"BIBLICAL WOMANHOOD: THAT'S TRIGGERING FOR ME": AN EXAMINATION OF

IDENTITY NEGOTIATION IN BAPTIST WOMEN IN CHURCH LEADERSHIP

by

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B.S. Communication Studies / B.S. Strategic and Organizational Communication / 2020
Southwest Baptist University

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of

College

Texas Christian University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

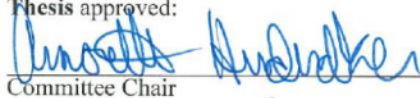**M.S. Communication Studies**

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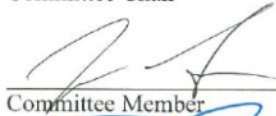
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_____ 4/28/2023
Associate Dean   Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For my friends in the graduate program, your empathy, intelligence, and character inspire me. Thank you for your consistent friendship and the abundance of social support over the past two years. You have made this program a joy and I shall always cherish out fond memories.

For the committee members who have read and re-read this thesis, added insightful comments and criticisms, endured its length, and reminded me find joy along the way – thank you. Dr. Johny Garner and Dr. Paul Schrodt, you have helped me to grow in so many ways and helped shape me into a better scholar and a better person.

For my mentor and advisor, Dr. Amorette Hinderaker, thank you for all the support throughout this project and my time at Texas Christian University. From the late nights, long van rides, sleep deprivation and coffee fueled conversations, to the laughter, and good (and bad) jokes – Thank you. I can genuinely say that I am not only a more intelligent person for having worked with you, but a better one. I honestly cannot put all that I have learned from you into words, and I would like to thank you from the bottom of my heart. Also, I would like to put it into writing that you were right, and I should have listened to you the first time.

For my parents, friends, and family members, thank you for all the emotional support, love, and encouragement – both throughout this project and always.

"No matter what anybody tells you, words and ideas can change the world."

John Keating, *Dead Poets Society*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

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Baptist woman leaders occupy an intersectional identity space. This intersection is due to their Baptist socialization with submission and the gendering function of Baptist organizations. This socialization can conflict with their performance of their leadership role identity, especially when viewed from the dialectical perspective as playing a role in organizational resistance and transformation. This study, therefore, seeks to understand the identity performance of Baptist woman leaders using a nested identities framework. Findings suggest that when individuals are raised within a totalistic organization, religious doctrine becomes the material from which they begin constructing all their other identities. Thus, they conceptualize their understanding of all their nested identity layers through the lens of totalistic doctrine. The findings of this study advance the notion that when identities conflict, individuals will lean on their doctrine over the organization norms, due to the high level of subjective importance.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The comprehensive nature of Baptist doctrine urges researchers to conceptualize the Baptist Identity not only as an organizational identity, but as a core identity, or internalized value system, that bleads over into other performed identities (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Thus, the performance of Baptist Identity can cause tensions and dialectical conflict with an individual's alternate core identities, especially when those identities conflict with Baptist doctrine. This study seeks to understand this dialectical tension through the lens of social and organizational identities (Goffman, 1959; Kreiner et al, 2015), nested identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014), and organizational resistance (Prasad &Prasad, 1998).

Theoretical Grounding

Scholars have conducted a significant amount of research into social and organizational identities. The bulk of existing literature has examined the construction of organizational identity (Wieland, 2010), the co-created nature of organizational identity through linguistic, relational, and interactional cues (Ashforth et al., 2011), and the performance of different identities (Goffman, 1959). Current research points to the co-construction of organizational identity and a degree of identity salience between the different levels of an individual's identity. One explanation of this phenomenon is nested identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Nested identities are conceptualized as higher order and lower order identities that reside within each other like Russian nesting dolls, Matryoshka (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). An individual's higher order and lower order identities exist on a scale of identity salience where they are invoked and operate on a scale of salience hierarchy (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). This leads to individuals' identities shifting, or the expression of alternate identities at

different times as individuals move between their lower and higher order identities through performance and action (Ashforth et al., 2011; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014).

The nesting nature of organizational identities can cause resistance between an individual's social and organizational identities if the identities are in contradiction or the performance of one identity restricts the expression of another identity. Thus, the individual engages in organizational resistance as they struggle with their performance of the differing organizational identities (Prasad &Prasad, 1998). Previous research supports this tension as McNamee (2011) examined how individuals who identify as both a member and a leader in a church have conflicting identities due to the interconnected nature of the church and the requirement that they perform conflicting identities within the same organization. Building upon that, this investigation examines how individuals resist the gendering functions of organizations (Mumby & Ashcraft, 2006) and engage in dialectical resistance (Mumby, 2005). This study provides a unique opportunity for adding nuance to the conflict between intersectional identities by examining how individuals enact nested, value-laden identities, such as Baptist, woman, and leader identities.

Intersectional Identity Spaces

Baptist woman leaders live in an inherently intersectional identity space. Due to Baptist doctrine, woman raised in the Baptist, Southern Baptist, and Fundamentalist Baptist denominations are socialized not to be leaders from an early age. Baptist women are socialized to be demure and submissive, fulfilling the tame role of a "traditional" Christian wife (Allen, 1987). In this manner, the Baptist and Southern Baptist churches serve a gendering function in organizational communication and conflict (Mumby & Ashcraft, 2006). This differs from individuals' woman or feminist identities where they are socialized to be leaders and trailblazers (Bargad & Hyde, 1991). Since both woman and Baptist identities have been previously theorized as core or primary identities (Bargad & Hyde, 1991; Bell, 2009), Baptist woman experience

2

conflict as they move between performing two conflicting core identities. On top of the two core identities of Baptist and woman, this study examines the layering of a role identity: leadership positions. Leadership identities have been studied from the dialectical perspective as playing a role in organizational resistance and transformation (Zoller & Fairhurst, 2007). Additionally, they have been studied as a role identity, especially the concept 'servant leadership' which Christians identify as being a key aspect of religious doctrine that is both a part of the self and a role which individuals aspire to fill (Greenleaf, 2002). Leadership positions are a role identity because they are an outer layer identity, as individuals only enact leadership identities when they are required to, in comparison to the core identities of woman and Baptist that bleed out and impact other identities. Because of the way that Baptist doctrine is written and performed, it conflicts with the performance of other identities, particularly feminine and leadership identities. However, these conflicting identities co-exist as Baptist woman enact their leadership roles in both workplace and religious settings, despite being told by religious doctrine that they should not occupy a leadership position.

In these spaces of conflict, Baptist woman leaders must communicatively negotiate their identity salience as leadership roles are softened and woman resist their roles being titled as symbolically subservient to their male counterparts. Thus, Baptist woman in leadership positions struggle to identify which identity is salient – woman, Baptist, or leader. If a woman's leadership position is a salient identity, how does that salience play out in the workplace vs. in church settings? And how does a woman decide on what is the salient identity to perform in any given moment? Conflicting identities cause distress to participants, as expressing one identity may mean resisting the other. This creates an intersectional identity space of dialectical resistance where woman is constantly caught in the middle between performing one identity or another. This study presents a unique opportunity to understand how multiple intersectional identities and resistance unfold in a religious organization by examining how, in those spaces where value-based core

3

identities are in conflict, woman negotiate their organizational roles and decide on identity salience in those spaces, thereby resisting organizational norms and conflicting value systems of other sources. To understand the spaces of identity in which Baptist woman live, the next section provides a brief overview of sociology and theology of woman in organizational space.

Baptist Woman Theology

The United States has a long history of religious observation, and one subgroup, Southern Baptists, plays a long and fraught part in that narrative. Southern Baptists identified as an individual religious denomination in the 1850s after separating from the Northern Baptists denomination (Fahmy, 2019). They are currently the largest evangelical protestant group in the United States, accounting for 5.3% of the United States population and a fifth of all Evangelical Protestants (Fahmy, 2019). Despite being one of the largest religious organizations in the United States (Fahmy, 2019), Southern Baptists have a history of controversy (Stone, 1992) that continues to dominate the news cycle with horrific tales of sexual abuse, scandals, and botched investigations (Shellnutt, 2021). For this reason, individuals identifying as Southern Baptists dropped from 6.7% of the population in 2007 to 5.3% in 2014 (Fahmy, 2019). Despite the large prevalence of Southern Baptists and Baptists in general, there is not an over-abundance of research focusing on communication patterns and identity within the Southern Baptist church. Even less research exists on Southern Baptist woman, especially in leadership positions.

Research that does exist combines Baptist and Southern Baptist woman in the same category and focuses on narratives and biographical sketches that can be used for teaching and establishing norms (Allen, 1987), and establishing woman's roles in Southern Baptist history (Seat & Flowers, 2020). *Laborers Together with God* (Allen, 1987) describes the lives of 22 Baptist woman missionaries and the struggles they endured serving both at home and abroad. This book is written for the purpose of teaching Baptist woman about influential leaders of the past to inspire

them to emulate their actions. Building upon this, *God Speaks to Us, too* outlines Susan Shaw's research interviews with over 150 different woman and their experiences surrounding "the controversy," or the shakeup and re-writing of the Southern Baptist Convention in the 1980s and 1990s to examine and critique Southern Baptist culture (Shaw, 2008). Next, *Into the Pulpit* embraced the controversies within the Southern Baptist church head-on and analyzed the controversy over woman's roles within the church (Flowers, 2012). Building on this prior research, *A Marginal Majority* is an edited volume written with the background of third-wave feminism and #MeToo to explore the complex history of Southern Baptist woman in the church and their roles in the home and community going forward (Seat & Flowers, 2020).

This prior research primarily emphasizes cultural norms and either builds upon or critiques the current cultural attitudes toward woman's roles in the Baptist and Southern Baptist churches. Although this is important research and helps build an understanding of the largest evangelical protestant denomination in the United States, I argue that there is an aspect missing in the current literature. There is an absence of communication research into Southern Baptist woman's identities. Communication research that does center on Baptist organizations tends to emphasize the Southern Baptist Convention's clashes over doctrine and organizational controversies. Examples include a dramaturgical perspective on the Southern Baptist controversy (Stone, 1992), classic rhetoric tools and the Southern Baptist Convention (Shoopman, 2011), and how sermons function as critical organizational rhetoric (Dixon, 2017).

With many individuals leaving the Southern Baptist church (Fahmy, 2019) and the changing religious landscape in America (Cooperman, 2022), I am interested in studying how individuals negotiate their religious organizational identity amidst the changing political landscape. Specifically, how does woman in leadership roles in the Baptist and Southern Baptist Church negotiate their organizational identity amidst an organization that embraces an openly anti-

woman leaders' political position? And when woman engage in that organizational identity, how does it interact with the individual's other nested identities? This study builds upon previous research in the rhetorical, organizational, cultural, and Baptist research traditions by examining current and former Baptist and Southern Baptist woman in positions of power, how they engage in communicative sensemaking, and negotiate their identities within the larger religious organization. Additionally, this research study delves into the areas of intersectional and value-based identities and how Baptist woman in leadership positions negotiate their relative salience.

Statement of Positionality

While I am not an active member of a Baptist church, as an undergrad I attended a Southern Baptist university and I have held several leadership positions in Methodist and non-denominational churches.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Organizational Identity

The first thing individuals do when they join a new organization is establish their social identity with respect to their peers (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). This differs from when an individual grows up within an organizational context, as certain aspects of their organizational identity are socialized into them due to the socially constructed nature of identity (Carbaugh, 1996; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). "Growing up" within an organizational context is a unique aspect of religious organizations as parents often bring their kids to church with them from an early age so that individuals are raised surrounded by religious doctrine and messages. Both instances pertain to this research study as the participants identified as being both cradle (raised in a Baptist, Southern Baptist, or Fundamentalist Baptist Church) and convert (converted to Christianity as an adult). Thus, the process of forming identity can be conceptualized as "a

continuous project of answering "who am I" and communicative sensemaking (Meisenbach &
Kramer, 2014, p. 190).

Identity construction is an active process that results in a distinct, unique, and coherent
self (Wieland, 2010). Identity has been conceptualized and theorized in a variety of different
ways within the communication discipline. One such conceptualization is social identity, when
identity is conceptualized as external to the self and shaping the self (Wieland, 2010). Another
conceptualization of organizational identity is performed identity, or an individual's expression
of themselves within their social situation (Goffman, 1959). For this study, *organizational
identity* is defined as an individual's sense of who they are within the organization (Sillince &
Golant, 2018).

Identity has also been theorized as overlapping identities or concentric circles with areas
of conflict in between, where like a Venn Diagram, the individual's different identities overlap
and influence each other and there are gray spaces between identities where multiple identities
can be enacted at once. Still others conceptualize identities from a more nuanced approach, such
as multiple identities existing within one another with an individual's core identity at the center,
like Matryoshka or nesting dolls (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Both social and organizational
identities play a role in the Nested Identities model and are theorized to alter how individuals
perform and negotiate their identities. To conceptualize social, and organizational identity, it is
important to examine four different areas of identity literature: social identity, nested identities,
religious identity, and feminist identity,

Social Identity

Social identities are defined by Wieland (2010) as "social, cultural phenomena that are
external to the self and shape the personal self" (p. 509). It is impossible to create social identity
in a vacuum; they are co-created through interactions between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'

(Ashforth, Rogers, & Corley, 2011) and constructed through a variety of relational, situational, and linguistic cutes (Carbaugh, 1996; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Although personal (internal) identities and social (external) identities have been conceptualized as separate or unique for much of organizational studies literature, they are not as separate or unique as they may at first appear (Wieland, 2010). Identity construction is an ongoing, complex process based on normative behavior by which the individual weaves socially acceptable ideals of who they should be with their understanding of who they are as an individual (Wieland, 2010). Social identities are negotiated amidst differing societal discourses and material realities (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004; Meisenbach, 2008; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014; Wieland, 2010). Thus, social identity construction is a communicative, ongoing process as individuals construct self-identities, social identities, and organizational identities.

Social identity is understood as a non-exclusive aspect of people's identities, meaning that multiple identities can be enacted at a single time (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Examples of the enactment of multiple identities in research contexts include studies focused on both paid workers (Kuhn & Nelson, 2002) and volunteer settings and positions (Scott & Stephens, 2009). Thus, social identities are a salient construct and have even been compared in research to choosing which hat to wear for the day (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). These different identities can be performed in a variety of different social settings and individuals often choose which identities to perform in each setting (Goffman, 1959). Thus, identity formation and enaction becomes a discursive, linguistic iteration between the social and self-definition (Ybema et al., 2009; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Before explaining the performance of identity, it is necessary to delve into identity construction.

Identity Construction.

Social identity construction often occurs within organizations. Alvesson and Willmott (2002) offer one of the most comprehensive discussions of the organizational identity construction process, building off Giddens' (1991) definition of self-identity as a "reflexively developed narrative of the self" (Wieland, 2010, p. 506). Alvesson and Willmott (2002) argued that social processes of identity formation and regulation occur within an organizational setting. Thus, identity work becomes much more than just individual identity. Identity construction is shaped through interactions with others as individual and organizational identity interact in a give and take, back and forth relationship (Wieland, 2010). Because identity construction is shaped through interactions with others, research suggests that all identity is socially constructed (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Wieland, 2010). An individual's personal identity alters their social identity, and vice versa. This creates a process of identity bleeding, where an individual's social identity can influence parts of their core identity and move beyond the walls of internalized values and ideologies. Core identities can be understood as an individual's lowest level identity that is the most concrete and salient to their identity performance (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001).

This builds upon previous theorizing that social identities exist external to the self as a cultural phenomenon that shapes identity "distinct from how social identity is understood in social identity theory as a separable sociopsychological element of the self" (Wieland, 2010, p. 509), making the process mutually constitutive. Understanding social identities as a centric aspect of identity construction highlights the social desirability, or undesirability, of certain identities (Wieland, 2010). The social desirability of identities creates an on-going tension throughout the identity construction process (Wieland, 2010). Focusing on the social desirability of different identities draws upon a variety of self-narratives through reflexive development of the self as one strives to develop a cohesive and socially acceptable identity (Giddens, 1991).

This process of shaping personal identity builds upon narrative communication with the expression and performance of different identities (Coonfield, 2009).

Performance of Identity.

Whereas the construction of social and individual identities is often linked, they can be enacted or performed separately. As Goffman (1959) writes, individuals bring information that they already know about themselves and others to each interaction. Individuals will often perform differently in front of others as their actions influence the assessment of the situation, and therefore, their participation or performance in it. Thus, social identity becomes an expression of the individual within their social situation (Tracy & Trethewey, 2005). Goffman (1959) makes a differentiation between the expression that an individual "gives, and the expression that he [the individual] gives off" (p. 2). The impression that an individual gives involves the symbols that they use to convey a message. This differs from the impression that one gives off, which includes a broad range of actions that can convey a message, or the non-traditional forms of communication. Thus, performance of identity can be defined as "all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants" (Goffman, 1959, p. 15).

A significant aspect of the performance of identity is the individual's ego involvement. Goffman elaborates "members tend to their egos primarily in certain routines, giving less structure to the other ones that they may perform" (Goffman, 1959, p.33). Ego involvement is especially true of the Baptist denomination. Baptists invest all the "ego" of the church in certain acts: preaching on a Sunday morning, giving communion, etc. Therefore, the individuals focus on how those acts and the overall performance. Meanwhile, Baptists ignore the background performances and the fact that a majority of their cast is in fact female. This may lead the background members of the cast to engage in organizational identity as they determine what

place they hold in the overall performance. The ego-involvement in identity performance often requires individuals to negotiate their different organizational identities.

Negotiation of Organizational Identity.

Organizational identity must be negotiated, considering both its situation and the individual performing their identity (Goffman, 1959). Due to the ever-changing nature of organizations, members must constantly engage in re-negotiating their organizational identity (Kreiner et al, 2015). To this end, organizational identity has been characterized as a characteristic of the individual and the social situation – central, long-lasting, and distinct from other aspects (Kreiner et al, 2015). The negotiation of organizational identities varies as individuals negotiate what is "central (core vs. peripheral), enduring (continuity vs. change), and distinctive (enhancement vs. loss)," which leads to an organizational identity that grows and shrinks depending on the time and situation (Johnson & Jian, 2017, p. 186). The ever changing and ever adapting nature of organizational identities leads to a process that necessitates the negotiation of dialectical tensions (Johnson & Jian, 2017; Kreiner et al, 2015). Through this negotiation, organizational members create an identity comprised of internal negotiation and shared interactions (Johnson & Jian, 2017; Scott & Lane, 2000). This process of negotiating identity is directly related to nested identities, a more nuanced approach to identity negotiation.

Nested Identities

Establishing one's place within an organization is often a multifaceted and complex process (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). One of the theoretical frameworks used to explain the complexity of organizational identities is nested identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). *Nested identities* were conceptualized by Ashforth and Johnson (2001) as the different levels of an individual's identity that are nested or embedded within each other. Simply put, nested identities are like Russian nesting dolls, Matryoshka, where the

different dolls each represent different identities that are all a part of the individual's identity. Just like Matryoshka, individual identities are situated within each other, with higher-level identities on the outside, and lower-level identities on the inside, which creates an order amidst an individual's different identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014).

Nested identities can be described in a relative order amongst themselves, with some identities being higher or lower in relation to others (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014; Meisenbach, 2008). Identities typically differ in relation to each other along three criteria: inclusivity, abstractness, and distance (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Lower order identities are conceptualized as being on the center or lower level where they are regarded as being relatively more (a) exclusive as membership is restricted by the self, (b) concrete as they are precisely defined and linked to specific behaviors, and (c) proximal due to their relatively direct and immediate impact on the individual (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Lower order identities are closer to an individual's true self, or the inside of the nest. This differs from higher order identities, which are conceptualized as the outer layer of the nest. In Matryoshka, lower order identities are the small nesting dolls surrounding the center doll. Higher order identities are (a) inclusive by nature, as they include lower order identities in their description, (b) abstract, as their definitions tend to be broader and less descriptive, and (c) distal due to the perception that their impact on the individual is indirect or delayed (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Based on this description, an individual's organizational identity can be understood as a higher order identity that encompasses their lower order identities (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). However, within nested identities, there is a degree of salience between lower order and higher order social identities.

Ashforth and Johnson (2001) sought to understand the different ways that social identities were salient to the self and situation. *Salience* is defined as "the probability that a given identity

will be invoked, and multiple identities can be ranked in a "salience hierarchy" according to their relative salience" (Ashforth & Johnson, p.32). Identity salience is determined by the subjective importance and relevance of the organization. Subjectively important identities are highly central to an individual's core self and are highly relevant to their goals, values, and beliefs (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Ashforth et al., 2011). Situationally relevant identities are socially defined and appropriate for a specified context and purpose with internal preferences, situational relevance, and established external norms (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Lower order identities are more subjectively important and situationally relevant than higher order identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014).

There are several reasons for the distinction between identities. First, an individual's lower order social identities are likely to be their primary group, or "the group with which an individual most frequently interacts" (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001, p.35). Second, due to the increased exclusivity and concreteness of lower order identities, individuals feel that they have more in common with others who share their lower order identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Lower order identities also tend to be more homogenous than other identities, leading to them having increased salience over higher order identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Third, individuals balance conflicting needs for assimilation and dissimilation with others due to "being the same and different at the same time" (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001, p. 35). Due to the emphasis on social identities instead of individual identities, even exclusive social categories will encompass other individuals, often by imagining them as a "generalized ideal" (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001, p. 36).

Despite higher order identities being less salient than lower order identities, they are not less important. Individuals are likely to act in a way that is consistent with their higher order identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). When an individual has salient higher order identities,

they are more likely to act in a way that is consistent with organizational values, as "immersion in a higher-order identity allows one to "lose oneself' at least temporarily in something greater than the individual" (p. 37). The nature of "losing oneself" (p. 37) within an organization and becoming part of the collective establishes stability in the subjective importance of social. Therefore, shifts in the salience of an individual's social identities are "most likely to be caused by their situational relevance" (p. 38). The influence of situational relevance means that individuals gravitate toward "localized and therefore different social identities" (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001, p. 35).

Nested identities are not consistent and often overlap and conflict (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Although the different levels of organizational identity may be conceptually clear, the lines often blur as principles overlap and facilitate salience shifts that can render given identities less or more. One aspect that aids salience shifts is that individuals develop transition scripts, or psychological routines for switching cognitive gears, as they gain experience shifting between identities. These transitions can be triggered by external cues or internal cues (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Over time, the transcription script, cueing, and enactment become automatic and an individual gradually becomes more adept at shifting their social identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Effectively establishing scripts are key due to the successful enactment of different identities.

Isomorphism adds nuance to our understanding of nested identities by clarifying "the degree to which the constituent components of a phenomenon and the relationships among the components are similar across levels of analysis" (House et al. 1995, p. 87). "Discursive resources" reinforced isomorphism and acted to frame and convey social identity (Ashforth et al., 2011). Nested identities are salient across different levels of social identities due to the necessity of internal coherence. Although isomorphism is typically located across multiple or all

levels of an individual's identity, identities tend to move towards differentiated levels where they are stable. Isomorphism is relevant depending on the situational context, relationship salience, and social identity levels despite being embedded within the individual's self (Ashforth et al., 2011; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Thus, the different nested identities are salient, and an individual can move between their different identities through performance and action (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). The constant movement between salient nested identities is especially pertinent to the current research study, which emphasizes how Baptist and Southern Baptist woman shift between their varying nested identities. There is not a linear linking between social identities, "but a clear nesting, layering, and embedding of one identity within another" (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014, p. 204). Thus, nested identities are embedded within each other, and can be enacted distinctly or together.

Nested identities are enacted through different actions and linguistic cues performed by the individual (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). When individuals enact their identities, they "tend to personalize the enactment of their social identities" (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001, p. 44) Additionally, individuals can enact multiple identities, and prior research indicates that multiple identities are often enacted simultaneously in non-profit and religious settings (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Ashforth and Johnson (2001) propose that multiple social identities can be simultaneously salient. The question therefore is not the extent to which individuals move between identities, but "how individuals enact multiple identities and identifications" (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014, p. 189). Salient identities are not all-or-nothing, as there are degrees of salience where identities can be arranged (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Identity salience is a greyscale where identities range from highly salient to not at all salient, with differing degrees of salience in between.

This research project seeks to build upon nested identities research and answer Meisenbach and Kramer's (2014) call of examining "how individuals talk out and enact these identifications in ways that relate to decisions to voluntarily join such organizations" (p.193). Thus, this study seeks to clarify the relationships between identity, identification, and non-profit organizations (specifically, religious organizations). Previous research in nonprofit or religious nested identities has examined community choir involvement (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014), concealing organizational identities (Askay & Gossett, 2015), and the intersection of faith, cultural relevance, and social influence (Ziemer, 2019). This research study builds upon the current research in nested identities by exploring the enacted salience of value-based nested identities, specifically Baptist and Southern Baptist religious identities.

Religious identity

Religious identity is a complex area of research centering on the inherent tensions between organizational and individual identities. Despite this complexity, issues regarding religion and spirituality appear initially tangential to organizational research, as faith and religion have historically been excluded from most organizational sectors and conversations (McNamee, 2011). Recent research has sought to address this oversight by delving into the potential for disconnect "between one's individual religious/spiritual identity and those identities tied to religious or faith-based organizations (e.g., church member/ employee)" (McNamee, 2011, p. 423). This disconnect requires further examination due to the enmeshed nature of religious and organizational identities (McNamee, 2011; Silva & Sias, 2010). To navigate the complex, enmeshed nature of these identities, individuals may find themselves engaging in "self-effacing boundary work," a strategy that seeks to deemphasize group beliefs or actions that function as exclusionary, while attempting to maintain a unique or cohesive group identity (Walker & Fitzgerald, 2022, p. 123). Engaging in boundary work is an example of how individuals can

negotiate their organizational, individual, and social identities when they are disconnected with each other despite their enmeshed nature (Walker & Fitzgerald, 2022).

Both religious and organizational identities are negotiated and formed through discourse and vary based on the distinct ways they are shaped, molded, and created (McNamee, 2011; Young, 2007). Therefore, the creation of organizational identity functions as both a characteristic and a process (Schultz et al, 2015). The enmeshed nature of religious and organizational identities emerges as a natural extension of the individual's identity formation through early socialization and discourse, (McNamee, 2011). However, these different identities, while they are nested within each other, can also conflict with each other. Specifically, McNamee (2011) illustrates how individuals who identify as both a member of a church and a leader in a church can often have conflicting identities as they struggle to enact the different identities in different situations. This struggle is at least partly due to the interconnectedness between the individual and faith-based organizations (McNamee, 2011). This interconnection is dynamic, changing and growing with the individual (McNamee, 2011) as they "grapple with issues of personal and organizational/religious (dis)identification'' (Silva & Sias, 2010, p. 163). Upholding religious identities fulfills moral, ethical, and relational components for individuals, especially as they engage in the relational aspects of different organizations (McNamee, 2011).

Previous research surrounding religious communication includes examining how Benedictine woman reconciled their organizational identities in the larger Roman Catholic Church (Hoffman, 2007), identity development across emerging faith-based organizations (Johnson & Jian, 2017), and managing religious identity at work (Charoensap-Kelly et al, 2020. This study builds upon previous research on the theoretical and practical connections between religious identities and organizational identities outlined by McNamee (2011). It explores how Baptist and Southern Baptist woman specifically enact their religious identities and negotiate the

tensions between religious doctrine and their leadership responsibilities within the organization. In addition to exploring individuals' religious identities, this study also touches on the salience of feminist identities, due to participants' enacted leadership roles within both the Baptist and Southern Baptist organizations. This leads to my first research question:

RQ$_1$: How do Baptist woman express and negotiate their nested identities in religious leadership settings?

Identity in Totalistic Organizations

Not all organizations follow the traditional employee-employer organizational model (Hinderaker, 2015). Several organization types, such as value-based religious organizations or voluntary memberships, explore the role of organizations beyond the salaried employee and employer. One area of this research is totalistic organizations. Totalistic organizations have been conceptualized as organizations where "the values, practices, rituals, and relationships associated with membership not only extend into the member's everyday life, but play a primary role" (Hinderaker, 2015, p.93). Thus, totalistic memberships are value-based, central to the members life and identity, and tend to include individual's primary relationships such as family members and close friends. Faith based communities are likely to be totalistic organizations because they represent an encompassing voluntary membership experience. Additionally, faith values and practices are often fundamental to members' life and identities in ways that other organizational values are not. Previous research suggests that all faith-based memberships are totalistic to a degree (Hinderaker, 2015). I content that the Baptist organization is a totalistic organization due to the influence that Baptist values have on individuals' daily life outside of the organization. The totalistic nature of the Baptist organization can alter individuals' identity performance. Researchers have described this impact in a variety of ways, but one of them is through the

Baptist identity coloring all other identity layers within the nested identities model (Kassler, 2020).

Feminist Identity

Woman in religious organizations do not only have to negotiate their religious and professional identities, but they also must negotiate their feminist identity. This research study will delve into several thematic principles explored in feminist organizational communication, including the dialectical relationship of power, discourse surrounding relational dialectics, the co-construction of masculine and feminine identities, and the "normative commitment to exposing the consequences of gendered organization and possibilities for organizing differently" (Mumby & Ashcraft, 2006, p. 9). Specifically, this research study delves into the critical feminist framework of organizational research, which articulates that organizations exist as important sites of meaning formation in contemporary society (Mumby & Buzzanell, 2000). Organizations function as important sites of social identity formation where social actors are constantly engaged in enacting meaning through dialogue and communication (Mumby & Buzzanell, 2000). One area of feminist critical theory that is especially important to this research study is the gendering functions of organizations, especially religious organizations.

The Gendering Function of the organization.

This research study emphasizes the gendering function of organizational communication (Mumby & Buzzanell, 2000). The gendered approach to organizational communication is an aspect of the critical cultural and feminist approaches to communication studies (Mumby & Ashcraft, 2006). Ackers et al. (1990) explains the gendering process of organizations quite succinctly by stating that: "Gender is … an integral part of those (organizational) processes, which cannot be properly understood without an analysis of gender" (p. 146). Researchers have described this process as members "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) throughout their

every day, often mundane organizational duties and actions (Mumby & Buzzanell, 2000). Individuals within organizations are constantly "enacting systems of meanings that construct identities in a gendered manner" (Mumby & Buzzanell, 2000, p. 4).

Baptist woman actively partakes in the gendering functions of organizations through the recreation and construction of a religious organization with strict gender norms. Thus, gender does not exist as an individual characteristic of organizational members; rather, structured organizational practices both exist within and reproduce gendered systems and social practices (Mumby & Buzzanell, 2000; Giddens, 1979). Organizations function as important societal influences where "identities and worldviews are fundamentally shaped" (Mumby & Buzzanell, 2000, p. 4). The gendering function of organizations plays a large role in church denominations due to gendered interpretations of Biblical texts. Thus, this research study seeks to understand the gendering function of organizations and will be employing the critical cultural lens to examine how Southern Baptist woman in positions of power create and replicate their organizational and social identities in a distinctly gendered organization.

Organizational resistance

With social identities conceptualized as salient and fluid (Wieland, 2010), individuals find themselves negotiating their individual and organizational identities (Johnson & Jian, 2017). This fluid and ever-changing nature of organizational identities necessitates organizational resistance as individuals negotiate the tensions between their core identities and organizational identities (Johnson & Jian, 2017; Kreiner et al, 2015). The negotiation of identities is especially prevalent in this study where Baptist and Southern Baptist woman in leadership positions is constantly negotiating their (possibly conflicting) religious, feminist, leadership, individual, organizational, and core identities. This leads to individuals enacting organizational resistance when their identities conflict and they must choose between different identities. Thus,

organizational resistance can be best understood as a socially constructed reality that arises out of the interactions of both workplace actors and academic researchers (Prasad &Prasad, 1998). There are several ways to conceptualize organizational resistance, but there is often an inherently critical element to organizational resistance literature, as it seeks to understand the roles that individuals play in the co-construction of the organization.

Organizational resistance has been conceptualized in a variety of ways within the communication discipline. Historically, the communication field conceptualized resistance from the individual perspective analyzing individuals within organizations and their practices of communicative resistance (Ganesh et al, 2005; Putnam & Poole, 1988). Previous research findings also suggest that there is a gap between an individual's understanding of an organization's premise, an individual's decisions, and their identification within the organization (Bisel et al, 2007). This paper concerns two ways to conceptualize organizational resistance: creating systems of gendered meaning through discourse (Mumby & Ashcraft, 2006) and the dialectical tensions approach (Mumby, 2005).

Gendered Organizational Resistance

Gendered organizational resistance ties to social identity due to the nature of expressed gender within both individual and organizational identities. Gendered organizational resistance argues that gender is a complex, fragmented, and ongoing concept that exists at the nexus of communication and gendered organizing processes (Mumby & Ashcraft, 2006). Any model that attempts to explain the gendering function of organizations must be complex. Gender is an embodied communication praxis enacted through a complex array of discursive and nondiscursive actions surrounding power, accommodation, and resistance (Jermier & Clegg, 1994; Mumby & Ashcraft, 2006). Communication becomes more than a conduit for organizational discourse, as it is the very process by which gendered meanings and identities are

constructed and destroyed. Social actors struggle to create a fixed meaning for different communication concepts and communication becomes an inherently political and gendered phenomenon (Mumby & Ashcraft, 2006).

Dialectical Tensions

Within workplace resistance literature, there are a variety of different ways that individuals can engage in organizational resistance. Framed discursively, a dialectical analysis of organizational resistance focuses less on the inherent meanings of individual discourses and more upon the interpretive struggle between the discourse and its performance (Mumby, 2005). The dialectical approach to organizational resistance was developed in opposition to the implicit dualism of control and resistance that is typically studied in organizational resistance literature (Mumby, 2005). A dialectical approach to control and resistance lends understanding to the ways that control and resistance are mutually co-produced and co-exist in an organizational space (Mumby, 2005). Expanding organizational resistance literature invites scholars to examine different questions of (dis)empowerment that previously studied. As Meisenbach (2008) states, "along with the interest in discourse, scholars advocate a dialectical approach to studies of (dis)empowerment and control or resistance that considers the simultaneity of such factors" (p. 262). Thus, dialectical tensions add a critical element to organizational resistance literature by critiquing the focus of research and arguing that researchers should not only focus on "the bow (an ostensible act of obeisance to power) nor the fart (a covert act of resistance to power) but rather on the ways in which these intersect in the moment to moment to produce complex and often contradictory dynamics of control and resistance" (Mumby, 2005, p. 250).

A dialectical perspective argues that all organizational behavior, discursive or action-based, can be understood through the lens of discourse as organizational interest groups work to transform and interpret the socially constructed systems of daily life (Mumby, 2005). Dialectics

seeks to avoid the tendency of "'identity thinking,' in which all phenomena are reduced to a single, monolithic (and nondialectical) mode of explanation" (Mumby, 2005, p. 4). When framing dialectics, it is important to think of the situation in terms of praxis and ethics (Benson, 1977; Mumby, 2005). Praxis is an examination of individuals becoming active agents in the reconstruction of their own social reality, and ethical commitment is a social scientific dedication to the liberation of human potential through the construction of new social formations (Benson, 1977). Dialectical analysis, therefore, seeks to decipher established social patterns and structures, their arbitrary characters, and the limits of the present social order (Benson, 1977; Mumby, 2005). Organizations become both a site of control and resistance as workers engage in the organization's discursive consciousness and resistance is framed into the organization (Mumby, 2005). Common forms of organizational resistance are outlined by Tucker (1993) as "including gossip, confrontation, resignation, toleration, theft, sabotage, noncooperation, collective action, formal complaints, use of the law, and violence" (Mumby, 2005, p. 12). By engaging in these behaviors daily, members of organizations are enacting and co-creating the very structures of order and resistance that they are trying to change.

This study seeks to build upon previous dialectical tensions research in the areas of discursive leadership (Fairhurst, 2008), and the dialectical tensions of leading community choirs (Piercy & Kramer, 2017) by examining dialectical tensions and leadership discourse to woman in leadership positions in Baptist churches. This leads to my second research question:

RQ$_2$: How do Baptist woman leaders' express resistance in dialectical spaces of conflict?

Chapter 3: Qualitative Methods

Study design

To gain insight into woman in leadership roles in Baptist Churches negotiating their organizational identity, I sought an opportunity for honest conversation where all aspects of

performance had been stripped away. To this end, I conducted in-depth interviews, which allowed me to examine participants' lived experiences and granted participants complete confidentiality between myself and the interviewee. Understanding how Baptist woman negotiate their organizational and nested identities relies on a qualitative method of analysis due to the nature of the questions being asked - *how* and *why*. Thus, to answer these questions, I turned to qualitative thematic interpretation, which examines "how social experience is created and given meaning" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 13). The goal of this research was to shed light on social processes and focus on participants' lived experiences and examine how human interactions are value-laden and rich with narrative meaning (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

Qualitative research is concerned with both the credibility and accurate interpretation of the data and driven by the advancement of theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The qualitative researcher seeks to advance theory through a better understanding of an individual's lived experiences (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). They privilege the participants' voices by allowing theory to emerge naturally from individual accounts and lived experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). To analyze the emerging data, this research study uses the iterative method of analysis (Tracy, 2013). Iterative data analysis begins about three quarters of the way through the data collection process and focuses on alternating between the emic, or emergent readings of the data, and the etic, of theoretical backing of the study (Tracy, 2013). Throughout the data analysis process, the iterative method uses the constant comparison method of coding data, or constantly returning to the data to re-read and re-listen to the interview transcripts to ensure an accurate representation of the data. After explaining the qualitative study design, it is necessary to delve into the data collection and analysis procedures.

Data Collection

Introduction

  I framed this research study as a qualitative analysis and decided to gather data via semi-structured interviews. This research method gave participants a safe, neutral space to discuss the sensitive nature of these topics. Anonymity was particularly important in this research project as the woman interviewed discussed private personal and religious details. It is necessary to examine the research study's sample and recruitment procedures, and data collection procedures.

Sample

  Requirements for participation in the interviews were: participants must be at least 18 years of age, a current or previous member of a Baptist church or religious organization and self-identify as being a leader within their church or religious organization. For this study, leadership positions were defined contextually as any official or unofficial church leadership role. Examples given on recruitment materials included Sunday school leaders, small group leaders, Bible study or prayer group leaders, Bible camp leaders and counselors, potluck organizers, preschool teachers, children's or youth ministers/pastors, woman's ministers/pastors, and woman's ministry leaders, to name a few.

  I interviewed a total of 23 participants., all of whom identified as female. The participants ranged from 18 years old to 72 years old. Twenty-one participants identified as cradle, or having been raised in the Baptist church, and two participants identified as converting older in life. All (N= 23) research participants identified as affiliating with the Baptist church at some point in their life. Participants identified as having 33 different leadership positions in their Church or religious organizations including Sunday school teacher, VBS coordinator, worship team leader, and prayer chain leader.

Recruitment Procedures

Several different recruitment methods were used in this research study, including posting recruitment materials with a variety of social media groups on Facebook and Reddit, walking into churches, and talking to leadership/members, sharing the recruitment flyers and information on social media, reaching out to prominent Baptist and Southern Baptist woman's ministers and authors, and professors at Baptist Universities. Additional recruitment occurred through personal contacts of the investigator and snowball sampling. There was no reimbursement for participants recruited through any of the four methods.

Data Collection Procedures

This study necessitated qualitative research methods due to the nature of the questions being asked. Interviews give the participants the opportunity to tell the researcher about their experiences using their own words and use their individual rhetorical construction for their experiences (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The underlying purposes for qualitative interviews are to understand the participants' experiences and perspective through their own accounts, understand the narrative conceptualization of their stories, and eliciting the direct language and phrases that participants use to describe their experiences (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This study fits this purpose because the research goal is to gain understanding of participants lived experiences within the Baptist and Southern Baptist churches.

Interviews for this study were semi-structured (Tracy, 2013) and consisted of an interview guide and follow-up questions. The interview guide included questions and prompts such as "Tell me a little bit about your role as a Baptist Woman in the church." The full interview guide is included in Appendix A of this paper. All 23 participants were interviewed through video conferencing platforms (e.g., Zoom). Interviews were recorded and transcribed with participant consent. After transcription, I removed all identifying information. Interviews

lasted between 38 minutes and 1 hour and 25 minutes, with the average interview lasting approximately 58 minutes. During the interviews, I took 88 pages of notes and after transcription the interviews produced 700 pages of data for a total of 788 single spaces pages of data.

Data Analysis

A two-step qualitative thematic analysis, with both primary cycle and secondary cycle coding was used to examine participants' responses (Tracy, 2013). Data analysis began by extensively reading and re-reading the data, listening to interview recordings, and thinking about the data (Tracy, 2013). This phase of data coding, also known as the data immersion phase, was designed for asking open ended questions such as "what is happening here?" (p. 188) and extensively thinking about the data and discussing it with others. In second level coding, the researcher examined the codes already identified and began to synthesize and organize them into second level codes, which are more analytic and interpretive than first level codes and are often drawn from the theoretical backing of the research study. In the second level coding process, the researcher established hierarchical codes, or grouping codes into an umbrella category to make conceptual sense and clarify the research results (Tracy, 2013). These codes were then condensed and organized into a coding schema and code book.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

The analysis presented in this chapter is a result of participants' depictions of their own lived experiences, as they narrated their life stories through semi-structured interviews. Thus, this chapter includes participant's stories, direct quotations, and researchers notes from the participants interviews. All identifying information has therefore been removed from direct quotations and participants stories, and the participants themselves are referred to by their participant numbers to protect their privacy.

This study seeks to understand participant's performance of Baptist woman leader identities both within and outside of the organization. Baptist and Southern Baptist woman negotiate their feminist and religious identities in a variety of ways. First, some Baptist women attempt to separate their performance of identity, where they identify as leaders outside the church, but servants or submissive inside the church. I use the word attempt deliberately, as ultimately social identities are not created in a vacuum (Wieland, 2010) and there is ultimately some bleed over between an individual's different identities. Therefore, most of the woman who participated in the present study identified negotiating their religious identity with their feminist identity through the nested identities model (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). It is necessary to delve into feminist organizational identity due to the prevalence of feminist identities as Matryoshka, or nesting dolls, participants identified in this research study.

Baptist woman leaders occupy an intersectional identity space due to the theoretical differences between their Baptist, woman, and leader identity logos. Thus, this research study seeks to examine the intersections among multiple identities through the lens of nested identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Within nested identities, this study examines how three primary identities – leader woman identity, Baptist woman identity, and Biblical woman identity – nest within each other, varying from higher order to lower order identities. The leader woman identity is participant's lowest order identity that correlates to a work group in its exclusivity and level of abstractness. When participants expressed their religious feminine identity, they separated it into two distinct identities, Baptist woman, and faith woman. Participants had their Baptist woman identity, which was organizational, more concrete, and more proximal to the individual's core. This was the religious organizational identity that was heavily tied to the Baptist organization. The Biblical woman identity is a higher order organizational identity as it is tied to the larger

Christian organization rather than the Baptist denomination. Additionally, this study examines how the cross-cutting identity of faith woman identity influences the performance of the other identities within this study. Faith woman identity differs from the Baptist and Biblical woman identities because it is informal and non-organizational. The faith woman identity was the most salient identity expressed in this study, as it acted as cross-cutting identity that impacted participant's performance of all their nested identities.

Higher and lower order identities vary depending on the inclusivity, abstractness, and distance of the identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Based on these criteria, leader woman identities are the lowest order identity making up the inside of the identity nest. Next comes the Baptist woman identity, which is more inclusive than the leader woman identity, but less inclusive than the Biblical woman identity. And the highest order identity in this study is the Biblical woman identity as it is the most inclusive and abstract social identity. Next, is the cross-cutting faith woman identity, which converges across the entire nest and influences the performance of the other identities. A depiction of the identities studied and how they nest within each other is available in Appendix A. Thus, the study seeks to understand how identities vary in their identity salience, isomorphism, and performance along these lines.

This results section is laid out in the order of identity hierarchy that participants identified in their interviews. When looking at the study through the lens of nested identities (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014), participants identified their leader woman identity as the lowest order identity expressed in this study, or the innermost layer of their identity nest, because it is an exclusive and concrete identity with a high level of situational relevance. Next, was the Baptist Woman Identity, which was less concrete and situationally dependent in its performance than the leader woman identity, but more concrete than the Biblical woman identity. The highest order identity

expressed was the Biblical woman identity, which was abstract and encompassed the array of lower order identity. The final identity expressed in this study was the Faith woman identity, which is a cross-cutting identity, or an identity that bleeds across and impacts the identity performance of every part of an individual's nesting doll (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). After discussing these identities, the results section then delves into Resistance and how woman negotiated their identity in spaces of dialectical conflict, before answering this study's research questions.

Leader Woman Identity

The leader woman identity is a lower order identity and the innermost layer of this studies' identity nest. Leadership identities have been studied as a role identity, especially the concept 'servant leadership' which Christians identify as being a key aspect of religious doctrine that is both a part of the self and a role which individuals aspire to fill (Greenleaf, 2002). Participants within this study agreed with this conceptualization of servant leaders and expressed their leader woman identity as one dedicated to serving others. The leader woman identity expressed in this study was more subjectively important and situationally relevant – meaning more salient – than the higher order identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Lower order identities are described as being exclusive, concrete, and proximal when compared to other identities within the nested doll (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). All three components play into the leader woman identity being a lower order identity as it is a role identity that individuals only perform in certain situations within the organization. Thus, the leader woman identity is comparable to work group and job identities, which typically occupy the lowest level of the identity nest (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Previous research suggests that lower order organizational identities are more likely to be a participants primary group within the

organization (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Additionally, participants will have more in common with those within the organization who share the same lower order identity as they do (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001).

There were several different aspects and layers to the performance of the leader woman identity. The different sub-themes of the leader woman identity are servant leadership, second tier leader, and the stained-glass ceiling. Servant leadership is important to examine, as past research has illustrated a need to examine how non-organizational factors can impact an individual's performance of higher order social identities (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Servant leadership does this by examining how participants interpret their leader woman identity and explaining participant's logos behind identity performance. The second-tier leader aspect of the leader woman identity speaks to participant's lived experiences within the Baptist church and how they are treated when they enact their leader woman identity. Stained-glass ceiling examines how participants identified an organizational structure, the Baptist organization's conceptualization of the glass ceiling, as being a part of their leader woman identity. The prevalence of this structure on the leader woman identity is due to the socialization that Baptist woman received, so that the stained-glass ceiling becomes a mosaic part of participant's nesting dolls and affects identity performance. Thus, this study examines how participants interpret their leader woman identity (servant leadership), how they perceived they are treated when they go to enact that identity (second tier leader), and the organizational structures that explain their struggle with the leader woman identity within the Baptist organization (stained-glass ceiling).

The leader woman identity is the most concrete identity studied, as was expressed by potential participants asking the researcher what exactly they meant by a "leader", and they were able to give clear conceptualizations. But the most relevant aspect for this study, is the fact that

the leader woman identity is proximal in relation to the performance of the other identities in this study. Participants viewed their performance of their leader woman identity as direct to their performance of both their other identities expressed in this study. Thus, the leader woman identity is a situationally relevant lower order identity that participants described as performing in conjuncture with their other identities expressed in this research study.

The leader woman identity is a lower order, role identity that was voluntarily enacted for participants in this study – only four of the twenty-one participants identified as working in a church or religious organization, the rest of the studies' population volunteered at their Baptist church, ministry, or non-profit. It is also important to note that even the participants who work at a Baptist organization in some occupation identified as volunteering at their church in their free time, so that every participant in this study viewed their leader woman identity as a voluntary role identity, or a higher order identity that the participants chose to put on. The voluntary nature of this role identity impacts how participants expressed the identity – and previous research has indicated that an individual's role or activity within an organization may alter the way that they perform their other nested identities (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014).

Additionally, the leader woman identity is a controversial voluntary role identity, as was revealed when the researcher began to recruit participants for this research study. There was even debate over the recruitment materials that the researcher shared to raise awareness and request participants. For instance, when the researcher shared their IRB approved recruitment materials on Reddit, one member of the community r-Baptist commented "Woman cannot be leaders, so take your heresy somewhere else" to which another community member responded, "Take your sexism somewhere else." This example illustrates the on-going debate within the Baptist community as to the roles of woman in leadership positions. Because of this on-going debate

surrounding the leader woman identity within the Baptist church, there are several factors that can impact participant's performance of their identity – such as church size, participant's age, and how the leader's perceived responsibilities impact their family and close relationships.

The debates related to the performance of the leader woman identity also led to participants identifying that their performance of the leader woman identities looked different in large vs. small churches. For instance, participant #3 talked about how she loved being a leader in a small church because "I love the like collaboration aspect of like where we're a smaller church, and so we may not have a ton of kids or opportunities." She also admitted that her favorite parts of her leader woman identity were because she performed it within a small Baptist church, such as the flexibility and the ability to take on varying leadership roles. Participant #3 even admitted that she did not know if she would like to be a leader in a bigger church because it would look drastically different. For instance, participant #8 is a pastor's wife and teacher at a larger church and she talked about her performance of the leader woman identity very differently. Participant #8 shared stories where different leaders within the church competed to see whose Sunday School class had the most participants and shared how her favorite parts of her leader woman identity happened outside of the official Baptist organizational setting: when she had a small group of women sitting around her dining room table eating and learning together. For participant #8 at a large church, this was an identity performance instance that happened outside of the official organization, whereas participant #3 would have identified this performance as a part of her role with the official organization. Participant #21 helped to reconcile these different interpretations when she talks about how each church in the Baptist association has "a little bit of its own flavor personality." This illustrates the differences that

exist between different Baptist organizations and how they can impact participants' performance of their identities – or even what they perceive as being a part of the Baptist organization.

Leader woman identities are also viewed differently based on the participant's age as there are varying standards for how woman leaders are supposed to perform within the Baptist organization depending on their age. For instance, participant #4 expressed that she experiences a stigma being an older single woman leader in the Baptist church.

> "So as a single woman you know it's one thing when you're younger and single but the older that you get without being married, I think there is a stigma attached to that. It's almost like there's no way to win like if I'm younger, I can be single and working and doing stuff. But the older that I get, and I haven't been married it's kind of like. How can she work in church without a husband?"

And participant #4 was far from the only one who identified this agist stigma or stated that it negatively impacted her performance of her leader woman identity. Participant #11 talked about how she had a hard time in her job as a single children's minister in her 30's. Because she did not have kids or a husband, it was sometimes hard to relate to the people that she was leading, and to gain the respect of other leaders and parents within her church. Participant #13 directly stated in her interview "your age decides your expectations in your church." Thus, participant's age and marital status were limiting factors to a participant's performance of their leader woman identity and their perceived credibility and perceived capabilities within the Baptist organization.

Additionally, participants talked about how leadership responsibilities within the Baptist church were not just reliant on the leader's perceived capabilities, they really impacted the entire family. Several participants were pastors' wives and they talked about how even though they had never had an official role in the church they ended up having leadership roles and responsibilities

through their husbands and had roles that they were expected to play as the pastor's wife. These expected roles and responsibilities did not only impact the pastor's wives. Participant #13 talked about how growing up as a pastor's kids, there was an expectation that she step into leadership roles at a young age and help in the running of the church "as I got older, like just being in front of the church, and meeting is kind of one of those things that were expected just because my dad was the pastor." These implied expectations placed on pastor's and religious leaders' families affected the way that participant's felt about performing their leader woman identities. For instance, participant #8 is a pastor's wife who has not been as involved in their current church as she was previously, and she expressed guilt surrounding her lack of involvement and leadership performance. These familial expectations of leader woman identity performance affected participant's perceived freedom to perform their identities and made the leader woman identity – while it was still a higher order voluntary role identity – one that about half of the participants in this study felt like they were expected to put on. This created a unique tension where participants felt obligated to put on a voluntary identity, yet they still identified it as a voluntary identity and not a required identity performance.

Servant Leadership

Servant leadership focuses on participants interpretation and conceptualization of their leader woman identity and explaining participant's logos behind identity performance. Previous research has shown that the concept 'servant leadership,' which Christians identify as being a key aspect of religious doctrine, is both a part of the self and a role which individuals aspire to fill (Greenleaf, 2002). The servant leadership aspect of the leader woman identity was expressed by every participant in this study as the way that the Bible and Jesus Christ expressed a leader identity. As participant #6 stated in her interview,

"I've never, you know, wanted to be some powerful church leader. That's not what serving Christ is about. He was a servant. he wasn't lording it over people, and I think woman that want to do that are completely out of God's will."

Participant #6 viewed her leader woman identity as a servant role because Christ was a servant, and so in her mind, to be an effective leader woman requires the identity to be performed in as a servant role. Participant #15 had a very similar logos behind her leader woman identity.

"Biblical leadership looks like…. someone so in tune with God and his word that they allow Jesus' servant heart. So, shining through as a servant. Jesus taught us that repeatedly, you know He came to serve."

Because the servant leadership aspect of the leader woman identity is mirrored after participant's perceptions of Christ, participants in this study described this identity as a concrete concept, mirroring their identity performance after Christ. Additionally, the servant leader identity logic is a very salient concept that impacts the performance of all four identities examined in this study – leader woman identity, Baptist woman identity, Biblical woman identity, and faith woman identity. Participant #21 succinctly stated why this identity is so salient to Baptist woman leaders because "at the end of the day I think what it mainly comes down to is someone who is actively pursuing Christ through word and prayer and action." Since Baptist woman leaders related everything back to Christ, the Bible, and their faith at the end of the day, their identity as a servant leader becomes a central part of their organizational identification.

However, relating their servant leader logos to Christ does not always mean that it is easy for participants to enact and perform this aspect of their identity. Participant #11 talked about how it can be hard to have a servant leader mentality or be a secondary leader when the head paster has less experience or education than you do. For example, both participant #11 and her

husband have been to seminary and their head pastor has not. Because of that it can be very difficult for them to respect and follow him, especially when the pastor does not perform his leader identity through the lens of servant leadership. This creates an interesting tension for the performance of identity, and participant #11 was not the only one who experienced this. Several other participants shared stories where it was hard to conceptualize and perform their leader woman identity through the logos of servanthood because their pastor or other leaders in the church did not perform their leader identities in that way. As participate #14 states, "Yeah, we have to get the people on the right bus sometimes…" and participant #21 added "No one's perfect." Illustrating how participants explained and reconciled their potential differences between their perceptions of leadership as a servant role and the way that other leaders they worked with conceptualized their performance of leadership. The logos of servant leadership are further conceptualized to examine the relational aspect of servant leadership, and the lack of a leader support system.

Relational aspect of servant leadership.

Participants identified that their favorite part of their job or volunteer work with the church was focused on the relationships that they get to build with church members and their community. Thus, the servant leadership identity was conceptualized as an inherently relational identity where the people that participants served were always kept to the forefront of their mind. Participant #12 shared that this was the best part of her leader woman identity "my favorite part is just making a difference with people we teach." As participant #17 shared, "you have to have the reality of the people you serve always at the forefront of what you're doing…... Keep the people You serve close to your heart with Jesus." In doing so, participant #17 talked about remembering that the people she serves are just people with stories of their own and

remembering that enables her to be a better leader. Participants also identified that focuses on people and relationships in their leadership roles tied their identity performance closer to Christ, as participant #14 shared "Biblical leaders need to lead like they like Christ…...They need to connect with their with the people that they're leading."

Participants shared that the importance of being relational doesn't only apply to the people that they are leading, it is also important to consider when working with their own leadership team and those standing beside them. Several participants even identified this as a key part of performing their leader woman identity, as participant #10 stated "A good leader will interact with every member of the team." Additionally, participant #14 talked about the importance of being relational with your leadership team and working with people and understanding where they are in their personal life to help make them better leaders.

> "I think those relationships make it important and how you lead. You know Christ, when He was leading the disciples had a relationship with each one of them. And an individual relationship with them. and I think in support that we, as leaders, do the same thing."

Participant #5 shared how this was her favorite parts of leadership: working in small group settings with other woman leaders. Where she could have a few women sitting around her kitchen table, drinking coffee, and working to learn the Bible together. Participant #3 agreed, stating that "I probably say discipleship is my favorite part. Just sitting down with the girls on one-on-one basis, or in a small group setting and doing discipleship." Participant #4 called this perspective on leadership "sustainable leadership." She shared that,

> "As a leader, I feel more fulfilled in my role when I'm focused on other people, and they come along with me. I really don't think that leadership is a is a one-person thing. I think it's "Who can you bring with you? And then who can you build up?" …. Sustainability

for me is how do I bring about more counselors or more mission-minded people within the church system, so that they can continue to carry the work when I'm gone."

This perspective, building other woman leaders up through relationships and encouragement, is a healthy relational aspect of participant's conceptualization of servant leadership within their leader woman identity. And participants further shared how taking this approach to leadership positively impacted the lives of those around them in addition to themselves and their co-leaders.

Participant #3 shared a story about a young boy who attended their youth group for years and one Thanksgiving, he revealed that he did not have a bed. Her leadership team had never realized this before and took it as an opportunity to positively change this young boy's life; "So we like talked to people at church and we bought him a bed, and somebody like donated a blanket, and somebody else had sheets…." Because the leadership teams focus on relational and servant leadership, they were able to positively change a young boy's life. Participants identified this as an important aspect of servant leadership: building relationships to help enable others and improve their lives. Participant #13 talks about how she did this when she shared stories of working with middle school girls at a church she attended right after college.

"I was youth director at this little Church, and that county had, like the fifth highest pregnancy rate in the state … I'm not sure how (or if) my time there affected the pregnancy rate. But I know the girls that were hanging out with me didn't get pregnant…"

Thus participant #13 discussed a very key point of the conceptualization of the servant leader identity – it is all about serving others and building relationships with them. Several other participants shared their emphasis on relationships and servant leadership. Participant #16 talked about how her favorite leadership role that she had ever been in was when she led an elderly

39

woman's small group. Building those relationships with those women and getting to read the Bible with them became one of her favorite parts of her week. Participant #21 talked about how she loved to volunteer with her church's High School girls Sunday school class on Sunday mornings and build those relationships with the girls.

So far, I have discussed the more "traditional" examples that participants shared about servant leadership. By traditional, we mean the examples that are commonly associated with the performance of a servant leader identity within a church or religious organization. However, there were several participants who shared about how they viewed building relationships and serving people as something that they did outside of the Baptist church, to share their ministry and love of Christ with other people. Participant #17 shared how she used her non-profit ministry to build relationships with vulnerable populations, such as the homeless, addicts, and sexually exploited. Because of her own experiences with sexual exploitation, she started her non-profit and helped people who were stuck in the same cycle that she had been stuck in and minister to those who may feel like they have nowhere else to go. Participant #15 also talked about her experiences as an elementary school Spanish teacher and how she was able to minister to several families through the children. It started when a child came to the school district who could not speak any English, so she started to tutor him and act as his English as a second language teacher. She also gave him rides home, and the relationship grew to where she taught the whole family English and eventually ended up creating an ESL ministry where they would teach the families English and mister to them.

> "We were able to like to have our English classes, and we would break for refreshments. And have a devotional time and Spanish so we'd let them get a little of their Spanish in,

and then we would go back and finish up our classes and little by little we were able to get a Spanish church started."

Thus, participants shared how they built relationships as a part of their servant leader woman identity outside of the classic or traditional church roles. This is an important aspect of this study as it builds understanding of participants logos behind relational servant leadership.

Additionally, there was something unique about the leader woman: it was not always expressed as an identity that only the participant owned. Because of the relational aspects of the leader woman identity, some participants identified their identity as being co-owned with their husband or partner. Participant #1 identified that she and her husband had been in several different leadership roles throughout their time in Baptist ministry, including church planters in Japan. Because of this, participant #1 viewed her leadership identity as a co-owned identity shared with her husband. Participant #5 echoed this sentiment, talking about how as a pastor's wife, she viewed a large part of her leader woman identity as being co-constructed and co-owned with her husband. Thus, the relational aspects of an identity can affect identity ownership and conceptualization, especially when looking at higher order or more abstract identities.

Participants also expressed the reciprocal nature of servant leadership when performing their leader woman identity with a focus on people and relationships. Participant #21 shared how "in high school my youth group was very important to me …. And so, it's really fun to be on the other end of that and looking back and remembering like this is how it helped me, and this is how it was important." For participant #21, part of her joy in performing her leader woman identity came from the knowledge that she was giving back to the community that meant so much to her growing up. Participant #15 also talked about how she had been lucky to always have good leaders and pastors who encourage a servant attitude in their leadership styles and

actions. Participant #4 went so far as to say that the purpose of servant leadership is for it to be reciprocal and sustainable, stating that "leadership looks as good as the people that you are building up around you." Thus, participants discussed how they viewed their leader woman identity as a servant identity to be performed with the goals of lifting others up and enabling them to become leaders as well.

The lack of leader support.

Despite the relational aspects of the servant leader identity, participants in this study identified an interesting inconsistency. While they viewed their leader woman identity as something reliant on and developed through relationships, they also perceived themselves as having a lack of relational support when it came to enacting said identity. As Participant #4 shared

> "I feel like when you are in a leadership position. You often lose a good support system, because people look and leaders like they don't need support. Oh, and then I think a lot of things are put on leaders in general, so much is put on them that their humanity gets lost in the crossfire."

Participant #4 was not the only one who felt like she lost a part of her social support system when she started stepping into leadership roles. Participants #2, #5, and #10 talked about how they had to step back from leadership roles in their church's due to burnout and getting tired of feeling like they were left to deal with the stresses of leadership alone.

This is an interesting aspect of the leader woman identity – while participants view their identity as a servant identity that is inherently relational and focused on building people up, they also do not view their churches and the Baptist organization as supporting them once they take on those leadership roles. Participant #13 expressed her frustration with this double standard,

stating that "Leaders always get the criticism. but nobody does a really good job prepping leaders to be leaders." This lack of preparation and support is especially prevalent when leaders move churches or change leadership roles. Participant #11 talked about how as a woman leader who recently moved to a new church, people were not always as friendly as she would have hoped for them to be. She always had to make the effort and reach out first to build new relationships and establish a social network, which was difficult for someone who had stepped into the church with the role identity of being an authority figure.

Thus, leaders experience a dialectical tension between constantly pouring into others and building relationships and yet, a perceived lack of their constituents reaching back to do the same. This perceived lack of support negatively impacted leaders in a variety of different ways. Participant #17 shared how the lack of support for non-profit work made it difficult for her to continue to reach individuals and effectively share the gospel outside of the four walls of the church. Additionally, participant #13 talked about how she experienced burnout and ended up pouring from an empty cup because it took her until she was an adult to be able to rest and set boundaries "growing up in church I mean any church but you're just expected to give and give and give, and so you don't have anything left you know and I don't know I think that's one of the main flaws of church work you know." Leadership burnout in church's is a common phenomenon, and one that participant #13 attributes to placing unrealistic expectations on church leadership and denying them a space to talk about their issues and problems.

> "In the church, you are expected …. To be almost perfect and you can't make mistakes, and I think that puts leaders, especially in this really terrible position… suddenly, you are put on pedestal you can't talk about your real-life problem."

This tension between the importance of relationships and leader burnout due to the lack thereof was expressed by participants as a potential cost to expressing their leader woman identity. While only 1/3 of participants in this study expressed frustration with burnout and a lack of support, the relational nature of the lower order leader woman identity makes it important to examine this perception of a one-way relational dynamic.

Second Tier Leader

The second-tier leader aspect of the leader woman identity speaks to participant's lived experiences within the Baptist church and how they are treated when they enact their leader woman identity. Whereas servant leadership related to participant's conceptualization of their leader woman identity, second-tier leader expresses how participants were treated or received when they chose to express their leader woman identity. And unfortunately, it was not always positive, as participant #10 put it "Leadership tends to be supportive in name only." Participant #8 agreed and added that she had been in ministry for over 20 years, and she had never been in a church where she felt completely supported as a woman in ministry. There was always some element of patronizing and being treated as a second-tier leader. Participant #5 added that "I have literally been patted on the head more times than I can count, and I had a pastor tell me one time that it was so cute that I came in and told talk to woman about the Bible like, Okay?"

Participant #12 talked about an inconsistency, where she did not feel as if she had every been treated as less than when occupying a church leadership position, but she had seen it happen to other woman in her life. For instance, she talked about being a youth minister for the summer of 1986, which was a role that at that time, men would primarily occupy. However, because she had experienced a different primary socialization than other participants, participant #12 did not realize that she was the outlier in leadership supporting her stepping into the role "I

had no idea that there was anything I couldn't do, just because that's how my parents raised me…... I didn't know in 1986 that that was even an issue. But I know that is an issue now."

While participant #12 was an outlier, other participants described a universal treatment where they were treated as second tier whenever they enact or perform their leader woman identity. In fact, the second-tier leader aspect of identity was so prevalent in participant #9's life that she said, "That's just how we do things That's how we always do things. Nobody asked if that is what the Bible said." This treatment is not only from the top down either. Participant #10 talked about how even when the church leadership is fully in support of woman in leadership positions, there still might be other participants who disagree and make things uncomfortable. Illustrating how the second-tier leader identity is so ingrained in Baptist churches and organizations that members start to re-create the system that suppresses them.

For participants #11, #15, #18, and #19, this process began in seminary where they were often treated as second-tier classmates. As participant #11 states

"Seminary is really hard because there's maybe 25% of the population's woman…. and there might be 2 or 3 other woman there's not very many, and sometimes the man in the class think woman shouldn't be there, or if they're married, they don't want to have anything to do with the woman and don't hardly acknowledge them, and that's always been hard. It kinda hurts the dynamic in the classroom and the relationships you build with your peers."

Several of the participants were at Baptist seminaries during the conservative takeover of the 1980's and talked about how that changed their experiences while they were in seminary and make it more difficult to get jobs afterwards. Additionally, Participant #18 talks about how after she got her doctorate, she has taught at two different seminaries herself and had interesting

experiences. One such experience was when "A (male) student asked me if my husband gave me permission to teach the Bible."

For other participants, the perception that they were a second-tier leader began well before they were adults. Participant #18 shared her experiences growing up in the Baptist church.

"I can think of growing up woman just most of the volunteer roles in the church, and I always looked up to the woman in my church, and they taught us in Sunday school and choir, and everything like that they were the leaders, but the official leaders of the church, including the pastor, were men."

Participant #18 also talked about how being raised in a culture where woman was treated as second tier leaders affected the way that she viewed her future career opportunities when she was young. She states that her career aspirations were to be a church secretary when she was young because "I liked doing stuff in the church, and that's what I thought a woman, you know, could do in the church. I'd never seen a woman as a minister or leading worship…"

This perception that woman have of being treated as a second-tier leader expresses how participants are treated they express their leader woman identity. It also created a dialectical tension for participants, as leadership was often supportive in words, but would not actually back up the participants when they faced difficulties or needed support. Participants lived experiences surrounding their treatment as second-tier leaders primarily fell into four different narratives: men feel threatened by woman in leadership, woman are "good enough" in the absence of a man, an expressed lack of respect, and shutting woman out of the organization.

Men threatened by woman in leadership.

Several participants identified that when they took leadership roles in religious settings, men were often threatened by their presence in those roles, especially when those women had a strong personality or had to make difficult decisions. For example, when she was a principle at a private, Christian school Participant #1 stated that "There were men threatened by my principalship." Participant #4 took it a step further and tried to understand why men were threatened by her performance of her leader woman identity. As participant #4 said,

> "I'm a pretty outgoing obnoxious person that can be loud and full of joy, and I you know so and I don't think that there's anything wrong with that. but I do feel like sometimes that personality really rubs men the wrong way…. I really think that oftentimes. It's because of a lack of power and control on their part. They don't like things that they can't control or that they can't take hour over and when you have a female with a big personality that can come across as intimidating."

She was not the only participant who thought that woman enacting a strong leader woman identity may intimate men or emasculate men and decrease their perceived power and control. Participant #5 added that "I feel like a lot of times. I deal with a lot of insecurity that our vulnerability, maybe that men feel." Participant #5 understood that a portion of the negative reaction she received from her fellow leaders had nothing to do with her performance of her leader woman identity and more to do with the men's own insecurities and vulnerabilities.

There are several very interesting things about participant's discussion of men's reaction to their performance of their leader woman identity. The first is that woman were concerned with how other leaders reacted to their identity performance at all. Woman are taking on the responsibility for how men react to their performance of their leader woman identity and try to

understand what they did to make their fellow leaders react that way and why their leadership causes a reaction with men's insecurities. Secondly, woman expressed their own conceptualizations of their leader woman identity as a servant leader identity focused on building relationships and positively impacting individual's lives. Given participants performance of their leader woman identity, it seems intriguing that a relational and servant-based identity making men feel emasculated. And thirdly, woman blamed themselves and their personalities for men's reaction to their leadership style. In addition to participant #4, Participant #5 also expressed that her personality may impact men's reaction to her leader woman identity "I also have a strong personality…." Thus, woman blamed themselves for how men reacted to their strong personalities, focusing on how those around them focus on and react to their identity performance instead of their intended goals in the given situation.

Women are "good enough."

In addition, to men feeling threatened by a strong performance of a leader woman identity, woman also talked about how they were often treated as a second-tier leader, just "good enough." Participants shared how they often completed the roles of a pastor, or masculine identity / leadership roles, within the church while being denied the power, authority, and respect often associated with those roles. Participant #2 once questioned her pastor about this dichotomy because she was confused why she was allowed to complete the roles and responsibilities of a pastor as a woman volunteer:

> "So, I went to talk to the pastor and asking that question, you know, 'if this is our doctrine, then why are you allowed me to leave like this?' And he said, 'Well, there's not a man to do it… he said, the first thing is he's male he's at the top of the pyramid, and so that provides the headship right that covers our basis and then he said and also there's not

a man to do this' and eventually I think I was volunteering. Yeah, 'Eventually, probably, the Lord will bring a man that we can hire.'"

Participant #2 discussed how this answer offended her because her pastor was admitting that she served a placeholder role until the church could afford to hire a man to complete her job. This led to her leaving both the church and the Baptist organization.

Participant #8 had a similar experience and talked about how treating woman as "good enough" to do the work was detrimental to both the woman and the church.

"What gets me, Girl, is a lot of churches give woman pastoral rules, but just don't call them pastor … So then, okay, it's literally just a title thing, not a function thing, because they are okay with like utilizing a woman and her skills, and like the spiritual gifts that God has given her. But they just don't want to give her the title to recognize that role."

By denying woman the titles associated with the roles they play in the church, organizational leadership is reducing the impact of woman's leadership roles and responsibilities. Participant #5 shared how conservative evangelical church leaders were bad about "Relying on woman to be the bulk of the work…." And participant #18 added that "churches are far more likely to hire male ministers at female ministers. so. I think it's certainly detrimental to churches, not to look at all candidates equally…" Treating woman as "good enough" and not considering them to permanently fill the roles they enact everyday leads to a lack of respect for woman leadership within the Baptist organization and explains why participants identified as being "second tier."

Lack of respect.

Words have power, and the words used to describe leadership roles and responsibilities matter. Participants in this study identified that a key reason why they identified as being treated

as a second-tier leader was due to the titles they were being given or denied and the perceived lack of respect associated with those titles. As participant #4 succinctly put it,

"I think sometimes what happens is they put the female in a position of responsibility without calling it what it really is …. I think we diminish the role when we call it something different, and it diminishes actually the role that the person is playing because people you know… there is a certain amount of reverence or respect that a person gets when they find out someone is a minister, but if a woman is never called that…"

Denying woman, the roles and titles associated with their responsibilities within the church doesn't just diminish their responsibility, it also harms the individual's self-worth and self-image. Churches and pastors are telling woman that they are second tier and not deserving of the respect associated with their leadership roles. This inhibits participants ability to enact their leader woman identity as they are repeatedly told that they are not respected when they perform that identity within the church. Participant #4 went on to talk about how the lack of respect does not end there. There is a level of spiritual respect associated with the role of pastor, and when church's refuse to call a woman a pastor, they limit her spiritual authority and respect.

Oftentimes, woman is denied leadership roles and titles based solely on gender. Participant #12 discussed how the gendering of certain roles within the church made some roles have less respect or clout associated with them. Like the very thought that that role is normally performed by a woman means that it is deserving of less respect, which further reifies the fact that woman enacting their leader woman identity are often denied respect and treated as second-tier leaders based on their gender. Participants expressed a lot of frustration with this system and the gendering of different roles and responsibilities within the Baptist church. As participant #2 stated in her interview, "Of course I did pastoral work, and There was nothing about my gender

that limited my ability to do that work." The reality that gender does not limit a person's capability to do the work, only the title associated with it, is why participant #15 stated that "If they (woman) are doing the work of a pastor, why not allow them to have the title." Denying woman this title or that title, is due to a lack of respect, which participant #4 describes as "changing woman's experiences within the church."

The Baptist church is designed to deny respect and power to woman. This lack of respect for woman reaches beyond the performance of the leader woman identity to impact the performance of other identities – both in leadership positions and in the Baptist church. Because woman in the Baptist church is denied respect from leadership, it bleeds out and impacts woman's performance of other identities as well. Participant #9 talking about how her husband never respected her, and even physically and psychologically abused her. Then, because that was the system that was modeled at home, participant #9 also states that "I never really felt like my oldest son really respected me. I was kind of treated like the older sister in the family. So, I didn't really have any like authority or any real teeth, even though I would discipline them." And this lack of respect in the family – men disrespecting their wives – was a theme several participants discussed throughout their interviews. Participant #15 talked about her experiences leading a religious battered woman's shelter and talked about how she had a lot of struggles working with different leaders in the church. It was back in the 1980s, at a time when not everybody understood why a woman would leave her husband. So, pastors from the association would come and try to pressure her to tell them where the woman were and bring them to go to "counseling" with their husband. As she put it in the interview,

"We had pastors that would call, and like really be upset with us for not allowing the husband to come and see the wife, and I mean, they just left with the clothes on their

back, and here. They are in the shelter and it's not a very appealing place to be, and then they want, you know, to us to put the life in danger."

This illustrates how the ideology and beliefs behind the gendering of roles and titles within the Baptist organization have far reaching, negative impacts. Not only do these ideologies reduce the authority and respect that woman experience when they perform their leader woman identity, this lack of respect also reaches out to touch the family and enable familial abuse. Which is why the titles and roles woman are given within the Baptist organization illustrate a deeper mindset and understanding that woman is second tier and not deserving of respect.

Shutting woman out.

Participants expressed frustration that when they performed their leader woman identity in the Baptist organization, they often felt like they were shut out if they performed the identity too strongly. After examining how men are threatened by woman in leadership, woman is "good enough," and the lack of respect associated with woman's titles – the leading perceptions woman experienced when they performed their leader woman identity within the Baptist church was that they were being disrespected and shut out of the organization. Participant #4 attributed this to a dated, older mindset still held by many individuals within the Baptist church. Furthermore, participant #15 talked about her experiences as the director of the battered woman's shelter that was funded by a religious organization. When she tried to fight against pastors insisting that the husbands should be able to visit their wives, who were already traumatized, "I was told that if I did not stop being a squeaky wheel that I would get blacklisted." Illustrating how she was threatened to be shut out of the church for performing the leadership role that she had been entrusted with.

Shutting woman leaders out of the Baptist organization wastes a lot of giftedness and potential, both in leadership roles and in the organization. As participant #4 shared in her interview, "you have a lot of unfolded potential and giftedness that is, is going on within the church that people don't get too explorer and offer. And it just kind of like talent that that just goes wasted." Participant #12 shared several stories about how she was frustrated with being viewed as a second-tier leader and how not being allowed to perform and serve in ways where you are gifted takes away the fulfillment of the individual in that leadership role. For instance,

> "I went on a mission trip once, and we were teaching…. We were teaching kids sports at the same time we were you know sharing the gospel about Jesus, and the leader of it, which was a man, and he'd been doing it for years. He had the men on at the Mission on the mission trip go and stand and talk to a mixed group of kids, men and boys and girls, and he said, all you ladies you go make name tags. So, I was like, why do we have to make the name tags…. it is not fulfilling to be put in a position where you're not gifted."

This is only a single example where woman being treated as second-tier leaders and shut out of the organization hurt the trip as well. Participant #12 could have used her gifts and talents to share the gospel, but instead she was assigned to the gendered role of creating name tags. In addition to wasted potential, treating woman as a second-tier leader can create a backdoor on leadership teams. Participant #8 talks about how having a negative leader at the helm who puts leaders in positions where they cannot use their talents and gifts can cause for a very large "back door" on the leadership team where people always leave because of the tensions and problems that arise when they try to perform their leader identity in that space. Additionally, Participant #18 talked about how treating woman as second tier leaders and second tier Christians really hurt

the church as a whole "I think the churches are losing out on more than 50% of their memberships voices and talent."

Stained-Glass Ceiling

The stained-glass ceiling is an organizational structure that participants in this study identified as being a part of their leader woman identity. The stained-glass ceiling is a unique conceptualization of the glass ceiling within the Baptist organization as it focuses on how woman is socialized within the church from a very young age to believe that they are second tier leaders. Because of this primary socialization, the stained-glass ceiling becomes a salient identity that affects the performance of other identities that participant's expressed in this study. However, despite the salience and influence of this identity, most participants identified, described, or conceptualized this identity in a variety of different ways through their interviews, illustrating how widespread the stained-glass ceiling's influence is.

Participant #12 talked about how the Stained-Glass ceiling was constructed and created by men through Biblical translation and hundreds of years of tradition "whoever translates the Bible make sure that their view of woman staying under a man." Participant #12 even goes so far as to say that the Baptist interpretation of the Bible does not align with Christian principles at all, "If we would just look at what our churches teach, we teach a very Muslim way of patriarchy." This is due to the distinct privilege that doctrine and tradition play in the Baptist organization, as participant #21 talks about the trap that the denomination has fallen into "We put our own human tradition, our human perspective, above what we think the Spirit is saying or above what we think scripture is saying…" Several other participants acknowledged the role that being socialized into the stained-glass ceiling played in their lives and how it affected their views of the Baptist organization and their identity performance within the organization. Participant #13 talks

about how she works at a religious organization, and she must use a lot of self-censorship when she is talking at her Baptist organization "So you know, there are times that you are just quiet and you walk away, even though you're infuriated." Illustrating how the stained-glass ceiling alters her identity performance and decreases her self-efficacy and freedom of expression at work.

The stained-glass ceiling has several negative impacts on both the Baptist organization and participant's expression of their leader woman identity. Both participants #4 and #13 shared countless stories where they were denied a voice and told that they did not have the power to express their leader woman identity because they existed beneath the stained-glass ceiling. However, the dangers behind this aspect of the leader woman identity go far beyond hindering participant's voices and identity expression. Participant #15 talked about how the real danger of the stained-glass ceiling is the division that it causes within the church.

"In the Bible there are woman that are serving and Jesus, even, you know, applauded their service. And Paul applauded their service and it's like, what's our problem.... We are supposed to be building each other up? you know…. Would we not be able to reach more people if we did that rather than cut each other down? If we were together, and let each person use their gifts and follow God's will. We have a wider reach…"

Thus, the stained-glass ceiling and its influences within Baptist culture negate woman's voices, tears woman down, prevents their expression of identity, and causes division within the Baptist organization. When examining the stained-glass ceiling and its impact on the leader woman identity, it is important to examine four distinct patterns that participants identified within the larger picture: woman is told they are the problem, enforced organizational boundaries, recreating the system that bound them, and shattering the glass.

Enforced organizational boundaries.

Within Christianity, there is a prominent theology called the "original sin" doctrine, which essentially states that because Eve ate the apple in the garden, all women are inherently fallen and sinful and should be submissive to men. Participant #1 talked extensively about this doctrine in her interview and how woman should enact a submissive identity because "There's always going to be a boss, and the first one is God." Because of this doctrine, several Christian organizations, including the Baptist church has extensive organizational boundaries in place to keep woman submissive or leading under men because they are inherently sinful. Participant #4 talked about these organizational boundaries in her interview when she stated.

> "I think the system, like the systemic pieces of it like you know, the expectation is that we're going to put a bunch of men and leadership, and then they make all the decisions. But then we're going to let the woman do all the leg work. And so then, how tiring that becomes that I'm good enough to do the work! But I'm not good enough to be part of the decision-making process."

Participant #4 was exhausted of being told to perform her leader woman identity within the boundaries that the stained-glass ceiling outlined for woman. However, because of the enforced nature of those organizational boundaries, it was very difficult for her to perform her leader woman identity without interacting with the glass. This led to her expressing being treated as a second-tier leader because she could do the work, but not decide what work needed to be done.

The stained-glass ceiling is so ingrained in some participants' view of church that they do not even realize that they have accepted its limitations as normal. For instance, participant #16 said that "you know I just I've done just about anything in the church, you know that involved woman that you could do except not on staff." Throughout her interview it became clear that

participant #16 did not even realize the limitations that she was placing on herself with that statement "anything in the church that a woman can do." Additionally, participant #9 talks about how the stained-glass ceiling in the Baptist denomination is so fully ingrained that there was not any woman at the seminary that her husband attended, and she was delegated to a one a weeknight class as a "seminary wife." The seminary upheld a view of the doctrine of original sin that limited woman to a helpmate or "seminary wife," and did not even allow them to enroll in the regular classes. However, participant #9 admitted that at that time, she was so ingrained in the system that she did not see the limitations herself. Participant #12 was in a similar situation, where she talked about how when she was growing up, she didn't even realize that the stained-glass ceiling existed. She said that the patriarchy was so ingrained in church power, that you didn't even realize that it was there. Participant #12 "I didn't know in 1,986 that that was even an issue. But I know that is an issue now…. It's (the church) very male driven and male dominated." Both participants have since been disillusioned and realized that they were being limited, but it was a long process as they were often reminded of their inherent sin.

Several participants also cited incidents where they were reminded of their sinful nature when they enacted their leader woman identity and told that they needed to check their place. Participant #1 reminisced that "in Christian education… when one of my dear board members said to me when I was having conflict with another board member 'Participant #1, might you be the problem.'" Additionally, participant #15 talked about how she was told to "stop being the squeaky wheel" – and participant #8 and her husband were told they had no authority and asked to leave their church's leadership team when they questioned the pastor's treatment of woman in ministry and leadership.

These organizational boundaries were felt and described to a different degree by the participants who identified as working in the church or religious organizations. As participant #3 shared in her interview, "At one point I applied for a full time. youth, leader, position at another church … And I didn't get that position however, and I've kind of wondered at times if it was because I am a female." Participant #3 knew, and to some degree had accepted, that she may have not gotten the position because she was a woman. And if she didn't, she would not have been the first one. As participant #4 shared her frustration with this particular part of the stained-glass ceiling and how frustrating it was "watching other really gifted woman be locked over, or positions that they would have been so well equipped for."

Several other participants expressed their frustration with this part of the system. As participant #21 shared "sometimes it is frustrating to know that somewhere you might have 2 very comparable, you know, education skills, talents for a pastor, and the only reason one's gonna get the job is because he's male and she's female." Participant #13 talked about how she had seen this in her religious organization, and it was especially frustrating because there was a very kind and competent woman who had been there longer and was looked over for that promotion when she would have done a better job in the position. When faced with the enforced organizational boundaries inherent to the stained-glass ceiling aspect of the leader woman identity, participants typically reacted in one of two ways. Either participants engaged in recreating the system that bound them, or they discussed how to shatter the glass.

Recreating the system.

Several participants identified that the stained-glass ceiling had been an ingrained logic in their mind for so long that they didn't even realize that it existed. Some participants went so far as to help re-create the system that bound them because they were completely socialized into

the submissive role. Participants are so ingrained in Baptist policies and ideologies that they do not even view the stained-glass ceiling as a problem, it just is a way of life. For example, participant #8 who self-identified as having a more liberal interpretation of Biblical womanhood, still upheld the stained-glass ceiling in her ideology "So when it comes to like a head pastor um, I don't think that woman are supposed to be the head pasture of a church, or like the lead pastor of a church." And participant #11 just shrugged off the difficulties that she faced when performing her leader woman identity, saying that "Yeah, you're always gonna have people that think, you know woman shouldn't be a ministry…. it has. its challenges and sometimes it's hard to get your voice across." Participant #4 added that.

> "I could say something as a female, and it gets shot down. But a guy could come up and say the same thing and just because it's a man saying it, you know another man will listen… it's kind of like if I don't have a voice? What's the purpose of exercising my lungs?"

Participant #1 described a struggle with this ideology when she discussed her interactions with her daughter in law "I have a daughter who's a pastor in a Wesleyan church whom I absolutely adore (but) saying that woman have authority over men in a church makes me nervous." For participant #1, the doctrine of original sin and the stained-glass ceiling has been enforced for so long that watching other woman break it made her nervous. Participant #12 talked a lot about the ways that her church allows woman to be involved putting them on a pedestal as an exception to the limitations placed on woman in leadership roles. Both acknowledging that the stained-glass ceiling existed within the Baptist organization and saying, "we don't do that here."

Shattering the glass.

However, not every participant in this study accepted the stained-glass ceiling or agreed to living within the boundaries that it provided. Participant #5 critiques the system by adding that "we have these categories of where woman served in the kingdom. and most of them are not visible…." illustrating how woman are often constrained to serving behind the scenes. Participant #18 adds that the best way to shatter the stained-glass ceiling is to lead by example.

"We need to open up young people and older people's imaginations to see what's possible. To have woman leading and woman preaching, and I know the first time that you see things like that. Your like, oh, I didn't think a woman, could do that. And then you hear a really talented woman, and God speaking through her when you say, I guess I guess this can be possible, and God can use these folks as well, it really expands your imagination."

Participant #5 shared about some of her struggles in her attempts to shatter the glass ceiling "I had to fight, to have Bible study…." Participant #18 adds that it would benefit the entire church to use the giftings of both men and woman and enable them to leader together, but before that can happen, the glass ceiling needs to be shattered. Participant #12 agreed, saying that "Wherever decisions are made, woman should be present." Additionally, participant #19 said that you would know the stained-glass ceiling had shattered when "woman can be as mediocre in leadership roles as men can."

Baptist Woman Identity

When participants expressed their religious feminine identity, they separated it into two distinct identities. First, they had their faith woman identity that was non-denomination, and personal, but more abstract and salient. The faith woman identity was the most salient identity

expressed in this study, as it acted as cross-cutting identity that impacted participant's performance of all their nested identities. Secondly, participants discussed their Baptist woman identity, which was organizational, more concrete, and more proximal to the individual's core. The Baptist woman identity fits the criteria for a lower order identity as it is more concrete and exclusive than the Biblical woman identity (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). However, the Baptist woman identity is less situationally relevant than the leader woman identity, which makes it the middle layer in the nested identities doll (Ashforth and Johnson, 2001). The Baptist woman identity was a relatively concrete identity, as participants expressed consensus when discussing how they would define their Baptist identities (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). This consensus is partially due to the totalistic nature of the Baptist woman identity.

The Baptist Woman Identity a religious identity that functions as an internalized value system, that bleads over into other performed identities (Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014). Baptist Identities, therefore, function as a middle order identity that bleeds out and impacts an individual's performance of other identities, especially in intersectional identity spaces. This is due to the totalistic nature of the Baptist Identity. Totalistic organizational memberships are value-based, voluntary memberships, meaning that "the values, practices, rituals, and relationships associated with membership not only extend into the member's everyday life, but play a primary role" (Hinderaker, 2015, p. 93). Based on this, totalistic organizational identities can be conceptualized as voluntary, value-based organizational identities that play a primary role in an individual's everyday identity decisions, maintenance, and performance. Totalistic organizational identities impact individual's performance of other identities and an individual's overall identity salience.

Participants described the totalistic nature of their Baptist woman identities in a variety of ways in this research study. Participant #1 described the Baptist identity subsuming her organizational and work identity to be a totalistic identity. Furthermore, when participants experienced different situations that made them question their Baptist woman identity, those questions bled out to make participants question their identification with and performance of other identities. For example, participant #8 questioned her faith identity when her church was going through conflict and the pastor was leaving, which provides additional support for the Baptist identity being a totalistic identity – because when that identity was shaken, it shook participant #8 to her core and made her question a lot of her core values and beliefs. As she stated in her interview, "Why did God call us here…."

The Baptist church has also set up its organizational structure to be a subsuming, totalitarian organizational identity. Participant #9 talked about using Baptist homeschooling lessons with her kids, and participant #10 talked about her experiences when her parents also used a Baptist homeschooling program for her and her siblings. Participant #4 added that when she grew up in a rural, midwestern community, she was surrounded by the Baptist organization and completely engrained into Baptist culture, whether she actively chose to be or not. Additionally, Participant #1 identifies that a key reason that she and her husband identify as Baptist is because their son was very sick, and it was the Southern Baptist ministers who brought their children toys and helped with rides to the hospital and emotional and social support during this difficult time. Up until this time, participant #1 states that she and her husband identified as being non-denominational, but this kindness when they were in their hour of need swayed them to identity with the "Southern Baptist persuasion" even when they attended churches that may not have belonged to that denomination.

The totalistic nature of the Baptist organization means that participants were more likely to question their faith or interpretation of the Bible before they questioned their Baptist identity. For instance, participant #5 shocked her audience when she was speaking at a leadership conference because she asked them to open their Bibles and question what they were being taught, instead of accepting Baptist doctrine and enacting the organizational without question. The totalistic nature of the Baptist woman identity also explains why participant #22 described Baptist womanhood as a trope. She talked about how society writes Baptist woman to be blond and beautiful, dressed in their Sunday best with perfectly behaved children who listen, polite and docile, loves to gossip, and actively participates in the casserole train. But Participant #22 also contrasted societies' trope of a Baptist woman with the woman she saw in her everyday life, saying that she knew several women who performed their Baptist woman identity in ways that did not align with the trope at all.

When examining how participants performed their Baptist woman identity, it become clear that there are multiple aspects to their identity performance, "don't question the system", and reconciliation. "Don't question the system" refers to how participants were categorically trained as a part of their totalistic identity to accept what they are told and perform their identities in ways that align with the dominant values and beliefs of the Baptist church. It is the organizational logos behind their performance of their Baptist woman identity. Reconciliation discusses how participants navigate difficulties with their performance of other identities considering the totalistic nature of the Baptist identity. When participants are harmed by the totalistic nature of the Baptist organization or they disagree with the identities that they are being told to perform, how do they reconcile those differences? Or, as will be discussed further on in this chapter, do they choose to resist the differences or leave the organization entirely?

"Don't Question the System"

"Don't question the system" refers to how participants are categorically trained as a part of their totalistic identity to accept what they are told and perform their identities in ways that align with the dominant values and beliefs of the Baptist church. It is the organizational logos behind participant's performance of their Baptist woman identity. "Don't question the system," serves as an internalized organizational logos that participant use to explain how they conceptualize and enact their Baptist woman identity. Participant #1 re-enforced the "don't question the system" logos when she talked about her interpretation of woman's leadership roles: that if woman is concerned about what title they are being called, then they should not be in leadership. Participant #1 leaned heavily on the Bible and Biblical doctrine that God has a hand in the creation of everything and the divine will of God. Therefore, you should not question the church or the way that things are because God has willed it that way. She also leaned into the nature of original sin and that when there is cognitive dissonance, it must be our sinful human nature that is at fault. Participant #6 also expresses this logic when she talks a lot about how woman's liberation has it wrong and woman leaders are not as suppressed as they think that they are in the church.

> "I've seen some women get hurt they feel like someone's not listening to them just because they're a woman and I think it's because they're being kind of nasty. It's not because they're a woman but they tend to put that label on it for everything. They assume that people aren't listing because they're a woman, not because they're being rude."

Thus, several participants discussed their processes of re-enforcing the Baptist woman identity by expressing that either they did not perceive woman as oppressed, or that woman should be submissive because of the doctrine of "original sin" and the delegation of woman's Biblical roles

as a helpmate. These participants were so ingrained in the Baptist organization and their "don't question the system" logic that they critiqued others when they brought up potential flaws within the Baptist organization.

An inconsistency emerged between participants not questioning the system, but also, questioning other participants within the system. For instance, both participants #9 and #13 talked about the nature of Baptist church's as "don't question the system" mixed with the notion that the pastor is on a pedestal and can do no wrong caused their family lives to be an unhealthy environment for several years and no one did anything. Participant #9 shared how she was abused by her ex-husband for over a decade while he emotionally distanced her from other people, but because he was a charismatic pastor, no one questioned anything. Participant #13 added that her dad was a pastor growing up and he used to abuse her mom, but she swept it under the rug to protect her father's pedestal status within the church.

> "My dad is a pastor, and he was a little bit domestically violent… there were several times that he like put hands on my mom, or they put hands on each other…. He would belittle her in front of the congregation. And but she had no one to go to because she was the pastor's wife…. and there's this like concept of protecting our leaders …. so, they kind of swept it under the rug and my mom stayed silent."

In contrast to participants not questioning Baptist doctrines or their pastors, several participants in this study talked about questioning other woman within the church, and often. For instance, they would question the validity of another woman's salvation. A lot of different terms were thrown around by several participants like "Cultural Christianity," "Sunday Christians," "Faith based vs. Performance based faith," "Do they walk the walk or just talk the talk," or "Is their faith skin deep."

This created an interesting phenomenon, where participants refuse to question the system itself, but freely question other individuals within the system. The inconsistency is based on the all-consuming nature of the Baptist organizational identity, so that it bleeds over and influences individual's performance of other organizational and relational identities. Baptist women are categorically trained as a part of their totalistic identity to accept what they are told and perform their identities in ways that align with the dominant values and beliefs of the Baptist church. Thus, participants narrated their experiences with the "don't question the system" logos as their organizational logos behind their performance of their Baptist woman identity. Within this overarching narrative, two distinct themes emerged within "don't question the system" trained to ignore experiences and unwilling to compromise.

Several participants shared how they had been trained not to question the system or Baptist doctrine, often from an early age. As participant #2 shared in her interview,

> "We had a lot of training to ignore our experiences, to ignore our emotions, to ignore our reasoning because of the doctrine that we were desperately simple that we could not trust anything about our own cells…. I think it is one of the most damaging elements of a fundamentalist view of Scripture. Is that it explicitly inhibits cognitive."

She talks about how this socialization process began when she was just a kid and was deeply rooted in the "original sin" doctrine, fundamentalist views of scripture, fear messages, and manipulation. This process of socializing with children to ignore their cognition and not trust their own mind or be autonomous hinders their social emotional development and prevents individuals from growing into fully developed adults.

Not only does the organizational logos of "don't question the system" harm the individuals within the organization, but it also ultimately weakens the organization itself. As

participant #15 talked about in her interview, gifted woman is often looked over for positions that they would have been very well suited for, which means that the Baptist organization is experiencing a missed opportunity and wasting talent that could make them stronger overall. For example, Participant #4 talked about how church camps were dying in her area of the country, and when she was a young youth director she came forward and talked to several members within her association about changes that needed to be made, and the association did not respond positively to her questioning the way that they did things. She was told "(you) just need you to sit down and be quiet." Several other participants also talked about the different ways that the mindset of don't question the system, even when we are wrong, was harming their churches and religious organizations across the country. Participant #9 was so frustrated with this mindset that she said in her interview, "Fundamentalism kills, it doesn't matter what flavor." Illustrating how the organizational logos used to help conceptualize the Baptist woman identity, could also be used to help explain why participants were experiencing frustration with the organization and engaging in either dialectical resistance or reconciliation practices.

Reconciliation

Reconciliation discusses how participants respond when they experience conflict between their identity performances due to the totalistic nature of the Baptist woman identity. Specifically, reconciliation examines a dialectical tension where participants often had trouble performing both their leader woman identity and their Baptist woman identity at the same time due to both the totalistic nature of the Baptist woman identity, and the organizational structures such as the stained-glass ceiling that were designed to keep woman from performing a leader woman identity. When this occurred, several participants underwent a reconciliation, a psychological process of re-examining and sometimes changing their beliefs to fit with their

lived experiences and perform their identities within the Baptist organization. Participants reconciled those differences using a variety of different logos, including theology on suffering and hardship, the call to leadership, questioning their roles within the organization, and leaving space for healing.

The most common theme that emerged when participants discussed a conflict between their leader woman and Baptist woman identities was the idea of a theology of hardship. Participant #8 reconciled her frustration with her conflicting leader woman identity performance and Baptist woman identity performance through her theology on suffering and hardship. She was able to reconcile her experiences by looking at Biblical passages such as Joseph wrestling with God, or to Paul's call to ministry, and even to the Old Testament prophets to reconcile that those experiences were meant to help her share in Christ's pain.

> "I realize that suffering brings us so integrally closer to Jesus, and it identifies us so closely with Jesus, and that we can't fully understand the sacrifice that Jesus made for us without joining Him in His suffering and some aspect,"

Participant #5 agreed, stating that when individuals chose to follow Christ and lead within a religious setting, they should expect a certain level of difficulty and hardship "my great grandmother said when you deal with, she when you're a shepherd you have to deal with sheep poop." Participant #1 compared this expected level of difficulty to a bush of apples, because "There's always rotten apples There's always going to be some."

In addition to a theology of hardships, there is also the perspective of being called to leadership. Participant #1 shared that because she was confident that she was called to leadership, it changed the way that she viewed her theology of hardship and reconciled her difficulties expressing both her Baptist woman and leader woman identities. As she shared in her

interview, "If you have conflict in your church, you handle it from the perspective of 'I am supposed to be here'." However, even for individuals who are called to leadership, it can still be hard to reconcile the pains that they experience when their identity performances conflict and they attempt to reconcile dialectical tensions, as participant #5 shared in her interview.

> "The last year has been really, in full disclosure, really bad at our church. and I never really understood why people bust, cause I always just kind of felt like, you know, when you deal with people, there's gonna be days that are bad…. in the last year I'm like, Yeah, I understand why …. it's sad to me like it. It hurts me to not love going to church I've always loved going to church because it's just It's been a rough Year."

This difficulty with reconciling the tensions between their Baptist and leader woman identities led to some participants questioning their role within the organization. For example, participant #8 talks about her experiences reconciling conflict within her church and how the conflict has impacted her faith identity and her call to ministry.

> "It made me question my call to ministry. It made me start to question my faith a little bit…. I feel like I definitely have a more realistic view of what it means to be in ministry and what it means to lead a church because it does deal with people, and it's going to be messy."

Participant #8 was able to reconcile her experiences with conflict and tensions between identities by relying on the previously mentioned theology of hardship. For her, the reconciliation process was solved by relying on the doctrine she had been taught and accepting the tensions between her identity performances.

Part of the reconciliation process is putting yourself back together after navigating the tensions between identity performances. Thus, several participants shared how they took engaged in healing from past experiences as a part of reconciling with their Baptist woman identity. Participant #22 talked about how she had to reconcile a lot of her experiences growing up in a small, Southern Baptist church because the pastor would get defensive when she asked questions and sometimes even openly mock her from the pulpit. For participant #22, her reconciliation process included leaving that church so that she could heal and continue to perform her Baptist woman identity in a healthy environment. Participant #2 also stated that part of her healing process involved distance and walking away from a particular church congregation so that she could reconcile her identity performances. However, the healing process looked differently for participant #9, whose experiences with the Baptist church are directly tied to her abusive ex-husband, who has the head pastor of their church for 20 years. Because of this, her reconciliation and healing began when she started to see her therapist and talk through the trauma associated with her Baptist woman identity.

Biblical Woman Identity

Biblical womanhood the highest order identity discussed in this study because of its high level of abstraction. Biblical womanhood fits the criteria for a higher order nested identity due its inclusive nature, as it can encompass both lower order identities discussed in this study – Baptist woman identity, and leader woman identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Additionally, Biblical woman identity is abstract, as was expressed through participants having several different interpretations of Biblical womanhood, and distal in its impact on participants (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). While higher order identities are often less salient than lower order identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001), the Biblical womanhood identity is a salient higher order identity.

Biblical womanhood is higher in identity salience than a typical higher order organizational identity because it is high in subjective importance and highly relevant to individuals' goals, values, and attributes (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). As a salient higher order identity, participants enacting this identity can "lose themselves" in the identity performance and become a part of something that is greater than the individual (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001).

Every participant in this study talked about Biblical womanhood throughout the course of their interview, illustrating the high subjective importance that the Biblical woman identity has for participants. However, some of the participants got defensive when discussing Biblical womanhood in response to a question instead of it coming up through regular conversation. For instance, when asked questions such as "What does Biblical womanhood mean to you?" or "Tell me some stories; what has it been like to be a woman leader in a Church?" about half of participants dodged the questions. And some participants even critiqued the very nature of asking said questions, as Participant #1 stated, "you have your identity in Christ, and not in my femaleness." Despite this criticism, the conflicting nature of Biblical womanhood was particularly evident throughout this research study and several participants discussed their difficulties navigating their varying conceptualizations of Biblical womanhood. As participant #21 stated in her interview, "I think sometimes I have a hard time trying to approach that and balance that (Biblical womanhood) …" Participants struggled with their conceptualization of Biblical womanhood because it is treated as secondary theological issue within the Baptist organization.

Because of the prominent theology of "original sin" and the strong focus on organizational doctrine, social justice issues and woman's rights are often treated as secondary theological issues. As a secondary theological issue, participants often viewed their interpretation

of Biblical womanhood as less important to their Baptist woman identity than other theological themes. This both made it easier for participants to disagree in their interpretation of Biblical womanhood and devalued the importance of woman's rights within the church. As participant #10 shared in her interview,

> "I think it's okay for Christians to disagree on Woman's rights movement issues or abortion or LGBTIQQ community, like that I think It's okay for good Christians, and I know many strong Christians who disagree on these things."

Participant #21 talked about how divisive competing definitions of Biblical womanhood, and social justice issues can be in the church. This divide is only increased because it is a secondary theological issue that it is acceptable to disagree on, and participants feel comfortable accepting the lack of consensus. Through participants descriptions of their Biblical womanhood identity logic, the emergent themes fell into two interpretations, traditional or "non-traditional."

"Traditional" Interpretation

Half of participants self-identified as having a more traditional interpretation of Biblical womanhood. For example, participant #6 talked about Biblical womanhood as a role of submission that is defined by God "we all need to submit to God. And if we do, then we won't have issues." Participant #1 agreed, and described how she interprets respect and woman's roles through the lens of Eve eating the Apple. Therefore, because woman is fallen and the perpetrators of the "original sin," they deserve to be treated as less than men "after we messed up in the garden…. He (God) created a chain of authority." However, participants following the traditional explanation of Biblical womanhood did not see this chain of authority as a negative gender role or forced submission, but rather a difference of roles. Participant #16 talked about how she viewed woman's roles in the church as more traditional and nurturing and men's roles

as more of the leaders. She also talked about how woman stepping into men's roles causes a lot of the problems that we see in the modern church "I think God made us to be nurturers and I think you know It's natural for us to want to take care of the kids…."

Participants used a variety of different Bible verses and doctrines to back up their traditional interpretation of Biblical womanhood. For example, participant #3 talked a lot about Proverbs 31 and the roles and responsibilities of a Biblical woman who is seeking Christ and serving. Participant #15 explained her interpretation of Proverbs 31 further, discussing how she was created to be a helpmate, but "because I'm single allowing God to be my husband and me to see that role of serving him." Illustrating how a traditional interpretation of Biblical womanhood includes several conservative doctrines, such the conceptualization of God as the divine husband. Participant #6 also talked about the nurturing and mentoring responsibilities of being a woman in the church, "Titus, 2 just talks about woman, and that we need to be helping younger woman. You know how to manage their homes. Etc..." Thus, the traditional interpretation of Biblical womanhood included a heavy reliance on scripture and traditional organizational doctrines.

Additionally, the traditional interpretation of Biblical womanhood goes beyond how participants interpreted scripture. Traditional interpretations include expectations placed on participant's lives and doctrines they are required to live by. Participants #8 and #13 both talked about how they married the first guy they had sex with because of shame and guilt of purity culture, and ended up getting divorced from that guy because he was emotionally abusive or manipulative. Also, the traditional interpretation included clear expectations that woman gets married young instead of building a career. Participant #4 talked about the shame associated with being an older single woman in the church and how people began to question her capabilities to lead as she got older and still chose not to get married. In contrast to a traditional view of

Biblical womanhood, several participants self-identified as having an unconventional interpretation of Biblical womanhood and their understanding of scripture.

"Non-Traditional" Interpretation

The other half of participants self-identified as holding a more "non-traditional" view of Biblical womanhood, as participant #12 put it "I am pro woman." Participants talked about how their "non-traditional" interpretation began with Biblical interpretation and an understanding of scripture. Participant #18 talked about how a lot of the Bible verses that have traditionally been interpreted to mean more of a woman submission to men can be interpreted as mutual submission where one party is not actually above or in authority over the other. When discussing why she interprets Biblical womanhood in an unconventional way, participant #5 talked about the potential costs to the conventional methods of Biblical interpretation. Traditionally, the Bible has been interpreted from a very male dominated perspective, which as participant #5 critiqued in her interview, "I just I feel like there's so much context and so many things in your lost, because woman's points of view and experiences aren't valued." Participant #23 agreed with this sentiment and told a story about going to church with her dad when she was growing up. Whenever the pastor talked about woman's submission and the second-tier nature of woman's roles within the church, participant #23's dad would say on the way home "well, I guess they wrote the woman out of the Bible today."

Multiple participants critiqued the Baptist church's conceptualization of Biblical womanhood, stating that a straightforward conceptualization of Biblical womanhood doesn't look like what they were socialized to think it does in the church. Participant #8 talked in depth about how Jesus treated woman in the Bible, citing examples such as Phoebe, Lydia, and the Mary's to show how Jesus respected woman. As participant #8 stated in her interview, "Jesus is

for woman. He values them, and they should be valued as members in the church…." Participant #9 added that there are several women in the Bible who are bold, strong leaders –

> "(the) Bible has stories like Deborah, the profit who literally let the people of Israel …. Mary Magdalen, because she was the first evangelist, and the one that Jesus chose to appear to first (after resurrecting from the dead) …. He showed himself to a woman first."

Participant #10 agreed stating that "the Bible clearly puts woman in positions of leadership throughout the Bible, especially the New Testament." Thus, participants identified several instances where woman were clearly portrayed in strong, leadership roles and capabilities throughout the Bible. This interpretation directly contrasts with what the Baptist church socializes woman to believe are their roles and responsibilities. Participant #13 describes her perception of the traditional, Baptist interpretation of Biblical womanhood as "it's misogynistic. It steers strongly towards white men, and it is a good voice, a blonde hair, big boobs, lots of makeup club." Participant #22 goes so far as to call it the "Baptist trope."

Participant #8 talked about how this contrast is largely due to a lack of cultural understanding of how woman was treated in ancient times. She talks about the misinterpretation of the story of the woman at the well because in Samarian culture she did not have the power to marry and divorce as she pleased:

> "She didn't have the power to not have a husband, and divorce would not have been on her. She didn't have the legal rights to divorce…. she would marry a man who basically was buying her as property from her family, and then he would discard her. That's not her fault. And Jesus wasn't saying it was her fault, he was saying, I see that these men have

like treated you like this, and I'm sorry, and you don't deserve that…. Jesus saw woman, at a time when woman didn't get seen."

Thus, participant #8 interprets the traditional view of Biblical womanhood as a historic misinterpretation of Biblical culture and talked about how Jesus stood in contrast to that culture. She builds on this to critique the traditional doctrine of the Baptist church where woman is supposed to be submissive nurturers as a misinterpretation of the scripture. Participant #5 builds on this understanding of non-traditional Biblical womanhood by talking about a Bible series that she teaches on the genealogy of Christ and how those women were treated. One of the big things that she emphasizes in this Bible study is how from a modern interpretation, several of these women were abused, neglected, etc.

"Tamar was abused. In our context that is abuse…. and so, Tamar's abused, and Rahab experience human trafficking. I mean, like if we put all of these in our modern context …. and then, you know, you have Ruth, who was an immigrant who was hated in Israel…. and then you have Bathsheba who, you know, everybody, wants to call her adulteress. But actually, I think she was raped because she did not have power to say no… you have the king who says I, wanna have sex with you. What can you do…"

Participant #5 argues that the woman listed in the genealogy of Christ in Matthew were all abused or mistreated by the men in their lives. She states that their stories are included there as a show of Jesus's support for and redemption of woman. Participant #16 agrees with this interpretation, stating that "I think Jesus had such a love for woman." Thus, participants following the non-traditional interpretation of Biblical womanhood view the term through a lens of love and respect, rather than submission and the doctrine of "original sin."

The emergent themes present in this research study illustrate that participants were divided on how they interpreted Biblical womanhood and which passages of scripture should be used for their interpretations. While most participants fell on either side of the divide, following a traditional or non-traditional interpretation of Biblical womanhood, some participants critiqued the term "Biblical womanhood." As participant #12 stated in her interview, "I am no longer a person that believes in biblical anything…. So Biblical womanhood makes me flare my nose and that makes me very like I don't believe in it." How participants conceptualize Biblical womanhood alters the way that they view their Baptist woman identity due to the significant role of scripture and doctrine within the Baptist organization. Additionally, how participants interpreted Biblical womanhood influenced how they reacted to the organizational logos of "don't question the system," and how participants engaged in the reconciliation of their identity performance.

Faith Woman Identity

As previously discussed, when participants express their religious feminine identity, they separated it into two distinct identities. First, they had their Baptist woman identity, which was organizational, more concrete, and more proximal to the individual's core. Second is their faith woman identity that was non-denomination, and personal, but more abstract and salient. Thus, while the Baptist woman identity is a nested identity, or a formal social category, the faith woman identity is cross-cutting identity, which can be formal or informal (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Faith woman identity is an external, informal cross-cutting identity that overlaps with participant's performance of their nested organizational identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Cross-cutting identities tend to be relatively exclusive and proximal to the individual, making them a salient identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Because the faith woman identity had a high

level of identity salience, participants often relied on their faith woman identity when their faith woman and Baptist woman identities conflicted. For example, Participant #1 identified as being Christians first, but from the "Southern Baptist persuasion." And when Participant #2 was discussing her journey through several different church denominations, she said that "when we moved, we were looking for a church we didn't really care so much about the denomination."

The faith woman identity has the highest level of identity salience expressed in this study, or "the probability that a given identity will be invoked, and multiple identities can be ranked in a "salience hierarchy" according to their relative salience" (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001, p.32). Individuals described their faith woman identity as high in their salience hierarchy, meaning that they provoked or performed their faith woman identity through their other identities the most often. Additionally, because the informal cross-cutting faith woman identity interacts with two relatively formal nested identities (leader woman and Baptist woman), it increases the likelihood that the identities will bleed and shape each other (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). This aligns with previous research into religious identities, as the interconnectedness between the individual and faith-based organizations means that members of said organizations often struggle with their identification vs. deidentification (McNamee, 2011).

The faith woman identity examined the individual and relational aspect of religious identity and how the individual performs their religion instead of the organizational. Because of the high level of identity salience, the cross-cutting faith woman identity can be performed through the nested identities expressed in this study - leader woman identity, Baptist woman identity, and the Biblical woman identity There are two key aspects to the faith woman identity: biblical gender roles, and doctrinal vs. organizational. Biblical gender roles examined how participants were socialized to view their faith woman identity and the logos that they use to

conceptualize and understand it. Doctrinal vs. organizational examines how participants perform their faith woman identity within the Baptist organization and how that identity performance may change based on the lines of doctrine, church norms, and organizational differences.

Biblical Gender Roles

Biblical gender roles are a logos of the faith woman identity that examine how participants are socialized to view, conceptualize, and understand their faith woman identity. Because of the high level of salience in the faith woman identity, Biblical gender roles are often performed in conjunction with or through other identities in this study. Biblical gender roles can get very confusing for young Christian woman. There are multiple interpretations of what Biblical gender roles are with no clear "right" answer. As one participant put it, her Baptist college was very muddle in what a Biblical woman's role should be.

> "On the one hand you're like you're told you know. Go, have a profession, go do the thing. But then, on the other hand. It's like but to be a godly woman means you're pure and you're a mother, and you know, you get your Mrs. Degree…. so, it was kind of confusing. I think a lot of the time."

This confusion was shared with other participants as well. As participant #11 shared "People want to think woman who should be distinctly different from Manhood. But I think a lot of it is similar." Participant #21 agreed and talked about how the very terms Biblical manhood and womanhood are divisive and can create a false dichotomy because "we're just separating these into categories to kind of fit our ideals. I think that you know to be more like Christ is Biblical." Participant #2 talked about how the Baptist church used to accept several different interpretations of Biblical gender roles, prior to the conservative resurgence during the 1980's. Participant #21 went so far as to question if the Bible even gave an interpretation of what Biblical manhood and

womanhood should look like or if it was a term constructed by individuals and religious organizations to force division and order.

Despite this confusion amidst participants, the Baptist organization has a traditional interpretation of what an individual's performance of Biblical gender roles should look like. Participant #18 talked a lot about how the traditional Baptist church interprets Biblical gender roles. For instance, she shared that "they (traditional Baptists) would understand that the Bible does not allow woman to be ministers" and if someone decided to stay home with the children, it would be the mother or woman in the relationship. Participant #18 went on to say that she interpreted Biblical gender roles differently because of cultural context, but she understands that "the pressure on woman to socially conform to gender norms can be a strong one. Even in the twenty first century." Participant #19 further elaborates on why there is so much pressure to conform to Biblical gender roles.

> "I had spent a lifetime of hearing woman like my mother and others talk about being submissive and knowing good and well that if my father had tried to do anything to my mother…. I had seen that all around me, because I grew up in the most, you know, a fundamentalist church."

Several participants aligned more with the traditional explanation of Biblical gender roles, as Participant #1 stated in her interview "God's plan was gendered. He I mean he made us in his image male and female." For her, it was reassuring that the Bible presented a gendered understanding of the world as it meant that her husband served as an authority figure over her and it helped to clearly define everyone's roles and responsibilities.

However, not every participant was comforted by the thought of clearly defined gender roles. Participant #2 began to question her understanding of Biblical gender roles when she had

three little girls. She and her husband had always aspired to a complementarian marriage, and it suddenly became very important how they were performing gender roles in their house as their daughters were watching. Participant #22 talked about how she had struggled to wrestle with her understanding of Biblical gender roles "because I do like I still maintain, hold to a complementarian which is just Christians of saying, like, I believe, that men, woman have separate roles, and that they complement each other for the function of the church, even though that's a hard thing for me to wrestle with." Participants struggled with their interpretations of Biblical gender roles and how that logos impacted their performance of the faith woman identity. When they narrated these experiences and struggles, they primarily fell into two distinct categories culturally bound and divisively designed. Biblical gender roles are culturally bound as participants narrated different cultures having varying performance expectations. Also, Biblical gender roles are also divisively designed as they outline clear set categories and responsibilities.

Culturally bound.

When examining how the performance of Biblical gender roles are culturally bound, it is important to note that every participant in this study experienced their primary socialization in the American culture. However, several participants had traveled and performed their faith woman identity overseas, where they realized just how culturally bound their primary identity performance was. Participant #18 talked extensively about how Biblical gender roles are culturally bound. She gave the example of when she was studying for her Ph.D. and meeting Baptist from all over the world and she talked about how around the world there strong Baptist woman leaders are who are ordained and called pastor and it really opened her eyes to how culturally bound Baptists in the United States, especially southern Baptists And as participant #4 discovered, it is possible to take an Americanized version of Biblical gender roles overseas with

you. When participant #4 talking about her missions work overseas, she expressed frustration with the way her leader expected her to perform Biblical gender roles.

> "This past summer I went on a vision trip with the people that we work with in Kenya…. I did a training for some female leaders in the community on how trauma impacts leadership. One of the gentlemen that is in charge, he was like …. You do realize that you're a preacher too, right and I just kind of like looked at him and I was like, No, no, I'm not…. I just don't sometimes see myself as a preacher, yeah, I definitely feel more of a teacher, but in his mind, he was like, nope. you were preaching so."

Participant #4 performed her faith woman identity through the lens of a teacher because that was the way she was socialized to do so. But she went on to question if "I wouldn't have had the experiences that I had early on as a female, and Baptist culture, would I be able to see whatever it is, that he's seeing?" Illustrating how her socialization into Baptist Biblical gender roles was culturally bound, different than other woman were socialized into oversea, and might be limiting her leadership potential.

In addition to talking about how the performance of Biblical gender roles can vary across cultures, several participants discussed how they were socialized to view and interpret Biblical gender roles within American culture. For participant #23, the socialization into Biblical gender roles started very young. She talked about how she was Baptized in the same dress as her two older sisters and grew up going to summer camps and youth groups. Socialization started at a young age for participant #5, as well. Participant #5 grew up in church as her father was a pastor and her interpretation of Biblical gender roles was directly tied to her interpretation of key Biblical passages. For instance, participant #5 shared in her interview that she interpreted a key passage that is often used to argue for the submission of woman differently than most Baptist.

"Like when Paul wrote to Titus, he wasn't saying these are the only things woman could do. He was saying, these are things that you're likely gonna do and you need instruction on how to do them in a way that honors God while you're doing everything else."

Participant #6 also talked a lot about how her interpretation of scripture influences how she conceptualized Biblical gender roles, although she interpreted it more traditionally in contrast to participant #5. Participant #5 referenced Titus 2 and talking about how woman need to be submissive, and she does not believe in woman's liberation.

"I don't agree with a lot of the woman's liberation stuff, I think in marriage woman are under the head of their husbands. And so, I think a lot of that stuff has gotten woman completely out of their realm, and whether it's at home or in the church. So, I definitely think we have our place and god's ordained family, and in the church. But I don't think it's a legalistic thing. I think we just need to be submissive to his call."

In contrast to participant #5, participant #22 was socialized to believe a more traditional or submissive interpretation of Biblica gender roles, but she disagreed with that interpretation as she had grown up struggling with how she fit into that picture. As she stated in her interview "I was told a lot as a kid, like too bad as your girl, because she'd make a good pastor. And so, I remember struggling with that a lot as a kid …." Participant #16 also talking about her experiences growing up in the Baptist church and being socialized into believing and performing Baptist gender roles as more traditional and nurturing and men's roles as more of the leaders.

Throughout their interviews, participants discussed Biblical gender roles with a variety of different interpretations. From a more traditional perspective, to egalitarian, to complementarian – Biblical gender roles were described differently by every participant. However, there were a few things that were certain about participant's interpretations of Biblical gender roles. First,

they were socially constructed and therefore reliant on culture. Second, the fact that there are so many alternate interpretations illustrates that the Baptist organization's interpretation is not as dominant within Baptist culture as the researcher would have hypothesized. This lack of consensus in the interpretation of Biblical gender roles explains why participant described alternate interpretations of their faith woman identity and how Biblical gender roles can be divisive in the Baptist organization.

Divisively designed.

While there is lot of variation in the conceptualization of Biblical gender roles, several participants talked about how the dominant conceptualization in Biblical gender roles divides the Baptist organization. By clearly defining feminine vs. masculine roles within the Baptist organization, it divides the organization into two very clear categories, which participants discusses, and in some cases critiqued, through their interviews. Participant #13 talked about how she perceived a huge divide for what the gendered expectations are for men and woman in the church. Additionally, participant #9 talked about how it appeared like the Baptist church did this one purpose as a lot of different programs that were prevalent in Evangelical churches in the 1990's – like true love waits, purity culture, etc. – were inherently divisive and designed to be presented differently to woman vs. men. Participant #9 talked about how the divisive nature of these organizational programs shaped and altered the way that she viewed her Faith identity and Biblical gender roles:

 "If you were in youth group in the nineties, you know …. It was the thick of true love

 waits, purity, culture, thick, thick. Lots of shame centered around sexuality and

 premarital sex…. I think it's profoundly unhealthy. I think it's I think it's the result of

thousands of years of patriarchy, and folks using religion. And thus, saith the Lord, and the fear of God, to keep woman disempowered."

Participant #9 goes on to talk about with this how with this strong purity culture was designed to have these conversations differently with woman vs. with men. With woman, purity culture was approached from more of a shame approach in the nineties and felt like a form of degradation and fear that kept woman disempowered.

The divisive design of Biblical gender roles within the Baptist organization was a hinderance to several of the participants both when they sought to initially identify with the Baptist organization, and then throughout their development of their organizational identity. As participant #10 shared in her interview, "what the Bible said about woman and their rules and leadership, and ministry capacities and things like that was a gigantic obstacle for me when I was wrestling with that idea of faith…" In this example, participant #10 self-identifies as wrestling with her faith identity because of the way Biblical gender roles were portrayed.

Additionally, several participants critiqued the way that the Baptist church discussed Biblical gender roles. Participant #12 viewed the differences between men and woman more from a research or psychology point of view and less from a Biblical point of view and talked about how even if there were differences between men and woman, which did not make one of them better than the other. She contrasted this from the Biblical view of gender roles, where the more masculine gender roles are typically portrayed as more dominant or desirable, and feminine gender roles are often portrayed as less desirable. Participant #22 also critiqued the way that her church discussed and portrayed Biblical gender roles and the fact that masculine gender roles were often treated with more respect than their female counterparts. Thus, participants discussed

how the Baptist church designed and narrated Biblical gender roles to divide the organization through clearly outlines categories and responsibilities.

Doctrinal vs. Organizational

While the faith woman identity primarily examines the individual and relational aspect of religious identity, there is still a doctrinal or organizational element to the identity performance. This organizational aspect of the faith woman identity exists because a majority of participants described a strong Baptist influence in their primary socialization as a Christian woman. For instance, participant #23 talked about the strong influence that being raised surrounded by Baptist doctrine had on her socialization both into the Baptist church and the development of her faith woman identity. Thus, doctrinal vs. organizational examines how participants both develop and perform their faith woman identity within the Baptist organization and how that identity performance may change based on the lines of doctrine, church norms, and organizational differences.

There is a very strong reliance on doctrine in the Baptist tradition. As participant #9 put it "I bought and drank the Kool-Aid," illustrating how she identified as being so involved in the Baptist church and recreating those norms that she was blinded to other aspects of the Baptist organization. Participant #1 was so wrapped up in the Baptist Space and Baptist ideology that she denied any possibility of misogyny or discrimination inside of the organization. As she stated in her interview, "I wish I could tell you that I was ever in one Southern Baptist Church or had one Southern Baptist pastor or anyone in the denomination insult me or treat me anything except precious." However, this caused some dialectical tensions for the participant as, through her stories, it became obvious that she had both experienced the sexism that she claimed did not exist and was so ingrained in the system that she re-produced the doctrine of original sin and the fallen

woman through her interactions with other woman within the denomination. However, she was not the only one who held to those beliefs. As participant #10 added in her interview "I myself have never had constraints to a role based on my gender."

A majority of participants discussed the importance of the scriptures and Baptist doctrine in their life and the key role that it played in their faith woman identity. For instance, participant #16 shared in her interview that "I think I definitely look at life through the lens of the church." However, while most participants identified that the church plays a key role in their life, they described that role very differently. Participant #2 shared how she had read several different interpretations of Baptist doctrine while her husband was studying in seminary. Additionally, participant #17 discussed several of the differences within the church and how participants relate their faith woman identity to the church. Thus, it became obvious that participants identified with the Baptist organization in a variety of ways in this study and the influence of doctrine and organizational roles varied in their relation to identity performance. Different individuals relate their faith woman identity to the church in a variety of ways throughout this study. Participants narrated four different parts of the doctrinal vs. organizational logos of their faith woman identity: reinforcing organizational values, juxtaposition of doctrine vs. church norms, prioritizing the organization over individuals, and disillusionment with organizational norms.

Reinforcing organizational values.

Within the doctrinal vs. organizational logos, participants described a process of recreating and reinforcing organizational values as a part of their faith woman identity. However, not all the organizational values that participant's recreated were positive or viewed woman in an uplifting light. For instance, participant #1 (who was older) reinforced the organizational norms

of a lack of respect discussed in the second-tier leader logos by described younger adult woman (in their 20's and 30's) as "little girls." As she shared in her interview,

> "I just told a little girl she she's so upset her husband Won't let her go to the first for the Southern Baptist conference... I just said, hey, you do what your husband says..." – talking about how woman need to respect their husband's authority even when they do not agree and how she needs to "be gentle with him."

In this quotation, participant #1 is also reinforcing a demeaning interpretation of Biblical gender roles, such as the one described under the Biblical gender roles aspect of the faith woman identity. Participants reinforcing these organizational values expresses a juxtaposition in this study where participants acknowledge that the Baptist organization places limitation on woman, yet woman continue to recreate the system that limits them.

Older participants were more likely to describe reinforcing organizational values than younger participants, partially due to their presumed mentoring and nurturing roles within the church. For instance, both participants #13 and #21 talked about how they mentored high school aged girls and advised them in their development of their faith woman identities. Additionally, participant #3 talked about how mentoring middle schoolers was her favorite part of working in the church and she loved watching them grow. Participant #6 added in her interview that.

> "If I'm discipline a younger woman, I will definitely encourage her, or even extort her or something, if she's off track, just pointing her to the Bible, and what Christ would say about the situation So there is some definite I don't know encouragement and kind of just being an older authority on living because we've been through things"

This mentoring and extorting aspect of the faith woman identity recreates organizational values and continues to uphold the Baptist organization. As participant #4 stated,

> "I think that trickles down, though even into the microsystems like to a certain extent, this the way that you treat woman within the church on a larger level is going to point to how woman are being treated in their homes."

Participant #4 was talking about how by recreating the Baptist organization values through their conversations and mentoring relationships, woman is reinforcing the organization's doctrine and interpretation of gender roles. In addition to recreating organizational values, participants also discussed the juxtaposition of doctrine vs. church norms.

Juxtaposition of doctrine vs. church norms.

When examining the impacts of doctrine and the organization on their faith woman identity, participants described a clear distinction between Baptist doctrine and church norms within the organization. Participant #22 talked about how churches do not always admit that doctrine and church norms are not the same thing. They treat them as if they are synonymous, when there is often an unrecognized divide between what the church says that it believes and what it does day to day. For example, participant #2 talked about the interaction between church doctrinal and the individual organizational by describing her experiences with the home church movement and what small group and discipleship have looked like at different churches that her family has attended. Additionally, participant #4 also talked about how, with the Baptist organizational structure and the multiple differences between different Baptist churches, going to different churches within the Baptist and Southern Baptist Denominations can feel like vastly different environments and situations.

Participant #4 went so far as to state that the Baptist church was spectrum with two very diverse ends that often contradict each other. On one end of the spectrum, you have organizations like Participant #12 described where woman was well-respected and supported in leadership roles, and on the other you have the church's that participant #9 described when she said that "fundamentalism kills, it doesn't matter what flavor." Participant #22 stated that when doctrine and church norms were juxtaposed, "the church norms would probably take precedent because we're creatures in habit." However, this was not always the case. As participant #17 talked a lot about the difference between "Inviting vs indicting churches," and how some churches are warm, inviting, and open to new members – while others are more of a "good ole boys club" and focus on shame, guilt, and repentance in their organizational messages.

The juxtaposition between church norms and organizational doctrine is especially prevalent when examining gender and leadership roles within churches. Participant #6 illustrated this when she was talking about chauvinistic people in the church and misogyny that she has seen. She doesn't think that it is due to any official Baptist doctrine or organizational boundaries, but rather "I would think it's just personal things that people have, and there are prejudices, or whatever some don't even realize they have them. it's in all kinds of areas." Participant #15 disagreed, stating that while each individual church can decide what their unique church norms are, the Baptist and Southern Baptist conventions have taken a very clear stance doctrinally "that woman are not to have you know, important roles in the church and …. They will not call those woman pastors." Despite this organizational doctrine, not every church chose to enforce the strong divide between gender roles – as participant #12 talked about how her church has several women on staff, including their children's and youth pastor. Thus, it becomes clear that there is

an organizational inconsistency between the dominant Baptist doctrine and how individual church's chose to recreate and establish their church norms within their local organization.

Prioritizing the organization over the people.

When examining how individuals discussed the development of the organizational lens within their faith woman identity, they were often frustrated with the role that the Baptist organization played. Participant #9 critiqued the organizations lack a focus on relationships and individual faith when she stated that "If you love your system more than you love the people in it, you got a problem." Participant #17 agreed and added that it can be to get "caught up in it being about us the people running the organization, and we forget about the purpose of Why, we serve." Participant #4 told a story that exemplified the focus on the organization over building relationships. When she was running a church camp one summer, some of her youth group kids shared the gospel with an employee at the bowling alley and both he and his sister ended up accepting Christ and being Baptized. However, she was very disappointed in the way that the board of directors responded.

> "The pastor that I was working with went and gave the report of these kids getting saved. The first question that came out of the mouth of the gentleman… was Well, if they baptized them like that, what church are they gonna belong to? They were so caught up over church membership list and whose church these kids were going to belong to, that they completely missed the fact that two kids accepted Christ."

Participant #4 was angry that her board of directors chose to focus on the organization and trying to decide which individual Baptist church could brag about the conversion, rather than focusing on building relationships with the kid and his family. Participant #6 stated that this focus on the

organizational over the relational was detrimental to the Baptist organization and not aligned with what the church should be as an organization.

> "I think the churches should be out in the communities, serving and loving and getting dirty and sacrificing. And I think we just stay in our little comfort zones, and we don't get involved in other people's lives…. I don't think we're being the church, and I think that's why churches are failing."

This prioritization of the organization over people was especially frustrating to participants within their faith woman identity due to the relational nature of the identity.

Additionally, not focusing on the relational aspects of the Baptist organization often ends up putting participants at risk of potential harm. Participant #13 is a trained counselor and social worker, and she talked extensively about how churches need to do more with child protection, background checks, and making sure that both volunteers and members of church staff are not listed on the sexual predator registry. She shared several stories where she has discovered that children's ministry volunteers at various churches were sex predators. She shared two reasons why there is a common overlap between the two groups and sex abusers are allowed to hide within the church: adults are not training kids what safe touches are, and a lot of the characteristics that we want in a good youth pastor or volunteer – charismatic, good with kids – are also the common characteristics of child sex abusers. Participant #9 added that several Baptist organizational doctrines on raising children negatively harmed her oldest child while she was raising him, and he still has not forgiven her for her reliance on Baptist doctrine.

Children were not the only vulnerable population that were harmed by the Baptist church's emphasis on the doctrinal over the relational. Participant #17 talks about how other vulnerable populations are hurt because the dialectical tensions between the Bible's message of

evangelism and the church's mindset of an in-group that ends up excluding a lot of people, including vulnerable populations. For instance, participant #17 critiqued the way that the Baptist church treats ministry to homeless people. They must fight to get a place in the program, then the church makes them sign a statement of faith before they can get a meal. She states that this is harmful to the individual because it makes it a transactional ministry when the participants are just focused on trying to get a next meal and a safe place to sleep and will "convert" just to survive. This leads to a manipulative ministry organizational model and prevents the vulnerable populations from building a trust relationship with the church due to the transactional nature of the ministry. Because of the transactional nature of Baptist homeless ministries, participant #17 started her non-profit to increase inclusion and relational building for vulnerable populations. This is just one example of how participants reacted to their frustrations with the Baptist church's focus on the organization over building relationships with people and protecting vulnerable populations.

Disillusion with organizational roles.

The final aspect of how individuals reconciled their organizational vs. doctrinal logos was a disillusion with their organizational roles. This is due to the juxtaposition within the Baptist organizational culture, and the fact that the organization prioritizes their organizational values over building relationships and protecting vulnerable populations. Thus, participants identified that their faith woman identity was separate from their organizational roles, which could prompt a gradual dis-identification with the Baptist organization. Participant #2 described this process when she shared that "at that point in my life I really thought all of those policies were really about the Scripture." The disillusionment was a slow process that stemmed from a traumatic event or as a response to the punitive nature of the Baptist organization.

For participant #2, her disillusionment with the Baptist organization stemmed from two different traumatic events. First, she shared a story about when she was a worship leader in a very charismatic church where there was a little boy who was diagnosed with cancer. And the church doctrine really preached divine healing – so they prayed over the boy, and she led a prayer and worship night, but the boy did not seek out additional medical attention. The little boy died of cancer. This really made her question what she had been taught and if the doctrine is really what she thinks it is. Especially when it was coupled with her second experience when she was a part of a church based on scriptural literalism during the prophecy movement of the early 2000's and one of her friends was diagnosed with cancer. It was prophesied that she would live, and she just needed to trust in God. And her friend also died of that cancer, leaving behind her husband and four kids. Thus participant #2 began to disconnect her faith woman identity from her Baptist woman identity ended up leaving the Baptist organization all together.

Another common cause of disillusionment from the Baptist organization stems from a negative reaction to the punitive nature of the church. Participant #8 read her way out of the Baptist denomination in response to her abusive ex-husband using submissive Baptist doctrine to emotionally manipulate and abuse her. Additionally, participant #12 described her experiences with this form of disillusionment and how she thought that the Baptist church acted in a very different way than she thought that Jesus would, which created a dialectical tension between her faith woman and Baptist woman identities. For example, she shared a story of her church's children's minister getting asked to leave the church when she divorced her abusive husband and how she didn't think that was the way that Jesus would have wanted the church to react. Participant #12 shared that "I don't think we're Punitively punished by Jesus…. I just feel like Jesus would welcome everybody." Thus, while most participants identified an organizational

component to their faith woman identity, some participants chose to dis-identify with the Baptist organization and isolate their faith woman identity as a purely relational identity.

Resistance

One of the guiding research questions for this study was seeking to understand how Baptist woman resist when their intersectional identities contradict each other. When viewing resistance from a dialectical lens, it focuses more on the interpretive struggles between meaning and practice, and less on the individual meaning of the discourse (Mumby, 2005). Thus, organizational resistance can be conceptualized as a tension between control and resistance and examining how organizational discourses and individual's actions within the organization reproduce or resist those discourses (Mumby, 2005). This understanding of resistance illustrates how resistance can be a form of identity work as social actors engage with organizational discourse to organize their identity (Mumby, 2005).

When examining how participants in this study enacted organizational resistance, one of the key motivating factors was the valence that they put on the Baptist organization when they expressed a control narrative over the participants. This valence impacted if the individual reproduced the organizational dialectic of control or enacted a resistance dialectic. Typically, participants with the negative valence resisted the organization when their identity performance conflicted with the organizational narrative, while those with a positive valence re-enforced it. For instance, Participant #6 was talked about her experiences growing up in the church with Christian socialization and expressed a positive valence on the Baptist church.

> "100% positive because it gives you other like-minded people to associate with keep you grounded and accountable positive role models most of the time…. so, I think it's been really good for me in my development as a Christian as well as a person."

This valence made Participants more likely to navigate their identity tensions in a way that reconciled them to their Baptist identity instead of resisting it due to their preference for their religious identity. The positive valence also made it painful for participants when their identity performance conflicted or they grew frustrated with the Baptist control narrative. Participant #5 shared that it hurt to see her church struggling, when she discussed her frustration with the conflict in her church "it's sad to me like it hurts me to not love going to church I've always loved going to church, but it's just been a rough year." The positive valence that a majority of participant's held towards their Biblical and Baptist woman identities lead to them trying to reconcile with the church and work through conflict when it arose.

Thus, when conflict would occur, participants shared that their church would try to paint the resistance in a positive light and argue that they should "endure" and "lean on God" to get through the period of conflict instead of resisting the church. Participants explained the reason why they put a positive valence on conflict by explaining it considering the "original sin" and "fallen world" doctrines. As participant #1 shared in her interview "We do our best, but people are people, we make mistakes and there is so much good that comes along with some of the pain." Given this notion, that people are sinful, and we live in a fallen world, some participants talked about advice and ways that the church should handle conflict "in a godly way." It should also be noted here that most of the participants who gave theoretical advice on how to handle conflict in the church were older than the primary researcher in the study and gave it from the perspective of minimizing the effects of conflict and restoring peace within the church.

Participant #6 talked about how when we deal with conflict in the church, we need to turn to Christ and follow His will and divine path instead of leaning on ourselves as humans.

"I think we need to examine what Christ did. He was the most misunderstood person ever, but he was perfect, and I think we need to give preference to one another in love, which is what the Bible said …. we don't know what a person's background is, what they're struggling with, we just see outside, and just knowing the grace god's given us for all the screw ups and sin we've committed we definitely need to offer that to others."

Participant #1 shared that because of the doctrine of the fallen world, she tries to give advice to other individuals when they are struggling with conflict. However, the advice that she gave was to lean into the Baptist church and try to resolve the conflict instead of resist. As she shared in her interview. "When I am talking on the phone in woman's leadership… I just say, 'have you talked to your pastor about this yet.' "Thus, several participants described how because of the positive valence that they put on their Baptist woman identity, they lean into the church and try to reconcile conflict or ignore it instead of participating in resistance.

However, not every participant in this research study shared the same sentiment. When participants chose to engage in resistance, it was often driven by conflict in the church with other church leadership. When the conflict got extreme, participants would experience dialectical tensions in their performance of identity and begin to perform resistance. For instance, when participant #22 was mocked by her pastor in front of the entire congregation, she opted to leave the church and found a new congregation. Thus, while several participants argued that conflict in the church was a good thing that could bring them closer to God, not everyone felt this way. As participant #8 shared in her interview

"We read a book that basically was saying that people like to pretend that conflict is a good thing. But for the most part conflict in a church can hurt and ruin lives. And I remember reading that book, and in my review I'm like, Ha! That's just a pessimistic

view of church conflict. But now, on like the other side of a major church conflict, I'm

like No, it's true, like there has been very little benefit from this."

Despite the positive valence that several participants placed on the Baptist organization, they

expressed a tension between their decisions to resist or comply with the organizational narrative

of control. In several cases, participants chose to engage in resistance to the Baptist organization

when they experienced conflict in the performance of their identities, or when they were told that

they could not perform their leadership roles in an effective manner.

Individuals reconciled or resisted the tensions between their core and organizational

identities in a variety of ways, often depending on which identities were conflicting. When

individuals experienced conflict with their Biblical woman identity, they typically responded by

reproducing control dialectics. Experiences that conflicted with their performance of their Baptist

woman identity typically led to communicated resistance through both typologies of behavior

and discursive practices (Mumby, 2005). And conflicts surrounding the leader woman identity

often led to boundary management. Due to the high level of identity salience with cross-cutting

identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001), when the faith woman identity conflicted with the

performance of another identity, participants would lean on their performance of their faith

woman identity and either reconcile their other identity performance or resist the other identity if

the two performances and narratives could not be reconciled. Thus, this section explores the

three resistance strategies that participants primarily used in this study: reproducing control

dialectics, communicated resistance, and boundary management.

Reproducing Control Dialectics

Organizations often operate as sites of control and resistance (Mumby, 2005). Thus,

organizational identities, dialectical resistance, organizational narratives, and organizational

control are often entangled within organizations (Ashcraft, 2005). Thus, when examining resistance considering the everyday control narratives within organizations, resistance can often be framed as a covert practice that occurs below the radar (Mumby, 2005). For example, some individuals may appropriate organizational control narratives and mechanisms and use them to achieve their own desired goals (Mumby, 2005). Additionally, it is possible to resist through consent and re-creating the organizational mechanisms of control (Ashcraft, 2005). Resistance through re-creating systems of control was a very common theme in this study. Participant #1 did share that she did not express resistance when her identities conflicted because of the doctrine of original sin. Because woman ate the apple first and were therefore fallen, the woman part of her identity was inherently sinful and wrong. So, instead of resisting when her identities conflicted in spaces of dialectical tension, she would rely on the organizational narrative of the "original sin," and recreate that narrative to reconcile her identities with one another – because the one conflicting with her Biblical woman identity must be sinful.

Several participants narrated a process of re-creating the narratives of organizational control when their identity performance conflicted with their Biblical woman identity. This was because Biblical narratives are often used to teach morals to children when they were young. Because of the connection between the Biblical woman narrative and participant's understandings of morality, they often re-created the organizational control narratives, even when their identity performances conflicted. Additionally, Because of the prominent theology of "original sin" and the strong focus on organizational doctrine, social justice issues and woman's rights are often treated as secondary theological issues. As a secondary theological issue, participants often viewed their interpretation of Biblical womanhood as less important to their Baptist woman identity than other theological themes. This both made it easier for participants to

disagree in their interpretation of Biblical womanhood and devalued the importance of woman's rights within the church, which is why they reconciled with the notion of recreating Biblical control narratives, even if they disagreed with them.

This form of resistance aligns with previous research illustrating how even overt consent can act as a form of resistance (Ashcraft, 2005). While woman overtly consented to the Biblical control narratives associated with their Biblical woman identity, they did so because of the blatant organizational control dialectics (Ashcraft, 2005). For instance, participant #3 did not experience any tension between the performance of her identities in a small, rural, country church and therefore did not engage in any resistance because she overtly consented to the organizational narratives and performed her identity in line with the organizational boundaries. Participant #6 even recreated organizational control narratives throughout her interview, as she shared about the need for humility and submission in the church and how we need to take every thought captive and put it before Christ; "it also says as much as it depends on you. Be at peace with everyone, so we can do what we can do, and then like, leave their part to the Lord." Thus, several participants engaged in dialectical resistance by recreating organizational control narratives and reinforcing organizational boundaries.

Communicating Resistance

Throughout this research study, participants engaged in communicating dialectical resistance in a variety of different ways. Particularly, when participants experienced conflict with their performance of their Baptist woman identity. Participants engaged in communicated resistance through both the typologies of behavior and discursive practices (Mumby, 2005). There is a small amount of research that examines how different typologies of behavior can be a form of organizational control, such as gossip, confrontation, resignation, tolerations, non-

cooperation, etc. (Mumby, 2005). For instance, when participants narrated their Baptist woman identity, an inconsistency emerged between participants not questioning the system, but also, questioning other participants within the system. Thus, participants used typologies such as gossip as a form of organizational resistance towards the social control mechanism within the Baptist organization (Mumby, 2005).

Participants often experienced dialectical tensions between their performance of their Baptist woman identities and their leader woman identities due to both the totalistic nature of the Baptist woman identity, and the organizational structures such as the stained-glass ceiling that were designed to keep woman from performing a leader woman identity. Participants discussed this dynamic in their discussion of being treated as a "second-tier leader," for instance when participant #8 shared that she had been in ministry for over 20 years, and she had never been in a church where she felt completely supported as a woman in ministry. There was always some element of lack of support or being a second-tier leader. She expressed that she felt a tension between being allowed to perform her identity within the organizational space, yet she was never fully supported by leadership.

In some ways, even agreeing to participate in this study and share honest stories is a form of communicated resistance that the participants engaged in. Sharing honest stories about their difficult interactions within the organization was a discursive practice (Mumby, 2005) as participants were expressing resistance through sharing their narratives and experiences within the Baptist organization. For instance, participant #2 was a teacher as a private, Christian college who expressed resistance to her organizational identity in several different ways. She questioned what she was being told, she taught her students to question the doctrine as well, and when she was ultimately at odds with the church, she left. Her agreeing to participant in this study was a

form of organizational resistance as she was pulling back the curtain and sharing honest stories about her experiences to continue communicating her resistance even after leaving the Baptist organization. Additionally, participant #4 also questioned the Baptist organization and tried to communicate resistance with a goal of positive change, as a form of upwards resistance.

Communicating resistance for participants also took the form of questioning their identities and expressing their internal conflict caused by the dialectical tensions between organizational control and resistance. This falls under the control verses resistance dialectical tensions (Mumby, 2005), as individuals are expressing upwards dissent and questioning the way that the organization enacts control narratives. Participant #8 talks about how she has reacted to conflict and resistance when there are dialectical tensions in the places where she is supposed to perform her identity by questioning her faith and calling to ministry.

> "I definitely was just like, maybe I'm not called to the ministry of this is what it's about. And if this is what it's like, and I wrestled with that a lot, and like, even like looking at my own personal testimony and things like that of like. If I'm not called to ministry, then what was like my experience with God like? What was that that I experience that I thought was a call to ministry, and I think that I just had to wrestle with it a little bit,"

Additionally, when looking at how communicating resistance could act as a typology of behavior, Participant #16 talked about how the reason why she chose not to communicate resistance when there was tension at her church was because her son is in full time ministry and gets calls like that all the time. So, she chose not to communicate her resistance or try to change anything and instead just left the church and moved on, because "we kind of have to take a step back and say you know, why am I here? And it's really not about me."

In addition to typologies of behavior and discursive practices (Mumby, 2005), some individuals chose to take action to communicate their resistance behavior directly to the Baptist organization. For instance, participant #17's non-profit organization is a form of communicated resilience as she goes into churches and helps them work towards greater inclusion and helping vulnerable populations. In doing so, her organization is set up to resist the common tensions that exist in churches between the call to evangelism and their in-group mentality. This path of communicated resistance can be a slow path – where participants took their time to engage in resistance through the slow path of change. Participant #18 followed the slow path of communicated resistance – where she went to college, then worked in a non-profit, went back to seminary, and is now a leader in her church and teaching at a seminary training young woman to be teacher's and preachers. She talked about how the slow path to communicated resistance was more impactful because she got to spearhead real change within the different Baptist organizations and churches that she had worked in over the years.

Boundary Management

The final way that participants expressed resistance in this study was through boundary management. Boundary management is one of the keyways that participants responded to the resistance control dialectic (Mumby, 2005) within this research study. In the boundary management category of resistance, participants engaged in resistance strategies from "subtle subversions" and "ambiguous accommodations" (Prasad & Prasad, 1998), to utilizing typologies of behavior (Mumby, 2005) to enact organizational change, to leaving the organization. Boundary management was most often enacted when the tensions between the Baptist control narrative and resistance grew too great and participants needed to act to protect their identity performance, rather than reproducing the system or communicating their displeasure. For

instance, participants experienced this tension and enacted boundary management strategies when discussing the servant leadership aspect of their leader woman identity, where there is a dialectic / inconsistency between the relational aspect of servant leadership and the perceived lack of support for woman leaders. This led to leaders experiencing a tension between constantly pouring into others and building relationships and yet, a perceived lack of their constituents reaching back to do the same. Additionally, when examining the inconsistency between men being threatened by woman in leadership and woman being "good enough" in the absence of a man, it became clear that participants felt like their talents and abilities were being used by the Baptist church, as leadership was often supportive in words, but would not actually back up the participants when they faced difficulties or needed support. Participants would often try to manage this tension through "subtle subversions," however, because of the nature of their cross-cutting faith identity, if the conflict got too large or frustrating, participants did eventually leave the individual church for another church, or even leave the Baptist denomination entirely.

Subtle subversions.

Subtle subversions are a form of discursive resistance that articulates alternative options without directly confronting the dominant organizational narrative (Prasad & Prasad, 1998); Mumby, 2005). Participants expressed using various forms of subtle subversion within this study to discuss and act on alternative options as a form of resistance, without directly negating or standing up to the dominant Baptist regime. For instance, Participant #5 resisted her unsupportive leadership in several different, indirect ways. She took a break from ministry and leading Bible study, went back to school to get her masters, and teach, and even goes to her father's church instead of the one that her husband teaches at some Sundays to get a break/ breather. This resistance allows her to cope with her conflicting identity performance and the

pushback that she gets from the head pastor when she tries to perform her strong personality leader identity. Additionally, participant #12 enacted subtle subversions to reconcile her love for the church and her love for Jesus and people with all the aspects of the Baptist organization that she would rather avoid. As she shared in her interview, "I try to stay out of church politics as much as possible. I only enjoy the church aspect like I enjoy the people in the music and the singing, but I don't need to know about the details of the politics."

Participant #4 also resisted through subtle subversion and ambiguous accommodations (Prasad & Prasad, 1998) to either attempt to work with and alter the organizational narrative, or to quietly disengage. When she ran into resistance and dialectical tension where she could not perform her identities together, she would bring it up and try to address it through diplomatic communication. And if that failed, she would quietly create accommodation within the organization if she could or moved and go to a different church or area. Because of this, she shared a story about when she was asked to come back ten years later to direct a youth camp because they realized that they needed to implement the changes that she recommended, or the camp would die. Thus, her quite resistance and subtle subversions affected the organization and resisted the control narrative prevalent within the Baptist organization.

Leaving the organization.

However, not every participant reconciled their identity conflicts in this way. For some participants, the pain associated with performing their Baptist woman identity became too great and they sought reconciliation by relying on their other identities – either Biblical woman or faith woman – and leaving the organization. As participant #2 shared in her interview, this process can be disorienting and painful for participants.

"The words of Scripture were like, they were like the wallpaper of my mind, I mean. Every question had an answer that was from Scripture. And now suddenly, it's like the wall people was just stripped out of my brain, and psychically I mean cyclically It was very disorienting it."

Because of this pain, participant #2 completely removed herself from scripture and disengaged with religious organizations for a time while she experienced emotional healing. Participant #9 talked about how she read herself out of the Baptist church and into becoming a Catholic because she was trying to escape the abuse that she experienced at home. She said that the process was healing because.

"Another piece of me awakening from the spiritual abuse…. I still consider myself a Christian, but I get really triggered by the Bible, even being red at mass… its usually pretty conservative and frustrating."

Due to the totalistic nature of the Baptist identity, it was often hard for participants to leave their church, even when they knew that it was what was best. Participant #16 talked about reconciliation with leaving a church that she helped start 13 years ago because she stopped feeling welcomed and like she had been worked out of leadership and ministry roles. But the reconciliation was easier than it might have been otherwise because she went to a church where her son was the pastor instead. She described the process as painful, but also stated that she knew it was the right thing to do for everyone involved. Thus, participant #16 illustrates that even in their resistance, participants may think of what is best for the Baptist organization and attempt to mitigate the pain for all involved because of the positive valence that they put on their religious identity performance.

Similar to participants choosing to leave the organization, when the conflict is bad enough, the church will even push out church leaders. As participant #8 was talking about her experiences in church leadership she talked about how their current pastor is leaving the church and quitting his job due to the organizational conflict. Participant #8's pastor was forced out of the church because he was an instigator of conflict, resistance, and dialectical tensions amongst the leadership team. Pastor #4 also talked about a time when they had difficulties with a member of their youth ministry team who was teaching something to the middle school youth group that the pastor did not deem appropriate. She recalled being frustrated that they just took that member off the leadership team and asked them to stop working with the youth without ever telling them the specific reason why he was being removed from that position. Participant #4 "I just felt like we needed to address it outwardly like we've had some by this, and you know for that reason we can't have you teach for a while." Thus, while participants will often engage in quieter forms of resistance within the organization first, when the pain is great enough, they may leave themselves, or request that the instigator of the problems leave to make the organization a healthier place.

The cost of resistance.

While several participants reached the point where they resisted the Baptist control narrative by leaving the organization, this decision came with a cost. Participants identified that resisting with their feet meant losing their community and social support system when they left the organization. As Participant #2 shared in her interview,

"When I first started thinking thoughts contrary to the ones I had been given, it was very scary. And honestly, the fear was in some ways sounded. Because you will lose the

community and we have. we absolutely have because those communities … you are loved just so long, and only so long as you tow that intellectual line."

Participant #12 was afraid of this loss of community, and so she would often silence her response to the Baptist control dialectic or chose not to enact resistance so that she did not lose her sense of community. She shared that she plays softball with these women, works in the children's ministry, and she has been going there for 22 years and she is afraid that if she left to go to a church where she may agree with them more ideologically, but she would lose her community. A fear that unfortunately, participant #9 experienced firsthand when she divorced her abusive ex-husband and left the Baptist church. For her, the cost of resistance was high.

> "I mean I lost everybody, and it didn't even happen like my mistake is over explaining like thinking that I could tell these woman who I thought were my friends who I would pray with, and I would be vulnerable with I wasn't trying to act like the perfect like pastor's life, you know It's like It's really hard…."

Answering Research Questions

This study was guided by the desire to understand how Baptist woman leaders create and navigate the performance of their identities as Baptist woman leaders. Thus, it seeks to examine the intersections among multiple identities through the lens of nested identity theory (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Theoretically, Baptist woman leaders exist within an intersectional identity space due to the conflicting socialization of their Baptist, woman, and leader identities. The researcher asked the following research questions: *How do Baptist woman express and negotiate their nested identities in religious leadership settings?* and *how do Baptist woman leaders' express resistance in dialectical spaces of conflict?*

In response to our first research question: *How do Baptist woman express and negotiate their nested identities in religious leadership settings?* Emergent themes in the data set revealed that participants expressed their woman identities being subsumed by their religious identities. While this contradicts previous gender identity research (woman) (Ashforth & Jonson, 2001; Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004; Fast, 1999; Wood & Fixmer-Oraiz, 2018), it agrees with previous research into the gendering functions of the organization (Ackers et al., 1990; Mumby & Buzzanell, 2000; Mumby & Ashcraft, 2006). The gender identity expressed in this study, the woman identity, was completely subsumed by the religious identities due to the primary socialization that the participants experienced within the Baptist church. Participants understood womanhood as it was taught to them by Baptist organizational culture and practice, and through Biblical theology. Thus, participants did not separate out their gender identity, but instead understood it and performed in in cohesion with their other identities in this study (leader woman identity, Baptist woman identity, Biblical woman identity, and faith woman identity). The Baptist socialization surrounding Biblical gender roles and womanhood served as s totalistic function for participants, completely overwhelming and coloring their performance of their other identities. Additionally, due to the nature of the cross-cutting faith woman identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001), their religious identity performance bleed into their performance of their other identities.

Additionally, a key influencer of the gender identity being subsumed by the religious identity was due to the totalistic nature of the Baptist religious identity (Hinderaker, 2015). Totalistic organizations are "organizations with a far greater reach into a member's life than traditional employment or volunteer memberships" (Hinderaker, 2015, p.92). The Baptist organization is a totalistic organization because Baptist doctrine and religious socialization

impacts member's lives in a more comprehensive nature than traditional organizations. The faith woman cross-cutting identity means that the performance of the faith identity impacts all other identities within this study and increases the identity salience of the Baptist woman identity.

Answering the second research question present in this study was not as straightforward. When examining the emergent themes in the data set to answer the question: *How do Baptist woman leaders' express resistance in dialectical spaces of conflict*? Participants narrated a dialectical approach to organizational resistance, which argues that control and resistance are mutually co-produced and co-exist in an organizational space (Mumby, 2005). When viewing resistance from a dialectical lens, it focuses more on the interpretive struggles between meaning and practice, and less on the individual meaning of the discourse (Mumby, 2005). Thus, organizational resistance can be conceptualized as a tension between control and resistance and examining how organizational discourses and individual's actions within the organization reproduce or resist those discourses (Mumby, 2005).

Thus, with the emergent co-production of dialectical resistance between the individual and the organization; participants decided whether to resist, reconcile, or recreate their organizational identities depended on the valence that they gave their Baptist woman identity and the way that it affected their everyday life and identity performance. Several of the dialectical tensions expressed in this study include participants enacting boundary management strategies when discussing the servant leadership aspect of their leader woman identity, where there is a dialectic / inconsistency between the relational aspect of servant leadership and the perceived lack of support for woman leaders. This led to leaders experiencing a tension between constantly pouring into others and building relationships and yet, a perceived lack of their constituents reaching back to do the same. Additionally, when examining the inconsistency between men

being threatened by woman in leadership and woman being "good enough" in the absence of a man, it became clear that participants felt like their talents and abilities were being used by the Baptist church, as leadership was often supportive in words, but would not actually back up the participants when they faced difficulties or needed support.

In conclusion, this research study examines how the Baptist Identity impacts an individual's performance of other identities and their overall identity salience due to the totalistic nature of the organization. From this lens, both other identities examined in this study – leader woman identity and faith woman identity – are performed through the lens of Baptist woman identity as it is more proximal to the individual's core. These identities can conflict in their performance and cause spaces of dialectical tensions where the woman must choose which identity to perform and how to negotiate the resistance and tensions between their identities. These findings lead to several theoretical implications, as outlined in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine participants co-creation and performance of their Baptist woman leader identities. Emergent themes illustrate that the woman, or gender identity, is salient and bleeds out to impact the performance of all the layers in participant's nesting dolls. The Baptist organizational identity has a similar influence on participants identity performance. Due to the totalistic nature of the Baptist organization, Baptist doctrine bleeds out and alters the performance of all other identities in this study. Additionally, the co-production of dialectical resistance between the individual and the organization means that participants decided whether to resist, reconcile, or recreate their organizational identities depended on the valence that they gave their Baptist woman identity and the way that it affected their everyday life and identity performance.

These findings suggest three theoretical implications and one practical implication. First, findings suggest that individual's religious identities subsume their gender identity. In their interviews, participants described their gender identity as being understood through the lens of religious doctrine. I argue that when individuals are raised within a religious or totalistic organization, that doctrine becomes the material from which they begin constructing all their other identities. Thus, religious doctrine is the material that individuals use to construct the layers of their identity nest. The second theoretical implication explored in this study examines how the faith woman identity acts as a cross-cutting identity. I argue that the highly salient nature of cross-cutting identity bleeds out and impacts the performance of other social identities. Thus, due to the cross-cutting nature of faith woman identity, it impacts both the construction (Weiland, 2010) and performance (Goffman, 1959) of all identities in this study. Thirdly, when identities conflict, participants lean on their doctrinal identity rather than on their organizational identity. Based on this finding, I argue that the salience of an identity has more to do with the subjective importance that the participant places on their identity, rather than on the concreteness or inclusivity of the identity. Thus, the doctrinal identity expressed in this research study, the faith woman identity, had the highest level of identity salience discussed in this research study due to its nature as a cross-cutting identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). The practical implication of this research study is that Baptist organizations struggle to fill leadership roles because woman leave the organization when their identity performances conflict.

Identity Construction

Throughout this study, participants demonstrated that their religious identity subsumed their gender identity. Participants described and talked in depth about their understanding of their religious identities and the role that doctrine played in their life. This conversation subsumed

participants' discussion of their gender identity, which is typically conceptualized as a core identity and central to an individual's understanding of self (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Fast, 1999). I propose that when individuals are raised within a religious environment with a strong doctrine, their religious socialization subsumes their creation of their other nested identity layers. This goes beyond prior research stating that religion colors an individual's performance of their other nested identities (Kassler, 2020). Religious doctrine is the material that individuals use to construct the layers of their identity nest, such as when birds used pine needles and moss to craft their nests. This is especially true for totalistic organizations due to their value-based nature and voluntary membership (Hinderaker, 2015) Totalistic organizational doctrine becomes a key material individuals' construction of their nested identities, such as the moss that holds it all together.

Participants identified their woman identity not as a separate, intersectional identity space that conflicted with their leader and Baptist identities, but as an identity that was subsumed and performed in league with their two-fold religious identity – the mid-tier Baptist woman identity, and the cross-cutting faith woman identity. The Baptist woman identity is described as a mid-tier identity base on participants conceptualization of it being less concrete and situationally relevant than their leader woman identity, but more concrete than their Biblical woman identity. Thus, the Baptist woman identity is firmly nested within the identities model that these findings suggest (Appendix A). The faith woman identity is a cross-cutting identity that has a high level of identity salience, meaning it bleeds out and impacts individuals' performance throughout the entire identity nest. The nature of the religious identity subsuming the gender (woman) identity within this study contradicts previous research into both the gendering function of the organization (Ackers et al., 1990; Mumby & Buzzanell, 2000; Mumby & Ashcraft, 2006) and

research on the role of gender identities as a core identity, or the center of a participants nesting doll (Ashforth & Jonson, 2001; Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004; Fast, 1999; Wood & Fixmer-Oraiz, 2018).

There are two explanations for this study's finding. The first of which relates to the totalistic nature (Hinderaker, 2015) of the Baptist organization. Due to the nature of totalistic organizational memberships as a value-based, voluntary membership (Hinderaker, 2015), when woman identify with their mid-level Baptist woman identity, they are allowing Baptist doctrine to play a significant role both in their organizational socialization and in their identity creation as totalistic organizations can impact individual's performance of identity (Hinderaker, 2015). Thus, they are allowing the primary doctrines of Biblical gender roles to impact their identity formation, leading to participants understanding their woman identity not as a separate, unique identity at their core, but as an aspect of their religious identity. This aligns with previous research which examines how certain identities within the nested identities model "overtly inform the performance of others" (Kassler, 2020, p.51). Thus, I propose that totalistic religious identities bleed into the performance more than other identities due to the high level of identity salience, and religious morality and value system attached to the identity. Which is further re-enforced by their organizational socialization, as many participants in this study identified as being raised in the Baptist church, surrounded by the performance of the "Baptist woman identity" as a singular identity.

Secondly, participant's religious identity subsuming their gender identity is further explained by the nature of the cross-cutting faith woman identity. Because the faith woman identity is an external, informal cross-cutting identity that overlaps with participant's performance of their nested organizational identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). The high level

of identity salience attached to the faith woman identity means that when participants identify with their faith woman identity, they lean into it and allow it to alter their performance of other identities. Thus, the salient nature of the different aspects of their faith woman identity – such as Biblical gender roles and doctrinal vs. organization norms – impact participants identification with and performance of their other identities. Thus, participants gender is subsumed by and performed alongside their religious identity and can be explained both by primary socialization within the Baptist church and their chosen identification with the Christian faith.

These results suggest an addition to nested identities theory (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014) where religious socialization can impact the materials that individuals use to craft their identity nests. This goes beyond previous research examining value-based totalistic organizations (Hinderaker, 2015) and religion's ability to color individual's performance of their other nested identities (Kassler, 2020). I argue that when individuals are raised within a religious or totalistic organization, that doctrine becomes the material from which they begin constructing all their other identities. Thus, religious doctrine is the material that individuals use to construct the layers of their identity nest. Because of this, doctrine is woven into every layer of an individual's nest, and it is impossible to construct or perform their identities without religious influence. It is important to note that religious socialization may not be the only primary socialization that participants can use as a material when crafting their nests. There may be several alternate organizational and interpersonal factors that impact what materials individuals have available to craft their identity nests – such as educational and familial influences. However, the results of this study suggest that religious doctrine has a particularly strong influence and can become a primary construction material for nested identities.

Cross-Cutting Identity

The findings in this study also suggest that participants faith woman identity acts as a cross-cutting identity that bleeds into the performance of other identities. The faith woman identity is participants conceptualization of their doctrinal Christian beliefs. Throughout their interviews, participants described their personalization of Christian doctrine as a very salient aspect of their identity that impacted their performance of every identity layer. Thus, the faith woman indemnity acts as a cross-cutting identity, as it flows over into participants performance of their other identities and alters their social interactions. The cross-cutting nature of the faith woman identity is due to its nature as a non-denomination, personal, abstract, highly salient, and informal identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Thus, participants described their faith woman identity is an external, informal cross-cutting identity that overlaps with their performance of their nested organizational identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001).

The faith woman identity has the highest level of identity salience expressed in this study, or "the probability that a given identity will be invoked" (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001, p.32). Individuals described their faith woman identity as high in their salience hierarchy, meaning that they provoked or performed their faith woman identity through their other identities the most often. Additionally, because the informal cross-cutting faith woman identity interacts with two formal nested identities (leader woman and Baptist woman), it increases the likelihood that the identities will bleed and shape each other (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). This aligns with previous research into religious identities, as the interconnectedness between the individual and faith-based organizations means that members of said organizations often struggle with their identification vs. deidentification (McNamee, 2011).

When looking at this implication through the lens of theory, it becomes apparent that due to the cross-cutting nature of faith woman identity, it impacts both the construction (Weiland, 2010) and performance (Goffman, 1959) of all identities in this study. I argue that the highly salient nature of cross-cutting identity bleeds out and impacts the performance of other social identities. Leader, Baptist, and Biblical woman identities are all constructed and performed through the lens of faith. Thus, not only does religious doctrine become a material from which participants are building their identity nests, but it is impossible for participants to perform the different layers of their identity without acknowledging the role of doctrine.

Because of the cross-cutting nature and the high salience of participants faith woman identity, it impacted their performance of other identities outside of the Baptist organization. For instance, participants in this study discussed their leadership roles both within and outside of the church. Participants discussed their leadership roles within the church as submissive and servant based, which they juxtaposed with their leadership roles outside of the Baptist organization where they were not submissive. While participants discussed sustainability and servant-based leadership within their careers, indicating that Baptist doctrine did bleed into their career identity construction, it was not the core of the career identity. Thus, participants conceptualization of their career leader identity was impacted by the materials of the faith woman identity, but not entirely constructed and conceptualized within its lens.

Reliance on Doctrine

Thirdly, results of this study also suggest that when identities conflict, participants lean on their doctrinal identity rather than on their organizational identity. When participants experienced dialectical tensions in their identity performance, they leaned on their cross-cutting faith woman identity (doctrinal identity) in their performance. Thus, the organizational and group

117

identities, despite being lower order identities, were not the most subjectively important or situationally relevant identities in this study (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). I argue that due to the subjective importance that participant place on their faith woman identity, the informal cross-cutting identity ranks higher on participants salience hierarchy than their lower order identities.

The doctrinal identity, the faith woman identity, had the highest level of identity salience due to its nature as a cross-cutting identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Thus, because of the high level of identity salience, when identities are being ranked in a salience hierarchy, the faith woman identity has the higher "probability that a given identity will be invoked" (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001, p.32). Individuals described their faith woman identity as high in their salience hierarchy, meaning that they provoked or performed their faith woman identity through their other identities the most often. Because the faith woman identity had a high level of identity salience, participants often relied on their faith woman identity when their faith woman and Baptist woman identities conflicted. For example, Participant #1 identified as being Christians first, but from the "Southern Baptist persuasion." And when Participant #2 was discussing her journey through several different church denominations, she said that "when we moved, we were looking for a church we didn't really care so much about the denomination."

Additionally, when participants experienced conflict between their identity performances, they leaned on their cross-cutting faith woman identity as it had the highest level of identity salience (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). This high level of identity salience led to participants identified with it above their other identities. Thus, when the faith woman identity and the Baptist woman identity conflict, woman relied on their faith woman identity in more in their identity performance. This builds on current conceptualization of the role that cross-cutting identities play in nested identities. Whereas previous research has proposed that salience shifts

are common for formal cross-cutting identities but not informal (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001), this research study examines a highly salient, informal crosscutting identity. Thus, this study proves that both informal and formal crosscutting identities have a high degree of identity salience and can be more subjectively important than lower order identities. I argue that the salience of an identity has more to do with the subjective importance that the participant places on their identity, rather than on the concreteness or inclusivity of the identity. Participants illustrated this through the positive valence that they placed on their conceptualization of the Baptist church, even when they were resisting the organization. This conceptualization creates new possibilities for research in identity salience and conceptualization of how organizational identities nest within each other because of the increased relevance of informal cross-cutting identities.

Organizational Struggles

The fourth and final implication that this studies' results imply is a practical implication: Baptist churches are currently struggling to fill leadership roles within their congregations (Barkley, 2022). I argue that the current leadership shortage within the Baptist organization is partly due to the gendered organizational norms and the way that the Baptist church treats woman in leadership roles. As several participants illustrated in this study, Baptist woman leaders are currently treated as second tier and organizational boundaries such as the stained-glass ceiling are keeping them there. However, the current pastor shortage is leaving church's scrambling to fill key roles and keep their doors open (Roach, 2023). This pastor shortage is especially prevalent in the "Junior League" (Barkley, 2022) type roles such as children's pastors, youth pastors, and student pastors. This aligns with what participants stated in this research study, as these "Junior League" roles are often treated as "Second tier" leadership roles within the church, just as Baptist woman leaders are often treated as second tier or good enough in the

absence of a man. As participant #2 shared in her interview how she was fulfilling a volunteer leadership role at her Baptist church and the pastor said that eventually God might open the door for the church to hire a man to do her job.

This also aligned with that several other participants discussed throughout their interviews; Baptist organizations struggle to fill leadership roles because they are trying to hire men and not considering woman to fulfill the leadership role. Participant #12 critiqued this norm, when she stated that "if you hire a man, you should be okay hiring a woman." Participant #15 added that it should not come as a surprise that the Baptist church is struggling to hire people as they are only looking at half of their potential candidates when they assign gender norms to leadership roles.

In this study, there are several reasons that gender role norms continue to be prevalent within leadership and service positions in the Baptist church. Thus, the Baptist organization's current hiring dilemma for leadership positions is likely to continue until they begin to consider all their candidates equally. Genderizing organizational roles (Ackers et al, 1990) and holding to traditional Baptist definitions of leadership is weakening the organization by preventing them from hiring potentially talented individuals who could make their organization stronger. However, there are several ways that this implication can change. As participant #23 shared in her interview, "until the church's experience woman as ministers, we will fear change." Illustrating how a potential solution for the Baptist organization's pastor shortage lies in the de-gendering of leadership roles and considering all potential job candidates equally.

Based on participants lived experiences and this study's results, I argue that the current pastor shortage within the Baptist organization will not improve until they begin to consider all candidates equally. However, this is unlikely to change due to the strong interpretations that

participants shared about what it means to be a Baptist woman and the strong influence of gendered organizational norms (Ackers et al., 1990; Mumby & Buzzanell, 2000; Mumby & Ashcraft, 2006) within the Baptist church. Thus, it is likely that the organization will continue to struggle for the foreseeable future to fill leadership roles, particularly ones that are treated as "junior league" (Barkley, 2022) or second tier.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

While the findings and theoretical implications of this study are important, they are also limited in their scope. There are two primary limitations in this research study, all participants were raised in the church, and we did not divide out the sub-denominations. Firstly, while it was not a requirement for participation, all but two participants in this study identified as having grown up in their Baptist church, whether it was a First Baptist, Southern Baptist, or Fundamentalist Baptist congregation. Thus, it is possible that some of the theoretical implications of this study, such as the gender identity being subsumed by the religious identity, are unique to participants who were raised and engaged in primary socialization within the Baptist organization. It is also possible that other Christian denominations have different socialization expectations when individuals grow up in the church so that certain doctrines present in this study, such as "original sin" and "the stained-glass ceiling" would have less of an impact on participants conceptualization and performance of their religious identities.

This leads to our second limitation; all the Baptist congregations and sub-denominations were lumped together for the purposes of this study. Placing all the Baptist congregations – First Baptist, Southern Baptist, Fundamentalist Baptist, etc. – in the same category may be a limitation to this study because there are a variety of doctrinal reasons why the different groups identity as different sub-denominations or conventions. While these doctrinal differences are minor and all

the participants in this study self-identified as a Baptist woman leader, the subtle differences may alter some of the ways that participants discuss their identities – or even the division between a more traditional vs. non-traditional interpretation of Biblical womanhood. Thus, it is possible that recreating study with a population of entirely Fundamentalist Baptist or Southern Baptist woman would have different findings than our current analysis.

Based on the interpretive analysis of participants responses in this study, I proposed that totalistic religious identities bleed into the performance more than other identities due to the high level of identity salience, and religious morality and value system attached to the identity. Overall, this study prompts questions and future research regarding the nature of nested identities within totalistic organizations and the impacts surrounding a core identity being wrapped into the performance of another identity with a higher level of identity salience.

Conclusion

This study employed interview data with 23 woman who identified as Baptist woman leaders to answer the following research questions: *How do Baptist woman express and negotiate their nested identities in religious leadership settings?* and *how do Baptist woman leaders' express resistance in dialectical spaces of conflict?* First, this study found that participants expressed their woman identities being subsumed by their religious identities. This was due to the Baptist socialization surrounding Biblical gender roles and Baptist womanhood served as s totalistic function for participants (Hinderaker, 2015), completely overwhelming and coloring their performance of their other identities (Kassler, 2020). Second, this study found that Participants narrated a dialectical approach to organizational resistance, which argues that control and resistance are mutually co-produced and co-exist in an organizational space (Mumby, 2005). Based on these findings, I proposed the theoretical implications that religious

identity subsuming their gender identity, the faith woman identity acts as a cross-cutting identity that bleeds into the performance of other identities, and when identities conflict, participants lean on their doctrinal identity rather than on their organizational identity. Additionally, study examined the practical implication that Baptist organizations struggle to fill leadership roles because woman leave the organization when their identity performances conflict.

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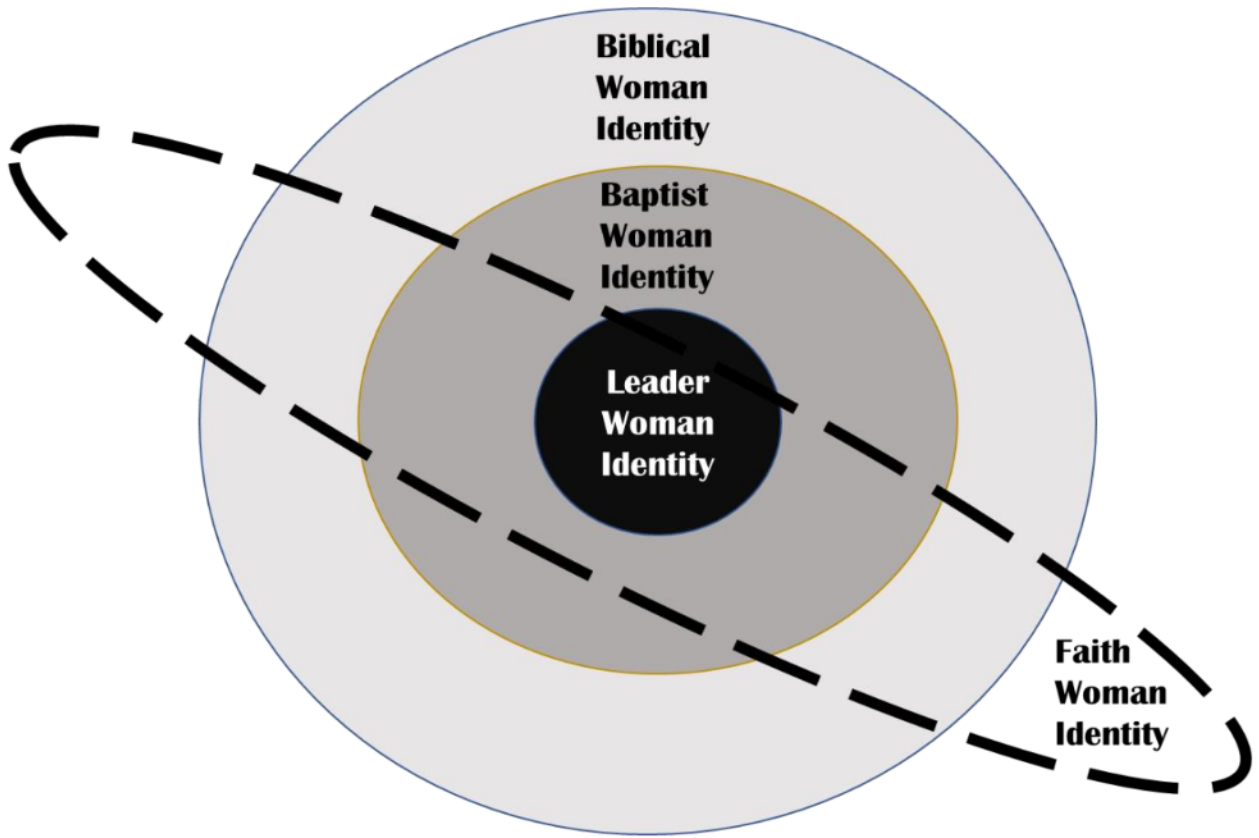
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Biblical
Woman
Identity

Baptist
Woman
Identity

Leader
Woman
Identity

Faith
Woman
Identity

APPENDIX B - INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Good morning/ Afternoon. How is your day going?

Okay, so I just have a couple of procedural things to get out of the way:

- Signed consent form?

- Zoom recording? Audio backup recording?

- Fit the research requirement: at least 18 years of age, a member of a Baptist or Southern Baptist Church or religious organization and self-identify as being a leader within their church or religious organization.

- **Anonymity - Nothing that you say leaves this interview. All identifying information will be removed from the transcripts. Your name will not be used; you will be given a pseudonym. I will use a list of Biblical woman's names for my pseudonyms - is there one you prefer? (You can pick, or I can assign).**

Just a bit about me:

- BS in Communication Studies from Southwest Baptist University

- MS in Communication Studies from Texas Christian University

- Actively engage with the church I grew up in and my church at college.

- A little bit about the study

Tell me a little bit about yourself.

- How old are you?

- Tell me about your family.

    - Do you have kids?

- Please only answer the following question if you feel comfortable: What race are you?

- What church or religious organization do you belong to?

- Cradle or convert?

    - What is it like to grow up a woman in the church?

        - How did you socialize into that role as a little girl?

    - Tell me a little bit about your experience converting?

Tell me a little bit about your church and your role as a woman within that church.

- Tell me a little bit about your church/ organization?

- What is it like to be a woman in your church?

- Tell me a little bit about your role as a Baptist Woman in the church.

    - What are the expectations?

    - How do you fulfill that role?

        - How much comes from doctrine?

        - How much is your church procedures/ structures/ leadership?

    - Which is more salient, the doctrine role or the church norm's role?

Tell me a little bit about your ministry and leadership position.

- Tell me a bit about your ministry?

    - What does your role look like?

    - How do you serve?

    - How do you lead?

- How did you get into the leadership role?

- What does leadership look like to you?

- Tell me some stories; what has it been like to be a woman leader in a Church?

- Do you find fulfillment through your leadership role? How? Why?

    - Do you find your leadership role as fulfilling as you would like it to be?

    - Do you think your leadership role is as fulfilling as your male counterparts? How/ Why?

- Tell me a little bit about your relationships with other individuals in the church?

    - How does being a leader shape that relationship?

So, now I am going to ask some hard questions. As I said earlier, I want to preface that I am not attacking the church; I am just trying to understand how woman negotiate leadership roles within the church and how those differ from men. Everything that you say stays entirely between you and me.

- Tell me about your interactions with other leaders in your church?

    - As a woman leader, do you feel like you must walk a line between being a member of leadership and respecting Organizational leadership?

    - How do you think that line looks different for you as a woman compared to your male counterparts?

    - What does that look like?

    - How does it make you feel?

- Tell me about a time when that has created conflict for you?

- Have you ever felt like you were viewed as a "second tier" leader because you are a woman?

    - Has that affected how you lead?

    - Does that change the way you interact with other leaders in the church?

    - Has that changed your relationships within the church?

- Tell me about a time when you said the "right thing" instead of what you wanted to say?

- What (if anything) would you change about your church?

    - Specifically, what would you change about how they treat woman leaders?

Those are all the questions I have for you. Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you for your participation in my research study!

VITA

Education

M.S. Communication Studies / Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas

May 2023 / 3.5 GPA / *Emphasis:* Organizational Communication and Social Identity

Thesis: Biblical Womanhood: That's triggering for me": An examination of identity negotiation in Baptist woman in church leadership

Committee: Dr. Amorette Hinderaker (Chair), Dr. Paul Schrodt, & Dr. Johny Garner

B.S. Communication Studies / **B.S.** Strategic and Organizational Communication

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Graduate Teaching Assistant	August 2021 – May 2023

Teaching Experience

Comm 10123: Communicating Effectively in Your Community	Fall 2021 – Spring 2023

Awards and Honors

- Outstanding Graduate Student Research Award / Schieffer College, Texas Christian University, April 2023
- Best Graduate Communication Studies Research Presentation Award / Schieffer Showcase, Texas Christian University, April 2023
- Best Graduate Communication Studies Research Presentation Award Winner / Schieffer Research and Creative Festival, April 2022
- All-American (top 10 in the nation) / Pi Kappa Delta Online NCT Nationals, March 2021