Psychology: the Journal of the Hellenic Psychological Society
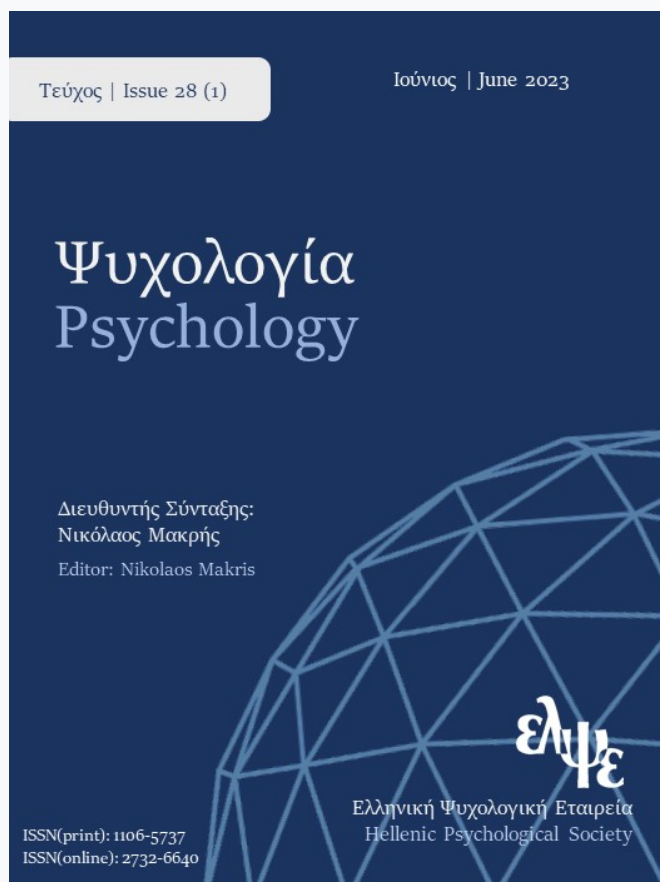
Special Section: Approaching intersectionality in gender psychology research

Τεύχος | Issue 28 (1)

Ιούνιος | June 2023

Ψυχολογία
Psychology

Διευθυντής Σύνταξης:
Νικόλαος Μακρής

Editor: Nikolaos Makris

ελψε

Ελληνική Ψυχολογική Εταιρεία
Hellenic Psychological Society

ISSN(print): 1106-5737
ISSN(online): 2732-6640

"You can be the kind of woman that you are": the discursive management of intersecting identities in leadership talk

Ember Corpuz, Martha Augoustinos, Clemence Due

To cite this article:

"You can be the kind of woman that you are": the discursive management of intersecting identities in leadership talk

Ember Corpuz[1], Martha Augoustinos[1], Clemence Due[1]

[1] School of Psychology, University of Adelaide, Australia

KEYWORDS	ABSTRACT
  CORRESPONDENCE Ember Corpuz School of Psychology, Faculty of Health and Medical Sciences, the University of Adelaide, North Terrace, Adelaide, 5005 Ember.Corpuz@adelaide.edu.au	The present study investigates how culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD), and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) women mobilize intersecting identities through speeches delivered during *women in leadership* forums. As more women aspire to positions of leadership, the discursive analysis of identity management for understanding how identities are made relevant is critical. Using a discursive psychological approach, this research examines intersectionality as a social action, as it is played out in practice rather than as a theoretical concept. Here it is being anchored to empirical data to explore how it operates in the broader context of leadership talk, in particular, how diverse women represent themselves as leaders and what key identities emerge. The analysis demonstrates that in accounting for how these women achieved leadership positions, the speakers used their multiple identities as strategic resources. These identities included the categories of race, culture, gender, and parenthood. The insights from this study are significant as they shed light on the persisting barriers for women in achieving equal opportunity.

> The right of women to choose their own pathways to life, to be mothers or not as they wish, be educated, to seek a career, to work, to be rewarded for their work, and to be treated with dignity. All of these remain elusive abstractions of human rights so many women never enjoyed, but nevertheless, a very serious goal that all of us must pursue. (Eva)

Introduction

Women in leadership has become a significant issue well into the 21st century, with research demonstrating that leadership positions are still rarely filled by women (Corpuz et al., 2020). Across the 156 countries included in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report (2021), women hold a mere 26.1 per cent of parliamentary seats, with the Report projecting that it will take 145.5 years before gender parity in politics is achieved. Additionally, despite the growing proportion of skilled women professionals, the Report indicates that women hold only 27 per cent of all manager positions, supporting existing research on the persisting barriers to women's leadership (Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Ryan & Haslam, 2005). Women face leadership trajectories that are more challenging than men, along with systemic discrimination (Gipson et al., 2017; Liang et al., 2018; McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). These barriers are both more pronounced and more complex for women from marginalized backgrounds, including culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) and – in the Australian context - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) women (Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010).

This paper contributes to the growing body of scholarship on women in leadership by focusing specifically on women from marginalized backgrounds and by applying the concept of intersectionality to understand how intertwined identities are implicated in marginalized women's experiences of leadership. Our work is located within a small body of discursive research examining the experiences of women leaders in a range of professions (Sorrentino & Augoustinos, 2016; Sorrentino et al., 2019). The discursive analytical approach is also progressively being used to understand leader identity and its bearings on leadership more broadly (Clifton & Dai, 2020). Again, these intersections are likely more intricate, and the challenges more pronounced, for women

from CALD backgrounds and ATSI women. However, scholarly literature utilizing intersectionality as a theoretical framework in discursive constructions of experiences of women leaders, especially those from CALD and ATSI backgrounds, remains exiguous.

This study contributes to discursive psychological research examining leadership by applying intersectionality as a critical tool in understanding how CALD and ATSI women leaders in Australia attend to and make sense of their complex identities through speeches delivered at a series of women leadership forums organized by a prominent think tank in Australia.

The relevance of intersectionality in leadership discourse

Intersectionality was first introduced by civil rights advocate Kimberlé Crenshaw, addressing multiple overlapping identities and the disadvantages often accompanying these identities, not limited to gender, socioeconomic class, language, culture, ethnicity, able-bodiedness, sexuality, religion, or geography, and race (Crenshaw, 1991). Through the lens of intersectionality, culture and gender are recognized as intertwined dimensions of social identity, leading to unique forms of disadvantage. This understanding is consequential in exploring the complexities of leadership experiences, especially for marginalized women, such as those who come from CALD backgrounds as well as Indigenous – including ATSI - women (Corpuz et al., 2020). It also allows for the investigation of intersecting identities within a conceptual lens of privilege and disadvantage. The intersectional approach, established by critical race theorists and feminist scholars, was introduced into the discipline of psychology by feminist psychologists (Magnusson & Marecek, 2017). Traditional social psychological orientations render limits to fully considering how the interlocking nature of culture and gender reflect in what manner privilege, prejudice, and stereotypes might be ingrained in society (Salter & Haugen, 2017, p. 126). These constructs are typically treated as individual cognitive phenomena that are fixed and unchanging over time (Bowleg, 2017). As Rosette and Livingston (2012) illustrate, not all women's experiences are the same, and as Sojourner Truth emphasizes, the category *woman* is not "essentially this or essentially that" (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 2). Conventional social psychology tends to overlook the role that power relations play in the construction of these intersecting and dynamic identities, which are influenced by context (i.e. history, culture, geography, etc.) (Burr & Dick, 2017; Zhao & Jones, 2017; Zou & Cheryan, 2015).

To illustrate this point, CALD women leaders experience *double jeopardy* (Berdahl & Moore, 2006) as a result of intersectional effects of discrimination both from culture and gender, as exemplified in experiences of the angry Black woman stereotype (McGee, 2018). Thus, CALD women leaders often attend more closely to their marginalized identities in determining how their leadership style might be perceived (Corpuz et al., 2020). This is even more troublesome for Indigenous women leaders who find themselves in a *triple bind,* wherein they are a minority in a male-dominated system leading in a society that is primarily Anglo-Saxon. Fitzgerald (2006, p. 211) explored the experiences of Indigenous women leaders from Australia, Canada, and New Zealand through a three-year qualitative research project which highlighted the complex maze they navigate as leaders. The following quote from one of the participants summarizes this predicament well:

> "It's almost like women have to make that extra effort to get into positions of leadership and management... it's almost like you've got to demonstrate some manly qualities, you know, you also need to show you have white qualities... and then when you get into positions of power and authority you are expected to solve all the Aboriginal problems and have an answer about every Aboriginal issue... and you know, I don't know all the rules all of the time. Sometimes I don't know or am not even sure what game it is I am expected to play." (Fitzgerald, 2006, p. 211)

Understanding intersectionality or how multiple identities are implicated in women's lives is crucial to leadership research in order to scrutinize and demonstrate how equality remains elusive even as the numbers of women in leadership roles are rising (Alston, 2012; Cook & glass, 2014; Key et al., 2012; Nixon, 2017; Ospina & Foldy, 2009; Ryan & Haslam, 2005). Sanchez-Hucles and Davis (2010, p. 172) state that "women can achieve leadership positions, but only by carefully traversing complex paths as they confront issues associated with childcare needs, sexism, and discrimination on the basis of identity". In short, *doing gender* for women in organizations increasingly involves a delicate balance of femininity and masculinity when negotiating workplace identities (Corpuz et al., 2020; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Women with multiple stigmatized identities are thus marginalized not only from theory development and research but also from opportunities in the workplace (Haslam & Ryan, 2008; Moorosi et al., 2018). Thus, drawing attention to the diversity of experiences of women, such as those of ATSI, CALD, and migrant backgrounds, enables us to better understand the multiple challenges

marginalized women face. Moreover, in this so-called era of *postfeminism,* where gender equality is assumed to exist, talking about gender inequality is perceived as risky (Maddox, 2021; Utoft, 2021). This is also the case for marginalized women who make their marginalized identity status salient and are more likely to experience prejudice and discrimination than those who underemphasize it (Dovidio et al., 2010).

Social identity performed through talk

Categorical references to culture and gender, both explicitly and implicitly, are social accomplishments that serve various actions and functions in talk. In contrast to cognitive models of social identity in psychology, such as social identity theory (Hogg, van Knippenberg & Rast, 2012), this study uses a critical discursive psychological (DP) approach to studying how leadership is performed in speeches delivered by CALD and ATSI women, who are recognized as leaders in their respective fields. Speeches were taken from an event series curated on the topic of women in leadership, produced by an independent, membership-based think tank in Australia. This is a forum series where influential women discuss the key issues to achieving gender equality. The aim of this study is to determine what identities they mobilize and make relevant to their leadership experience as well as the discursive strategies the speakers employ. Finally, this paper seeks to analyze the social realities that are produced through leadership talk and what it achieves in the specific context of this series of speeches.

Analytic approach

Our approach to analyzing the data in this study is drawn predominantly from both the insights of DP (Edwards, 2012; Potter, 2012), and the critical discourse analytic (CDA) approach developed by Wetherell (1998, 2007). DP focuses on the action orientation of people's talk as *situated practice* in examining how multiple identities are brought into being through talk (Edwards & Potter, 1992). This approach pays attention to what is constructed socially, that is, how people jointly construct identities, events, emotional states, etcetera, rather than treating them as internal cognitive processes alone (Wetherell & Edley, 2014). The act of delivering a speech is considered an interaction between the speaker and the audience that serves a range of functions, most significantly here, how identities are brought into being. CDA draws from the insights of DP but also considers wider cultural influences, such as prevalent ideologies and discourses that shape and influence identities and subjectivities at particular points in time (Augoustinos, 2017).

Language and discourse are regarded as resources that construct particular *subject positions* and invoke identities as situated accomplishments. Subject positions are produced in discourses and are considered discursive devices which "make available certain ways-of-seeing the world and certain ways-of-being in the world" (Willig, 2013, p. 130). In this process, we pay attention to the manner in which the speakers shape different identities and to what purpose (Goodman & Burke, 2011). Likewise, "it is not just individual identities that are 'positioned' in discourse, but also group identities" (Goodman, 2017, p. 150), such as how the collective category of *woman* is invoked.

Our analysis further studies the data using the conceptual lens of intersectionality to bring to light the effects of multiple and interlocking oppressions.

Data corpus and analysis

The corpus of speeches was transcribed from publicly available audio recordings (as of 2018) of speeches delivered as part of the Committee for Economic Development of Australia's *"Women in Leadership"* series from 2010 to 2017. The objective of the Women in Leadership series was to discuss critical issues facing women in public and corporate life by inviting prominent and influential people to offer firsthand accounts of their own personal experiences of leadership. Although this is a large time span, it reflects a historical period in which fourth wave feminism proliferated through the internet and social media, specifically challenging sexual harassment and the persistence of gendered norms and masculine privilege and power (Maclaran, 2015).

Over 250 speeches were delivered during the six-year period (2010-2017) and thus considered for this study. However, nine met the selection criteria and were used for analysis[1]. Speeches were included in the

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[1] Although every effort has been made to de-identify participants in the analysis, because the speeches are publicly available, complete anonymity is not possible. The analysis itself will not focus on individuals *per se*, but on commonalities and patterns across speakers.

analysis if they were delivered by CALD women or ATSI women[2] which demonstrates that over 240 speeches were given by women from the dominant white majority. Three out of the nine speeches were delivered by ATSI women, two of which were presented by the same person, delivered in two different events, held in different Australian states, and in different years. As such, two ATSI women are included in the data set. The nine speeches included in this study were considered as a single data set and are presented in Table 1. In including ATSI and CALD women in this study, we are not assuming that these backgrounds are in any way commensurate. We recognize that there are significant differences in identity and history, especially in colonization and sovereignty of land between ATSI and CALD women. What we hope to achieve by combining these categories of women, however, is to address the gap in the leadership literature of minority women in general.

The selected speeches (summarized in Table 1) were transcribed using a simplified Jeffersonian ( ) notation system (ten Have, 1999) that included features of speech such as emphasis, volume, pauses, laughter, etcetera (see Appendix for transcription notation symbols). The speeches were repeatedly listened to, and transcripts closely read for familiarity (Wetherell et al., 2001). In the following phase, we reviewed the data closely to identify discursive patterns and regularities across speeches. In presenting the key identities used as strategic resources, we pay attention to the emerging key identities produced through the speakers' talk.

Table 1

Summary information on the data corpus

	Pseudonym	Forum theme
1	Ana1	Share experience and advice on their path to leadership
2	Ana2	Share their leadership story and the benefits of a diverse workforce
3	Bella	Share how they overcame barriers and have successfully blazed a trail in male-dominated industries
4	Clara	Discuss the benefits of applying business practices on gender inequity
5	Daniella	Share their experiences in the leadership role in the context of the theme of courage and change
6	Eva	Keynote address to open the Women in Leadership series
7	Francesca	Share experiences of overcoming unconscious bias and cultural stereotypes
8	Gabriella	Share stories and strategies to motivate and mobilize for change
9	Helena	Share experience and advice on strengthening women's economic security

Data analysis and discussion

The following extracts discussed below present three key identities used as strategic resources by the women in their speeches. The first examines how intersectionality was brought to the fore by speakers and made salient in their talk about leadership. The second looks at the mobilization of the collective category, *woman* and how speakers used this as a central concern in leadership. Third, shared parenthood as a category of identity was also a notable resource in leadership talk.

Managing the boundaries of intersectional identities

In Extract 1, Eva is delivering a keynote speech to open the Women in Leadership series. Here, Eva comments on the issue of gender equity and closes her speech by demonstrating why the issue should matter to the entire nation.

Extract 1 Eva

212   .hhh it has been fifty years since I

213   first entered a university as one of only two Indigenous students .hhh and at a time (.) that the idea of

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[2] Speaker backgrounds were not included in the event information. As such, we have surmised gender and cultural backgrounds based on details from the speeches and from publicly available information.

214 women university graduates was still highly suspect especially here in Queensland .hhh today I can have
215 this discussion with you (.) as we consider the problem of gender equity .hhh my dream was to be a
216 scientist .hhh but racial discrimination prev- prevented me from pursuing that course at the- about the
217 age of 12 .hhh I have succeeded nevertheless because of another dream .hhh the dream of equality .hhh
218 it is a matter for all of us to consider now (.) whether we allow suboptimal and out-of-date attitudes to
219 damage our nation (.) our economy (.) and waste the potential (.) of more than half of our citizens (.)

The main analytic focus here is Eva's self-representation as "Indigenous" which she mentions in line 213. Take note of how she shifts from this to the category of *woman* in line 214, demonstrating how intersectionality plays out in terms of diverse subject positions. Eva also makes her status as an ATSI woman relevant by referring to her experience of "racial discrimination" (216), which she identifies explicitly as an obstacle to her aspiration to become a scientist. It is also worth bearing in mind how Eva refers to the discrimination she faced as a woman during a time when women university graduates were considered "highly suspect" (214). Thus Eva describes how suspicion was directed at both women and Indigenous peoples in positions where they are seen as out of place by the *status quo* (Salter & Haugen, 2017); in this case within universities in Queensland fifty years ago.

Eva acknowledges that some progress has been achieved in the span of "fifty years" (212) which not only verifies that some change has been achieved but also invokes a generational identity. This was a notable feature in leadership talk that highlighted generational differences in leadership experiences for women in general. For example, in the study by Loder (2005), younger participants post-Civil Rights Movement did not recall significant systemic barriers to their success and instead described feeling a sense of agency in determining their aspirations. The analysis made use of a life course perspective and compared the experiences and accounts between a younger and older cohort of African American women principals.

Eva makes an indication of what change was gained and resources her own achievements as an ATSI woman leader when she refers to being "one of only two Indigenous students" (213) at the time she enrolled in university. The context of university is also a strategic resource as it has historically been a space (and a basic right, that is, the right to be educated) fought for and won by earlier feminists, similar to the right to vote. In speaking to the "problem of gender equity" (215), Eva effectively manages to shift between the intersecting identities of race and gender in her speech while also making it clear why the "dream of equality" cannot be reached if racial discrimination is not addressed.

While Eva shifted between categories in this extract, the concept of intersectionality and its relevance was more explicitly addressed by some speakers in the series. In Extract 2, quite early in her speech (line 39), Francesca calls attention to the concept of intersectionality in her discussion on bias and cultural stereotypes. Specifically, she argues that women are not a "homogenous group" (38). Also noteworthy in this extract is her reporting of the "movement" on the status of women, prefacing some "positive change" found in research by the Diversity Council of Australia (DCA)[3]. This resonates with Eva's speech above, describing progress won through generational differences in experience.

Extract 2 Francesca

37 just introduce you to a piece of research that we did for International Women's Da↑y .hhh at DCA we
38 recognize that women are not one homogeneous grou↑p, and so we went out to (.) look at some
39 intersectionality amongst women for International Women's Day .hhh and we put out some rese↑arch
40 (.) um you can go on our website if you're a member you can download the full Report (.) even non-
41 members can download summary reports to have a look at this data .hhh a:nd the research we did was
42 on (.) culturally diverse wome↑n in the ASX (.) and we're looking at them in a leadersh- through a
43 leadership lens .hhh so if we look at (.) the status of women at the mome↑nt um where we are .hhh there
44 ha↑s been movement I'll be um reflecting on positive change for women .hhh

Later in the same speech, Francesca draws on social identities for more personal reasons, outlining the diverse cultural groups in Australia including those to which she positions herself as belonging. As she lists these

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[3] Diversity Council Australia – an independent, not-for-profit organization, leading diversity and inclusion work in Australia.

varied groups, she explicitly and directly self-identifies as one from a post-war southern European migrant family.

Extract 3 Francesca

81	people who could be↑ from an Anglo Saxon or Anglo Celtic background so people from northwest Europe
82	.hhh um Germany France um Scandinavian countries .hhh the Netherlands the next group so the group
83	that I'm from I'm (.) from a post-war .hhh southern European mi↑grant family they're only rep- so
84	southern Europe↑ans and ea↑stern European backgrounds were only represented .hhh by about seven
85	per cent (.) .hhh okay so we're talking three generations now of that that massive wave of migration into
86	Australia .hhh

Here, Francesca specifically refers to herself as a culturally diverse woman that is in a minority ("seven per cent"). In choosing to position herself within these diverse cultural groups, she may be placing an emphasis on a minority identity, but also establishes herself as having an authority to speak on diversity. She further stresses the point of the minority status of CALD women by illustrating the very small number of them, about six in a hundred, represented in leadership positions. In these two extracts from Francesca, she categorically refers to her CALD background, is unambiguous in highlighting their minority status in leadership positions, and directly acknowledges the intersectionality of identities among women.

Other speakers referenced their multiple identities in more nuanced ways. The following excerpt is taken from a speech by Bella addressing how she overcame barriers and successfully blazed trails in male-dominated industries. Notably, it is only in the last quarter of her speech (lines 169-178) that Bella refers to her background.

Extract 4 Bella

169	perspectives (.2) some of you may know my story (.2) first generations migrants' kid who overcame
170	child sexual abuse (.) chronic illness (.) .hhh and 1970s white Australia policy-fuelled discrimination and
171	ig↑norance (.) to eventually embrace my own ethnic (.) cultural (.) and linguistic background (.) and
172	gender (.) to dedicate my life to helping others access justice .hhh and helping others find a voice (.)
173	through my unique journey that takes me out of Australia and to Europe (.) the United Kingdom South
174	America and the Middle East .hhh I decided to take a very unpredictable and unexpected turn in my
175	career by commissioning into the British Army as a legal officer (.) .hhh along with posts in Northern
176	Ireland and Germany I served for almost a year in Iraq (.) where I committed to carrying out my role
177	true to my values and always with a sense of humility (.) empathy .hhh and respect for those (.) that I
178	served (.)

This extract also illustrates the entanglement of culture and gender and its intersecting nature. In particular, the extract demonstrates that multiple identities are not merely produced by a sum of distinct parts (Corpuz et al., 2020), but instead are interlocking. An intersectional approach recognizes that the boundaries of multiple identities are unclear, if not indiscernible. Consider how Bella places equal emphasis on these identity components herself ("ethnic, cultural, and linguistic background and gender" 171-172), also referencing chronic illness and sexual assault, in particular her repetitive use and stress of the word "and" in line 171, which demonstrates how she places equal emphasis on these varied components. She also paints the political context of a "1970s white Australia policy-fueled discrimination and ignorance" (170-171) into her speech.

Another interesting feature of this extract is how firmly Bella identifies and owns her story. She uses the word "my" in most of the sentences in the extract – "my story" (169), "my background" (171), "my life" (172), "my journey" (173), and "my career" (174-175), but she emphasizes this word more strongly in her speech when she says, "where I committed to carrying out my role true to my values". In this way, an understanding of how she makes sense of her struggles is revealed – "my background, my life" (176-177) - and thus her perception of her leadership role as a trailblazer in the context of a range of challenges. Previous research has indicated that despite all the barriers they face, CALD women leaders often represent their role as an agent for change and utilize a leadership style that is service-oriented (Nixon, 2017; Reed, 2012). Bella also represents herself as a leader who has overcome multiple disadvantages stemming from chronic illness and sexual assault (169-170)

and exemplifies overcoming struggle in describing her leadership role and in paving the way for others, despite the difficult political and social context.

Extract 5 is taken from a forum on courage and change. The invited speakers were asked to reflect on their leadership journeys and describe the lessons they learned from facing challenges. The extract taken from Daniella's speech begins as she characterizes Australia as a multicultural country. As she introduces the concept of ethnic diversity, she leads into a story to demonstrate its importance (97).

Extract 5 Daniella

95	.hhh but gender equality is not the only area where further progress is
96	required (.) for a multicultural country .hhh we're yet to embrace ethnic diversity in the media (.) so
97	why is diversity important? (.) .hhh not so long ago I was at a laneway gig in the Valley (.) please don't
98	ask me what I was doing there apart from feeling very very old .hhh when a beautiful young woman of
99	Middle Eastern origin with curly hair like mine came up to me and asked if I was the ABC news reader
100	(.) and I said yes .hhh and she said I think you do a great job (.) it's so wonderful to see someone who
101	looks like me (.) on TV (.) it's an inspiration to me .hhh now apart from being touched (.) this encounter
102	hit home because what people see (.) the forms of culture that we produce set the norms and ideals of
103	our society .hhh when individuals don't see themselves reflected in society (.) it leaves them feeling
104	marginalized .hhh a representative media sends signals to ethnic minorities that e↑ffort is
105	advanta↑geous and part of a harmonious Australia .hhh so it's not simply an aesthetic principle .hhh

Stories allow the speaker to connect emotionally with their audience (Duranti, 2006). The selection of the words "wonderful" (100), "inspiration" (101), and "being touched" (101) incites positive feelings in the encounter between the two women, but then is juxtaposed with their shared "marginalized" (104) identities. The description of the encounter with the woman of Middle Eastern origin with curly hair, also allows Daniella to present herself as non-representative of the type of person who would likely be on television (99, 101). The structure of the extract is interesting as it highlights the critical issue of *representation* within a "multicultural country" (96), interacting with feelings of belonging as "part of a harmonious Australia" (105).

By describing this encounter with a woman of Middle Eastern origin, Daniella invokes one of the key arguments for greater representation in leadership roles: *you cannot be what you cannot see*. As Young (2018) argues, "the question of visibility itself is more basic than questions of how something is represented since visibility itself confers membership of the known universe on a particular social identity" (p. 991). This concept is reflected in line 105, highlighting that representation is "not simply an aesthetic principle". It confines CALD individuals to the margins of society as if less deserving than dominant identities (DeTurk, 2021). In fact, research has discovered a particular invisibility of individuals – *intersectional invisibility* (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008) – with multiple stigmatized social identities (i.e. gender, race, class, etc.), such as ATSI women, Asian gays, divorced CALD women, and so on (Bowleg, 2017, p. 509). Again, similar to Eva's speech, Daniella emphasizes that in aspiring to achieve equality, the discussion of the issue must not be limited to gender alone.

Mobilizing the collective category woman – creating agency

As could be expected from a forum looking to tackle economic and social development issues concerning gender, a unifying feature in the data is a call to action component in the speeches. Stuart and Donaghue (2012) reinforce the element of *choice* in postfeminist discourses by demonstrating that although there has been progress in the path towards gender equality, and even though women continue to have opportunities previously inaccessible to women who came before them, there has not been significant abolishment of oppressive systems and structures. The extract from Ana's speech below is clear in acknowledging the achievements of the feminist movement so far.

Extract 6 Ana1

85   I↑ really want to see- I want to see Emma[4] and all those young women bring through: is that you can be
86   the kind of woman that you are:: not play to the boys: and not be what the boys want you to be to succeed
87   (.) .hhh and don't dismiss that kind of thinking because it still exists (.2) don't think that's some kind of
88   feminist ma:dness (.) it absolutely exists: and we have to be able to pla:y it: while retaining our integrity
89   and our ethics (.2) don't diss the women who went before us (.) ever (.2) because you have no: idea and
90   I have no idea: (.) my mo:ther left work- had to leave work as an accounting machine operator .hhh
91   when she fell pregnant with me (.2) we did not ha:ve equal pay in this country until 1971 (.) don't forget
92   it (.) things have changed incredibly quickly .hhh we o:we those wome:n who fought the battle for us (.)
93   we need to pay homage to them constantly: (.) we need to ta:ke up that ma:ntle .hhh and make things
94   better for the women who go behind us (.) so yes (.) I am passiona:te (.)

In this extract Ana implores women to aspire for success and power, while keeping true to "the kind of woman that you are" (86). Simply put, she positions women as needing to learn how to play the game without conforming to male expectations. More importantly, Ana operationalizes her identity and positions herself and her audience as part of the broad feminist movement by establishing the need to "take up that mantle and make things better for the women who go behind us" (93). She illustrates a clear position where womanhood, "we" (93), need to take action and how collective action will contribute to progressing the movement. Through Ana's speech, she forms the notion of success as not only comprising of achieving leadership status, nor attaining the delicate balance of femininity, but that success also requires adherence to integrity and the realization that the individual woman is part of a collective identity. Integrity and the strength of moral principles which aligns with the feminist "aim to produce knowledge that directly benefits women's lives or promotes social justice more widely" (Magnusson & Marecek, 2017, p. 20). Of interest is how Ana uses the disclaimer, "don't think that's some kind of feminist madness" (87-88), to deny her views are extreme or foolish (as feminist critics would perceive them), but as reflecting the reality of the existing challenges to women's success ("it absolutely exists", line 88). Her advice, "to not be what the boys want you to be" (86) reaffirms her call for collective action, for women to follow their own path and to not succumb to men's expectations.

The following extracts also illustrate how speakers mobilize the category *woman* as a collective identity, but also a call to action to mobilize around a global sisterhood.

Extract 7 Bella

192   (.) .hhh I believe (.) we as women must aspire (.) to more than equality of position (.) it is simply not
193   enough for us to aim (.) for filling roles currently filled by men (.) we must fight to be embraced
194   supported and celebrated for the different perspecti↑ves (.) fresh approaches .hhh and new priorities
195   and dreams that we possess (.) .hhh to do otherwise simply seeks to achieve an e↑qual position as
196   participants (.) and dare I say often per↑petrators of many of the inequalities and injustices largely
197   committed by our male rulers↓ (.) we must seek not only equality of position↓ but equality of choice (.)
198   an equal right to choose (.) to participate (.) or not (.) our discussions our battle (.) our aspirations need
199   to grow to become more sophisticated in my humble opinion (.)

What is noteworthy in this extract is Bella's encouragement to earnestly obtain "an equal right to choose" (198) instead of merely seeking to achieve "equality of position" (193). Like Ana's speech, Bella makes reference to hegemonic power, "perpetrators of many of the inequalities and injustices largely committed by our male rulers" (197). As such, she constructs the notion of leadership as more than simply a position or a title. Instead, she characterizes leadership as a role with inherent values such as, to lead with integrity, mirroring the discourse on ethics constructed in Extract 6. Also, in line with hegemonic power, this extract further underscores the permeating war metaphor wherein the collective woman is called on to continue the fight for equality. Significantly, Bella depicts leaders as advocates instead of "rulers" (197) who welcome and receive "different perspectives" (194) and act to protect "equality of choice" (197). The critical perspective that intersectionality

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[4] Emma, as mentioned here, is another panel speaker present during this forum, along with Ana1.

brings to this analysis allows for an understanding of who benefits from the current social structure, highlighting "the role of power in how people identify and how they are perceived" (Bowleg, 2017, p. 517).

Finally, these two extracts demonstrate the use of collective pronouns as discursive devices in creating agency and enacting the collective category of woman. The repeated use of "us" (193), "our" (188), and "we" (192), accomplish the rallying call to action, which was a pervasive feature of the speeches in this corpus. The preceding two extracts also orient to a situational identity of a woman leader speaking at a *Women in Leadership* event, calling on the audience to mobilize and advocate for change.

Shared parenthood

One other prominent identity invoked in the speeches is that of motherhood. Motherhood has been inextricably linked to feminist research and increasingly to the identity of women leaders (Deason, Greenlee, & Langner, 2015; Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson, 2001; Kerrick & Henry, 2017; Lee, 2015). Indeed, the category of motherhood was notable in our data corpus and its emphasis indicates its relevance to the experiences of female leadership. However, contrary to expectations, the data did not demonstrate the more typical discourse of mother's guilt among women who are juggling professional careers, managing their homes, and caring for their children (Budds, Locke, & Burr, 2016; Turner & Norwood, 2013; Whiley, Sayer, & Juanchich, 2021). Instead, the rallying points among speakers was on choice and on achieving equal opportunity through shared parenthood.

In the extract below, Clara argues that there should be no difference between men and women in terms of maintaining both a professional and a family life, and that gender-neutral policies ensure workplace flexibility are critical for both men and women in order to share family responsibilities.

Extract 8 Clara

63	and uh flexibility in the workforce will mean something
64	different to each indivi↑dual .hhh it might mean different hours it might mean working from ho↑me and
65	we also wanted to be a gender-neutral policy because families and individuals should determine who has
66	what responsibilities within the household .hhh or within um family life .hhh and uh hopefully this plan
67	will ease- will ease pressure on people .hhh uh speaking to the their superiors about how they can best
68	manage (.) tsk uh their working- their working life .hhh and we believe this is- this is extremely
69	important and again we want this policy to be gender-neu↑tral because .hhh men and women should
70	not feel guilty about asking for that greater flexibility .hhh and again we also appreciate that it's not only
71	women who are held back by expecta↑tions that society's placed on them↑ but also men as well↑ .hhh
72	and men should be given the support to jubble- juggle their family responsibilities without fear or
73	judgment and I know I have one male staff member who has a .hhh a- a wife in a very high-performing
74	role↑ and I know that if I get him out the door it helps her and so we need to be conscious of that uh in
75	all of our workplace .hhh in all of our workplace decision-making .hhh

Despite the growing number of women who choose to remain unmarried and/or not raise children, most of the references to motherhood in the data corpus still reflect the remaining traditional notions of what a woman is and her role in society: namely cisgender, heterosexual, married, and raising children. Being a mother (or not), her ability, and sometimes willingness, influences not only how a woman views herself, but also how she is viewed by others (Sheeran, Jones, & Perolini, 2019; Sorrentino & Augoustinos, 2016). Dominant constructions of motherhood have affected how individual women perceive their roles and influence their career choices. Deason et al. (2015, p. 144) assess how gender stereotypes affect women's careers in political leadership, putting forward the concept of a "politicized motherhood" which toughens the double bind for working mothers and asserting that "by placing emphasis on motherhood as opposed to parenthood, the trend excludes men from advocating for policies that benefit children".

Rather than explaining how important workplace flexibility is for women, Clara calls for shared parenthood as a societal norm that will benefit not only mothers in their professional lives but for fathers to be more active in the family "without fear or judgment" (72). Clara describes how she seeks to make sure her male staff member

leaves work and gets home in time so he can take on family responsibilities which helps his wife, who holds a leadership role. Flexibility in the workplace, as a gender-neutral policy, will make it possible for both women and men to take equal responsibility in the home and equal opportunities to advance their career. Throughout her speech, Clara remains steadfast in enacting a "gender neutral" (65, 69) stance on workforce flexibility, maintaining that both women and men benefit.

Of particular interest in the following extract from Bella is that after listing a number of professional identities (international humanitarian lawyer, army officer, war crimes and terrorism prosecutor), she ends by highlighting the identity most important to her, a mother of triplet boys.

Extract 9 Bella

184	.hhh this marked the beginning of a
185	two-year battle that culminated in me mounting a landmark discrimination case against the British
186	Armed For↑ces and the UK Government (.) in a quest to seek my own per↑sonal justice: and more
187	importantly to ensure that no wo↑man or member of an ethnic minority would be on the receiving end
188	of such bla↑tant institutional discrimination by the British military again (.2) .hhh this journey and my
189	time as both an international humanitarian lawyer (.) army officer (.) war crimes and terrorism
190	prosecutor (.) and perhaps most impo↑rtantly (.) mother (.) of triplet boys: (.) trying every day to raise
191	more enlightened (.) kind tolerant young men .hhh has taught me a lot about humanity (.) human nature
192	and what it takes to be a trailblazer and a changemaker (.)

As in Extract 4, Bella demonstrates that these social identities are not located on a single-axis, but instead are dynamic and intertwined. Of interest is how Bella gives importance to her identity as a mother of triplet boys in her quest for social justice. Equally significant is how she represents her own struggle for personal justice for the discrimination she faced in the armed services with that of fighting on behalf of other ethnic minority women facing institutional discrimination.

In the following extract, Gabriella responds to the event's theme of strategies to motivate and mobilize for change. She points out that change begins in the home, "of families and households" (251). She identifies herself here as a married woman in a heterosexual relationship (262-263). However, she also presents a contemporary feminist identity by establishing the equal importance of her career to that of her spouse's. Utoft (2021) illustrates how women practice more traditional roles of femininity through motherhood, but by maintaining a professional life and a professional identity, they are also able to assert choice and agency.

Extract 10 Gabriella

251	to my last point (.) of families and households (.) .hhh and about the importance of individual and
252	household choices when it comes to promoting gender diversity .hhh every company around the world
253	can have the most comprehensive gender policy imaginable .hhh but we don't it won't do us any good if
254	the culture around us doesn't change .hhh and the culture around us won't change .hhh unless
255	individuals make personal and household choices that promote gender equality .hhh some of the most
256	successful people in their industries from Warren Buffett to Sheryl Sandberg .hhh have often said that
257	the most important career decision you will make .hhh is who you decide to marry (.) or if you decide to
258	marry at all and I could <u>not</u> agree more .hhh these obviously are not only career decisions but deeply
259	<u>personal</u> decisions that impact your entire life .hhh but they most definitely impact our working lives
260	.hhh and the personal fulfillment we gain from our careers and the ability to provide for our families for
261	those careers .hhh I knew I wanted a career and family and the <u>only</u> way I could do that .hhh was with
262	a spouse that shared my values and my ambitions .hhh who is committed to equitable household
263	management and child care .hhh someone who is invested in <u>my</u> career just as I was invested in his .hhh

In this extract, Gabriella successfully conforms to what is expected of her gender – wanting a family. However, her goal of having both a career and family (261), steps outside traditional gender ideologies which

assumes that a woman's highest priority should be motherhood (McGannon & Schinke, 2013). Existing workplace expectations of a *good worker* impose constraints on women's ability to perform within the socially constructed identity of a *good mother* (e.g. self-sacrificing, primary caregiver) (Whiley et al., 2021). Gabriella's solution to wanting both a family and a career and overcoming the potential tensions this creates is in choosing a spouse who shares the same values (262). Gabriella enlists the advice of successful people to emphasize the importance of ensuring that one's spouse shares the same values and ambitions for career and family. She enlists the advice of a successful man (Warren Buffet) to support her claim but in doing so, does not disentangle the possible differences in the prevailing systems and structures that continue to privilege working men.

Concluding discussion and agenda for future research

By identifying key features of leadership talk by CALD and ATSI women to frame their identities, this paper provides several contributions to the growing body of scholarship on women in leadership. First, the intersectional lens applied in this study demonstrates how speakers drew upon multiple identities to position themselves as leaders in their respective fields, as well as detailing the many struggles they had to overcome to achieve this. These included, across different speakers and extracts, identities associated with gender, race and culture, migrant status, illness and disability, as well as parenthood. This analysis challenges mainstream social identity principles, which assume that individuals categorize themselves into a distinct group to which they primarily identify. Rather, multiple identities are interwoven and implicated in these leadership narratives. The data presented here allows not only for a more complex examination of marginalized groups, but also for critical, provoking questions and new perspectives.

Second, this work contributes to the body of research aimed at bringing to light the experiences of underrepresented groups. Intersectionality permits space for the field of social psychology to recognize how power relations further the intricate and complicated ways people relate to one another. This analytical tool allows for new questions to be asked, such as *who benefits from the status quo, what data is needed to develop effective interventions*, and so on. The ongoing battle to achieve equity with their male peers is a key metaphor that is used throughout the data and dominates the way the speakers talk about not only their leadership journey, but everyday life. Similarly, the rallying call to action also reinforces the battle metaphor and a *call to arms* to all women as a collective. Battle metaphors, then, are powerfully employed by the speakers to both unify a group (the audience) to act on a complex issue (i.e. equal opportunity), as well as to elicit an emotional response (Flusberg, Matlock, & Thibodeau, 2018).

These metaphors were also central to "paying homage" to previous generations of women who "fought the battle". As such, the battle for equality unites women not only across different identity categories such as race and culture, but also throughout the generations. Generational identities, shifts, and differences are significant and indicative of milestones won in the multiple battles invoked by the speakers. Nevertheless, despite generational progress, which speakers alluded to, it is a fight that all speakers construct as still necessary.

Given their multiple struggles, not just as women but also from their ethnic and racial status, all speakers recognize and emphasize the structural and institutional barriers that continue to exist. In being able to curate their identities to achieve positions of leadership in society, the burden of overcoming and of succeeding, still greatly relies on them. The burden still rests on the individual to overcome systemic barriers and to withstand oppressive systems of power. Importantly our findings also offer insights into a moral discourse of leadership central to CALD and ATSI women leaders and that there is shared purpose in being part of the progress towards equal opportunity. These speakers called for a different kind of leadership that resisted traditional models and that did not force women to conform to normative expectations so that they could be the kind of woman they wanted to be.

In conclusion, this study contributes to feminist research by challenging postfeminist claims that equality has already been achieved and, instead, brings to light not only the persisting systemic inequalities for women, but also makes visible underrepresented groups such as ATSI and CALD women into mainstream research. "This invisibility has real-world implications for interventions, public policy, and social justice because you can't research or develop solutions to social problems that you can't see" (Bowleg, 2017, p. 509). Practical steps forward include enacting policies and programs which will support marginalized women in reaching the upper

echelons of their organizations in a similar rate as their Anglo-Saxon male colleagues. Organizations must also reflect on the covert ways in which current systems impact women's identities by earnestly evaluating the workplace culture which drives their policies and programs.

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Appendix

Transcription symbols used

This study made use of a modified version of the Jeffersonian style in its transcript notation.

Symbol	Meaning
<u>Word</u>	Underlining indicates emphasis on that word or syllable.
Wo::rd	Colon indicates prolonged vowel or consonant
Wo-	Hyphens mark the abrupt cut-off of the proceeding sounds.
( )	Transcriber could not accurately hear what was said.
(.)	A tiny, noticeable pause.
(0.5)	Decimal numbers indicate elapsed time in silence by tenth of seconds.
(I)	Whole numbers indicate elapsed time of one whole second.
WORD	Uppercases indicates especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk. (increased volume speech)
><	Speeded up talk.
<>	Slowing down talk.
((smiley voice))	Words that sound like they have been delivered through a mouth forming a smile.
huh/hah/heh/hih/hoh	Various types of laughter token
(h)	Audible aspirations within speech (e.g. laughter particles)
(tsk)	
.hhh	The sound of inhalation.
hhh	The sound of exhalation.
° °	Utterances are relatively quieter than surrounding speech. (whisper or reduced volume speech)
?	A question mark indicates a rising intonation, less pronounced than upward arrow.
↑	Shifts into higher pitch.
↓	Shifts into lower pitch.
[word]	Indicates the start and end points of overlapping speech.
-	Indicates an abrupt halt or interruption in utterance.
(( ))	Annotation of sound of non-verbal activity.

«Μπορείς να γίνεις το είδος της γυναίκας που είσαι»: η δια του λόγου διαχείριση των διασταυρούμενων ταυτοτήτων στην ομιλία για την ηγεσία

Ember Corpuz[1], Martha Augoustinos[1], Clemence Due[1]

[1] Τμήμα Ψυχολογίας, Πανεπιστήμιο Αδελαΐδας, Αυστραλία

ΛΕΞΕΙΣ ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ	ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ
Ρητορική ψυχολογία, Διαθεματικότητα, Ταυτότητα, Αρχηγία, Φυλή, Φύλο	Η παρούσα έρευνα διερευνά τον τρόπο με τον οποίο οι πολιτισμικά και γλωσσικά διαφορετικές γυναίκες και οι γυναίκες των Αβοριγίνων και των Νησιών του Στενού Τόρες κινητοποιούν διασταυρούμενες ταυτότητες μέσω των ομιλιών που εκφωνήθηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια των φόρουμ για τις γυναίκες στην ηγεσία. Καθώς όλο και περισσότερες γυναίκες φιλοδοξούν να κατακτήσουν θέσεις ηγεσίας, η δια του λόγου ανάλυση της διαχείρισης της ταυτότητας για την κατανόηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο οι ταυτότητες καθίστανται σχετικές, είναι κρίσιμη. Χρησιμοποιώντας μια ρητορική ψυχολογική προσέγγιση, η παρούσα έρευνα εξετάζει την έννοια της διαθεματικότητας ως κοινωνικής δράσης, όπως αυτή διαδραματίζεται στην πράξη, και όχι ως θεωρητικής έννοιας. Ειδικότερα, η εργασία εδράζεται σε εμπειρικά δεδομένα για να διερευνήσει πώς η διαθεματικότητα λειτουργεί στο ευρύτερο πλαίσιο της ομιλίας για την ηγεσία και κυρίως πώς οι διαφορετικές γυναίκες αναπαριστούν τον εαυτό τους ως ηγέτες και ποιες βασικές ταυτότητες αναδύονται. Η ανάλυση καταδεικνύει ότι εξηγώντας τον τρόπο με τον οποίο αυτές οι γυναίκες κατέκτησαν ηγετικές θέσεις, οι ομιλήτριες χρησιμοποίησαν τις πολλαπλές ταυτότητές τους ως στρατηγικούς πόρους. Αυτές οι ταυτότητες περιλάμβαναν τις κατηγορίες της φυλής, της κουλτούρας, του φύλου και της γονεϊκότητας. Οι διαπιστώσεις από αυτή την μελέτη είναι σημαντικές, καθώς προβάλλουν τα συνεχιζόμενα εμπόδια που αντιμετωπίζουν οι γυναίκες στην επίτευξη ίσων ευκαιριών.

ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ

Ember Corpuz
School of Psychology, Faculty of Health and Medical Sciences, the University of Adelaide, North Terrace, Adelaide, 5005
Ember.Corpuz@adelaide.edu.au