Lucianna Busato Salles

**WOMEN, LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL MEDIA:
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF *LEAN IN STORIES***

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For all the women willing to share their true stories.

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Water does not resist. Water flows. When you plunge your hand into it, all you feel is a caress. Water is not a solid wall, it will not stop you. But water always goes where it wants to go, and nothing in the end can stand against it. Water is patient. Dripping water wears away a stone. Remember that, my child. Remember you are half water. If you can't go through an obstacle, go around it. Water does.

<div style="text-align: right">(Margaret Atwood, The Penelopiad, 2005)</div>

ABSTRACT

This work is concerned with women's decision on career and professional development, especially regarding leadership positions, as addressed in the social network site *Lean In.* The objective of the study is to investigate language in use in a group of stories published in the site as a form of online participation. The work concentrates on identifying the main topics addressed in the stories, their relation with the notion of leadership, and on how these aspects influence women's decisions in terms of professional choices. Considering the stories as discursive events, the theoretical and analytical perspectives that orient the work is Gender and Language Studies, Critical Discourse Analysis and APPRAISAL Theory, which have contributed to the investigation of the sociocultural aspects that influence the production, distribution and consumption of the texts in social media as well as of the lexicogrammatical choices of the language of AFFECT, which unveils the positive and negatives feelings of the storytellers as realized through language. The results demonstrate that issues regarding 'women's leadership ambition gap' are mainly related to institutional barriers and to the necessary the efforts to minimize socially constructed views that still put women in unequal positions due to sociocultural orders that rule workplaces and work relations.

Keywords: Women. Leadership. Social Media. Stories.

RESUMO

Este estudo trata de questões relacionadas a decisões sobre carreira e desenvolvimento profissional das mulheres, especialmente no que se refere a posições de liderança, tal como abordados no contexto da rede social *Lean In*. O objetivo do estudo é investigar a linguagem em uso em um grupo de histórias publicadas no site como uma forma de participação online. O trabalho concentra-se em identificar os principais temas abordados nas histórias, suas relações com as questões de liderança e como esses aspectos influenciaram as decisões das mulheres em termos de escolhas profissionais. Considerando as histórias como eventos discursivos, as perspectivas teórico-analíticas que fundamentam o trabalho são Estudos de Gênero e Linguagem, Análise Crítica do Discurso e Teoria da Avaliatividade, que contribuíram para a investigação de aspectos socioculturais que influenciam a produção, distribuição e consumo dos textos nas mídias social, bem como de escolhas léxico-gramaticais da linguagem Afetiva, que revelam os sentimentos positivos e negativos presentes nas histórias. Os resultados demonstram que questões relativas à 'lacuna de ambição de liderança entre mulheres' estão relacionadas principalmente a barreiras institucionais e aos esforços necessários para minimizar noções socialmente construídas que ainda colocam mulheres em posições desiguais devido a ordens sociais que ainda regem os locais e as relações de trabalho

Palavras-chave: Mulheres. Liderança. Mídia Social. Histórias

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1   INTRODUCTION

Women and leadership have been the focus of several studies in language (Anderson, Vinnicombe & Singh, 2010; Baxter, 2010; Mainero & Sullivan, 2005; Baxter & Al-A'ali, 2014; Sinclair, 2012, 2014). The discursive features that surround the notion of leadership "as the lionization for the achievent of individual in powerful, priviledged positions" (Sinclair, 2014, p. 16) represent the oposite of critical views women have long been constructing (Cameron, 2006; Fraser, 2013a) to change norms and values established by the white male culture. Yet "women have strong interest in the broader phenomena of leadership" (Sinclair, 2014, p. 16) either when occupying positions of power within the economic system or when recognizing the underrepresentation of women in these postons, in both cases discussing how we "have influenced and changed the public agenda and improved the life experiences of people around and following after them" (Sinclair, 2014, p. 18). In the era of information technology, these issues related to women, leadership and work have been taking part of the broad use of social media, providing the audience with spaces to share views and experiences on the matter, as in the case of the stories which comprise the data of this study.

The present study is about a selection of stories published in the social network site (henceforth SNS) *Lean In,* which concentrates on "offering women the ongoing inspiration and support to help them achieve their goals"[1] or "empowering women to achieve their ambitions".[2] Social media is a form of communication that "provides context where people communicate with each other by posting messages, sharing information" (Page, Barton, Unger & Zappavigna, 2014, p. 5) and they allow data to be interactively produced by participants (Unger, Wodak & KhosraviNik, 2016). The goals of *Lean In* are based on the organization's concern with women's "leadership ambition gap", an expression used by the idealizer and chief representative of *Lean In,* Sheryl Sandberg, to refer to the idea that women might be held back in terms of career development, lowering expectations of what is there to be achieved, not aspiring to senior positions. Sandberg (2013) is a renowned executive of the technology corporate arena, formerly Google's Chief Operator Officer (COO) and presently Facebook's COO and she

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[1] *Lean In*. About us. July 2013.

[2] *Lean In*. About us. March 2018.

discusses the 'ambition gap' supported by the fact that the number of women in the workforce and in leadership positions has been decreasing since the first decade of the 21th century. She adresses this topic of the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions in the website and in her book, named *Lean in: women, work and the will to lead*, supported by statistics such as the ones from the Americam Bureau of Labor Statistics[3] which indicates that: "From the 1960s to the 1990s, there was a dramatic increase in women's labor force participation, which peaked in 1999 when 60 percent of women were working. Since 1999, there has been a slow decline in women's employment rates." (Sandberg, 2013, Kindle Edition)

An aspect that is likewise revealed in Brazil, since a recent survey conducted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE [Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística]) indicates that although Brazilian women have already reached a higher level of academic education than men, they are still a minority in corporate leadership (Silveira, 2018). These statistics point out that in 2016, 37,8% of leadership positions were occupied by women while in 2011 they occupied 39,5% of these positions, pointing to a decrease of 1,7 % in five years. In additon to statitistics, Sandberg (2013) aproaches the issue also counting on her own observations in the corporate arena. She explains that since her graduation in business school in 1995, she perceived a balanced mix of male and female in entry-level job, while senior positions were almost entirely ocupied by males. She then believed that this was just a matter of time until her generation would occupy leadership roles, but what she saw was that more than often she was the only woman in the room (Sandberg, 2013). Considering this, she created this online plataform to promote social and cultural changes by providing resources on the matter and by inviting the audience to participate by sharing experiences. The *Lean In Stories* aim at inspiring others, women and men,

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[3] Note that the study does not refer to women in Leadership positions only but to overall participation of women in labor force. The same publication also refers to a decline in men labor force since the 1950's, as a result of a social security amendment, for example. Nonetheless, in order to address the participation of women in leadership position, Sandberg reconciles this data with employment declines among other groups, which in turn also indicate less work security. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, The Economics Daily, Changes in men's and women's labor force participation rates. https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2007/jan/wk2/art03.htm (visited August 10th, 2018).

in this process of change. Since the "leadership ambition gap" is the main topic approached by Sandberg in her book and in promoting *leanin.org*, women's representation in leadership position became a central topic among the textual resources offered by the site as well, which consequently influenced the stories produced by the audience. Sandberg (2013) argues that in the professional world women tend to hold back, lacking self-confidence, pulling back when we should be *leaning in*, adding that we should then work these internal barriers to conquer our spaces in work places. Nevertheless, as she notes, other views "have argued that women can get to the top only when the institutional barriers are gone" (Sandberg, 2013, p. 8).

Hence, I became interested in exploring the aspects described above from a Language and Gender perspective, observing if the barriers women face in career development or professional achievement are in fact related to internal barriers or if they have more to do with institutionalized sociocultural views. To achieve this purpose, I selected 124 stories from the area *Lean In Stories* in the website, having the phrase '*lean in*' in it and analyzed the 15 most liked stories among these within the perspective of Language and Gender, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and APPRAISAL Theory. Although *Lean In* is an initiative and foundation[4], with other branches and partnerships, for the purpose of this work I will refer to *Lean In* as the social network site *leanin.org*, which hosts the subpage *Lean In Stories*. The Merriam Webster dictionary explains that "while lean in is certainly gaining currency, it doesn't yet have the widespread and sustained use necessary to be entered into the dictionary." Still, according to the dictionary, "the words lean in became lexical shorthand for the act or process of a woman's asserting herself in the workplace".[5]

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[4] "Lean In.Org is an initiative of the Sheryl Sandberg & Dave Goldberg Family Foundation, which also runs OptionB.Org, and is recognized by the IRS as tax-exempt private operating foundation under section 501(c)(3). LeanIn.Org receives all of the profits of Lean In: Women, Work & the Will to Lead by Sheryl Sandberg. She has also made additional donations to LeanIn.Org to cover its operating budget." (Lean In 2018)

[5] Merriam Webster. (n.d.). *Words We're Watching: 'Lean in'*. Retrieved from https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-were-watching-lean-in

1.1 CONTEXT OF INVESTIGATION

In 2013, when launched, *Lean In* had several forms of interaction. Like any other social media, the menu offered embedded links to connect and share content with external networks such as Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn. Several types of textual resources and genres were available in the setting in the attempt to discuss, inform and educate people about the current situation of women in the work force. The audience participation in the *Lean In Stories* was by means of the online SNS form: the audience was invited to participate by producing a story, sharing their personal experiences and inspiring others, thus collaborating with the organization's purpose by making it available in the SNS. Sandberg, as its chief representative, invited others to go on with the discussion she had started, suggesting that "if we talk openly about the challenges women face and work together, we can change the trajectory of women and create a better world for everyone".[6] Like any other social media context, *Lean In* is constantly under construction, several changes can be observed from time to time, from layout to discursive aspects. As Page et al. (2014) highlight, "one important aspect for someone doing research on social media is the lack of stability in these practices: in many ways there is constant change online," (p. 30), a very challenging aspect in social media research, since changes are not registered and online space may undergo complete modification while analysis of a collected data is in process.

Lean In is thus a foundation that has as its main topics women, work and leadership and the *Lean In Stories* as the particular form of online participation offered by the SNS. The endeavor is supported through the participation of several successful women from distinct work areas, such as the corporate arena, politics, activism, sports, and culture, but it is also criticized by some feminist views for its alignment with the neoliberal project (Bruenig, 2015; Fraser, 2013b), aspects that I shall discuss along this work.

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This research addresses issues of women and leadership in contemporary time together with social media textual production, which is a growing area of interest in research at present, considering that it is a form of online communication which allows the audience to participate

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[6] *Lean In*. Lean In Stories. July 2013.

in the production of texts (Page et al., 2014; Unger et al., 2016). In addition, investigating stories published in social media aiming to discuss women's situation in leadership position is relevant because stories tend to relate to more emotional and personal views thus bringing a distinct perception to address the issue of leadership. Moreover, this kind of textual production provides a means to identify if what interferes in women's career decisions is related to personal and/or institutional views, which may provide clearer views on the issues we deal with in terms of career choices.

1.3   OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The objective of this research is to investigate language in use in a group of stories published in SNS *Lean In,* from March 2013 to May 2013[7], as a form of online participation, which addresses topics related to women and career, investigating how they are associated to the issue of 'women's leadership ambition gaps'. The work concentrates on identifying the main topics addressed in the stories, their relations with the notion of leadership, and how these aspects influence women's decisions on career and professional development. The specific objective of this research is to examine the stories as discursive events in social media, considering the sociocultural aspects that influence the production, distribution and consumption of these texts as well as investigating the language of AFFECT, unveiling positive and negatives feelings as realized through language. The research questions raised aiming to answer these aspects are:

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[7] This data was first collected for my Bachelor's degree final paper. As I explain later, in the method, the stories were randomly published and data collection was only possible because it was during the first three months of the platform, so that I was still able to go through a great amount of data (all the 325 that had been already published at the time) one by one. It is important to note on this aspect that the stories were published, and still are, with no date indication and for this reason they have temporally the same status as other stories posted at later date.

I. **What are the main topics in the most liked *Lean In Stories*? What do these topics say about gendered discourses and 'women's leadership ambition gap'?**

II. **From a CDA perspective, how does participation in social media with a *Lean In* story contribute to the discussion on 'women's leadership ambition gap'?**

III. **Based on APPRAISAL theory, how are the negative and positive feelings in the most liked *Lean In Stories* related to 'women's leadership ambition gap'?**

1.4   ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The study is divided in five main sections, starting with this introduction, followed by the review of literature, the method, the analysis and discussion, and the conclusion. References and the appendixes with the stories and the analysis are provided subsequently.

In the second section, I present the review of literature, first addressing the perspective of Language and Gender studies, focusing on gender and women's language; gender, language and leadership; social media and gender; and stories and social media. Next, I present the perspective of CDA to analyze gender discourses, considering Fairclough's (2010) three-dimension framework. Finally, I draw on the APPRAISAL theory, as proposed by Martin & White (2005), which guides the analysis of the textual dimension, one of the dimensions in Fairclough's (2010) framework, focusing on the language of AFFECT to explore positive and negative feelings unveiled through linguistic realizations in the texts that compose the data.

In the third section, I present the method with the data selection and criteria as well as the procedures to the analysis, providing a table to explain how the analysis and discussion are organized according to Fairclough's framework together with the multilayered contexts to explore language in social media, as suggested by Page et al. (2014) – see Figure 2 in page 51. In the fourth chapter, I proceed with the analysis and discussion, starting with the *sociocultural dimension*, followed by the *discursive practice dimension* and the *textual dimension*, according to Fairclough's (2010) framework. Finally, in the conclusion, I remark on the main findings of the analysis and discussion by answering the research questions and drawing on the final considerations related to this study.

2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The review of literature, as said, is divided in three subsections covering the three perspectives that support the present study: Language and Gender Studies, CDA and APPRAISAL Theory. I start by drawing on language and gender studies[8] connecting it to the notion of leadership and discussing other aspects affecting women's choices on professional achievement. I also address gender, language and media studies and focus on the stories as textual resources for social media interaction.

The second section presents a CDA perspective, since the investigation of discursive levels is central in language and gender studies (Bucholtz, 2003), providing an overview of the three-dimension framework developed by Norman Fairclough (2010), namely, *sociocultural dimension*, *discursive practice dimension* and *textual dimension* to apply in the analysis of the data. The *sociocultural* and the *discursive practice dimensions* will concentrate on the analysis of the sociocultural background of the stories producers and on the production, distribution and consumption of these stories as a form of participation in social media. The *textual dimension* will be further investigated based on Martin and White (2005) APPRAISAL system, focusing on the language of AFFECT, addressed in the third subsection (see Figure 1).

The third section refers to APPRAISAL, an approach developed by researchers working within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and used as a tool to explore the linguistic realizations of discourse (Fairclough, 2003; 2006; 2010; Martin & Rose, 2003; 2008). This framework is applied here to the analysis of "linguistic mechanisms for sharing emotions" (Martin & White, 2005), covering the *textual dimension* in Fairclough's framework. I will focus on the language of AFFECT in the APPRAISAL system because stories[9] (Martin & Rose,

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[8] Together with Language and Gender Studies, I provide some concepts of feminism since the literature on gender extensively refers to it (Bucholtz, 2003; Baxter, 2010; Mills, 1997; Wodak, 1997). Yet, it is not the purpose of this study to include a feminist perspective in the analysis, but rather taking into account elements of the feminist perspective that play an important role on the study of women's language in the perspective of Language and Gender Studies.

[9] By mapping families of genres, Martin & Rose (2008) approach the discussion towards the definitions of "recounts, narratives and 'just so' stories" (p. 47). They identify variation in types of stories which "reconstruct real or imagined events" (p. 99), seeing them as story genres instead of history genres. According to them, biographical recounts, which would be part of the second, differ from the first

2008), trigger a process of self-reflexivity (Giddens, 1991) disclosing emotions related to the events that were part of them (Georgakopoulou, 2015) and because social media stories usually refer to emotive topics (Page, 2012). As Georgakopoulou and De Fina (2015) observe, the participatory culture in general "pushes participants in online communities to engage in self-disclosure and in emotional, intimate talk much more than in other more traditional communicative environments" (p. 364).

2.1   GENDER, WOMEN AND SOCIAL MEDIA

In the following subsections, I provide the concepts of gender and language studies that guide the present study and draw on previous studies on gender and leadership, social media and stories.

2.1.1   Gender and women's language

Language from a gender perspective focuses on social interactions and the way individuals "do" or "perform" their identity with others (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003). Although gender is nowadays a well-known area of study, the notion of gender started being constructed in the initial phase of the feminist movement and its critique on sexism, understood as the hierarchical relationship in the social system in which men are mainly represented as the norm, and women the abnormal (Wodak, 1997). At that moment, women's movements started a critique on sexism and by defining the concept of sexism, "defined themselves as a social group and as suppressed minority" (Wodak, 1997, p. 7). In the 1970's, 'sex' in gender studies became a social variable together with other "variables of the social stratum, such as age, nationality, ethnic affiliation, religion, class and region" (Wodak, 1997, p. 8). In the 1990's, studies on gender started to acknowledge differences, respecting the wider range of diversity in people's identities (Cameron & Kulick, 2003), mitigating discursive constructions of normative gender binarism (Butler 1990, 1993, 1997, 2004 as cited in Motschenbacher, 2010). Recent studies considering poststructuralist views see gender as a linguistic

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because they refer to a lifetime of experience, while stories genres refer to a few successive events. Therefore, I keep here the term stories, since the textual resources that make the body of this study refer to a certain moment, and the successive events that impact this moment, the lean in moment (see section 2.1.4)

construction in actual practices, beyond strictly binary thinking and providing critical analyses of normative gendered discourses (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Bing & Bergvall, 1996; Bucholtz, 2003 as cited in Motschenbacher, 2010).

As regarding women's language, gender studies evolved from two approaches from feminist studies of language: the *dominance approach* and the *difference approach* (Cameron, 1992; Coates, 1993, as cited in Heberle 1997; Motschenbacher, 2010). While the *dominance approach* refers to a view in which women have to negotiate their subordinate and unequal positions through language, the *difference approach* is related to the distinct cultural traditions that influence men and women choices when expressing their positions. Studies based on poststructuralist views, on the other hand, consider that "gender identities are fluid, unstable, always discursively enacted and continuously performed" (Butler 1990; Holmes 2006; Schnurr 2009 as cited in Baxter & Al-A'ali, 2014). Baxter (2010), following poststructuralist views, says that "gender usually refers to cultural constructions of what it means to be a sexed individual in the 21st century Western world" and that "both the categories of sex and gender might be reconceptualised as a continuum or as scales rather than absolute categories" (p. 14). Aligned with this view, Heberle, Figueiredo and Ostermann (2006) define gender as a socially constructed category, distinct from the biological opposition male/female but rather put in a continuum that interacts with other social variables, such as education level, ethnicity, socioeconomic condition, occupation, social class, sexual orientation, political and religious affiliation. (my translation, p. 9)[10].

Considering this, it can be said that focusing strictly on the category of 'woman' in gender and feminist studies nowadays may reinforce essentialist ideas of sex-gender categories (Baxter, 2010; Baxter & Al-A'Ali, 2014; McElhinny, 2003). As Holmes (as cited in Baxter & Al-A'Ali, 2014) argues "any study of the linguistic reasons why women are underrepresented at leadership level may well require the selection of a 'strategic essentialist approach' that puts women back at the centre of language and gender research" (p. 93). However, as Baxter (2010) also points out, the investigation of language when the subject is women's under-representation in leadership means not to exclude more wide-range

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[10] "… uma categoria socialmente construída, diferenciada da oposição biológica macho/fêmea. Antes sim, é colocado num continuum que interage com outras variáveis sociais, tais como grau de instrução, etnia, posição socioeconômica, ocupação, classe social, orientação sexual, filiação política, religiosa, etc." (p. 9).

gendered features but rather to discuss cultural association with being a woman, not excluding that sex is a cultural construct (Bergvall, Bing & Fred, 1996; Buttler, 1990; Cameron, 2003 as cited in Baxter 2010). Cameron (2006) also highlights that:

> … we do have to face the paradox implicit in our contributing to the discourse, which is that every word we say on the subject of difference just underlines the salience and the importance of a division we are ultimately striving to end. (p. 124)

Thus, the present study focuses on the category of women in gender studies, not considering it via an essentialist view, but rather observing the construction of identities when the subject is women's under-representation in leadership. To this end, it is necessary to address the issues of gender, language and leadership providing an overview of what may influence the language of the writers when referring to their experiences associated to their *lean in* moment, which I shall present in the following sections.

2.1.2   Gender, language and leadership

Leadership is a term related to the notion of efficiency (Kotter, 1999). The roots of the concept lay on the theory of 'the great man' in Greek philosophy, based on the idea of the individual property, charisma and heroic qualities (Baxter, 2010). Historically speaking, leadership central themes work on the idea of combat with concepts that evolved in most cultures from attitudes and behaviors attributed to man, thus associating leadership performances with notions of masculinity (Sinclair, 2012). The author notes that these notions, such as the hero advancing in business, derived from all male hierarchal environments in society, as monastic communities and the military, and were later embraced by American capitalism. In this aspect, Kellerman (as cited in Sinclair 2012) points out that "the contemporary leadership field is an American product, planted in American soil and harvested by American scholars, educators and consultants" (p. 19). For this reason, Kellerman adds, leadership has developed with American features such as "individualism, self-reliance, competitivism and assertiveness, and these assumptions find their way into leadership theory, development and training" (p. 19).

Within discursive perspectives, leadership is considered "a set of strategies or resources which provide a sense of distinct individual

identity within a group" (Baxter & Al-A'Ali, 2014, p. 94). The term is also associated to gendered discourses, influencing job choices, career development, earnings and work conditions (Baxter, 2010). In this line, Sinclair (2012) explains that "most theorists recognize leadership is not a position or a person but a process of influence" (p. 16). According to Uhl-Bien (as cited in Sinclair, 2012, p. 16), for example, leadership is "a social influence process through which emergent coordination (i.e. evolving social order) and change (i.e. new values, attitudes, approaches, behaviors, ideologies, etc.) are constructed and produced". Sinclair (2012) continues explaining that:

> Leadership therefore can be exercised by individuals located in the middle or at the bottom of organizations, by people without formal authority, as much as by CEOs or prime ministers. In contrast to understandings of management, which focuses on the ongoing controlling of resources and tasks, leadership is generally thought to include an interest in change: on challenging the status quo or envisioning a new way forward. (p. 16)

She also mentions Eva Cox's (as cited in Sinclair, 2012) and conclude that: "the essence of leadership is making up your own mind and then being able to take other people with you" (p. 16).

This definition situates leadership in a perspective in which the process of leading occurs in several levels of a group organization, including situations in which individuals influence others not only because they hold a leadership position, but also due to the process of building change and influencing ideas. Baxter and Al-A'Ali (2014) also define leadership in terms of linguistic realizations "as types of verbal and nonverbal actions that leaders accomplish in their daily professional interactions, often in interactive forums such as business meetings" (p. 94). In the past, the study of these interactions concentrated more on the 'difference' perspective, identifying gendered differences involving traits, aptitudes, behavior and variation in interactive styles (Baxter, 2010). More recent research focus on social constructionist perspectives of 'doing' gender (Cameron, 2003; Baxter, 2010; Baxter & Al-A'Ali, 2014), considering identities dependent on the effects of the particular way we do things and not on normative gender binaries (Baxter & Al-A'ali, 2014; Motschenbacher, 2010), as explained above.

Gender, language and leadership research associated with the so-called difference model addressed themes such as: management theories encouraging women to be promoted and take positions of responsibility

in companies (Rojo & Estebam, 2003), gender attitudes, communication styles and women and men's influence on gender roles and self-perception (Thimm, Kock, & Schey, 2003), stereotype and reality in workplaces believed to be masculine or feminine (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). Rojo and Estebam (2003) investigated how competing interests are shaped in organizations, identifying a 'double discourse' regarding gender attributes, which promotes democratic values on one side and maintains traditional models on the other. On the other hand, Thimm, Kock and Schey (2003) investigated "how women and men judge the function of verbal interaction in terms of career and professional life in general and how they perceive themselves in situations of conflict, competence, and cooperation" (p. 546). Finally, by exploring the notion of workplaces as feminine and masculine, Holmes and Stubbe (2003) question these stereotypes and point that in reality what goes on at work does not always fit these gender stereotypes. These environments and organizational cultures, as Rojo and Esteban (2003) explain, are seen in critical studies "not only as a social collective where shared meanings and practices are produced, but also a 'battlefield' where different groups compete to try to shape the organization in ways that serve their own interests" (p. 246). These are competitive cultures, which tend to reinforce traditional concepts of the effective leader, aligned with the notion of leadership performance being masculine, and therefore accentuating the notion of difference (Baxter, 2010; Sinclair, 2012). As Baxter notes, language believed to be masculine has qualities such as aggressiveness, assertiveness, abrasiveness and competitiveness – attitudes supposedly to be adopted by both female and male leaders. However, Cameron (2003) observes that such environments also developed the idea of the 'good communicator', emphasizing "feminine" qualities of emotional expressiveness in which the man who combined qualities considered to be masculine with those considered to be feminine were seen as the individuals who represent the new ideal, while women were less admired when adopting characteristics such as "competitiveness, decisiveness and strength of will" (p. 463).

Still, according to Baxter (2010), in more recent times, the traditional command and control style of management tends to be less significant and leaders tend to apply more diverse and flexible strategies when dealing with complex and competing business goals. Both men and women tend to give preference to styles more associated to these qualities believed to be "feminine". Thus, many studies nowadays follow poststructuralist perspectives (Baxter & Al-A'ali, 2014; Motschenbacher, 2010), focusing on the notion of gender as discursively constructed and

therefore flexible and variable (Butler, 1990; Holmes, 2006; Schnurr, 2009, as cited in Baxter & Al-Aáli, 2014). On a study on women's narrative on performing success, for example, Wagner and Wodak (2006) consider that "women and men alike have a choice of how to express themselves in discourses and how to perform the gender roles in which they would like to be perceived" (p. 389). Yet, the authors signal Van Leeuwen's (1996) observations that agency can be backgrounded, neglected or absent from the text, and they note that in positions of power there is less regulation and more space for enactment, reflecting the conditions of the privileged elites in these notions of performance and of 'doing gender' (see also Kotthoff and Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1997 as cited in Wagner & Wodak, 2006, p. 389).

In terms of positions of power, Sinclair (2012) points out that the "discourse of leadership is a powerful and privileged one" not only because of agency but because people "want to know more about leadership and many want to know more about how to be a better leader" (p. 18). She suggests then a feminist perspective to transform the notion of what good leadership is, focusing on systematic analysis of power, since the structures of leadership discourses reproduce institutionalized hegemonic patriarchal views of the white male elite. On this perspective, Fletcher (2004) observes:

> While the rhetoric about leadership has changed at the macro level, the everyday narrative about leadership and leadership practices – the stories people tell about leadership, the mythical legends that get passed on as exemplars of leadership behavior remains stuck in old images of heroic individualism. (p. 652)

In Baxter and Al-A'ali's (2014) case study on the discursive enactment of leadership by business women in Middle Eastern and Western European contexts, for example, they concluded that both groups of women "have to work hard to negotiate complex leadership practices", even though they "show extraordinary linguistic competence in managing their teams within a turbulent business world that continues to remain inhospitable to female leaders" (p. 111).

Besides organizational environments, other aspects of the social stratum influence women's choices in career, work and leadership. Anderson et al. (2010), by discussing women's partners leaving the firm, examine non-work domains, focusing on a study of language that considers the "women leaving organizations followed by an examination of the discourse of choice within the work life balance literature" (p. 5).

They point out key factors found in other researches for women to leave the firm: other opportunities and possibilities; blocks experienced in creating their own path; self-employment; experiences that make sense of changing careers; dissatisfaction with organizational life; aspects that contradict personal values and principles; imbalance of personal and professional life. They conclude that the reasons why successful women leave the firm is part of many interacting factors. The main trigger for finally taking this decision is related to the financial security they were able to achieve, the financial package available at the time they left and the feeling of being unable to attend the extreme demands that the role of partners required, of the 'ideal worker" which resulted in a "work life imbalance" (p. 20). Mainiero and Sullivan (2005) had already identified in their study that career decisions for women were "normally part of a larger and intricate web of interconnected issues, people, and aspects that had to come together in a delicately balanced package" (p. 111). They pointed out that choices related to professional achievement had become more related to the notion of balancing work and non-work dimensions than in earlier times, when they were more focused on stability and security, comprehending other social variables for the quality of this balancing. These choices were related to cultural constrains imposed by the firm, such as the search for the ideal worker, which as Anderson et al. (2010) explain "has historically been seen as someone who can give their time unstintingly and willingly to their employing organization, and have no conflicting demands on their time" (p. 9). (Rodgers & Rodgers, 1989; Pitt-Catsouphes, Kossek & Sweet, 2006 in Anderson et al., 2010).

Moreover, unequal treatment of men and women in our society was and continues to be an additional burden that women deal with to achieve professional goals (Wodak, 2003); women still have to "justify their existence in the public domain, and often have to compete with conservative stereotypes" (p. 672). A survey conducted by the Pew Research Center[11] in 2017, for instance, demonstrates that being treated as incompetent, earning less than men and receiving less support for senior leaders are issues experienced by women in both kinds of workplaces, those with more men than women, and those with more women than men (Parker, 2018). The survey also found out that women

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[11] "Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan fact tank that informs the public about the issues, attitudes and trends shaping the world. [They] conduct public opinion polling, demographic research, content analysis and other data-driven social science research". Available on http://www.pewresearch.org/about/

report experiencing gender discrimination at significantly higher rates in their workplaces in both cases (Parker, 2018).

Taking into account these aspects involving gender, career choices and leadership, I will now draw on social media as the channel used to discuss women's underrepresentation in leadership.

2.1.3 Social media and gender

As Baxter (2010) puts it, "social scientists tend to regard discourse as 'language in use' as language with specific social function such as institutional discourse, media discourse and educational discourse" (p. 10). For this reason, media contexts are one of the fields that gender and language studies have long investigated, and there are several works exploring women's language and women's identities (for example, Figueiredo, 1995; 2009; Heberle, 1997; 2004; Ostermann, 1995; Souza, 2016). With the expansion of on-line communication, studies on language started taking into account the interactive and collaborative dimension of social media texts (Herring, 2003; Page, 2012; Page et al., 2014) "since discursive constructions of spaces and social identities interact and define each other" (Tetreault, 2008, p. 163). Social media is an umbrella term that puts together the varied range of communicative channels – with specific tools and technologies – enabling interaction between participants in a diversity of forms, which are produced and consumed in distinct locations, at any time, via computerized devices (Page el al., 2014). From a gender perspective, this range of possibilities was first expected to "create opportunities for less powerful individuals and groups to participate on a par with members of more powerful groups" (Herring, 2003, p. 202). Considering all the discussion so far, this section provides an overview on social media, the particularities of its organization (Manovich, 2001) and its implication in language and gender studies.

According to Page et al. (2014), social media refers to "internet-based sites and services that promote social interaction between participants" (p. 5). Unger et al. (2016) say that the "participatory web" refers to technologies that allow social media data to be interactively produced and shared with the possibility of users changing roles, from text consumers to text producers. Examples of social media genres are discussion forums, blogs, wikis, podcasting, content sharing sites and social network sites (Page, 2012; Page et al., 2014). Kaplan and Haenlein (as cited in Page et al 2014) identify social media types by comparing "different ways in which participants might engage in interactions that are

more or less direct (in time and space) and which allow a greater or lesser amount of information to be conveyed between participants" (p. 9).

In comparison to mass media, which gender and discourse studies have extensively investigated, Page et al. (2014) explain:

> Social media is often distinguished from forms of mass media, where mass media is presented as a one-to-many broadcasting mechanism (such as television, radio or print newspapers). In contrast, social media delivers content via a network of participants where the content can be published by anyone, but still distributed across potentially large-scale audiences. (p. 5)

According to the authors, the modifier "social", related to the dialogic and collaborative aspects of interaction in social media, is more oriented towards the exchange of information. They also make use of Halliday's (1994) distinction in forms of interaction, either of exchanging physical actions or objects ("good and services") or exchanging intangible phenomena ("information") and point out that social media emphasize the personal interactive aspect of "exchanging information" where members share topics they choose, instead of single financial transactions. Regarding this, Kaplan and Haenlein (2009) point out that "media-related characteristics intersect with the choices that participants can make within particular social network sites to disclose more or less information about themselves" (in Page et al. 2014, p. 10). These forms of participation thus vary according to the social media norms and options – influencing the way interaction occurs, identities are negotiated, and connections are created – and the choices of the participants within it to engage in a process of self-disclosing their offline identities.

The term media is differentiated according to the technological characteristics of each platform, depending on the architecture, such as layouts, templates, archiving principles and semiotic modes[12] (written, spoken, visual or other meaningful forms and practices), determining the message format, time and immediacy, audience and privacy settings and therefore the way people make use of them (see Herring, 2007 in Page et al., 2014; and Unger et al., 2016). Social media thus involves several aspects that are determined by the limitations and possibilities of information technology. As Manovich (2001) has already pointed out:

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[12] Semiotic "refers to systems of signs, such as words and images that are used in meaningful ways by motivated individuals and groups in society." (Unger et al., 2016, Kindle Edition)

Because new media is created on computers, distributed via computers, and stored and archived on computers, the logic of a computer can be expected to significantly influence the traditional cultural logic of media, that is, we may expect that the computer layer will affect the cultural layer. The ways in which the computer models the world, represents data, and allows us to operate on it; the operations behind all programs (such as search, match, sort, and filter); the conventions of HCI [Human-computing Interaction] – in short, what can be called the computers ontology, epistemology, and pragmatics – influence the cultural layer of new media, its organization, its emerging genres, its contents. (Manovich, 2001, p. 46)

These new communication technologies should thus have a major influence in transforming practices due to the pervasiveness of social media applications "promoting social interaction between participants" (Page, 2012, p. 5). From a gender perspective, Gauntlet (2008) had already observed that these environments would influence the formation and negotiation of gender and sexual identities, with the audience becoming a contributor. Herring (2003) also saw the internet as a channel leading to "greater gender equality, with women, as the socially, politically, and economically less powerful gender, especially likely to reap its benefits" (p. 202), thus "transforming social behavior as more and more people go on-line" (p. 217). More recent social approaches, however, see new media interactions from a less optimistic perspective. Han (as cited in Araujo 2014), for example, states that communication in new media tend to be lightened to avoid obstacles in spreading the content, thus creating a society more prone to spectacle than to respect. For the author, these forms of participation, in which we build and nurture profiles, easily take us to navigate in fluxes of 'shitstorms' and we become part of a process that is observed, calculated and watched out by algorithms that generate confidential data and are sold to a few (in forms that are unclear to us). Jamie Bartlett (2018) also states:

We're building mega-monopolies with our clicks and shares, and the more we feed them, the smarter they become. The free-services-for-data deal we all sign up to is making us distracted, addicted, and increasingly polarised. Algorithms – built on data we've shared – make more and more decisions about our lives, and hardly anyone understands them or can figure out whether they are sexist, racist, radicalising, or whatever else (para. 4).

This discussion, which is increasing with the constant expansion of information technology and social media pervasiveness, is important in order to understand that by participating in social media we are constructing values that are influenced by computer layers which decide what we see and consume in virtual spaces, most likely also operated by cultural and economic aspects that rule these endeavours. As Jenkins (2006) has already anticipated "new platforms create openings for social, cultural, economic, legal, and political change and opportunities" but "the terms of participation … will be shaped by a range of legal and economic struggles unfolding over the next few decades" (p. xiv). Heberle (2005), however, notes that instead of merely judging the good or bad sides of these social interactions, it is important to work on means to understand and question the sociocultural interaction that occur in virtual spaces, aiming to contribute to make individuals aware of the intricacies of these practices. Unger et al (2016), similarly, consider social media as just another set of sites/contexts. They suggest that critical discourse studies should thus focus on "how discourse is organised, shaped and disseminated e.g. through automated algorithms, manipulation of 'news feeds' and the interconnectedness of various platforms" and also "in accounting for new forms of communication such as in-text annotation, tagging and 'likes'." (Kindle Edition). Accordingly, Page et al. (2014) consider that social media genres have traces from offline communicative forms, evolving to hybrid communicative environments that are collaborative and emphasize participation and connection. For them, "the multiple contributions from many participants can be redistributed so that the process of consuming and producing social media can be personalized rather than homogenized" (Page et al., 2014, p. 8).

These new media contexts, Georgakopoulou and De Fina (2015) sign, "illustrate not only the emergence of new genres, but also the blending of old and new, the potential for more complex forms of participation and more diverse audience roles than we are accustomed to in face-to-face interaction, and the wide distribution and embedding of storytelling within different media and platforms" (p. 5). Considering this, I now concentrate on aspects of "the ever-evolving storytelling practices", as referred by the authors, in new media and the means to approach it from a discursive perspective, since storytelling constitutes the data of the present study as a form of participation in discussing women underrepresentation in leadership.

2.1.4　Stories and social media

Stories told in social media contexts such as blogs, social network sites and wikis are considered of growing importance in narrative studies due to their pervasiveness in these environments (Georgakopoulou, 2015; Georgakopoulou & De Fina, 2015; Page 2012; Page et al., 2014). Georgakopoulou (2015) notes that the tendency of telling small-stories, conferring meaning to experiences that are mundane, ordinary, everyday events, has reached a peak in social media platforms and it is necessary to consider new approaches to study them. Narrative analysis scholars working with the subject agree that analysis based on traditional models, centered on canonical stories and on chronological/causal ordering are ill-equipped to account for the increasing range and diversity of storytelling practices in media contexts (Georgakopoulou, 2015). The central idea of a narrative having a complication – resolution structure (Labov & Waletsky, 1966; Martin & Rose, 2008) and the longstanding tradition of studying stories of (remote) past events does not account for numerous small-story environments and genres – e.g., on social media (Georgakopoulou, 2015) as well as for other variations of stories (Martin & Rose, 2008). The debate on defining the elements that qualify a story as narrative is extensive, as are the qualities of what shall be taken into account in such analysis (Martin & Rose, 2008; Page, 2012; Toolan, 1988). It is not the purpose of this work to go into the discussion on methodological approaches in narrative analysis since other perspectives are considered here for the examination of the *Lean In Stories* as social media texts. For this reason, I consider the stories as discursive types (Fairclough, 2006) and focus on the analysis on the interpersonal dimension of language in use – further explored with the framework of APPRAISAL (see section 2.3) – since the interpersonal dimension is central to narrative genres as a form of negotiating social relations and identities (Fairclough 2006; Meurer, 1998; Martin & Rose, 2008; Martin & White, 2005). I follow Martin & Rose's (2008) views on story genres[13] (see also Georgakopoulou & De Fina, 2015; Georgakopoulou, 2015; Meurer, 1998; Page, 2012; 2015) and consider the stories at stake as records of personal experiences (Martin & Rose, 2008) – rather than framing them as narratives and consequently just as a rhetorical mode, as Fairclough (2003) sees it, for example. As Page (2012) points out, "social

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[13] Martin & Rose (2008) by mapping families of genres and identify variation in types of stories seeing it as story genres.

media stories contrast with more structural facets of a prototypical narrativity" (p. 11). However, she adds, story and narrative are familiar synonyms and concepts of narrative are necessary for the definition of the first, as I shall thus present.

In Ochs and Capps's (1996) view, narratives "interface self and society, constituting a crucial resource for socializing emotions, attitudes, and identities, developing interpersonal relationships, and constituting membership in a community" (p. 1). Similarly, Meurer (1998) sees narratives as "a unifying community-building device" (p. 40), used in some contexts to help readers change realities around themselves since "discourse processes including the use of narrative help shape our view of "reality" and influence the constitution of our own identity" (p. 24). Historically speaking, autobiographical narratives have been considered forms of situating the self (Bruner, 1991; Foucault, 1997; Ochs & Capps, 1996). Journals, letters, autobiographical notes, individual notebooks and similar kinds of self-writing have worked as personal exercises to reflect on and reason about the mind both on personal and professional levels (Foucault, 1997). Giddens (1991) argues that these processes of self-identity on institutional levels are interlaced with individual levels due to the dynamism of modern institutions and their globalizing influences on personal realms. In this sense, sequencing events in social media allow individuals in engaging, shaping and reshaping perspectives on experiences, constituting their values, desires and beliefs (Ochs & Capps, 1996; Bruner, 1991). Besides that, Biber and Finegan (as cited in Page, 2012) point out that expressing feelings is a characteristic of interactive genres and online interactions indeed address emotive topics, which go from trivial reports to major life events on either professional activities or semi-private domains (Page, 2012). These characteristics can also be associated with communicative styles believed to be feminine, in a sense of being confessional, expressive of feelings, mirroring of experiences and self-disclosure (Maltz & Boker 1982 as cited in Baxter, 2010). Page's (2012) analysis of storytelling styles in Facebook updates, for example, concludes that female updaters tended to use affective displays of emotion more frequently than male updaters did, although these results might be due to the comparative frame of the research, she suggests.

The importance of a speaker's emotional reaction was an aspect incorporated in narrative analysis by Labov (as cited in Page, 2012), who influenced most of the work on narrative in language studies. Page (2012) explains that the scholar explored this aspect through evaluation, the "part of the narrative which reveals the attitude of the narrators toward the narrative" (p. 37).

In terms of evaluations in narratives, Martin and White (2005) explain:

> Evaluations are of interest not only because they reveal the speaker's/writer's feelings and values but also because their expression can be related to the speaker's/writer's status or authority as construed by the text, and because they operate rhetorically to construct relations of alignment and rapport between the writer/speaker and actual or potential respondents. (p. 2)

Martin and Rose's (2008) work on story genres and Martin and White's (2005) APPRAISAL System concentrates on evaluation, the attitude of the narrators toward the narrative, which "can vary between affect, judgement of people, or appreciation of things and events" (p. 50) – see section 2.3. Page (2012) furtherly argues that there is no "universalized schema that is characterized on the basis of a central, climatic, turning point" but, on the contrary, evaluation is "part of an open set that might be extended and refined in the context of stories from different cultures, periods and modes" (p. 58). Therefore, I will later explore evaluation in the stories at stake examining the language of AFFECT in the APPRAISAL system.

Before presenting the APPRAISAL system, I will explain the framework of CDA, which is concerned with the dimensions of sociocultural, discursive and textual practices to analyze these aspects in the data and later explore the language of AFFECT in the third dimension: the dimension of the text.

2.2   CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

As Bucholtz (2003) notes, "the use of discourse-analytic tools has helped to clarify and expand our knowledge of how gender and language mutually shape and inform each other" (p. 45). Considering this, in this section I start by defining CDA and next I explain Fairclough's (2006) three-dimension framework as a resource to analyze social practices, which I will later employ in the analysis and discussion of this study. Besides, as a member of the research group NUPDiscurso at UFSC, I understand CDA as one of the key theoretical support for the studies within the group.

For Fairclough (2006), discourse refers to the form of action and form of representation people use to act upon the world and upon each other. Baxter (2010) states that "discourses are sets of assumptions,

beliefs, ways of thinking, speaking, talking and writing about others that come to be dominant and therefore to be 'common sense' within an organization" (p. 10). It represents both the material and mental world, its processes and structures, and the different and specific representations of the social world (Fairclough, 2003) as construed by both people and/or institutions. CDA is a theoretical framework to study language in use as a social practice (Fairclough, 2006). Fairclough (2010) explains that CDA aims to systematically observe opaque relationships between discursive practices, events and texts and wider cultural structures.

To this purpose, Fairclough (2006; 2010) developed a three-dimensional framework of analysis to provide a better understanding on relationships of power in the production and consumption of texts as well as in the relationship between participants as part of a sociocultural practice. These three dimensions are separated forms embedded in one another, comprehending three different levels of discourse, which are termed *social practices, discursive practices and text*.

Social practices (or sociocultural practices) refer to the wider sense of discourse. This level of analysis comprehends elements of social structures of domination, discrimination, power and control, discerning how social structures are reproduced in *discursive practices* and *texts*. It looks at economic, political, cultural and ideological orientations (Fairclough, 2006; 1995; 2010; Fairclough & Chouliaraky 1999), identifying particular positions and representations in discursive practices.

Discursive practices bring up the level of text production, distribution and consumption. Texts are produced in specific ways and are related to specific social contexts (Fairclough, 2006) and these processes comprehend elements of social structures. Norms and conventions and specific interpretative principles are associated in a naturalized way in particular discourse types (Fairclough, 2006) and distributed in specific networks that legitimate these discursive practices.

Text refers to the level of concrete realizations of linguistic structures, which are shaped by the social practice and mediated by the discursive practices (Fairclough, 2006; 2010; Fairclough & Chouliaraky, 1999). This level of analysis focuses on the spoken, written and/or visual forms of language (Fairclough, 1995; Souza, 2016) and explores how the organization of language and its realizations give form to social structures.

The three-dimensional framework is a resource to analyze social and cultural changes, investigating how discursive practices shape and are shaped by these changing processes (Fairclough, 1995; 2006; 2010;

Fairclough & Chouliaraky, 1999; Wodak, 1997). Fairclough (2003) notes that "all forms of fellowship, community and solidarity depend upon meanings which are shared and can be taken as given" (p. 55). In the level of the *text*, these changes constructed in a social media community can be further explored by patterns of choices in vocabulary such as 'word meaning' to investigate ways of 'signifying', as proposed by Kristeva (as cited 1996 in Fairclough, 2006) as what gives meaning to particular domains of experience.

Considering this, I will now present a theoretical background on APPRAISAL as a tool to explore these domains of experience as realized at the level of the *text*.

2.3   APPRAISAL: NEGOTIATING ATTITUDES

APPRAISAL is an approach developed by researchers working within SFL, a field of study focused on investigating the grammar of language as a system (Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Martin & White, 2005; Martin & Rose, 2008) and used as a tool to explore the linguistic realization of discourse (Fairclough, 2003; Martin & Rose, 2003; 2008). In SFL, linguistic realizations are not mere isolated words and phrases, but they are related to a context, which means "to explore grammar in functional terms: from the standpoint of how it creates and expresses meaning" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 19). Martin and Rose (2008) explain that "as language realizes its social context, so each dimension of a social context is realized by a particular function of language" (p. 11). Considering this, I will provide a general view on SFL, explaining its main functions, and I will present an overview of APPRAISAL resources, focussing on *affect* to the analysis of discourse at the level of the *text*.

From an SFL perspective, there are three social functions of language realized through the grammar of language – construing (field – ideational metafunction), enacting (tenor – interpersonal metafunction) and organizing (mode – textual metafunction) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Heberle, 1997; Martin & Rose, 2008; Martin & White, 2005). The ideational metafunction resources "are concerned with construing experience: what's going on including who's doing what to whom, where, when, why and how and the logical relation of one going-on to another"; the interpersonal metafunction resources "are concerned with negotiating social relations: how people are interacting, including the feelings they try and share"; and the textual metafunction resources are concerned with

the organization of the text, the ways in which ideational and interpersonal meanings are distributed.

APPRAISAL deals with the interpersonal dimension; "it is concerned with evaluation – the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned" (Martin & Rose, 2003, p. 22) throughout interaction.

The framework was developed[14] as a resource to extend the study of interpersonal meanings (Martin & Rose, 2008; Martin & White, 2005; Martin, 2014), which Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) explain as such:

> …whenever we use language there is always something else going on. While construing, language is always also enacting: enacting our personal and social relationships with the other people around us. The clause of the grammar is not only a figure, representing some process – some doing or happening, saying or sensing, being or having – with its various participants and circumstances; it is also a proposition, or a proposal, whereby we inform or question, give an order or make an offer, and express our APPRAISAL of an attitude towards whoever we are addressing and what we are talking about. This kind of meaning is more active: if the ideational function of the grammar is 'language as reflection', this is 'language as action'. We call it the interpersonal metafunction, to suggest that it is both interactive and personal. (p. 29)

It is important to notice that this system focuses not only on negotiating attitude throughout immediate speech acts with others, but it goes on 'personal' nodes of the exchange of information as well, as in declarative statements in monologic texts. In this sense, the system of APPRAISAL focuses on the subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts, the stances they apply to approve and disapprove, share values, and the linguistic mechanisms for sharing those (Martin & White, 2005). The framework, thus, provides "improved resources for analyzing the solidarity dimension of tenor, since empathy in relation to feeling is such

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[14] The idea towards the APPRAISAL system started in the 1990's within the so-called 'Sydney School'. It was part of the Disadvantaged Schools Program's Write it Right literacy project. Martin and White (2005) provide a complete view of the framework, considering the interpersonal meaning as a central aspect to narrative analysis. Martin and Rose (2008) further explore these notions on their work on families of genre and story genres – meaning to recognize the language of evaluation and consequently tendencies in their APPRAISAL.

an important resource for negotiating social affinity" (Martin, 2014, p. 19).

Negotiating *attitudes* has to do with evaluating things, the position of writers/readers and their emotional state, and *attitudes* can be attributed to distinct sources in a text and can be distinctly graduated (Martin & Rose, 2003; 2008; Martin & White, 2005). Therefore, Martin and White (2005) developed the framework "regionalized as three interacting domains – *attitude*, *engagement* and *graduation*" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 35). In terms of *engagement*, attitudes are either monogloss – a single voice – or heterogloss – having other voices (Martin & White, 2005). In terms of *graduation*, they can have distinct levels of intensity, either in force (raise to lower) or focus (sharpen to soften). *Attitude* thus refers to the map of feelings, as they are construed in English texts, involving "three semantic regions covering what is traditionally referred to as emotion, ethics and aesthetics" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 42): *affect, judgement and appreciation*. Martin and White's (2005) overview of APPRAISAL resources in the system can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1 – Overview of APPRAISAL resources
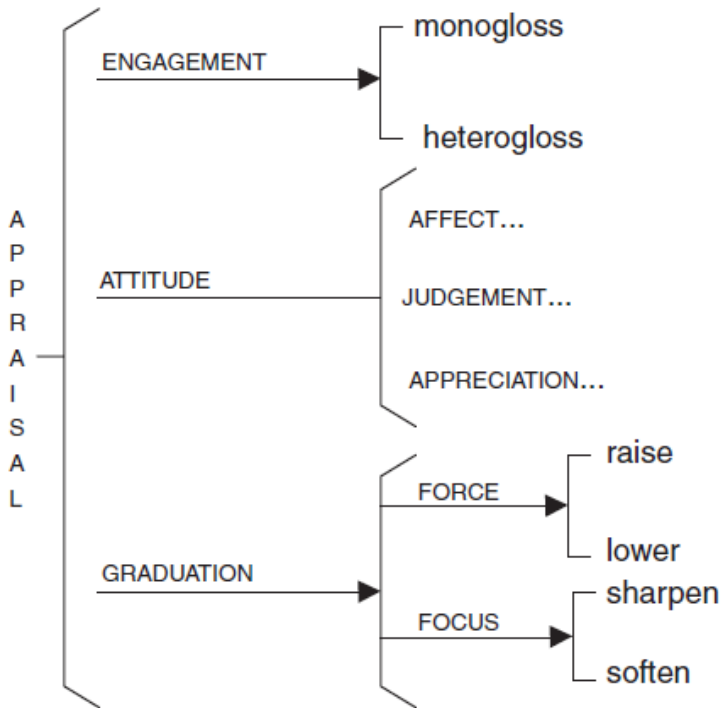
Source: Martin and White (2005, p. 38)

Affect is concerned with the emotive dimension of attitude "registering positive and negative feelings: do we feel happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored?"; *Judgement* "deals with attitudes towards behaviour, which we admire or criticise, praise or condemn"; *Appreciation* "reworks feelings as propositions about the value of things – what they are worth or not"; (Martin & White, 2005, p. 42-45).

Affect is nonetheless at the heart of these three dimensions, since, as pointed by Painter (as cited in Martin & White, 2005), emotion "is the expressive resource we are born with and embody physiologically from almost the moment of birth" (p. 42). Therefore, this study is concerned with this emotive dimension of meaning – *affect* – and I will now explain its realization across grammatical structures. Iorio (2002), for example,

observes that *affect* may be taken as the basic system to which *judgment* and *appreciation* are closely related, since it refers to positive and negative emotional responses and dispositions.

Following Halliday, Martin and White (2005) point out that the linguistic realizations of *affect* "comprise modification of participants and processes, affective mental and behavioural processes[15], and Modal Adjuncts[16]" (p. 45) and they occur through "a range of grammatical metaphors, including nominalised realisations of qualities (joy, sadness, sorrow) and processes (grief, sobs, constriction in his throat)" (p. 46). In order to identify meanings, Martin and White start by questioning if these feelings are construed as positive or negative by culture. And, most importantly, they offer a typology of *affect* grouped into three major sets of emotion having to do with un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction (Martin & White, 2005) – see APPENDIX P – PROULX, SUBCATEGORISING *REALIS* AFFECT.

While the *un/happiness* variable covers the more basic emotions, the ones that come first, such as sadness, hate, love directing these feelings to what has triggered them, the *in/security* variable covers emotions of peace and anxiety in relation to our environment. Martin and White (2005) point out that this last "in stereotypically gendered communities the feelings here are associated with 'mothering' in the home – tuned to protection from the world outside (or not)" (p. 49); the *dis/satisfaction* variable covers "emotions concerned with telos (the pursuit of goals) – displeasure, curiosity, respect in relation to the activities in which we are engaged, including our roles as both participants and spectators" (p. 50); and they also observe that "in stereotypically gendered communities the feelings here are associated with 'fathering' (and mentoring in general) – tuned to learning and accomplishment" (p. 50).

Considering this framework to analyse the linguistic realizations at the level of the text, as well as the three-dimension framework presented in the previous section and the elements to investigate Language and

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[15] Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) name persons and things, participants, and verbs, processes. They distinguished six process types represented by the English clause: material, related to happening, creating, and doing; behavioural, related to behaving; mental, related to seeing, thinking, feeling; verbal, related to saying; relational, related to attributes and identity; and existential, related to existing.

[16] Modal Adjunct refer to an adverb denoting time (e.g. still, yet, already) or intensity (e.g. really, just, only, actually (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

Gender, I will analyse and discuss how gender and social identity are construed in the *Lean In* community aiming to identify elements that might influence women's career choices. To this purpose, I will focus on sociocultural aspects that influence these choices, explore how social media participation through the *Lean In Stories* can contribute to discussing issues related to women and leadership and examine the language of *affect* to understand what aspects of these women's personal and professional life trigger positive and/or negative feeling and to what extent they are the result of institutionalized views or not. Before proceeding to the analysis and discussion, I present the method.

3   METHOD

In this chapter, I will describe how the data was selected and the criteria I chose to gather the collection of *Lean In Stories* that composes the data of this study. After that, I explain the procedures to the analysis of the data according to Fairclough's (2006; 2010) three-dimensional model to analyze discourse and APPRAISAL Theory according to Martin & White (2005).

3.1   DATA SELECTION AND CRITERIA

The main source of this study is a collection of stories published in the SNS *Lean In* from March 2013 – when it was launched – until the end of May 2013, a data collected for my Bachelor's degree final paper. During the period the data was collected, 325 stories were published on the *Lean In Stories* area, as a response to an invitation from the SNS to the audience to share a story. These stories were part of the menu 'inspiration', which was one of the several features of the main menu offered in the front page of the website. By accessing the *Lean In Stories* area, the SNS displayed groups of images (close-ups of the producers with name, surname and profession) organized randomly and, by clicking on one of these images, the user was redirected to a subpage with an specific story (see Figure 5, on page 78). Currently these stories are mixed with others published posteriorly without having any chronological register; that is, with no indication on the date of the publications, reinforcing the disembedding characteristic of social media and giving them the same status of others in terms of time

I chose to work with the stories from the website because they were the SNS form of participation and online interaction, characterizing it as a social network site, in which the audience also becomes the producer of the content (Unger et al, 2016). In order to shorten the data for a more detailed analysis on the notion of *leaning in*, I selected only the stories that had the word *lean in* in the text, since I wanted to focus on this notion of 'leaning in' to discuss leadership and career. Therefore, I collected 124 stories.

To this process of selection, I used Google's webpage search bar, locating the word *lean in* – or the variation *leaning in*. In each of the published stories and I selected, copied, pasted and saved each story in a word processing program (Microsoft Word). Later, with the assistance provided by the undergraduate student Catharina Kasten, as part of her atividades Acadêmico-Científico-Culturais (ACC) in the Núcleo de

Pesquisa em Discurso (NUPDiscurso) at this university, this content was organized in a single document, in alphabetical order, with briefing and number of pages.

At the time of the data collection, the website showed the number of likes each story had had in interconnected networks: Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn. Considering that Facebook is the dominant social platform accessed in the context of the stories (Lee, Brenner, & Purcell, 2012; Smith & Anderson, 2018), I organized the data according to the number of likes they were given on Facebook – from the most liked to the less liked ones (and the ones with no likes) – in a spreadsheet software program (Microsoft Excel). Then, I selected the 15 most liked stories and chose to analyze the language of AFFECT in the textual level, since social media usually refer to emotive topics (Page, 2012) and personal stories as well tend to trigger self-disclosure and emotional, intimate talk (Georgakopoulou & De Fina, 2015; Georgakopoulou 2015; Meurer, 1998; Page 2012, 2014). I analyzed the 15 most liked stories because I noticed some patterns related to positive and negative feelings that this number of stories could well illustrate and because "likes" indicate that the story found resonance within the audience, thus reinforcing the construction of the values, beliefs and desires of the community in general.

As Page (2012) observes, social network sites undergo frequent changes in their organization, in terms of layout, purpose and policies. The analysis of the data in this work thus refers to the SNS and the stories at the time the site was launched, in 2013. However, for the present work, all the stories published so far have the same chronological status, since there is no indication of time. Although I eventually provide some information on the SNS posterior or current status, it is only to contextualize how a specific aspect evolved or not, but never to the point of bringing new information into the analysis. Due to the limitation of technological resources available for researchers to collect social media data, I believe it was only possible to assemble these texts due to the still limited number of stories published at the time. Later on, the number of stories would have been too high to be collected manually, since they were randomly organized. In terms of consent, the SNS operated publicly and the stories were openly available in the internet without the requirement of a password or login. Since the site makes their material

publicly available, consent was not necessary[17] as it happens in studies on stories published in printed magazines.

3.2   PROCEDURES FOR THE ANALYSIS

The analysis was divided in three parts following Fairclough's (2006, 2010) three-dimensional framework to analyze discourse. I started with the dimensions of sociocultural practices, followed by dimensions of discursive practices and textual practices. As a qualitative analysis, exploring text and context, I began by reading the stories and taking notes on aspects that related these dimensions in the several layers of context (see Figure 2), a characteristic of social media practices, as suggested by Page el al. (2014).

Therefore, I first considered the extra-situational context, "the offline social practices the participants [were] involved" (Page et al., 2014, p. 33), to describe and interpret aspects of the sociocultural practices and the sociocultural background of the producers and participants, covering the broad view of discourse, the *sociocultural dimension*. Following that, I considered *the discursive practice dimension* that involve the production, distribution and consumption of texts. To this purpose, I observed, described and discussed aspects related to the generic context, "the social media site in which the communication takes place", the behavioral context, "the physical situation in which the participants interact via social media", and the textual context, the "screen layout and resources" (Page et al, 2014, p. 33) used in the production, distribution and consumption of texts covering the characteristics of the media. Besides that, I also described and interpreted elements of interdiscursivity in the stories, as a form of participation in social media.

Finally, in order to analyze the *textual dimension*, in which I explored the language of AFFECT, I started by producing a table for each story (Appendix A to O) where I listed the appraising items, together with the appraiser and the appraised, found in each story. In these stories, I also identified the positive and negatives feelings in each appraising item as suggested by Martin & White (2005). To select these items, I considered realizations that occurred through a variety of grammatical structures: the

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[17] According to the UFSC's Ethic Committee, consent is not necessary in research that uses publicly accessible information, under the terms of the 12.527, from November 18th, 2011 (see Resolução nº 510, de 7 de abril de 2016). Available on http://cep.ufsc.br/legislacao

modification of participants and processes, affective mental and behavioral processes, modal adjuncts and grammatical metaphors, including nominalized realizations of qualities and processes as explained above. When in doubt if the item was grammatically an appraising item or not, I tried to identify if there was any indication of a negative or positive feeling in the lexical item according to Martin & White's (2005) typology of AFFECT (un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction). In several occasions, the response to this question was also related to context, which means the negative or positive aspect was exposed only through context. For instance, there are two examples with pregnancy, which works as a 'modification of a participant': first, in "I was pregnant of my second child" the sentence does not indicate a positive or negative feeling but in the context where it occurred it clearly indicated insecurity in face of changes in the writer's professional career. In another case "full 26 weeks pregnant", the lexical item is also neutral, but in its context it appears as a feeling of satisfaction, since it describes a woman receiving a job offer at that moment of her life. In these cases, the modifier pregnant depended on the context and on cultural values of how feelings were construed. Regarding this, Martin and Rose (2008) explain that evaluation can be "directly inscribed in discourse through the use of attitudinal lexis" (p. 61) but there are also indirect realizations which infer affect in language. They explain, for instance, that eventually "the selection of ideational meaning is enough to invoke evaluation, even in the absence of attitudinal lexis that tell us directly how to feel" (p. 61). Therefore, when in doubt about an item, I focused on identifying if the lexical item would be compatible with the subcategories of positive of negative emotions suggested by the authors and if compatible, I considered it an appraising item.

After having examined all the stories, I observed similar aspects in terms negative and positive feelings among the stories. I then described and interpreted my observations covering the last part of the analysis, the *textual dimension*, organizing it in three groups of stories – family matters, starting careers, and community work and public service – which were categories I understood better illustrate how the language of AFFECT was expressed in the stories, although within other approaches and observations, they could as well have been organized in another form. In the process of summarizing the stories, I tried to report the main *lean in* idea and information related to the topics analysed, maintaining, as much as possible, the words used by the producers of the stories, using a brief quotation when necessary.

In sum, this method of analysis is based on Fairclough's (2010) Three-Dimensional Model, explored together with Page et al.'s (2014) layers of context in social media, which I put together as represented in Figure 2.

Figure 2 – Fairclough's three-dimensional approach, adapted to include Page et al.'s layers of context of social media
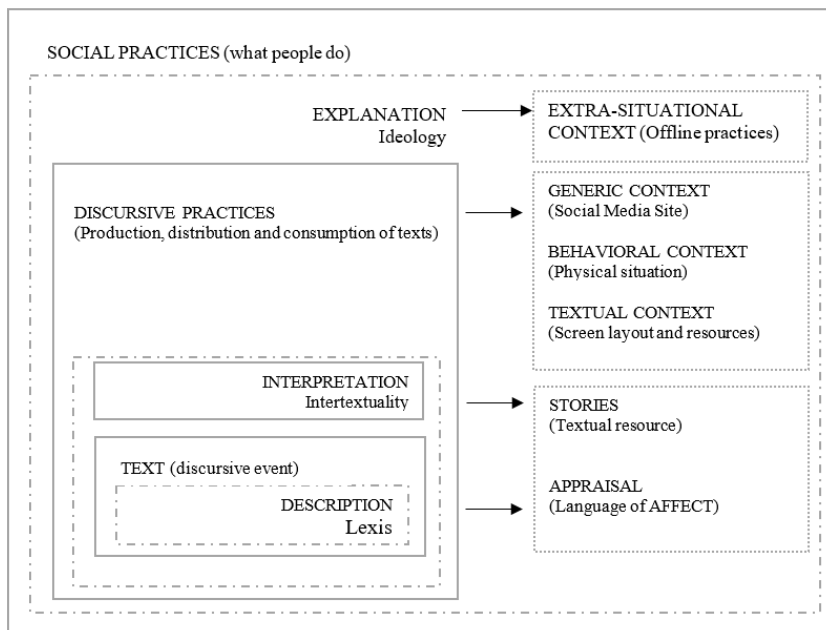
Source: Fairclough (2006, 2010) and Page et al. (2014)

Considering this, I now proceed to the analysis and discussion. I start the analysis by exploring the *sociocultural and discursive practice dimensions*, focusing on the *extra-situational context* (Page et al., 2014) presented throughout the stories, "the offline social practices the participants [were] involved in" (p. 33). I aim to discern economic, political, cultural and ideological backgrounds (Fairclough, 2006; 2003 2010) of the stories producers as manifested in language in the sample selected. Next, I draw on the nature of these discursive practices, focusing on social media as the locales for the production, distribution and consumption of the stories, considering the other layers of context listed by Page et al. (2014) to the analysis of language in social media, which I

understand are related to production, distribution and consumption. I concentrate on the *generic context,* which that according to Page et al. (2014) is "the social media site in which the communication takes place" (p. 33), to understand the characteristics of the social media at stake and its forms of interaction and participation. Hence, I will also consider both elements of the *behavioral context*, "the physical situation in which the participants interact via social media" and describe the *textual context*, the "screen layout and resources" (p. 33) which interfere on production, distribution and consumption. Following, I concentrate on the stories as the genre used for participation in the community, exploring elements of intertextuality and focusing on the language of AFFECT, covering the *textual dimension*.

4 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

As Fairclough (2006) puts it, an analysis begins by providing a sense of a social practice the discourse is part of or embedded within, intertwining description and interpretation. Therefore, for the purpose of this analysis, I will follow the steps provided by Fairclough's (2006) three-dimensional framework to describe and interpret social practices within the multilayered contexts of the social media stories, as explained above (see Figure 2).

As already mentioned, I analyze the fifteen most liked stories, which described a *lean in* moment mainly related to work, career and leadership, intertwining it with other aspects of social life. These moments were portrayed throughout small texts of four to twelve paragraphs, containing from one to twelve lines each, depending on the style of the producer; they were written in first person, presenting past events organized temporally. I start by providing a small summary of each story, indicating their position and after that I proceed to the analysis and discussion of each dimension of discourse in the subsequent sections.

Story 01	*She was a foreign correspondent for the Times of London in the US when she received a call that her post was up. She didn't want to return to London, was pregnant with her second child and accepted a role junior to her experience in exchange for the opportunity to get sponsored in the US. It required a 50% cut in her salary and compensation package but she was later given the opportunity to edit Cosmopolitan, the world's most widely-circulated magazine. For her, taking a junior role that eventually lead her to edit the magazine was her most challenge Lean In moment.*
Story 02	*She leaned in after she took off three years to have children because her journey to motherhood was not straightforward. She received an offer from Yahoo when she was pregnant, approached her role with determination, took an eight-week leave when the baby was born, but made sure her team was encouraged and supported. After she returned from maternity leave, she received a promotion. For her "if we can orient each other to leaning in when we*

	would otherwise make a different choice, then we can start to affect the stagnant growth of women in senior leadership roles.
Story 03	*She followed the steps of her mother in helping other people. She works for a non-profit dedicated to the eradication of sex slavery and the empowerment of its survivors. The organization operates like a startup, forcing her to create new paths and to take risks. Although there are misconceptions about a career in nonprofits, she applies the same rigor that she would do in a corporate position. Sometimes she thinks she sacrifices more that she should for the job, and her husband worries when she answer e-mails late at night. They started discussing whether to have children and how that would even work in their small apartment and busy lives. She leans in by embracing opportunities where she has the potential to make real impact and where she can positively affect the lives of other women and girls.*
Story 04	*When she was 23 years old, she was ready to embark on her dream career in the music industry, to get married and move with her now husband to Nashville to pursue a career on music. In a commencement speech, she had a call to stay in Montgomery, with her roots, to help the community and state become a better place. A few short years later, though young and inexperienced, she worked hard and won a local council race. Years later, she entered an equally-unlike race for Congress and won it as well. The commencement compelled her to lean in to a lifetime committed to public service, working through often-difficult political system. Proud of having a role in making their hometown, their state and their country a better place to live for their daughter and son, she believes she has reaped even greater blessings by leaning in to her home state.*
Story 05	*In 2001, at the age of 35, her life changed in a way she would never have imagined. As a young woman from a farm and fruit stand in Kettle Falls,*

	Washington, she became the 200ᵗʰ woman ever to serve in the United States House of Representatives. Later she leaned in, mustered up the courage to run for the fourth-ranking leadership position in the House of Representatives, and won. Since she was a little girl, her parents told her never to let her doubts or fears stop her from trying. They told she could be anything she wanted to be, to push her limits, no matter the challenge. She learned that for each of us, our limits may not be what they appear to be. Each step prepares us for the next step; out limits expand.
Story 06	*She was selected as one of São Francisco's "moves and shaker" thanks to the success of her company and success of her book. She leaned in strong to build a nest of personal and professional gain and later decided to stay home while her kids were young. She is a mom of two boys, leaned in to this role with all her might and works sparingly on choice jobs - usually less than 20 hours a week. She believes that the experience of motherhood gave her some serious new skills; the challenges and triumphs of motherhood shaped her scope of understanding. For her, as long as a person is "all in" with their actions and intentions, it is going to bear some fruit. She never leaned into any life experience more than the work of motherhood.*
Story 07	*She travelled to Africa for the launch of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. The image of a very tiny little girl seared her mind. She was tiny because she was born HIV-Positive, in a place where access to basic health care was not an option. Years later, she and other co-founders hatched a business plan for an organization that would harness the passion, skills and talent of young leaders with diverse background to confront the massive health challenges facing our world. They called it the Global Health Corps. Collectively, they leaned in to work to change fundamental inequities in global health, and she hopes that these movements*

	will flourish and that women and men from around the world will continue to lean in and commit themselves to social justice.
Story 08	*She started her career as a legal recruiting assistant two weeks after graduation. She was given the first opportunity to lean in when a core member of her team took leave of absence and she stepped up to fill the role. While challenging herself to maintaining a balance between using her age to relate to young law recruits and becoming more visible and integral to the firm as a senior member she was rewarded with a promotion. Later, she then challenged herself to obtain a leadership position and was nominated for a position on the Board of Directors as Treasurer for a two year term, although she was aware of the possibility that she might lose to more experienced candidate. For her, the lesson of Lean In is to seize opportunities, even at a young age, to lead and to learn, both inside your organization and through external networks.*
Story 09	*She was born in Cambodia, was sold to a man who posed as grandfather that beat her and violated her. She spent many years in the brothels of Phnom Penh when a French man helped her to escape to his country where she experienced a world of finery. She could not enjoy it, however, as she knew other women and girls continued to suffer back in her homeland. She chose to lean in, despite great fear and uncertainty, for the sake of those who would never have the opportunity to help themselves. The programs she created have assisted thousands of survivors. But she can never rest: she's always thinking about women who, despite best efforts, are still in trouble. She truly believes that with compassion, passion and action, we can change the world; together we can end slavery.*
Story 10	*His wife was seven months pregnant with their first son when he finished his first major architectural commission in Las Vegas. His wife was working in*

	television as a writer and producer and was finally getting serious offers. There was no way she could take time off to raise a baby, since women who left the business of Hollywood to start a family never returned at the same level, but he could. His ideas about raising a baby were very naïve. He had no idea how much work it would be and how rewarding the "job" would become. Nell was able to focus on her career without feeling guilty. He was the primary caregiver, which allowed her to lean in and give her all to writing scripts, articles and occasional book.
Story 11	*She is from India, she was the first in her town to attend Indian Institute of Technologies (IIT). She earned a Master in Computer science in Maryland and worked in several tech companies, being the only female engineer in those. Not happy with the situation, she graduated in business and launched a site for 'ed-tech' collaborative learning. For her, education is about finding the confidence to persevere and she will have made a difference if her company can inspire even one student to lean in.*
Story 12	*She is a Muslim American Woman that applied to a travel winter program in educational psychology and was asked if it was possible for her to take her headscarf out, while attending the program. She said she had two paths unfurled before her: to lean in or to lean back. She chose to lean in because she could not allow anybody to force her to choose between compromising her belief and her potential and allow for future students to face the same discrimination. She became the first woman with a headscarf to attend college's winter program. She choose not to let others set barriers and limitations on her because of the manner in which she dressed or what she believed.*
Story 13	*When little in a dance class, her teacher would tell her to breathe in, create space, grow taller, a metaphoric application that she really thinks of when she thinks of leaning in. For her, leaning in isn't just*

	about big decisions but little moments along the way we breathe in, grow a little, do a course of correction. The weight of her personal goals, success at work, success as a stepmother and success as a wife combined to crushing effect. Her internal narrative became one of "I can't", but she wanted a higher level of professional success and a deeper meaning to her life. She remembered the voice of her old teacher and created space. She now owns the fact that she has ambition and that doesn't make her a bad selfish person.
Story 14	*She learned about leaning in at an early age. She grew up in North Little Rock, Arkansas in a working class, African-American neighborhood. In middle school, she was one of a few, if not only, black student in academic programs. During senior year in high school, her father died forcing her into independence at an early age. After graduation, she accepted a position as financial analysis for a large investment bank in New York, a prestigious well paid job. But she wanted to make a positive difference in an under-served community and she joined Teach for America as Chief Financial Officer, which was an enormously lean in moment. Her greatest lean in moment was when her second pregnancy led to serious complications and after a lot of soul search she found the courage to start her own human resources consulting firm. She has grown her business delivering services on issues regarding compensation, gender pay equality, and ways to create HR systems that encourage women to lean in.*
Story 15	*From Texas, graduated in law, she wanted to leave home and thus leaned in to explore the unfamiliar instead of staying in the comfortable. She crashed a company party, found her way to the president and asked for an internship, becoming the first inter in the firm's legal program. For her the unfamiliar is how you'll understand what fits for your life, no*

	matter how unconventional your methods of achieving it might be.

4.1 DISCURSIVE AND SOCIOCULTURAL DIMENSIONS IN *LEAN IN STORIES*

As discussed in the review of literature, the notion of leadership is aligned with values such as "individualism, self-reliance, competitivism and assertiveness" (Sinclair, 2012, p. 19), reproducing images of heroic individualism, also characteristic of hegemonic patriarchal views, and usually attributed to views related to the US culture, addressed in academic productions as American culture[18]. As the analysis of the data demonstrates, the producers of the stories were individuals experiencing such kind of sociocultural values, as the underlined examples bellow illustrate:

Story 02	*I accepted the position and <u>approached my role with determination, eager to demonstrate that this would be a winning partnership</u>. I would be taking leave in 13 weeks, so I <u>placed a fair amount of emphasis</u> on building relationships, <u>establishing a few early successes</u> and <u>making commitments to deliver key results over the next several quarters</u>. I worked until the night before my scheduled c- section.*
Story 05	<u>*The competition was tough and the race was hard*</u>. *But those who believed in me along the way reminded me*

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[18] It is important to highlight here that the use of the proper noun American, referring only to "characteristic of the United States or its inhabitants" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018) narrows the amplitude of the term. Especially considering critical views, the term American should only be applied when referring to characteristics and inhabitants of all the Americas: North, South, or Central America. However, I maintain the term "American Culture' along the work, since this is how the notion of leadership is discussed and addressed in the theoretical backgrounds that support this analysis, used even in productions with more critical angles.

	of what I was forced to remind myself: that I had earned it.
Story 06	*I leaned in strong. I gave myself pep talks over a cup of coffee each morning. I was writing at night. Doing book manuscript revisions on weekends. And eventually I found traction and clients started to call. I was building a nest of personal and professional gain. And now the little egg was finally due.*
Story 11	*This was evidence that being proactive and stepping beyond an outlined job description can have positive results. This promotion helped me gain confidence that it was my time to embrace my career and expand my role in the industry, not only within my firm.*
Story 10	*Women who left the business of Hollywood to start a family never returned at the same level. There was no way my wife could take time off to raise a baby and then pick up where she left off.*
Story 12	*Growing up in America, I believed in the American dream: that everything was laid out there for me to pursue. I was outwardly identifiable as Muslim, to be sure, because of the way I dressed, but I believed firmly that with the right amount of guts and hard work, nothing could stop me in my pursuit of a higher education and a better quality of life; nothing, not even the perceptions of my faith by others.*

McElhinny (2003) and Ortner (1991) explain that Americam culture "takes both the ideology of social mobility and the ideology of individualism seriously" (p. 33)[19], since non-mobility means individual failure. These views are likewise related to the ideologies of Neoliberalism, which sees "competition as the defining characteristic of human relations, … a process that rewards merit and punishes inefficiency" (Monbiot, 2016, para. 4). Relationships of 'merit' and

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[19] "American Culture" as a monolithic term may narrow the amplitude of the term, as noted. However, for the purpose of this work, I focus on this view as pointed by McElhinny (2003) and Ortner (1991), which is also aligned with the views of leadership considered in the review of literature.

'inefficiency" were also observed in the stories. The two examples below demonstrate, for instance, that in case of not having the assets demanded by this competitive culture it is necessary to step back and find ways to ajust – and eventually being rewarded again.

Story 01	*Anxious to push forward and on a time deadline, I decided to accept a role junior to my experience in exchange for the opportunity to get sponsored in the States. Though the employer had no issue telling me I "came with a lot of problems" they were also dedicated to helping me sort through them. I was immensely grateful for their support and I leaned in, which required a 50% cut in my salary and compensation package. I remember feeling like I was staring at a roulette wheel and throwing all of my chips at my best guess, hoping I would magically hit the right number. Though I knew instinctively my investment would pay off in the long-term, there was no way for me to know then just how much.*
Story 03	*Living and studying in the country's most expensive city, I went into debt and passed on the city's luxuries. Instead, I spent long days connecting elder jazz musicians to health care and employment, and longer evenings in class.*

The influence of American Culture, as put by McElhinny (2003) and Ortner (1991) may aslo be due to demographic factors. Although the social media site was available worldwide and open to interaction at a global level, the data was by far produced by residents in America. From the 124 stories initially selected, 114 stories were written by American inhabitants or residents and 10 by individuals from other countries: 6 from other English-speaking countries – UK (5) and Australia (1); and the other 4 from Cambodia (1), Romania (1) and Germany (2); yet all written in English. In addition, the SNS was, and continues to be, available only in the English language, unlike several other SNS that most frequently offer a language menu. In these, among the 124 stories selected, 9 women refer to themselves as African-Americans, 4 as foreigner, 2 as Latinas, 1 as Asian-American, 1 as Muslin American, and 1 as an Ecuadorian

Immigrant. It is possible that some address these issues of gender only metaphorically and in this case, they are not included in these numbers. Some of them have these issues at the core of their *lean in* moment and some have it backgrounded.

Economically and culturally speaking, the stories were told by residents in the United States engaged in prospective and influential professional roles in economically powerful private companies, governmental roles, academic education, or social programs located in high-developed industrial areas of the country or supported by it, mainly with successful endeavors in these contexts or being able to achieve purposes in other places. They demonstrate that the "successful person" prototype for the SNS is predominantly white, heterosexual, middle or upper class urban dweller. For instance, evidence of these successful professional and demographic backgrounds are illustrated by the excerpts presented below:

Story 01	*...it eventually lead me to being given the amazing opportunity to edit Cosmopolitan, the world's most widely-circulated magazine; we have 66 editions across the world.*
Story 02	*After eleven interviews, I received an offer from Yahoo.*
Story 04	*Years later, I entered an equally unlikely race for Congress and won it as well. Now, beginning a second term in Congress, I realize I'm just scratching the surface of what I can do to help solve Alabama's hard-to-fix problems.*
Story 08	*After a short period of time, I decided to actively build my network in the legal recruiting world by joining The New York City Recruitment Association (NYCRA), a citywide organization made up of approximately 400 legal recruiters from New York City law firms.*
Story 09	*My programs have assisted thousands of survivors, and have reached tens of thousands in the sex industry with educational messages on their rights and options.*

Story 10	*My wife Nell was seven months pregnant with our first son when I finished my first <u>major architectural commission in Las Vegas</u>. I was five years out of architecture school and had managed to build a project so exciting that it received <u>an AIA Award for "Best New Residential Work"</u>.*
Story 13	*At 38, I became a stepmother to two engaging, amazing children. I was, at the time, fairly new to my job as <u>Executive Vice President of Production at Warner Bros</u>.*

Hence, in terms of sociocultural practices, it is possible to say that the SNS deals with issues of work and leadership that concern basically women who are economically, socially and politically invested, since the producers are part of a privileged group, which most likely has had access to the basic needs of social life (Bourdieu, 1989), such as social security, social rights, health care and education. This is also true in relation to residents of other countries when considering the 124 stories; these stories indicated that these writers from outside the US to have the same kind of affluent socioeconomic background, although with distinct cultural features. For example, the writers from other countries seem to focus more on adapting career to personal lives than otherwise:

UK (Story 39)	*I decided to lean back to <u>make space for love in my life</u>, whilst putting my high-flying career in finance on the chopping board… I decided the cheesy tune of "you can have it all" actually wasn't the script of another mission impossible.*
Germany (story 69)	*Later, <u>after having a fourth child, I decided to take all four babies to the office</u>. It allows me to lean in and work to make our parenting website into one of the biggest websites in Germany.*
Australia (no likes)	*Recently I have leaned in to start a new business with the bold mission of impacting the leadership capability and prosperity of over five million women leaders by 2020, connecting with my primary purpose in life – to make a difference. <u>I have also leaned back (I reckon men need to lean</u>*

	back to allow women to lean in) by supporting my <u>*partner*</u> *who is the president of our new organization.*
Romania (no likes)	*The following year I went back to Sri Lanka. I had great friends to return to and still so many "lassana" ("beautiful" in Singhalese) places to discover. <u>I also had the money to go back thanks to the best wedding present ever from my husband</u>!*

Among the 15 most liked stories, there was only one exception in terms of sociocultural background. The story happened in another context and was written by a participant that had not had the same access to the basic needs of social life, attaining access to these social capitals only later. Evidence on the sociocultural background of this specific story, which raises issues of sexual slavery and sexual harassment, and posterior access to other social capital, were found in excerpts such as:

Story 09	*I call myself Somaly. <u>I do not know my real name or age</u>. I was born just before the Khmer Rouge in the Mondulkiri province of Cambodia, and then <u>sold to a man</u> who posed as my grandfather – I was probably 12. He began by asking me to cook and bring the water. But soon he began to beat me, and then he violated me.*
	In 2007, two American men contacted me wanting to help. We created a plan for a <u>US-based foundation</u> to raise funds, elevate the survivor voice as part of the solution to <u>end trafficking</u>, and strive for the eradication of slavery through <u>campaigns and strategic partnerships worldwide.</u> Today, we are doing just that.

In terms of participants, most of the individuals mentioned in the stories were endued with the same kind of social capital of the first group mentioned above. Examples of these participants in lexical items were:

Story 01	*I was to return to London to be the parliamentary sketchwriter,*

	a highly prestigious job in London, following the then <u>Prime Minister Tony Blair</u>.
Story 02	*As a leader, I wanted to make sure <u>my new team</u> [at Yahoo] felt encouraged and supported.*
Story 04	*The <u>commencement speaker</u> for <u>my brother's graduation</u> was <u>Mr. Jay Rye III,</u> a local luminary.*
Story 07	*We place <u>recent college graduates</u> and <u>young professionals from around the world</u> in health non-profits and government offices in the US and East Africa for a year of service.*
Story 08	*However, a challenge I faced was maintaining a balance between using my age to relate to our <u>young law student recruits</u>, while becoming more visible and integral to the firm as a senior member of <u>the team</u>.* (at The New York City Recruitment Association – NYCRA)
Story 09	*We built <u>a team of outreach workers, investigators, medics and educators,</u> and I worked day and night to connect each girl with the services they needed.*
Story 11	<u>*Other students*</u> *also wondered if a computer scientist could actually build a company.*
Story 12	<u>*The principal*</u> *at one of the schools we will be observing isn't happy that you wear it," she said matter-of-factly, "So we need to figure out how to hide your scarf or you won't be able to attend the program.*

Participants living in distinct conditions were referred to in three of the 15 most liked stories, as the following excerpts demonstrate:

Story 03	*Today I work for a non-profit dedicated to the eradication of sex slavery and the empowerment of its <u>survivors</u> based around the vision and life's work of survivor and activist Somaly Mam.*
Story 07	*Among the many images seared into my mind was one from a visit with <u>a little girl</u> I met. I assumed she*

	was three years-old; I later discovered she was almost seven. <u>She was very tiny because she was born HIV-positive</u> in a place where access to basic healthcare wasn't an option.
Story 09	*It began with just <u>one girl, named Tom Dy.</u> I found <u>her on the street, suffering from HIV/AIDS: her skin was raw and broken</u>.*

And there were also participants that were not directly referred, which appear to live in unlike conditions in the same sociocultural context, such as in:

Story 03	*I spent long days connecting <u>elder jazz musicians</u> to health care and employment.*
Story 10	*<u>We had some help</u> during the years we both had projects, but I was always the primary caregiver, which allowed Nell to lean in and give her all to writing scripts, articles and the occasional book.*
Story 14	*I grew up in North Little Rock, Arkansas in a <u>working class, African-American neighborhood</u>, literally on the wrong side of the tracks.*

The data also indicated the sexual orientation of the tellers to be predominantly heterosexual, expressed through lexical items such as *husband, wife, boyfriend*, accompanied by *he* and *she* used to indicate a partner of the opposite sex. Immigration, race or religious topics were eventually brought up. There was one remark on immigration, one on race and one on religious issues:

Story 01 (immigration)	*I didn't want to return to London. I knew I had unfinished business in New York… and <u>I had no visa</u> and was pregnant.*
Story 14 (race)	*In middle school, I was one of a few, if not the only, <u>black student</u> in the academic honors programs. I was often teased for being too smart or even "<u>too white</u>." Most of my classmates lived near the school I attended and studied together. I*

	knew if I wanted to do extremely well, I had to get <u>past my fears about venturing into unfamiliar neighborhoods</u>. Despite often <u>feeling out of place,</u> I leaned into the educational opportunities that were presented to me and strived for excellence.
Story 12 (religion)	*Growing up in America, I believed in the American dream: that everything was laid out there for me to pursue. I was outwardly <u>identifiable as Muslim,</u> to be sure, because of the way I dressed, but I believed firmly that with the right amount of guts and hard work, nothing could stop me in my pursuit of a higher education and a better quality of life; nothing, not even the perceptions of my faith by others.*

In these scenarios, the 15 most liked stories by the audience were stories in which *leaning in* resulted in a successful endeavor, demonstrating efficiency, self-reliance, competitivism and assertiveness as expected in leadership positions as already illustrated in examples above and further exemplified by following ones:

Story 01	*...it eventually lead me to being given the amazing opportunity to edit Cosmopolitan, the world's most widely-circulated magazine; we have 66 editions across the world.*
Story 04	*I'm also proud that I have a role in making our hometown, our state and our country a better place to live for our daughter and son.*
Story 08	*I can proudly say that I am looking forward to my two year term and to dedicating my time and efforts to the goals, mission and vision of an outstanding organization.*
Story 10	*Along the way, Nell has created many pilots, directed two movies, and worked on several television series.*
Story 12	*I woke up the next day to a number of phone calls and emails from the college's administration and deans, all scrambling to rectify a situation that, until*

	I had made the choice to stand up for myself and lean in, seemed to have been a closed book.

Nonetheless, there were personal issues that demanded adjustments, such as pregnancy, motherhood and marriage, for example, which were mentioned in 7 stories. The subject with more occurrences in these was related to pregnancy, as in getting pregnant, being pregnant or having complications during pregnancy, which all together were mentioned in 6 stories, illustrated in the examples bellow:

Story 01	*But I didn't want to return to London. I knew I had unfinished business in New York and I wanted to work in the biggest magazine market in the world. However, I had no visa and I was pregnant with my second child. To get around the immigration issues, I needed a job, but my personal "situation" was complicated and I knew it made me a difficult hire.*
Story 02	*After taking off nearly three years to have children, I knew it was my time to lean in. My journey to motherhood was not straightforward. Like so many women who are driven to achieve a measure of purpose through their professional success, I felt really stressed. So much so, that my body was no longer performing. I needed to step away, because no doctor could explain why my children were not coming.*
Story 14	*My greatest lean in moment came in my mid-30s. I was married, had a thriving consulting career, and had become a successful working mom. But my second pregnancy led to serious complications, and my twin daughters were born eight weeks early, weighing just over three pounds each. Their premature birth was a watershed personal and professional moment.*

In other 4 stories, the storytellers were starting their carriers and did not mention pregnancy, motherhood, parenthood or marriage. The *lean in* moments were related to a variety of other issues such as: being of young age, working in the field of computer engineer or being asked

to take off the headscarf to attend a college educational program, demanding the participant to have leadership qualities such as efficiency, self-reliance, and assertiveness not only to approach work and compete (as in the example below):

Story 08	*By being involved in the group's mentor program, educational programming and social events, I <u>quickly realized there was a great opportunity for a younger person to play a bigger leadership role in the industry</u>.*

But also to overcome cultural issues, as in the two following examples:

Story 11	*After much hard work and dedication, I became the first girl from my hometown to attend IIT. <u>Without the social support that male students enjoyed, I struggled to learn at their pace</u>. It certainly made me a stronger engineer, but I wondered if there was a better way. Meanwhile, I just kept studying, graduating from IIT and earning a Master's in Computer Science at Maryland. After graduating, <u>I worked for several tech companies, where once again, I was the only female engineer</u>.*
Story 12	*I sat there, numb and almost incredulous, as <u>she asked me whether it would be possible to take off the scarf (no!)</u>... How could this happen? I <u>was being forced to choose between a potentially career-changing opportunity and the very physical fiber of my identity.</u> ...I could not afford to lean back in this situation. I would not – could not – allow <u>anybody to force me to choose between compromising my beliefs and my potential</u>.*

Besides, two other stories were produced by women involved with social work, who overall addressed less personal issues, as leadership in that is less centered in competitivism and assertiveness and more on influencing processes through emergent coordination, as discussed in the review of literature, as illustrated below:

Story 07	*Fellows* *focus on a variety of current health issues like HIV, maternal child health and healthcare access.*
Story 09	*We created a plan for a US-based foundation to raise funds, elevate the survivor voice as part of the solution to end trafficking, and strive for the eradication of slavery through campaigns and strategic partnerships worldwide.*

Finally, other two stories were produced by women in congress, which addressed personal matters as the ones in the first group, but more specifically related to their decision on committing to public service and a life in politics; both became congressional representatives, as the following examples illustrate:

Story 04	*That commencement speech compelled me to lean in to a lifetime commitment to public service; into working through the often-difficult political system to make a positive difference.*
Story 05	*I was reminded that many people had noticed my hard work, commitment and passion for public service. They had encouraged me to take the next step, to lean in and muster up the courage to go for it.*

From a critical perspective, there are two dissimilar views that can be taken into account considering the sociocultural background of the majority of the writers. On one side, as Fraser (2013b) argues, in her article criticizing the ideologies of *Lean In*, these discursive events promote careerism and celebrate female entrepreneurs instead of prioritizing social solidarity, which is at the root of feminist and critical views, for example. Besides, the low number of stories addressing issues of minorities and concentrating on social solidarity, in contrast to the predominant number of stories addressing individual and personal matters emphasize the individualistic views that are characteristic of leadership, of the American Culture and of Neoliberal systems, maintaining the discussion in a singular 'line of class'. As Fraser (2013a)

notes, "late-capitalist societies are not simply pluralist … they are stratified, differentiated into social groups with unequal status, power, and access to resources, traversed by pervasive axes of inequality along lines of class, gender, race, ethnicity, and age" (p. 58).

However, on the other hand, considering a gender perspective, it is important to reckon that these kinds of discursive events also provide means to understand what is there for women to deal with when they have worked on conquering positions of power within the system of economic power, in political, professional and educational roles. Regarding this, the 15 most liked stories indicate that carrying on work and being a leader is not problematic for the producers; they managed to go through their obstacles efficiently as expected by the demands of the ideologies of their sociocultural backgrounds, producing influence in the context they were dealing with. Even though the women in the stories construe their identities in a fluid and variable way, they need to act in other levels promoting change against the standardized views that are instituted in work places and work relations, which still put women in unequal positions and demand efforts in changing them (see more in section 4.3). Besides, as observed by Wagner and Wodak (2006) in their research on women's narrative on performing success, groups of women empowered with such kind of sociocultural and economic capital are more able to 'do gender', producing change, but this is probably not the same in groups with less power in terms of agency. Still, within such a group of women, the examples demonstrate that the aspects the producers mentally process to take their career decisions, here related to being pregnant, occupying spaces in politics, or being in an advanced career stage are not only individual matters or internal barriers. Instead, they are part of axes of inequality demanding a kind of personal and individual overcoming:

| Story 02 | *Three years later, as I sat across from my interviewer, a full 26 weeks pregnant for the second time. There is no question I felt fulfilled as a mother, however, I was underutilized as a professional and ready to re-engage my talents as a leader. All of the reasons why I would not be hired were racing through my mind. They'll worry about you taking a maternity leave. They'll worry that you'll never return. They'll worry that you will be too emotional. They won't hire you because there are less risky* |

	choices to fill the role. But, I also knew I was the one best suited for the role.
Story 05	*The competition was tough and the race was hard. But those who believed in me along the way reminded me of what I was forced to remind myself: that I had earned it. I had done the work, traveled the country and stepped up for each assignment. I had always been more of a work horse than a show horse and it seemed to have served well over the years. I was proud of my legislative accomplishments and was confident that it could stand up to anyone else's. But I was apprehensive to toot my own horn. Could I make the case effectively? Could I articulate my attributes strongly enough?*
Story 13	*So now, at 46, when other people are thinking about the end game or retirement, I feel myself just gaining momentum. I lean in to brilliant and supportive friends, I feel the pull of the string and create the space to grow. At 46, I finally own the fact that I have ambition and that having ambition doesn't make me a bad, selfish person. There's a good chance I will fail at reaching my highest goal. But I will never regret a life in which I was too afraid to try. I won't regret saying I wanted more. Little by little I forge ahead. I may be a little late, but there's still plenty of time.*

In sum, the data indicate that individuals empowered with "economic capital (in its different forms), cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 17) produced the data in question. Although they worked on a diversity of professional areas, had distinct life experiences, belonged to distinct political parties, worked in different kinds of industries, were of young age or of a certain age, they had in common a condition provided with these fundamental assets to be able to *lean in* in a multiplicity of situations that determined their careers as women or supporting a woman. Identity here is thus constructed at individual levels; however, it also means to take part in processes of social influence that partially change established values and ideologies for more equal position for women within the economic power. Considering this,

the data points out that the women in the stories were efficient in their endeavors while dealing with specific situations that demanded them to *lean in,* and these endeavors involved positive or negative feelings which I shall further discuss in the textual dimension. Before this, I will address the dimension of discursive practices, which discusses the production of the stories, their forms of distribution and consumption in social media, and their social implications.

4.2 THE DISCURSIVE PRACTICE DIMENSION IN *LEAN IN*'S SOCIAL MEDIA STORIES

This dimension of analysis involves the production, distribution and consumption of texts and the interpretation of these texts (Fairclough, 2006; 2010; Meurer, 2010). There are two main aspects to be taken into account in this dimension of analysis for the purpose of this work: one that refers to the media format and how social relations are organized in it; and, the other that refers to the production of the stories as a form of participation in an SNS. Hence, I will provide a view on social media, considering how it influences the production, distribution and consumption of texts and will address the issue of intertextuality, partly within this dimension, exploring the elements of social media factors that influence these productions and partly in the next section within the analysis of the textual dimension focusing on stories and exploring elements of intertextuality related to the genre.

In terms of media, the *Lean In Stories* are part of a bigger context, to which Page et al. (2014) refer as the *generic context* – the context of the SNS and of integrated contexts. Hence, publishing a story in such a space, immediately initiates a process of distribution and consumption. A process that involves several contextual layers: the *extra-situational context* (where the story happened), the *behavioral context* (where the producer is while producing it), *the generic context* (the SNS and the contexts of integrated SNS's) and the *textual contexts* (the interfaces[20] used in the SNS to produce, consume and distribute the content) (Page et

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[20] Interfaces in software design are considered the elements that allow communication between a computer and the user. The graphic interfaces that the user manipulates include the graphic components (or visual algorithms) and the rules (conventions) to deal with these components (Bonsiepe, 2015).

al., 2014). The image in Figure 3 is an example of a *textual context*, with the affordances[21] for the consumer to explore the context.

Figure 3 – *Lean In Stories* subpage

Source: *Lean In* website[22]

Distinctly from a newspaper article, for instance, that Fairclough (2006) describes to be produced "through complex routines of a collective

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[21] *Affordance* is the object attribute that lets people know how to use it. In a graphical interface, for example, icons must be designed to allow clicks (or touch), scrollbars, to be moved in some direction, buttons, to be pressed (Preece, Rogers, & Sharp, 2005 in Dick & Gonçalves, 2015).

[22] Available on https://leanin.org/stories

nature, by a team whose members are variously involved in its different stages of production" (p. 78), the production of a *Lean In Story* initiates individually – involving the text producer only and the SNS team work afterwards. Later, respondents can distribute and consume it by sharing, liking and eventually commenting on it in integrated social networks. Therefore, these stories are not isolated, static pages but contributions in the form of content to a collective process (Page, 2012), which is one of the main features of social media. They differ from other textual resources hosted in the SNS because participants produce them, making the consumers also text producers (Unger et al., 2016) as well as distributors. Thus, instead of a vertical production, bringing up the viewpoint of the institution only, most commonly in the third person, they provide an opportunity to bring up the viewpoint of participants, with texts written in the first person (see more in section 4.3).

However, this form of participation requires the necessary tools to access the contexts of the SNS, such as having a computer or related devices and a wire connection available in the producer's *behavioral context*. It also requires the producer to be able to write in English and to have the skills to create a five to ten paragraphs story 'inspiring' others to *lean in*, thus presupposing a level of literacy that enables such a production, besides having the ability to *lean in* as well, as pointed out above. This production should preferably influence the audience to the point of reacting to it, with likes, shares and comments, thus consuming and (re)distributing it throughout integrated SNS's – to which the consumer must also be connected, otherwise distribution is not possible. The producer of the *Lean In Story* must also have digital literacy to understand the architectures and resources offered by the SNS for displaying the content. Likewise, consumers/distributors must have these resources – to accesses the SNS and to manage the available tools. Hence, this is a complex form of distribution as well, because it involves specific knowledge from producers, distributers and consumers, besides involving the technologies that make the content available, interactive, spreadable and preserved (Jenkins, 2006; Manovich, 2001; Page et al., 2014).

The *Lean In Stories* are displayed in the SNS in an area called *inspiration.* Unless the consumer has the link to this specific area, the natural way to access this part of the menu is through the digital address of the organization, opening the SNS front page. By the time the data was collected, *Lean In* front page displayed a mosaic of images and the general menus to navigate on the website. Five close-ups composed the mosaic and a medium shot with three women talking – as in an informal meeting. From the five close-ups, one was of a man and the others of women, being

Oprah Winfrey[23] and Sheryl Sandberg among them. Sandberg's picture was highlighted on a bigger size with a headline saying: "I want to change the conversation from what women can't do to what we can do". The middle area had another text: "Let's work together, *Lean In* is a global community committed to offering women the encouragement and support to lean in to their ambitions". Below this second headline, there was a button saying '*Lean In Today*', redirecting the audience to the stories area, as the figure below demonstrate:

Figure 4 – *Lean In front* page
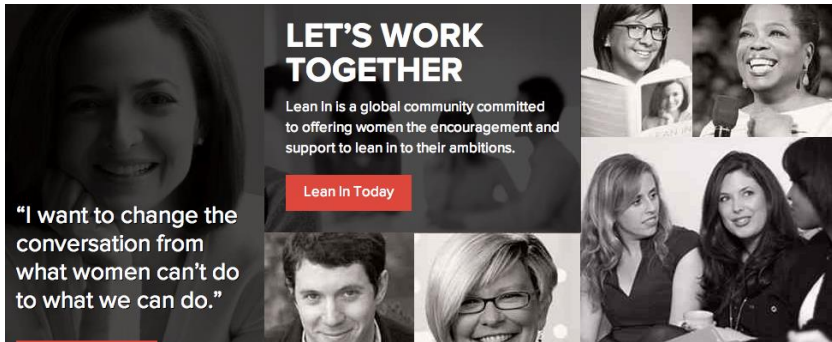
Source: Source: *Lean In* website[24]

Besides that, the main menu offered the following topics and resources:

- *about us:* an overview of the SNS, team, partners and contact.

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[23] "Oprah Winfrey is an American media proprietor, talk show host, actress, producer, and philanthropist. She is best known for her talk show *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, which was the highest-rated television program of its kind in history and was nationally syndicated from 1986 to 2011 in Chicago, Illinois. Dubbed the 'Queen of All Media'. She is the richest African-American and North America's first multi-billionaire black person and has been ranked the greatest black philanthropist in American history. Several assessments rank her as the most influential woman in the world." Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oprah_Winfrey
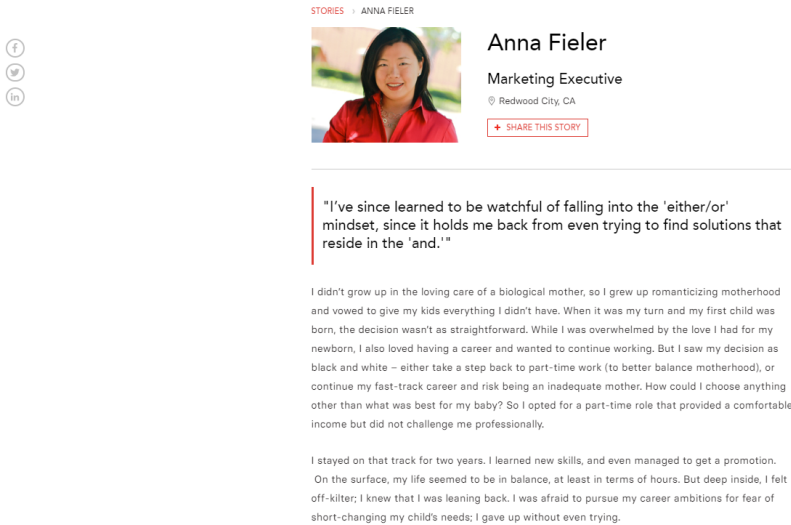
[24] *Lean In*. Front Page. July, 2013

- *circles:* resources to connect people in *extra-situational context* to discuss related topics. [currently, the SNS declares the Circles reached over 162 countries][25]
- *campaigns:* advertisings such as *lean in together*, for man to support women leaning in; and, *ban bossy* to stop calling women that give orders as 'bossy' in pejorative terms.
- *education:* textual resources for graduates, managers, the work place, 'all-star dads', and 50/50 partnership with procedural information on how to act *lean in* in these spaces and relationships.
- *inspiration:* news and articles from other sites, the *Lean In Stories* and a photo collection by Getty[26].
- *books:* information about Sandberg's books.
- *partner with us:* other companies that support the initiative.

The *Lean In Stories* main page, which is part of the menu *inspiration* displayed sequences of story producers close-ups (12 per page), with name, surname and profession indicated below the picture. By clicking on an image, the website opened a new subpage displaying the participant/producer own Hyper Text Transfer Protocol Secure (HTTPS) formed by leanin.org/stories plus the name and surname of the writer. The page featured the story with headlines, again with name and surname, profession, city, state and an invitation to share it.

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[25] *Lean In*. Lean In Circles. June, 2018
[26] *Lean In*. Getty. June 2018.

Figure 5 – Example of a *Lean In* profile page

STORIES › ANNA FIELER

Anna Fieler

Marketing Executive

◉ Redwood City, CA

+ SHARE THIS STORY

"I've since learned to be watchful of falling into the 'either/or' mindset, since it holds me back from even trying to find solutions that reside in the 'and.'"

I didn't grow up in the loving care of a biological mother, so I grew up romanticizing motherhood and vowed to give my kids everything I didn't have. When it was my turn and my first child was born, the decision wasn't as straightforward. While I was overwhelmed by the love I had for my newborn, I also loved having a career and wanted to continue working. But I saw my decision as black and white – either take a step back to part-time work (to better balance motherhood), or continue my fast-track career and risk being an inadequate mother. How could I choose anything other than what was best for my baby? So I opted for a part-time role that provided a comfortable income but did not challenge me professionally.

I stayed on that track for two years. I learned new skills, and even managed to get a promotion. On the surface, my life seemed to be in balance, at least in terms of hours. But deep inside, I felt off-kilter; I knew that I was leaning back. I was afraid to pursue my career ambitions for fear of short-changing my child's needs; I gave up without even trying.

Source: Source: *Lean In* website[27]

The complete text of the personal story was exhibited below these items with a highlighted quotation extracted from it. On the sides, the SNS afforded sharing buttons to Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn, informing the number of shares and likes the story had already had and enabling the audience to do likewise, thus providing means to start the process of distribution and consumption which is determined by audience choices of liking, sharing or otherwise. Considering *media factors* (Page et al., 2014), the *Lean In Stories* were thus published in an asynchronous, one-to-many kind of interaction, available publicly and taking part on *Lean In*'s public archive of textual resources.

As a social practice, these processes of "promoting social interaction between participants" (Page, 2012, p. 5) occur within an ideological process due to the interactive chain created for the purpose. Therefore, they may not transform social behavior as Herring (2003) suggested. As Han (as cited in Araujo, 2014) and Bartlett (2018) observe, these interactive moves of shares, likes and comments are part of a bigger process, which is in turn observed, calculated and watched out by algorithms. For this reason, when the audience chooses to 'distribute' a

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[27] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/anna-fieler

story by sharing it, certain values are reinforced and legitimized while others are not. For instance, among the most shared stories there were only stories in which 'merit' was accomplished and none that share a story of 'inefficiency'. Besides, the majority of the stories address personal issues with qualities such as individualism, self-reliance, competitivism and assertiveness against a minority of stories addressing issues involving social work or discussing forms of discrimination. Even in the case of pregnancy, this is seen only as a personal matter and not as institutionalized discrimination (see section 4.3.1), for example. These interactive moves, which allow the process of distribution and consumption to happen, involve the logic of the computer, which influence the cultural logic, as pointed by Manovich (2001) in a way that is not clear to us, as pointed by Han (as cited in Araujo, 2014), discussed in the Review of Literature. For this reason, social media seems not to be a space that promotes gender equality but rather a space that organizes distribution in niches, in which gender is discussed within the sociocultural characteristics of the communities in question, being the unifying function regulated by technology. It seems that the more the economic power regulates these processes of interactivity, the more these environments tend to become stratified and differentiated into niches of social groups, reproducing the characteristics of inequality of late-capitalist societies (Fraser, 2013a). Yet, the stories work as a form of empowerment in a sense that other women and men with the same sociocultural background, consequently facing the same struggles, have the opportunity to know that these problems affect others as well, what might even expand the view of what is an individual or an institutional issue.

As Fairclough (2003) observes, "all forms of fellowship, community and solidarity depend upon meanings which are shared and can be taken as given" (p. 55) and "can be regarded as belonging to particular discourses" (p. 58). This could be seen in the stories, as demonstrated in the examples above, by the fact that meanings were mostly constructed towards career goals and the notion of individual property, heroic qualities and heroic individualism, which Baxter (2010) and Sinclair (2012) note, belong to the discourse of leadership. Likewise, the producers share the interest in career development and are committed to individual goals. Therefore, social media make easy for individuals to participate and transform practices, but it also outspreads and straightens particular discourses within groups that exchange specific kinds of information, since there is an organization of the technological layer that works on this direction. As a tool for discussing gender and leadership,

social media can be an "idealized environment for dialog ... enabling collective contributions and involving both the individual contributor and the wider community represented by the network" (Page, 2012, p. 8). In the case of *Lean In*, the experiences shared can indeed inspire others that may deal with the same situations in their personal lives and work environments as the producer of the most shared story advises:

Story 01	*If I could offer any advice, it would be: Be your own shrink and ask yourself tough questions like: Why am I doing this? Where do I want to be? And of course, Sheryl's favorite question, what would I do if I wasn't afraid? And then be brutally honest with yourself, even if you give yourself answers you don't want to know. Pay attention to your instincts and the opportunities in front of you. Which ones will take you nearest to where you want to go? Then go get on with it.*

However, this process lays on technological systems that seem to reinforce values, beliefs and desires that are already there, rather maintaining these values than promoting social change. *Lean In* as a community is made of individuals that agree with the values of the community, because the entire chain of production, distribution and consumption depend upon it. Criticism, for example, is found in newspaper websites and not within the community. Examples of those are "Sheryl Sandberg's Lean in philosophy doesn't just ignore disadvantaged women. It hurts their cause*"* (Bruenig, 2015); "Recline, don't 'Lean In' (Why I hate Sheryl Sandberg)" (Brooks, 2014); and "How feminism became capitalism's handmaiden – and how to reclaim it" (Fraser, 2013b).

This kind of association of values may happen likewise in other communities in participatory culture. In addition, social media can be easily discriminatory and excluding since it requires certain tools and levels of literacy to participate that are not available to all. Nonetheless, as in the case of leadership, these spaces must be occupied, further discussed and investigated because they became part of the Western culture, are a process in construction and provide massive resources and preserved public archives that help us to understand how gender is constructed in language in use in contemporary time. One important aspect to consider is that this context and form of participation allow

individual voices to contribute, as in the case of the *Lean In Stories*, which I shall now discuss considering the textual dimension of discourse.

4.3   THE TEXTUAL DIMENSION OF THE *LEAN-IN STORIES*

The *Lean In Stories* are an answer to the invitation of the SNS to participate and inspire others, as suggested by the organization: "tell us your story, good stories can inspire, teach and connect us. Please share a moment in your life when you '*leaned in*' or '*leaned back*'."[28] This invitation asks for a record of a personal experience (Martin & Rose, 2008) referring to a particular moment in the life of the producer to be written mainly in first person to motivate other readers and interact with them. In terms of intertextuality, this kind of production helps to shape the writers' view of "reality", and project the future influencing the constitution of their identity (Meurer, 1998) and the identity of the consumers as well. Considering this, I now describe the main features of the stories and afterwards proceed to their analysis, in view of the APPRAISAL theory, which refers to the attitude of the narrators towards the narrative and the personal modes of exchanging information, as discussed in the review of literature. I then focus on *affect* – the positive and negative feelings the producers unveil in constructing relations with respondents (Martin & White, 2005; Martin & Rose, 2008).

One of the main features of these productions is the use of first person, the sentences in the stories mostly initiated with the pronoun '*I*', as the examples below demonstrate:

Story 01	*I was working in New York as foreign correspondent for the Times of London when I received a call saying my four year post was up.*
Story 08	*I started my legal recruiting career as an assistant two weeks after college graduation in June 2008.*
Story 14	*I learned about leaning in at an early age.*

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[28] Among the stories selected, there are 18 stories that use the term *lean back*. They mostly intertwine with *lean in*, as in deciding whether to *lean in* or to *lean back*. There are also suggestions that men should *lean back* for women and leaning back as a form of making other career choices. Among the 15 most liked stories, the term *lean back* appears in only one story, as a matter of deciding one way or another.

Frequently, there was a temporal conjunction before the first pronoun, as in:

Story 11	*Before I ever thought of starting a company, I dreamed of becoming an engineer.*
Story 13	*When I was a little girl in dance class, my teacher would tell me to imagine a string that started at my tailbone, went up through my spine and came out the top of my head.*

Other variation of opening lines included other participants although followed by paragraphs with the same characteristic of the previous examples:

Story 02	*My mother always said that the meaning of life exists in helping other people.*
Story 10	*My wife Nell was seven months pregnant with our first son when I finished my first major architectural commission in Las Vegas.*

Alternatively, it started with a statement, followed or not by sentences similar to the previous examples, as in:

Story 04	*Ambition to follow your dreams is admirable, but so is realizing a responsibility to stay and help uplift a community.*
Story 05	*Sometimes all it takes is a single moment to change your life forever. In 2004 – at the age of 35 – mine changed in a way I never would have imagined.*

Other paragraphs in the stories, which varied from five to ten in the 15 most liked stories, repeated the same patterns as the introductory paragraph, frequently with temporal conjunction introducing the sentence to indicate succeeding events. Besides, the stories intertwine other story phases, such as setting, descriptions, effects, reaction, problem, solution, comment and reflection (Martin & Rose, 2008) unsystematically,

depending on the style of the writer. The first paragraphs, as the settings of the stories (Martin & Rose, 2008), presented the context, unveiling more or less the same amount of information on identities, activities and locations, as the examples below demonstrate:

Story 12 (identity)	*I am a Muslim American woman.* *The reason I lay out those three key identity components is not to simply state the obvious, but to explain how I perceive myself.*
Story 01	*Before I ever thought of starting a company, I dreamed of becoming an engineer. This was no simple thing, studying at an all-girls' school in a small north Indian town. The academic competition was intense: No girl from my hometown had ever gotten into an Indian Institute of Technologies (IIT) school, and nationwide, only one girl was admitted for every fifty boys. Culturally, women were judged by their domestic abilities, not their academic prowess. While the boys formed study groups, I worked on my own.*

The closing paragraphs in general reoriented the reader in a form of 'comment or reflection' (Martin & Rose, 2008), as the examples below illustrate:

Story 02	*Collectively, the six of us leaned in to work to change fundamental inequities in global health, but everyday I'm inspired by our fellows who work on the front lines. My hope is that the health equity movement will flourish and that women and men from around the world will continue to lean in and commit themselves to social justice.*
Story 15	*By leaving Texas, I learned that it is so much more rewarding to lean in to the unfamiliar than to stay in the comfortable. I would rather lean in, trip, stumble and fall, rather than stand upright on a straight arrow track that is all too familiar. Leaning in and exploring the unfamiliar is how you'll understand what fits your*

	life, no matter how unconventional your methods of achieving it might be. I say, lean in and dive head first

These features, which are common in story genres, tend to trigger a process of self-reflexivity (Bruner, 1991; Foucault, 1997; Ochs & Capps, 1996) and consequently of self-disclosure, even as a tool for coping with difficult life events (Bohlmeijer et al., 2007; Fivush & Sales, 2006 as cited in Georgakopoulou & De Fina, 2015, p. 352). Hence, the *Lean In Stories,* due to the characteristics of the genre and of the media likewise disclose emotional aspects related to the events reported. For instance, emotions were expressed in the stories in lexical items such as the ones below (see more examples in Appendixes A to O):

Story 01	*"I remember feeling like I was staring at a roulette wheel", "I was immensely grateful for their support and I leaned in…"*
Story 02	*"I felt really stressed", "They will worry you will be too emotional", "I often feel extremely scattered"*
Story 03	*"I recently put fears aside to make my first ask for major financial support for the organization"*
Story 05	*"But I was apprehensive to toot my own horn"*
Story 08	*"...which was initially an intimidating thought for someone my age", "I was confident that I possessed the skills", "I was nervous about the outcome"*
Story 09	*"I was raped, beaten, called worthless and nearly lost my will to live", "Despite great fear and uncertainty", "I fill my centers with love"*
Story 12	*"I sat there, numb and almost incredulous"*
Story 14	*"I had to get past my fears about venturing into unfamiliar neighborhoods", "I will be forever grateful for that life-changing opportunity to help others"*

Socializing emotions, attitudes and identities is a form of negotiating social relations. Through evaluation, the storytellers create stances that prove or disprove situations, unveiling their emotional state

using affective language. The confessional feature determined by the genre also emphasizes the presence of emotional language and, by revealing these feelings, the writers construct relations with potential respondents (Martin & White, 2005).

This process of constructing relations with respondents starts with the *principal*'s views. Fairclough (2006) says that a 'principal' gives cues that determine an ideological process: "the one whose position is represented by the words" (p. 78). Thus, by producing such a story, the producers followed the purposes of the community through the notions given by 'the principal', which refer to the "specifically 'sociocognitive' dimensions of text production and interpretation" (Fairclough, 2006, p. 80). For instance, Sandberg's (2003) observations in the first chapter of her book, entitled "The Leadership Ambition Gap", goes back to events of women in her own family, giving a retrospective account of some common practices regarding women's lives and their careers, in different historical moments, emphasizing how they had been and may still be associated to domestic issues. The events she describes include: women being pulled out of school during the depression to support the house hold; leaving a job to have children, because it a was only a "job" not a chosen career; choosing mainly teaching and nursing (in the 1960's) and dropping it to get married; and, being raised in an era of increasing equality (in the 1980's), in terms of education and academic efforts, without discussing how to balance work and children (Sandberg, 2013). In her view, "integrating professional and personal aspirations proved far more challenging than we had imagined" (p. 14); an aspect that is retaken in the stories, since they indicate that these challenges trigger either positive or negative feelings, as the examples below demonstrate:

Story 03	*Sometimes I think I sacrifice more than I should for this job, and my husband worries when I answer emails late at night or get stressed. After our wedding last summer, I went to Cambodia for work instead of on a honeymoon (we're planning one now). I recently turned 30 and we're starting to discuss whether to have children and how that would even work in our small Brooklyn apartment and busy lives.*
Story 06	*Choosing to stay at home while my kids are young is a form of professional development. My LOKI work is creative and the challenges and triumphs of mommyhood shape my scope of understanding. When*

	I do return to work full time, I think I'll be wiser and more able than I was before.
Story 10	*After more than three years as the stay-at-home parent, I brought Rudy and our second son, Dexter, all the way up to Vancouver, where Nell was directing her first movie. There should be some sort of Olympic event where you have to travel across an international border with two toddlers, but the heroic effort meant that Dexter got to spend his first birthday with his mom, rather than just hearing her voice on the phone. And it meant that Nell was able to focus on* *her career without feeling guilty.*
Story 14	*No watershed moment changed my fate. No unique opportunity presented itself, no lightning bolt struck. But somehow, somewhere along the line, I remembered the voice of my old dance teacher. I practiced feeling the string pull at the top of my head, creating space in my life. I created space to forgive myself for not being 100% perfect at everything (and I stopped making homemade pancakes for breakfast). I created space for my own ambition. And as I gave voice to that ambition, I found support. I'm not shouting from the rooftops but I am saying aloud to my husband and close friends what I dared not say in the past.*

The predominance of stories addressing personal issues is an indication that the producers of the stories internalized these notions given by the principal, reproducing it in the discussions they raised, an aspect triggered by the views of the principal, as well as by the genre and by the interactive media which, as I have said, tend to disclose a more personal tone. In short, emotions are at the core of this kind of production and therefore I now focus on describing and interpreting the analysis of the language of *affect* (Appendix A to O), identifying positive and negative feelings in the stories.

4.3.1   Affect in *Lean In Stories*

In the analysis of the language of *affect* in the data, I identified some similarities and I divided them into topics, since the stories are presented with a miscellany of subjects. The first group of stories, which I call *family matters*, include stories that bring on the discussion on career decisions, issues related to family, parenthood and marriage. One of the main topics addressed in this case is pregnancy. The second group of stories have producers that speak about the beginning of their careers, with one writer still involved in college, for instance, and another mentioning college or having just finished it. In this case, the issues that demanded leaning in vary in terms of subjects, as I explain below, but none of them addresses the kind of personal issues tackled by the first group. This group of stories dealt with the topic I called *starting careers*. Another group of stories, which I called *community work*, presents similar cases because they focus on social projects and the storytellers mostly address issues related to these projects, and the appraised item refers predominantly to an organization, an institution or a group of people in contrast to other groups were the appraised item was predominantly the story teller. In the last group of stories, both storytellers were congressional representatives. Although they mention relatives, family and children, the main idea is constructed around choosing a career in politics. Considering this, I now proceed to the analysis.

I. Family matters

This group of stories mentioned issues related to the broad notion of family[29], such as children, marriage, pregnancy, motherhood and parenthood. The *lean in* moment was not exclusively related to these aspects, but they were central topics in discussing choices associated to career and leadership roles. There were seven stories bringing up these topics (stories 01, 02, 03, 06, 10, 13, 14), but the main topic within them was pregnancy, mentioned in six out of the seven stories. In parallel, these

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[29] Family is a special type of system, with structure, patterns and properties that organize stability and change; it is also a small human society whose members have direct contact, emotional bonds and a shared history. "(Duncan, et al 2013 my translation). "Família é um tipo especial de sistema, com estrutura, padrões e propriedades que organizam a estabilidade e a mudança. É também uma pequena sociedade humana cujos membros têm contato direto, laços emocionais e uma história compartilhada" (Duncan et al., 2013).

stories eventually brought up topics related to race, immigration and economic struggles, which intertwined or not with work and family influencing the *lean in* moment.

In relation to pregnancy, the main topic in this group, emotional realizations appeared either as positive feelings of satisfaction or as negative feelings of insecurity, corresponding to the women's professional circumstances at that moment. Satisfaction was manifested when there was the possibility of adapting work with the "*work of being a mother*", as noted in one of the stories, and when pregnancy was not an obstacle to being hired to a new job, as other in the case of other two storytellers. Insecurity was present when the women had to deal with professional changes and choices. These feelings of insecurity were manifested in relation to the period before being hired or before finding a professional placement of choice while pregnant. The examples below demonstrate some of these feelings, either in relation to pregnancy or referring to motherhood and parenthood:

Positive feelings	*"fulfilled as a mother" "with all might", "wiser", "immensely grateful", "heroic effort", "newly pregnant", "love being a stay-at-home-father", "diving deep", "more able", "successful working mom"*
Positive and/or Negative feelings	*"without feeling guilty"*
Negative feelings	*"not straightforward", "my body was no longer performing", "too emotional", "complicated", "difficult hire", "serious complications", "incredible naïve", "sacrifice", "less risky choices", "worry", "worries", "crushing effect"*

Regarding pregnancy Jones et al. (2016) explain that:

… empirical research has demonstrated that pregnant employees experience many of the same forms of negative backlash that are associated with characteristics that are more commonly considered to be stigmatized (e.g., racial minority status, a lesbian or gay identity, obesity; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Hebl, King, Glick, Kazama, & Singletary, 2007). According to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2011), pregnancy discrimination claims

filed in 2011 increased by almost 50% since 1997. Together, this evidence suggests that pregnancy represents a devalued social identity – a stigma – in the workplace. (p. 1.531)

Besides, the stories demonstrated the presence of negative feelings regarding pregnancy and physical health, so that it was not only with stigmatized views women dealt while pregnant or trying to get pregnant, but also with health conditions, in case of complications, which interfered in their career choices as well. In these cases, insecurity or dissatisfaction was manifested when the women either had difficulties to get pregnant or had complications during pregnancy. As for instance in "my journey to motherhood was not straightforward… my body was no longer performing" and "my second pregnancy led to serious complications". The events resulted in an withdraw from work; in one case the woman "*took off*" for a period; in the other, she explains she had a "*watershed moment*" in her career in order to deal with the condition. In the case of adapting work to motherhood, staying at home was represented as a feeling of security. Overall, in these examples there were feelings of dissatisfaction in relation to career as well, as the examples bellow illustrate:

Negative feelings	*"temporally sitting on the back burner", "watershed personal and professional moment", "feared", "not be suitable"*

Moreover, reports dealing with stigmatized views of pregnancy eventually registered other kind of struggles, one related to race, although in another moment of the producer's life as in:

Story 14	*I learned about leaning in at an early age. I grew up in North Little Rock, Arkansas in a working class, African-American neighborhood, literally on the wrong side of the tracks. In middle*
	school, I was one of a few, if not the only, black student in the academic honors programs. I was often teased for being too smart or even "too white." Most of my classmates lived near
	the school I attended and studied together. I knew if I wanted to do extremely well, I had to get past my

	fears about venturing into unfamiliar neighborhoods. Despite often feeling out of place, I leaned into the educational opportunities that were presented to me and strived for excellence.

Another story was related to immigration in the same moment she was dealing with pregnancy and changing career:

Story 01	*Anxious to push forward and on a time deadline, I decided to accept a role junior to my experience in exchange for the opportunity to get sponsored in the States. Though the employer had no issue telling me I "came with a lot of problems," they were also dedicated to helping me sort through them. I was immensely grateful for their support and I leaned in, which required a 50% cut in my salary and compensation package. I remember feeling like I was staring at a roulette wheel and throwing all of my chips at my best guess, hoping I would magically hit the right number. Though I knew instinctively my investment would pay off in the long-term, there was no way for me to know then just how much.*

The most liked story, for instance, demonstrated that although the producer of the story had previously had a "*highly prestigious*" job and later was given another "*amazing opportunity*" in the work area, thus manifesting feelings of security and satisfaction in relation to work, there were feelings of insecurity for being a foreigner besides being pregnant while changing career choices. In another case, negative feelings of unhappiness were manifested in "*being out of place*" – as an African-American from a working-class neighborhood venturing in other neighborhoods, which illustrates Essed's (1997) observation, for instance, that "career development has never been an easy road for Black women" (p. 317). In another story, there were feelings of insecurity and unhappiness due to economical struggles for coming from a "*not wealthy*" family and for working in an NGO, which the writer indirectly indicated was more demanding while having lower payments rate in relation to other corporative jobs. In general, negative feelings related to these aspects were expressed as such:

Negative feelings	*"complicated", "a difficult hire", "anxious", "teased", "fears", "feeling out of place", "not wealthy", "into debt"*

Balancing marriage, work, children and personal issues was another aspect that appeared in this set of stories, raising negative feelings of insecurity, unhappiness and dissatisfaction. Although leaning in was represented as a learning process to overcome the struggles of juggling these multiple roles, the data demonstrated that there were several negative feelings during these processes.

Negative feelings	*"worries", "get stressed", "feel extremely scattered", "cope with", "a different ballgame", "constant agony", "to much on my plate", "a crushing sense of fear", "fear of failure".*

Marriage was mainly backgrounded, but in cases in which partners had a more significant role, they were mostly mentioned in terms of positive feelings of happiness, satisfaction or security, except in the case in which there were financial limitations added to relationship decisions and "*worries*" with the excess of work from the part of the woman. In the story told by a man (Story 10), in which he was the one staying at home with the newborn, becoming the primary *"care giver",* insecurity appears when mentioning the efforts for the woman to keep her career '*at the same level*' and on his '*incredible naïve*' ideas of how to raise a baby. Otherwise, the feelings related to work in this story were feelings of security on both sides. In this sense, previous researches point that "participation in multiple roles can also create positive spillover, which includes positive affect, energy, support or confidence that is beneficial across roles" (Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Kirchmeyer, 1992; Wayne et al., 2004 as cited in King, Bostford, & Huffman, 2009). However, King et al.'s (2009) research further concludes that:

> … the extent to which employees are able to draw benefits from their participation in multiple roles influences their subjective advancement, whereas challenges in addressing these roles can have negative effects on advancement … the relationship is similar for mothers and fathers, but that imbalance may have a greater negative impact on mothers' advancement than on fathers'. (p. 890).

Similarly, the analysis of the stories demonstrated that there was a predominance of negative feelings of insecurity in the process of trying to balance these multiple roles, as the examples above illustrated. However, in relation to carrying on work and career, they were overall positive feelings.

Positive feelings	*"driven, creative people", "complete freedom", "rewarded", "a privilege", "the perfect fit for me", "feeling gratified", "creative", "forge ahead", "I feel the pull of the string and create the space to grow", "immensely grateful", "amazing opportunity", "thriving consult career"*

In sum, this set of stories demonstrated that emotions referring to work and leadership positions were predominantly of positive feelings of security and satisfaction. Nonetheless, they were accompanied by negative feelings of insecurity, dissatisfaction and unhappiness regarding other issues, mainly issues related to pregnancy, together with managing a way to maintain the quality of professional goals and the quality of personal lives, as stories numbers 01, 02, 03, 06, 10 and 13 show. Eventually issues related to race, immigration and economical struggles took part in this process as well, see stories number 14, 01 and 03, respectively. In terms of leadership and producing change (Sinclair, 2012), this set of stories indicated that the producers ended up producing changes in their career, but in another moment than the *lean in* moment which meant: taking a step back (story 01), adapting career and work (story 02), supporting a wife (story 10), finding ways of integrating all their roles (story 13), or creating their own company (story 06). In these cases, the changes they produced seemed to be more of a personal level, in a sense that they had to adapt to some conditions to be able to manage all their goals and later produce changes in their professional development, which is different from the group of stories "just work".

II. Just work

In this set of stories, the producers are young, or at least, their stories happened when they were starting their professional careers. Here all four stories present two distinct scenarios: in two stories (11, 12), the feelings related to work or career were mainly negative while in the other two (08, 15) the feelings related to work were mainly positive. The ones with the majority of negative feelings had very specific reasons, one

related to the work area and the other to religious issues. The two stories with the majority of positive feelings were related to being young and taking risks, as I explain now.

One story refers to the fact that the producer of the story, being a woman, chose to be a 'tech engineer', a field that is perceived as discriminatory to women. A Pew Research Center survey indicates, for instance, that "three-quarters of Americans (73%) say discrimination against women is a problem in the tech industry" (Parker & Funk, 2017, para. 3). Also a recent article published by the British newspaper *The Guardian* points out that:

> … when it comes to gender equality in the tech industry, the numbers probably won't surprise you. Only 17% of venture-backed companies are founded by women and women make up just 7% of partners at 100 of the top venture capitalist firms. (Tait, 2017, para. 1)

Hence, although in one story the writer became "*the first girl from [her] hometown to attend IIT*" and later *"earned a Master's Computer Science at Maryland*", thus manifesting positive feelings in relation to her achievement in career and work, negative feelings were predominant, because she was "*without the social support that male students enjoyed*". Examples of these feelings were:

Negative feelings	*"no simple thing", "struggled", "not entirely happy", "alone as an undergraduate", "not sure", "doubt myself", "difficult", "not easy"*

The other story is related to the fact that the producer, being Muslin was suggested to "*take off the scarf*" to attend an educational program in college. In this case, the student "*became the first woman with a headscarf to attend college's winter program"* and the negative feelings were not concentrated on career choices, since she "*applied to it confidently*" and was "*overjoyed*" when she first received the invitation to participate in the program, thus manifesting positive feelings. The majority of negative feelings in this case had to do with the fact that she had to deal with a discriminatory experience on her religious orientation and engaging in changing the program policies. This resulted in a series of negative feelings of unhappiness unveiled during the process of deciding what to do and how to take action to make a change. Examples of these negative feelings are:

Negative feelings	*"a shock", "hide your scarf", "incredulous", "walked robotically", "burst into tears", "helplessness and frustration", "forced to choose"*

Regarding this kind of experience, Pasha-Zaidi (2015) explains that one of the main reason of Islamophobic attitudes in Western countries is that the Islamic dress visually distinguishes Muslims from non-Muslims. She adds that:

> … the wearing of the headscarf is encouraged within the Muslim community not only as a reminder to limit interaction between the sexes in the public sphere, but as a religious obligation, a cultural representation to differentiate Muslim values from Western ones, and often as a political symbol to defy Western imperialistic notions of the ideal woman (Ruby, 2006; Read & Bartowski, 2000 as cited in Pasha-Zaidi, 2015, p. 71).

The two other stories had the majority of positive feelings with few negative ones: one story refers to engaging in taking a leadership position at a young age and the other to take the risks into the unfamiliar. Examples of these feelings are:

Positive feelings	*"lucky", "interested", "actively built", "great opportunity", "a job that I knew I loved", "visible and integral", "good balance", "recognized", "rewarded", "positive results", "gain confidence", "active member", "exited and honored", "successful", "confident", "proudly", "a huge leap", "ready", "incredibly happy", "more rewarding"*
Negative feelings	*"obstacles", "an intimidating thought", "nervous", "stumble and fall"*

Overall, this set of stories demonstrated, similar to the first set of stories, that feelings related to professional achievement were maily positive. However there was a predomince of negative feelings when the producers were held black either by situations such as being "*the only female engineer*" in the companhies where one of the writers worked, or due to a discriminatory situation "*compromising [her] beliefs and [her]*

potential". On the other hand, the other two stories, in which the producers dealt only with being too young and taking risks, their feelings were mainly positive, and they were able to acomplish their influence without a predominance of negative feeeligns. What distinguises this set of stories from the first group is that the two cases resulted in "an interest in change: on challenging the status quo or envisioning a new way forward" (Sinclair, 2012, p. 16), which is a characteristc of leadership. In comparisson to the first, these producers were more able to produce change in their work environments, whereas in the stories that involved family matters, changes occurred at more personal levels and demanded adapting career choices.

III. Community work

In the two stories (07, 09), which involved community work, the appraised items predominantly referred to institutions instead of the storytellers, as it occurred in the other stories. The appraised items were *a community*, *a foundation*, *a program*, *advisors* and *partners*, *fellows* and so on. Both stories have a predominance of positive feelings in relation to negative feelings. In these cases, feelings of security and satisfaction were related to being able to establish these communities and provide support to people in need, one by bringing basic health to places that were deficient and the other by fighting against sex slavery. For example, feelings of insecurity tended to be related to the conditions of the people attending the programs, as the examples below demonstrated:

Positive feelings	*"outreach workers, investigators, medics and educators", "elevate the survivor voice", "end trafficking", "the eradication of slavery", "best efforts", "with love", "with compassion, passion and action", "hope for the future", "miraculous", "passion, skill and talent", "diverse backgrounds", "change-makers and paradigm shifter", "trusted", "inspired"*
Negative feelings	*"suffer back in my homeland", "never rest", "still in trouble",* *"scared to my mind", "very tiny", "unprivileged", "fundamental inequities"*

At a personal level, one of the stories starts with a sequence of negative feeling related to the storyteller's own experience on sexual harassment, an issue that became the foundation of her programs "*for the eradication of slavery through campaigns and strategic partnerships worldwide*". Hence, even though positive feelings were predominant due to the results of the producer's social work, the story setting unveils a predominance of negative feelings related to her personal story. This is aligned with Crenshaw (1994), who explains that, besides naturalized views and discrimination systems, women have to deal with violence and sexual harassment, which increases according to race and class. Examples of these emotions were:

Negative feelings	*"sold to a man", "beat me", "violated me", "raped, beaten, called worthless and nearly lost my will to live"*

Nonetheless, as well as in the previous groups of stories, feelings related to carrying on work were predominately positive, while negative feelings were related to issues of social inequality and issues of violence against women.

IV. Public service

This last set of stories refers to choosing a career in politics. Both cases mention family, but not as a central issue interfering on career decisions. They have characteristics seen in the other stories, such as being young or having more appraised items related to other groups of people as well as a state and/or a city. These stories (04, 05) have a predominance of positive feelings, with the negative feelings related to deciding whether to get into such a career or step up in a major role within politics.

In one story, the main concern of the producer is to run for a leadership position in congress, and the other refers to a process of deciding to leave the initial career plan to enter politics, since this was a subsequent "call" as the writer explains. Examples of these emotions are:

Positive feelings	*"still inspired", "honored", "committed", "proud", "filled with gratitude", "confidence", "encourage", "so grateful", "more involved",*

	"won that council rate", "won it as well", "make a positive difference", "proud"
Negative feelings	*"apprehensive", "tough", "hard", "young and experienced", "working through the often-difficult political system"*

This group of stories also demonstrated that issues related to carrying out work were pervaded by positive feelings, while the negative feelings were related to occupying positions in politics, in one case more focused on deciding to enter such a career and on the other to run for a leadership position.

Mainly, what the analysis of the stories demonstrate is that the storytellers, being predominantly women, do not have negative feelings in relation to work, the struggles they face demanding to *lean in* are related to other aspects of social life. The aspects found in these sets of stories were pregnancy, balancing family and work, being young, religious discrimination, sexual harassment and conquering spaces in fields that are still predominantly masculine, such as the congress and technological industries. These issues are thus not related to lack of self-confidence and internal barriers but to institutional barriers that are part of the sociocultural order. Considering this, I will now proceed to the conclusion.

5   CONCLUSION

Considering the aspects addressed in the analysis and discussion, I now return to the main points raised in the previous section by answering the research questions and proceeding to the concluding remarks of my study.

What are the main topics in the most liked *Lean In Stories*? What these topics say about gendered discourses and women's leadership ambition gap?

The 15 most liked stories, as expected, are stories of professionals holding successful positions within their environments. They raise issues related to work, career and leadership, together with several other aspects of the social stratum. These aspects, which intertwine with career achievements and choices, refer to work and family balance, especially regarding pregnancy, motherhood and parenthood; leadership and work positions at a young age and at a certain age; working in fields recognized to be more masculine; religious discrimination; social work, on global health and against sexual harassment; and, career in politics. *Leaning in* tends to be more associated to producing change in relation to these aspects than in relation to carrying out work and occupying leadership positions in work locations. Leading in work environments seems to be an easy and satisfying task for the storytellers, as indicated in terms of language by the predominance of positive feelings when referring to work matters. On the other hand, when storytellers deal with issues related to established cultural constructs as the ones listed above, demanding a leadership position to produce change regarding these issues, they face more constrains, as indicated by the predominance of negative feelings in these cases.

The results of the analysis thus demonstrate that among this group of participants economically, socially and politically invested, the difficulties women face do not relate to work per se, since they prove to be efficient and assertive in conquering their initial goals. The adversities here rather relate to sociocultural constructs that still put women in devalued positons or still require women to conquer positions previously occupied only by men. In the cases in which these sociocultural constructs were related to family and personal life, the results indicated that adjustments at an individual and personal level were necessary to achieve professional and/or personal success, without the participants being able to rely on forms of supports at more institutional levels. Furthermore, individual properties and heroic qualities were particularly demanded in these circumstances. In the other cases, in which the storytellers had to

deal with cultural constructs at a more institutional level, such as dealing with religious discrimination, investing in social solidarity and occupying positions in fields that were conventionally masculine, the results point that leadership was more associated to a process promoting change, since it usually involved other individuals in the work group, beyond the family base, although still contingent to individual choices.

From a gender and critical perspective, it is possible to say that these issues, affecting women negatively when dealing with career choices, are the result of gendered discourses, which Baxter (2010) explains are institutionalized attitudes and norms that produce additional expectations and constrains on women's roles and performances. This means that the group of stories that were more broadly legitimized by the audience discusses issues that are in fact not related to personal matters but to socially constructed discourses that demand women to compromise in order to achieve work goals, yet unveiling individual assertiveness on dealing with these expectations, instead of being supported by collective endeavors. These personal and individual approaches are however broadly accepted and valued by the ideology of individualism that is predominant within the sociocultural background of the storytellers, as well as with the notions of leadership, which, as previously said, are likewise a product of this culture. In my view, in order to produce real changes, although these contributions are important to understand the impact these social constructs have in women's choices, they must be understood and discussed at institutional levels as systematic problems, since otherwise they rather sustain hegemonic neoliberal views, keeping the focus of the discussion only on women's individual performance.

I.   From a CDA perspective, how does participation in social media with a *Lean In* story contribute to the discussion on women's leadership ambition gap?

Considering Fairclough's three-dimensions of discourse in the analysis of the stories (text, discursive practice and sociocultural practice), the data indicates that participation in such environment is dependent upon the social capital of the participants that enable them to have the necessary resources to produce such a kind of discursive event. The fact that the participants come from similar sociocultural backgrounds and that the community is organized based on values and believes that are alike in this kind of online space also indicate the technological layer creates proximity among individuals with interest in similar subjects, hence demonstrating the power of this layer in

influencing the cultural layer, as suggested by Manovich (2001) and Han (as cited in Araujo, 2014). Besides, the necessary resources to promote this discussion are concerned not only to the sociocultural background of the participants and their social capital, which enables them to produce an inspiring story on leadership, but also to being able to deal with the technological resources offered to produce, distribute and consume the contents at stake.

Participating in the social media with a *Lean In* story thus contributes to the discussion on women's ambition gap in a sense that participants provide information about the issues they face in conquering and occupying leadership positions, but their presence and choices are marked by an identity that is aligned with the values of the community, reflecting only the conditions and possibilities of the group. The group is empowered with a certain level of agency and space for enactment that allows them to take part in such a discussion, especially with experiences that can inspire others – later legitimized by a distinct number of likes. These forms of participation, which result in a process of production, distribution and consumption by the audience, predominantly legitimize the values of self-reliance, competitivism and assertiveness that characterize merit at an individual level. As the analysis indicates, it is a tendency of social media sites to emphasize these individualistic characteristics due to the forms of participation provided by these environments and because online spaces, such as *lean in,* require financial investments that are mainly covered by private corporations, as in the case of all social media mentioned in the process (e.g. Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter). Lean in, for instance, is the result of an individual enterprise, which only exists due to the power of the 'principal' within the economic system and within the technological corporate arena, and the productions are thus influenced by the cues given by this 'principal'. On the other hand, stories of participants that are not likewise empowered, as for instance the women in the shelters mentioned in some stories, are not entitled with the same kind of resources that constitute an inspiring story. This kind of stratified form of organization is also a particular characteristic of leadership stories since, as discussed before, this is a notion of leadership based on individualistic aims. This may be the paradox of such a discussion, since this form of participation (production, distribution and consumption) raises important issues to the discussion of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions and consequently to the 'ambition gap'. However, it also creates niches of inequalities and individuals without the same resources may not take part in such a community. Besides, the issues discussed are kept at individual levels

instead of being taken to be discussed at more institutional levels as suggested by critical views. Here, the process of reshaping perspectives on the formation and negotiation of gender maintains, to a great extent, the values and principles of the economic power that regulates it.

In sum, in terms of discourse, it can be said that participation in social media with a *Lean In* story contributes to the discussion of women's leadership ambition gap only in terms of individual choices, which from a critical perspective is considered problematic since it does not take the discussion of change to more collective levels, such as rethinking the very notion of leadership, as suggested by Sinclair (2014). Two factors contribute to it: the general practice of social media participation and the notion of leadership. Contributions with a *Lean In* story are indeed effective but within the values and believes of the system they are part of, and for this reason, they might instead reinforce standardized views of inequality incorporated in the system. In my view, in terms of critical discourse, it is important that we perceive, as users, that our 'personalized' contributions to social media are indeed part of broader chunks of information, which are in fact the result of homogenized discourses we take part of when participating in these processes. Likewise, organizations such as *Lean In,* aiming to discuss the role of women in leadership position must consider the ambiguity of such endeavor and eventually strive for change at more deep and collective levels instead of continuing to reinforce the notions of individuality and of heroic qualities, which is rooted in patriarchal views. In other words, social media makes easy for individuals to participate and transform practices, but it also outspreads, and strengthen particular discourses organized in niches that are dependent on the regulations, organization, and purposes of the social media interactive qualities.

II. Based on APPRAISAL theory, how are the negative and positive feelings in the most liked *Lean In Stories* related to women's leadership ambition gap?

As presented in the analysis the stories unveil the attitude of the storytellers towards the experiences they share with the audience. They engage in a process of 'self-reflexivity' (Bruner, 1991; Foucault, 1997; Ochs & Capps, 1996) and self-disclosure, construing relations with respondents, since the act of socializing emotions is what constitutes membership in a community, unifying this community (Meurer, 1998; Ochs & Capps, 1996), and the stories here can be seen as a community building device. As it is characteristic of small stories, these records of

personal experience interlace personal and professional levels and work as a tool for coping with difficult life events. Based on APPRAISAL theory and on the language of AFFECT that is part of it, the stories demonstrated that emotions referring to work and leadership positions were predominantly of positive feelings, accompanied by negative feelings regarding other issues of the social stratum that interfere in the work sphere. The stories raised a miscellany of issues independently chosen by participants, which included pregnancy, balancing family and work, being young or at a certain age, religious discrimination, sexual harassment and conquering spaces in fields that are still predominantly masculine such as politics and technological industries. These issues were related to the discussion of leadership in a sense that women had to find ways to individually sustain and conquer leadership positions in their professional environments or had to engage in a process of changing standardized views and devalued social positions, which affected their professional choices. Yet, the stories unveil that the feelings related to work and professional achievement were predominantly positive of satisfaction, happiness and security, with the negatives feelings predominantly associated to these other aspects of the social stratum, occasionally backgrounded by issues related to race, immigration and economic struggles as well.

The results thus indicate that in terms of *affective language* the need to produce change, in a sense of leading, comes from demands not related to work and leadership performances at work environments per se, but from other areas of social life. Regarding family, for instance, the miscellany of subjects indicate that changes and adjustments were demanded at personal levels, generating negative feelings in the process of balancing professional and personal lives. Besides, for the storytellers not addressing family matters, the issues triggering negatives feelings were also not associated to their approach to work, but to other kind of situations and devalued positions that women had to deal with in their professional and/or personal lives. In these, they produced an interest in change and challenged the status quo, envisioning a new way forward regarding agendas that were important in terms of gendered discourses at social and institutional levels, yet acting individually. Therefore, they are not related to lack of self-confidence and internal barriers but, on the contrary, to leading roles dealing with the institutional barriers that are part of the sociocultural order they are inserted in. In terms of the leadership ambition gap, these results indicate that women are assertive and competent in their work roles as expected by the system they are part of, having a positive, secure, happy and satisfying approach to work. This

is problematic, as pointed out by Sandberg (2013), because the economic system is still occupied and run mostly by men and therefore women are not taking part in the decisions of the economic power. On the other hand, this situation might indicate that women are looking for other ways of dealing with this system, as suggested by Anderson et al. (2010) in their study on women partners leaving the firm. As the data demonstrates, in terms of professional choices, women are trying to find means to minimize socially constructed views that are responsible for raising negative feelings while performing professionally. Based on that, I believe that the issue of 'women's leadership ambition gap' should be further investigated, especially in surveys, with the aim of answering what, where and how women are leading, which eventually may raise other alternatives we are looking for within the economic system.

5.1   CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this study, I have problematized the issue of 'women's leadership ambition gap' as raised in the social media *Lean In*, focusing on the textual resources produced by the audience through the *Lean In Stories*. The investigation of language in the selected data, from the perspectives of Gender and Language Studies, CDA and APPRAISAL Theory, demonstrated that the group of participants that produced, distributed and consumed the textual resources in question were empowered with cultural, economic and social capital and had a positive approach to work goals and career development. These aspects were manifested mainly by the language of affect that unveiled a predominance of positive feelings in relation to work, while negative feelings were manifested predominantly towards other aspects of social life that play a role in career choices such as: pregnancy, balancing family and work, being young, religious discrimination, sexual harassment and conquering spaces in fields that are still predominantly masculine, as congress and technological industries.

By analyzing this group of stories, I intended to contribute with the discussion on what might interfere and/or influence women's career choices and professional development as well as discussing how the individualistic notions of leadership, which tend to represent opposite views of equality and social solidarity, also play a role in these decisions. Besides, I situated this discussion within the interactive qualities of social media, observing how this channel of communication might influence the formation of groups and communities and the production of texts published in such a space. In terms of pedagogical implications, these

aspects are important in order to prepare students, who produce, distribute and consume content in virtual spaces, to become critical readers and to be aware of the intricacies that involve this kind of social interaction. The results refer to a short corpus of texts and a single context due to the limitations of this work. It is necessary to research other virtual spaces with similar topics, eventually comparing them, further exploring gender issues in social media especially related to the topic of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions. Different perspectives might as well bring other views to the matter.

In sum, as discussed in the research questions, the analysis indicated that the issues related to 'women's leadership ambition gap' were not associated to personal and internal barriers. The difficulties women faced, according to the stories at stake, were mainly related to sociocultural constructs and gendered discourses that still put women in devalued positons or still require women to conquer positions previously occupied only by men. Besides, the analysis demonstrated that these gendered discourses tend to produce additional constrains on women's performances. As a form of online participation, although the presence of such community and the discussion of such matters in online environments is of greatly importance. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that the organization of online communities tends to create niches of inequalities in which individuals without the same resources may not take part, reinforcing certain values and principles that are not inclusive. Regarding the community at stake, in which individuals take part in important roles within the economic power, women proved to be effective and assertive in their professional roles, individually sustaining and conquering leadership positions as well as engaging processes of changing standardized views they faced in their professional development. Yet, as the analysis of AFFECT unveils, negative feelings are at play due to the necessary efforts necessary minimize socially constructed views that still put women in unequal positions within sociocultural orders that rule workplaces and work relations.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A – STORY 01[30]

"I was working in New York as foreign correspondent for the Times of London when I received a call saying my four year post was up. I was to return to London to be the parliamentary sketch-writer, a highly prestigious job in London, following the then Prime Minister Tony Blair.

But I didn't want to return to London. I knew I had unfinished business in New York and I wanted to work in the biggest magazine market in the world. However, I had no visa and I was pregnant with my second child. To get around the immigration issues, I needed a job, but my personal "situation" was complicated and I knew it made me a difficult hire.

Anxious to push forward and on a time deadline, I decided to accept a role junior to my experience in exchange for the opportunity to get sponsored in the States. Though the employer had no issue telling me I "came with a lot of problems," they were also dedicated to helping me sort through them. I was immensely grateful for their support and I leaned in, which required a 50% cut in my salary and compensation package. I remember feeling like I was staring at a roulette wheel and throwing all of my chips at my best guess, hoping I would magically hit the right number. Though I knew instinctively my investment would pay off in the long-term, there was no way for me to know then just how much.

I've had friends comment that my transition to Cosmopolitan must have been my most challenging Lean In moment yet. I disagree. Choosing to take a junior role in exchange for sponsorship and the legal right to work here was actually my greatest challenge, and it eventually lead me to being given the amazing opportunity to edit Cosmopolitan, the world's most widely-circulated magazine; we have 66 editions across the world.

If I could offer any advice, it would be: Be your own shrink and ask yourself tough questions like: Why am I doing this? Where do I want

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[30] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/joanna-coles

to be? And of course, Sheryl's favorite question, what would I do if I wasn't afraid? And then be brutally honest with yourself, even if you give yourself answers you don't want to know. Pay attention to your instincts and the opportunities in front of you. Which ones will take you nearest to where you want to go? Then go get on with it."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
foreign	Joana	-insecurity	Joana
highly prestigious	Joana	+security	Job
parliamentary sketch-writer	Joana	+security	Job
no visa	Joana	-insecurity	Joana
pregnant with my second child	Joana	-insecurity	Joana
immigration issues	Joana	-insecurity	Joana
complicated	Joana	-dissatisfaction	Personal Situation (pregnancy, immigrant)
a difficult hire	Joana	-insecurity	Joana
anxious	Joana	-insecurity	Joana
junior to my experience	Joana	-insecurity	A role
the opportunity to get sponsored	Joana	+security	Joana
"with a lot of problems"	Employer	-insecurity	Joana
immensely grateful	Joana	+satisfaction	Joana
50% cut	Joana	-insecurity	my salary and compensation package
knew instinctively	Joana	-satisfaction	Joana
felling like staring at a roulette wheel and throwing all of my chip at my best guess	Joana	-insecurity	Joana
most challenging lean in moment	Joana	-insecurity	Transition to Cosmopolitan (Work)
exchange for sponsorship and the legal right to work	Joana	-insecurity	a junior role in
my greatest challenge	Joana	-insecurity	Joana
the amazing opportunity	Joana	+satisfaction	Edit Cosmopolitan
afraid	Joana	-insecurity	You (readers)
brutally honest	Joana	+security	You (readers)

APPENDIX B – STORY 02[31]

"After taking off nearly three years to have children, I knew it was my time to lean in. My journey to motherhood was not straightforward. Like so many women who are driven to achieve a measure of purpose through their professional success, I felt really stressed. So much so, that my body was no longer performing. I needed to step away, because no doctor could explain why my children were not coming.

Three years later, as I sat across from my interviewer, a full 26 weeks pregnant for the second time. There is no question I felt fulfilled as a mother, however, I was underutilized as a professional and ready to re-engage my talents as a leader. All of the reasons why I would not be hired were racing through my mind. They'll worry about you taking a maternity leave. They'll worry that you'll never return. They'll worry that you will be too emotional. They won't hire you because there are less risky choices to fill the role. But, I also knew I was the one best suited for the role.

After eleven interviews, I received an offer from Yahoo. I accepted the position and approached my role with determination, eager to demonstrate that this would be a winning partnership. I would be taking leave in 13 weeks, so I placed a fair amount of emphasis on building relationships, establishing a few early successes and making commitments to deliver key results over the next several quarters. I worked until the night before my scheduled c-section.

After my second daughter was born, I took an eight-week leave, but still logged in on a daily basis to resolve roadblocks, share ideas and check on progress. As a leader, I wanted to make sure my new team felt encouraged and supported. I also wanted to influence several big initiatives and had not been around long enough to establish my capabilities as a leader. So, I knew that I needed to be present. I recognize that my approach does not work for everyone, but it was the perfect fit for

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[31] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/regina-wallace-jones

me. Thankfully, I was able to straddle work between my daughter's naps and feeding. And, she was my second child, so I had a controlled confidence that I simply did not have the first time around.

Shortly after I returned from my maternity leave, I received a promotion. I remember feeling gratified to know that leaning in really can work.

There is no perfect way to juggle children and work. I want to believe I am fully present professionally, and also as a wife and mother. I also do my part to influence civic and social agendas that are important to me. But to be honest, I often feel extremely scattered, and I need external voices to continue to reassure me that thriving in this journey is possible. This is in part the promise of Lean In. The end state will be collections of capable professionals around the world, who encourage each other with tangible methods to cope and thrive in the work of achieving our professional destiny. If we can orient each other to leaning in when we would otherwise make a different choice, then we can start to affect the stagnant growth of women in senior leadership roles."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
not straightforward	Regina	-dissatisfaction	Journey to motherhood
felt really stressed	Regina	-insecurity	Regina
was no longer performing	Regina	-dissatisfaction	My Body
a full 26 week pregnant	Regin a	+satisfaction	Regina
fulfilled as mother	Regina	+satisfaction	Regina
underutilized as a professional	Regina	-dissatisfaction	Regina
ready to re-engage my talents as a leader	Regina	+security	Regina
worry (3x)	Regina	-insecurity	They (employees)
too emotional	Regina	-insecurity	Regina
less risky choices	Regina	-insecurity	Other hires
the one best suited	Regina	+security	Regina
with determination	Regina	+security	Regina
eager	Regina	+satisfaction	Regina
winning	Regina	+security	Partnership
fair amount of emphasis	Regina	+satisfaction	Relationships successes and commitments
felt encouraged and supported	Regina	+security	My team
the perfect fit for me	Regina	+security	Approach (to work)
controlled confidence	Regina	+security	Regina
feeling gratified	Regina	+satisfaction	Regina
fully present professionally, and also as a wife and as a mother	Regina	+satisfaction	Regina
feel extremely scattered	Regina	-unhappiness	Regina
collections of capable professionals around the world	Regina	+satisfaction	The end state
encourage each other with *tangible methods* to *cope* and *thrive* in the work of achieving our *professional destiny*	Regina	+security	Capable professionals

APPENDIX C – STORY 03[32]

"My mother always said that the meaning of life exists in helping other people. She lived this philosophy by spending 35 years teaching infants with disabilities in the crowded farmworker homes of Watsonville, California. She built her life around helping these families and her own.

She also instilled a belief that I could make a difference with my future. Our family wasn't wealthy, but I knew I was lucky to have complete freedom to choose my path. I thought of this when I came in second for a non-profit job I applied for, and asked my interviewers if a Master's degree would help. "With a Master's degree, you could run the place," they replied, so I moved to New York to earn a graduate degree in non-profit management.

Living and studying in the country's most expensive city, I went into debt and passed on the city's luxuries. Instead, I spent long days connecting elder jazz musicians to health care and employment, and longer evenings in class.

Today I work for a nonprofit dedicated to the eradication of sex slavery and the empowerment of its survivors based around the vision and life's work of survivor and activist Somaly Mam. The organization is young and operates like a startup, forcing me to create new paths, challenge myself and take risks. My role has shifted a few times and I recently put fears aside to make my first ask for major financial support for the organization. My courage was rewarded: The resulting check was many times more generous than I'd hoped.

Among many misconceptions about a career in nonprofits is that it caters to people who are lazy or unqualified for corporate jobs. I approach my job seriously, applying the same rigor that I would to a corporate position. I consider it a privilege to tackle this global issue and to support a change-maker, and I know that each hour spent cultivating donors

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[32] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/amy-j-merrill

means that many more skills training courses for women in the centers or education sessions in the brothels.

Sometimes I think I sacrifice more than I should for this job, and my husband worries when I answer emails late at night or get stressed. After our wedding last summer, I went to Cambodia for work instead of on a honeymoon (we're planning one now). I recently turned 30 and we're starting to discuss whether to have children and how that would even work in our small Brooklyn apartment and busy lives.

But in the meantime, I will continue to lean in by embracing opportunities where I have the potential to make a real impact and where I can positively affect the lives of other women and girls. I'm making my work my mission, and I'm following in the footsteps and philosophy of my mother."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
not wealthy	Amy	-insecurity	Our family
lucky	Amy	+happiness	Amy
complete freedom	Amy	+happiness	Amy
into debt	Amy	-insecurity	Amy
forcing me to create new paths, *challenging* myself and *take risks*	Amy	-insecurity	Start-up (non-profit)
fears aside	Amy	+security	Amy
rewarded	Amy	+satisfaction	My courage
more generous	Amy	+happiness	The resulting check
lazy and unqualified	Amy	-unhappiness	People in non-profits career
seriously	Amy	+satisfaction	Amy
a privilege	Amy	+satisfaction	Tackle this global issue and to support a change maker
sacrifice more than I should	Amy	-unhappiness	Amy
worries	Amy	-insecurity	Husband
get stressed	Amy	-unhappiness	Amy
positively affect	Amy	+satisfaction	Amy

APPENDIX D – STORY 04[33]

"Ambition to follow your dreams is admirable, but so is realizing a responsibility to stay and help uplift a community.

I was 23 years old, a third-year law student ready to embark on my dream career in the music industry. Having completed a music business degree at NYU, I felt more than ready to make things happen.

My boyfriend (now husband) Riley and I were home for my brother's graduation ceremony. We were both almost finished with law school and had already talked about the possibility of getting married. Our plans included an out-of-state move to Nashville, where I would pursue a career on Music Row.

The commencement speaker for my brother's graduation was Mr. Jay Rye III, a local luminary. As he spoke, I daydreamed about our plans for the future; I thought about our wedding, our careers and every step we would take along the way. Then something the speaker said caught my attention. He challenged the graduates not to contribute to Alabama's "brain drain," a long-existing problem in which young, talented Alabamians leave the state to follow their ambitions elsewhere. "Invest in Alabama," he said. "Chase your dreams, but whenever possible, contribute to building up your home and making it a better place."

I don't know if the graduates were listening, but I sure was. And so was Riley. How many bright, talented individuals had we seen leave the state to pursue careers in so-called greener pastures? Montgomery and the State of Alabama had hard-to-fix problems. Would it make the difference if Riley and I, who care deeply about our home, put down roots? Ambition to follow one's dreams is admirable, I thought, but so is realizing a responsibility to stay and help lift up a community. If we didn't, who would?

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[33] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/martha-roby

At 23, I didn't know what I had to offer. Possibilities raced through my mind. Maybe I could practice law in Montgomery. Maybe I could volunteer and become a civic leader. Maybe I could get more involved at church or in local schools. Whatever my decision, I knew – along with Riley – I felt a sudden and certain calling to stay in Montgomery and help my community and state become a better place.

A few short years later, our local city council member announced her retirement. Watching the story on the evening news, I elbowed Riley and he shot me a knowing look. Though young and inexperienced, I worked hard and won that council race. Years later, I entered an equally-unlikely race for Congress and won it as well. Now, beginning a second term in Congress, I realize I'm just scratching the surface of what I can do to help solve Alabama's hard-to-fix problems.

That commencement speech compelled me to lean in to a lifetime commitment to public service; into working through the often-difficult political system to make a positive difference. It's been a team effort all the way, and I'm grateful for the opportunities Riley and I have had these last ten years. I'm also proud that I have a role in making our hometown, our state and our country a better place to live for our daughter and son.

There's an old saying: "We plan and God chuckles." Life may have been fine if it had gone according to my original plan, but I believe I've reaped even greater blessings by leaning in to my home state than I ever would have discovered on Music Row."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
a 23 year old, third-year law student *ready* to embark on my dream career in the music industry	Martha	+security	Martha
felt more than ready to make things happen	Martha	+security	Martha
'brain drain'	Speaker	-dissatisfaction	Alabama
a long-existing problem	Martha	-dissatisfaction	Alabama
young, talented	Martha	+security	Alabamians
many bright, talented individuals	Martha	+satisfaction	Individuals
hard-to-fix problems	Martha	-dissatisfaction	Montgomery and the state of Alabama
care deeply about our home	Martha	+satisfaction	Riley and I
more involved	Martha	+satisfaction	Martha
I felt a sudden and certain calling to stay in Montgomery and help my community and state become a better place	Martha	+satisfaction	Martha
young and inexperienced	Martha	-insecurity	Martha
won that council race	Martha	+satisfaction	Martha
won it as well	Martha	+satisfaction	Martha
just scratching the surface of what I can do	Martha	+security	Martha
working through the often-difficult political system	Martha	+security	Martha
make a positive difference	Martha	+security	Martha
a team effort	Martha	+security	It
also proud	Martha	+satisfaction	Martha

APPENDIX E – STORY 05[34]

"Sometimes all it takes is a single moment to change your life forever. In 2004 – at the age of 35 – mine changed in a way I never would have imagined. As a young woman from a farm and fruit stand in Kettle Falls, Washington, I put my hand on the Bible and was sworn in as the 200th woman ever to serve in the United States House of Representatives. And there, within the walls of the Capitol building – a home that has borne witness to the history of this great nation since its earliest days – the trajectory of my life changed forever.

Almost a decade later, as I stand where so many of America's remarkable leaders stood centuries before me, I am still inspired every single time I walk through the halls of Congress. I am honored to represent the people of Eastern Washington, committed to making America better for our children than it was for us, and proud to help change the course of history. Most of all, my heart is filled with gratitude for all the people who have believed in me along the way and given me the confidence to lean in at the most pivotal times. To make the tough decisions; to take risks; to live boldly. Because those are the people – the ones who encourage you, support you, and believe in you – who lead you to seek new goals and accept new challenges. And I'm so grateful they have.

Just this year, I contemplated running for the fourth-ranking leadership position in the House of Representatives. Only one other Republican woman had ever broken into the "Big Four" – and only Nancy Pelosi had done so on the other side of the aisle. I was apprehensive. Will I be in over my head? Am I the right person for the job? But as I reflected on each step that had led me to where I stood – a U.S. Congresswoman and Vice Chair of the House Republican Conference – I was reminded that many people had noticed my hard work, commitment and passion for

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[34] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/cathy-mcmorris-rodgers

public service. They had encouraged me to take the next step, to lean in and muster up the courage to go for it.

And so I did.

The competition was tough and the race was hard. But those who believed in me along the way reminded me of what I was forced to remind myself: that I had earned it. I had done the work, traveled the country and stepped up for each assignment. I had always been more of a work horse than a show horse and it seemed to have served well over the years. I was proud of my legislative accomplishments and was confident that it could stand up to anyone else's. But I was apprehensive to toot my own horn. Could I make the case effectively? Could I articulate my attributes strongly enough?

Throughout the years, when I reached pivotal Lean In moments – the times I realized a single decision could change the course of my life forever – I always told myself, "Cathy, have no regrets." Since I was a little girl, my parents told me never to let my doubts or fears stop me from trying. They told me that I could be anything I wanted to be – that no challenge was too great and no dream was too big. They wanted to help me become the first in my family to graduate from college. They told me to push my limits – no matter the challenge. And so, decades later, when I put my name in the race to be the Chair of the House Republican Conference, I remembered what they had told me. And I learned that for each of us, our limits may not be what they appear to be. Each step prepares us for the next step; our limits expand. And mine most certainly have.

So I ran. And I won. Now – as the 39th Chair of the House Republican Conference, I am pushing my limits and influence in a new and exciting way. I'm helping to reshape the Republican message and successfully communicate it to all corners of America. It's one of the most exhilarating and challenging jobs I've ever had.

And so I've learned that it takes only a single moment to change the course of your life in ways that are both beautiful and unexpected. My decision to run for Congress in 2004 opened doors that I never would

have foreseen, both personally and professionally. In 2005, I met Mr. Wonderful, Brian Rodgers, and today we are married with two children – one with special needs – who have taught me more about life than any job ever could. My decision to run for Congress led me not only to become the House Republican Conference Chair, but a wife, a mother, and a woman passionate about the unique challenges of them all. A single decision – and all the people who have leaned in and made it possible – brought me to this place in time, this moment in history. And there's nowhere else I'd rather be."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
200th woman ever to serve in the united states house of representatives	Cathy	+happiness (rejoice)	Cathy
remarkable	Cathy	+security	leaders
still inspired	Cathy	+happiness	Cathy
honored	Cathy	+happiness	Cathy
committed	Cathy	+security	Cathy
proud	Cathy	+satisfaction	Cathy
my heart is filled with gratitude	Cathy	+satisfaction	Cathy
confidence	Cathy	+security	Cathy
make the tough decisions	Cathy	+security	Cathy
take risks	Cathy	+insecurity	Cathy
live boldly	Cathy	+security	Cathy
encourage you	Cathy	+security	People
support you	Cathy	+security	People
believe in you	Cathy	+security	People
so grateful	Cathy	+satisfaction	Cathy
broken into the "big four"	Cathy	+security	Other Republican Woman
done so on the other side of the aisle	Cathy	+security	Nancy Pelosi
apprehensive	Cathy	-insecurity	Cathy
be in over my head?	Cathy	-insecurity	Cathy
the right person for the job?	Cathy	-insecurity	Cathy
a U.S. congresswoman and vice chair of the house republican conference	Cathy	+happiness (rejoice)	Cathy
hard work	Cathy	+satisfaction (interest)	Cathy
committed passion for public service	Cathy	+satisfaction (interest)	Cathy

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
encouraged me to take the next step, to lean in and muster up the courage to go for it.	Cathy	+security	They
tough	Cathy	-insecurity	The competition
hard	Cathy	-insecurity	The race
forced to remind myself: that I had earned it, I had done the work, traveled the country and stepped up for each assignment.	Cathy	-insecurity	Cathy
more a work horse that a show horse	Cathy	+satisfaction (interest)	Cathy
proud of my legislative accomplishments	Cathy	+satisfaction	Cathy
confident	Cathy	+satisfaction	Cathy
apprehensive	Cathy	-insecurity	Cathy
could I make the case effectively?	Cathy	-insecurity	Cathy
could I articulate my attributes strongly enough?	Cathy	-insecurity	Cathy
have no regrets	Cathy	+security	Cathy
never to let doubts or fears stop me from trying	Parents	+security	Cathy
be anything I wanted to be	Parents	+security	Cathy
too great	Cathy	+satisfaction	Challenge
too big	Cathy	+satisfaction	dream

APPENDIX F – STORY 06[35]

"Drink in hand, I was standing beside a giant portrait of myself dressed as a 19th-century explorer in an unmapped desert. The photo was part of a local magazine's round up: I'd been selected as one of San Francisco's "movers and shakers" thanks to the success of my company and the forthcoming publication of my second book (a collection of stories about the first female archaeologists who truly braved it in a man's world). I'd reached my professional peak. Now at age 33, I was basking in the results of a lot of hard work and calculated risk, and it felt amazing. I took a sip of my virgin cocktail for I was also, now, newly pregnant.

My company LOKI was born in a tiny Sausalito studio by the determination, sweat and certainty that things would work. That I would work. That without a single client or contact in California I could pull this off. I was single then and strapped for cash.

I leaned in strong. I gave myself pep talks over a cup of coffee each morning. I was writing at night. Doing book manuscript revisions on weekends. And eventually I found traction and clients started to call. I was building a nest of personal and professional gain. And now the little egg was finally due.

Touching the glow of hard-earned professional achievement, I was about to leave it. I planned to stay home to raise my baby for at least the first year. By the end of that year, I was pregnant, by design, again. Was this my time of leaning back? I don't think so.

Today I'm a mom to two boys and I lean in to this role with all my might. LOKI is still humming, though I work sparingly on choice jobs, never more than 20 hours a week and usually much less than that. Yet taking the long view, I believe that while my career may be temporarily sitting on the back burner – maintained at a purposeful simmer – the experience of motherhood is giving me some seriously new skills. I'm

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[35] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/amanda-adams-hinde

diving deep within parts of myself that I never knew existed. And all of this informs who I am, will be, and what comes next.

Choosing to stay at home while my kids are young is a form of professional development. My LOKI work is creative and the challenges and triumphs of mommyhood shape my scope of understanding. When I do return to work full time, I think I'll be wiser and more able than I was before.

So long as a person is "all in" with their actions and intentions, committed to the chosen experience at hand, however sloppy it may seem in the moment, whether it's temporary or a tall ladder to climb, it's going to bear some fruit. I've never leaned into any life experience more than the work of motherhood."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
San Francisco's "movers and shakers	Local magazine	+security	Amanda
amazing	Amanda	+satisfaction	work
newly pregnant	Amanda	+satisfaction	Amanda
determination, sweat and certainty	Amanda	+security	Amanda
strapped	Amanda	-insecurity	Amanda
strong'	Amanda	+security	Amanda
pep talks	Amanda	+security	Amanda
hard-earned	Amanda	-dissatisfaction	Professional achievement
pregnant	Amanda	+satisfaction	Amanda
with all my might	Amanda	+satisfaction	Lean in to this role
temporally sitting on the back burner	Amanda	-dissatisfaction	Career
maintained at a purposeful simmer	Amanda		Career
seriously new skills	Amanda	+satisfaction	Amanda
diving deep	Amanda	+security	Amanda
stay at home while my kids are young	Amanda	+security	Form of professional development
creative	Amanda	+satisfaction	My LOKI work (company)
challenges and triumphs of mommyhood	Amanda	+happiness	Scope of understanding
wiser	Amanda	+satisfaction	Amanda
more able than I was before	Amanda	+security	Amanda
sloppy	Amanda	-dissatisfaction	Person "all in" with their actions and intentions
bear some fruit	Amanda	+security	Person "all in" with their actions and intentions
never leaned into any life experience more than the work of motherhood	Amanda	+satisfaction (interest: attentive, involved, absorbed)	Amanda

APPENDIX G – STORY 07[36]

"I was in college when I first travelled to Africa for the launch of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. Among the many images seared into my mind was one from a visit with a little girl I met. I assumed she was three years-old; I later discovered she was almost seven. She was very tiny because she was born HIV-positive in a place where access to basic healthcare wasn't an option. I never knew the fate of that little girl – or if she even lived into the next year – but I was struck by the overwhelmingly unfair fact that her life would have been drastically different had she been born just a couple of years later or in a different nation. I knew I had to do something about these issues but didn't know what that would be.

Years later, after experiences from working for Red Cross Children's Hospital in South Africa to interning for UNICEF in Botswana, my world changed. At the aids2031 Young Leaders Summit, UNAIDS' CEO Peter Piot challenged the young leaders in the audience to think about how they would continue the miraculous work that had been done on HIV/AIDS and more broadly on global health. My sister Jenna and four other guests put our heads together and hatched a business plan for an organization that would harness the passion, skills and talent of young leaders with diverse backgrounds to confront the massive health challenges facing our world. The six of us would call it Global Health Corps.

I had never started an organization from the ground up, but I believed so strongly in the vision and mission of our plan that I left my job to devote all of my time to our mission. GHC believes young people are the solution to global health challenges. We place recent college graduates and young professionals from around the world in health non-profits and government offices in the US and East Africa for a year of service. Fellows focus on a variety of current health issues like HIV, maternal child health and healthcare access. Through additional training, community building, leadership development,and mentorship, these

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[36] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/barbara-bush

young leaders complete their fellowship with the skills to be changemakers and paradigm-shifters in the global health field, not just now but throughout their entire careers.

Together with my co-founders, trusted advisors and partners, we have created an organization that has deployed 216 young leaders to work in East Africa, Southern Africa and the US, where we have served the health needs of underprivileged communities. Fellows have built financial management systems for grassroots HIV organizations in Uganda, counseled homeless teenagers in Newark, supported Rwandan district pharmacies in rolling out new supply chain management tools and conducted AIDS policy research in Washington DC.

Collectively, the six of us leaned in to work to change fundamental inequities in global health, but everyday I'm inspired by our fellows who work on the front lines. My hope is that the health equity movement will flourish and that women and men from around the world will continue to lean in and commit themselves to social justice."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
seared to my mind	Barbara	-insecurity	Image
very tiny	Barbara	-insecurity	She (little girl)
born HIV-positive	Barbara	-dissatisfaction	She (little girl)
access to basic health care wasn't an option	Barbara	-insecurity	A place (Africa)
stuck by the overwhelming unfair	Barbara	-insecurity	Fact (born in Africa)
drastically different had she been *born just a couple of years later or in a different nation*.	Barbara	-insecurity	Her life (little girl)
miraculous	UNAID's CEO	+satisfaction	UNAID's work
passion, skills and talent	Barbara	+security	Young leaders
diverse backgrounds	Barbara	+satisfaction	Young leaders
believed so strongly in the vision and mission of our plan	Barbara	+security	Barbara
the solution to global health challenges	Global Health Corps	+security	Young People
change-makers and paradigm-shifter	Barbara	+security	Young leaders
trusted	Barbara	+security	Advisors and Partners
created an organization that has deployed 216 young leader to work in east Africa, south Africa and the U.S.	Barbara	+satisfaction	We
served the health need or underprivileged communities	Barbara	+satisfaction	We

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
built financial management systems for grassroots HIV organizations in Uganda, counseled homeless, teenagers in Newark	Barbara	+satisfaction	Fellows
supported Rwandan district pharmacies in rolling out new supply chain management tools	Barbara	+satisfaction	Fellows
conducted aids policy research in Washington DC	Barbara	+satisfaction	Fellows
unprivileged	Barbara	-insecurity	Communities
fundamental inequities	Barbara	-insecurity	Global Health
inspired	Barbara	+satisfaction	Barbara
lean in and commit themselves to social justice	Barbara	+satisfaction	Women and man

APPENDIX H – STORY 08[37]

"I started my legal recruiting career as an assistant two weeks after college graduation in June 2008. At the time, I considered myself lucky to even have a job, let alone a job that interested and engaged me so much. After a short period of time, I decided to actively build my network in the legal recruiting world by joining The New York City Recruitment Association (NYCRA), a citywide organization made up of approximately 400 legal recruiters from New York City law firms. By being involved in the group's mentor program, educational programming and social events, I quickly realized there was a great opportunity for a younger person to play a bigger leadership role in the industry.

In my career to date, there definitely have been obstacles along the way that I have had to overcome. In November of 2009, at my first job, I was told that there no longer was room for me in the firm's recruiting department. I transitioned into the marketing department, where I tried to turn a negative situation into a positive one. I looked at the transition as a chance to diversify my skill set and extend my network. However, as much as I was learning, I also realized that I missed recruiting. Consequently, I started my job search to get back to a job that I knew I loved.

When I joined my second law firm, I knew I wanted to take the initiative to approach my career at a more senior level, which was initially an intimidating thought for someone my age. I was given the opportunity to lean in when a core member of my team took a leave of absence and I stepped up to fill a more senior role. However, a challenge I faced was maintaining a balance between using my age to relate to our young law student recruits, while becoming more visible and integral to the firm as a senior member of the team. I must have found a good balance because after a short period of time my efforts were recognized and I was rewarded with a promotion. This was evidence that being proactive and stepping beyond an outlined job description can have positive results. This

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[37] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/julie-greenbaum

promotion helped me gain confidence that it was my time to embrace my career and expand my role in the industry, not only within my firm. Instead of just being an active member of New York's industry-wide legal recruiting group, I wanted to lean in and lead it.

The professional development initiatives I saw successfully implemented by NYCRA members have been invaluable tools for me in my career. I felt that a great next step for me would be to challenge myself to obtain a leadership position within the organization with a view towards giving back. I was ultimately nominated for a position on the Board of Directors as Treasurer, and was excited and honored to be recognized. I was confident that I possessed the skills and ambition necessary to be successful in this role, but aware of the possibility that I might lose to the more experienced candidates I was up against. I was nervous about the outcome, especially as this was within a group of my peers.

Given this opportunity, I was determined to get elected by effectively utilizing my network and was voted Treasurer in March 2013. I can proudly say that I am looking forward to my two-year term and to dedicating my time and efforts to the goals, mission and vision of an outstanding organization. To me, the lesson of *Lean In* is to seize opportunities, even at a young age, to lead and learn, both inside your organization and through external networks."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
lucky to even have a job	Julie	+satisfaction	Julie
interested and engaged me so much	Julie	+satisfaction	A Job
actively built	Julie	+security	Julie
quickly realized	Julie	+satisfaction	Julie
great opportunity	Julie	+satisfaction	Leadership Role
obstacles along the way I had to overcome	Julie	-insecurity	Julie
turn a negative situation into a positive one	Julie	+security	Julie
a chance to diversify my skill set	Julie	+security	Transition
a job that I knew I loved	Julie	+happiness	Job
an intimidating thought	Julie	-insecurity	Career
visible and integral	Julie	+security	Julie
good balance	Julie	+security	Work
recognized	Julie	+satisfaction	Efforts
rewarded with a promotion	Julie	+satisfaction	Julie
being proactive and stepping beyond	Julie	+security	Julie
positive results	Julie	+satisfaction	Julie
gain confidence	Julie	+security	Julie
active member	Julie	+satisfaction	Julie
successfully implemented	Julie	+satisfaction	Professional development
I *felt* that a great next step for me would be to challenge myself to obtain leadership position within the organization with a view toward giving back.	Julie	+security	Julie
excited and honored	Julie	+security	Julie
possessed the skills and ambition	Julie	+security	Julie
be successful	Julie	+security	Julie
aware of the possibility that I might lose to the	Julie	-dissatisfaction	Julie

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
more experience candidates			
confident	Julie	+security	Julie
nervous	Julie	-insecurity	Julie
determined	Julie	+security	Julie
effectively utilizing	Julie	+satisfaction	Julie
proudly say	Julie	+security	Julie
outstanding	Julie	+satisfaction	Organization

APPENDIX I – STORY 09[38]

"I call myself Somaly. I do not know my real name or age. I was born just before the Khmer Rouge in the Mondulkiri province of Cambodia, and then sold to a man who posed as my grandfather – I was probably 12. He began by asking me to cook and bring the water. But soon he began to beat me, and then he violated me.

This was only the beginning. He sold me to pay his own debts, and I spent many years in the brothels of Phnom Penh. I was raped, beaten, called worthless, and nearly lost my will to live. I made a friend in the brothel, and we supported one another. But one day, the brothel owner shot her in the head, right in front of me.

In that moment, everything changed. I escaped from the brothel. A French man helped me escape to his country, where I experienced a world of finery, so different from my own. I could not enjoy it, however, as I knew other women and girls continued to suffer back in my homeland. For the first time, I had a voice and a choice in my life. And so I returned to Cambodia. I chose to lean in, despite great fear and uncertainty, for the sake of those who would never have the opportunity to help themselves.

It began with just one girl, named Tom Dy. I found her on the street, suffering from HIV/AIDS: her skin was raw and broken. I took her home. She became the first of many, and soon a friend's empty house became our first center. In 1996, we registered as a Non-Governmental Organization, AFESIP (*Agir Pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire*). In the following years, we established three shelters in Cambodia, and helped to start programs in Vietnam, Thailand and Laos. We built a team of outreach workers, investigators, medics and educators, and I worked day and night to connect each girl with the services they needed. Soon after, Tom Dy passed, and we chose to name our Phnom Penh center after her.

In 2007, two American men contacted me wanting to help. We created a plan for a US-based foundation to raise funds, elevate the

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[38] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/somaly-mam

survivor voice as part of the solution to end trafficking, and strive for the eradication of slavery through campaigns and strategic partnerships worldwide. Today, we are doing just that.

My programs have assisted thousands of survivors, and have reached tens of thousands in the sex industry with educational messages on their rights and options. But I can never rest: I'm always thinking about the women who, despite our best efforts, are still in trouble. There is much work still to be done.

I have never looked back on returning to Cambodia. I fill my centers with love, and the women we serve give us all hope for the future. I forgive those in my past because life is love, and love has no condition. I truly believe that with compassion, passion and action, we can change the world; together we can end slavery."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
call myself	Somali	-unhappiness (misery)	Somali
sold to a man	Somali	-unhappiness (misery)	Somali
posed as my grandfather	Somali	-insecurity	Man
beat me	Somali	-unhappiness	Man
violated me	Somali	-insecurity	Man
only the beginning	Somali	-unhappiness	This
raped, beaten, called worthless and nearly lost my will to live	Somali	-unhappiness	Somali
supported one another	Somali	+security	We
not enjoy	Somali	-dissatisfaction	World of finery
suffer back in my homeland	Somaly	-unhappiness	Other women and girls
great fear and uncertainty	Somaly	-insecurity	Somali
suffering from HIV/aids	Somaly	-unhappiness	One girl, named Tom Dy
the first of many	Somaly	+satisfaction	Tom Dy
outreach workers, investigators, medics and educators	Somali	+satisfaction	A team
elevate the survivor voice	Somali	+satisfaction	US-based foundation
end trafficking	Somali	+security	US-based foundation
the eradication of slavery	Somali	+satisfaction	US-based foundation
assisted thousands of survivors	Somali	+satisfaction	My programs
reached tens of thousands in the sex industry	Somaly	+satisfaction	My programs
best efforts	Somali	+satisfaction	Programs
never rest	Somali	-insecurity	Somali
still in trouble	Somali	-insecurity	Women

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
with love	Somali	+satisfaction	Somali
hope for the future	Somali	+satisfaction	The women we serve
forgive those in my past	Somali	+happiness	Somali
with compassion, passion and action	Somali	+happiness	We
change the world	Somali	+satisfaction	We
end slavery	Somali	+satisfaction	We

APPENDIX J – STORY 10[39]

   "My wife Nell was seven months pregnant with our first son when I finished my first major architectural commission in Las Vegas. I was five years out of architecture school and had managed to build a project so exciting that it received an AIA Award for "Best New Residential Work." Meanwhile, my wife was working in television as a writer and producer, and was finally getting serious offers and multi-year development contracts. My wife and I are both driven, creative people and at that moment, we were both poised to have the momentum of our careers carry us to the next level. We excitedly planned my move back to Los Angeles.

   But we had some important data. Women who left the business of Hollywood to start a family never returned at the same level. There was no way my wife could take time off to raise a baby and then pick up where she left off. But I could. If I stayed home with our son, she could lean in to every opportunity presented. And my whirlwind of activity since leaving college had not yet been documented in a portfolio. I could spend the time with our baby learning one job and cataloging the results of the previous one.

   My ideas about raising a baby were incredibly naive. I had no idea how much work it would be, or how rewarding the "job" would become. Rudy was born by caesarean section and two weeks later, Nell was in a casting session for her pilot. She pumped breast milk on the studio lot and I did the 4am feedings, defrosting little baggies for a mewling baby. I grew to love being a stay-at-home father, versus hearing about his day only after I finished mine.

   After more than three years as the stay-at-home parent, I brought Rudy and our second son, Dexter, all the way up to Vancouver, where Nell was directing her first movie. There should be some sort of Olympic event where you have to travel across an international border with two toddlers, but the heroic effort meant that Dexter got to spend his first

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[39] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/colin-summers

birthday with his mom, rather than just hearing her voice on the phone. And it meant that Nell was able to focus on her career without feeling guilty.

Rudy turned seventeen this year; his younger brother will turn fifteen in the spring. Along the way Nell has created many pilots, directed two movies, and worked on several television series. Once the boys were ensconced in middle school, I even returned to Las Vegas to build a bigger, more exciting residence for a new client. We had some help during the years we both had projects, but I was always the primary caregiver, which allowed Nell to lean in and give her all to writing scripts, articles and the occasional book."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
first major architectural commission	Colin	+satisfaction	Colin
so exiting that received an AIA award for "best new residential work"	Colin	+satisfaction	A project
finally getting serious offers and a multi-year development contracts	Colin	+security	My wife
driven, creative people	Colin	+satisfaction	My wife and I
the moment of our careers carry us to the next level	Colin	+security	My wife and I
excitedly planned	Colin	+satisfaction	We
some important data	Colin	-insecurity	Women who left the business of Hollywood to start a family never returned at the same level
lean in to every opportunity presented	Colin	+security	She
incredibly naïve	Colin	-insecurity	Ideas about raising a baby
rewarding	Colin	+satisfaction	The 'Job' (raising a baby)
Love being a stay-at-home father, versus hearing about his day only after finished mine	Colin	+satisfaction	Colin
heroic effort	Colin	+security	Colin
without feeling guilt	Colin	+satisfaction	Nell
Created many pilots, directed two movies, and worked on several television series	Colin	+satisfaction	Nell
a big more exciting residence	Colin	+satisfaction	Colin
Give all	Colin	+security	Nell

APPENDIX K – STORY 11[40]

"Before I ever thought of starting a company, I dreamed of becoming an engineer. This was no simple thing, studying at an all-girls' school in a small north Indian town.

The academic competition was intense: No girl from my hometown had ever gotten into an Indian Institute of Technologies (IIT) school, and nationwide, only one girl was admitted for every fifty boys. Culturally, women were judged by their domestic abilities, not their academic prowess. While the boys formed study groups, I worked on my own.

After much hard work and dedication, I became the first girl from my hometown to attend IIT. Without the social support that male students enjoyed, I struggled to learn at their pace. It certainly made me a stronger engineer, but I wondered if there was a better way. Meanwhile, I just kept studying, graduating from IIT and earning a Master's in Computer Science at Maryland. After graduating, I worked for several tech companies, where once again, I was the only female engineer.

Not entirely happy with my current situation, I left my secure tech job and attended the Stanford Graduate School of Business, where I was free to explore all aspects of management and entrepreneurship. Reflecting on the many hours I had studied alone as an undergraduate, I believed there had to be a better way; it was up to me to create it.

Drawing upon my childhood and work experiences, I began prototyping Piazza, a site for students and instructors to embark upon real-time collaborative learning. In a few months, Piazza went from being merely a dream to becoming my greatest passion. But I still was not sure if, or how, I would turn it into a company.

I asked my fellow students for feedback and sought out potential collaborators, but no one seemed very excited about "ed-tech"; I was essentially creating an industry that did not yet exist. Other students also wondered if a computer scientist could actually build a company. Personally, I struggled with this and doubted myself and my ideas as well.

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[40] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/pooja-sanka

After all, I was going to business school to become something other than an engineer.

I found my courage by relying on a difficult decision that I had made years earlier, when I chose to leave my arranged marriage because I could not be a traditional wife while also being a passionate engineer. In deciding whether to launch my company, I concluded that it was faith in myself that was holding me back; only I had the power to define my role.

I realized I had irreplaceable skills relative to my non-technical classmates. I was the only one who could lead Piazza. I knew it would not be easy but I did not want to sacrifice my dream by playing it safe.

Four years later, my company is thriving. I am privileged to work with a fantastic team, and our platform is used by tens of thousands of teachers and hundreds of thousands of students all over the world. For me, education is not just about developing the skills to succeed in your chosen field – it is about finding the confidence to persevere. If my company can inspire even one student to lean in, then I will have made a difference."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
No simple thing	Pooja	-unhappiness	This
intense	Pooja	-insecurity	The academic competition
Ever gotten into an Indian Institute of Technologies (IIT)	Pooja	-insecurity	No girl
Admitted for every fifty boys	Pooja	-dissatisfaction	One girl
Judged by their domestic abilities not their academic prowess.	Pooja	-unhappiness (antipathy)	Women
Much hard work and dedication	Pooja	+satisfaction	Pooja
The first girl from my hometown to attend IIT	Pooja	+happiness	Pooja
Without the social support that male students enjoyed	Pooja	-unhappiness (antipathy)	Pooja
Struggled to learn at their pace	Pooja	-unhappiness	Pooja
A stronger engineer	Pooja	+security	Pooja
Wondered if there was a better way	Pooja	-unhappiness (antipathy)	Pooja
Earning a Master's in Computer Science at Maryland	Pooja	+happiness (rejoice)	Pooja
The only female engineer	Pooja	-unhappiness	Pooja
Not entirely happy	Pooja	-unhappiness	Pooja
free	Pooja	+happiness	Pooja
Alone as an undergraduate	Pooja	-unhappiness	Pooja
My greatest passion	Pooja	+happiness	Piazza
Not sure	Pooja	-dissatisfaction	Pooja
Seemed very excited	Pooja	-dissatisfaction	No one

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
Struggled with this and doubted myself and my ideas	Pooja	-insecurity	Pooja
found my courage	Pooja	+happiness	Pooja
Difficult decision	Pooja	- insecurity	Pooja
Passionate engineer	Pooja	+ satisfaction	Pooja
Irreplaceable skills	Pooja	+ security	Pooja
Not easy	Pooja	- insecurity	Decision

APPENDIX L – STORY 12[41]

"I am a Muslim American woman.

The reason I lay out those three key identity components is not to simply state the obvious, but to explain how I perceive myself.

Growing up in America, I believed in the American dream: that everything was laid out there for me to pursue. I was outwardly identifiable as Muslim, to be sure, because of the way I dressed, but I believed firmly that with the right amount of guts and hard work, nothing could stop me in my pursuit of a higher education and a better quality of life; nothing, not even the perceptions of my faith by others.

It was in this frame of mind that I entered my senior year at a well-known women's college in New England and, just like every other student at my school, applied to a travel program for winter break session. I fell in love with an educational psychology program and applied to it confidently, sure that my qualifications would more than guarantee my admittance to the trip.

I was more than overjoyed to receive an invitation to the program, and when I was asked to meet with the program head, I eagerly set up a time.

But at our meeting, the program head said that my admittance into the program was not final because I wore a headscarf. It was a shock. "The principal at one of the schools we will be observing isn't happy that you wear it," she said matter-of-factly, "So we need to figure out how to hide your scarf or you won't be able to attend the program."

I sat there, numb and almost incredulous, as she asked me whether it would be possible to take off the scarf (no!). As the meeting ended, I plastered a smile on my face and she patted me comfortingly on the back, no resolution to be had for how to remedy this situation.

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[41] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/laila-alawa

I left the office and walked robotically to meet a friend for lunch, the smile still clownishly stuck on my face. It was only when I relayed the story to my friend that I burst into tears of utter helplessness and frustration. How could this happen? I was being forced to choose between a potentially career-changing opportunity and the very physical fiber of my identity. As I mulled it over, I realized that two paths had unfurled before me: to lean in, or to lean back.

I could not afford to lean back in this situation. I would not – could not – allow anybody to force me to choose between compromising my beliefs and my potential.

With the support of those close to me, I made the bold decision to leave a message with the secretary to the college president: "If your winter program was not open to women wearing the headscarf, why did it not say in the catalog, women with headscarf need not apply?" Regardless of the consequences, I could not allow for future students to face the same discrimination and be turned away from the program for their choice to express their beliefs.

I woke up the next day to a number of phone calls and emails from the college's administration and deans, all scrambling to rectify a situation that, until I had made the choice to stand up for myself and lean in, seemed to have been a closed book.

I became the first woman with a headscarf to attend the college's winter program. It was an empowering and developmental experience in more ways than one. I chose not to let others set barriers and limitations on me because of the manner in which I dress or what I believe, and that resonates with me to this day as I make my way through the "real world."

In choosing to lean in, I chose to regain the power that was wrongly taken away from me. I regained the autonomy to carve my own path as a Muslim American woman."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
I fell in love with an educational psychology program	Laila	+happiness	Laila
Applied to it confidently	Laila	+security	Laila
sure	Laila	+security	Laila
Overjoyed	Laila	+happiness	Laila
Eagerly set up a time	Laila	+security	Laila
Wore a headscarf	Laila	-unhappiness	Laila
A shock	Laila	-insecurity (surprise)	It
Not happy	Laila	-unhappiness	The principal
Hide your scarf	Laila	-unhappiness (dislike, antipathy)	We
Not attending the program	Laila	-unhappiness	Laila
Incredulous	Laila	-unhappiness	Laila
Take off the scarf (no!)	The principal	-dissatisfaction	Laila
Plastered a smile in my face	Laila	-unhappiness (antipathy)	Laila
Patted me comfortingly	Laila	-unhappiness (dislike)	She
Walked robotically	Laila	-unhappiness	Laila
The smile still clownish	Laila	-unhappiness	Laila
Burst into tears	Laila	-unhappiness	Laila
Utter helplessness and frustration	Laila	-unhappiness	Laila
Forced to choose	Laila	-unhappiness	Laila
Potentially career-changing	Laila	+satisfaction	Opportunity
Very physical fiber of my identity	Laila	+happiness (affection)	Laila
Mulled it over	Laila	-insecurity	Laila
Unfurled before me	Laila	+satisfaction	Two paths

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
Not allow anybody force me to chose	Laila	+security	Laila
Compromising my beliefs and my potential	Laila	-unhappiness	Anybody
With the support of those close to me	Laila	+security	Laila
Made the bold decision	Laila	+security	Laila
Not open to women hearing headscarf	Laila	-unhappiness (dislike)	Winter program
Need not to apply	Laila	-unhappiness (antipathy)	Women with headscarf
I could not allow	Laila	+security	Laila
face the same discrimination	Laila	-unhappiness	Future students
Be turned away from the program	Laila	-unhappiness	Future students
Express their belief	Laila	+happiness	Future students
Scrambling to rectify	Laila	+insecurity	Colleges' administration and deans
Stand up for myself and lean in	Laila	+security	Laila

APPENDIX M – STORY 13[42]

"When I was a little girl in dance class, my teacher would tell me to imagine a string that started at my tailbone, went up through my spine and came out the top of my head. Every time I breathed in, I was to imagine someone pulling on that string, creating a little space between each vertebra and making me a little taller. Breathe in, create space, grow taller.

Lately I find myself hearing that dance teacher's voice in my head more often than not. On a practical level, I remind myself to drop my shoulders and imagine that string pulling so that I may relieve the tension in my neck, shoulders and upper back from a day spent at a desk, on the phone, at a computer monitor. The practical application also reminds me to walk into the room with a certain amount of confidence and command no matter how nervous or unsure I may be in any given situation. But the metaphoric application of the string being pulled – of space being created, of growing a little taller – is really what I think of when I think of leaning in.

Not all of us are lucky enough to experience that struck by lightning moment: the phone call, job offer or brilliant idea that changed the course of our lives. Those moments are rare and amazing. But sometimes there isn't a cliff to jump off or a big leap to make. Leaning in isn't just about making big decisions. Most of us, my guess is, have an incremental experience of leaning in – the little moments along the way where we breathe in, grow a little, do a course correction.

At 38, I became a stepmother to two engaging, amazing children. I was, at the time, fairly new to my job as Executive Vice President of Production at Warner Bros. Those children, of course, came as a result of a relationship. My husband is one of the most brilliant, high-energy men I know. He is also one of the most demanding. I say that not as criticism but as a loving fact. To be engaged in a relationship with my husband is

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[42] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/lynn-harris

to be with someone who is present and interested (and interesting) and who expects his partner to meet him as an equal.

Focusing on work was easy as a single girl. Focusing on work as a married woman with two kids was a different ballgame. The weight of my own personal goals of success at work, success as a stepmother and success as a wife combined to crushing effect. My shoulders were up by my ears, my lower back was in constant agony and I was generally overwhelmed. My internal narrative became one of "I can't… I'm too busy… I have too much on my plate." A crushing sense of fear manifested as excuses – reasons why I couldn't say aloud that I had ambition to be more, reasons why I couldn't own the fact that keeping up with my job and being a present stepmother and a good partner was not enough for me. I wanted more – I wanted a higher level of professional success and a deeper meaning to my life beyond just ticking off the boxes of the day. What I realized, ultimately, is that it was not my goals that were suffocating me – it was my fear of not achieving them. Fear of failure was literally preventing success.

No watershed moment changed my fate. No unique opportunity presented itself, no lightning bolt struck. But somehow, somewhere along the line, I remembered the voice of my old dance teacher. I practiced feeling the string pull at the top of my head, creating space in my life. I created space to forgive myself for not being 100% perfect at everything (and I stopped making homemade pancakes for breakfast). I created space for my own ambition. And as I gave voice to that ambition, I found support. I'm not shouting from the rooftops but I am saying aloud to my husband and close friends what I dared not say in the past. And one of the best things about leaning in has been gathering advice from the extraordinary women in my life.

The other day, I left a meeting incredibly upset. I felt humiliated and angry that I'd wasted my time. I called a friend: a highly successful agent who is brilliant and funny. As I heard myself tell the tale I realized how silly I sounded. I said, "Really I should stop leading with my emotions and just ask myself what a man would do." And she said, "Or what would Elizabeth Taylor do?" We had a good laugh and continued to

talk and then she told me about a day she'd had the previous week – a bad day when deals fell apart and nothing went according to plan. She happened to be in London and she stopped what she was doing and took the time to go to the National Portrait Gallery. There she sought out a portrait of Elizabeth I, who came to power relatively late but remained on the throne until her death 45 years later by sheer force of will and her ability to remain steady as those around her fell to their own greed or hubris. "Slow and steady," my friend said to me, "That's your course. Just like Elizabeth."

So now, at 46, when other people are thinking about the end game or retirement, I feel myself just gaining momentum. I lean in to brilliant and supportive friends, I feel the pull of the string and create the space to grow. At 46, I finally own the fact that I have ambition and that having ambition doesn't make me a bad, selfish person. There's a good chance I will fail at reaching my highest goal. But I will never regret a life in which I was too afraid to try. I won't regret saying I wanted more. Little by little I forge ahead. I may be a little late, but there's still plenty of time."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
Breathe in, create space, grow taller	My teacher	+Happiness	Lynn
Relieve the tension	Lynn	+happiness	Lynn
A certain amount of confidence and command	Lynn	+security	Lynn
No matter how nervous or unsure	Lynn	-insecurity	Lynn
Luck enough	Lynn	+happiness	Lynn
Brilliant	Lynn	+satisfaction	Idea
Rare and amazing	Lynn	+happiness	These moments
Not a cliff to jump off or a big leap to make	Lynn	+satisfaction	Lynn
Not just about making big decisions	Lynn	+satisfaction	Lean in
Incremental experience of leaning in	Lynn	+security	Most of us
Executive Vice President of Production at Warner Bros	Lynn	+happiness	Lynn
One of the most brilliant, high-energy men.	Lynn	+happiness	My husband
Most demanding	Lynn	+satisfaction (involved)	He
A loving	Lynn	+happiness	Fact
Present and interested and (interesting)	Lynn	+happiness	My husband
Expects his partner to meet him as an equal	Lynn	+satisfaction	My husband
Easy as a single girl	Lynn	+security	Focusing on work
A different ballgame	Lynn	-insecurity	Focussing on work as married woman

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
Crushing effect	Lynn	-unhappiness	My own personal goals of success at work, success as a stepmother and success as a wife.
Up by my ears	Lynn	-insecurity	My shoulders
Constant agony	Lynn	-insecurity	My lower back
Generally overwhelmed	Lynn	-unhappiness	Lynn
I can't	Lynn	-insecurity	Lynn
too busy	Lynn	-unhappiness	Lynn
Too much on my plate	Lynn	-unhappiness	Lynn
A crushing sense of fear	Lynn	-insecurity	Lynn
I couldn't say aloud	Lynn	-insecurity	Lynn
I couldn't own	Lynn	-dissatisfaction	Lynn
Not enough for me	Lynn	-unhappiness	Keeping up with my job and being a present stepmother and a good partner
Higher level	Lynn	+security	Professional success
Deeper meaning	Lynn	+security	Life
Just ticking off the boxes of the day	Lynn	-dissatisfaction	Lynn
Suffocating me	Lynn	-unhappiness	My goals
My fear of not achieving	Lynn	-insecurity	Lynn
Fear of failure	Lynn	-insecurity	Lynn
No watershed moment changed my fate. No unique opportunity presented itself, no lightning bolt stuck.	Lynn	-unhappiness	Lynn

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
I practiced feeling the string pull at the top of my head, creating space in my life	Lynn	+security	Lynn
Forgive myself for not being 100% perfect at everything	Lynn	+happiness	Lynn
Created space for my own ambition	Lynn	+security	Lynn
Gave voice to that ambition	Lynn	+happiness	Lynn
Not shouting from the rooftops	Lynn	+insecurity	Lynn
Saying aloud to my husband and close friend what I dared to say in the past	Lynn	+security	Lynn
One of the best things about leaning in	Lynn	+security	Gathering advice from extraordinary women
Incredibly upset	Lynn	-dissatisfaction	Lynn
I felt humiliated and angry	Lynn	-unhappiness	Lynn
Brilliant and funny	Lynn	+satisfaction	A friend
A highly successful agent	Lynn	+happiness	A friend
How silly I sounded	Lynn	+happiness	Lynn
"Really, I should stop leading with my emotions and just ask myself what a man would do".	Lynn	+dissatisfaction	Lynn
"Or what would Elizabeth Taylor do"	Lynn	+happiness	Friend
Had a good laugh	Lynn	+happiness	We

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
Had a bad day	Lynn	-unhappiness	She
Sheer force of will and her ability to remain steady	Lynn	-security	Elizabeth I
Fell to their own free or hubris	Lynn	-insecurity	Those around her
"Slow and steady"	Friend	+security	Lynn
"Just like Elizabeth"	Friend	+security	Lynn
I feel myself just gaining momentum'	Lynn	+sactisfaction	Lynn
Lean in to brilliant and supportive friend	Lynn	+security	Lynn
I feel the pull of the string and create the space to grow	Lynn	+happiness	Lynn
Own the fact that I have ambition	Lynn	+happiness (embrace)	Lynn
Having ambition doesn't make me a bad, selfish person	Lynn	+security	Lynn
A good chance I will fail at reaching my highest goal	Lynn	-unhappiness (dislike)	Lynn
I will never regret a life in which I was too afraid to try	Lynn	+happiness (embrace)	Lynn
Not regret saying I wanted more	Lynn	+happiness	Lynn
Forge ahead	Lynn	+security	Lynn

APPENDIX N – STORY 14[43]

"I learned about leaning in at an early age. I grew up in North Little Rock, Arkansas in a working class, African-American neighborhood, literally on the wrong side of the tracks. In middle school, I was one of a few, if not the only, black student in the academic honors programs. I was often teased for being too smart or even "too white." Most of my classmates lived near the school I attended and studied together. I knew if I wanted to do extremely well, I had to get past my fears about venturing into unfamiliar neighborhoods. Despite often feeling out of place, I leaned into the educational opportunities that were presented to me and strived for excellence.

During my senior year of high school, my father died after a long battle with cancer. His death forced me into independence at an early age. I was fortunate enough to receive a full academic scholarship to Southern Methodist University. I also tutored, worked at the mall, babysat and eventually worked as an intern at IBM to support myself. It wasn't easy juggling so many balls, but I developed a strong work ethic that continues to serve me to this day.

After graduation, I set my sights on Wall Street and accepted a position as a financial analyst for a large investment bank in New York City. Soon after, I realized that I really wanted to focus on doing something that made a positive difference in an under-served community. So, I left what I thought was my dream job in investment banking (leaving a prestigious, well-paying job in the process) to join Teach For America as Chief Financial Officer. I will be forever grateful for that life-changing opportunity to help others. It was an enormously important lean in moment: I learned that pushing for professional happiness often has little to do with financial gain and more to do with finding your passion.

My greatest lean in moment came in my mid-30s. I was married, had a thriving consulting career, and had become a successful working

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[43] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/kim-keating

mom. But my second pregnancy led to serious complications, and my twin daughters were born eight weeks early, weighing just over three pounds each. Their premature birth was a watershed personal and professional moment. Although I had always envisioned a long consulting career, I feared that the demands of my job, which included long hours and travel, would not be sustainable with three young children under the age of three. I also feared striking out on my own, as I had never thought of myself as an entrepreneur. But after a lot of soul-searching, I found the courage to start my own human resources consulting firm. That was almost 10 years ago. Since then, I have grown my business from two clients to delivering services to over eighty organizations on issues regarding compensation, gender pay inequity, and ways to create HR systems that encourage women to lean in."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
on the wrong side of the tracks	Kim	-unhappiness	Kim
one of a few, if not the only, black student in the academic honors programs	Kim	+happiness	Kim
often teased for being too smart or even "too white"	Kim	-dissatisfaction	Kim
do extremely well	Kim	+security	Kim
past my fears about venturing into unfamiliar neighborhoods	Kim	-insecurity	Kim
feeling out of place	Kim	-unhappiness	Kim
leaned into educational opportunities	Kim	+satisfaction	Kim
strived for excellence	Kim	+satisfaction	Kim
forced me into independence at an early age	Kim	-insecurity	Kim
fortunate enough to receive a full academic scholarship	Kim	+satisfaction	Kim
not easy juggling many balls	Kim	-insecurity	Kim
developed a strong work ethic	Kim	+satisfaction	Kim
forever grateful for the life changing opportunity	Kim	+happiness	Kim
enormously important	Kim	+happiness	lean in moment
little to do with financial gain	Kim	+satisfaction	professional happiness
more to do with finding your passion	Kim	+satisfaction	professional happiness
my greatest lean in moment	Kim	+happiness	Kim
Had a thriving consulting career	Kim	+happiness (rejoice)	Kim

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
a successful working mon	Kim	+happiness	Kim
Serious complication	Kim	-insecurity	Second pregnancy
Weighing just over three pounds each	Kim	-insecurity	My twin daughters
Watershed personal and professional moment	Kim	-insecurity	Their premature birth
Feared	Kim	-insecurity	The demands of my job
Feared	Kim	-insecurity	Striking out on my own
Found courage	Kim	+security	Kim
Encourage women to lean in	Kim	+security	HR systems

APPENDIX O – STORY 15[44]

"I am a born and bred Texan. I am a graduate of the University of Texas and the University of Texas School of Law. I bleed Burnt Orange. My family lives in Texas and I visit often. However, there was a time in my life – around my second year in law school – when I realized I wanted to make a drastic change. It was a now or never decision, one that is almost unheard of for Texans: I wanted to leave.

I realized this after completing my first-year internship, experiencing a relationship go sour and watching my friends get engaged and going after big firm jobs in Dallas and Houston. I knew I wanted something different and my chance came during the 2011 Super Bowl in Dallas.

It was bizarre weather with a blizzard blanketing the entire city in snow and thousands of people gathered for the biggest day in professional football. I was in town with my family (who are huge sports nuts) and overheard that StubHub was throwing a party next door to my hotel.

I knew StubHub was in San Francisco – a great city – and I loved the service. I thought if I could get an internship, I could leave for the summer and at least see what it was like. Yes, it was a huge leap to leave my friends, family and the only state I have ever called home, but I told myself I was ready. "You're 22 years old," I said to myself. "Texas will always be here if you want to come back. Take this risk." It was settled. I would get an internship at StubHub, move to San Francisco and start my career.

There was just one problem: I wasn't invited to the StubHub party. You should know that I am the type of person that when I see something I want – be it a job, a boy or the last cupcake – I go for it. Needless to say, I crashed the party. Once inside, I found my way to the president. I kindly introduced myself and then asked if they had a legal internship program. He pointed me in the direction of the company's head counsel who accepted my request to be an intern, even though no such program existed

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[44] Available on https://leanin.org/stories/kacie-gonzalez

at the company. In a matter of hours, I decided I was moving to San Francisco, crashed a prominent startup's party and created a position for myself as StubHub's first legal intern.

Although the legal department didn't have a permanent position for me (I did after all invent my internship), it was an experience that has shaped my life. I now live in San Francisco, work for a great startup and I'm incredibly happy for making my decision to leave Texas, however impulsive it may have been.

By leaving Texas, I learned that it is so much more rewarding to lean in to the unfamiliar than to stay in the comfortable. I would rather lean in, trip, stumble and fall, rather than stand upright on a straight arrow track that is all too familiar. Leaning in and exploring the unfamiliar is how you'll understand what fits your life, no matter how unconventional your methods of achieving it might be. I say, lean in and dive head first."

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Appraised
experiencing a relationship go sour	Kacie	-dissatisfaction	Kacie
huge sorts nuts	Kacie	+satisfaction	My family
loved the service	Kacie	+happiness	Kacie
a huge leap	Kacie	+insecurity	Leave my friends, family and the only state I have ever called home
ready	Kacie	+security	Kacie
22 years old	Kacie	+security	Kacie
Take the risk	Kacie	+security	Kacie
In a matter of hours, I *decided* I was moving to San Francisco, *crashed* a prominent start-up's party and *created* a position for myself as StubHubs legal intern.	Kacie	+satisfaction	Kacie
Incredibly happy	Kacie	-happiness	Kacie
Impulsive	Kacie	+insecurity	Kacie
More rewarding	Kacie	+happiness	Lean in to the familiar than to stay in the comfortable
Rather lean in, trip, stumble and fall than Stand upright on a straight arrow track that is too familiar	Kacie	-insecurity	Kacie
Understand what fits your life	Kacie	+happiness	Leaning in and exploring the unfamiliar
No matter how unconventional	Kacie	+insecurity	Methods of achieving

APPENDIX P – PROULX, SUBCATEGORISING *REALIS* AFFECT

Proulx, subcategorising *realis* affect (in Martin & White, 2005, p. 78)		
unhappiness	misery	whimper, cry, wail; down, sad, miserable
	antipathy	rubbish, abuse, revile; dislike, hate, abhor
happiness	cheer	chuckle, laugh, rejoice; cheerful, buoyant, jubilant
	affection	shake hands, hug, embrace; fond, loving, adoring
insecurity	disquiet	restless, twitching, shaking; uneasy, anxious, freaked out
	surprise	start, cry out, faint; taken aback, surprised, astonished
security	confidence	declare, assert, proclaim; together, confident, assured
	trust	delegate, commit, entrust; comfortable with, confident in, trusting
dissatisfaction	ennui	fidget, yawn, tune out; flat, stale, jaded
	displeasure	caution, scold, castigate; cross, angry, furious
satisfaction	interest	attentive, busy, flat out; involved, absorbed, engrossed
	pleasure	pat on the back, compliment, reward; satisfied, pleased, chuffed