Mindful and Masculine: Freeing Women Leaders From the Constraints of Gender Roles

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Despite gains in women's status, successful leaders are more likely to be men than women. The styles that successful leaders set tend to be masculine. Female leaders face a paradox: If they emulate a masculine leadership style, their male subordinates will dislike them. If they adopt a stereotypically warm and nurturing feminine style, they will be liked, but not respected. Two experiments found that female leaders who are mindful can escape this paradox. In an experiment, college-aged men perceived a woman who was masculine and mindful to be a better leader than a woman who was masculine and mindless. A second experiment replicated that result with middle-aged businessmen.

Over the past 2 decades, the number of women pursuing managerial careers in the United States has risen dramatically. Women in management have proven to be equally skilled, educated, and trained as their male peers, and organizations are hiring managerial men and women in roughly equal numbers. Despite their comparable qualifications, however, female managers are not entering the highest leadership positions at the same rate as their male counterparts (Burke & MacDermid, 1996). At the start of the 1990s, only five of the Fortune 500 industrial and service

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companies had female CEOs (Feminist Majority Foundation, 1991, in Heilman, 1995), and of the highest paid officers and directors of the 1,300 largest industrial and service companies, women made up less than 0.5% (Fierman, 1990, in Dodge & Gilroy, 1995). The numbers have improved, but at the close of the decade one survey found only 11% of Fortune 500 board members were women (Mann, 1999). These statistics raise the question of why women have encountered limited access to senior leadership roles.

Perceptions, rather than reality, may be the answer. The gender stereotype of women as warm, nurturing, and caring and the corresponding stereotype of men as cold, competitive, and authoritarian may have contributed to a popular perception that women are less effective than men in leadership positions, though in fact they are equally effective. Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani (1995) conducted a meta-analytic review of gender and leader effectiveness and concluded that men and women are equally effective leaders, unless the leadership role is gendered (people expect the leader to be male or female). In that case, leaders of the expected gender are more effective. That is, social role expectations influence leader effectiveness. The relationship between gender and perceived leadership is widely discussed in the current literature, and research has focused on two questions: how traits associated with effective leadership are gendered, and how leaders acting outside of their gender roles are viewed.

With regard to how leadership traits are gendered, research has shown that traditional managerial roles are sex-typed as masculine, meaning that characteristics deemed necessary to be a successful manager are stereotypically associated with men. Schein and colleagues (Schein, 1973; Schein, 1975; Schein & Mueller, 1992; Schein, Mueller, & Jacobson, 1989) have found that subjects perceive a successful middle manager as having characteristics more often held by men than by women. The expectation that successful managers will possess masculine traits is stronger among men than among women (Schein & Mueller, 1992). Similarly, Powell and Butterfield (1986) found that male undergraduate and part-time graduate business students also viewed good managers in masculine terms. These findings support the claim that managerial roles are widely perceived as being aligned with stereotypically male characteristics.

Just as successful managers are defined in masculine terms, perceived leader effectiveness is also associated with male characteristics. Hackman, Hills, Paterson, and Furniss (1993) showed that masculinity in male and female leaders was perceived by all subordinates as effective, whereas female leaders displaying feminine characteristics were not seen as effective. Eagly et al. (1995) suggest that especially in cases where they occupy highly male-dominated leadership roles, women are vulnerable to "prejudiced evaluations and lowered effectiveness" (p. 126). In leadership positions that are rarely held by women, and that perhaps as a result become strongly associated with male characteristics, women may need to display masculine characteristics to be seen as effective. In fact, current advice to

women adopts this strategy. For example, one recent self-help book aimed at women managers advised women to be assertive, explaining that "men in the business world often misjudge [women's] behavior style . . . as an inability to lead" (Turkington, 1996, p. 54).

Although the above findings support the perception that female leaders need to possess masculine traits to be perceived as an effective leader, the gender role congruency hypothesis seems to offer advice that contradicts this. Nieva and Gutek's (1981) gender role congruency hypothesis states that behavior that is congruent with one's gender role will be evaluated more favorably than gender role incongruent behavior. Early research supported this hypothesis. Haccoun, Haccoun, and Sallay (1978) found that men rated female leaders in out-of-role behavior (acting masculine) as less effective, and Bradley (1980) discovered that masculine-acting female leaders were not well-liked by peers. A 1992 meta-analytic review (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992) offered further support, finding that female leaders who were perceived as having a stereotypically masculine style were less positively valued and seen as more threatening than male leaders. Thus, there are negative professional and social consequences for out-of-gender-role behavior, which has been interpreted to mean that female leaders should behave in keeping with the feminine gender role as opposed to using masculine styles.

The contradictory results described have placed female leaders in what seems to be a double bind: Effective leadership has been associated with masculine characteristics, but women acting outside of the feminine gender role have been evaluated unfavorably (Camden & Witt, 1983, p. 260). These findings have been interpreted to mean that female leaders are devalued if they act feminine, but also if they act masculine, leaving women unsure as to how they should behave. Eagly et al. (1992) describe the situation by stating that "women are to some extent subjected to incompatible expectations from leadership roles and the female gender role" (p. 5). Though the paradox seems inescapable, we argue it is not. How a woman adopts a stereotypically masculine trait should influence how she is perceived. It should be possible for a woman to minimize—even eliminate—the degree to which her masculine traits are perceived as incongruent. Such a woman would appear to observers to be entirely genuine. In this article, we take the position that there are two routes to perceived genuineness. The first is gender constancy, or matching gender role expectations. That route leads to the double bind described above. The second route to perceived genuineness is through mindfulness.

Mindfulness and Genuineness

Past research on leadership has not examined the role of leader genuineness in perceptions of leaders. The role of charisma, however, has been studied. A study by

Langer and Sviokla (1988) examined how being mindful can lead to being perceived as charismatic. The investigation found that speakers performing a part mindfully by going through it in as novel a way as possible each time were perceived as more charismatic than speakers performing the part mindlessly by sticking closely to the script. Because charisma and genuineness both represent internal qualities that seem to be a function of how situated in the moment, or mindful, a person is, there exists a relationship between mindfulness and perceived genuineness (Langer, 1989a). There is reason to believe that a leader's perceived genuineness plays an important role in influencing others' evaluations of the leader.

Drawing on the definitions of mindfulness and mindlessness as described by Langer (1989a), it should be the case that one's mindfulness is perceived as genuineness and mindlessness as nongenuineness. In considering the case in which a woman is not being genuine, one can say that she is playing a role or that her behavior is scripted. If she is playing a role, she is making assumptions about how others will perceive her if she acts a certain way. Instead of actively drawing distinctions in the present, the woman is relying on her "premature cognitive commitment" to the belief that others will view her in a certain way if she plays the role correctly (Langer, 1989a, p. 22). Thus, the woman is fixated on the outcome of her role playing, that she will be viewed in a desired way, so she is acting mindlessly. Mindlessness has been shown to have negative interpersonal consequences (Langer, 1989a, 1992).

Moreover, a woman who is genuine is situated in the moment and has a process orientation rather than a preoccupation with the outcome of her actions. She is also open to new information instead of rigidly relying on past distinctions, and in this way she acts mindfully. Thus, if one can say that a genuine woman is being mindful and that a woman who is not being genuine is acting mindlessly, people who are led to be mindful should be perceived as genuine, and people who are led to be mindless should be perceived as nongenuine. In this way, genuineness would be operationalized as something state-based, rather than trait-based, which is important in trying to define genuineness in such a way that others can learn how to be genuine. Langer and colleagues have induced mindfulness in experimental subjects by presenting information conditionally (Langer, 1997; Langer & Piper, 1987) or by adding an element of uncertainty to information presented (Langer, Hatem, Joss, & Howell, 1989). This methodological approach is consistent with that used in Langer and Sviokla (1988) and in the present research, in which an unscripted speech incorporates an element of uncertainty for the speaker.

The Present Research

The present research investigates whether mindfulness can free a female leader from the paradox of role-conforming leadership style. We conducted two

experiments to examine whether female leaders who were mindful and adopted a stereotypically masculine trait would be perceived as effective leaders. Regarding the operationalization of mindlessness and mindfulness, the former was operationally defined by instructions given to a woman to act as consistently with a script as possible each time she went through it. When someone uses a script, she relies on categories and distinctions already derived for her, which is the definition of mindless behavior (Langer, 1989a). Thus, by having people focus attention on staying close to a script, mindlessness should be encouraged. In contrast, mindfulness was operationally defined by instructions given to a woman to make the script her own and deliver it in as novel a way as possible each time. In this way, by having the woman focus attention on drawing novel distinctions and being unscripted, she should be led to be mindful.

A look at the literature on stereotyped masculine and feminine traits was also needed in order to determine how to operationalize masculine and feminine leadership styles. In their discussion on sex-role stereotypes, Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1972) state that "female-valued stereotypic items" consist of attributes that are referred to as the "'warmth and expressiveness' cluster" (p. 67), characteristics which men stereotypically lack. More specifically, nonverbal communicative behaviors conveying warmth and characteristic of women include a forward lean and eye contact (Remland, Jacobson, & Jones, 1983). Smiling is also perceived as feminine, whereas a dispassionate orientation is associated with masculinity (Reis et al., 1990). Thus, since warmth is stereotypically a feminine trait, warmth and coolness, as portrayed through the described nonverbal behaviors and their opposites, were chosen to operationalize feminine and masculine styles, respectively.

To examine the effect of mindfulness and gender style on perceptions of women leaders, Experiments 1 and 2 used video clips of speakers portraying different leader types as stimuli. Studies on gender and the evaluation of leaders often have participants rate written descriptions of leaders' behaviors (Rojahn & Willemsen, 1994). Because we believed that written descriptions do not fully capture the essence of genuineness, however, we chose to use the audiovisual medium.

Preparation of Video Clips

Speakers. Sixteen females served as speakers for this study (all sixteen speakers were White, in order to minimize perceived cultural differences between them). They ranged in age from 18 to 22 ($M = 20.2$, $SD = 1.1$). Three of the speakers had previous acting experience, and the majority (68.8%) held or had held a leadership position. Each speaker was asked to read through a script that was written as a Rotary Club president's speech addressing the group about its recent performance. The sixteen speakers were randomly assigned to one of four conditions (mindful

and cool, mindful and warm, mindless and cool, mindless and warm) as required by the 2×2 design. Each speaker was given written instructions that were tailored to the condition to which she was randomly assigned. In the mindful condition, speakers were told to make the script their own and to deliver it in as novel a way as possible each time. In the mindless condition, speakers were told to act as consistently with the script as possible each time they went through it.

Within both the mindful and mindless conditions, half of the speakers were also told to convey warmth through frequent smiling, leaning toward the audience, and making direct eye contact with audience members. The other half of speakers in the mindful and mindless conditions were asked to convey coolness through lack of smiling, leaning away from the audience, and avoiding direct eye contact with audience members. Also, for the speakers in the mindful group, instructions to act warm or cool were given conditionally to encourage the speakers to use the information creatively to portray warmth according to their own interpretations, which would be mindful behavior. On the other hand, instructions on warmth/coolness for the mindless group were given in absolute (instead of conditional) language to lead these speakers to rely on categories and distinctions already derived for them so they would be behaving mindlessly.

Selection of video clips. Speakers were given the time they needed (usually around 5 min) to familiarize themselves with the script, which was about 1 min long, and all subsequent performances were videotaped. Speakers were asked to state when they felt comfortable with the script, after which one more taping was made. For speakers in the mindful conditions, the clip right before the speaker reported feeling comfortable was chosen, since the performance was most likely still unscripted at that point. For the mindless conditions, the next clip after the speaker stated feeling comfortable was picked to ensure that it was more scripted and rehearsed. In this way, a videotape of 15 different speaker clips was compiled for the Rotary speech script. (One speaker had to be dropped because she misinterpreted the instructions.) An independent panel of six judges who were blind to the hypothesis of the study then rated the 15 video clips on measures of perceived genuineness and warmth. We used the judges' ratings to select the 8 speakers (two from each condition) of the original 15 that were judged to best represent their conditions (mindless and cool; mindless and warm; mindful and cool; mindful and warm). The full set of 8 speaker clips was shown to participants in Experiment 2, and half this set (cool conditions only) was shown to participants in Experiment 1. For the ratings of the four speaker clips chosen for Experiment 1, the mean reliability was $r = 0.75$, and the effective reliability of the total set of judges was $R = 0.95$. Similarly, for the ratings of the eight speaker clips chosen for Experiment 2, the mean reliability was $r = 0.72$, and the effective reliability of the total set of judges was $R = 0.94$.

Experiment 1

The purpose of Experiment 1 was to test the hypothesis that women leaders who mindfully adopt a stereotypically masculine trait (coolness) will be perceived by men as more effective leaders than women who mindlessly adopt a masculine trait. In addition, Experiment 1 provided manipulation checks on whether the mindful speakers in our video clips would be perceived as more genuine than the mindless speakers.

Method

Participants. Twenty-four male undergraduates were recruited via sign-up sheets in the dining halls and e-mail messages to dormitory lists to participate in a study on interpersonal attraction. As an incentive for students to take part in the study, two lotteries of $25 each were held.

Procedure. Participants were scheduled in small groups (1–5 people), which were randomly assigned to watch one of four videos in a dormitory common room. Two of the videos were of cool mindful female speakers and two were of cool mindless female speakers. After watching the video clip, each participant filled out a questionnaire evaluating the speaker he saw. The questionnaire, which we called the Leadership Inventory, consisted of 14 items (listed in Table 1) that were answered on Likert scales ranging from 0 (*no*, *not at all*) to 6 (*yes*, *very much so*). Two additional measures of perceived warmth and genuineness were included, also measured on Likert scales ranging from 0 (*no*, *not at all*) to 6 (*yes*, *very much so*). Upon completing the questionnaire, participants' names were entered into the lottery, and they were thanked for their participation. Participation took approximately 5 min.

Table 1. Leadership Inventory

Item
Are you confident in her abilities?
Did you like her?
Would you want to be friends with her?
Did she seem comfortable?
Would you like working for her?
Is she capable of leading fellow students?
Do you respect her?
Does she have students' best interests in mind?
Was she convincing?
Did you think she was sincere?
Do you trust her?
Do you believe what she said?
How strongly did she feel about the issue?
How comfortable would you feel asking her for help?

Results

Male participants saw one of four speaker clips. Two of the speakers were instructed to stick to the script, and to portray interpersonal coolness (mindless, cool condition) and two speakers were instructed to make the script their own, and to convey interpersonal coolness (mindful, cool condition). We collapsed across speakers, resulting in two conditions, mindful presentation ($n = 12$) and mindless presentation ($n = 12$). Any within-cell variance attributable to differences between speakers would be noise in our design and thus provide a more conservative test of the hypothesis. An alpha level of .05 was selected. All t tests are two-tailed.

Participants completed a 14-item Leadership Inventory giving their perceptions of the speaker. A test of the reliability of the Leadership Inventory returned a Cronbach's alpha value of .96. We created a single measure, Leadership, by taking the mean of all 14 items. A high Leadership score indicated that the participant perceived the speaker to be an effective leader.

To examine the effect of a mindful speaker on male participants' perceptions of a female leader, we compared perceptions of participants who saw the mindful leaders with perceptions of those who saw the mindless leaders. Male participants perceived the mindful speakers to be better leaders ($M = 2.65$, $SD = .81$) than the mindless speakers ($M = 1.00$, $SD = .92$), $t(22) = 4.66$, $p < .001$, $r = .71$. Male participants also perceived mindful speakers to be more genuine ($M = 3.0$, $SD = 1.13$) than the mindless speakers ($M = 1.25$, $SD = 1.42$), $t(22) = 3.34$, $p = .003$, $r = .58$. Male participants also perceived mindful speakers to be warmer ($M = 1.83$, $SD = 1.27$) than the mindless speakers ($M = 0.33$, $SD = 0.65$), $t(22) = 3.65$, $p = .001$, $r = .61$.

Discussion

This study examined the effect of leader mindfulness on perceptions of female leadership. As predicted, men who viewed a speech given by either a mindful or mindless female leader rated the mindful leader higher on leadership. A manipulation check on perceptions of genuineness showed that male participants also perceived a mindful leader to be more genuine, as expected. Unexpectedly, male participants also perceived a mindful leader to be warmer than a mindless leader.

Though the differences were in the predicted direction, participants' mean ratings of leadership and perceived genuineness were at or below the scale midpoint (< 3) for both mindful and mindless speakers. This is probably due to the fact that the participants, college-aged men, watched young women give a speech in which they pretended to be president of a Rotary Club. The mean ratings of warmth for both conditions were quite low ($M = 1.83$; $M = 0.33$). This was expected, however, since all the speakers in clips shown to participants in Experiment 1 were instructed to convey a sense of coolness.

Experiment 2

Experiment 2 tested the hypothesis that a woman leader who mindfully adopts a stereotypically masculine trait (coolness) will be perceived by her potential peers—businessmen—as an effective leader. We predicted that female speakers who were instructed to make the script their own (mindful condition) would be perceived as better leaders than mindless speakers. Since leadership is presented as a paradoxical trade-off with warmth, we also wanted to see whether mindful female leaders could adopt a cool presentation style and still be perceived as more effective than their mindless, cool counterparts. Findings supporting this hypothesis would challenge the current belief that female leaders need to follow the warm gender role to be evaluated favorably (the gender role congruency hypothesis). It was expected that the results of this part of the experiment would delineate more clearly how female leaders should guide future behavior to win favorable evaluations.

Experiment 2 employed a 2 (mindful, mindless) × 2 (warm, cool) factorial design. As in Experiment 1, we used two different speaker clips in each of the four cells to counter an effect due to a particular speaker.

The Rotary Club of San Carlos, California, has 96 members, and the district spans from Marin to Palo Alto. The group falls under Rotary International, a global association of business and professional men and women dedicated to serving the community, and the San Carlos Club in particular is known for its hands-on involvement with helping its local youth. In fact, one of the requirements for club membership is that one either owns a business or holds the position of director, principal, supervisor, or an equivalent title. Regarding leadership experience within the Rotary Club, 45.4% of members held or had held a position in the club, and 54.6% had not.

Method

Participants. Forty-two male members of the San Carlos Rotary Club participated in a 10-min study during one of their regular weekly meetings. (Seven women also participated in the study, but their numbers were too few to allow us to include them.) Participants in this study ranged in age from 30 to 75 ($M = 54.5$, $SD = 9.5$). Participants overwhelmingly held positions of leadership in business. The majority of participants (77.3%) held titles indicative of leadership, such as business owner, president, vice president, director, managing director, chief, pastor, superintendent, and boss, 72.7% in business and 27.3% in nonbusiness fields. As they entered the meeting, members were asked to participate in a study and if they agreed, they received a copy of the questionnaire. Each participant was randomly assigned to watch one of eight video clips according to which of eight different questionnaires he received as they were distributed when the Rotarians entered the meeting room.

Procedure. Two female experimenters attended a meeting of the San Carlos Rotary Club. Copies of the questionnaire were distributed randomly to Rotarians as they entered the meeting room. Participants were told in the instructions sheet that the study was examining interpersonal attraction, and at the top of each questionnaire, further instructions were given to each participant as to which leader (of eight) he would evaluate. After reading and signing the consent form, participants were shown the eight video clips. After watching the videos, each participant filled out a questionnaire, evaluating only the leader he had been assigned to evaluate.

Results

Male Rotary Club members completed the questionnaire (the same 14-item Leadership Inventory and additional measures of perceived warmth and genuineness as used in Experiment 1), giving their perceptions of the speaker. A test of the reliability of the 14-item inventory returned a Cronbach's alpha value of .98. We created a single measure of perceived leadership by taking the mean of all 14 items. Since we predicted no effect of speaker, we collapsed across speakers, resulting in a 2 (mindless or mindful) by 2 (cool or warm) between-subjects factorial. Any effect of speaker would enter the model as noise, and thus collapsing across speakers provided a more conservative test of the hypotheses.

Perceived leadership. To examine the effect of mindfulness and gender presentation style on male participants' perceptions of a female leader, we conducted a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) on the dependent variable of leadership. Means and standard deviations appear in Table 2. There was a significant effect of presentation style (warm or cool), $F(1, 38) = 11.71$, $p = .001$, $r = .49$, but not of mindfulness, $F(1, 38) = 1.38$, $p = .25$, $r = .19$, on perceptions of leadership. There was a significant Presentation Style × Mindfulness interaction, $F(1, 38) = 7.939$, $p = .008$, $r = .42$, on perceptions of leadership. A post hoc Tukey's test of honestly significant differences, at an alpha level of $p < .05$, found that the cool, mindless speakers were perceived as poorer leaders than the other three types of speakers.

Table 2. Perceptions of Female Leaders by Presentation Style, Experiment 2

| | Mindless | | | | Mindful | | | |
| | Cool | | Warm | | Cool | | Warm | |
Measure	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Leadership	1.80	1.66	4.34	1.24	3.54	1.31	3.78	1.04
Warmth	1.60	2.01	4.27	1.62	3.67	1.94	4.17	1.19
Genuineness	1.90	1.73	4.18	1.08	4.00	1.66	4.00	0.95

Genuineness. Participants perceived the mindful speakers to be more genuine than the mindless speakers, $F(1, 38) = 4.08$, $p = .05$, $r = .31$. Participants also perceived the warm speakers to be more genuine than the cool speakers, $F(1, 38) = 7.41$, $p = .01$, $r = .40$. The Presentation Style × Mindfulness interaction on perceptions of genuineness was significant, $F(1, 38) = 7.28$, $p = .01$, $r = .40$. A post hoc Tukey's test of honestly significant differences found that the cool, mindless speakers were perceived as less genuine than the other three types of speakers, at an alpha level of $p < .05$.

Warmth. Participants rated the warm speakers significantly warmer than they did the cool speakers, $F(1, 38) = 9.29$, $p = .004$, $r = .44$ (means and standard deviations appear in Table 2). Participants in the mindful speaker conditions rated the speakers nonsignificantly warmer than did participants in the mindless speaker conditions, $F(1, 38) = 2.82$, $p = .10$, $r = .26$. The Presentation Style × Mindfulness interaction on ratings of warmth was nonsignificant, $F(1, 38) = 4.30$, $p = .45$, $r = .32$. A post hoc Tukey's test of honestly significant differences found that the cool, mindless speakers were perceived as less warm than the other three types of speakers, at an alpha level of $p < .05$.

Discussion

As predicted, male businessmen perceived a woman who mindfully adopted a cool interpersonal style (a stereotypically masculine trait) to be a better leader than one who mindlessly adopted that same cool style. Also as predicted, male businessmen also perceived a mindful, cool woman leader to be more genuine than a mindless, cool woman leader. These results are consistent with those reported in Experiment 1. In Experiment 2, participants also had the opportunity to evaluate women speakers who portrayed a gender-consistent stereotypically warm interpersonal style. Male businessmen perceived the warm speakers to be equally as effective as the cool, mindful speakers. Put another way, male businessmen perceived the cool, mindful speaker to be equally as effective as the gender-consistent warm speakers.

The results of this study supported what could be seen as an amended version of the alternative hypothesis that a female leader's mindfulness and warmth would both be important to evaluators of the leader's interpersonal attractiveness and quality of leadership. It was found in this study that warmth was important to evaluators when the female leader was mindless, but when the leader was mindful, she was seen as genuine, and her perceived warmth did not seem to matter since both mindful leaders, cool and warm, were rated equally as favorably. Furthermore, the mindful, cool leaders were evaluated equally as favorably as both the mindful, warm and mindless, warm leaders, who all had higher ratings than the mindless, cool leaders.

This study's findings seem to directly challenge the gender role congruency hypothesis, the current belief that female leaders need to follow the warm gender role to be evaluated favorably. Because the mindful, cool leaders compared equally in favorability to the warm leaders, the results suggest that female leaders do not have to stay within the warm role. Instead, they are free to adopt cool behaviors because they will still be positively perceived and seen as genuine so long as they are mindful.

The participant pool in this study, members of the San Carlos Rotary Club, was specifically chosen so that the results would perhaps be more reflective of real-world attitudes and evaluations encountered in the workplace. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that caution must be taken in generalizing from experimental situations to real-world contexts and suggested that future research could try to examine the issue of evaluation of female leaders with a design that is grounded more in an organizational setting. Also, we note that all of the participants in Experiment 2 (as well as Experiment 1) were men, and recognize that the results should not be generalized to apply to women's perceptions of women leaders.

Given the constraints of this field research, all eight video clips were shown sequentially, although participants were instructed to rate just one. Participants in this study thus had the opportunity to compare the different speakers, so their impressions could be based in part on comparisons. Their evaluations of the cool mindful and mindless speakers were consistent with that of the college men in Experiment 1, however, who saw only one speaker.

General Discussion

Overall, several of the hypotheses originally predicted were supported by the results of the two studies conducted. Experiment 1 established that when evaluators were male, women leaders instructed to behave mindfully were perceived as more genuine than those instructed to behave mindlessly. Not only were they seen as more genuine, but the mindful leaders were also evaluated significantly more favorably on leader quality measures, including items relating to leadership effectiveness and interpersonal attractiveness. Experiment 2 extended the analysis of the importance of mindfulness and perceived genuineness even further by showing that although it was the case that warm leaders were evaluated significantly more favorably than cool leaders overall, the effect of warmth disappeared when leaders were mindful. In addition, mindful, cool leaders were evaluated significantly more favorably than mindless, cool leaders and equally as favorably as warm leaders.

The central question asked in the present research concerns the importance of genuineness in female leaders, and the context in which this question originated must be kept in mind. The idea that a female leader's genuineness may be a determining factor of evaluations of her leadership arose as a way to reconcile the seemingly contradictory implications of the double-bind situation. Thus, it is important to see how the findings of Experiment 2 fit into a discussion of the double bind and into the broader issue of gender roles and perceived leadership.

An important implication of the finding that female leaders are not constrained by the feminine gender role is that the opportunity does exist for women to be both effective and liked, or favorably evaluated. Because past research suggested that female leaders needed to be both cool, to be effective, and warm, to be evaluated favorably, women found themselves in a double bind. This study, however, has shown that the expectation from the female role is not inflexible, as it has been believed to be, since it was possible for women acting cool to be perceived favorably, when they were mindful. Thus, if it still holds that female leaders need to act cool to be effective, women can be both effective and favorably evaluated if they are mindful and cool.

In an effort to delineate how female leaders should guide behavior in order to both be effective and to win favorable evaluations, the question becomes one of whether cool, mindful women are more effective leaders than warm women, since both were evaluated favorably in this study. Looking at the mean ratings in Table 2, one finds that the mindless and warm leaders apparently had the highest ratings, even though all three conditions had relatively equal means in comparison to the mindless and cool leaders. These results may be taken as predictive of the experience of women in leadership positions who, like our speakers, are young and White; caution should be used in extending the results to predict the experiences of women of color and/or women who are older. Nevertheless, these results suggest that to be most favorably evaluated, female leaders should be mindless and warm. However, previous research, along with the results of this study, would seem to suggest that in order to be both favorably evaluated and effective, female leaders should be mindful and cool.

The research on leader gender and effectiveness seems to make the claim that female leaders should behave in a masculine manner in order to be effective. Hackman et al. (1993) showed that subordinates perceived coolness, but not warmth, in female leaders to be effective. Also, Eagly et al. (1995) suggest that women who hold highly male-dominated leadership roles and do not adopt masculine leadership styles are vulnerable to "prejudiced evaluations and lowered effectiveness" (p. 126). Thus, in leadership positions that are rarely held by women, and that perhaps as a result become strongly associated with male characteristics, it seems that women need to display masculine characteristics to be seen as effective.

Therefore, if it is the case that female leaders should act masculine in order to be effective, then this study's results would suggest that only by being mindful and masculine can women be both effective and favorably evaluated. Even though the mindless, warm leaders were evaluated the most favorably of all leader types, previous research suggests that they would not be effective because they do not have the masculinity that is associated with effective leaders. Perhaps future research could further investigate the conditions under which female leaders are most effective in order to determine whether masculinity in female leaders is in fact the way to effectiveness. If it is the case that masculine female leaders are the most

effective, then it seems that expectations from the leader and the female roles can be made compatible only if a woman is mindful and masculine.

In sum, these two studies draw on the social psychology literature concerning how leader gender influences subordinates' perceptions of leaders. Because no other research has examined leader genuineness, these studies offer a fresh perspective in trying to resolve the gender role conflict faced by female leaders, and the results have pointed to a possible solution for women in the form of mindfulness. These studies contribute relevant insights that speak to the importance of the overlooked trait of genuineness as well as to the deeper understanding of leadership to be gained from further research in this area.

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