i.e., 'confidence, 'competence', and 'emotional intelligence') (see table 2.1), due to previous research having emphasised these components as key for any successful leader. Furthermore, the theoretical category of 'social responsibility' is utilised to connect the analysis to gendered perceptions of women as the primary carers in society (Glenn 2010:6). To be able to reduce the gathered data, then, I began the data analysis process by creating three main themes based on previous theory (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:21;90). To facilitate the coding process, I established a colour based coding index. Codes were given to units of text representing a theme, and the themes were assigned colours, enabling the data to be colour coded. The texts have been analysed based on similarities and differences in statements found through a line-by-line analysis, repetitions of objects (i.e., objects that occurred and reoccurred), and by searching for missing data (i.e., what is *not* talked about) (Ryan and Bernhard 2003:89-94). Frequently mentioned words/phrases were the bases to organise the data to discover patterns and relationships, which facilitated the drawing of conclusions. The research questions were answered based on determining what the identified themes entailed, by presenting explanations for observed patterns and relationships, by making contrasts and comparisons, and by giving meaning to missing data. However, I acknowledge that qualitative data analysis is not a linear process, but rather a continuous and iterative process, which means I returned to each step in the data analysis continuously.

Table 2.1 Themes

Confidence	CON	A person's belief in their own level of skill in a specified situation/context (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:21).
Competence	COM	A person's actual level of skill in a specified situation/context (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:21).
Emotional Intelligence	EI	A person's ability to understand and manage their own and other people's emotions (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:90).
Social Responsibility	SR	The creation and maintenance of social bonds such as giving birth, raising children and sustaining ties with friends and the surrounding community, and other various forms of caring

	labour in the domestic sphere, such as housework (Glenn 2010:6).
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2.4 Limitations

As I have chosen to undertake a textual analysis of sampled blog posts and interviews, perceptions and reasonings related to successful leadership notions (including gendered and racialised perceptions), may only be analysed within the boundaries of the chosen texts. Any further data collection regarding the findings of the text analysis has not been conducted, as the ability to ask follow-up questions or find texts specifically related to the chosen materials, has not been possible with this choice of method.

3. Literature Review

In the following literature review, relevant theories and models for this study will be presented. The chapter begins by presenting the concept of de/constructionism as related to the female body and leadership. Thereafter, a review of the concept of intersectionality is presented, followed by an outline of the role of social reproduction in capitalist society. After this, the effects for perceptions regarding successful leadership as being gendered are discussed. Lastly, the importance of social citizenship in challenging the *status quo* is emphasised as key in enabling an increase in successful female leaders.

3.1 De/Constructionism, the Female Body and Leadership

De Beauvoir (1949/1984:267) stated that; "One is not born but becomes a woman". Her statement argued against biological determinism, paving the way for de/constructionism, highlighting that a gendering of individuals was present within the socialisation process, operating through symbolic and discursive inscription into social structures (Lykke 2010:93). Butler (1990:33) furthered De Beauvoir's argument, stating that; "Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being". Here, the metaphor of 'congealing' is used to explain the process of gendering where continuous repetition of norms, i.e., what is considered 'natural/unnatural', and 'right/wrong' ways of doing gender, leads to naturalised and fixed ways of doing gender (Butler 1990:33). This has consequences for the discursive frames subjects must define themselves within, as well as for

the stylisation of subjects' bodily expressions needed to make themselves understood as gendered subjects in society (Lykke 2010:91). Leaders, then, are no exception. In this way, leadership may be understood as gendered *and* embodied, based on the fact that leaders embody their genders, and so, must confine themselves to bodily expressions suitable for their gender. That the female body is key was highlighted by Braidotti (1994:150-158), arguing that bodily difference has positioned women as a universalist category under the term Woman, which has been imposed on female individuals as a cultural essentialist and biological determinist definition. Furthermore, the term has been locked into the binary opposition 'Man/Woman', where 'Woman' is a universally subordinated category to the category of 'Man' (Braidotti 1994:150-158). Hence, women leaders are categorised based on their bodily appearance, meaning that it is crucial to discuss notions of leaders and leadership as, not merely gendered, but physically embodied.

3.2 Intersectionality and Feminist Theory

Gender, in terms of being a concept, can be analysed separately, but in reality, gender is always played out in relation to other categories (Adib and Guerrier 2003:414). Recognition that social class, race, and sexuality provide different experiences for women has disrupted the homogeneous category of 'woman' over time (Brah and Phoenix 2004:82). The main concern in feminist theory, then, is not to describe how gender is socially and culturally defined, but to develop understandings of how gender is connected to social, economic and cultural status in society (Richardson 2015:10). In this way, intersectionality highlights the intertwined operation of racism, patriarchy and social class, demonstrating the multiple faces of oppression exacerbating women's subordination in society (Reed 2015:138). In this way, intersectionality furthers the assertion of leadership as embodied, as the notion of 'the leader' is closely connected to social, cultural, and economic structures, where gender is a key category.

In intersectionality theory, identity is based upon a subjective, as well as fragmented, set of dynamics where political, ideological, and social contexts are theorised to not only produce, but also sustain, identities and exclusions (Crenshaw 1989:149). Due to this, one's identity is not fixed, identity and exclusion are relational concepts which depend on culture, organisations, as well as other people, meaning that identity is also highly relational in terms of power (Levine-Rasky 2011:242). Categories of 'difference' provide the basis for exclusion of individuals and groups and these categories are historical in the sense that they shift with

time and political environments, where processes of e.g., capitalism, domination and colonialism are included (Levine-Rasky 2011:242). Hence, gender is always racialised and race is always gendered (Levine-Rasky 2011:240). Gendered racism refers to the double jeopardy of being female and Black (Jean-Marie, Williams, and Sherman, 2009:564). Therefore, the theory of intersectionality is also crucial for deepening understandings of racialised leadership structures and perceptions.

3.3 Social Reproduction, Capitalism, and The Italian Feminist Movement

Social reproduction has historically been gendered. The concept entails the creation and maintenance of social bonds such as giving birth, raising children and sustaining ties with friends and the surrounding community (Glenn 2010:7). It also entails other various forms of caring labour in the domestic sphere, such as housework (Glenn 2010:7). Social reproduction is essential to the functioning and development of society and crucial for a successful social organisation (Glenn 2010:8). The responsibility for social reproduction has mainly been assigned to women, causing an unequal and sexual division of labour, leading women to be primarily perceived as carers.

Federici (2012) has argued that social reproduction in the shape of housework, performed by women, has been a long-term capitalist strategy. By organising labour in the home, employers can make housework invisible (Federici 2012:191-192). Capitalism has intensified the sexual division of labour by separating economic and social reproduction. According to Fraser (2016), the separation constitutes the main basis for women's subordination in capitalist society. Through the specialisation of production rewarded with cash wages and its naturalisation in the private domestic sphere, performed for the sake of love as opposed to money, capitalism has forced gendered labour (Glenn 2010:7). Federici (2008) observed that the production of commodities caused an unequal division of labour between workers through the institutionalisation of sexism, since domestic work has been crucial to the establishment of an effective (male) workforce due to the requirements of factory production, women have been given the responsibility to reproduce male labour for the workforce. In this way, female leadership can be argued to be perceived as challenging the *status quo*.

James and Dalla Costa (1972) have further argued that exploitation of the 'Woman' as a non-wage labourer has been organised through the male wage-labourer, since women's housework has remained 'hidden'. This observation made by the Italian feminist movement, that female reproductive work in the home will always remain hidden as long as the male

wage-labourer is the outcome of a woman's housework and care labour, is a profound insight in the gendered social structures caused by capitalism in modern society. The gendered social structures which keep women's care work hidden in the home, also perpetuate gendered stereotypes regarding leadership, and, more specifically, who is fit to lead.

3.4 Successful Leadership: Inherently Male or Female?

There is a general misconception regarding male leadership as being successful due to the overwhelming presence of men holding senior management positions (Chamorro-Premuzic and Gallop 2020). Even so, most male leaders are not succeeding in their roles (Chamorro-Premuzic and Gallop 2020). Women and men have been suggested to have different leadership-related traits that can explain the reduced presence of women in senior management positions (Rincón, Gonzáles, and Barrero 2017:333). However, the barriers that most complicate the job promotion of women are those related to prejudices and stereotypical gender expectations (Rincón, Gonzáles, and Barrero 2017:335). Here, a stereotype is defined as a set of beliefs about the characteristics of a group of people, regardless of the real diversity in the traits of the individuals in that group (Hamilton, Stroessner and Driscoll 1994; Heilman 1997; Powell 2011).

Chamorro-Premuzic (2019:31) has argued that the main reason for the male/female leadership dichotomy is related to the perception of successful leadership in men as merely being based on displays of confidence. Previous studies have found that coming across as confident, often leads people to assume that said confidence is a marker of competence (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:31). This creates a lose-lose situation for women since men are more likely to be perceived as appearing confident, with confidence being seen as pivotal to leadership and women being perceived as appearing less confident than men, fewer women are perceived as possessing leadership potential (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:31). Based on this, women need to perform extra displays of confidence to be considered worthy of leadership, however, when seen as being more confident than a man, a woman will be penalised for not fitting into gender stereotypes (i.e., not fulfilling her caring obligations) (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:31).

3.5 Feminist Action: Social Citizenship As The Basis For Change

The strategy of feminist class struggle is based on the wage-less woman working in the home (James 1975:9-10). The women's movement has managed to name private experiences, such as unpaid care work, and made the personal a matter for political debate (Rosen 2007). The provision of care is the source of economic and political disadvantages for women in capitalist society (Orloff 2009:324). Federici (1975) has argued that any real change in the sexual division of labour will only be achieved if assumptions of the female role are attacked at their roots. According to Federici (1975), reforms inducing equal pay and improved child care services will not cause lasting change. However, care work performance imposes costs on caregivers unless social policy reduces them (Orloff 2009:325). Carer-citizen policies are utilised in most European countries to provide direct benefits to care-workers (Glenn 2010:191). Care services and policies in Europe have changed in the 21st century with increased paid leave, payments for informal care and the expansion of elder and child care services (Orloff 2009:326). Glenn (2010) has argued that carer-citizen policies encourage women to participate in care labour and reinforce the gendered division of labour, since inequalities between men and women in the labour market maintain gendered caring. Carer-citizen policies only succeed in de-gendering caring when men are also encouraged to participate in care labour (Glenn 2010:191). If gendered perceptions regarding successful leadership are to be changed, the values concerning performance of care work need to be altered. The personal, again, needs to be addressed.

The social organisation of care, alleviated by social care policy or not, orbits around women's responsibility to care. The element of coercion based on status obligations and gender roles needs to be replaced with an appreciation of care-workers as participants in the labour market. To create a more sustainable system of care, the concept of care needs to be restructured (Glenn 2010:186). Glenn (2010) suggests a change in the definition of 'social citizenship' to include care as a central right for citizens and establishing caregiving as a social responsibility. If the state carries the primary responsibility for care, women can no longer be forced to perform care work. When women are no longer forced to perform care work, doors open for women to lead without facing stereotypes related to the female body as being society's primary carer.

- 4. The Study: An Intersectional Feminist Perspective on Successful Leadership
- 4.1 Leadership Discourses Shaping Leadership Perceptions

Goffee and Jones (2002) undertook research which focused on leaders who excel at inspiring people, arguing that inspirational (i.e., successful) leaders need four qualities in order for others to want to be led by them. Firstly, inspirational leaders show weakness, however, only selectively as they may reveal their approachability and humanity by exposing some vulnerability (Goffee and Jones 2002:62). Secondly, they rely on their ability to collect and interpret soft data, meaning that they use their intuition to figure out the appropriate timing and course of their actions (Goffee and Jones 2002:62). Thirdly, Goffee and Jones (2002:62) coined the term 'tough empathy', describing inspirational leaders' tendency to empathise passionately, and realistically, with their employees. Finally, inspirational leaders capitalise on what is unique about themselves, and so, reveal their differences (Goffee and Jones 2002:62).

There is a general assumption that successful leaders respond appropriately to the demands of the specific situation (Grint 2005:1468). In this way, leadership theories have assumed that a 'correct' response may be undertaken based on a correct analysis of a situation, however, this underestimates the extent to which the context or situation is actively constructed by leaders (Grint 2005:1470). Leaders actively participate in the social construction of the context that both legitimises a particular form of action, and constitutes the world in the process (Grint 2005:1470-1471). Furthering this argument, Uhl-Bien (2006) has discussed leadership as a social construction where leadership starts with processes in organisations, rather than with people. This relational perspective on leadership assumes that social reality lies in the context of relationships, where organisations move forward based on the individual members and the system into which they enter (Uhl-Bien 2006:661-662). Hence, organisations change based on people's actions as well as the ever-changing socioeconomic environment (Abbell and Simmons 2000), and power is distributed throughout the social field, rather than being a commodity concentrated within certain individuals (Foucault 1977). In this way, the key basic unit of analysis in leadership research may be identified as relationships, not individuals (Uhl-Bien 2006:663). In taking a relational perspective on leadership, individual perceptions of successful leadership may be analysed in relation to the advice given, assumptions made, and/or stories told regarding leadership by leaders, directed toward their followers/potential followers.

4.2 Double Jeopardy

As categories of 'difference' provide the basis for exclusion of individuals and groups in rooms of power, and since gender is always racialised and race is always gendered (Levine-Rasky 2011:240), Black women face gendered racism which refers to the double jeopardy of being female and Black (Jean-Marie, Williams, and Sherman 2009:564). In other words, Black women face challenges as a direct consequence of being neither white nor male.

Globally, only 34% of managers are women (World Economic Forum 2018). In the EU28, managers are twice as likely to be male than female, highlighting the fact that women are less likely to be hired into senior positions and far less likely to be promoted into them (European Commission 2019). Just one out of three managers in the EU is a woman, despite the fact that women are about half of all employees (Catalyst 2020). In the US, there are still nearly 13 companies run by a man for every company run by a woman (Catalyst 2020). In 2019, women were nearly half of the labour force (47%) in the USA, where white women held almost a third (32.3%) of all management positions (Catalyst 2020). Comparatively, women of colour held a drastically smaller share of leadership positions, where merely 4% of leaders were Black women, 2.5% were Asian women, and 4.3% were Latinas (Catalyst 2020).

In BRICS nations (i.e., Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), women comprise 30% of senior positions (Zahidi 2014), where compulsory quotas or legislation addressing gender imbalances have not been enacted (Doff Hankir and Narayan 2014). However, gender imbalance stands in contrast to women's educational attainment and general labour-market participation (Axelsdóttir and Halrynjo 2018). In BRICS countries, women are increasingly enrolling in higher-level education and participating in the labour market, which alters the statistical outcome (Zahidi 2014). Both EU28 and BRICS countries, then, emphasise the number of women in senior positions as a measurement of diversity progress. However, by not considering the middle-tier of an organisation, few women will have the opportunity of promotion, leading to a perpetuation of the *status quo*.

Women are falling behind early in their careers, due to women not being promoted from first-level management positions to the same extent as men (Catalyst 2020). Also, by not categorising women into subcategories related to intersections, differences between individuals are not highlighted, and so, not utilised as a source of creativity (Lorde 1981:97). According to Lorde (1981:97), differences should not merely be tolerated, but seen as necessary for human creativity. More importantly, it is crucial to emphasise differences in order to stop pretending like they do not exist (Lorde 1981:97). Hence, in order to challenge

the double jeopardy in attaining and maintaining leadership positions, diversity as based on difference instead of unity, needs to be affirmed.

- 4.3 Organisational Culture, Feminist Perspectives on Leadership, and Diversity Management
- 4.3.1 Shaping Individual Perceptions Regarding Leadership

Previous research on organisational culture has stated that cultures spring from three sources; (1) the beliefs, values, and assumptions of founders of organisations; (2) the learning experiences of group members as their organisation evolves; and (3) new beliefs, values, and assumptions brought in by new members and leaders, where founders are especially crucial for the development of culture (Schein 1992). So, what is culture? Culture exists within the minds of people who make up the organisation, hence, culture is a habit (Balzac 2014:8). Culture is created based on the values, beliefs, assumptions about how the world works, and lessons learned over time, brought by the individuals who form the organisation (Balzac 2014:12). In this way, organisational culture is created by and within the minds of the members of an organisation, in turn, also including beliefs and assumptions on what it means to be a leader (see section 4.1). Even so, the social interactions in which people claim and grant leader identities do not occur independently of culturally available ideologies about what it means to be a leader. In most cultures, the meaning is masculine, making the prototypical leader a quintessentially masculine man: decisive, assertive, and independent (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:31). Furthermore, we are biased toward seeing a leader as someone who fits our cultural image of a leader (Balzac 2014:64). Conversely, how the leader sees her role is shaped and reinforced through television, movies, books, and other media. It is also shaped by the cultural assumptions each organisation makes about what constitutes appropriate leader behavior. As a result, leaders act according to those assumptions often without ever questioning them (Balzac 2014:64).

Balzac (2014:64) argues that at root, being a leader only means one thing: you have followers. So, why do people follow? People will follow the leader because e.g., that leader is the standard bearer for a cause they believe in, for a reward, because that leader exemplifies particular values or a vision, and/or because that leader is providing structure and certainty (Balzac 2014:64). Furthermore, emotion is a critical piece of leadership as a leader's identity is tied to her sense of purpose. Leaders are most effective when they pursue purposes that are

aligned with their personal values and oriented toward advancing the collective good (Balzac 2014:64).

Feminism requires leadership to advance the goals of women, which clashes with profoundly masculinist conceptions of leadership, which are often ill-suited to the needs of women (Pace Vetter 2010:3). Based on this, women are often found to be torn between the need to exercise leadership, and the desire to work collaboratively (Pace Vetter 2010:3). Women are subject to conflicting expectations as leaders, being expected to aggressively take charge in their roles as leaders, whilst also taking a more empathetic approach to problem-solving (Pace Vetter 2010:3). Women in positions of authority are thought too aggressive or not aggressive enough, and what appears assertive, self-confident, or entrepreneurial in a man often looks abrasive, arrogant, or self-promoting in a woman (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:31). African American women are especially vulnerable to such stereotypes and risk being seen as overly aggressive and confrontational (Pace Vetter 2010:3). In addition to gender stereotypes, then, a number of challenges are faced by women with multiple identity locations in organisations (Smooth 2010:36). Collins (1990) coined the term 'outsider within', referring to individuals who are present in certain spaces, yet not fully included as insiders due to these spaces having been traditionally restricted from the views of marginalised groups. As expressed by Miller and Vaughn (1977:179); "the twin disguise of racism and sexism still impose great restraints on the utilization of the competence and talents of African American women". Furthermore, by ignoring differences within groups, tension among groups arises (Crenshaw 1991:1242). Hence, there is a need for a wider perspective on leadership, which accounts for other identities than gender.

4.3.2 Successful Leadership: Saving Women From Falling Off Of The Glass Cliff

Generally, there are two dimensions of success in the managerial and leadership domains;

- 1. Being effective, meaning that you are being recognised as getting the job done well through other people
- 2. Being a 'rising star', meaning that you are getting faster promotions to greater responsibilities and higher rank

(Bird 2010: 422).

A major theory of leadership suggests that a successful leader is someone who can alter her style of behaviour, depending on the nature of her team and the type of tasks the group does (Bird 2010:422). The basic premise of this theory is that a leader is supposed to remove barriers and facilitate the work of their employees (Bird 2010:422). Even so, female leaders face barriers themselves which permeate their role as a leader.

The original barrier found for women and minorities was the glass ceiling, in addition, women face 'glass cliffs', a tendency for women to be chosen for leadership positions that are associated with greater risk of failure due to organisational crises (Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, Kulich, and Atkins (hereafter Ryan et al.) 2007:269). This means that, once through the glass ceiling, women are more likely than men to confront a glass cliff, such that their leadership positions are more precarious than those of their male counterparts and are associated with greater risk of failure and criticism because they are more likely to involve management of organisational units that are in crisis (Ryan et al. 2007:269). One important characteristic of glass cliff positions is that they are inherently stressful. Such positions often involve a lack of support from colleagues and superiors, inadequate information, and/or a lack of acknowledgement and respect (Ryan et al. 2007:273). Based on this, organisational research on the causes of women's persistent underrepresentation in leadership positions has shifted away from a focus on actors' intentional efforts to exclude women to consideration of so-called second-generation forms of gender bias, the powerful yet often invisible barriers to women's advancement that arise from cultural beliefs about gender, as well as workplace structures, practices, and patterns of interaction that inadvertently favour men (Ryan et al. 2007:273). Women's underrepresentation in leader positions validates entrenched systems and beliefs that prompt and support men's bids for leadership, which in turn, maintains the status quo (Ryan et al. 2007:273).

Many actions have been taken to facilitate female leadership. Currently, distinctions between 'equal employment opportunity' (EEO), 'affirmative action' (AA), and 'diversity management' represent challenges when designing and implementing diversity initiatives (Sutton 2001; Skrentny 2001). EEO provides an equitable treatment of individuals (e.g., when hiring/promoting), as opposed to AA which creates inclusivity through positive discrimination (e.g., quotas) (Syed and Tariq 2017). Both EEO and AA focus on measurable outcomes of implemented policies and actions by emphasising equity as creating equality. Individual perceptions of career progression and/or work-life balance are not considered. A culture focusing on the individual needs to be fostered in order to account for individual perceptions of leadership, and what makes leaders successful. Diversity management, being a

culture of organisational policies and practices which enable every individual to be equally able to perform and achieve organisational and personal objectives (Syed and Tariq 2017), may be an important key in tackling discriminatory perceptions of leadership.

Intersectionality theory needs to be incorporated to the diversity management structures within organisations, not only to increase diversity, but also in order to enhance organisational innovation since diversity has been found to drive innovation and market growth for businesses (Hewlett, Marshall and Sherbin 2013:30). In order to introduce successful diversity management, these six behaviours have been found to be key: "[...] ensuring that everyone is heard; making it safe to propose novel ideas; giving team members decision-making authority; sharing credit for success; giving actionable feedback; and implementing feedback from the team" (Hewlett, Marshall and Sherbin 2013:30). Based on this, the beliefs, values, and assumptions which foster gendered and racialised perceptions on successful leadership establish a paradox; the gendered notions which maintain the status quo regarding the female underrepresentation in leadership positions, also hold the key for facilitating successful leadership (as found by Chamorro-Premuzic (2019)) once given the chance. Even so, by holding the primary responsibility for caring in society, female leaders are prone to face the glass cliff to a larger extent than men, leading women to be entrusted with nearly impossible leadership tasks to a wider extent than men, in turn, affecting individual perceptions of what constitutes successful leadership; and who usually succeed as a leader.

- 5. Analyses
- 5.1 Case Study 1: Leadership Coach Jenna Kutcher
- 5.1.1 Analysis: Confidence

Table 5.1 Confidence

Sample 1	Sample 2
Sample 1	Sample 2

"I never imagined a future where I would be leading"

"[...] rather than insisting they follow your way of doing things"

"I've found that operating with flexibility alongside high expectations and boundaries actually creates the ideal environment for remote teams"

"There's always been an understanding that if your work is done (and done well), your time is your own" "The notion that we can build careers out of teaching others what we know is wild"

"But to create a business out of your knowledge, you likely need to walk through some mindset shifts in order to step into your true power and prowess"

"If you'd have told me 15 years ago that I would have a career teaching people marketing and social media strategy, I would've choked on my La Croix"

"Most of us simply have a hard time believing we know *enough* to teach others. We don't feel like true "experts" in any specific realm"

"We often discount our own knowledge. We think everyone knows what we know. The "thing" we're really good at feels obvious"

"It's easy to tell yourself that someone's already doing something and that's reason enough to not dive in, but you're forgetting that no one can do it like you can"

"What you know—what you're an expert in—is valuable to someone, somewhere. I promise"

"I don't know who needs to hear this, but what you know matters. Your knowledge is important. Your experience is what makes you an expert. And if you've got anyone results in the past (*including yourself*), you can get results for others"

5.1.2 Discussion: Confidence

In both samples, confidence is not something which is implicit in Jenna's perception regarding herself (or others), as female leaders. By stating that: "I never imagined a future where I would be leading", and: "The notion that we can build careers out of teaching others what we know is wild," suggests that confidence is not something that Jenna takes for granted that all women leaders possess. This suggestion is further supported by the claim: "[...] to create a business out of your knowledge, you likely need to walk through some mindset shifts in order to step into your true power and prowess." Jenna even emphasises a perceived importance of owning your role as a leader by stating that: "Most of us simply have a hard

time believing we know *enough* to teach others. We don't feel like true "experts" in any specific realm." Here, Jenna's experience of having lacked confidence in herself as a leader, and her assumption of the lack of confidence in others as being one of the main challenges faced for female leaders, aligns with the findings of Chamorro-Premuzic (2019).

By emphasising that female leaders often discount their own knowledge, Jenna furthers the analysis undertaken by Chamorro-Premuzic (2019) as she acknowledges that, not only are women potential competent leaders, but their lack of confidence inhibits them from perceiving themselves as leaders. In doing so, she states that: "What you know—what you're an expert in—is valuable to someone, somewhere. I promise." Most of Jenna's focus when discussing confidence, then, is aimed at increasing her audience's belief in themselves as capable leaders. A clear example of this is unveiled in her statement: "I don't know who needs to hear this, but what you know matters. Your knowledge is important. Your experience is what makes you an expert. And if you've gotten any results in the past (*including yourself*), you can get results for others."

5.1.3 Analysis: Competence

Table 5.2 Competence

Sample 1	Sample 2
"She's putting me on the spot to talk about leadership, being a boss, my hiring process and more"	"It's freeing, it's empowering, and it's sustainable because you'll always have more to teach so long as you continue growing and learning yourself. But to create a business out of
"Is your time spent in the weeds of tasks that *need* to be done but that takes you away from other projects that could bring your business to the next level?"	your knowledge, you likely need to walk through some mindset shifts in order to step into your true power and prowess"
"Time and money are typically the things we value most in our lives and businesses"	"Your personal experiences, story, background, and walk in life have created a knowledge that is as personal to you as the hairs on your head It's one of a kind"
"I've developed a lot of brand standards and operating procedures for my business"	"You have a unique way of teaching, and your experience has shaped the education you'll share"
"I've found that operating with flexibility alongside high expectations and boundaries actually creates the ideal	"NO ONE knows how to do it all. And that's okay"
environment for remote teams"	"Add value, share tangible tips, and get people quick wins before you ever try to sell anything.

genuinely and eage By the time you're	erly, and serve, serve, serve. e ready to sell, people will you, and know what you're
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5.1.4 Discussion: Competence

Jenna related competence to something more than merely what you know; she perceives competence as something that is personal to every individual where her experiences are just as important as her factual comprehension of any matter. This is shown when stating that: "Your personal experiences, story, background, and walk in life have created a knowledge that is as personal to you as the hairs on your head. It's one of a kind." Furthermore, she emphasises the fact that by acknowledging your one-of-a-kind competence, you may position yourself as a leader indefinitely when stating that: "[To create a business out of your knowledge is] freeing, it's empowering, and it's sustainable because you'll always have more to teach so long as you continue growing and learning yourself."

In line with Chamorro-Premuzic's (2019) previous findings, Jenna takes a humble approach to competence, which steers clear of any trace of narcissism or over-confidence. She states that: "NO ONE knows how to do it all. And that's okay." In this way, she emphasises the fact that competence is not necessarily more valuable when it is all-encompassing, but rather perfecting your area of expertise will increase your success as a leader.

5.1.5 Analysis: Emotional Intelligence

Table 5.3 Analysis: Emotional Intelligence

Sample 1	Sample 2
"The thought of handing off a piece of your business to someone else is nerve wracking"	"And then start taking small steps of action, even before you feel fully ready"

"Welcoming the systems and processes that each new employee brings to the table"

"When you allow someone to own their vertical in the business and develop their own workflows, you're going to see a team member that's happier"

"I've found that operating with flexibility alongside high expectations and boundaries actually creates the ideal environment for remote teams"

"I love giving my team Fridays off if it makes sense with our current business endeavors. Many of us are moms, and even those who aren't still have obligations and needs that arise during the workday [...] flexibility is key for developing a great team culture"

5.1.6 Discussion: Emotional Intelligence

Jenna emphasises the feelings, expectations, wishes, and perceptions of others throughout her texts. She clearly emphasises the importance of her employees well-being: "When you allow someone to own their vertical in the business and develop their own workflows, you're going to see a team member that's happier." Furthermore, she discusses the importance of flexibility as a leader. Responsiveness is key to Jenna, acknowledging the importance of: "welcoming the systems and processes that each new employee brings to the table," which suggests a humble approach to leadership where emotional intelligence is prioritised over Jenna's own confidence in her operational systems. This claim is further supported by Jenna's statement that: "I've found that operating with flexibility alongside high expectations and boundaries actually creates the ideal environment for remote teams." In this way, Jenna perceives flexibility as key to meet the needs of her employees, within the boundaries of her competence as a leader, where her knowledge is utilised as guidelines. Hence, Jenna's perception of successful leadership may be argued to align with the previous findings of Chamorro-Premuzic (2019).

5.1.7 Analysis: Social Responsibility

Table 5.4 Analysis: Social Responsibility (SR)

Sample 1	Sample 2
"Time and money are typically the things we value most in our lives and businesses"	"I was fully booked (and fully overworked) at all times"
"[] develop their own workflows" "I love giving my team Fridays off if it makes sense with our current business endeavors. Many of us are moms, and even those who aren't still have obligations and needs that arise during the workday that may pull us away from Slack for a few hours" "I want the same pace and style of life for my team as I do for myself" "I love giving my team Fridays off if it makes sense with our current business endeavors. Many of us are moms, and even those who aren't still have obligations and needs that arise during the workday [] flexibility is key for developing a great team culture"	"They don't have your challenges, lessons, breakthroughs, or "why" "Leave breadcrumbs on the path so your audience knows you have experienced something similar to them or had to overcome something challenging to get where you are"

5.1.8 Discussion: Social Responsibility

In some cases, Jenna expresses aspects directly related to her social responsibility as a woman. For example, she states that: "I love giving my team Fridays off if it makes sense with our current business endeavors. Many of us are moms, and even those who aren't still have obligations and needs that arise during the workday that may pull us away from Slack for a few hours." In this way, Jenna highlights the fact that both her and her team members have got other responsibilities outside of the job performed in her business, for which time, energy, and effort need to be dedicated. Furthermore, by acknowledging the social responsibility of her employees and the employees of the leaders she is coaching, Jenna also acknowledges that our responsibilities differ depending on: "[...] your challenges, lessons, breakthroughs, or 'why'." Hence, she accounts for an intersectional aspect being present in leadership. By focusing on individual challenges and breakthroughs, Jenna displays a perception of identity as a relational concept (Levine-Rasky 2011:242), however, which is also constantly embodied and related to your bodily presence in this world.

Being a mother, Jenna states that: "I want the same pace and style of life for my team as I do for myself." In doing so, she also asserts that she emphasises the importance of a flexible

work process. Hence, Jenna displays a utilisation of her experiences as a mother and woman in American society, where she has learned to value the ability to organise tasks (both in your professional role as well as in your role as a carer as an extension of your womanhood). In this way, Jenna's texts show a perception of women's social responsibility as present and a key factor to consider in order to be a truly successful leader.

5.1.9 Case Study 1: Summary of Findings

Most of Jenna's focus is not related to increasing competence levels, but confidence levels. This can be interpreted as based on Jenna's preconception that women do not usually lack in competence, but merely in confidence. This perception does not align with previous findings by Chamorro-Premuzic (2019), however, by stating that confidence and competence are key aspects to succeed as a leader, Jenna's perception aligns with Chamorro-Premuzic's argument (2019). Furthermore, she is using various techniques and approaches to manage her own, as well as others, emotions throughout her described leadership. Meeting the needs of others is emphasised as key, which is generally related to an emphasis on flexibility. Based on this, emotional intelligence has been found to be perceived by Jenna as a key trait any successful leader needs. Moreover, in focusing on the needs and emotions of others, Jenna is indirectly supporting others in, and accounting for, their social responsibility. As a consequence, Jenna's perception of what successful leadership entails, may be argued to not only include a clear focus on the other responsibilities women have outside of the labour market, but also to offer solutions to ease their burden.

Based on this discussion, Jenna has been found to describe successful leadership as based on competence rather than confidence, where confidence is merely key in order for any potential leader to start believing in their capability. Furthermore, emotional intelligence is perceived as a key competence for any successful leader, as successful leadership is emphasised as a direct extension of the fulfilled needs of others. Feeding into this, is the awareness of the social responsibility women face, making successful leadership dependent on any leader's ability to create a flexible work environment. By actively taking responsibility to care for her employees caring obligations, then, Jenna may be argued to perceive successful leadership as gendered. In this way, gender stereotypes regarding women being the primary carers in society, have been found to affect perceptions of successful leadership in this instance, however, racialised perceptions have not been accounted for.

5.2 Case Study 2: When Black Women Lead, We All Win: 10 Inspiring Leaders Show Us The Way

5.2.1 Analysis: Confidence

Table 5.5 Analysis: Confidence

*see list below for citation

"I think what's useful for us is to realize that a lot of the folks who were cool with the status quo, the folks that progressives think that we're going to be able to woo back over to this side, they're not 'wooable' and we don't want to woo them. They don't have a problem with this. So now that makes it more clear. The clarity is what makes me more confident." (Kimberlé Crenshaw)

"A lot of Black womanhood is based on multiple forms of oppression and because of that, we are more empathetic than a lot of other groups are, which is why we are the best leaders." (Luvvie Ajayi)

"We also have to continue to raise our voices, fight on the streets and fight in the institution that we're part of with strategy, intentionality and humanity." (Raquel Willis)

"I think it's moving Black women from a symbol of leadership to the reality of leadership. There's 'trust Black women', but people aren't saying *invest* in Black women." (Kimberlé Crenshaw)

"When Black people fall behind, [society's belief that] it's because they 'didn't do what they needed to do' rather than that we started on a platform that was fundamentally unequal, intentionally so, and are not paying attention to it, just plays forward that inequality that constituted the baseline from the beginning." (Kimberlé Crenshaw)

"People are taking power in their own hands to create the world they want." (Brittany Packnett Cunningham)

"We're all losing out when we silence voices, when we discourage confidence and when we discourage ambition." (Brittany Packnett Cunningham)

"We will vote Donald Trump out of office in November, and we will continue to insist that Black women hold leadership positions across all sectors so we can keep bringing about transformational change." (Barbara Lee)

"What's in the way is simply just a decision [...] The things that prevent that are oftentimes fear or habit or nepotism. It's really just making the decision to change how you make your decisions, and I don't feel like that's as difficult as folks make it out to be." (Amanda Seales)

"We also have to continue to raise our voices, fight on the streets and fight in the institution that we're part of with strategy, intentionality and humanity." (Raquel Willis)

5.2.2 Discussion: Confidence

Confidence is perceived to play an important part in leadership. However, the ways in which confidence surfaces in Black women leaders have been emphasised in different ways. Kimberlé Crenshaw stated that; "When Black people fall behind, [society's belief that] it's because they 'didn't do what they needed to do' rather than that we started on a platform that was fundamentally unequal, intentionally so, and are not paying attention to it, just plays forward that inequality that constituted the baseline from the beginning." In this way, confidence is emphasised key, not only in carrying out your role as a leader, but in preparing yourself for preconceptions on Black female leadership that are founded in gendered and racialised biases in society. Brittany Packnett Cunningham explained that; "We're all losing out when we silence voices, when we discourage confidence and when we discourage ambition," stating the importance of the fact that; "People are taking power in their own hands to create the world they want." In this way, confidence is seen as the catalyst which is shifting values and beliefs, as well as moving entire social justice movements along.

Furthermore, not only trusting in the confidence of Black women leaders, but investing in it was a point which was lifted by Kimberlé Crenshaw when stating that; "[it is crucial to move] Black women from a symbol of leadership to the reality of leadership. There's 'trust Black women', but people aren't saying *invest* in Black women." This point was furthered by Barabara Lee, stating that; "We will vote Donald Trump out of office in November, and we will continue to insist that Black women hold leadership positions across all sectors so we can keep bringing about transformational change."

In this way, confidence is an aspect of leadership that is both emphasised as inherent and attained via societal permission. The fact that Black women leaders have acted without permission, however, has been emphasised as proof of what their confidence has achieved so far, emphasising the progress of social rights movements and their political influence in particular. In this way, confidence has been outlined to be perceived as a key characteristic for any successful leader, in line with Chamorro-Premuzic's (2019) argument.

5.2.3 Analysis: Competence

Table 5.6 Analysis: Competence

"We are seeing very clearly how so many structures are not serving us" (Luvvie Ajayi)

"Real change is ahead whether or not our leadership is ready for it." (Aimee Allison)

"Black women have the experience, acumen, ability, and heart to fight to make economic and racial justice" (Aimee Allison)

"What would leadership look like and what would our movement look like if gender-based violence and racial violence had been seen as part of the same experience throughout the twentieth century? Where would we be now? So I think we just have to ask those questions and be far more prepared to accept and see leadership in Black women and identify leadership in ways that are not traditional." (Kimberlé Crenshaw)

"It's not enough simply to bring Black women to the table if they are not *leading* the table, if we are not being resources to build our own, and if we are not respected for the leaders that we are, instead of being made to fit into other people's molds. We are missing out on the brilliance of so many people that society is told to be quiet: women, women of color, immigrant women, muslim women, Jewish women, diabled women and trans women have continuously been told over and over and over again to be quiet and wait our turn." (Brittany Packnett Cunningham)

"Representation in leadership across sectors has to include a vision that includes all of us; it can't be enough to have Black women in positions of power if all we are doing is maintaining the current state of affairs and the balance of power as it is now." (Alicia Garza)

"I believe that these positive changes have fueled new hope that those who use their voices to speak out against injustice can make a difference and that Black women have earned their status as leaders of this critical progress." (Valarie Jarrett)

"I believe diversity is strength. (Valarie Jarrett)"

"Women are half the population and have a proven track record of making tremendous contributions when they do have a seat at the table . It's a competitive advantage for businesses to attract and retain them at all levels, from the board of directors on down. And our country is better off when Black women are representing us in elected office." (Valarie Jarrett)

"Because that's what consciousness is- consciousness is expanding the way in which you apply change beyond just this specific instance." (Amanda Seales)

"Black women are architects. We are creators. We are leaders. Without the labor and leadership of Black women, most social movements would not be effective and some simply wouldn't exist [...] We're more than just activists; we are strategists and leaders." (Opal Tometi)

"We need to look at the more tangible ways of creating change and implementing policies that will ensure leadership that is truly from experiences on the margins. It's about massive reallocation of time, energy and resources to Black women and Black trans people." (Raquel Willis)

"We also have to continue to raise our voices, fight on the streets and fight in the institution that we're part of with strategy, intentionality and humanity." (Raquel Willis)

5.2.4 Discussion: Competence

The interviewees in this case study all share the same viewpoint; competence is not merely a skill which any leader may put into action, it is embodied and fuels the very way in which any leader carries herself as an individual in this world. Kimberlé Crenshaw stated that; "What would leadership look like and what would our movement look like if gender-based violence and racial violence had been seen as part of the same experience throughout the twentieth century? Where would we be now? So I think we just have to ask those questions and be far more prepared to accept and see leadership in Black women and identify leadership in ways that are not traditional." As leadership is traditionally connected to masculinist and white suprematist notions (Smooth 2010:36), Black women leaders emphasise the need for a wider competence that goes beyond the knowledge needed to perform successfully as a leader, knowing how to gauge and utilise the competence they embody in terms of experience, identity, and habit, which is argued to be the source of their outperformance as leaders compared to male leaders. Valarie Jarrett clarified by stating that; "Women are half the population and have a proven track record of making tremendous contributions when they do have a seat at the table. It's a competitive advantage for businesses to attract and retain them at all levels, from the board of directors on down."

Being Black is emphasised as key when it comes to being a competent leader. Opal Tometi argued that; "Black women are architects. We are creators. We are leaders. Without the labor and leadership of Black women, most social movements would not be effective and some simply wouldn't exist [...] We're more than just activists; we are strategists and leaders." The same argument is made by Brittany Packnett Cunningham; "It's not enough simply to bring Black women to the table if they are not *leading* the table, if we are not being resources to build our own, and if we are not respected for the leaders that we are, instead of being made to fit into other people's molds. We are missing out on the brilliance of so many people that society is told to be quiet: women, women of color, immigrant women, muslim women, Jewish women, diabled women and trans women have continuously been told over and over again to be quiet and wait our turn." In this way, competence is not only emphasised as knowledge which is key for any leader to succeed in her role (as argued by Chamorro-Premuzic 2019), but competence is emphasised as a result of the experiences you have faced in your life as a result of your identity/-ies, meaning that competent leadership is not only learned, but embodied.

5.2.5 Analysis: Emotional Intelligence

- "I think people need to actually make it a point to fight for us, be deeply invested in our well-being, and above all, trust Black women" (Luvvie Ajayi)
- "Black women might not have to be Batman if everybody else handled their own situation and approached the world with more empathy" (Luvvie Ajayi)
- "A lot of Black womanhood is based on multiple forms of oppression and because of that, we are more empathetic than a lot of other groups are, which is why we are the best leaders. Because those who have been trampled upon are the ones who know how to lead best without having somebody else's head stepped on." (Luvvie Ajayi)
- "We must have executive leadership, access to deep resources and vocal support from every race and gender to get our country out of this mess we are in." (Aimee Allison)
- "I think what's most important is realizing that representation is only the first step- that unless people experience true equity and inclusion in the workplace and liberation more broadly, then we haven't done all the work." (Brittany Packnett Cunningham)
- "I think the real change that needs to happen for the actual world to change must take place within us internally as individuals." (Amanda Seales)
- "We must build powerful and inclusive institutions that make the status quo obsolete." (Opal Tometi)
- "The deeper work is the internal transformation. People have to be willing to consider the fact that they can be both opressed *and* be an oppressor- all people." (Raquel Willis)
- "We always have to be vigilant about pushing back those forces that want to silence us or diminish us or make us feel like all we deserve are bread crumbs. And we can't do that if we burn out." (Raquel Willis)

5.2.6 Discussion: Emotional Intelligence

Emotional intelligence and empathy is emphasised as traits which any leader should possess as a prerequisite to her success. Luvvie Ajayi argued that; "A lot of Black womanhood is based on multiple forms of oppression and because of that, we are more empathetic than a lot of other groups are, which is why we are the best leaders. Because those who have been trampled upon are the ones who know how to lead best without having somebody else's head stepped on." In this way, experience is said to be crucial to develop a proper sense of empathy, which, in turn, sets the foundation for truly successful leadership.

In discussing social justice and equality for women of colour, the interviewees share the perception that tangible achievements start with an internal process. Amanda Seales stated that; "I think the real change that needs to happen for the actual world to change must take place within us internally as individuals," which is furthered by Raquel Willis; "The deeper

work is the internal transformation. People have to be willing to consider the fact that they can be both opressed *and* be an oppressor- all people." Hence, not only acquiring emotional intelligence is emphasised as important for successful leadership, taking individual responsibility to *learn* about experiences you may not fully understand, is added to the perception of what emotional intelligence entails. In this way, emotional intelligence as outlined as a key competence for any successful leader in *accounting for* your followers feelings/needs/wishes by Chamorro-Premuzic (2019), is furthered by these perceptions. Here, accounting for and aiming to meet your employees feelings/needs/wishes is taken one step further, where *understanding* the reasons behind a feeling, need, or wish, is emphasised as crucial to truly succeed as a leader.

5.2.7 Analysis: Social Responsibility

Table 5.8 Analysis: Social Responsibility SR

"People need to make sure they're donating to organizations. People need to make sure they're amplifying voices that are typically not heard." (Luvvie Ajayi)

"We must make room for their new vision for our country- one that nourishes its people instead of using violence and prisons. This vision is multicultural, with people who want to embrace racial justice from every community." (Aimee Allison)

"What people really need to do is think about every choice they make-from how they run their households, to how they run their businesses- and recognize that liberation is not somebody else's job, it's all of our jobs, especially if you hold positions of power and privilege." (Brittany Packnett Cunningham)

"Black women have often been the sheroes of social movements. They are the change agents that are often overlooked, underappreciated and encounter the most resistance." (Barbara Lee)

"We must support the Black women who've made these interventions in our society; amplify their voices." (Opal Tometi)

5.2.8 Discussion: Social Responsibility

Throughout the discussions, social responsibility is emphasised as being just that: a social responsibility. Brittany Packnett Cunningham stated that; "What people really need to do is think about every choice they make-from how they run their households, to how they run their businesses- and recognize that liberation is not somebody else's job, it's all of our jobs, especially if you hold positions of power and privilege." In this way, leadership is not only something that is assigned to any particular individual or organisation, but something that any

member of society may conduct. The challenge emphasised here, however, is being acknowledged for the achievements which Black women have not only contributed to, but driven and established. Barbara Lee stated that; "Black women have often been the sheroes of social movements. They are the change agents that are often overlooked, underappreciated and encounter the most resistance." Based on this, Opal Tometi argued that; "We must support the Black women who've made these interventions in our society; amplify their voices."

In this way, social responsibility is not merely referred to as being tied to gender, but to race as well. In realising your social responsibility as a Black woman, then, caring obligations are not only imposed on you as based on being a woman, but the need for any Black female leader to take responsibility for the emancipation of all Black women is emphasised in order to be perceived as a truly successful leader.

5.2.5 Case Study 2: Summary of Findings

Confidence and competence are emphasised throughout the discussions as crucial for successful leadership. However, neither are argued to be in need of improvement or even implementation in regards to Black women leaders. Confidence is explained to have been the driving force which has led Black female leaders to act throughout the centuries, for their own emancipation as well as others', without waiting for permission from anyone. Furthermore, identity has been found to be emphasised as being key for perceptions of successful leadership. In focusing on leaders' racial heritage throughout the discussion and by overwhelmingly stating that being Black is not only an advantage, but crucial for the success as a leader, competence is argued to be embodied and enacted as a direct consequence of the experiences, habits, and beliefs which follow racial segregation.

Furthermore, successful leadership is perceived to be based on emotional intelligence and empathy. The challenge faced, however, is the fact that wider society has not yet allowed for Black women to utilise the competence and emotional intelligence they have gained through their experiences, as their confidence still is perceived to be threatening. Based on this, social responsibility, not only within the homes, but in wider society, is connected to identity. Hence, social responsibility is emphasised as being connected to collective society, where a focus on social justice movements has been added to the experience of Black women, in addition to being homemakers.

5.3 Findings and Discussion

The case studies share crucial similarities regarding perceptions of successful leadership, as well as highlight profound differences as based on the participants' identity. Through the first case study, it was found that confidence was emphasised as important only as a vehicle enabling you to exert your competence. Through the second case study, however, confidence was found to be the driving force which has led Black women to become leaders, and excel in their role as leaders, despite segregation, racism, and discrimination. In this way, Black women leaders may be argued to perceive successful leaders as being inspirational leaders (Goffee and Jones 2002), where showing their vulnerability to others, acting based on their intuition, passionately empathising with others, and using what is unique about them (i.e., their experiences) is perceived as key to succeeding as a leader.

However, competence was found to be emphasised within both case studies as something that is not only intangible and located within our minds, but as something that is embodied. In this way, your identity has been found to be perceived as key in succeeding in your role as a leader, where your gender (i.e., being female) is perceived to be an advantage. Furthermore, intersectionality has been emphasised as crucial for making someone even more successful as a leader in the second case study; where being both woman and Black was found to be perceived as having increased Black women leaders' competence in their roles. In this way, a relational perspective on leadership has been found to be emphasised in both case studies, where the leaders themselves are perceived to take part in shaping the context within which they lead (Grint 2005:1470). Social processes creating notions around gender and race are emphasised as a starting-point for women's leadership, being a competitive advantage.

Emotional intelligence was found to be emphasised as important for successful leadership in both case studies. However, in case study 1, emotional intelligence was referred to as being able to see to, and meet, your employees' needs as to look after their well-being. In case study 2, on the other hand, emotional intelligence was expressed to be a profound prerequisite for any successful leader; where empathy is emphasised as what makes any Black woman leader great. In this way, in case study 1, emotional intelligence was referred to as a necessary skill to manage your employees ability to work effectively, whereas in case study 2, emotional intelligence was highlighted as the foundation for successful leadership. Furthermore, in case study 2, emotional intelligence was emphasised as being embodied as a direct consequence of having faced segregation and discrimination. In this way, the double jeopardy faced by Black

women leaders in attaining and maintaining leadership positions has been emphasised as creating experiences which may be utilised as a resource for becoming a successful leader.

Social responsibility was found in case study 1 to be perceived as linked to responsibilities that are imposed on yourself as well as your employees as based on your gender (i.e., motherhood), where facilitating extra time was emphasised as important for your employees to conduct these responsibilities. In case study 2, however, social responsibility was not only seen as something which needs to be facilitated by a successful leader, but also addressed, and more importantly, questioned. Any successful leader was expressed as being expected to use her leadership to speak up for others, and make sure to challenge the *status quo* for the sake of facilitating more opportunities for fellow women. In this way, gendered and racialised notions have been found to affect perceptions of successful leadership, as gendered (i.e., women's caring obligations) and racialised (i.e., facing a double jeopardy) experiences are what is emphasised as the reasons for why female leaders succeed.

6. Conclusion

Perceptions regarding successful leadership have been found to be aligned with the previous findings of Chamorro-Premuzic (2019). Furthermore, perceptions regarding successful leadership have also been found to be gendered and racialised. A paradox has been revealed, where gendered and racialised experiences allow for individuals to perceive themselves as truly successful leaders, though these experiences also make women leaders face a glass cliff to a wider extent than male leaders. Women have been found to perceive themselves as successful leaders based on their confidence, competence, emotional intelligence, and social responsibility. Even so, in facing, more or less, impossible leadership challenges more often than men, women leaders face a dichotomy; when being allowed to take the lead, the traits which women leaders have internalised through their experiences are generally wasted on organisational units that are in crisis and for which saving entials extreme stress, a lack of support, and little guidance. Further research is needed to map what female leaders may be able to accomplish if perceptions regarding successful leadership were to emphasise the skill-set women leaders generally embody, i.e., being caring, competent, and confident, and how their gendered and racialised experiences improve their success as leaders.

7. Further Research

This study addressed the effects which the sexual division of labour causes, in terms of women's opportunities to lead, and to be perceived as successful leaders. Further research investigating carer-citizen policies' effect on women's ability to lead, and to be perceived as successful, may be undertaken as a continuation of this thesis.

Furthermore, as women are given the primary responsibility for social reproduction in society, diversity management has been outlined as a tool to utilise the skills women have acquired as a result of their caring. Further research may be undertaken as based on this study, to find to what extent women's caring obligations make them more prone to facing a glass cliff in acquired leadership positions than men, and also, to understand what female leaders may be able to accomplish if perceptions regarding successful leadership were to emphasise the skill-set women leaders generally embody, i.e., being caring, competent, and confident, and how their gendered and racialised experiences improve their success as leaders.

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