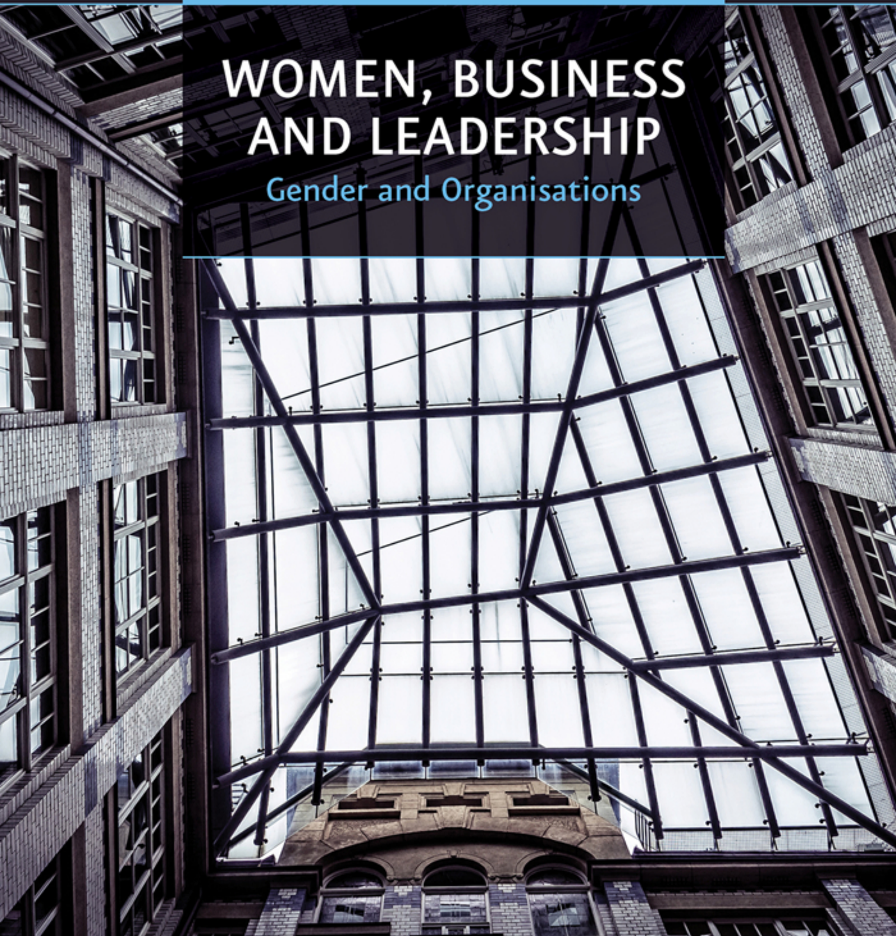
EE
Elgar

EDITED BY
Alexander-Stamatios Antoniou
Cary Cooper • Caroline Gatrell

WOMEN, BUSINESS AND LEADERSHIP

Gender and Organisations



NEW HORIZONS IN MANAGEMENT

Women, Business and Leadership

NEW HORIZONS IN MANAGEMENT

Series Editor: Professor Sir Cary Cooper, *50th Anniversary Professor of Organizational Psychology and Health at Alliance Manchester Business School, University of Manchester, UK and President of the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development and British Academy of Management*

This important series makes a significant contribution to the development of management thought. This field has expanded dramatically in recent years and the series provides an invaluable forum for the publication of high quality work in management science, human resource management, organizational behaviour, marketing, management information systems, operations management, business ethics, strategic management and international management.

The main emphasis of the series is on the development and application of new original ideas. International in its approach, it will include some of the best theoretical and empirical work from both well-established researchers and the new generation of scholars.

Titles in the series include:

The Economic Crisis and Occupational Stress
Ritsa Fotinatos-Ventouratos and Cary L. Cooper

Flourishing in Life, Work and Careers
Individual Wellbeing and Career Experiences
Edited by Ronald J. Burke, Kathryn M. Page and Cary L. Cooper

The Multi-generational and Aging Workforce
Challenges and Opportunities
Edited by Ronald J. Burke, Cary L. Cooper and Alexander-Stamatios G. Antoniou

Handbook of Research on Work–Life Balance in Asia
Edited by Luo Lu and Cary L. Cooper

Perspectives on Contemporary Professional Work
Challenges and Experiences
Edited by Adrian Wilkinson, Donald Hislop and Christine Coupland

Entrepreneurship and Talent Management from a Global Perspective
Global Returnees
Edited by Huiyao Wang and Yipeng Liu

Research Handbook on Employee Turnover
Edited by George Saridakis and Cary L. Cooper

Coaching for Women Entrepreneurs
Carianne M. Hunt and Sandra L. Fielden

The Sandwich Generation
Caring for Oneself and Others at Home and at Work
Edited by Ronald J. Burke and Lisa M. Calvano

Knowing Her Place
Positioning Women in Science
Valerie Bevan and Caroline Gatrell

Research Handbook of Diversity and Careers
Edited by Adelina M. Broadbridge and Sandra L. Fielden

Decision Making and Business Performance
Eric J. Bolland and Carlos J. Lopes

Improving Performance Appraisal at Work
Evolution and Change
Aharon Tziner and Edna Rabenu

Women, Business and Leadership
Gender and Organisations
Edited by Alexander-Stamatios Antoniou, Cary Cooper and Caroline Gatrell

Women, Business and Leadership

Gender and Organisations

Edited by

Alexander-Stamatios Antoniou

Associate Professor of Psychology, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

Cary Cooper

50th Anniversary Professor of Organizational Psychology and Health, Alliance Manchester Business School, University of Manchester, UK

Caroline Gatrell

Professor of Organization Studies, University of Liverpool Management School, UK

NEW HORIZONS IN MANAGEMENT

Edward Elgar
PUBLISHING

Cheltenham, UK • Northampton, MA, USA

With thanks to Emerald for permission to reprint the following article: Shehla Riza Arifeen, Caroline Gatrell (2013) 'A blind spot in organization studies: gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion', *Gender in Management: An International Journal* Vol. 28 Issue 3 pp. 151–170.

Published by
Edward Elgar Publishing Limited
The Lypiatts
15 Lansdown Road
Cheltenham
Glos GL50 2JA
UK

Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.
William Pratt House
9 Dewey Court
Northampton
Massachusetts 01060
USA

A catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018967798

This book is available electronically in the **Elgar**online
Business subject collection
DOI 10.4337/9781786432711

ISBN 978 1 78643 270 4 (cased)
ISBN 978 1 78643 271 1 (eBook)

Typeset by Servis Filmsetting Ltd, Stockport, Cheshire

Contents

Contributors

Virginia Aggelou, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

Yue S. Ang, School of Law, Oxford Brookes University, UK

Alexander-Stamatios Antoniou, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

Marioleni Apergi, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

Shehla Riza Arifeen, The Lahore School of Economics, Pakistan

Valerie Bevan, Lancaster University Management School, UK

Susan Bisom-Rapp, Thomas Jefferson School of Law, San Diego, USA

Ronald J. Burke, York University, Canada

Paula Burkinshaw, Leeds University Business School, The University of Leeds, UK

Shani D. Carter, Nicolais School of Business, Wagner College, New York, USA

Kate Clayton-Hathway, Oxford Brookes University, UK

Cary Cooper, Alliance Manchester Business School, University of Manchester, UK

Shanna R. Daniels, Florida State University, USA

Allan Discua Cruz, Department of Entrepreneurship and Strategy, Lancaster University Management School, UK

Nikos Drosos, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

Elaine Dunn, Department of Leadership and Management, Lancaster University Management School, UK

Ulrike Fasbender, Department of Work and Organizational Psychology, Justus-Liebig-University Giessen, Germany

Ritsa Fotinatos-Ventouratos, The American College of Greece

Caroline Gatrell, University of Liverpool Management School, UK

Fabiola H. Gerpott, VU University Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Kaylee J. Hackney, Baylor University, Texas, USA

Eleanor Hamilton, Department of Entrepreneurship and Strategy, Lancaster University Management School, UK

Beverley Hawkins, University of Exeter Business School, Exeter Centre for Leadership, UK

Sarah L. Jack, Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden and Department of Entrepreneurship and Strategy, Lancaster University Management School, UK

Judith Kampa, Department of Work and Organizational Psychology, Philipps-University Marburg, Germany

Christos-Thomas Kechagias, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

Mara Kourtoglou, European University Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus

Lindsey M. Lavaysse, Department of Psychology, Washington State University Vancouver, USA

Alixe Lay, University College London, UK

Liam Maher, Florida State University, USA

Kathleen Otto, Department of Work and Organizational Psychology, Philipps-University Marburg, Germany

Sanjeewa Perera, University of South Australia Business School, Australia

Pamela L. Perrewé, Florida State University, USA

Nigel Peyton, University of Liverpool Management School, UK

Jason C. Potwora, Washington State University, USA

Tahira M. Probst, Department of Psychology, Washington State University Vancouver, USA

Iris Rittenhofer, Department of Management, Aarhus University, Denmark

Malcolm Sargeant, Middlesex University Business School, UK

Sofia Schlamp, VU University Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Ruth Sealy, University of Exeter Business School, Exeter Centre for Leadership, UK

Rosalind Searle, Adam Smith Business School, University of Glasgow, UK

Cathyann D. Tully, Nicolais School of Business, Wagner College, New York, USA

Sven C. Voelpel, Jacobs University Bremen, Germany

Laura Weis, University College London, UK

Kate White, Federation University, Australia

Laura D. Wojtas, Department of Work and Organizational Psychology, Philipps-University Marburg, Germany

Introduction

It is over half a century since the first sex discrimination laws were enacted. No doubt the women who fought during the 1960s and 1970s, for equality of pay and opportunity, would have imagined a fairer world than the one we find ourselves in today.

There are certainly some areas where improvements have been made. More women make it to middle management levels, and many formal barriers preventing women from reaching the top levels in organizations have been removed. Yet as Chapter 10 (Burkinshaw and White) demonstrates, for those women who do make it to the highest levels within their occupations, fitting in with male-dominated cultures can be challenging. According to Chapter 12 (Antoniou and Aggelou) social and gender stereotypes still dictate the way female managers ought to behave and the ones who defy them often face multiple consequences. And as Gatrell and Peyton (Chapter 18) observe some mechanisms barring women from career advancement have remained firmly in place until the present decade.

This book comprises a collection of chapters exploring the situation of women in business and leadership positions in organizations today. It is presented in three parts. The chapters in the first section centre specifically on *women and leadership*. These chapters examine a range of situations, from family business (Discua Cruz, Hamilton and Jack) through to educational and other settings (Antoniou and Apergi). Research in these chapters suggests that women in leadership roles, within all arenas, come up against challenges specific to their gender. For example, women who take over the leadership of their family businesses often have to learn on the job – as family members they may have been less visible than male heirs, and thus less likely to have been 'prepared' for the responsibilities of heading up the family enterprise.

The second section of the book explores how gender impacts on women's experience of undertaking leadership and management roles in organizations, and of balancing relationships between work and family. Bevan's chapter (15) shows how women in heterosexual relationships may feel obliged to conceal from male partners the extent of their ambition, in order to reduce conflict at home. And Perrewé, Daniels, Hackney and Maher (Chapter 16) explore the challenges of managing pregnancy and paid work.

The final section focuses on *constraints*: the structural and cultural impediments affecting women's career advancement, and the manner in which these are dealt with in relation both to practice and policy. We see, for example, in the chapter by Bisom-Rapp and Sargeant (25), how women may be disadvantaged at every life stage, such constraints operating cumulatively to reduce career opportunities.

As a whole, this collection suggests that we have a way to go before gender ceases to impact on women's careers in business and management. The chapters in this book highlight specifically disadvantages relating to gender. We remain aware that gender represents only part of the story, with issues of age, ethnicity, sexual orientation and health impacting on career advancement. What the chapters show is the extent of change – in relation to culture, policy and attitude – that is needed if women in management and business are to achieve parity with their male counterparts.

The views within each chapter are not necessarily those of the Editors – but the general approach of the book – that change needs to happen – is one we all share.

We cannot and should not wait for another fifty years.

Alexander-Stamatios Antoniou
Professor Sir Cary Cooper
Caroline Gatrell

PART I

Leadership and authority: women at the helm

1. Women's entrepreneurship: discussing legal perspectives in light of individual and institutional drivers

Ulrike Fasbender and Yue S. Ang

INTRODUCTION

Among the first to identify entrepreneurship as a worthy field of study, Schumpeter (1934) described the entrepreneur as a person "whose function was to carry out new combinations of means of production" (Carland, Hoy, Boulton, & Carland, 1984, p. 354), which has been highlighted as essential to a nation's economic development. Traditionally, entrepreneurship has been seen as a male phenomenon. It is therefore not surprising that even though "women are one of the fastest rising populations of entrepreneurs, and contribute significantly to innovation, job creation and economies around the world," research on women's entrepreneurship is comparatively understudied (Brush, 2009, p. 612). This chapter is therefore dedicated to women's entrepreneurship. In particular, we aim at providing an interdisciplinary approach by discussing legal perspectives in light of individual and institutional drivers for women to become entrepreneurs.

The chapter is organized along four main sections. In the first section, we conceptualize entrepreneurship, introduce its process and its different forms – particularly, we explain intrapreneurship and differentiate commercial from social entrepreneurship. In the second section, we introduce the role of women in entrepreneurship. Specifically, we outline the historical roots of women's entrepreneurship and highlight the individual and institutional drivers which encourage them to become entrepreneurs. In the third section, we introduce different legal forms of UK enterprises (linked to the launch phase of the entrepreneurial process) in relation to the entrepreneurial intention and the drivers of women's entrepreneurship. Finally, in the fourth section, we outline legal forms as a platform of entrepreneurship and discuss the potential barriers that limit women's choice of legal forms. We then end with concluding thoughts.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Entrepreneurship can be conceptualized using a behavioral definition; in essence, creating a new venture (Gartner, 1989). An often used behavioral definition of entrepreneurship entails independent ownership and active management (or the expressed intention to do so) as elementary aspects of the entrepreneur (Carland et al., 1984; Stewart & Roth, 2001; Rauch & Frese, 2007b). However, in contrast to small business owners or general managers, the entrepreneur is characterized by growth orientation and innovative behavior along with strategic management practices (Carland et al., 1984; Stewart Jr., Watson, Carland, & Carland, 1999). Moreover, entrepreneurship entails specific task descriptions, such as the identification, evaluation, and exploitation of profitable opportunities (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). In the following, we introduce the process of entrepreneurship and its different forms – particularly, we explain intrapreneurship and differentiate commercial from social entrepreneurship.

Process of Entrepreneurship

According to Baron and Henry (2011), entrepreneurship is a continuing process that can be described along three major phases, the prelaunch phase, the launch phase, and the postlaunch phase as can be seen in Figure 1.1.

To begin with, the prelaunch phase includes the recognition and evaluation of profitable opportunities, the heart of every entrepreneurial activity. Moreover, among the entrepreneurial input activities are assembling initial resources and the accumulation of information for start-up. The success of entrepreneurial outcomes in this phase may be measured along the number and type of recognized opportunities, the amount of capital raised, or network-related factors, such as high-quality business partners or employees attracted. A successful prelaunch phase ideally leads to the actual launch

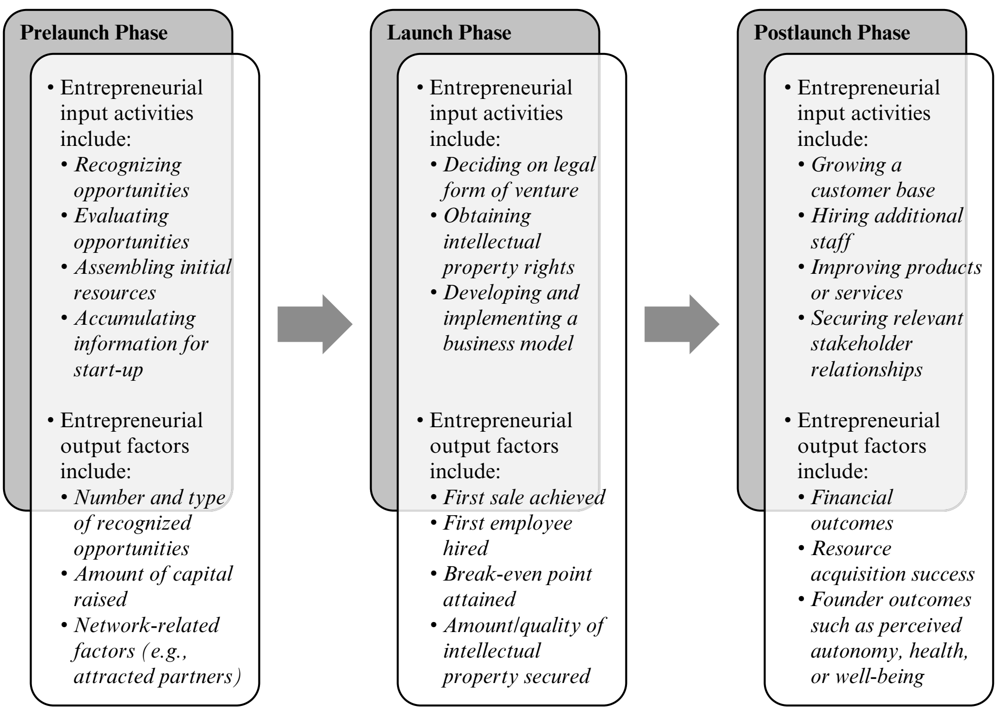


Figure 1.1 The entrepreneurial process, its input activities and output factors adapted from Baron and Henry (2011)

of the new venture, where the legal form of the venture is chosen, intellectual property or financial resources may be secured, and a business model is developed and about to be implemented. The success of the launch phase may be measured by the time until first sale made, first employee hired, or break-even point achieved and the amount or quality of the intellectual property secured. After the new venture has been launched, entrepreneurial activities encompass growing a customer base, hiring additional staff, improving products or services, and further securing relevant stakeholder relationships by negotiating with others, influencing or motivating them. Finally, the success of the postlaunch phase may be measured along financial outcomes, acquisition of resources required, and individual outcomes, such as entrepreneurs' perceived autonomy, personal satisfaction, as well as their health and well-being. Baron and Henry's process model (2011) provides a good structure and overview of sample activities during the three phases of the entrepreneurial process; yet, it rather oversimplifies the complexity in which new venture creation takes place.

In fact, each of the phases is influenced by many different variables that can be classified as individual, interpersonal, and societal variables (Baron & Henry, 2011). On the micro level, individual variables are the characteristics of entrepreneurs, including their cognitions, skills, knowledge, and personality (Baum & Locke, 2004). On the meso level, interpersonal variables describe entrepreneurs' social capital, which refers to their social networks (i.e., acquaintances, colleagues, friends, and family members) as informal business channels that enable them greater access to information and entrepreneurial opportunities. Network size, diversity, and strengths have been identified as relevant network characteristics for entrepreneurs (Semrau & Werner, 2014). On the macro level, societal variables are based on the ever-growing environmental dynamism of the twenty-first century that is driven by the overall economic situation, government policies, and industry-related factors, such as technological advancement and competitors' business strategies (Patzelt, Shepherd, Deeds, & Bradley, 2008; Baron & Henry, 2011). The investigation of the individual, interpersonal, and societal variables as well as their complex interplay is of great interest for the understanding of the entrepreneurial process, which may help to explain why some new ventures are successful and others are not (Hitt, Beamish, Jackson, & Mathieu, 2007; Hmieleski & Baron, 2009).

Different Forms of Entrepreneurship

Although entrepreneurship is usually associated with the creation of a new venture, recognizing entrepreneurial opportunities for the development of new products or services can also occur within existing organizations (Lumpkin, 2007). In fact, even well-established companies embrace innovation and entrepreneurial behavior; they actively encourage employees by introducing entrepreneurial programs or creating an environment in which employees recognize and exploit such entrepreneurial opportunities within their organization, thus becoming so-called *intrapreneurs* (Kuemmerle, 2006; Lumpkin, 2007; Baron & Henry, 2011). Companies such as 3M, Intel, or Google are well known for their activities and efforts in this respect (Deeb, 2016). Intrapreneurship can therefore be understood as the organizational counterpart of entrepreneurship taking into account the structural boundaries of an existing organization.

In addition, even though Schumpeter (1934) had introduced entrepreneurship as a profit-oriented creation of a new venture (i.e., *commercial entrepreneurship*), *social entrepreneurship* – entrepreneurial activity with a social purpose – has received increasing attention in both theory and practice over the last decades (Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006; Datta & Gailey, 2012). Narrow definitions of social entrepreneurship describe the phenomenon as entrepreneurial activity that is using innovative approaches based on marked-related skills and business expertise to generate income for nonprofit organizations (Reis, 1999; Thompson, 2002). Yet, broader definitions refer to social entrepreneurship as entrepreneurial activity with a social purpose that can be set up as an either for profit or not for profit organization or even a hybrid of both combining social and commercial interests (Austin et al., 2006). Social entrepreneurship (either for or not for profit) has been highlighted in particular in the light of women's entrepreneurial effort and contribution to the informal economy (Datta & Gailey, 2012; Haugh & Talwar, 2016; Lortie, Castrogiovanni, & Cox, 2017).

WOMEN AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

In this section, we introduce the role of women in entrepreneurship. Specifically, we give an account of the historical roots of women and entrepreneurship, and highlight the drivers which motivate them to engage in entrepreneurship.

Historical Roots of Women and Entrepreneurship

Although research on mainstream entrepreneurship emerged in the 1930s (starting with Schumpeter, 1934), women's entrepreneurship is a fairly recent research phenomenon. Initial research has investigated entrepreneurship from a mainly male-focused perspective in a male-oriented business world, where women were seen as sole proprietorship firms or small "lifestyle" businesses (Baker, Aldrich, & Nina, 1997; Yadav & Unni, 2016). As can be seen in Figure 1.2, the emergence of research on women's entrepreneurship goes back to the late 1970s (Jennings & Brush, 2013). Yet, for a long time, researchers have treated entrepreneurship as a rather gender-neutral phenomenon, where male and female entrepreneurs were assumed to be the same and hence, gender was not further

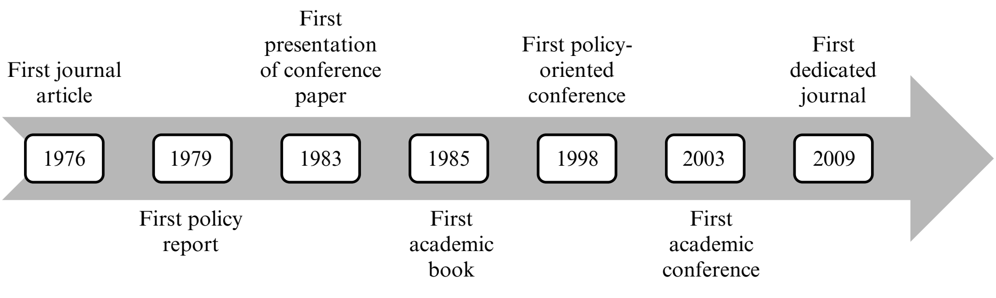


Figure 1.2 Timeline of research events related to women's entrepreneurship based on the chronological summary of Yadav and Unni (2016)

distinguished or explored (Baker et al., 1997; Bruni, Gherardi, & Poggio, 2004). As a result, research on the sub-domain of women's entrepreneurship did not significantly develop until the late 1990s with the first policy-oriented conference on women entrepreneurship and the first academic conference just a few years later (Jennings & Brush, 2013).

In their chronological summary of studies on women entrepreneurship, Yadav and Unni (2016) refer to Eleanor Brantley Schwartz as the author of the first journal article on "Entrepreneurship: A new female frontier" in the *Journal of Contemporary Business* (1976), and the first policy report focusing on the unequal enterprise in the United States (1976). This was followed by the first conference paper on women entrepreneurship presented at the Babson College Conference on Entrepreneurship in 1983. Just two years later, the first academic book entitled *Women in Charge: The Experiences of Female Entrepreneurs* was published in the United Kingdom, indicating that research on women's entrepreneurship had become an increasingly international research phenomenon. In 1998, the first policy-oriented conference by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) on "Women entrepreneurs in SMEs: A major force in innovation and job creation" was held. This was followed by the first academic conference five years later. In 2009, the first dedicated academic journal entitled *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship* was established. More recently, a range of review articles have been published, summarizing the current state of the art on women's entrepreneurship (e.g., Sullivan & Meek, 2012; Henry, Foss, & Ahl, 2016; Yadav & Unni, 2016).

Individual and Institutional Drivers of Women's Entrepreneurship

Among the drivers underpinning women in taking up entrepreneurship are: (1) institutional gender ideology, as well as women's (2) individual motivation, and their (3) personality and individual differences.

Institutional gender ideology

Gender ideology describes the characteristic ideals constructed by society (Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016). These social constructions can also be institutional in either masculine or feminine ideology. Individual behavior can be affected or molded by the forms of institution gender ideology. Further, there is an entrepreneurial gender divide between the ideology of hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity (Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016). The former is the dominant norm and the latter is its alternative. Hegemonic masculinity identifies the ideals of male behavior; examples are "emotional self-control, competitive individualism, calculative rationality and heterosexuality" (Bretherton, 2003 cited in Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016, p. 245). In other words, the dominant entrepreneurial qualities are to be alpha, hierarchical, being the risk-taker, independent, and invulnerable.

In contrast, femininity identifies traits which are found in "the loving nurturing mother and domestic home-maker," thus stressing the qualities of "social relations and togetherness" (Delph-Janiurek, 2000; Hoffman, 2001, cited in Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016, p. 246). Therefore, emphasized femininity which is viewed as the alternative quality and that is meant to complement the dominant entrepreneurial qualities adopts collegiality, inclusivity, and risk-averseness, acknowledges women's vulnerability, and encourages shared responsibility (Choudhury, 2014; Ang, 2015).

Yet, the gender of being male or female is not the indicator for the entrepreneurial gender divide (Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016). A woman can exhibit hegemonic masculinity ideology in her entrepreneurial profession just as well as a man can exhibit emphasized femininity ideology in his. The interesting point to make here is the institutional gender ideology affecting these individuals participating in them, for example, workers being unhappy or unfulfilled in employment (UK BIS, 2016). Commercial entrepreneurial activities can also emit hegemonic masculinity (Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016). It is therefore likely that female entrepreneurs running commercial enterprises exhibit hegemonic masculinity.

In turn, social entrepreneurship "embodies the attributes of emphasized femininity" (Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016, pp. 247–248), suggesting that female entrepreneurs are more likely to align with the social organizational form than commercial organizational form. Interestingly, social organizational forms known as social enterprises thrive in the recession amongst struggling conglomerates (Esposito, 2013). This is an indication that emphasized femininity should therefore not be relegated as a component which complements the norm – rather its strong attributes should be acknowledged. In addition, a community which fosters emphasized femininity ideologies is likely to attract entrepreneurs running social enterprises (Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016).

Individual motivation

The 2015 UK Department for Business Innovation and Skills (UK BIS, 2016) report indicates tipping points that drove individuals to entrepreneurship. The key motivating factors are (1) to have autonomy and flexibility, (2) to move away from unhappiness, uncertainty, or dissatisfaction with employment, and (3) for those who are unemployed, to generate an income. The report also indicates that most enterprises being set up because of necessity have turned out to be successful.

Moving away from formal employment for some women could be removing themselves from the institutional hegemonic masculine environment. Such masculine drivers as market dominance, rapid growth, high profits, excessive risk-taking, and perceived invulnerability may not complement their personalities. Entrepreneurship can be a solution to the challenges women are facing in jobs with traditional structures, such as unsuitable working conditions, limited career advancement opportunities, or conflicts arising between their work and private life. Previous research revealed that women who experienced conflict with their supervisors or thought they would do a better job than them, were more likely to become entrepreneurs (Zapalska, 1997). Also, entrepreneurship can be the breakthrough of the glass ceiling, which women often encounter within traditional organizational structures (Buttner & Moore, 1997; Sullivan & Meek, 2012). Further, because women often take greater responsibility for raising their children than men, entrepreneurship can be seen as a means toward more flexibility between their work and private life. Also, women have expressed a greater importance of family-related factors (in particular when having children) (DeMartino & Barbato, 2003). However, the more time (male or female) entrepreneurs spend on child care activities, the more their self-employment duration decreases (Williams, 2004). Overall, empirical findings suggest that women are motivated to become entrepreneurs because of an anticipated gain in flexibility, which helps their career advancement and work–life balance (in particular higher family involvement) (Parasuraman & Simmers, 2001; Malach-Pines & Schwartz, 2008).

There are also good career reasons for women to become entrepreneurs, such as the need for financial success, innovation, roles, self-realization, recognition, and independence. While for men financial success and innovation matter most, women tend to value the need for independence and self-actualization highest when considering an entrepreneurial career (Maysami & Goby, 1999; Carter, Gartner, Shaver, & Gatewood, 2003). Yet, entrepreneurship is more than just the conducting of a business with a view to profit – it is also about innovating products and services alongside having a close connection with the community (Hobbs, 1997). The motivation to do good, connect with the community, and step outside the formal running of a business encourages some women to construct working conditions, career paths, and business objectives closer to their gender ideologies.

Personality and individual differences

Research on entrepreneurship has a tradition in investigating the entrepreneurial personality. Yet, some scholars argue that "a focus on the traits and personality characteristics of entrepreneurs will never lead us to a definition of the entrepreneur nor help us to understand the phenomenon of entrepreneurship" (Gartner, 1989, p. 48). In their conceptual model on entrepreneurs' personality characteristics and success, Rauch and Frese (2007a) revisit the personality approach on entrepreneurship and point out that personality traits need to be distinguished into proximal and distal individual differences. Broad personality traits capture the "big five," namely, extraversion, neuroticism, openness, agreeableness, and conscientiousness, whereas specific personality traits capture risk-taking, innovativeness, locus of control, and self-efficacy.

In general, men have been found to have higher entrepreneurial intentions than women (Crant, 1996; Zhao, Seibert, & Hills, 2005). Further, a comprehensive twin study (based on 1285 pairs of identical twins and 849 pairs of same-sex fraternal twins) revealed that among the big five personality traits, extraversion and neuroticism have been found as important traits for women to become entrepreneurs, whereas for men only extraversion was found to be important (Zhang et al., 2009). With regard to the more specific personality traits, a meta-analysis based on 116 original studies (N = 26 700 individuals) showed that independent of gender, innovativeness ($\rho = 0.24$), self-efficacy ($\rho = 0.38$), stress tolerance ($\rho = 0.10$), locus of control ($\rho = 0.19$), and risk-taking ($\rho = 0.10$) were positively associated with business creation (Rauch & Frese, 2007b). Further, a proactive personality ($\rho = 0.27$) has been found to be positively related to business success (Rauch & Frese, 2007b).

In addition to personality traits, work values may serve as proximal predictors of entrepreneurial intentions. For example, Hirschi and Fischer (2013) found that independent of gender, self-enhancement (i.e., salary and prestige), conservation (i.e., security and authority), and openness to changes (i.e., variety and autonomy) predicted students' entrepreneurial intentions. However, self-transcendence work values (i.e., altruism and benevolence) were more positively related to entrepreneurial intentions for women as compared to men. This result possibly reflects the earlier notion that women see "entrepreneurship not only as a means for self-enhancement but also as a possibility to contribute to the greater social good, as implied in models of social entrepreneurship" (Austin et al., 2006 cited in Hirschi & Fisher, 2013, p. 226).

LEGAL FORMS OF UK ENTERPRISES

Discussing the legal forms of UK enterprises is linked to the launch phase of the entrepreneurial process. As the most proximal predictor of the actual launch, the entrepreneurial intention signals "how intensely [the entrepreneur] is prepared – and how much effort [he or she] is planning to commit – to carrying out entrepreneurial behavior" (Miranda, Chamorro-Mera, Rubio, & Perez-Mayo, 2017, p. 69). Furthermore, the entrepreneurial intention can affect the choice of legal form. In the following, we thus introduce the different legal forms of UK enterprises and discuss them in light of the entrepreneurial intention and the drivers of women's entrepreneurship.

Sole Trader

A sole trader is a one-person business venture. It has an informal legal form giving traders full control over their business undertakings and records. On a micro level, the individual's entrepreneurial intention directly represents the sole trader's entrepreneurial intention (Feder & Nitu-Antonie, 2017; Miranda et al., 2017). The sole trader's enterprise ceases as soon as the individual's entrepreneurial intention ends.

In relation to motivation, this legal form provides the entrepreneur with autonomy and flexibility. An entrepreneur with caring responsibilities could utilize this legal form just as could an entrepreneur who is career-driven. The business plan and its respective undertakings can be designed to cater for any entrepreneur's motivational drivers. For example, mothers referred to as "mompreneurs" can create suitable working conditions for themselves (Ozurumba, 2013, p. 42); and career-driven women can advance in their profession by utilizing a non-conventional business structure.

On the meso and macro levels, the sole trader can choose whether to utilize his or her "social capital" to promote economic success, or promote social impact, or a blending of both (Dees & Anderson, 2006; Esposito, 2013). A cautious feature of sole tradership is its unlimited liability, which is the non-demarcation of the trader's personal wealth from the enterprise's finances. This feature can deter some women from obtaining a loan or credit or from considering business growth (Carter, Shaw, Lam, & Wilson, 2007). The access to money sustains an entrepreneurial intention (Cabrera & Mauricio, 2017).

Partnership

A partnership is an informal legal structure formed under section 1 Partnership Act 1890. It is a joint venture between two or more entrepreneurs who have unlimited liability. Section 6 affirms that a partnership's joint venture requires a joint entrepreneurial intention which is a sharing of each partner's entrepreneurial intention (Bratman, 1999).

Therefore, unlike the sole tradership, the individual partner's entrepreneurial intention is different from the partnership's joint entrepreneurial intention. Partnership has a feature where the joint entrepreneurial intention is dependent on all partners' entrepreneurial participation. Section 19 suggests that each partner is jointly committed to the joint entrepreneurial intention. Being jointly committed means having the participation of all the partners in the partnership (Gilbert, 2014), and maintaining a joint entrepreneurial intention. Hence, when one of the partners ceases trading, or when a partner refuses to "jointly commit" to the joint entrepreneurial intention, the whole partnership under section 32 alongside with its joint entrepreneurial intention dissolves (Gilbert 2014, p. 195; Gilbert, 1992).

A partnership addresses all the points mentioned in the sole tradership discussion above, and it also adds more features to the entrepreneurship levels. On the micro level, a joint venture initiates the sharing of everyone's characteristics including abilities, cognition, skills, knowledge, and personality (Baum & Locke, 2004). The joint entrepreneurial intention depends on the competencies of the partners' personalities in the areas of personal and relationship-based business and management, business venturing, and human resources management (Cabrera & Maurcio, 2017). The combination of a partnership's entrepreneurial activities relates to the competencies of the partners' personalities.

In relation to personality and individual differences, a partnership's joint venture and joint entrepreneurial intention might affect the respective partner's autonomy. The partner's own entrepreneurial intention might be different from the joint venture. Nevertheless, the individual driver for flexibility is supported under section 6 which provides shared locus of control over the venture, which under section 10 also includes shared responsibility.

On the meso and macro levels, partners have the option to utilize their social capital to promote economic success, or promote social impact or a blending of both (Dees & Anderson, 2006; Esposito, 2013).

Limited Liability Partnership (LLP)

An LLP addresses all the points mentioned in the partnership discussion above except for each partner having limited liability under section 1(1) of the Limited Liability Partnership Act 2000. Limited liability is a formal legal structure which creates a separate legal identity between the enterprise and its entrepreneurs. It has a clear demarcation between every entrepreneur's personal wealth and the LLP's finances. With limited liability, section 7 ensures the LLP continues even when one of the partners ceases trading, meaning that section 7 also demarcates the LLP's entrepreneurial intention from its partners'.

On a micro level and distinguishing from the above partnership legal form, limited liability meant that there is no joint entrepreneurial intention shared between the partners. This feature supports the entrepreneur's autonomy and flexibility in pursuit of motivational drivers including risk-taking, financial success, self-realization, self-actualization, and recognition. On a meso and macro level, section 3(1A) provides the LLP with legitimacy through a certificate of incorporation. Legitimacy is a formality which gives the LLP recognition from its investors and creditors (Lee, 2009; Esposito, 2013; Yockey, 2015). This kind of legitimacy is therefore lacking in a sole trader and partnership.

Section 4 adds a feature to the entrepreneur's intrapersonal level where its partners can include non-natural persons. In relation to non-natural persons, venture capital firms can become LLP partners. These firms are "companies that raise money from investors, invest and manage the monies as one fund, and then loan money from this fund to entrepreneurs with business plans with very high potential for returns" (Panopoulos, 2010, p. 560). Therefore, section 4 supports the motivation for "wealth-maximization, competitiveness, aggressiveness" (Hechaverria & Ingram, 2016, p. 243) and aligns with an entrepreneur's drivers for risk-taking, enterprise growth, financial success, exploiting social networks for stability, and gaining independence from banks.

LLPs are designed to invigorate an entrepreneurship culture which targets entrepreneurs seeking "prestige and credibility" (Freedman, 2000, p. 333), thus supporting the drivers for self-actualization, self-worth, and success. Yet, the limited liability's attraction can potentially shift entrepreneurial risks away from the partners, which might occur at the expense of other values like responsible risk-taking (Freedman, 2000). In addition, the lack of investors' protection ought to be critiqued as it might affect the entrepreneur's social network (Hyytinen & Takalo, 2005). Nevertheless, limited liability partners have the option whether to utilize their social capital to promote economic success, or promote social impact, or a blending of both (Dees & Anderson, 2006; Esposito, 2013).

Private Limited Company (Ltd.)

An Ltd. is governed under the Companies Act 2006. The entrepreneur has limited liability, which makes the Ltd. a formal legal form. Its limited liability features are similar to the LLP discussed above with the exception that an Ltd.'s entrepreneurial intention will not cease unless the current entrepreneur(s) running it chooses to dissolve it. Nevertheless, the crucial separation of entrepreneurial intention between the entrepreneur and enterprise supports the entrepreneur's autonomy.

On the micro level, an entrepreneur under section 7 can choose whether to incorporate a company alone or with other entrepreneurs, and thus having this option aligns the entrepreneur closer to his or her drivers and personality. Choosing the enterprise's structure also supports an entrepreneur's autonomy. He or she has the option under section 5 whether to have a company limited either by shares or guarantee. Entrepreneur flexibility is supported in terms of having the choice either to invest money (shares), or tangible goods other than money, for example property (guarantee). Owing to the level of flexibility in relation to having the suitable enterprise structure, this legal form closely aligns the entrepreneur's motivation for recognition, financial success, and self-actualization with his or her entrepreneurial intention. The limited liability's legal structures of the various combinations above are thoroughly analyzed before the most applicable one is adopted.

On the meso and macro level, an Ltd. supports both drivers for "wealth-maximization, competitiveness, aggressiveness" and "altruism, compassion and caring" (Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016, p. 243). Like an LLP, legitimacy is provided under section 15 with the issue of the certificate of incorporation giving the Ltd. the opportunity to raise capital. Investors' confidence is further supported by the provisions under Part 11 where investors who are minority members of the enterprise can claim against it if they incur financial harm. Part 30 also protects investors who are minority members of the enterprise from being subjected to unfair prejudice. Finally, Part 29 protects creditors trading with the enterprise from being defrauded. Parts 11, 29, and 30 support the drivers for expanding the entrepreneurs' social network.

An Ltd.'s design is mainly to increase economic success. As there is nothing in the Companies Act 2006 to prevent an enterprise promoting social objectives, this legislation is flexible for entrepreneur(s) wishing to utilize their social capital to promote social impact, or a blending of social and economic objectives.

Community Interest Company (CIC)

A CIC is also a private limited liability company (Ltd.) with a formal legal form governed under the Companies (Audit, Investigation and Community Enterprise) Act 2004. A CIC's design is mainly to promote social impact benefiting the community. Its entrepreneurial intention under section 26 requires the inclusion of social objectives. Similar to the private limited company (Ltd.) discussed above, the CIC's entrepreneurial intention will not cease unless the current entrepreneur(s) running it chooses to dissolve it.

On the micro level, the CIC's features are similar to the Ltd. However, there is an additional restriction; the CIC only supports for-profit entrepreneurs choosing to pursue the motivation of self-transcendence work values and the recognition for doing good (Hirschi & Fischer, 2013). Therefore, the individual's entrepreneurial intention must reflect this.

On the meso and macro level, there are additional legal mechanisms ensuring the CIC's social network is kept at a legal standard. The regulator, who is appointed under section 27, upholds the legal standard. For a CIC limited by guarantee, section 29 imposes an asset-lock where the CIC's assets in the form of property are strictly kept for the benefit of the community. For a CIC limited by shares, section 30 places a cap on profit distributions and interests which ensures that money and interests are reinvested into the CIC for the benefit of the community.

Section 32 mandates the CIC's entrepreneurial intention of promoting a social objective is incorporated into the legal document called the articles of association. As a result, the CIC would have to legally honor its social objective(s) alongside its commercial objectives even during times of financial hardship. Furthermore, a CIC under section 52 is not allowed to re-register or change its legal form to an Ltd. These legal features support the drivers of recognition for doing good, conservation of wealth for the greater good, and self-transcendence work values of entrepreneurs (Hirschi & Fischer, 2013). However, these features might not support the entrepreneur's drivers for flexibility, independence, or even having a degree of autonomy.

Choice of Legal Forms

The legal forms of UK enterprises offer a tapestry from which an entrepreneur chooses the form aligning closest to his or her drivers and entrepreneurial intention. In the next section, we explore how women's entrepreneurship is potentially affected by these legal forms. Furthermore, we discover barriers that potentially prevent women from fully utilizing their choice of legal form.

LEGAL FORMS AS A PLATFORM OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Legal forms provide women entrepreneurs with a platform from which they promote their entrepreneurial intentions and their drivers. The direct impact relates to women's choice over the form best suited to their needs. For example, start-up and pop-up ventures are transient operations to which an informal legal form might be suited. Formal legal forms are suited for ventures which are ready for growth or maturity. This kind of impact is in no way different from the effect on men's entrepreneurship.

We find that the direct impact is especially profound in relation to some women going through phases like pregnancy or motherhood. These women are allowed (with the exception of the CIC) to switch between legal forms, thus giving them flexibility while sustaining their independence. The option to switch between temporary and permanent entrepreneurial activity ensures these women's ventures have continuity. Even though the phases of pregnancy or motherhood may change these women's entrepreneurial activities and entrepreneurial intention, a suitable legal form adopted for each phase can sustain their ventures, and therefore sustain their independence.

Barriers that Potentially Limit Women's Choice of Legal Forms

For women who wish to change their entrepreneurial intention owing to pregnancy or motherhood, we find that the full utilization of the legal forms is being diminished by barriers in the following areas: (1) access to money, (2) business network, and (3) legal assistance. These barriers prevent women from adopting the most suitable legal form aligning closest to their current drivers and entrepreneurial intention. Barriers impact the entrepreneurial intention by dis-aligning the change in entrepreneurs' drivers with the current adopted legal form and, thus, making it ill-fitted for the purposes of their entrepreneurial intention and entrepreneurial activities.

Access to money

Access to money sustains the entrepreneurial intention (Cabrera & Mauricio, 2017). Legislations designed to support and fund certain women's entrepreneurship can exclude other women from being funded (Ozurumba, 2013). For example, if the eligibility process only favors women of a certain economic status, such as unemployed or underemployed women (Ozurumba, 2013), it would exclude established women entrepreneurs from seeking financial support for either expanding their enterprises or helping them through pregnancy or motherhood. As a result, legislations designed to support some eligible women could disadvantage women with established enterprises potentially leading to the diminishing of their independence and the maintenance of their chosen legal form.

In the context of obtaining bank loans, we find that direct discrimination against women in general is absent. Yet, results of an empirical study by Carter et al. (2007) show that bank loan applications of male and female entrepreneurs are evaluated differently. While female applicants were more likely to be questioned about their comprehension, male applicants were more likely to be questioned about their integrity and capability. Hence, "gender plays a role in the credit decision-making process as loan officers evaluate male and female applicants not just on the merits of their individual case, but also on the basis of their perceptions of men and women that have been imbued by gender socialization processes" (Carter et al., 2007, p. 439). Yet, it remains unclear to what extent approving bank loans may be affected by pregnancy or motherhood.

A nuance of indirect discrimination law could pose a potential solution toward protecting women entrepreneurs, especially those going through pregnancy or motherhood (Panopoulos, 2010). Indirect discrimination generally happens when "an unjustified adverse impact is produced for a protected class of persons by an apparently class-neutral action" (Ellis cited in Panopoulos, 2010, p. 550). A limitation to indirect discrimination law is that it only applies "when the cause of the disparate treatment of two groups is readily identifiable" (Panopoulos, 2010, p. 570). Established women entrepreneurs do not fit this description because they are as capable as men. Going through pregnancy or motherhood only could cause financing disparities in relation to the earnings and maintenance between men and women (Panopoulos, 2010). This is due to women taking the greater responsibility for raising their children (Kittay, 1999; DeMartino & Barbato, 2003; Fineman & Grear, 2013; Mackenzie, Rogers, & Dodds, 2014). The focus of financing disparities is the proposed nuance underpinning indirect discrimination law favoring women entrepreneurs. Without the adaptation of this nuance of law, women entrepreneurs, especially those going through pregnancy or motherhood, may experience barriers preventing access to money and thus diminishing their opportunity to either switch legal forms or maintain their current legal form.

Business network

We mentioned above the glass ceiling found in the traditional organizational structure and we observe that it has prevented a culture of mentorship and networking for women (Villiers, 2010). As a result, female entrepreneurs potentially struggle with lower financial or managerial skills (Panopoulos, 2010). Perhaps, women value building networks differently from men as they tend to favor relationships over networks because they perceive the latter yielding short-term benefits (Panopoulos, 2010). Moreover, they also separate their personal lives from their professional lives (Panopoulos, 2010). Again, these are linked to the institutionalized gender ideology. A lack of business networks disadvantages female entrepreneurs from sharing knowledge and skills. This barrier prevents women from having full choice over the legal forms and it also prevents them from being able to switch legal forms.

Legal assistance

In regard to women-led enterprises and legal assistance, we indicate above that women are more likely to align with the social organizational form than commercial organizational form. Entrepreneurship, in particular social entrepreneurship, is a relatively recent legal development (Esposito, 2013; Yockey, 2015; Ang, 2017). The role of lawyers in general is to "understand [the entrepreneur's] business as well as the context and regulatory framework in which the [entrepreneur] operates" (Plerhoples, 2013, p. 253). Furthermore, social entrepreneurs' drivers including recognition for doing good, conservation of wealth for the greater good, and self-transcendence work values are novel and unstructured legal issues (Hirschi & Fischer, 2013; Plerhoples, 2013). Lawyers must bridge entrepreneurship and law which warrants an activity requiring a full range of legal planning tools fit for entrepreneurial purposes (Hobbs, 1997). The rule of law and mechanisms for delivering the interests of commercial and social entrepreneurs are under-developed (Plerhoples, 2013) to the point that the body of entrepreneurial law must catch up with its corporate law counterpart. Some US law schools have set up legal advice centers like law clinics and pro bono foundations staffed with law students who provide commercial and social entrepreneurs with adequate legal assistance (Plerhoples, 2013). Law schools in the UK have much to catch up. This poses a barrier preventing women entrepreneurs from obtaining adequate legal assistance and therefore diminishing the opportunity to align their drivers and entrepreneurial intention adequately with a suitable legal form.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

We dedicated this chapter to women's entrepreneurship. In particular, we aimed at providing an interdisciplinary approach by discussing legal perspectives in light of individual and institutional drivers for women to become entrepreneurs. By doing so, we traced the origin of entrepreneurship by showing how much it has developed from Schumpeter, who envisaged it as a tool for economic development, to the emergence of social entrepreneurship. Furthermore, we conceptualized entrepreneurship by describing independent ownership and active management as elementary aspects. Also, we highlighted that entrepreneurship entails specific task descriptions, such as the identification, evaluation, and exploitation of profitable opportunities. In addition, we described the entrepreneurial process along three phases, namely the prelaunch phase, the launch phase, and the postlaunch phase.

Further, we introduced the role of women as entrepreneurs by summarizing the historical roots and revealing the drivers that encourage women to become entrepreneurs. Predominantly, we focused on the institutional gender ideology in contrast to individual drivers, namely women's individual motivation, personality, and individual differences.

Taking an interdisciplinary approach, we then introduced the different legal forms governing UK enterprises in light of institutional and individual drivers. We showed that the legal forms provide ample flexibility for women to engage in entrepreneurship in pursuance of either a lifestyle business or a professional career. Also, we found that women can (except for the CIC) switch legal forms in aligning a best suited form with their changing entrepreneurial interests and activities. Yet we also uncovered barriers that potentially limit women's choice of legal forms in that they dis-align women's entrepreneurial intention from their entrepreneurial activities. In particular, we addressed how lack of access to money, business network, and legal assistance potentially restrict women's choice of legal form.

To sum up, women's entrepreneurship is a growing phenomenon worldwide with research trying to catch up. Discussing legal perspectives in light of individual and institutional drivers shows that men and women are equipped with the same legal forms as platforms of their entrepreneurship allowing them to align their individual drivers and entrepreneurial intentions. Yet, women's choice can be limited due to gender-specific barriers that restrict them from fully utilizing their choice of legal forms. This can hinder the alignment of women's individual drivers and their entrepreneurial intentions, which potentially undermines the role of women as entrepreneurs in general.

REFERENCES

Ang, Y. S. (2015). Ethical outsourcing and the act of acting together. In T. I. Wolf, T. Issa, & M. Theil (Eds.), *Empowering Organizations through Corporate Social Responsibility* (pp. 113–130). Pennsylvania: IGI Global.

Ang, Y. S. (2017). Partners in social entrepreneurship: A UK approach to buyer's risk externalities. *International and Comparative Corporate Law Journal*, *12*(2), 2–35.

Austin, J., Stevenson, H., & Wei-Skillern, J. (2006). Social and commercial entrepreneurship: Same, different, or both? *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, *30*(1), 1–22.

Baker, T., Aldrich, H. E., & Nina, L. (1997). Invisible entrepreneurs: The neglect of women business owners by mass media and scholarly journals in the USA. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, *9*(3), 221–238.

Baron, R. A., & Henry, R. A. (2011). Entrepreneurship: The genesis of organizations. In S. Zedeck (Ed.), *APA Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Vol. 1* (pp. 241–273). Washington, DC: APA.

Baum, R. J., & Locke, E. A. (2004). The relationship of entrepreneurial traits, skill, and motivation to subsequent venture growth. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *89*(4), 587–598.

Bratman, M. E. (1999). *Faces of Intention: Selected Essays on Intention and Agency.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bruni, A., Gherardi, S., & Poggio, B. (2004). *Gender and Entrepreneurship: An Ethno-Graphic Approach*. New York: Routledge.

Brush, C. G. (2009). Women entrepreneurs: A research overview. In A. Basu, M. Casson, N. Wadeson, & B. Yeung (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Entrepreneurship* (pp. 611–628). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buttner, H. E., & Moore, D. P. (1997). Women's organizational exodus to entrepreneurship: Self-reported motivations and correlates with success. *Journal of Small Business Management*, *35*, 34–46.

Cabrera, E. M., & Mauricio, D. (2017). Factors affecting the success of women's entrepreneurship: A review of literature. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, *9*(1), 31–65.

Carland, J. W., Hoy, F., Boulton, W. R., & Carland, J. A. C. (1984). Differentiating entrepreneurs from small business owners: A conceptualization. *Academy of Management Review*, *9*(2), 354–359.

Carter, N. C., Gartner, W. B., Shaver, K. G., & Gatewood, E. J. (2003). The career reasons of nascent entrepreneurs. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *18*(1), 13–39.

Carter, S., Shaw, E., Lam, W., & Wilson, F. (2007). Gender, entrepreneurship, and bank lending: The criteria and processes used by bank loan officers in assessing applications. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, *31*(3), 427–445.

Choudhury, B. (2014). New rationales for women on boards. *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, *34*(3), 511–542.

Crant, M. J. (1996). The Proactive Personality Scale as a predictor of entrepreneurial intentions. *Journal of Small Business Management*, *34*(3), 42–49.

Datta, P. B., & Gailey, R. (2012). Empowering women through social entrepreneurship: Case study of a women's cooperative in India. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, *36*(3), 569–587.

Deeb, G. (2016). Big companies must embrace intrapreneurship to survive. *Forbes*, February 18. Retrieved from https://www.forbes.com/sites/georgedeeb/2016/02/18/big-companies-must-embrace-intrapreneurship-to-survive/#6d41ddfc48ab.

Dees, G., & Anderson, B. (2006). Framing a theory of social entrepreneurship: Building two schools of practice and thought. In R. Mosher-Williams (Ed.), *Research on Social Entrepreneurship: Understanding and Contributing to an Emerging Field* (pp. 39–66). Washington, DC: Aspen Institute.

DeMartino, R., & Barbato, R. (2003). Differences between women and men MBA entrepreneurs: Exploring family flexibility and wealth creation as career motivators. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *18*(6), 815–832.

Esposito, R. T. (2013). The social enterprise revolution in corporate law: A primer on emerging corporate entities in Europe and the United States and the case for the benefit corporation. *William & Mary Business Law Review*, *4*(2), 639–714.

Feder, E.-S., & Nitu-Antonie, R.-D. (2017). Connecting gender identity, entrepreneurial training, role models and intentions. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, *9*(1), 87–108.

Fineman, M. A., & Grear, A. (2013). *Vulnerability: Reflections on a New Ethical Foundation for Law and Politics*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Freedman, J. (2000). Limited liability: Large company theory and small firms. *Modern Law Review*, *63*(3), 317–354.

Gartner, W. B. (1989). "Who is an entrepreneur?" Is the wrong question. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, *12*(2), 47–68.

Gilbert, M. (1992). *On Social Facts.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gilbert, M. (2014). *Joint Commitment: How We Make the Social World.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haugh, H. M., & Talwar, A. (2016). Linking social entrepreneurship and social change: The mediating role of empowerment. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *133*(4), 643–658.

Hechavarria, D. M., & Ingram, A. E. (2016). The entrepreneurial gender divide: Hegemonic masculinity, emphasized femininity and organizational forms. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, *8*(3), 242–281.

Henry, C., Foss, L., & Ahl, H. (2016). Gender and entrepreneurship research: A review of methodological approaches. *International Small Business Journal*, *34*(3), 217–241.

Hirschi, A., & Fischer, S. (2013). Work values as predictors of entrepreneurial career intentions. *Career Development International*, *18*(3), 216–231.

Hitt, M. A., Beamish, P. W., Jackson, S. E., & Mathieu, J. E. (2007). Building theoretical and empirical bridges across levels: Multilevel research in management. *Academy of Management Journal*, *50*(6), 1385–1399.

Hmieleski, K., & Baron, R. (2009). Entrepreneurs' optimism and new venture performance: A social cognitive perspective. *Academy of Management Journal*, *52*(3), 473–488.

Hobbs, S. H. (1997). Towards a theory of law and entrepreneurship. *Capital University Law Review*, *26*, 241–299.

Hyytinen, A., & Takalo, T. (2005). Corporate law and small business finance: Mandatory vs. enabling rules. *European Business Organization Law Review*, *6*(3), 449–466.

Jennings, J. E., & Brush, C. G. (2013). Research on women entrepreneurs: Challenges to (and from) the broader entrepreneurship literature? *Academy of Management Annals*, *7*(1), 663–715.

Kittay, E. F. (1999). *Love's Labor: Essays on Women, Equality, and Dependency.* London: Routledge.

Kuemmerle, W. (2006). Innovation in large firms. In M. Casson, B. Yeung, A. Basu, & N. Wadeson (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Entrepreneurship* (pp. 311–330). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lee, R. (2009). The emergence of social enterprises in China: The quest for space and legitimacy. *Tsinghua China Law Review*, *2*, 79–99.

Lortie, J., Castrogiovanni, G. J., & Cox, K. C. (2017). Gender, social salience, and social performance: How women pursue and perform in social ventures. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, *29*(1–2), 155–173.

Lumpkin, G. T. (2007). Intrapreneurship and innovation. In R. J. Baum, M. Frese, & R. Baron (Eds.), *The Psychology of Entrepreneurship* (pp. 237–263). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Mackenzie, C., Rogers, W., & Dodds, S. (2014). *Vulnerability: New Essays in Ethics and Feminist Philosophy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Malach-Pines, A., & Schwartz, D. (2008). Now you see them, now you don't: Gender differences in entrepreneurship. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *23*(7), 811–832.

Maysami, R. C., & Goby, V. P. (1999). Female business owners in Singapore and elsewhere: A review of studies. *Journal of Small Business Management*, *37*(2), 96–105.

Miranda, F., Chamorro-Mera, A., Rubio, S., & Perez-Mayo, J. (2017). Academic entrepreneurial intention: The role of gender. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, *9*(1), 66–86.

Ozurumba, P. (2013). Girl power: How female entrepreneurs can overcome barriers to successful business. *Women's Rights Law Reporter*, *34*(1), 24–57.

Panopoulos, A. G. (2010). Barriers to financing: Is European Union indirect discrimination law the answer for female entrepreneurs? *Cardozo Journal of Law and Gender*, *16*(3), 549–572.

Parasuraman, S., & Simmers, C. A. (2001). Type of employment, work–family conflict and well-being: A comparative study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *22*(5), 551–568.

Patzelt, H., Shepherd, D. A., Deeds, D., & Bradley, S. W. (2008). Financial slack and venture managers' decisions to seek a new alliance. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *23*(4), 465–481.

Plerhoples, A. E. (2013). Representing social enterprise. *Clinical Law Review*, *20*, 215–266.

Rauch, A., & Frese, M. (2007a). Born to be an entrepreneur? Revisiting the personality approach to entrepreneurship. In J. R. Baum, M. Frese, & R. A. Baron (Eds.), *The Psychology of Entrepreneurship* (pp. 41–65). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rauch, A., & Frese, M. (2007b). Let's put the person back into entrepreneurship research: A meta-analysis on the relationship between business owners' personality traits, business creation, and success. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *16*(4), 353–385.

Reis, T. (1999). *Unleashing the New Resources and Entrepreneurship for the Common Good: A Scan, Synthesis and Scenario for Action.* Battle Creek, MI: W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

Schumpeter, J. A. (1934). *The Theory of Economic Development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Semrau, T., & Werner, A. (2014). How exactly do network relationships pay off? The effects of network size and relationship quality on access to start-up resources. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, *38*(3), 501–525.

Shane, S., & Venkataraman, S. (2000). The promise of entrepreneurship as a field of research. *Academy of Management Review*, *25*(1), 217–226.

Stewart Jr., W. H., & Roth, P. L. (2001). Risk propensity differences between entrepreneurs and managers: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *86*, 145–153.

Stewart Jr., W. H., Watson, W. E., Carland, J. C., & Carland, J. W. (1999). A proclivity for entrepreneurship: A comparison of entrepreneurs, small business owners, and corporate managers. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *14*(2), 189–214.

Sullivan, D. M., & Meek, W. R. (2012). Gender and entrepreneurship: A review and process model. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *27*(5), 428–458.

Thompson, J. L. (2002). The world of the social entrepreneur. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, *15*(5), 412–431.

UK Department for Business Innovation and Skills (UK BIS) (2016). *Longitudinal Small Business Survey: SME with Employees*. Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/small-business-survey-2015-businesses-with-employees.

Villiers, C. (2010). Achieving gender balance in the boardroom: Is it time for legislative action in the UK? *Legal Studies*, *30*(40), 533–557.

Williams, D. R. (2004). Effects of childcare activities on the duration of self-employment in Europe. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, *28*(5), 467–484.

Yadav, V., & Unni, J. (2016). Women entrepreneurship: Research review and future directions. *Journal of Global Entrepreneurship Research*, *6*(12), 1–18.

Yockey, J. W. (2015). Does social enterprise law matter? *Alabama Law Review*, *66*(4), 767–824.

Zapalska, A. (1997). A profile of woman entrepreneurs and enterprises in Poland. *Journal of Small Business Management*, *35*(4), 76–82.

Zhang, Z., Zyphur, M. J., Narayanan, J., Arvey, R. D., Chaturvedi, S., Avolio, B. J., . . . Larsson, G. (2009). The genetic basis of entrepreneurship: Effects of gender and personality. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *110*(2), 93–107.

Zhao, H., Seibert, S. E., & Hills, G. E. (2005). The mediating role of self-efficacy in the development of entrepreneurial intentions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *90*(6), 1265–1272.

2. Women in management and on corporate boards of directors: accelerating progress

Ronald J. Burke

This chapter considers initiatives to increase the presence of qualified women at higher organizational levels and on corporate boards of directors. A relevant question then becomes have we been making progress on these objectives recently? While some would argue that no progress or very little progress has been made (Carter & Silva, 2010), the evidence does not support these conclusions. While progress has been uneven in terms of progress in various countries, research evidence from several countries illustrates slow progress in this area (Burke, 2017). Most progress has been observed in Nordic countries (Norway, Finland, Sweden). A gender gap still exists worldwide, however, and in order to reach gender parity, estimates have suggested it would take over 150 years at the current rate of gain to achieve this. So we still have a long way to go.

BENEFITS OF MORE WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT

More women are entering the workforce in all developed countries, with more undertaking professional and managerial careers (Burke & Richardsen, 2017). There is also considerable growth in women's labor force participation in the public sector. Women are about half the graduates of professional schools such as business, law, and accounting (Catalyst, 2000). They start their careers at similar levels as their male colleagues, with similar credentials and competence.

There are several reasons why efforts to increase women's presence in these areas is important. More women are receiving university education and work experience, with more women than men obtaining university degrees in some countries. More women are thus making decisions about how and what to spend their incomes on (Shriver, 2009; Silverstein & Sayre, 2009a, 2009b; Wittenberg-Cox & Maitland, 2008). Schuller (2017) notes that although women outperform men in their academic programs before entering the workforce they then encounter cultures (e.g., discrimination, few mentors and sponsors, not belonging to the "old boy's network") that result in them performing below their competences. More organizations will be engaged in a war for talent (Michaels, Handfield-Jones, & Axelrod, 2001) as the population ages. There are research findings that suggest that organizations having more women on their boards of directors are more financially successful, though these conclusions must still be considered tentative. Women and men generally begin their professional and managerial careers reporting similar work experiences but over time women indicated more challenges and lower levels of support (Ibarra, Carter, & Silva, 2010).

Interestingly, women and men exhibit generally the same leadership styles. Eagly, Johannesen Schmidt, and van Engen (2003), in a meta-analysis, compared women's and men's use of transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership styles. Eagly and Carli (2004) reviewed this evidence and concluded that more women than men exhibited transformational leadership. A conservative conclusion is that women and men generally demonstrated similar leadership styles.

Schwartz (1992) writes that advancing qualified women means that organizations have the best people in management. It also indicates to women employees, clients, and customers that women can be successful here. These women also serve as role models for other women. Some job applicants are more attracted to firms offering diversity management initiatives and efforts to support women's advancement.

Tarr-Whelan (2009) noted several benefits to organizations from having more women in higher level jobs: more financial gains, better job performance, less risky decisions, and less intense competition; greater work–family integration improving the quality of life for both women and men and leading to higher levels of individual and societal health; more teamwork and participative decision making; and being in touch with twenty-first-century values, particularly among millennials.

McKinsey (2015) has concluded that having more women in the global workforce at managerial and professional levels would add billions to the worldwide economy. This happens when organizations hire women for their talent and use selection, support, and development of the qualified women they recruit and hire. In the McKinsey research, if every country narrowed the gender gap to be the same historical rate of the fastest improving country in its regional peer group, the world could create a $12 trillion increase to annual GDP by 2025, a gain of 11 percent. Six areas were critical: education, family planning, maternal health, financial inclusion, digital inclusion, and assistance with unpaid work and support.

In summary, there is a strong business case for supporting and developing women: better financial performance, using talent more effectively, increasing work group performance and innovation, reflecting the marketplace, and building a reputation as an organization that supports the promotion of women.

BENEFITS OF MORE WOMEN ON CORPORATE BOARDS OF DIRECTORS

Boards having more women are less likely to make risky decisions and more likely to operate in more ethical ways. They are able to access a wider range of perspectives, experiences, characteristics, and skills in deliberations and to use this diversity to increase the quality of their decisions. They are better able to understand the environment and marketplace of their organization as women now are more significant actors here, and female board members have higher attendance rates at board meetings. Organizations having a higher percentage of women on their boards are more productive, more successful, and have a more favorable corporate image (Carter, D'Souza, Simkins, & Simpson, 2010; Isidro & Sobral, 2014; Joy, Carter, Wagner, & Narayanan, 2007).

WORKPLACE BARRIERS WOMEN FACE

It is important to acknowledge, however, the challenges and barriers that women in the workplace continue to face (Barreto, Ryan, & Schmitt, 2009). The playing field for most women is not level. Catalyst (1998) has listed the following barriers that women face, most still present in 2017:

- Negative views about women, their abilities, and their career commitments. Catalyst (2000, 2007a) in international surveys, reported gender stereotypes about women's roles were the top barrier.
- Beliefs that women do not fit male-created organizational cultures – Think manager, think male (Schein & Davidson, 1993).
- Women will not relocate for advancement.
- Few advancement opportunities for women having management potential.
- Absence of career planning and lack of information on job experiences necessary to meet the future needs of one's organization.
- Managers not accountable for developing their women staff.
- Little or no succession planning.
- Discrimination and sexual harassment.
- Cultures valuing long work hours instead of achievement, low levels of work family support and flexibility.
- The old boys' network, and difficulties in obtaining informal and formal mentoring and sponsorship.
- Unequal pay. Wells (2015), in the world's largest dataset on male and female salaries, reported that male supervisors/managers received 23 percent higher pay than women and the difference in favor of men grew to 33 percent at more senior executive levels.
- Few women are given jobs with bottom-line responsibilities with more women remaining in staff positions, with women doing "women's work." Performing in line roles with bottom-line financial accountability is more strongly associated with advancing to more senior organizational levels. Wittenberg-Cox (2017a) uses the term "pinkwashing" to refer to firms promoting one or two women into their top teams in staff jobs (human resources, legal).
- Top organizational levels not strongly committed to advancing women.
- Different treatment. Women get significantly less feedback than men. Senior men are less willing to give negative feedback to women. In addition there often are weak or limited performance evaluation data and criteria as well.
- Damned if you do and damned if you don't. When men exhibit masculine behaviors such as competitiveness, assertiveness, and aggressiveness, they fit the cultural expectations of men and these behaviors are seen as appropriate. When women exhibit these behaviors they experience a double bind. When they exhibit these behaviors they are seen as aggressive; when they exhibit feminine behaviors they are seen as weak (Catalyst, 2007a).

AN AMBITION GAP OR DIFFERENT EXPECTATIONS?

Gino, Wilmuth, and Brooks (2015), in a series of studies, found that women and men viewed professional advancement differently, influencing their decisions of climbing or not climbing the corporate ladder. In two studies, women and men were asked to list their core goals in life; women listed more goals but a smaller proportion involving achieving power at work. In two further studies, women were again compared with men: both viewed attaining higher level positions as equally attainable but women saw these positions as less desirable. In three additional studies, women and men rated the prospect of a promotion to a higher power job as offering similar positive outcomes (e.g., money, prestige) but women saw more negative outcomes (e.g., conflict, trade-offs) than did men. In two final studies, women and men both saw power as one of the main outcomes of advancement.

Some women do not want to advance to executive leadership roles while some women also lack the skills to advance to these levels. But women also face numerous challenges not faced by men. Women then are less interested than men in more senior roles. There is more stress in these jobs in some women's view. Is this a potential ambition gap or a matter of different views of the costs and benefits of advancement?

In addition, research has shown that men prefer women to be less career oriented than they themselves are and women see this as affecting their future marriage possibilities (Bursztyn, Fujiwara, & Pallais, 2017). Professional women then face a choice that may have consequences for them in the future marriage market. Using data from men and women MBA students at a highly rated US business school, female students indicated lower desired salaries and less willingness to work long hours and travel as part of their jobs when this information was made public to both sexes.

UNDERSTANDING THE PAY GAP BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN

When college educated women and men begin their careers, the pay gap is small. The pay gap increases when women marry, and when married women have children. Why does this happen? When women marry they end up performing the lion's share of home responsibilities, are less likely to want to move to advance their careers, and are less likely to want to work the 90 hour weeks that are often required. When children arrive, women face these same choices with the same results (Miller, 2017). Organizations need to reduce the need for 90 hour work weeks, offer longer maternity leave, and still consider women for advancement.

Are Women Too Nice?

It has been reported that women more than men are willing to undertake, that is volunteer for, tasks that have little value in terms of career advancement (Babcock, Recalde, Vesterlund, & Weingart, 2017).

Developmental Job Experiences

Ohlott, Ruderman, and McCauley (1994) had 106 managerial women and 146 managerial men complete the Job Challenge Profile. Women scored higher than men on six scales: lack of top management support, lack of strategic direction, conflict with supervisor, downsizing/reorganization, achieving goals through personal influence, and establishing personal credibility. Men scored higher than women on only one scale-supportive supervisor. Women scored higher than men on five of seven complicating factors: for example, not being part of the old boys' network. Female managers reported less support and greater demands. Interestingly women seemed to be learning more from their experiences than men reported.

Motherhood

Motherhood still limits career progression, even in occupations dominated by women (Crosby, Williams, & Biernat, 2004; Williams, 2005). McIntosh, McQuaid, Munro, and Dabir-Alai (2012), in a sample of 46 565 registered nurses in Scotland, found motherhood had a negative effect on women's career progression. This effect was influenced by the ages of dependent children, career breaks, and working hours. Younger children had more negative effects as did taking longer career breaks and working part-time.

The Glass Cliff

Haslam and Ryan (2008) and Ryan and Haslam (2005, 2007) observed that women, more than men, were more likely to be appointed or promoted to leadership positions having higher risk of failure and criticism because these organizations were in crisis.

Differential Effects of Media Coverage of Newly Appointed Women and Men CEOs

Smith and Gaughan (2017), studied the effects of amount of media coverage of new female and male CEO appointments (over 8000) between 2000 and 2015 – only 94 of them women – and stock market reactions immediately after the announcement. When a female was appointed and received lots of media attention stock prices tended to drop while they moved up following a male appointment. Interestingly women received more press coverage – 3.6 times as much as their male counterparts. While not attributing this result to direct prejudice, it could reflect the way people believe others will respond (negatively). Fortunately the drop in stock prices for those women CEOs just appointed only existed for a few weeks. But it still may indicate a bias against women.

Managerial Women and Men See the Barriers Women Face Differently

Male CEOs believed the lack of women at senior levels was the result of their lack of general management experience and a shortage of women in the pipeline (Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998). Women saw the lack of women at senior levels as the result of stereotypes, the old boys' network, and the masculine workplace culture.

Women's Careers Are More Complex

Women, compared to men, have more complex career patterns and career histories. Several metaphors have been offered to explain the position of women in management: glass ceilings, sticky floors, glass cliffs, leaky pipelines, concrete ceilings, and labyrinths. Carli and Eagly (2016) examined the three most common – glass ceilings, sticky floors, and labyrinths – considering the strengths and weaknesses of each. They found the labyrinth metaphor, which they were the first to label, most useful since unlike the glass ceiling and sticky floor metaphors, some women reach the top levels of the organizational labyrinth. The labyrinth metaphor notes that advancement is hard but possible. It is optimistic in that women can succeed and realistic in the uncertainty of success. Some women are able to succeed, while others fall short. A labyrinth involves numerous paths, some of which lead to career advancement while other paths are dead ends. The labyrinth metaphor is subtle and complex. The labyrinth also applies to men as men create the labyrinth and do well in navigating its complexities.

MBA and Management Development Programs

The MBA program and degree is important for career success in organizations for both men and women though women can encounter particular challenges in these programs (Kelan, 2014; Kelan & Dunckley Jones, 2010). Women MBA students typically represent about a third of the student body. It is not surprising that gender issues and gender inequalities exist in business schools as business schools were created by men for men. As a result business schools resemble the business world. But gender issues are rarely talked about in business schools and both men and women agree that gender issues do not exist in business schools. Most of the case studies they use have male actors. Business schools have a masculine culture and a "frat boy" mentality. Indeed, most of the faculty are men as are most members of the Dean's Advisory Council. Individualism and competition are evident in classrooms; in group sessions women are more likely than men to be note takers.

ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES TO GENDER EQUALITY

Wittenberg-Cox (2017b) argues it is possible to get both more men and women involved in advancing women's careers by using a new vocabulary. She suggests the following schema:

Going from	*Going to*
Diversity as an HR issue	Gender balance
A problem	A core business issue
A women in leadership focus	An opportunity
A moral imperative	A strategic necessity
A need to comply	A business and competitive necessity
Being led by outsiders	Being led by in-house leaders
Aimed at men	Led at men
To make organizations feel good	Aimed at measurable results

Initiatives to Advance Women

Wittenberg-Cox (2017c) describes three kinds of organizations on gender equality issues:

1. *Progressives* – organizations that are actually gender-balanced, women work in non-stereotypical positions in their teams, and women hold both line and staff roles.
2. *Pretenders* – say the right things, offer women's initiatives, but most women remain in staff roles.
3. *Plodders* – organizations that ignore gender balance completely and maintain an all-male culture.

The good news is that several efforts have been made to not only identify these challenges and barriers but also to address them. There has been a steady increase in research and writing on women's careers (Bilimoria & Lord, 2014; Kumra, Simpson, & Burke, 2014; Madsen, 2017; Vinnicombe, Burke, Blake-Beard, & Moore, 2013) and women on corporate boards of directors (Devnew, Janzen LeBer, Torchia, & Burke, 2018); more organizations have begun to make changes to better support their professional and managerial women; and more men have become allies of their women colleagues (Burke & Major, 2014) with the men also benefiting from these organizational changes targeted at their women colleagues.

The bad news is that too many organizations that claim they want to support women's advancement continue to fall short. Research by McKinsey (Barton, 2017) has shown repeatedly that employees in these organizations question the programs and policies that are being implemented, fail to see the commitment needed for success (not by senior levels, or elsewhere), display an unwillingness to tackle bias and discrimination directly, and front line supervisors too often merely go through the motions. McKinsey research (Devillard, de Zelicourt, Kossoff, & Sancier-Sultan, 2017) involving 233 companies and 2200 employees from nine European countries showed that only 7 percent had gender diversity among their top three priorities, 88 percent said that their organizations were not doing what is needed to improve diversity, 62 percent said they did not know what they could do to advance gender equality, and only 40 percent thought their programs were being well implemented.

Efforts to support the advancement of qualified women require significant changes to organizational cultures. Increasing the proportion of women in senior management and on corporate boards of directors is difficult. The barriers are deeply embedded in workplaces and in the wider society. There are fortunately a range of initiatives having the goal of advancing women into management and increasing the representation of women serving on corporate boards of directors. These can involve men acting alone as husbands, fathers, and colleagues of women, organizational leaders, professional women's networking and advocacy organizations, changes to government legislation, and research, consulting, and advocacy organizations (e.g., Catalyst, McKinsey, 20-First). Wittenberg-Cox (2013) distinguishes between "fixing the women" and "fixing the culture." She argues that if success is to be achieved, it is important to move attention and resources from the former to the latter.

STRATEGIES FOR DEVELOPING WOMEN

Catalyst (1998), based on their work with organizations committed to advancing qualified women, identified best practices in these efforts. Successful change initiatives had the following characteristics:

- Motivation and objectives were linked to business strategies and profitability.
- Support existed at the highest organizational levels.
- There was communication stating how these best practices were linked to business needs.
- There were accountability and data collection to sense problems and progress.

McKeen and Burke (1991), in a study of 792 managerial and professional women business school graduates using three different versions of their survey, reported that among women participating in fourteen different education, training, and development activities (according to number experienced, and assessment of their usefulness) the women participating in more activities and those reporting their greater usefulness, were more job and career satisfied and had more optimistic future career prospects. They also examined relationships among five work experiences and self-reported career success and career prospects in a second survey version. Four of these work experiences represented types of workplace support: support and encouragement by one's organization, training and development opportunities, feeling accepted, and low levels of stress from overload and ambiguity from being a women. Managerial women indicating more positive work experiences also reported more job and career satisfaction, job involvement, and career optimism.

Holton and Dent (2016), based on research on careers of women managers, offer suggestions on how women and organizations can create more supportive career environments for women. Women are encouraged to develop self-awareness, have a career plan, understand the role of others, engage in networks, and make and take advantage of opportunities. Organizations need to have full CEO and senior management commitment to developing and advancing women; changing the culture and attitudes toward an equal working environment; examining the gender mix at various levels, in training and leadership development offerings, and as applicants for management and leadership positions; and ensuring development mentoring, coaching, and sponsorship experiences are available to women, and to manage female talent.

Yee (2014) offers five questions to organizations considering how to change their organizational culture to make it more supportive of women's advancement:

1. Where are women now in your current talent pipelines? This helps identify barriers.
2. Are we offering opportunities so that women can develop important skills such as confidence, resilience, and grit?
3. Are there sponsors and networks for women?
4. Are we addressing unconscious biases and stereotypes?
5. Are our current policies helping to advance qualified women?

The following elements typically exist in women's initiatives.

- leadership development programs, identification and development of high potential women, women given line experience, opportunities to work in cross-functional teams;
- training programs;
- mentoring programs;
- women's networks;
- work–life balance, work flexibility initiatives;
- accountability and ownership;
- measurement of progress and results.

The following initiatives emerge as essential elements in a successful advancement effort:

1. Set targets based on solid data. Targets lay out the organization's vision, setting up clear communications, both inside the organization and outside the organization, as to where the organization is headed. The creation of targets highlights clear goals and a disciplined approach. Articulating targets is part of a clear action plan, with timelines, and measurements to gauge progress. Targets should be set at different levels addressing different outcomes (e.g., more women in training programs, more women in line positions, more women promoted).
2. Create human resource management policies that attract, select, and retain talented women. These might involve pay equity, health and benefit policies, family and paternity leave opportunities.
3. Recognize differences in what women and men need to succeed. What can organizations do to support women's progress? Train senior managers to be less hierarchical and better in developing their work teams.
4. Create a culture that recognizes, appreciates, and values the difference that women bring. Use gender differences to organizational advantage.

Mentor Relationships

Mentors can be important to the career success of women, but women can have difficulty finding mentors and there are potential issues that need to be addressed in cross-gender mentoring (Ragins & Kram, 2007). Organizations can increase informal mentoring by having women interact with potential mentors, offer training to mentors and protégés, and by formally pairing mentors and protégés.

Mentors versus Sponsors

Though women and men today may be equally likely to be mentored, more men than women tend to be promoted (Ibarra et al., 2010). Both men and women had more male than female mentors; men had mentors at higher organizational levels. In addition, having a mentor through a formal mentoring program was associated with receiving more promotions.

Let us now consider the difference between mentors and sponsors. Mentors can be at any organizational level, can serve as role models, help their protégés learn how to deal with organizational politics and prevent career limiting actions, build their protégés' sense of confidence and competence, focus on their protégés' personal and professional development, and provide advice, emotional support, and feedback on how they might improve. Sponsors are senior managers with high levels of influence, give their protégés exposure to other executives who can help their careers, ensure protégés are being considered for advancement opportunities and visible challenging assignments, protect their protégés from negative publicity or unhelpful contacts with senior executives, and work to get their protégés promoted (Hewlett, 2013, 2014).

Both mentors and sponsors need to be trained in the complex interplay of gender and leadership. Sponsors in particular may be lacking these skills. Sponsors, more than mentors, need to be held accountable for the development and promotion of their staff.

Women's Leadership Development Programs (WLDPs)

Gender issues exist in mixed-sex leadership development programs. However, both males and females denied that gender differences or gender issues existed (Tanton, 1992), with some women stating that they did not feel comfortable discussing their gendered experiences. Mixed-sex development programs, however, do allow women to integrate into their organizational network. So organizations might consider offering both mixed-sex and WLDPs (Vinnicombe & Singh, 2003).

Developing Networking Skills

Cullen-Lester, Woehler, and Willburn (2016) describe a three-step framework for developing social capital, networks, and networking skills. The first step involves dealing with the misconceptions about networks and networking. Some individuals resist undertaking goal-oriented networking despite the demonstrated benefits of networking (e.g., they regard them as too self-serving). The next step examines effective networks and networking structures. They include three aspects of network effectiveness: openness, diversity, and depth. The final step involves changing one's network and improving its effectiveness. Key concepts involve one's goals, resources, ways of changing one's network (e.g., new connections, strengthening a relationship, identifying networking strategies).

Peer Relationships

Peer relationships can offer similar functions to mentors. Kram and Isabella (1985) identified three types of helpful peer relationships: information peers, collegial peers, and special peers.

Executive Coaching

Executive coaches can be helpful as role models and help women develop a professional identity (Skinner, 2014).

Developmental Work Experiences

Morrison (1992) and Morrison, White, and Van Velsor (1992) suggested that career development can result from challenging work assignments, interacting with others working in different functions, receiving support and encouragement, feeling accepted by one's organization, perceptions of fairness, and being rewarded and recognized.

Succession Planning

Qualified women must be identified as potential candidates for advancement. The Human Resources function then develops an inventory of necessary competences and credentials, a talent pool containing several women candidates, necessary developmental experiences, career planning initiatives used to create candidate profiles, and evaluation of candidates.

Dealing with the Maternal Wall

Motherhood is a barrier to career advancement. It is possible to reduce biases against pregnant women however. Women should discuss their current and future status and plans for maternity leave with their supervisors. Filsinger (2012) suggests maternity coaching to improve women's reengagement with career development after maternity leave; some firms have created "maternity coaches." Maternity coaches influence new mothers helping them *emotionally* upon returning to work, increasing their confidence, providing a role model; *practically*, preparing women for their return to work, through appropriate work assignments; and *long term*, helping them begin thinking about longer-term career development. A key element in successful return to work transitions was communication between all parties.

Finding Previously Overlooked Women Leaders

In most organizations there is talent that is unnoticed. Some individuals, mostly women, are hesitant to put themselves forward; others are overlooked because of gender or other biases. In addition, organization size, not being in key organizational units, and overt and covert biases, keep some potential leaders hidden. These organizations need to more actively search for hidden leaders. This would involve looking for promising leaders not yet on their radar, examining women who have taken part in organization training efforts, and considering their work histories.

Dealing with Bias and Discrimination

Bias can be deliberate and conscious or unconscious. To reduce their effects, organizations need to identify areas of potential bias, develop ways of measuring the success of interventions (what needs to have changed), and undertake efforts to minimize these negative effects. Some examples would include not requiring women and men to nominate themselves for development activities, new job assignments, or international assignments, not having women automatically become note takers in group meetings, not having women automatically be responsible for organizing social or celebratory events, and reducing the need women feel to always be a leading performer.

Flexible Work Arrangements

Spinks and Tombari (2002) showed how the use of flexible work arrangements at the Royal Bank Financial Group in Canada supported women's career advancement.

Reduced Workload Arrangements

Women sometimes benefit from a period of reduced workload arrangements (e.g., working four days a week instead of five). Lee, Engler, and Wright (2002) collected data from 39 female lawyers, 39 female physicians, and 39 female accountants who had worked in reduced load arrangements at some point in their careers. Reduced load involved working fewer hours and getting paid less than a person working a regular full workload. Most took reduced workload early in their careers, typically after the birth of their first child, such arrangements being formally acknowledged in half the cases. Some did not expect to ever return to work full-time. Almost all were satisfied with how their informal reduced workload arrangements worked out. But both benefits and costs were noted, with benefits strongly outweighing the costs. Benefits included the ability to combine their careers with being involved in family lives, time to play with their children, time for themselves, less stress, with time to "decompress." Costs included trying to keep their workload reduced, financial loss, negative effects of their reduced workload on how others saw them, and less professional development. Widespread family benefits were however reported. Benefits to their organization's clients and patients were associated with greater productivity and efficiency, and increased staff retention. Client and patient effort and commitment were not seen to suffer.

Corporate Women's Groups

Corporate women's groups can influence some workplace changes in supporting women's careers. In addition, they offer women opportunities to develop peer and mentor relationships and support.

Championing Gender Equality in Organizations

DeVries (2015) writes that both male and female executives can be champions of gender equality, bringing about organizational changes. Champions serve as role models, males to men, females to women. Her research was carried out in two Australian sectors, a university setting and a police force. She interviewed two males and two females – a male and a female from each setting, all holding advocacy or change leadership roles on gender in their respective workplaces. Male champions are important as their gender and position overlap. Male champions believed that championing here was likely better done by men than women. Women might be accused of self-interest. But this reinforced the gendered nature of organizations. Women have more difficulty in their championing roles. Women champions were more closely observed than were male champions. Thus championing initiatives to advance women is a gendered role increasing one's own self-promotion, and affecting the way others view male and female champions and what they can expect of them, suggesting that males are more likely to be effective champions on gender issues than are female champions.

Men as Vital Allies

Given the biases that women face on their career journeys, various efforts must be made by several actors (Burke & Major, 2014). Men need to appreciate the benefits of gender-balanced organizations in improving performance, support the training and development of women, help build networks of organizations and associations in best practices in bringing about cultural change, and encourage, support, and demonstrate the benefits of increasing workplace equality. Men may also derive benefits from these efforts. These benefits might show up in lower levels of work–family conflict, lower levels of stress and strain, and greater feelings of contribution and support of others.

Having Men Lead Cultural Change

Having men lead cultural change to support women is eminently sensible according to Wittenberg-Cox (2017c). Men still lead most organizations. Having these men lead change efforts and responsibility for their success has merit. Men are more likely to agree with other men's views than with women's. But men's commitment has to be genuine, deep, and tied in with organizational change strategies and organizational goals.

Men can be very helpful in women's career advancement (Prime & Moss-Racusin, 2009). Prime, Otterman, and Salib (2014) show how Rockwell Automotive engaged male employees in initiatives to reduce the gender gap. Rockwell Automotive, a US-based global engineering firm started by examining the number of women in its North American sales division, a historically male-dominated operation, and why more women were not working in it. They began with training programs for men to address three barriers to supporting women's advancement: apathy, fear, and lack of awareness. These sessions brought about positive changes. Then more men were offered this training. This led to the formation of formal and informal groups at all levels and that brought about even more change.

Wittenberg-Cox (2016) offers a number of things CEOs could do to put gender balance on the agenda of their organizations. These include:

- Understanding why gender balance is a competitive advantage and necessary.
- Knowing how balanced or unbalanced their organizations are.
- Distinguishing real gender differences from stereotypes and biases.
- Setting the tone through words and actions.
- Talking with lots of their employees.
- Tying this effort to business strategies and goals.
- Making the change effort "strategic."
- Making the change effort personal.
- Making women's advancement, and diversity more broadly, a top three company priority.
- Having clear follow-up mechanisms to evaluate progress on an ongoing basis, and evaluating progress gains at various organizational levels.

- Recognizing the need to be persistent; it takes considerable time to see real ongoing results.
- Having strong CEO commitment, extending down to all levels.

Increasing the proportion of women in senior management and on corporate boards of directors is difficult. The barriers are deeply embedded in workplaces and in the wider society. Therefore:

- There is a need to deal with gender bias and discrimination.
- Organizations need to undertake initiatives to make their culture more supportive of the career advancement of qualified women (increasing support, reducing barriers, creating policies and practices that achieve these goals).
- Women should take part in training and development initiatives, cultivate mentors and sponsors, and obtain a variety of work experiences including line jobs.
- Men need to build cultures with supportive men.

MORE WOMEN ON CORPORATE BOARDS

Both Arguden (2012) and Groysberg and Bell (2013) make the case why appointing more women to corporate boards of directors will add value. Valuable board members have integrity, trustworthiness, sound financial understanding, are competent, are good at networking, and have demonstrated clear career paths. Women can do several things to become "board ready." This includes identifying the skills that they can offer to a board, an active networking – it has been estimated that 80–85 percent of board appointments were filled via networking, finding mentors and sponsors, and working with a recruiting agency.

The skills required of board members continue to increase. This is partly the result of advances in technology, new ways of financing, new models of organization, more regulations and higher levels of risk, and increased cynicism about the roles of corporate board members, with board members increasingly seen as feathering their own nests and that of their organizations at the expense of the wider community (Coulsen-Thomas, 2017).

Increasing Women's Participation on Corporate Boards of Directors

Three approaches to increasing the numbers of women on corporate boards of directors have been observed.

1. *Coercive* – government legislation mandating quotas (e.g., Norway, Sweden, Spain, among others).
2. *Liberal* – more women will be appointed since it is the right thing to do (United States, Canada). The Conference Board of Canada (2012) stated that having more women board members was the "right" thing to do and the "bright" thing to do.
3. *Collaborative* – government legislates a required goal (target) for women's representation on corporate boards and organizations then indicate how this will be achieved in a given time frame (United Kingdom).

It is too soon to assess the value, strengths, and limitations of each of these approaches. Coercive approaches do increase the proportion of women on boards immediately. The other two approaches are successful only if organizations get on board.

It has been a challenge to increase women's representation on corporate boards of directors. More female directors than male directors believe board diversity improves organizational functioning and performance. Not surprisingly, a significant proportion of male directors believe that women's representation on boards should be 20 percent or less. More male directors than female directors believe there is a lack of qualified women in the pipeline. Men sit on more corporate boards than do women, on average one board more, but women are willing to serve on additional boards. So qualified women are available.

There are now an increasing number of programs being offered to support individuals interested in obtaining board appointments. Applicants are screened and must be highly qualified. These training programs offer information, knowledge, and skills training. Finally graduates in all programs get publicized and in some of these programs have access to a coach or mentor to help them in their board search.

Gero and Garrity (2018) reported that organizations having women CEOs, women serving as board chairpersons, and women heading up the Nominating Committee, had a higher representation of women on their corporate boards. They also note that since the pool of qualified women is small, organizations need to expand the desired criteria for appointment. In addition, organizations need to use personal networks and search firms, and spend time "cultivating" potential women candidates, sometimes over a few years.

Strength and Benefits of Numbers

Konrad, Kramer, and Erkut (2008), in interviews with 32 women directors, 12 CEOs, and 7 corporate secretaries from Fortune 1000 companies, and in focus groups with 13 women directors, concluded that the number of women on a corporate board influenced women's experiences of their board service and how others on the board perceived them. Women on boards having more women were better able to exercise leadership. Having more women provided a critical mass; women were no longer viewed as outsiders, and were better able to influence topics of board discussions and discussion processes.

Profiling Qualified Women

The University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management has created an executive development program targeted at women and men interested in serving on corporate and /or voluntary sector organization boards of directors. The course is offered in various Canadian locations and on a yearly basis. When the program is completed a brief profile of all graduates with pictures appears in a major business press outlet. The graduates typically include about one-third women. In addition, another news outlet publishes annually a list of Canada's top 100 female executives in a range of sectors. These two initiatives bring qualified women to the attention of any organization interested in appointing qualified women to their boards.

Other media outlets have developed profiles of successful women, including the *Wall*

Street Journal – their "women to watch" segments; Fortune's "50 most powerful women"; and Forbes' "The most powerful women in business."

Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau made headlines upon becoming Canada's leader by appointing women to half his cabinet. When asked why, he stated "Because it is 2015." Interestingly when he visited President Trump in Washington on Monday, February 13, he and Trump, with the participation of Trump's daughter Ivanka, held a meeting in the White House with a group of successful Canadian and American CEOs and entrepreneurs. Canada and the United States also agreed to undertake a joint initiative to continue encouraging and supporting professional, managerial, and entrepreneurial women.

It is important to make sure there are several qualified women on the shortlist for any hire, appointment, or promotion. It has been claimed that if there is only one woman in the candidate pool, there is no chance she will be selected (Johnson, Hekman, & Chan, 2016).

The Important Role of Executive Search Firms

With more pressure being placed on, and hopefully felt, by organizations to advance qualified women to executive-level positions and to corporate boards of directors, executive search firms are playing a larger role. These firms are hired by organizations to identify potential women candidates and as a result have developed rosters of such women. In addition, as more women, through their profiles, visibility, and persistence come to the attention of these firms, they can facilitate appointments (Doldor, Vinnicombe, Gaughan, & Sealy, 2012; Hamori, 2010).

Country Legislation

Most countries have passed legislation requiring equality of women and men in terms of bias discrimination and harassment. It is not clear, however, that these legislative acts are always being closely monitored. The majority of developed countries do take such legislation seriously.

Some countries have extended such legislation to include equal pay for equal work and to include a specific percentage of corporate board members being women, and the number of countries undertaking the latter has increased (e.g., Norway, Germany, Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands). Other countries (e.g., Canada, United States, United Kingdom) have resisted such legislation but still want organizations to increase women's representation on corporate boards of directors. In these countries, organizations must indicate to the appropriate government body the current percentage of women serving on their corporate boards, what they plan to do to increase this number, and then monitor progress. This approach is unlikely to make significant improvement in these numbers. Some Canadian organizations have publicly stated that government has no role here.

We clearly need more information on how quotas are imposed and the effects of such legislation (Wiersema & Mors, 2016). There are pros and cons in imposing quotas. Negative effects could include the process being seen as unfair, women getting appointed might feel stigmatized, the quota target may become a ceiling, and the legislation does not address widespread organizational discrimination. Positive effects could include the acceptance of quotas, the availability of qualified women, little actual stigma being experienced, and better corporate board decision making. Until we know more about the effects of legislating quotas, Choudry (2015) suggests that both equality and economics be considered as rationales for increasing women's participation on corporate boards; equality refers to increasing gender balance on corporate boards and economics refers to better board decision making with increased women's representation on corporate boards.

Wiersema and Mors (2016) interviewed male and female board members in the United States and Europe about their views on quotas, following the imposition of gender quotas of 40 percent in Norway in 2004. It would be charitable to say that views were mixed; a large number of current directors voiced negative opinions. Interestingly, more negative views on quotas were expressed by individuals from countries having no quotas. Germany required 30 percent of board members to be female as of January 1, 2016, but many firms have fallen short, likely the result of the fact there were no costs of not complying. Norwegian legislation had a financial penalty for non-compliance.

Men in countries with gender quotas are more supportive of such initiatives than men in countries without gender quotas. Women in countries with gender quotas are more supportive of the use of quotas, believing that having more women on boards makes them more effective; fewer women in countries without quotas were as positive.

The Ontario government (Schecter, 2016) has set a target of 40 percent women on the boards of government agencies and Crown Corporations, with companies listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange having at least one female director by 2017 and 30 percent women within three to five years. Most mining, oil, and technology firms had no women on their boards in 2016.

Women's Advocacy Research and Consulting Organizations

Four large-scale women's advocacy research and consulting groups, three in the United States and one in the United Kingdom, have championed women's advancement with considerable success. All three undertake research with the publication of their findings to an international audience, collaborate with organizations to undertake culture change initiatives, and participate in international conferences devoted to women's advancement.

Catalyst, based in New York, but having offices in other countries as well (e.g., Canada) has been active in this area for over twenty years, conducting surveys of women and men on corporate boards of directors, the experiences of women and men in their early and mid-career years, and evaluating characteristics of successful culture change efforts (Catalyst 2007b, 2016). Their work has more specifically considered barriers to women's career advancement, benefits of having women at higher organizational and board levels, and ways in which can women become allies to their women colleagues and family members.

McKinsey, a US-based international consulting firm, having offices in a large number of countries, came to the women in management field slightly later than Catalyst, but has been very active over the past five years. McKinsey has undertaken surveys in a number of countries on the numbers of women in management and their experiences, the number of women on corporate boards of directors, again in a range of countries, studies of factors associated with successful culture change, and offers guidance on best practice to increase progress in these areas (McKinsey and Company, 2016).

The campaign group "2020 Women on Boards" has the target of women holding 20 percent of corporate board seats by 2020. They have collected data on women's board participation on Fortune 1000 listings beginning in 2010. They categorize companies on a gender diversity index as follows: Winners: 20 percent or more women; Very close: 11–19 percent women; Token organizations: one woman; and Zero: no women on their boards. In 2016, 50 percent of organizations were Winners, up from 23 percent in 2011; Zero organizations dropped from 18 percent in 2011 to 8 percent in 2016. Interestingly increases in women's representation were achieved by increasing board sizes.

"20-First," a UK-based gender diversity consultancy started by Aviva Wittenberg-Cox, has undertaken studies of the barriers women face and characteristics of successful workplace culture change initiatives. Wittenberg-Cox has produced several books (see References). She and her firm have consulted with organizational clients, created a newsletter including content from her firm as well as international researchers and organizational leaders. 20-First, along with Catalyst and McKinsey, has worked tirelessly to keep gender issues at the forefront of management and leadership effectiveness.

Women Sharing their Lessons Learned with Other Women

There are an increasing number of books written by women to help other women achieve career and life success. These include: Evans (2001), Frankel (2014), Frankel and Frohlinger (2011), Heim, Hughes, and Golant (2015), Kay and Shipman (2014), MacNichol and Sklar (2014), Rezvani (2012), Sandberg (2013), and Williams and Dempsey (2014).

THE FUTURE

There is now greater understanding of why advancing qualified women in organizations and to corporate boards of directors has performance advantages; of the barriers women face in male-dominated workplaces; of where organizations today stand on this issue; and of how organizational cultures can successfully be changed – although this will not be easy. The discussion of these issues in this chapter suggests that increasing efforts will be undertaken to advance interested and able women; and that progress will accelerate in the years to come.

A caveat is needed, however. Most of the research on women in management and women on corporate boards of directors has been carried out in developed countries – Western democracies. We know very little about women's experiences in these areas in less developed countries which are under-researched. An interested reader would find Ahmed's experiences in Saudi Arabia (2008) informative in this regard.[1]

NOTE

1. Preparation of this chapter was supported in part by York University.

REFERENCES

Ahmed, Q. A. (2008). *In the Land of Invisible Women: A Female Doctor's Journey in the Saudi Kingdom*. Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, Inc.

Arguden, Y. (2012). Why boards need more women. *Harvard Business Review*, *90*, 65–73.

Babcock, L., Recalde, M. P., Vesterlund, L., & Weingart, L. (2017). Gender differences in accepting and receiving requests for tasks with low promotability. *American Economic Review*, *107*, 714–747.

Barreto, M., Ryan, M. K., & Schmitt, M. T. (Eds.) (2009). *The Glass Ceiling in the 21st Century: Understanding Barriers to Gender Equality*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Barton, D. (2017). *Time for a New Gender-Equality Playbook*. New York: McKinsey and Company.

Bilimoria, D., & Lord, L. (Eds.) (2014). *Women in STEM Careers: International Perspectives on Increasing Workforce Participation, Advancement, and Leadership*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Burke, R. J. (2017). Women in management worldwide: Progressing slowly. In R. J. Burke & A. M. Richardsen (Eds.), *Women in Management Worldwide: Signs of Progress* (pp. 1–23). London: Routledge.

Burke, R. J., & Major, D. A. (Eds.) (2014). *Gender in Organizations: Are Men Allies or Adversaries to Women's Career Advancement?* Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Burke, R. J., & Richardsen, A. M. (Eds.) (2017). *Women in Management Worldwide: Signs of Progress*. London: Routledge.

Bursztyn, L., Fujiwara, T., & Pallais, A. (2017). "Acting wife": Marriage market incentives and labor market investments. *American Economic Review*, *107*, 3288–3319.

Carli, L. L., & Eagly, A. H. (2016). Women face a labyrinth: An examination of metaphors for women leaders. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *31*, 514–527.

Carter, D. A., D'Souza, F., Simkins, B. J., & Simpson, W. G. (2010). The gender and ethnic diversity of US boards and board committees and firm financial performance. *Corporate Governance: An International Review*, *18*, 396–414.

Carter, N. M., & Silva, C. (2010). *Mentoring: Necessary but Insufficient for Advancement*. New York: Catalyst.

Catalyst (1998). *Advancing Women in Business*. New York: Catalyst.

Catalyst (2000). *Census of Women Corporate Officers and Top Earners*. New York: Catalyst.

Catalyst (2007a). *The Double-Bind Dilemma for Women in Leadership: Damned If You Do, Doomed If You Don't*. New York: Catalyst.

Catalyst (2007b). *Expanding Opportunities for Women and Business: Women in Management Global Comparison*. New York: Catalyst.

Catalyst (2016). *Gender Diversity on Boards in Canada: Recommendations for Accelerating Progress*. Toronto: Catalyst.

Choudry, B. (2015). Gender diversity on boards: Beyond quotas. *European Business Law Review*, *26*, 229–243.

Conference Board of Canada (2012). *Women on Boards – Not Only the "Right" Thing . . . but the "Bright" Thing*. Ottawa: Conference Board of Canada.

Coulsen-Thomas, C. (2017). Corporate leadership for an uncertain and cynical time. *Effective Executive*, March, 15–32.

Crosby, F. J., Williams, J. C., & Biernat, M. (2004). The maternal wall. *Journal of Social Issues*, *69*, 675–682.

Cullen-Lester, K. L., Woehler, M. L., & Willburn, P. (2016). Network-based leadership development: A guiding framework and resources for management educators. *Journal of Management Education*, *40*, 321–358.

Devillard, S., de Zelicourt, A., Kossoff, C., & Sancier-Sultan, S. (2017). *Reinventing the Workplace for Greater Gender Diversity*. New York: McKinsey and Company.

Devnew, L. E., Janzen LeBer, M., Torchia, M., & Burke, R. J. (Eds.) (2018). *More Women on Boards of Directors: An International Perspective*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Press.

DeVries, J. A. (2015). Champions of gender equality: Female and male executives as leaders of gender change. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *34*, 21–36.

Doldor, E., Vinnicombe, S., Gaughan, M., & Sealy, R. (2012). *Gender Diversity on Boards: The Appointment Process and the Role of Executive Search Firms*. Equality and Human Rights Commission Research Report 85. London: Equality and Human Rights Commission.

Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2004). Women and men as leaders. In J. Antonakis, A. T. Cianciolo, & R. J. Sternberg (Eds.), *The Nature of Leadership* (pp. 279–301). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Eagly, A. H., Johannesen Schmidt, A. C., & van Engen, M. (2003). Transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership styles: A meta-analysis comparing women and men. *Psychological Bulletin*, *129*, 569–591.

Evans, G. (2001). *Play Like a Man, Win Like a Woman: What Men Know about Success that Women Need to Know*. New York: Crown Business.

Filsinger, C. (2012). How can maternity coaching influence women's re-engagement with their career development? *International Journal of Coaching and Mentoring*, *14*, 46–56.

Frankel, L. P. (2014). *Nice Girls Don't Get the Corner Office: Unconscious Mistakes Women Make that Sabotage their Careers*. New York: Business Plus.

Frankel, L. P., & Frohlinger, C. (2011). *Nice Girls Just Don't Get It: 99 Ways to Win the Respect You Deserve, the Success You've Earned and the Life You Want*. New York: Harmony.

Gero, M., & Garrity, E. (2018). When women lead: Cultivating diversity from the top. In L. Devnew, M. Janzen LeBer, M. Torchia, & R. J. Burke (Eds.), *More Women on Boards of Directors: An International Perspective* (pp. 225–240). Charlotte, NC: Information Age.

Gino, F., Wilmuth, C. A., & Brooks, A. W. (2015). Compared to men, women view professional advancement as equally attainable, but less desirable. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *112*, 12354–12359.

Groysberg, B., & Bell, D. (2013). Dysfunction in the boardroom. *Harvard Business Review*, *91*, 88–97.

Hamori, M. (2010). Who gets headhunted – and who gets ahead? *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *24*, 46–59.

Haslam, S. A., & Ryan, M. K. (2008). The road to the glass cliff: Differences in the perceived suitability of men and women for leadership positions in succeeding and failing organizations. *Leadership Quarterly*, *19*, 530–546.

Heim, P., Hughes, T., & Golant, S. K. (2015). *Hardball for Women: Winning at the Game of Business*. New York: Plume.

Hewlett, S. A. (2013). *Forget a Mentor, Find a Sponsor: The New Way to Fast Track Your Career*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business Press.

Hewlett, S. A. (2014). *Executive Presence: The Missing Link between Merit and Success*. New York: Harper Business.

Holton, V., & Dent, F. E. (2016). A better career environment for women: Developing a blueprint for individuals and organizations. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *31*, 542–561.

Ibarra, H., Carter, N. M., & Silva, C. (2010). Why men still get more promotions than women. *Harvard Business Review*, *88*, 80–85.

Isidro, H., & Sobral, M. (2014). The effects of women on corporate boards on firm value, financial performance, and ethical and social compliance. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *132*, 1–19.

Johnson, S. K., Hekman, D. R., & Chan, E. T. (2016). If there's only one woman in your candidate pool, there's statistically no chance she'll be hired. *Harvard Business Review*, April 26.

Joy, L., Carter, N. N., Wagner, H. M., & Narayanan, S. (2007). *The Bottom Line: Corporate Performance and Women's Representation on Boards*. New York: Catalyst.

Kay, K., & Shipman, C. (2014). *The Confidence Code: The Science and Art of Self-Assurance – What Women Should Know*. New York: HarperCollins.

Kelan, E. (2014). Unspeakable masculinities in business schools. In R. J. Burke & D. A. Major (Eds.), *Gender in Organizations: Are Men Allies or Adversaries to Women's Career Advancement?* (pp. 234–246). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Kelan, E., & Dunckley Jones, R. (2010). Gender and the MBA. *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, *9*, 26–43.

Konrad, A. M., Kramer, V., & Erkut, S. (2008). Critical mass: The impact of three or more women on corporate boards. *Organizational Dynamics*, *37*, 145–164.

Kram, K. E., & Isabella, L. A. (1985). Mentoring alternatives: The role of peer relationships in career development. *Academy of Management Journal*, *28*, 110–132.
Kumra, S., Simpson, R., & Burke, R. J. (Eds.) (2014). *The Oxford Handbook of Gender in Organizations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Lee, M. D., Engler, L., & Wright, L. (2002). Exploring the boundaries in professional careers: Reduced workload arrangements in law, medicine and accounting. In R. J. Burke & D. L. Nelson (Eds.), *Advancing Women's Careers* (pp. 174–205). Oxford: Blackwell.
MacNichol, G., & Sklar, R. (2014). *The 10 Habits of Highly Successful Women*. New York: Amazon Publishing.
Madsen, S. R. (Ed.) (2017). *Handbook of Research on Gender and Leadership*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
McIntosh, B., McQuaid, R., Munro, A., & Dabir-Alai, P. (2012). Motherhood and its impact on career progression. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *27*, 346–364.
McKeen, C. A., & Burke, R. J. (1991). Work experiences and career success of managerial and professional women: Study design and preliminary results. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences*, *8*, 251–258.
McKinsey (2015). *How Advancing Women's Equality Could Add $12 Trillion to Global Growth*. New York: McKinsey Global Institute.
McKinsey and Company (2016). *Women in the Workplace 2016*. New York: McKinsey.
Michaels, E., Handfield-Jones, H., & Axelrod, B. (2001). *The War for Talent*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
Miller, C. C. (2017). Studies show kids, marriage, wreak havoc on pay gap. *Toronto Star*, May 14, A3.
Morrison, A. M. (1992). *The New Leaders: Guidelines on Leadership Diversity in America*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
Morrison, A. M., White, R. P., & Van Velsor, E. (1992). *Breaking the Glass Ceiling*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
Ohlott, P. J., Ruderman, M. N., & McCauley, C. D. (1994). Gender differences in managers' developmental job experiences. *Academy of Management Journal*, *27*, 322–343.
Prime, J., & Moss-Racusin, C. A. (2009). *Engaging Men in Gender Initiatives: What Change Agents Need to Know*. New York: Catalyst.
Prime, J., Otterman, M., & Salib, E. R. (2014). Engaging men through inclusive leadership. In R. J. Burke & D. A. Major (Eds.), *Gender in Organizations: Are Men Allies or Adversaries to Women's Career Advancement?* (pp. 365–384). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Ragins, B. R., & Kram, K. E. (Eds.) (2007). *The Handbook of Mentoring at Work: Theory, Research, and Practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Ragins, B. R., Townsend, B., & Mattis, M. C. (1998). Gender gap in the executive suite: CEOs and female executives report on breaking the glass ceiling. *Academy of Management Executive*, *12*, 28–42.
Rezvani, S. (2012). *Pushback: How Smart Women Ask – and Stand Up – for What They Want*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
Ryan, M. K., & Haslam, S. A. (2005). The glass cliff: Evidence that women are over represented in precarious leadership positions. *British Journal of Management*, *16*, 81–90.
Ryan, M. K., & Haslam, S. A. (2007). The glass cliff: Exploring the dynamics surrounding the appointment of women to precarious leadership positions. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*, 549–572.
Sandberg, S. (2013). *Lean In: Women, Work and the Will to Lead*. New York: Knopf.
Schecter, B. (2016). Ontario sets target for women on boards. *Financial Post*, June 8, FP1–FP2.
Schein, V. E., & Davidson, M. J. (1993). Think manager, think male. *Management Development Review*, *6*, 24–28.
Schuller, T. (2017). *The Paula Principle: How and Why Women Work Below their Level of Competence*. Melbourne: Scribe.
Schwartz, F. N. (1992). *Breaking with Tradition: Women and Work, the New Facts of Life*. New York: Warner.

Shriver, M. (2009). *The Shriver Report: A Women's Nation Changes Everything*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress.

Silverstein, M. J., & Sayre, T. K. (2009a). The female economy. *Harvard Business Review*, *87*, 46–53.

Silverstein, M. J., & Sayre, T. K (2009b). *Women Want More: How to Capture Your Share of the World's Largest Market*. New York: HarperCollins.

Skinner, S. (2014). Understanding the importance of gender and leader identity formation in executive coaching for senior women. *Coaching: An International Journal of Theory, Research and Practice*, *7*, 102–114.

Smith, E. B., & Gaughan, K. (2017). Better in the shadows? Public attention, media coverage and market reactions to female CEO announcements. Manuscript under editorial review.

Spinks, N. L., & Tombari, N. (2002). Flexible work arrangement: A successful strategy for the advancement of women at the Royal Bank Financial Group. In R. J. Burke & D. L. Nelson (Eds.), *Advancing Women's Careers* (pp. 220–242). Oxford: Blackwell.

Tanton, M. (1992). Developing authenticity in management development programmes. *Women in Management Review*, *7*, 20–27.

Tarr-Whelan, A. M. (2009). *Women Lead the Way: Our Guide to Stepping Up to Leadership and Changing the World*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.

Vinnicombe, S., & Singh, V. (2003). Women-only management training: An essential part of women's leadership development. *Journal of Change Management*, *3*, 294–306.

Vinnicombe, S., Burke, R. J., Blake-Beard, S., & Moore, L. L. (Eds.) (2013). *Handbook of Research on Promoting Women's Careers*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Wells, J. (2015). Female executives endure a bigger pay gap. *Toronto Star*, November 11, S8.

Wiersema, M., & Mors, M. L. (2016). What board directors really think of gender quotas. *Harvard Business Review*, November 14.

Williams, J. C. (2005). The glass ceiling and the maternal wall in academia. *New Directions for Higher Education*, *136*, 91–105.

Williams, J. C., & Dempsey, R. (2014). *What Works for Women at Work: Four Patterns Working Women Need to Know*. New York: New York University Press.

Wittenberg-Cox, A. (2013). Stop fixing women and start building managerial competences. In S. Vinnicombe, R. J. Burke, S. Blake-Beard, & L. L. Moore (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Promoting Women's Careers* (pp. 106–116). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Wittenberg-Cox, A. (2016). How CEOs can put gender balance on the agenda at their companies. *Harvard Business Review*, November 30.

Wittenberg-Cox, A. (2017a). Pinkwashing by companies and presidents. *20-First*, February 15.

Wittenberg-Cox, A. (2017b). Is it OK for a bunch of men to lead a "women in the workforce" initiative? *Harvard Business Review*, February 6.

Wittenberg-Cox, A. (2017c). Engaging the other side. *20-First*, March 13.

Wittenberg-Cox, A., & Maitland, A. (2008). *Why Women Mean Business: Understanding the Emergence of Our Next Economic Revolution*. Chichester: John Wiley.

Yee, L. (2014). *Fostering Women Leaders: A Fitness Test for Your Top Team*. New York: McKinsey and Company.

3. Women leaders in times of economic crisis: leadership style, career self-efficacy, and job insecurity

Alexander-Stamatios Antoniou, Nikos Drosos and Mara Kourtoglou

INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades we have witnessed a rise in the numbers of women in the workforce, and subsequently a constantly increasing demand for the same rights and job opportunities as their male counterparts. Nevertheless being in charge of large private companies is still predominantly considered an occupation for men, and women achieving such positions may often be viewed as extraordinary. A recent issue of *TIME* magazine was especially dedicated to women who "are changing the world" (TIME, 2017) recognizing that although the labor market is accessible to women, the highest positions are not. Thus, it is not surprising that the matter of equality between men and women with regard to job opportunities, leadership positions, and pay standards has occupied researchers' minds extensively in the twentieth and twenty-first century.

The Global Gender Gap Index was established in 2006 with the purpose of providing information regarding gender equalities and their progress in time, in classifications such as Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival, and Political Empowerment. The latest report shows that of the 142 countries that participated in the Index (for both 2015 and 2016), 68 countries have increased their gender gap score while 74 have decreased it (World Economic Forum, 2016). Likewise, the 2017 report on equality between men and women in the EU (European Commission, 2017) records that the overall gender gap in earnings stood at almost 40 percent in the EU while in no country was it less than 18 percent. Additionally, only one in four board members of Europe's biggest listed companies is a woman. The difference is wider in the main top positions where only 5.7 percent of these companies have a woman in charge. It should be noted that the European Union is exiting a hard financial crisis, and its labor market has been heavily affected.

The present study was conducted in Greece which constitutes a unique case. The financial crisis has had a very heavy impact on Greece, and for the past eight years Greeks have faced very hard austerity measures. Whilst other EU countries seem to be recovering from the crisis, this is not the case in Greece. The Greek government has already agreed on new austerity measures that will be imposed within the next few years as part of the bailout agreement with the European Commission, the European Central Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. The current study aimed to investigate several aspects related to women leaders' career development in such an unstable environment. More specifically, we examined the relationship between women's Leadership style, Career Self-Efficacy, and Job Insecurity. Before presenting the results, it is necessary to gain a better understanding of the societal and labor market context in Greece, and to clarify the meaning of these constructs.

The Greek Context

The private sector in Greece suffers heavily from harsh taxation. A recent survey conducted by the Small Enterprises' Institute of the Hellenic Confederation of Professionals, Craftsmen and Merchants (IME-GSEVEE, 2017) revealed that 38.1 percent of private enterprises consider it somewhat or highly possible that they will cease to function within the coming months. Additionally, according to the same study, the vast majority of enterprises have experienced deterioration in financing, while only 8.7 percent have had some improvement. Expectations for next semester are extremely low, as only 10.9 percent of the enterprises believe that things are going to get better, and just 4.2 percent plan to proceed to new investments. It is rather interesting that during the crisis many enterprises have chosen to relocate their business to neighboring countries, such as Bulgaria or Cyprus, with much lower taxation (Kapitsinis, 2017).

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2017) employed people in Greece face (in comparison to other OECD countries) a combination of a higher risk of losing their job and lower insurance in case job loss actually occurs. Thus, the Greek workforce is much more likely to encounter unemployment than workforces in other countries, whilst at the same time there is no satisfactory protection system for people who lose their jobs and who might become long-term unemployed. Additionally, the unemployment rate in Greece is by far the highest in the European Union reaching 23.6 percent in 2016 whilst the overall EU rate was 8.5 percent (Eurostat, 2016). The gap between women and men is also the largest in the European Union (27.2 percent versus 18.9 percent). Nevertheless there seems to be a tendency for a decrease in the unemployment rate following its peak of almost 28 percent in 2013. This superficial decrease is more the result of the deterioration of employment quality with a sharp increase in part-time jobs rather than actual improvement of the employment rate. It should be noted that almost 70 percent of unemployed people are long-term unemployed and therefore they are not entitled to unemployment allowance (INE-GSEE, 2017).

Within the aforementioned context, the implementation of the European policy regarding the facilitation of female representation in decision-making positions and the encouragement to obtain jobs at a managerial level (European Social Partners, 2005, 2009) has been stalled. Since 2010, besides equality declarations, Greece opted to pursue the requirements of the bailout agreements and taking gender equality countermeasures was considered cost-intensive and therefore not compatible with the agreement conditionality (Varhalama, Mpoukouvalas, & Papageorgiou, 2015). This resulted in the further deepening of the wage and employment gap between women and men. According to Eurostat (European Commission, 2017) the overall gender gap in earnings in Greece reached 45 percent, which is one of the highest in the EU. Additionally women's participation in decision-making positions, such as board members in the largest publicly listed companies, is extremely low (9.1 percent while the EU medium is 23.9 percent).

Women's Career Development and the Role of Self-Efficacy Beliefs

Prior to 1960 researchers placed little or no emphasis on women's career development. Most career development theories were based on researches conducted on white male individuals, mostly from middle or middle-upper social classes. As women started to enter the labor market in greater numbers, many theories were revised in order to incorporate women into their theoretical statements.

In 1981 Gail Hackett and Nancy Betz published one of the first theories that placed a focus on women. Their theory was based on Bandura's work (1977) regarding self-efficacy and noted its crucial role on women's career development. "Self-efficacy" refers to a person's evaluation regarding his/her skills and capabilities to undertake and execute a plan of actions that will enable him/her to effectively reach a goal (Bandura, 1997). Self-efficacy does not refer to whether people actually possess these skills and abilities but mostly their personal evaluation as to whether and to what degree they possess them. As such, self-efficacy should be viewed as a cognitive appraisal or judgment of future performance capabilities, and not as a trait concept (Betz & Hackett, 2006).

This personal evaluation is very important in the development of the individual's career since if a person considers himself/herself capable of accomplishing a goal then he/she is much more likely to actively engage in pursuing this goal and thus his/her efforts are more likely to be fruitful (Sidiropoulou-Dimakakou, Mylonas, & Argyropoulou, 2015). In addition, people with high self-efficacy beliefs tend to translate adversities as challenges and not as threats, thus they are committed and try to exercise control over the situations that they face. On the other hand, people who doubt their abilities and skills tend to regard adversities as personal threats and formidable barriers and are afraid to proceed to action. Therefore the importance of self-efficacy beliefs is crucial to how a person's career will develop.

Hackett and Betz's original theory (1981) was motivated by the observation that boys and girls had different learning experiences, and this fact was crucial for girls' continued underrepresentation in careers in the sciences, mathematics, and engineering as well as in other traditionally male-dominated career fields. As such, women's traditional gender-role socialization restricted their access to the four sources of efficacy information: performance accomplishments (enactive mastery experiences), vicarious learning (modeling), emotional arousal, and verbal persuasion (encouragement). Thus, these sources play a central role in both understanding the initial development of expectations of efficacy and in designing intervention programs for low or weak self-efficacy expectations. Self-efficacy theory may also partially explain women's underrepresentation in managerial positions.

It should be noted that self-efficacy is not one general entity that someone either possesses or does not possess, but rather beliefs regarding his or her ability to perform a task. Therefore a person may have high self-efficacy beliefs regarding one task and low self-efficacy beliefs regarding another task. Likewise, there is no entity specifically known as "career self-efficacy," but the term should be used as an umbrella term for self-efficacy beliefs with respect to possible career-related domains of behavior (Betz & Hackett, 2006). So, when we use the phrase "self-efficacy in career development" we refer to the opinions that people have about themselves pertaining to their abilities and skills in responding and managing various issues regarding their career (Sidiropoulou-Dimakakou et al., 2015).

Other important issues that influence women's career development are gender-related stereotypes (Betz, 2008). These stereotypes may lead girls to believe that they should prioritize homemaking and childrearing roles and pay little attention to their academic achievements. This could lead to a progressive decrease in their career aspirations (Farmer, 1997; Kerr, 1997) or to the pursuit of occupations that are considered more suited to their gender. As Fitzgerald, Fassinger, and Betz (1995) note, the traditional role of homemaker and mother that is attributed to women influences all aspects of their career development. Their career choices often reflect their will to integrate their career with home and family rather than their career interests and aspirations.

In some cases, women's career development is stalled because they are expected to undertake entirely the major burden of homemaking and childcare. Although undertaking multiple roles has been found to have a positive impact on their mental health, there are upper limits to these benefits (Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Fitzgerald & Harmon, 2001). If a woman is expected to fully correspond to both her job and homemaking and childcare role without any help, this could lead to overload and limit her personal and professional development. The aforementioned highlights the necessity for formal childcare services that would allow mothers to work.

Unfortunately, in Greece it is difficult for parents to get by without help from an extensive network of family and friends or without resorting to private childcare (RAND, 2014). Often retired grandparents will assume the responsibility of looking after children while the mother is at work, providing high quality informal childcare. Public childcare centers are mostly state-funded but parents have to pay a small contribution, depending on their income. Nevertheless, the waiting list is very large and sometimes there are not enough places for all children. Additionally public daycare ends at 4 p.m., so it is very difficult to combine it with work without external help from the social network. It comes as no surprise that the number of children is negatively correlated to the employment rate of women, while for men it is positively correlated (Kritikidis, 2011).

A further concept that has been widely used to describe women's career development is the metaphor of the "glass ceiling." This expression was popularized by the mass media and was also included in official government reports. The metaphor suggests that although women enter the workforce and start to advance, at some point they will hit an invisible barrier that blocks any further upward movement. According to Morrison and her colleagues (Morrison, White, Van Velsor, & the Center for Creative Leadership, 1987) it is a transparent barrier that prevents women from advancing beyond a certain level despite having the necessary qualifications. This barrier might reflect the employers' stereotypical perceptions and discrimination towards women thus blocking their advancement.

Job Insecurity

Job insecurity is a wide term that refers to a person's concerns regarding the continuity of his/her job in the future. According to De Witte (2005) it includes both a cognitive dimension (subjectively perceived possibility of losing the present job in the future) and an affective dimension (fear or worries related to this possibility of job loss). This definition stems from these assumptions: (a) the whole experience of job insecurity is personal in the sense that a person perceives and subjectively interprets the circumstances of their work environment (Sverke, Hellgren, & Näswall, 2002), (b) job insecurity feelings are unintentional for the person – he/she does not encounter them of his/her own free will (De Witte, 2005), and (c) feeling insecure about a future situation in which the person does not have a job is at the heart of the job insecurity experience (De Witte, 1999). Thus, two people facing the same situation might have very different levels of job insecurity, because this will depend on their subjective perception of the situation. Additionally, sufficient social welfare in the case of job loss, together with a low unemployment rate may result in lower levels of job insecurity, as the individual may be less worried regarding future opportunities if they lose their current job.

Job insecurity has been recognized as a very significant factor that causes stress in a person's work life. It has also been positively correlated with diminished physical and mental well-being, and poor performance at work (De Witte, 1999; Sverke et al., 2002) and negatively correlated with self-stated performance (Lee, Bobko, Ashford, Chen, & Ren, 2008) and emotional organizational commitment (Vander Elst, De Cuyper, & De Witte, 2011). The majority of studies report that the experience of job insecurity is more distressing for men than for women (e.g., De Witte, 1999; Ferrie, Shipley, Marmot, Stansffeld, & Smith, 1995; Mauno & Kinnunen, 1999; Rosenblatt, Talmud, & Ruvio, 1999). These findings were attributed to the traditional role of men as breadwinners and women as homemakers, and subsequently to the differential importance of work. Nevertheless, these findings are not always consistent (e.g., Drosos & Antoniou, 2017; Mauno & Kinnunen, 2002). It seems that these inconsistencies can be explained if we take into account the way men and women perceive themselves regarding their gender role. Men and women with traditional views of their role resulted in less distress for women, while men and women with more egalitarian views resulted in no differences between their levels of distress (Gaunt & Benjamin, 2007).

Leadership Style

Leadership style represents the ways in which a leader may offer direction to his/her team, execute plans and tasks, and provide motivation. Bass (1990, p. 27) provides the following definition for leadership style: "the alternative ways that leaders pattern their interactive behavior to fulfill their role as leaders." Early empirical studies have identified democratic and autocratic leadership styles (Lewin & Lippitt, 1938). Leaders that adopt the democratic leadership style are collaborative and they encourage their team to participate in the decision-making process, while those who prefer the autocratic leadership style are more autonomous, not team-oriented, and prefer to take the decisions themselves (Bass, 1990). Another early classification of leadership styles refers to the task-oriented and relationship-oriented styles (Bales, 1950). The focus of a leader who adopts the task-oriented leadership style is the accomplishment of the task in hand while a leader who implements a relationship-oriented leadership style is more concerned with the relationships within the group and the well-being of his/her team (Bass, 1981). Cuadrado and her colleagues (Cuadrado, Navas, Molero, Ferrer, & Morales, 2012) mention that prior to the 1980s the notion of exchange in leadership dominated in the circles of social psychology. Thus the assumption that the offering of rewards by the leader would result in increased performance by his/her subordinate was very popular.

Bass (1985) challenged this notion on the basis that the exchange theory cannot explain the major accomplishments and changes within a group and a team. He went on to form the transformational-transactional theory and later develop and expand the MLQ – Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire – which measures three types of leadership styles: transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire (Bass & Avolio, 1990). The transformational leadership style is characterized by proactive action, provision of inspiration and motivation to the team, and a focus on the accomplishment of great goals. It involves five factors (Antonakis, Avolio, & Sivasubramaniam, 2003): (a) idealized influence (attributed) concerns the charisma of the leader in the sense that his/her team sees him/her as powerful and self-assured and capable of directing the team towards higher ideals and ethics, (b) idealized influence (behavior) again concerns the charisma of the leader but in the sense that he/she acts in a way that focuses on values and a sense of mission, (c) inspirational motivation refers to how the leader motivates the team, by emphasizing goals of importance and by communicating the feasibility of these goals, (d) intellectual stimulation concerns the way the leader motivates and inspires the team towards creativity in problem-solving and analytical thinking, (e) individualized consideration concerns the way the leader promotes the advancement of the members of the team by being supportive and attending to their needs.

The transactional leadership style falls under the category of the "exchange" frame: there are contractual duties to be accomplished and the leader needs to set the plan and monitor the actions. It comprises the following factors: (a) contingent reward which involves clarification of tasks and roles on behalf of the leader and offering of rewards, (b) management-by-exception active, which refers to the continuous monitoring of the leader on the team and its actions, (c) management-by-exception passive which refers to the involvement of the leader only when things go wrong. The laissez-faire leadership style refers to the "absence" of the leader in all aspects, namely responsibility, decision-making, and usage of authority.

Several studies (e.g., Bass & Avolio, 1994) suggest that women in comparison to men tend to make decisions based on intuition and emotions rather than rational calculations. Additionally, some studies showed that their leadership style is considered more democratic than men. Nevertheless, it seems that the relationship between gender and leadership style is more complicated, as indicated by a meta-analysis by Eagly and Johnson (1990), whereby no gender differences were identified in the use of relation-oriented or task-oriented style. A further meta-analysis of transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire styles by Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and van Engen (2003) revealed that women were more inclined to the transformational leadership style than men. It should be noted that the perceived incompatibility between women's traditional role and their leadership role influences career development (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Women are perceived as less compatible candidates for leadership positions, while when exhibiting leadership behavior they are judged less favorably than men. As some researchers have indicated (Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998) women leaders might feel that they need to adapt their behavioral style in order for men not to feel intimidated.

The Present Study

The present study aims at investigating women's leadership styles and their relationship to job insecurity and career self-efficacy. The study was conducted in a country that has experienced the tremendous impact of a very hard economic crisis and therefore its labor market has many problems. Our study aimed to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the levels of job insecurity and career self-efficacy that women leaders have and how are these constructs differentiated by demographic variables?
2. What leadership styles are used by women leaders and what is the role of demographic variables?
3. What is the correlation between leadership styles, job insecurity, and career self-efficacy?

METHOD

Participants

The sample consisted of 303 women who currently hold a managerial position and are employed in the private sector in the city of Athens in Greece. Almost all participants (95.4 percent) were university graduates, while 53.1 percent have continued their studies acquiring a Master's or PhD degree. Of the sample, 9.2 percent were aged 25–35 years, 53.8 percent were aged 36–45 years, 32.3 percent were aged 46–55 years, and 4.6 percent were above 55 years. Table 3.1 presents all demographic characteristics of the participants.

Measures

Job insecurity and career self-efficacy were each measured by a scale:

1. *Job Insecurity Scale (JIS)*: Job insecurity was assessed with the use of the Job Insecurity Scale – JIS (De Witte, 2000; Vander Elst, De Witte, & De Cuyper, 2014). The scale consists of four items: (a) "Chances are, I will soon lose my job"; (b) "I am sure I can keep my job" (reverse scored); (c) "I feel insecure about the future of my job"; and (d) "I think I might lose my job in the near future." Participants were asked to answer using a five-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (= strongly disagree) to 5 (= strongly agree). JIS is adapted to several European countries and was found to have satisfactory psychometric properties (Vander Elst et al., 2014). Reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) in the present study is 0.75.
2. *Perceived Self-Efficacy in Career Scale (PSECS)*: Career self-efficacy was measured using the Perceived Self-Efficacy in Career Scale – PSECS (Sidiropoulou-Dimakakou et al., 2015). The scale consists of twenty-one items and provides scores for four factors, namely: (a) *Career management* (5 items) that refers to the individual's ability to cope adequately with career issues of practical and/or emotional nature; (b) *Career skills* (6 items) that refers to the development of skills of organization and performance at work especially when working under harsh situations; (c) *Flexibility at work* (4 items) refers to the ability of adaptation to transition, and to the ability to respond to the changes occurring in the workplace; and (d) *Creativity at work* (4 items) that refers to the possession of skills related to the active interest in career through creativity, ingenuity, and

Table 3.1 Demographic characteristics of the participants

Education level	f	%	Age group	f	%	Family status	f	%	Number of children	f	%
High-school graduates	14	4.6	25–35	28	9.2	Single	56	18.5	No children	93	30.7
University graduates	128	42.2	36–45	163	53.8	Married	189	62.4	1 child	49	16.2
Master's degree	140	46.2	46–55	98	32.3	Divorced/ Separated	58	19.1	2 children	140	46.2
PhD	21	6.9	55–67	14	4.6				>2 children	21	6.9
Experience in managerial position	**f**	**%**	**Number of subordinates**	**f**	**%**	**Total work experience**	**f**	**%**	**Industry**	**f**	**%**
0–5 years	63	20.8	1–10	205	67.7	0–5 years	–	–	Commerce	56	18.5
6–10 years	79	26.1	11–20	35	11.6	6–10 years	21	6.9	Banking	135	44.6
11–15 years	49	16.2	20–30	7	2.3	11–15 years	21	6.9	Pharmaceutical industry	28	9.2
16–20 years	49	16.2	>30	56	18.5	16–20 years	107	35.3	Other	84	27.7
21–25 years	42	13.9				21–25 years	70	23.1			
26–30 years	14	4.6				26–30 years	42	13.9			
>30 years	7	2.3				>30 years	42	13.9			

PR skills. Individuals were asked to rate items on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (= strongly disagree) to 5 (= strongly agree). PSECS was found to have satisfactory psychometric properties (Sidiropoulou-Dimakakou et al., 2015). Reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) in the present study are: 0.88 (Career Management), 0.80 (Career Skills), 0.62 (Flexibility at Work), and 0.88 (Creativity at Work).

Leadership style was measured using two different psychometric tools:

1. *Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ), short form (5X)*: The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire-MLQ, short form (5X) (Bass & Avolio, 1995) was used to measure transformational leadership behavior. MLQ-SF (5X) consists of twenty items that provide scores for the following four-item factors: (a) individualized consideration (coaching individuals); (b) intellectual stimulation (interested in different perspectives); (c) attributed charisma (thoughts of others); (d) inspirational motivation (conveying a positive vision of the future); and (e) idealized influence (emphasizing the group). Respondents are asked to rate items on a five-point Likert type scale ranging from 0 (= Not at all) to 4 (= Frequently if not always). Reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) in the present study are: 0.61 (Individualized Consideration), 0.74 (Intellectual Stimulation), 0.65 (Attributed Charisma), 0.73 (Inspirational Motivation), and 0.67 (Idealized Influence). One item (no. 2) was not used because it reduced the internal reliability coefficient.
2. *LMX 7 Questionnaire*: Leadership style was also measured by the Leader–Member Exchange – LMX 7 Questionnaire (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). This questionnaire assesses the quality of relationship between the leader and her subordinates. LMX 7 consists of seven items and provides a single overall score. Respondents are asked to rate items on a five-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 to 5. Reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) in the present study is 0.69.

Procedure

Research took place between May and September of 2017. In order to have access to more women who have managerial duties, the Sector of Women Managers and Entrepreneurs (TOGME) of the Hellenic Management Association (EEDE) invited its members to complete the questionnaire. We used Google forms to create an online version of the questionnaires, and then the link was sent to participants via e-mail. Participants were given written instructions describing the procedure and were asked to work on their own. On some occasions participants answered the questionnaires in their workplace under the supervision of members of the research team. No time constraints were imposed, while in the written instructions it was made clear that the research was anonymous and participants could withdraw from the study at any point, if they so wish.

RESULTS

Table 3.2 shows the means and standard deviations of the scores of participants for all measures. Participants seem to achieve rather low scores for job insecurity, and medium to

Table 3.2 Means and standard deviations for all measures

Variables		Descriptive statistics					
		N	M	S.D.	Min	Max	Cronbach alpha
Self-Efficacy	Job Insecurity Scale (JIS)	303	2.03	0.67	1.00	4.00	0.75
	Career Management	303	3.70	0.74	2.00	5.00	0.88
	Career Skills	303	4.22	0.52	3.17	5.00	0.80
	Flexibility at Work	303	3.79	0.60	2.50	5.00	0.62
	Creativity at Work	303	3.72	0.78	1.75	5.00	0.88
MLQ (5X)	Individualized Consideration	303	3.28	0.40	2.25	4.00	0.61
	Intellectual Stimulation	303	3.09	0.51	1.50	4.00	0.74
	Attributed Charisma	303	3.39	0.41	2.25	4.00	0.65
	Inspirational Motivation	303	3.10	0.67	1.25	4.00	0.73
	Idealized Influence	303	3.42	0.55	1.33	4.00	0.67
Leader–Member Exchange – LMX 7		303	3.83	0.41	2.86	4.57	0.69

Notes: JIS: Min possible = 1, Max possible = 5. Self-Efficacy Factors: Min possible = 1, Max possible = 5. MLQ (5X): Min possible = 0, Max possible = 4. LMX 7: Min possible = 1, Max possible = 5.

high scores for most factors of career self-efficacy. The only exception derives from the self-efficacy beliefs that are related to the possession of career skills where participants scored very high. It is worth noting that the lowest score for this factor was 3.17 while the scoring range was from 1 to 5. As regards transformational leadership, participants achieved reasonably high scores for all factors. Finally the score in LMX 7 is also medium to high.

Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) were performed to examine whether the various demographic variables differentiate the score in the various scales and subscales.

Level of education (Table 3.3) differentiated the scores for job insecurity ($F(3,302) = 21.79$, $p<0.001$) and for all career self-efficacy factors: Career Management ($F(3,302) = 15.92$, $p<0.001$), Career Skills ($F(3,302) = 8.04$, $p<0.001$), Flexibility at Work ($F(3,302) = 12.14$, $p<0.001$), and Creativity at Work ($F(3,302) = 9.14$, $p<0.001$). As regards the MLQ (5X), level of education differentiated the scores in three out of its five factors: Individualized Consideration ($F(3,302) = 7.31$, $p<0.001$), Intellectual Stimulation ($F(3,302) = 5.69$, $p<0.01$), and Inspirational Motivation ($F(3,302) = 7.79$, $p<0.001$). Finally scores for LMX 7 were also differentiated by education ($F(3,302) = 7.71$, $p<0.001$). Multiple comparisons with the use of Scheffé criterion showed that:

- Participants who are University graduates reported higher levels (M = 2.34, S.D. = 0.71) of job insecurity than participants who are High-School graduates (M = 1.88, S.D. = 0.39), or who have a Master's degree (M = 1.84. S.D. = 0.53) or a PhD (M = 1.50, S.D. = 0.36).
- Participants who are University graduates reported lower levels (M = 3.42, S.D. = 0.79) of self-efficacy beliefs regarding "career management" than participants who

Table 3.3 Means and standard deviations for all measures in relation to participants' level of education

Variables		High-school		University		Master		PhD	
		Level of education							
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Self-Efficacy	Job Insecurity Scale (JIS)	1.88	0.39	2.34	0.71	1.84	0.54	1.50	0.36
	Career Management	3.80	1.03	3.42	0.79	3.83	0.57	4.40	0.44
	Career Skills	4.25	0.43	4.14	0.60	4.21	0.42	4.72	0.29
	Flexibility at Work	3.75	0.52	3.77	0.62	3.70	0.54	4.50	0.42
	Creativity at Work	3.25	0.26	3.53	0.85	3.88	0.69	4.17	0.64
MLQ (5X)	Individualized Consideration	3.50	0.10	3.17	0.46	3.31	0.34	3.50	0.36
	Intellectual Stimulation	3.00	0.10	2.96	0.64	3.19	0.32	3.25	0.63
	Attributed Charisma	3.50	0.26	3.41	0.42	3.34	0.43	3.58	0.24
	Inspirational Motivation	3.00	0.52	2.90	0.69	3.24	0.67	3.42	0.24
	Idealized Influence	3.17	0.17	3.47	0.54	3.42	0.58	3.33	0.56
Leader–Member Exchange – LMX 7		3.50	0.10	3.76	0.46	3.89	0.38	4.05	0.18

Notes: JIS: Min possible = 1, Max possible = 5. Self-Efficacy Factors: Min possible = 1, Max possible = 5. MLQ (5X): Min possible = 0, Max possible = 4. LMX 7: Min possible = 1, Max possible = 5.

are High-School graduates (M = 3.80, S.D. = 1.03), or who have a Master's degree (M = 3.83. S.D. = 0.57) or a PhD (M = 4.40, S.D. = 0.44).

- Participants who have a PhD reported higher levels (M = 4.72, S.D. = 0.29) of self-efficacy beliefs regarding "career skills" than participants who are University graduates (M = 4.14, S.D. = 0.60) or have a Master's degree (M = 4.21, S.D. = 0.42).
- Participants who have a PhD reported higher levels (M = 4.50, S.D. = 0.41) of self-efficacy beliefs regarding "flexibility at work" than participants who are High-School graduates (M = 3.75, S.D. = 0.52), University graduates (M = 3.77, S.D. = 0.62) or have a Master's degree (M = 3.70, S.D. = 0.54).
- Participants who have a PhD (M = 4.17, S.D. = 0.64) and a Master's degree (M = 3.88, S.D. = 0.69) reported higher levels of self-efficacy beliefs regarding "creativity at work" than participants who are High-School graduates (M = 3.25, S.D. = 0.26), or University graduates (M = 3.52, S.D. = 0.85).
- Participants who are University graduates reported lower levels (M = 3.17, S.D. = 0.45) of the MLQ (5X) factor "Individualized Consideration" than participants who are High-School graduates (M = 3.50, S.D. = 0.10), or who have a Master's degree (M = 3.31, S.D. = 0.34) or a PhD (M = 3.50, S.D. = 0.36).
- Participants who are University graduates reported lower levels (M = 2.96, S.D. = 0.64) of the MLQ (5X) factor "Intellectual Stimulation" than participants who have a Master's degree (M = 3.19, S.D. = 0.31).
- Participants who are University graduates reported lower levels (M = 2.90, S.D. = 0.69) of the MLQ (5X) factor "Inspirational Motivation" than participants who have a Master's degree (M = 3.23, S.D. = 0.67) or a PhD (M = 3.41, S.D. = 0.25).

- Participants who are High-School (M = 3.50, S.D. = 0.10) or University (M = 3.76, S.D. = 0.46) graduates reported lower scores on the LMX 7 Questionnaire than participants who have a Master's degree (M = 3.89, S.D. = 0.38) or a PhD (M = 4.05, S.D. = 0.18).

Family status differentiated the scores for job insecurity ($F(2,302) = 5.34$, $p<0.01$) and for two of the career self-efficacy factors: Career Skills ($F(2,302) = 6.33$, $p<0.01$), and Flexibility at Work ($F(2,302) = 14.78$, $p<0.001$). As regards the MLQ (5X), family status differentiated the scores in three out of its five factors: Intellectual Stimulation ($F(2,302) = 15.69$, $p<0.001$), Inspirational Motivation ($F(2,302) = 8.77$, $p<0.001$), and Idealized Influence ($F(2,302) = 9.39$, $p<0.001$). Finally scores for LMX 7 were also differentiated by family status ($F(2,302) = 9.86$, $p<0.001$). Multiple comparisons with the use of Scheffé criterion showed that:

- Participants who are divorced/separated reported higher levels (M = 2.27, S.D. = 0.62) of job insecurity than participants who are married (M = 1.95, S.D. = 0.66).
- Participants who are married reported higher levels (M = 4.30, S.D. = 0.50) of self-efficacy beliefs regarding "career skills" than participants who are single (M = 4.04, S.D. = 0.45).
- Participants who are divorced/separated reported higher levels (M = 4.15, S.D. = 0.43) of self-efficacy beliefs regarding "flexibility at work" than participants who are married (M = 3.72, S.D. = 0.67) or single (M = 3.63, S.D. = 0.28).
- Participants who are divorced/separated reported higher levels (M = 3.39, S.D. = 0.31) of the MLQ (5X) factor "Intellectual Stimulation" than participants who are married (M = 2.98, S.D. = 0.53) or single (M = 3.13, S.D. = 0.49).
- Participants who are divorced/separated reported higher levels (M = 3.36, S.D. = 0.43) of the MLQ (5X) factor "Inspirational Motivation" than participants who are married (M = 2.84, S.D. = 0.49) or single (M = 3.09, S.D. = 0.75).
- Participants who are divorced/separated reported higher levels (M = 3.68, S.D. = 0.55) of the MLQ (5X) factor "Idealized Influence" than participants who are married (M = 3.33, S.D. = 0.61).
- Participants who are divorced/separated reported higher scores (M = 4.04, S.D. = 0.31) on the LMX 7 Questionnaire than participants who are married (M = 3.78, S.D. = 0.44) or single (M = 3.77, S.D. = 0.34).

Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) were also performed to examine whether the industry where participants work differentiates the scores for the various subscales. Industry differentiated the scores for job insecurity ($F(3,302) = 12.96$, $p<0.001$), self-efficacy: career management ($F(3,302) = 24.74$, $p<0.001$), self-efficacy: creativity at work ($F(3,302) = 10.47$, $p<0.001$,), MLQ (5X): inspirational motivation ($F(3,302) = 18.84$, $p<0.001$), and LMX-7 ($F(3, 302) = 11.23$, $p<0.001$). Multiple comparisons with the use of Scheffé criterion showed that:

- Participants who work in the pharmaceutical industry reported lower levels (M = 1.38, S.D. = 0.38) of job insecurity than participants who work in the commercial (M = 1.97, S.D. = 0.39), banking (M = 2.18, S.D. = 0.70), or other industries (M = 2.04, S.D. = 0.70).

- Participants who work in the banking industry reported lower levels (M = 3.33, S.D. = 0.76) of self-efficacy beliefs related to career management than participants who work in the commercial (M = 3.85, S.D. = 0.58), pharmaceutical (M = 4.10, S.D. = 0.34), or other industries (M = 4.03, S.D. = 0.63).
- Participants who work in the banking industry reported lower levels (M = 3.46, S.D. = 0.75) of self-efficacy beliefs related to creativity at work than participants who work in the commercial (M = 4.00, S.D. = 0.59), or other industries (M = 3.94, S.D. = 0.90).
- Participants who work in the commercial industry reported higher levels (M = 3.53, S.D. = 0.51) of "inspirational motivation" than participants who work in the banking (M = 2.83, S.D. = 0.73), pharmaceutical (M = 3.13, S.D. = 0.13), or other industries (M = 3.23, S.D. = 0.58).
- Participants who work in the commercial industry reported higher levels (M = 4.04, S.D. = 0.30) of Leader–Member Exchange (LMX-7) than participants who work in the banking (M = 3.71, S.D. = 0.43), or pharmaceutical industry (M = 3.71, S.D. = 0.47).

Correlations (Pearson r coefficients) were computed among the scales and subscales on data for the 303 participants of the present study (Table 3.4). Although results suggest that many correlations are statistically significant, the vast majority is lower than $r = 0.35$. Below we present some selected results:

- Experience in managerial positions is positively correlated to all transformational leadership factors and two of the career self-efficacy factors, and negatively correlated with job insecurity. Nevertheless only the correlations with "Intellectual Stimulation" and "Creativity at Work" were above $r = 0.35$ (correlation between age/ experience and score in the various scales was also checked with ANOVAs with similar results).
- Number of subordinates is positively correlated to all transformational leadership factors and two of the career self-efficacy factors and negatively correlated with job insecurity. Nevertheless no correlation exceeded $r = 0.35$.
- Job insecurity is negatively correlated with all self-efficacy and transformational leadership factors (with the exception of "Idealized Influence"). The highest correlation coefficients were with self-efficacy beliefs regarding career management ($r = -0.39$) and creativity ($r = -0.39$).
- All factors of career self-efficacy are positively correlated to all factors of transformational leadership. It is rather interesting that the majority of the correlations were above $r = 0.35$, while some exceeded $r = 0.50$. The highest correlation was between "Creativity at Work" and "Intellectual Stimulation" ($r = 0.65$).

DISCUSSION

The present study has a three-fold aim: (a) to investigate job insecurity, career self-efficacy, and leadership style of Greek women with managerial positions, (b) to examine whether demographic variables (e.g., level of education, family status, etc.) differentiate

Table 3.4 *Correlation coefficients among age, work experience in managerial position, number of subordinates and all scales and subscales*

	JIS	SE-CM	SE-CS	SE-FL	SE-CR	MLQ-IC	MLQ-IS	MLQ-AC	MLQ-IM	MLQ-II	LMX-7
Age	−0.07	0.19**	0.11	0.14*	0.31**	0.12*	0.21**	0.20**	0.12*	0.07	0.26**
Experience	−0.28**	0.09	0.33**	0.10	0.45**	0.17**	0.41**	0.20**	0.35**	0.31**	0.31**
Subordinates	−0.25**	0.19**	0.21**	0.05	0.07	0.35**	0.30**	0.28**	0.24**	0.33**	0.21**
JIS	1										
SE-CM	−0.39**	1									
SE-CS	−0.32**	0.54**	1								
SE-FL	−0.20**	0.56**	0.54**	1							
SE-CR	−0.39**	0.57**	0.62**	0.71**	1						
MLQ-IC	−0.17**	0.22**	0.12*	0.10	0.12*	1					
MLQ-IS	−0.32**	0.44**	0.48**	0.57**	0.65**	0.45**	1				
MLQ-AC	−0.25**	0.45**	0.37**	0.37**	0.54**	0.44**	0.52**	1			
MLQ-IM	−0.27**	0.57**	0.42**	0.52**	0.56**	0.28**	0.59**	0.43**	1		
MLQ-II	−0.05	0.24**	0.35**	0.39**	0.47**	0.24**	0.53**	0.45**	0.65**	1	
LMX-7	−0.23**	0.38**	0.35**	0.42**	0.48**	0.34**	0.48**	0.37**	0.44**	0.57**	1

Notes: *$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$.
JIS = Job Insecurity Scale, SE-CM = Self-efficacy/Career Management, SE-CS = Self-efficacy/Career Skills, SE-FL = Self-efficacy/Flexibility at work, SE-CR = Self-efficacy/Creativity at work, MLQ-IC = Individualized Consideration, MLQ-IS = Intellectual Stimulation, MLQ-AC = Attributed Charisma, MLQ-IM = Inspirational Motivation, MLQ-II = Idealized Influence.

the level of these constructs, and (c) to gain a better understanding of the relationship between them. It should be noted that Greece represents a unique case due to the current major financial crisis. The private sector is currently suffering due to heavy taxation, and many companies have decided to either terminate their function or relocate. Although many researchers have focused on leadership style, few studies have been conducted in this socio-economic context. Additionally, job insecurity has rarely been examined along with leadership style as people in high positions are not generally considered to be at risk of losing their job. Women's lower position in the labor market (which is the result of various causes that are explained in the Introduction of the present study) creates further questions regarding how they perceive the current situation.

As many studies have demonstrated the crucial role of self-efficacy beliefs in women's career development, we decided to examine its relationship with the aforementioned constructs. We have chosen to focus on self-efficacy beliefs that are relevant to the career domain, rather than on perceptions as to whether the individual can lead as reported in previous studies (e.g., Anderson, Krajewski, Goffin, & Jackson, 2008; Ng, Ang, & Chan, 2008; Paglis & Green, 2002). Therefore our study should be viewed as a first stage exploratory research that aims to provide an initial image regarding our research questions, and which will hopefully initiate new research questions. As we move through the twenty-first century, the instability of political and socio-economic conditions along with the rapidly changing labor market have posed new challenges to vocational psychology, and new phenomena that require investigation.

With regard to perceived job insecurity, the results of our study show that Greek women leaders reported low to medium levels of job insecurity despite the harsh economic environment. This finding might have multiple explanations. The women who participated in our study possess high level positions and therefore they may perceive themselves to be too valuable for the company to let them go. The negative correlations that were identified between work experience and job insecurity, and between the number of subordinates and job insecurity provide further support for this explanation. A similar explanation may also apply to the negative correlation that was found between job insecurity and almost all factors of career self-efficacy and transformational leadership. A further explanation could be that cognitive acknowledgment of the major difficulties that exist within the private sector does not necessarily mean that the individual will realize that such difficulties could affect them personally.

In an attempt to explain a similar finding in a study with private sector employees, Drosos and Antoniou (2017) suggested that in cases where problems in the labor market are extremely severe, people who are currently employed might choose to ignore the disturbing information in order to avoid experiencing the negative effects of such thoughts. Nevertheless, another finding regarding differences in job insecurity levels between women in different industries suggest that – at least to some extent – the labor market developments affect their perceived insecurity. Women who work in the pharmaceutical industry have less insecurity than women who work in other industries. A closer look at the Greek economic data reveals that despite the poor economic environment the pharmaceutical industry continues to thrive (SFEE, 2017). On the other hand, other industries face many more difficulties. For example the banking industry has been severely decreased during the last seven years with more than 50 000 job positions lost (Kathimerini, 2015).

Some other interesting findings regarding the relationship between demographic variables and job insecurity of women leaders include the following:

- Divorced/separated women reported higher levels of job insecurity than married women. Possibly married women feel that they can rely on their husbands' income in case a job loss occurs, while the impact on divorced/separated women will be much greater.
- Level of education was expected to have a negative correlation with job insecurity, and therefore higher levels of education would result in lower job insecurity. However, this was only partly confirmed. University graduates had higher job insecurity than women with Master's degrees or PhDs, but they also demonstrated higher job insecurity than high-school graduates. This superficial discrepancy can be explained if we take into consideration the efforts required for a high-school graduate to advance in the hierarchy of a company. Possibly these women started from much lower positions, and were gradually upgraded, gaining the experience and knowledge that could help them to feel less insecure regarding their career future.

As regards career self-efficacy, according to our results Greek women leaders have high scores for all factors. This is a finding that may be expected. Despite women's disadvantage in career advancement, these women succeeded in acquiring high prestige positions. Nevertheless it is interesting that for one factor (namely: the subjective perception of possessing career skills) none of the participants gained a medium or low score. In future studies, male and female scores could be compared, in order to examine whether such high scores of career self-efficacy beliefs are required for men to advance in the companies' hierarchy. Regarding the role of demographic variables, the following should also be noted:

- Divorced/ separated women had higher self-efficacy than married women regarding their flexibility in dealing with new or difficult situations in work. This might reflect the fact that they have already experienced a very difficult situation, such as the divorce or the separation, after which they are confident that they can deal effectively with any problem that might occur.
- Women in the banking industry report less self-efficacy beliefs regarding career management and regarding creativity at work than women in other industries. This might be related to the nature of the banking business, where people encounter many more (in comparison to other industries) multitasking, unclear duties, and responsibilities with little room for creativity.

Within our study women leaders' perception regarding whether they implement transformational leadership style was also examined. A "transformational leader" works with subordinates to identify what needs to be done, creates a vision and a purpose, and inspires members of staff to achieve extraordinary results. This task is accomplished through collective work and subordinates are empowered to develop their own leadership capacity (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Transformational leadership enhances motivation, morale, and job performance of followers using various mechanisms, such as being a role model for followers in order to inspire them and to raise their interest in the project.

According to Bass and Riggio (2006), transformational leadership can be defined based on the impact that it has on followers. Within our study, women leaders reported high scores for all components of transformational leadership. Higher scores were in "Idealized Influence" and "Attributed Charisma" – two components that are highly intercorrelated. "Idealized Influence" refers to the leader being a role model for her subordinates whereas "Attributed Charisma" refers to the thoughts of the subordinates regarding the leader. These results are consistent with studies that show women as using mainly transformational leadership (Eagly et al., 2003). Nevertheless, although these results are very encouraging for women leaders, we should keep in mind that they derive from self-report questionnaires that were completed only by women leaders themselves. In future studies it would be interesting to have data from both leaders and subordinates in order to acquire a more precise image of Greek women's leadership style.

Additionally, along with MLQ (5X), participants in our study also answered another questionnaire – MLX 7. Although this derives from a different leadership theory there are many common elements with transformational leadership. Leader–Member Exchange (LMX) is a relationship-based approach to leadership. The core concept of the theory is that "effective leadership processes occur when leaders and followers are able to develop mature leadership relationships (partnerships) and thus gain access to the many benefits these relationships bring" (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995, p. 225). Thus it is unsurprising that the women who participated in our study scored rather high on MLX 7, and there was a significant correlation with all components of transformational leadership.

Regarding the role of demographic variables we have selected some interesting findings:

- University graduates not only scored lower than those with a Master's degree or a PhD, but they also scored lower than high-school graduates. As mentioned above, the lower score in comparison to high-school graduates could be explained if we take into consideration that high-school graduates have probably started from much lower positions, and have gradually advanced, acquiring the necessary experience and knowledge to enable them to lead.
- Divorced/separated women have higher scores than married or single women. This might reflect the fact that they have already gone through a very difficult situation, such as the divorce or the separation, and have gained an understanding regarding the unrevealed potential and strengths that people might possess when facing major problems. Thus they are able to both believe in, and inspire their subordinates.

Finally, the present study confirms the anticipated correlations between the various psychological constructs. Job insecurity is negatively correlated with all factors of both career self-efficacy and transformational leadership. Nevertheless, correlation coefficients are rather low. Career self-efficacy is positively correlated to transformational leadership. Intellectual stimulation was highly correlated with all self-efficacy components and especially with creativity. Further research is needed to examine the exact relationship between these constructs and to examine whether they intersect at some point. We should highlight that the self-efficacy beliefs that we assessed were relevant to work aspects but not necessarily to leadership. This could also imply that programs aiming to develop career self-efficacy beliefs could also result in developing transformational leadership skills (Fitzgerald & Schutte, 2010).

REFERENCES

Anderson, D. W., Krajewski, H. T., Goffin, R. D., & Jackson, D. N. (2008). A leadership self-efficacy taxonomy and its relation to effective leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *19*(5), 595–608.

Antonakis, J., Avolio, J. B., & Sivasubramaniam, N. (2003). Context and leadership: An examination of the nine-factor full-range leadership theory using the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *14*(3), 261–295.

Bales, R. E. (1950). *Interaction Process Analysis. A Method for the Study of Small Groups*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, *84*(2), 191–215.

Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of Control*. New York: Freeman.

Barnett, R. C., & Hyde, J. S. (2001). Women, men, work, and family: An expansionist theory. *American Psychologist*, *56*(10), 781–796.

Bass, B. M. (1981). *Stogdill Handbook of Leadership: A Survey of Theory and Research* (rev. ed.). New York: Free Press.

Bass, B. M. (1985). *Leadership and Performance beyond Expectations*. New York: Free Press.

Bass, B. M. (1990). *Bass and Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications* (3rd ed.). New York: Free Press.

Bass, B. M., & Avolio, B. J. (1990). *Transformational Leadership Development: Manual for the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologist Press.

Bass, B. M., & Avolio, B. J. (Eds.) (1994). *Improving Organizational Effectiveness through Transformational Leadership.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bass, B. M., & Avolio, B. J. (1995). *The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire.* Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Bass, B. M., & Riggio, R. E. (2006). *Transformational Leadership* (2nd ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Betz, N. E. (2008). Women's career development. In F. L. Denmark & M. A. Paludi (Eds.), *Psychology of Women: A Handbook of Issues and Theories* (2nd ed.; pp. 717–752). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Betz, N. E., & Hackett, G. (2006). Career self-efficacy theory: Back to the future. *Journal of Career Assessment*, *14*(1), 3–11.

Cuadrado, I., Navas, M., Molero, F., Ferrer, E., & Morales, J. F. (2012). Gender differences in leadership styles as a function of leader and subordinates' sex and type of organization. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *42*(12), 3083–3113.

De Witte, H. (1999). Job insecurity and psychological well-being: Review of the literature and exploration of some unresolved issues. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *8*(2), 155–177.

De Witte, H. (2000). Arbeidsethos en jobonzekerheid: Meting en gevolgen voor welzijn, tevredenheid en inzet op het werk [Work ethic and job insecurity: Assessment and consequences for wellbeing, satisfaction and performance at work]. In R. Bouwen, K. De Witte, H. De Witte, & T. Taillieu (Eds.), *Van groep naar gemeenschap* [*From group to community*]. Liber Amicorum Prof. Dr. Leo Lagrou (pp. 325–350). Leuven: Garant.

De Witte, H. (2005). Job insecurity: Review of the international literature on definitions, prevalence, antecedents and consequences. *South African Journal of Industrial Psychology*, *31*(4), 1–6.

Drosos, N., & Antoniou, A.-S. (2017). Subjective psychological well-being of the aging workforce in times of economic crisis: The case of Greece. In A.-S. Antoniou, R. Burke, & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *The Aging Workforce Handbook: Individual, Organizational and Societal Challenges* (pp. 85–107). Bingley: Emerald Publishing.

Eagly, A. H., Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C., & van Engen, M. L. (2003). Transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership styles: A meta-analysis comparing women and men. *Psychological Bulletin*, *129*(4), 569–591.

Eagly, A. H., & Johnson, B. T. (1990). Gender and leadership style: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *108*(2), 233–256.
Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, *109*(3), 573–598.
European Commission (2017). *2017 Report on Equality between Men and Women in the EU.* Belgium: European Union.
European Social Partners – ETUC, UNICE/UEAPME & CEEP (2005). *Framework of Actions on Gender Equality*. Brussels: ETUC, UNICE, UEAPME CEEP. Downloaded from: http://www.workerparticipation.eu/EU-Sozialdialog/Interprofessional-ESD/Outcomes/Framework-ofAction/Framework-of-action-on-gender-equality.
European Social Partners – ETUC, BUSINESSEUROPE, UEAPME & CEEP (2009). *Framework of Actions on Gender Equality. Evaluation Report*. Brussels: ETUC, BUSINESSEUROPE, UEAPME & CEEP. Downloaded from: http://www.etuc.org/sites/www.etuc.org/files/Final_Evaluation_Report_Framework_of_Actions_on_gender_equality_2009_EN_1.pdf.
Eurostat (2016). *Europe in Figures – Eurostat Yearbook.* Online Eurostat publication: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Europe_in_figures_-_Eurostat_yearbook.
Farmer, H. S. (1997). *Diversity and Women's Career Development.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Ferrie, J., Shipley, M., Marmot, M., Stansffeld, S., & Smith, G. (1995). Health effects of anticipation of job change and non-employment: Longitudinal data from the Whitehall II study. *British Medical Journal*, *311*, 1264–1269.
Fitzgerald, L. F., Fassinger, R. E., & Betz, N. (1995). Theoretical advances in the study of women's career development. In W. B. Walsh & S. H. Osipow (Eds.), *Handbook of Vocational Psychology* (2nd ed.; pp. 67–110). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Fitzgerald, L. F., & Harmon, L. W. (2001). Women's career development: A postmodern update. In F. L. T. Leong & A. Barak (Eds.), *Contemporary Models in Vocational Psychology* (pp. 207–230). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Fitzgerald, S., & Schutte, N. S. (2010). Increasing transformational leadership through enhancing self-efficacy. *Journal of Management Development*, *29*(5), 495–505.
Gaunt, R., & Benjamin, O. (2007). Job insecurity, stress and gender: The moderating role of gender ideology. *Community, Work & Family*, *10*(3), 341–355.
Graen, G. B., & Uhl-Bien, M. (1995). Relationship-based approach to leadership: Development of Leader–Member Exchange (LMX) theory of leadership over 25 years: Applying a multi-level, multi-domain perspective. *Leadership Quarterly*, *6*(2), 219–247.
Hackett, G., & Betz, N. E. (1981). A self-efficacy approach to the career development of women. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *18*(3), 326–339.
IME-GSEVEE (2017, July). *Erefna IME- GSEVEE: Taseis Oikonomikou Klimatos Ioulios 2017* [*Survey of the Hellenic Confederation of Professionals, Craftsmen and Merchants (IME–GSEVEE): Economic Climate Trends July 2017*]. Athens: IME GSEVEE. Downloaded from: http://www.gsevee.gr/attachments/article/844/Present_NEW.pdf.
INE-GSEE (2017). *I Elliniki oikonomia kai I apascholisi – Etisia ekthesi 2017* [*Greek Economy and Employment – Annual Report 2017*]. Athens: Institute for Labour of the General Confederation of Labour (INE-GSEE). Downloaded from: http://www.inegsee.gr/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/ETHSIA_EKTHESH_2017.pdf.
Kapitsinis, N. (2017). Firm relocation in times of economic crisis: Evidence from Greek small and medium enterprises' movement to Bulgaria, 2007–2014. *European Planning Studies*, *25*, 703–725.
Kathimerini (2015, December 25). Oi apoleies tou trapezikou kladou tin 7etia tis krisis [The losses of the banking industry during the 7 years of crisis]. *Kathimerini.* Downloaded from: http://www.kathimerini.gr/843634/article/oikonomia/epixeirhseis/oi-apwleies-toy-trapezikoy-kladoy-thn-7etia-ths-krishs.
Kerr, B. (1997). *Smart Girls: A New Psychology of Girls, Women, and Giftedness.* Scottsdale, AZ: Gifted Psychology Press.
Kritikidis, G. (2011). I misthoti apascholisi ton gynaikon to 2011 [Employment of women in 2011]. *Enimerosi*, *189*, 6–20.

Lee, C., Bobko, P., Ashford, S., Chen, Z. X., & Ren, X. (2008). Cross-cultural development of an abridged job insecurity measure. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *29*(3), 373–390.

Lewin, K., & Lippitt, R. (1938). An experimental approach to the study of autocracy and democracy: A preliminary note. *Sociometry*, *1*, 292–300.

Mauno, S., & Kinnunen, U. (1999). Job insecurity and well-being: A longitudinal study among male and female employees in Finland. *Community, Work and Family*, *2*, 147–172.

Mauno, S., & Kinnunen, U. (2002). Perceived job insecurity among dual-earner couples: Do its antecedents vary according to gender, economic sector and the measure used? *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *75*, 295–314.

Morrison, A. M., White, R. P., Van Velsor, E., & the Center for Creative Leadership (1987). *Breaking the Glass Ceiling*. New York: Addison-Wesley.

Ng, K. Y., Ang, S., & Chan, K.-Y. (2008). Personality and leader effectiveness: A moderated mediation model of leadership self-efficacy, job demands, and job autonomy. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(4), 733–743.

OECD (2017). Data from: https://stats.oecd.org/.

Paglis, L. L., & Green, S. G. (2002). Leadership self-efficacy and managers' motivation for leading change. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *23*(2), 215–235.

Ragins, B., Townsend, B., & Mattis, M. (1998). Gender gap in the executive suite: CEOs and female executives report on breaking the glass ceiling. *Academy of Management Executive*, *12*(1), 28–42.

RAND (2014). *Use of Childcare in the EU Member States and Progress towards the Barcelona Targets.* European Union: RAND.

Rosenblatt, Z., Talmud, I., & Ruvio, A. (1999). A gender-based framework of the experience of job insecurity and its effects on work attitudes. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *8*, 197–217.

SFEE (2017). *I farmakeftiki agora stin Ellada: Gegonota kai stoixeia 2015–2016* [*The Pharmaceutical Market in Greece: Facts and Data 2015–2016*]. Greece: Hellenic Association of Pharmaceutical Companies (SFEE). Downloaded from: http://online.fliphtml5.com/piqy/rofx/#p=1.

Sidiropoulou-Dimakakou, D., Mylonas, K., & Argyropoulou, K. (2015). Self-efficacy in career planning: A new approach to career exploration. *International Journal of Learning, Teaching and Educational Research*, *11*(2), 40–54.

Sverke, M., Hellgren, J., & Näswall, K. (2002). No security: A meta-analysis and review of job insecurity and its consequences. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *7*(3), 242–264.

TIME (2017). *TIME Firsts: Women Who Are Changing the World.* New York: Time Inc. Books.

Vander Elst, T., De Cuyper, N., & De Witte, H. (2011). The role of perceived control in the relationship between job insecurity and psychosocial outcomes: Moderator or mediator? *Stress and Health*, *27*(3), E215–E227.

Vander Elst, T., De Witte, H., & De Cuyper, N. (2014). The Job Insecurity Scale: A psychometric evaluation across five European countries. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *23*(3), 364–380.

Varhalama, E., Mpoukouvalas, K., & Papageorgiou, I. (2015). *I simmetochi ton gynaikon sta organa dioikisis ton sindikalistikon organoseon domis tis Genikis Sinomospondias Ergaton Ellados* [*Women's Participation in the Boards of Directors of the Associations of the General Confederation of Labour (GSEE)*]. Athens: Institute for Labour of the General Confederation of Labour (INE-GSEE). Downloaded from: http://www.inegsee.gr/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/vivlio_isotitas.pdf.

World Economic Forum (2016). *The Global Gender Gap Report 2016*. Geneva: World Economic Forum. Downloaded from: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GGGR16/WEF_Global_Gender_Gap_Report_2016.pdf.

4. For better or worse? Human resource practices and women in leadership

Sanjeewa Perera

INTRODUCTION

Representation of women in leadership positions is often associated with business performance, whether performance is measured as return on investment (Joecks, Pull, & Vetter, 2013), return on equity, total return to shareholders (Catalyst, 2004), return on sales, (Catalyst, 2011), employee productivity (Ali, Kulik, & Metz, 2011), or corporate social responsibility initiatives (Kulik & Metz, 2017). This "business case" for gender diversity and social pressure has created a renewed interest in gender diversity in leadership positions in organizations. However, despite sustained efforts by businesses to increase gender diversity at senior leadership levels, women continue to be under-represented in leadership positions. This is true of most countries around the world: United States (Catalyst, 2017a); Germany, United Kingdom (European Commission, 2016); India (Catalyst, 2017b); Japan (Catalyst, 2017c).

Under-representation of women in leadership roles was initially assumed to be a social capital or "pipeline" issue: that is there were not enough qualified women to be appointed to leadership positions in organizations. However, it is clear that the pipeline issue is no longer relevant. Women are equally or better educated compared to men and enter the labor market in almost equal numbers (Beeson & Valerio, 2012; Catalyst, 2017c). For example, in the period 2014–2015, women earned a larger share of undergraduate, master's, and doctor's degrees in the United States (National Centre for Education Statistics, 2017).

This suggests that enough qualified women do enter organizations but they do not progress to senior leadership positions. Representation of women starts to decline beyond middle management positions (International Labour Office, 2015). Women stagnate at middle management levels and often in staff functions within businesses, functions that rarely lead to senior leadership positions (Bolton, 2015). For example, while women start accounting jobs on a "relatively equal footing with men" they lag behind men at higher occupational levels and "fail to reach the most senior levels" (Lyonette & Crompton, 2008, p. 510). One approach that businesses can take is to wait for women to progress to senior leadership positions. It is easy to assume that given the advances women have made in obtaining higher levels of qualifications and the increased numbers of women entering the labor market, it is a matter of time before we see equal representation of men and women in leadership roles. Unfortunately, research suggests that this is unlikely to be the case. If businesses take a "hands-off" approach (Marschke, Laursen, Nielsen, & Rankin, 2007, p. 17), representation of women in leadership positions will only happen at a “glacial speed” (Marschke et al., 2007, p. 4) making it almost impossible to achieve numerical gender equality at leadership levels or representation of women at the top that reflects the entry level numbers (Marschke et al., 2007, p. 17).

FOCUS OF THIS CHAPTER

One stream of research that is concerned with the representation of women in leadership investigates what women can do to get to leadership positions in organizations. This approach is often referred to as the “fix the women” approach (Budworth & Mann, 2010, p. 182). While women can make efforts to enhance their skills, business contexts where they work can facilitate or constrain their career progression (Gunz, Mayrhofer, & Tolbert, 2011). Thus, it is unlikely that an exclusive focus on encouraging women to progress to leadership positions will be of success. As noted previously, increases in the talent pipeline have not led to a dramatic increase of women at the top of organizations. In other words, “women do not need to ‘be fixed’, organizational systems do” (O’Neil, Hopkins, & Bilimoria, 2015, p. 258). This chapter highlights human resource practices that businesses can use to support women’s career progression to leadership positions. Appropriate human resource practices can support women’s career progression directly (e.g., coaching provided to develop leadership skills) as well as indirectly (e.g., signaling the organization’s commitment to support women’s representation at senior leadership levels) (Bowen & Ostroff, 2004; Ostroff & Bowen, 2016). The focus here is on practices that organizations can use to support the career progression of their female employees (i.e., practices targeting existing employees). Thus, I exclude practices related to recruitment and selection of women. These practices facilitate the entry of women into businesses but they have not been equally effective in increasing the number of women in leadership positions in organizations (Ely, Ibarra, & Kolb, 2011).

This chapter is also a move away from practices that eliminate sex-based discrimination in businesses. Anti-discrimination practices have significantly reduced direct discrimination of women in organizations (Crompton & Lyonette, 2011). These practices that are based on legal mandates assist businesses to be legally compliant but are not necessarily associated with increasing the representation of women in leadership positions. Ely and colleagues (2011, p. 475) suggest that businesses should *now* focus more on practices that allow women to overcome invisible barriers stemming from second-generation gender bias: biases that “arise from cultural beliefs about gender, as well as workplace structures, practices, and patterns of interaction that *inadvertently* favor men.” Due to legislation and social pressure, explicit exclusion of women from leadership positions is almost non-existent. But women are still held back by “subtle but clear cultural biases and gender stereotypes” in decision making (Schipani, Dworkin, Kwolek-Folland, & Maurer, 2009, p. 97).

HUMAN RESOURCE PRACTICES

Appropriate human resource policies and practices allow businesses to change the slow pace of women’s progression to leadership roles by supporting women to move beyond middle management (Marschke et al., 2007). The practices presented here are grouped into two categories. The first set of practices increase leadership potential of women. They provide women opportunities to accumulate knowledge, skills, and experiences needed to progress to senior leadership positions in businesses (e.g., mentoring programs, leadership development programs). These practices can help women demonstrate "incontrovertible" evidence of the quality of their work (Heilman, 2001, p. 662). Such incontrovertible performance assists women to overcome gender-biased evaluations thus allowing them to transcend structures and practices that impede their progress to the top. The second set of practices assist women to continue their labor force participation (e.g., flexible work arrangements, provision of on-site childcare – Heywood & Jirjahn, 2009; Shapiro, Ingols, O'Neill, & Blake-Beard, 2009). Women's career progression is hampered by their higher burden in family and caring responsibilities compared to men (Schipani et al., 2009). It is difficult for businesses to directly influence the caring and family workload of women. However, businesses can use practices to help women seamlessly accommodate these responsibilities while maintaining their work responsibilities. This chapter reviews empirical studies to highlight practices that support women's progression to leadership positions in businesses. It describes both sets of practices (i.e., practices that increase leadership potential and practices that facilitate continued participation) and concludes with a brief discussion of research and practical implications.

Increasing Leadership Potential

Research that focuses on practices that increase women's leadership potential is largely devoted to mentoring and development programs. Practices like coaching and sponsoring are at times included as key components of mentoring or development programs. However, here these practices are presented as distinct practices.

Mentoring programs

Mentoring is defined as a relationship between a more experienced mentor who provides guidance and supports the career development of a less experienced protégé (Bower & Hums, 2014; Carraher, Sullivan, & Crocitto, 2008; Daniel, 2009; Kram, 1985; Ragins, 1997). The standard supervisor/subordinate relationship is not considered a mentoring relationship (Dougherty, Dreher, Arunachalam, & Wilbanks, 2013). Mentors primarily provide career-related support and psychosocial support to their protégés. Mentors provide career support by providing women exposure, visibility, sponsorship, status, challenging assignments, and protection as well as getting them access to resources and important networks (Kram, 1985; see also Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004). Psychosocial support provided by mentors includes friendship, counseling, and confirmation (Kram, 1985). While some researchers include role modeling as a dimension of psychosocial support, others recognize role modeling as a third mentor function (Ragins, 1997; Schipani et al., 2009). Usually an effective mentoring program is expected to at least provide career *and* psychosocial support to protégés. However, Schipani et al. (2009) argue that a mentoring program that exclusively focuses on career support can still be effective, particularly as an organizationally sanctioned formal mentoring program. Women face second-generation bias, backlash, and stereotype threat as they attempt to reach senior leadership positions in organizations. Mentoring can provide female managers with skills to mitigate the impact of these forces in the workplace (Daniel, 2009).

The association between mentoring and women's career advancement has been well researched (Tharenou, 2005; Weaver & Chelladurai, 2002). Outcomes of mentoring programs include objective career outcomes, psychosocial outcomes, as well as protégés' perceptions of mentoring (Gardiner, Tiggemann, Kearns, & Marshall, 2007, p. 429; see also Schipani et al., 2009).

Objective career outcomes associated with mentoring programs frequently include number of promotions and increases in compensation. Women who are mentored are more likely to get promoted (Carter & Silva, 2010) and mentor career support is associated with current promotion and likelihood to getting promoted (Tharenou, 2005). A meta-analysis by Allen and colleagues (2004, p. 130) found that employees with a mentor received greater compensation than those without a mentor. However, a Catalyst report that examined this relationship discovered that even when women were mentored by highly placed mentors, they failed to receive similar compensation as men, leading the authors to conclude that mentoring is required for career progression but *is not sufficient* for closing the gender pay gap (Carter & Silva, 2010).

Mentors can also increase confidence, career motivation, and self-efficacy of women through psychosocial mentoring (Kram, 1985). These attributes, for example confidence and ambition, are also characteristic of successful leadership. Thus, it is clear that psychosocial mentoring can boost these attributes and position female managers as ideal candidates for senior leadership roles (Bower & Hums, 2014). Mentors can also buffer the impact of harsh challenges that women face in their accession to leadership positions in the form of overt and covert discrimination (Schipani et al., 2009). Thus, the psychosocial aspect of mentoring may be particularly helpful to women working in male-dominant occupations and industries where their token status is likely to create unique challenges (Dougherty et al., 2013; Kanter, 1977).

In a study of international sports educators, career and psychosocial support were both perceived as important with psychosocial support more important in early career stages (Bower & Hums, 2009). Female intercollegiate athletic administrators reported that their career progression was assisted by exposure, visibility, and coaching provided by their mentors (Bower & Hums, 2014). Some research suggests that mentoring programs that focus heavily on psychosocial support can hamper women's career progression (Tharenou, 2005). This may be because psychosocial support targets women's emotions and well-being rather than direct career outcomes (Schipani et al., 2009). However, career outcomes may be impacted via psychosocial support. When women increase their sense of self-efficacy, confidence, and career satisfaction, they can be motivated to seek training and development opportunities and challenging assignments, which can then in turn enhance their career advancement (Schipani et al., 2009).

Compared to men, women find it more difficult to find appropriate mentors (Carraher et al., 2008) and they are more reluctant to seek mentors (Schipani et al., 2009). Research that looks at mentor characteristics suggests that mentor gender and hierarchical position in the organization can influence mentoring outcomes for women. High-status powerful men are more likely to prefer to mentor men and perceive men as having more leadership potential. For example, Carter and Silva (2010) found that more men had a mentor who was highly placed than women even after controlling for their own job level.

However, it is not clear whether gender-matched mentor–protégé dyads (i.e., women mentoring other women) are preferable to mixed-gender mentor dyads based on impact on career progression (Dougherty et al., 2013). For example, Allen, Day, and Lentz (2005) found that protégés in same-gender mentoring relationships reported higher interpersonal comfort with their mentor than those in cross-gender relationships. Tharenou (2005) in a study of employees in public and finance sectors found that female mentors' career support had the biggest impact on protégé career progression. Tharenou argued that a female mentor's deeper understanding of unique challenges faced by women might explain the greater influence of female mentors. However, psychosocial support provided by female mentors was negatively associated with protégés' promotions. Avery, Tonidandel, and Phillips (2008) found that protégés in a same-sex dyad were likely to receive higher levels of both career and psychosocial mentoring compared to those in sex-dissimilar mentoring arrangements. But Ragins and Cotton (1999) reported that a history of male mentors was associated with higher compensation for both male and female protégés compared to those who primarily had female mentors.

Women reported mixed reactions to their experience of being mentored by female or male mentors (Abalkhail & Allan, 2015). Protégé women who report that they prefer female mentors cite the ability to develop a close relationship as an advantage (Dunbar & Kinnersley, 2011). Women in same-sex mentoring relationships are more likely to consider their mentors as powerful role models (Grant, 2012; Ragins, 1997). Male and female mentors function differently. Protégés felt that while female mentors were easier to connect with, male mentors were more likely to be business focused and wield more influence in organizations (Farrow, 2008). Male mentors are more likely to provide direct career support than female mentors and it is career support that can directly lead to career progression (Schipani et al., 2009).

Lack of women at senior leadership levels can also limit a firm's ability to provide same-gender mentoring programs for women (Schipani et al., 2009). Even if protégés prefer mentors of similar gender and race, however, it is difficult for them to find women and particularly women from minority groups in senior leadership positions in businesses (Grant, 2012). Consequently, the few senior women within a business can be overburdened with mentoring responsibilities (Schipani et al., 2009).

Ramaswami, Dreher, Bretz, and Wiethoff (2010a) found that female lawyers who were mentored by senior males received higher compensation and were more likely to be appointed as partners or senior executives compared to those who were not mentored. These participants also reported higher career progress satisfaction. These findings were further reinforced by Ramaswami and colleagues in a study that examined mentoring relationships in both male-dominated and male-typed and gender-neutral industries. In male-dominated industries, female professionals who had access to senior male mentors received the "highest return on compensation and career progress satisfaction" (Ramaswami, Dreher, Bretz, & Wiethoff, 2010b, p. 399).

Overall, this body of research suggests that women's career progression is most impacted when they are mentored by highly placed, active mentors who are males (Schipani et al., 2009). It might be that mentors' level in the organizational hierarchy matters more than gender, in other words female mentors may be effective in advancing the careers of their protégés as long as they are positioned at influential senior roles (Carter & Silva, 2010). A study by Dunbar and Kinnersley (2011, p. 19) found that protégés whose mentors were higher ranked reported that they received more career development support than those in a relationship with a same or lower ranked mentor. Women in the pipeline to senior leadership positions are most likely to benefit from the resources provided by high-status mentors (e.g., White, male senior manager) than a mentor of lower status (e.g., female middle manager) (Ragins, 1997). Protégés benefit from the "reflected power" of their senior male mentors enhancing their legitimacy as contenders for leadership positions within businesses (Dougherty et al., 2013, p. 517).

The advantage for women in terms of career progression when mentored by a male is especially clear when women work in male-dominant occupations. Dougherty et al. (2013) confirmed that having a senior male mentor benefited both male and female protégés, and that the most benefits (i.e., compensation) accrued to female employees in male-gendered occupations. In male-dominant occupational settings, female managers have a greater need for the resources and legitimacy provided by senior male mentors.

Mentoring is often defined as a relationship with a mentor higher in the organizational hierarchy, in a position of power and more experienced and knowledgeable than the protégé (Kram, 1985; Weaver & Chelladurai, 1999, pp. 26–27). However, recent empirical work has examined both vertical (where a mentor is positioned higher than the protégé in the organizational hierarchy) and horizontal (where a mentor is at the same level in the organization as the protégé) mentoring arrangements. Daniel (2009) studied a mentoring program that included both vertical and horizontal mentors and found that the program facilitated the career progression of female African American academics.

Research evidence that links mentoring with women's career progression suggests that the nature (i.e., whether the mentoring program is formal or informal) of the mentoring relationship does not seem to matter for certain objective career outcomes (e.g., compensation, promotion), but greater overall benefits are provided by informal programs (Schipani et al., 2009). Ragins and Cotton (1999) examined the impact of formal and informal mentoring relationships and found that protégés with informal mentors received higher career and psychosocial support and were more satisfied with their mentoring experiences. They also found partial support for the relationship between informal mentoring and higher compensation. They argued that "female protégés may have the least to gain from entering a formal mentoring relationship" (Ragins & Cotton, 1999, p. 546). Informal mentoring arrangements appear to lead to more career support compared to formal programs (Allen et al., 2005). This may be because informal mentoring relationships are "mutual selections" where mentors and protégés select each other based on fundamental similarities (Allen et al., 2005, p. 159). Protégés prefer informal mentoring arrangements (Farrow, 2008).

Sponsorship programs

Sponsorship is when mentors use their "power and reputational capital" to advocate for protégés in order to advance their careers (Foust-Cummings, Dinolfo, & Kohler, 2011, p. 1). Some researchers include sponsorship as a component of mentoring processes (see, for example, Weaver & Chelladurai, 1999); however, more recent research describes sponsorship as a distinct function that some mentors may or may not choose to provide (Foust-Cummings et al., 2011; Ibarra, Carter, & Silva, 2010). Arguing for a clear distinction between mentoring and sponsorship programs, Ibarra and colleagues (2010, p. 84) reiterate that "only sponsors actively advocate for advancement" for their protégés. Apart from advocating for promotion, sponsorship provided by highly placed leaders can provide women opportunities to gain high visibility through challenging assignments or gain highly visible development opportunities (Carter & Silva, 2010; Ibarra et al., 2010). Sponsors also play a protective function and shield their protégés from "negative publicity or damaging contact with senior executives" (Ibarra et al., 2010, p. 85). Women's best chance for career progression is when they are supported by "strategic sponsors" (Timberlake, 2005, p. 39).

Being in a position of power is critical to being a sponsor since the sponsor is expected to use his/her power to influence and advocate for the protégé. Sponsoring requires a highly placed mentor to openly advocate for their protégé (whereas informal mentoring can be less visible). Sponsoring can be risky as the protégé's failure will reflect on the sponsor's judgment (Bono et al., 2017). This can make it difficult for women to find sponsors within their organizations. Sponsors are more likely to consider the ability/potential of their protégés than protégés' need for support, when they select protégés (Allen, Poteet, & Russell, 2000). High-status sponsors are more likely to prefer to support men and perceive them as having more leadership potential. This is particularly true of female sponsors (Allen et al., 2000). For example, Bono et al. (2017) found that women with low interpersonal skills (thus seen as having lower leadership potential) were more likely to be categorized as a derailment risk and be offered little mentoring or sponsoring support. While sponsorship can boost women's career advancement, finding sponsors who advocate for them can be more challenging for women than men. Therefore, formal sponsorship programs can be especially beneficial to women (Ibarra et al., 2010).

Training and development programs

Access to training and development can enable female managers' career progression (Maxwell, Ogden, & McTavish, 2007). Opportunities for challenging assignments and access to strong networks are important components of women's leadership development programs. Ely et al. (2011) propose two key considerations for organizations interested in using leadership development programs to support women's career advancement: the program should be cognizant of second-generation bias and provide a "holding environment" for women to develop leadership skills that are aligned to their deeper values (Ely et al., 2011, p. 486). For most benefit, businesses should avoid generic programs that assume that what works for men also works for women (Ely et al., 2011). Ely and colleagues suggest that to be successful leaders, women need to develop and internalize a leader identity, which is harder for women because of workplace stereotypes (that promote "think manager, think male"), gendered career paths, lack of role models, and limited access to networks and sponsors. Their proposal is that women's leadership programs include an opportunity to receive and work through 360-degree feedback; provide specific networking strategies that allow women to examine how gender affects their networks; provide them with access to sponsors; and provide women opportunities to develop negotiation skills, lead change, and embrace career transitions to senior roles.

Clarke (2011) reports outcomes of a leadership development program aimed at senior and middle managers with high potential. Participants of the program reported development of leadership competencies and increased self-confidence. Peer support, opportunity to expand their social network, and access to role models were features of the program that were valued by the female leaders. A leadership development program at University of Western Australia resulted in expanding participants' networks, improvements in work–life balance, and prompted participants to become more proactive in leadership behaviors (de Vries, 2005 as cited in Gardiner et al., 2007). Gardiner et al. (2007) used a control group and a longitudinal design with measures at baseline and seven years after. They found that those who participated in the leadership development program were more likely to get promoted, obtain research funding and publications. At the end of the program, the protégés had also improved their perception of their capacity as an academic.

Research suggests that women-only development programs are more effective in developing leadership capabilities of women (Ely et al., 2011; O'Neil et al., 2015). A women-only program provides a "rare opportunity" to access women peers who hold senior positions (Ely et al., 2011, p. 487) and this peer network can benefit women beyond the life of the program. Women-only leadership programs are also favored by women holding or preparing for leadership roles (Clarke, 2011). Ely et al. (2011, p. 486) report that "Establishing a safe space for learning and experimentation and building a community of peer support are critical elements of any effective leadership development program." Therefore, "Women-only programs foster learning by putting women in a majority position, and this contrast with the more familiar, male-dominated work context can provoke powerful insights" (Ely et al., 2011, p. 488). Women-only programs can increase participants' self-confidence; however, the downside is that such programs do not provide women with access to senior men who wield power and influence within organizations (Schipani et al., 2009).

Coaching

Coaching is defined as a process that allows women to "reflect on their own strengths, challenges, and experiences to develop insights and to experiment with new ideas and behaviors" (Patti, Holzer, Stern, & Brackett, 2012, p. 264). Executive coaching can be effective in preparing women for leadership positions as well as improving leadership skills of those women who are appointed to leadership positions. However, executive coaching is often a one-to-one relationship where a coach works with an individual manager. Not surprisingly, research that looks at coaching as an organizational practice is rare. DeFrank-Cole, Latimer, Reed, and Wheatly (2014) studied group or coaching pods as part of an internal leadership development program at a university. The program included a coaching group or a pod of women who coached each other. Participation in the program was associated with self-reported leadership skill development (e.g., strategic thinking, influencing). O'Neil and colleagues (2015) argue that executive coaching programs that consider unique challenges faced by women have the potential to support women's advancement to senior levels in businesses. Such executive coaching programs can assist women both in balancing work and family priorities and overcoming organizational constraints in terms of gender stereotypes and biased decision making.

Women's network groups

Providing access to network groups can assist women in expanding their often-limited networks. Vinnicombe and Colwill (1995) define network groups as a group of like-minded people who connect with each other for friendship and support. Women have disproportionate access to organizational networks that are dominated by men (Ibarra, 1993). Support networks can be informal networks formed by women within an organization but increasingly businesses are developing formal networks to support high potential women. Singh, Vinnicombe, and Kumra (2006) conducted a comprehensive study of different types of network groups using data from interviews with twelve corporate network chairs. Most network groups had formal strategic structures such as constitutions and voting systems (Singh et al., 2006, p. 463). Across different network groups, the common objective was to support career progression of women with activities such as career development events. Support of top management and senior men was vital to the success of network groups as they need to gain legitimacy within organizations.

Similar to mentoring programs, access to network groups can provide women with both career and psychosocial support (e.g., visibility, access to information, role models, friendship). Participants who had access to network groups reported expanding their network, increasing their visibility and gaining access to information, role models, and social support (Schipani et al., 2009). Network groups can function as "a constellation of developmental relationships" (Schipani et al., 2009, p. 102) that lead to positive career outcomes for women. Social networks provide women with the social capital needed to progress to senior leadership positions within businesses (Schipani et al., 2009). Social networks can provide valued information and also access to developmental relationships (Schipani et al., 2009). Networks allow women to increase their visibility within and beyond the organization; external networks give them access to industry relevant knowledge and information and relationships with key stakeholders (Schipani et al., 2009). Forret and Dougherty (2004, p. 429) reported that increasing internal visibility through networking was significantly related to number of promotions and total compensation for men, but this relationship was not significant for women; increased internal visibility was however associated with perceived career success of women. Network groups can also influence the intrinsic career satisfaction of women (van Emmerik, 2004). Singh et al. (2006, p. 478) argued that organizational support for corporate network groups "makes business sense" as businesses will benefit through increased retention and upskilling of their female employees.

Facilitating Continued Participation

Businesses continue to use work designs for leadership positions that predominantly assume a male full-time employee model of participation (e.g., long work hours, frequent travel) (Maxwell et al., 2007). These work designs fail to recognize the higher burden placed on women in terms of caring and family responsibilities. Therefore, rigid structures and work designs can severely constrain women's advancement to top leadership positions. Crompton and Lyonette (2011, p. 247) studied female doctors and accountants and confirmed that the "adaptations" that women made to manage family responsibilities were the "major factor" contributing to differences in career progress between the males and females involved in their study. Organizations can use work–life practices to support women in reconciling their personal responsibilities with those stemming from work.

Work–life practices can include dependent care services, paid leave to take care of dependents, telecommuting, part-time work, flexible work hours, and job sharing. Crowley and Kolenikov (2014) group work–life practices into two categories: flexible work arrangements (e.g., control over work hours or location, part-time work) and time-off options (e.g., time off to attend to family responsibilities, carers' leave). Kalysh, Kulik, and Perera (2016, p. 507) describe four categories of work–life practices: leave arrangements (e.g., carers' leave, maternity leave), flexible work arrangements (e.g., part-time, job share), direct provision of services (e.g., childcare, eldercare), and virtual office facilities (e.g., work at home, telecommuting).

A few studies incorporate different work–life practices and examine their impact on women's career progression. Overall, the impact that work–life practices have on women's career progression is unclear. Some studies report positive impact of work–life practices. For example, Konrad and Yang (2012) examined the relationship between the use of work–life practices and promotions and found that use of work–life practices was linked to promotions one year later. Kalysh et al. (2016) examined the relationship between the presence of work–life practices and the proportion of women in management in Australian organizations and found that overall, work–life practices did have a positive effect on the proportion of women in management, but the effect was seen only after an eight-year lag.

It is clear that while some work–life practices have a positive impact on career advancement of women, others hinder their career progress. Feeney, Bernal, and Bowman (2014) found that while leave arrangements were associated with increased journal publications among female scientists (increasing their promotion potential and career progress), their access to on-site childcare increased teaching loads (potentially hampering their career advancement). Straub (2007, p. 294) examined the impact of a range of work–life practices (e.g., flexitime, paid sabbaticals, tele-working, maternity and paternity leave above the statutory obligations, extra pay for maternity and paternity leave) but found that only the payment of an "additional amount for maternity leave" was associated with women's progression to senior leadership positions while other practices had either no significant impact or even a negative impact on the career advancement of women.

Research suggests that flexible work arrangements, in particular part-time work, are often associated with career stalling for women. Bailey, Troup, and Strachan (2017) examined part-time work options offered to professional staff at a university and found that use of part-time work options stalled women's career advancement and this effect could only be mitigated if the women transitioned back to full-time work. Similarly, part-time work (i.e., use of a reduced-hours program) in a large law firm had a negative impact on two objective career outcomes: performance-based pay relative to cohort and retention in the career path leading to partnership (Briscoe & Kellogg, 2011, p. 308). However, the authors found that "initial assignment to a powerful supervisor" who provided opportunities for "reputation building projects" (Briscoe & Kellogg, 2011, p. 314) buffered the negative career outcomes experienced by program users. Using archival data and a longitudinal design, Dex and Bukodi (2012) tracked careers of women as they moved between full-time and part-time work and demonstrated that a move from full-time to part-time work was most likely to lead to downward career mobility measured using mean occupational hourly wage rates. They confirmed that "the most frequent victims of downward mobility on moving from full-time to part-time work were women at the top level of the occupational hierarchy" (Dex & Bukodi, 2012, p. R33). An interview study of part-time managers found that the transition to part-time work impacted their careers, for example, the majority were either not considered or not awarded a promotion since taking up part-time work despite highly successful full-time work preceding the transition (Durbin & Tomlinson, 2014).

However, Maxwell et al. (2007) conducted case studies of diverse businesses and found that flexible working arrangements were an enabler of female managers' career progression. Similarly, Noback, Broersma, and Dijk (2016, p. 128) found that while the choice to work part-time had a negative impact on career outcomes (i.e., annual salary, job level, and career mobility), the choice to work a compressed work week was advantageous to women compared to men, with women likely to "earn more, work in higher job levels and have a higher career mobility."

Women are often sensitive to the negative outcomes associated with using work–life practices, especially flexible work arrangements and are reluctant to use these practices (Crowley & Kolenikov, 2014; Lyonette & Crompton, 2008; Villablanca, Beckett, Nettiksimmons, & Howell, 2011). Consequently, often women consider part-time work as unsuitable for senior leadership positions (see McDonald, Bradley, & Brown, 2008) and the lack of role models at higher levels of the organization (i.e., female managers who were both senior and part-time) exacerbates the situation for these women.

Research suggests that women are more likely to use work–life practices that allow them to maintain facetime at work (e.g., compressed week) and reluctant to use practices that reduce their visibility (e.g., part-time work) (Watts, 2009). Shapiro et al. (2009, p. 491) found that women were often making use of "telecommuting, negotiating boundaries around full-time jobs, remaining in a job that provides work–life balance, working flexible hours, and making a lateral move instead of moving up" as opposed to part-time, job share, or leave options that took them away from workplaces. This is highlighted by McDonald et al. (2008), who reported that participants perceived taking advantage of leave arrangements as impediments to career progress in organizational contexts where constant visibility was considered important.

CONCLUSION

This chapter examined human resource practices that businesses can use to support women's career advancement. Based on this review, it is possible to make both research and practice recommendations. A large body of research has focused on tangible practices that businesses can use to support women's representation in senior leadership roles. However, research evidence that demonstrates the effectiveness of these practices in impacting career progression is often inconclusive and contradictory. For example, there is inconclusive evidence to decide whether women are most likely to benefit from informal or formal mentoring programs or whether their career advancement is best supported by flexible work arrangements. One conclusion we can arrive at in reviewing this body of literature is that the relationship between organizational practices and women's advancement is complex (Shapiro et al., 2009) and requires more robust examinations. Increasing our understanding of this complex relationship requires robust research designs that take a longitudinal approach and designs that fully include contextual variables.

Despite arguments that the effectiveness of leadership and mentoring programs can only be measured with longitudinal designs (Kram, 1985), longitudinal research designs are rare (Gardiner et al., 2007). Most research that examines the impact of human resource practices on women's career progression uses cross-sectional designs with self-report data. Often it can take several years for human resource practices to impact the representation of women in leadership positions (Kozlowski & Klein, 2000). Clarke (2011) reported that participation in a leadership program did not immediately lead to career progression despite women reporting development of leadership skills. Kalysh et al. (2016) found that it took eight years for work–life practices to impact the representation of women at leadership levels. Thus, studies that use longitudinal design are needed to obtain clarity as to what practices are likely to unambiguously benefit women as they progress to the top of organizations.

This chapter also highlights the fact that the relationship between human resource practices and women's career progress is likely influenced by organizational contexts where these practices are embedded. Women work in gendered organizational contexts, thus career advancement support for women needs to be tailored taking into consideration the organizational constraints (O'Neil et al., 2015). Several studies demonstrate that the use of part-time work results in a career penalty for women (Bailey et al., 2017; Briscoe & Kellogg, 2011; Dex & Bukodi, 2012). However, Briscoe and Kellogg (2011) found that initial assignment to a powerful supervisor who provided opportunities for women to work on high visibility projects could buffer these negative career outcomes. While women prefer female mentors and greatly benefit from their mentoring (Avery et al., 2008; Tharenou, 2005), having senior male mentors provides the most benefit to female employees in male-gendered occupations (Dougherty et al., 2013). It is only by taking contextual variables (e.g., ratio of women in organization) into consideration that we can increase our understanding of when different human resource practices are likely to be most effective. Future research that takes contextual variables into consideration can clarify inconclusive and contradictory outcomes reported in the studies summarized in this chapter.

Research reviewed in this chapter highlights two specific recommendations for businesses interested in using human resource practices to increase gender representation in leadership positions. Businesses often have limited capacity to invest in human resource practices and choosing practices that are most likely to benefit the organization is crucial. Research reviewed in this chapter emphasizes how organizational contexts can influence the effectiveness of practices adopted. Therefore, the first recommendation for businesses is to fully examine their organizational contexts as well as the demographic composition of their workforce. For example, Mainiero and Sullivan (2005, as cited in O'Neil et al., 2015) suggest that female managers have different needs at different career stages: they seek challenge during early career; balance during mid-career; and authenticity becomes more important at late career stage. Thus, an organization interested in developing a leadership program for their managers should examine the career stages of their managers in order to develop a customized program.

Research summarized in this chapter also highlights the importance of organizational culture in encouraging women to use human resource practices. It is clear that simple adoption of any of the practices described here is unlikely to result in a positive impact on gender diversity in leadership positions (von Hippel, Kalokerinos, & Zacher, 2017). The intent of these practices will need to be clearly communicated to employees (Bowen & Ostroff, 2004) and women encouraged to use them in a culture of acceptance (Villablanca et al., 2011; Walsh, 2012). For example, women who participated in a leadership development program described how their opportunities for career progression were circumscribed by their organizational culture limiting their opportunities to strengthen their skills (Clarke, 2011). Female managers are often reluctant to use work–life practices (e.g., part-time work) (Crowley & Kolenikov, 2014; Lyonette & Crompton, 2008; Villablanca et al., 2011). Organizations can "cultivate champions of flexible working arrangements, particularly champions of part-time work at more senior levels within organizational hierarchies" (Durbin & Tomlinson, 2014, p. 314) to encourage the use of part-time work. Unless women are able to fully utilize the human resource practices that are offered, these practices will have little impact on their career progress and consequently even less impact on the gender diversity of leadership positions within businesses.

REFERENCES

Abalkhail, J. M., & Allan, B. (2015). Women's career advancement: Mentoring and networking in Saudi Arabia and the UK. *Human Resource Development International*, *18*(2), 153–168.

Ali, M., Kulik, C. T., & Metz, I. (2011). The gender diversity–performance relationship in services and manufacturing organizations. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *22*(7), 1464–1485.

Allen, T. D., Day, R., & Lentz, E. (2005). The role of interpersonal comfort in mentoring relationships. *Journal of Career Development*, *31*(3), 155–169.

Allen, T. D., Eby, L. T., Poteet, M. L., Lentz, E., & Lima, L. (2004). Career benefits associated with mentoring for protégés: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *89*(1), 127–136.

Allen, T. D., Poteet, M. L., & Russell, J. E. (2000). Protégé selection by mentors: What makes the difference? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *21*(3), 271–282.

Avery, D. R., Tonidandel, S., & Phillips, M. G. (2008). Similarity on sports sidelines: How mentor–protégé sex similarity affects mentoring. *Sex Roles*, *58*(1–2), 72–80.

Bailey, J., Troup, C., & Strachan, G. (2017). Part-time work and advancement: A study of female professional staff in Australian universities. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, *39*(3), 282–295.

Beeson, J., & Valerio, A. M. (2012). The executive leadership imperative: A new perspective on how companies and executives can accelerate the development of women leaders. *Business Horizons*, *55*(5), 417–425.

Bolton, S. C. (2015). Why there are so many women managers, but so few women CEOs? *The Conversation*. Retrieved November 22, 2017 from http://theconversation.com/why-there-are-so-many-women-managers-but-so-few-women-ceos-38447.

Bono, J. E., Braddy, P. W., Liu, Y., Gilbert, E. K., Fleenor, J. W., Quast, L. N., & Center, B. A. (2017). Dropped on the way to the top: Gender and managerial derailment. *Personnel Psychology*, *70*(4), 729–768.

Bowen, D. E., & Ostroff, C. (2004). Understanding HRM–firm performance linkages: The role of the "strength" of the HRM system. *Academy of Management Review*, *29*(2), 203–221.

Bower, G. G., & Hums, M. A. (2009). Mentoring women to advance within leadership positions as international physical educators. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal*, *18*(2), 3–13.

Bower, G. G., & Hums, M. A. (2014). Examining the mentoring relationships of women working in intercollegiate athletic administration. *Mentoring & Tutoring: Partnership in Learning*, *22*(1), 4–19.

Briscoe, F., & Kellogg, K. C. (2011). The initial assignment effect: Local employer practices and positive career outcomes for work–family program users. *American Sociological Review*, *76*(2), 291–319.

Budworth, M. H., & Mann, S. L. (2010). Becoming a leader: The challenge of modesty for women. *Journal of Management Development*, *29*(2), 177–186.

Carraher, S. M., Sullivan, S. E., & Crocitto, M. M. (2008). Mentoring across global boundaries:

An empirical examination of home- and host-country mentors on expatriate career outcomes. *Journal of International Business Studies*, *39*(8), 1310–1326.
Carter, N. M., & Silva, C. (2010). *Mentoring: Necessary but Insufficient for Advancement*. New York: Catalyst. Retrieved November 21, 2017 from http://www.catalyst.org/system/files/Mentoring_Necessary_But_Insufficient_for_Advancement_Final_120610.pdf.
Catalyst (2004). *The Bottom Line: Connecting Corporate Performance and Gender Diversity*. New York: Catalyst. Retrieved November 16, 2017 from http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/bottom-line-connecting-corporate-performance-and-gender-diversity.
Catalyst (2011). *The Bottom Line: Corporate Performance and Women's Representation on Boards (2004–2008)*. New York: Catalyst. Retrieved November 20, 2017 from http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/bottom-line-corporate-performance-and-womens-representation-boards-20042008.
Catalyst (2017a). *2016 Catalyst Census: Women and Men Board Directors*. New York: Catalyst. Retrieved November 21, 2017 from http://www.catalyst.org/system/files/census_2017.pdf.
Catalyst (2017b). *Women in the Labour Force: India*. New York: Catalyst. Retrieved November 21, 2017 from http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/women-labour-force-india.
Catalyst (2017c). *Statistical Overview of Women in the Workforce*. New York: Catalyst. Retrieved November 21, 2017 from http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/statistical-overview-women-workforce.
Clarke, M. (2011). Advancing women's careers through leadership development programs. *Employee Relations*, *33*(5), 498–515.
Crompton, R., & Lyonette, C. (2011). Women's career success and work–life adaptations in the accountancy and medical professions in Britain. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *18*(2), 231–254.
Crowley, J. E., & Kolenikov, S. (2014). Flexible work options and mothers' perceptions of career harm. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *55*(1), 168–195.
Daniel, J. H. (2009). Next generation: A mentoring program for black female psychologists. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *40*(3), 299–305.
DeFrank-Cole, L., Latimer, M., Reed, M., & Wheatly, M. (2014). The women's leadership initiative: One university's attempt to empower females on campus. *Journal of Leadership, Accountability and Ethics*, *11*(1), 50–63.
Dex, S., & Bukodi, E. (2012). The effects of part-time work on women's occupational mobility in Britain: Evidence from the 1958 birth cohort study. *National Institute Economic Review*, *222*(1), R20–R37.
Dougherty, T. W., Dreher, G. F., Arunachalam, V., & Wilbanks, J. E. (2013). Mentor status, occupational context, and protégé career outcomes: Differential returns for males and females. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *83*(3), 514–527.
Dunbar, D. R., & Kinnersley, R. T. (2011). Mentoring female administrators toward leadership success. *Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin*, *77*(3), 17–24.
Durbin, S., & Tomlinson, J. (2014). Female part-time managers: Careers, mentors and role models. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *21*(4), 308–320.
Ely, R. J., Ibarra, H., & Kolb, D. M. (2011). Taking gender into account: Theory and design for women's leadership development programs. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, *10*(3), 474–493.
European Commission (2016). *Gender Balance on Corporate Boards: Europe is Cracking the Glass Ceiling*. Retrieved November 21, 2017 from http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/gender_balance_decision_making/1607_factsheet_final_wob_data_en.pdf.
Farrow, L. (2008). The experiences of minority women leaders as mentees in US organizations. *Emerging Leadership Journeys*, *1*(2), 25–42.
Feeney, M. K., Bernal, M., & Bowman, L. (2014). Enabling work? Family-friendly policies and academic productivity for men and women scientists. *Science and Public Policy*, *41*(6), 750–764.
Forret, M. L., & Dougherty, T. W. (2004). Networking behaviors and career outcomes: Differences for men and women? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *25*(3), 419–437.
Foust-Cummings, H., Dinolfo, S., & Kohler, J. (2011). *Sponsoring Women to Success*. New York: Catalyst.
Gardiner, M., Tiggemann, M., Kearns, H., & Marshall, K. (2007). Show me the money! An empirical analysis of mentoring outcomes for women in academia. *Higher Education Research & Development*, *26*(4), 425–442.

Grant, C. M. (2012). Advancing our legacy: A Black feminist perspective on the significance of mentoring for African-American women in educational leadership. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *25*(1), 101–117.
Gunz, H., Mayrhofer, W., & Tolbert, P. (2011). Career as a social and political phenomenon in the globalized economy. *Organization Studies*, *32*(12), 1613–1620.
Heilman, M. E. (2001). Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*, 657–674.
Heywood, J. S., & Jirjahn, U. (2009). Family-friendly practices and worker representation in Germany. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society*, *48*, 121–145.
Ibarra, H. (1993). Personal networks of women and minorities in management: A conceptual framework. *Academy of Management Review*, *18*(1), 56–87.
Ibarra, H., Carter, N. M., & Silva, C. (2010). Why men still get more promotions than women. *Harvard Business Review*, *88*(9), 80–85.
International Labour Office (2015). *Women in Business and Management: Gaining Momentum*. Geneva: International Labour Office. Retrieved November 22, 2017 from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_334882.pdf.
Joecks, J., Pull, K., & Vetter, K. (2013). Gender diversity in the boardroom and firm performance: What exactly constitutes a "critical mass?" *Journal of Business Ethics*, *118*(1), 61–72.
Kalysh, K., Kulik, C. T., & Perera, S. (2016). Help or hindrance? Work–life practices and women in management. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *27*(3), 504–518.
Kanter, R. M. (1977). Some effects of proportions on group life: Skewed sex ratios and responses to token women. *American Journal of Sociology*, *82*, 965–990.
Konrad, A. M., & Yang, Y. (2012). Is using work–life interface benefits a career-limiting move? An examination of women, men, lone parents, and parents with partners. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *33*(8), 1095–1119.
Kozlowski, K., & Klein, K. (2000). A multilevel approach to theory and research in organizations: Contextual, temporal, and emergent processes. In S. Kozlowski & K. Klein (Eds.), *Multilevel Theory, Research and Methods in Organizations* (pp. 3–90). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
Kram, K. E. (1985). *Mentoring at Work: Developmental Relationships in Organizational Life.* Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company.
Kulik, C. T., & Metz, I. (2017). Women at the top. In M. A. Hitt, S. E. Jackson, S. Carmona, L. Bierman, C. E. Shalley, & M. Wright (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Strategy Implementation* (pp. 239–281). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Lyonette, C., & Crompton, R. (2008). The only way is up? An examination of women's "underachievement" in the accountancy profession in the UK. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *23*(7), 506–521.
Marschke, R., Laursen, S., Nielsen, J. M., & Rankin, P. (2007). Demographic inertia revisited: An immodest proposal to achieve equitable gender representation among faculty in higher education. *Journal of Higher Education*, *78*(1), 1–26.
Maxwell, G. A., Ogden, S. M., & McTavish, D. (2007). Enabling the career development of female managers in finance and retail. *Women in Management Review*, *22*(5), 353–370.
McDonald, P., Bradley, L., & Brown, K. (2008). Visibility in the workplace: Still an essential ingredient for career success? *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *19*(12), 2198–2215.
National Centre for Education Statistics (2017). Bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions, by sex of student and discipline division: 2014–15. Retrieved November 21, 2017 from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d16/tables/dt16_318.30.asp?current=yes.
Noback, I., Broersma, L., & Dijk, J. (2016). Climbing the ladder: Gender-specific career advancement in financial services and the influence of flexible work-time arrangements. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *54*(1), 114–135.
O'Neil, D. A., Hopkins, M. M., & Bilimoria, D. (2015). A framework for developing women leaders: Applications to executive coaching. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *51*(2), 253–276.
Ostroff, C., & Bowen, D. E. (2016). Reflections on the 2014 decade award: Is there strength in the construct of HR system strength? *Academy of Management Review*, *41*(2), 196–214.

Patti, J., Holzer, A. A., Stern, R., & Brackett, M. A. (2012). Personal, professional coaching: Transforming professional development for teacher and administrative leaders. *Journal of Leadership Education*, *11*(1), 263–274.

Ragins, B. R. (1997). Diversified mentoring relationships in organizations: A power perspective. *Academy of Management Review*, *22*(2), 482–521.

Ragins, B. R., & Cotton, J. L. (1999). Mentor functions and outcomes: A comparison of men and women in formal and informal mentoring relationships. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *84*(4), 529–550.

Ramaswami, A., Dreher, G. F., Bretz, R., & Wiethoff, C. (2010a). The interactive effects of gender and mentoring on career attainment: Making the case for female lawyers. *Journal of Career Development*, *37*(4), 692–716.

Ramaswami, A., Dreher, G. F., Bretz, R., & Wiethoff, C. (2010b). Gender, mentoring, and career success: The importance of organizational context. *Personnel Psychology*, *63*(2), 385–405.

Schipani, C. A., Dworkin, T. M., Kwolek-Folland, A., & Maurer, V. G. (2009). Pathways for women to obtain positions of organizational leadership: The significance of mentoring and networking. *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy*, *16*, 89–136.

Shapiro, M., Ingols, C., O'Neill, R., & Blake-Beard, S. (2009). Making sense of women as career self-agents: Implications for human resource development. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *20*(4), 477–501.

Singh, V., Vinnicombe, S., & Kumra, S. (2006). Women in formal corporate networks: An organisational citizenship perspective. *Women in Management Review*, *21*(6), 458–482.

Straub, C. (2007). A comparative analysis of the use of work–life balance practices in Europe: Do practices enhance females' career advancement? *Women in Management Review*, *22*(4), 289–304.

Tharenou, P. (2005). Does mentor support increase women's career advancement more than men's? The differential effects of career and psychosocial support. *Australian Journal of Management*, *30*(1), 77–109.

Timberlake, S. (2005). Social capital and gender in the workplace. *Journal of Management Development*, *24*(1), 34–44.

van Emmerik, I. J. (2004). The more you can get the better: Mentoring constellations and intrinsic career success. *Career Development International*, *9*(6), 578–594.

Villablanca, A. C., Beckett, L., Nettiksimmons, J., & Howell, L. P. (2011). Career flexibility and family-friendly policies: An NIH-funded study to enhance women's careers in biomedical sciences. *Journal of Women's Health*, *20*(10), 1485–1496.

Vinnicombe, S., & Colwill, N. L. (1995). *The Essence of Women in Management*. London: Pearson Education.

von Hippel, C., Kalokerinos, E. K., & Zacher, H. (2017). Stereotype threat and perceptions of family-friendly policies among female employees. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *7*, 2043.

Walsh, J. (2012). Not worth the sacrifice? Women's aspirations and career progression in law firms. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *19*(5), 508–531.

Watts, J. H. (2009). Leaders of men: Women "managing" in construction. *Work, Employment and Society*, *23*(3), 512–530.

Weaver, M. A., & Chelladurai, P. (1999). A mentoring model for management in sport and physical education. *Quest*, *51*(1), 24–38.

Weaver, M. A., & Chelladurai, P. (2002). Mentoring in intercollegiate athletic administration. *Journal of Sport Management*, *16*(2), 96–116.

5. Gender and authentic leadership: antecedents and consequences of leaders' emotional labor

Laura D. Wojtas, Judith Kampa and Kathleen Otto

INTRODUCTION

First examined among service workers, emotional labor (the regulation of emotions in occupational interactions; Hochschild, 1983) has increasingly become the focus of leadership research in the last years, suggesting that leaders manage their emotions and their emotional expressions in interactions with subordinates (Humphrey, 2008). As research indicates that leaders' emotions substantially impact subordinates' attitudes and performance, emotional labor provides a challenging set of ideas concerning leadership and its research (Humphrey, 2012). Depicting economic relationships in which money changes hands, service encounters are different from leader–follower interactions (Parasuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry, 1985; Schneider, White, & Paul, 1998). From a leader-based perspective, the performance of emotional labor is more than just reaching acceptable levels of pleasantness or agreeableness during interactions with subordinates. As a result, the display rule "service with a smile" becomes likewise improper (Grandey, Fisk, Mattila, Jansen, & Sideman, 2005, p. 38; Humphrey, 2012).

In contrast to service workers, leaders engage in a great variety of situations with complex emotional demands (Newman, Guy, & Mastracci, 2009). For example, should supervisors show empathy to employees who show up late or rather irritation or even anger (cf. Humphrey, 2008)? Leaders must deal with different stakeholders, analyze each social occupational interaction, and find an appropriate emotional response (Newman et al., 2009). Concurrently they are placed in many situations in which they may not feel the emotions they want to display (Burch, Humphrey, & Batchelor, 2013).

An important qualitative distinction to service workers is that leaders are allowed to display anger (Mann, 2007). Notwithstanding, leaders seem to be more restricted to fake emotions as their subordinates may impose sanctions on such behavior with leaders losing their credibility (Burch et al., 2013). Indeed, there is evidence that employees expect the emotional displays from people they do know well, like supervisors, to be more genuine (Mann, 2007).

This raises the question of whether leaders still are perceived as authentic when they engage in fake emotions, and demonstrates the need to distinguish between different emotional labor strategies. In fact, Gardner, Fischer, and Hunt (2009) already introduced authentic leadership to the field of emotional labor in their theoretical article by integrating it as a specific behavioral set of authentic leaders. In addition, gender has been linked to the engagement in emotional labor. Research suggests distinct preferences for men and women to behave toward others (Bulan, Erickson, & Wharton, 1997). These findings, however, were generated mainly among service workers. Up until today it is unclear if this applies for individuals in leadership positions as well. To the very best of our knowledge, no other study has empirically examined the emotional labor–authentic leadership relationship. We address this question to provide a better understanding of emotional labor and authentic leadership, and to offer a potential foundation and jumping-off point for authentic leadership development. Moreover, we contribute to the understanding of gender issues in leadership and organizations.

Emotional Labor in the Service Encounter

Emotional labor is primarily a marketable component of the service industry whereby friendly and positive emotional displays are job requirements for customer service employees – no matter whether authentically felt or not. Thereby employees should engender customer satisfaction and bind them to the organization. These guidelines regarding the service clerk's emotional expression also are known as display rules (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).

Hochschild (1983) was the first to describe different emotional labor strategies. She determined that, during the process of *surface acting*, employees adjust their emotional expression by suppressing, amplifying, or faking emotions in occupational interactions (see also Grandey, 2000). In other words, employees put on a mask, meaning that the emotional expression and the experience of it remain discordant (Gross, 1998). In contrast, employees also can alter their actual inner emotional status, which is known as *deep acting* (Hochschild, 1983). Employees actually try to feel the emotions they need to display (Hochschild, 1983), for example by recalling past events that are associated with the required emotion (Grandey, 2000).

According to research on authentic emotional displays (Pugh, 2001), reactions toward inauthentic smiles differ from those to authentic smiles, and moreover, those reactions are less positive (Grandey et al., 2005; cf. Hennig-Thurau, Groth, Paul, & Gremler, 2006). Authentic smiles (so-called Duchenne smiles) result in higher attribution of positive characteristics (Ekman, 1992; Ekman & Friesen, 1982). In field research, service providers who reported being authentically positive in interactions with their clients earned higher ratings on their interpersonal demeanor (i.e., friendliness) than their colleagues who were less authentic (Grandey, 2003). Additional support was provided by Grandey and colleagues (2005), who showed that an authentic emotional display improved customer reactions toward the service encounter. This raises the question of whether leaders' authentic behavior is also assessed upon the perception of an (in)authentic emotional display.

Authentic Leadership

In times when one public corporation scandal runs into the next, revealing egoistic and corruptive leadership practices, the topic of authenticity in leadership is steadily becoming of greater interest. Both practitioner (George, 2003) and academic literature (Avolio, Gardner, Walumbwa, Luthans, & May, 2004) refer to authentic leaders as being guided by internal moral standards with high interests in matters related to followers, organizations, and society.

It has been theorized that such leaders preserve a sense of consistency in their actions and finally perform well beyond minimum acceptable or average success (George, 2003). Responding to calls for a more positive and integral perspective on leadership, Avolio et al. (2004) and Ilies, Morgeson, and Nahrgang (2005) introduced the concept of authentic leadership.

Overall, authentic leadership has been described as a process in which positive leader capacities and a highly developed organizational context are combined to positively influence self-awareness and personal development for both parties, namely leaders and followers (Luthans & Avolio, 2003). Newer conceptualizations extended old ones by stressing the facet of high morality in authentic leadership. This led to the idea that authentic leaders generally are perceived as being true to themselves in their values, strengths, social interactions, and relationships. Authentic leaders therefore manage to build a culture of credibility, respect, and trust by growing collaborative networks with their followers (Avolio et al., 2004).

In an effort to unite these definitions, Cooper, Scandura, and Schriesheim (2005) viewed the concept of authentic leadership as multifaceted, containing elements from diverse domains: traits, states, behaviors, contexts, or attributions. This concept consists of four dimensions: (a) self-awareness (process of reflecting on one's unique values, identity, goals, knowledge, talents and/or capabilities, and emotions to develop an enhanced understanding of the self), (b) relational transparency (presenting one's true self to others), (c) balanced processing (analyzing relevant information objectively before making a decision), and (d) internalized moral perspective (self-regulation that is guided by internal moral standards and values) (Neider & Schriesheim, 2011; Walumbwa, Avolio, Gardner, Wernsing, & Peterson, 2008).

Leader's Authentic Behavior and Emotional Labor

Despite the emphasis on leaders' own values, it is clear that the values promoted by authentic leaders cannot be merely self-oriented. Theorists of authentic leadership therefore noted that authentic leaders are true to themselves and to others (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999). Authentic leaders with a relational transparency orientation will seek open and truthful relationships with their followers (Ilies et al., 2005). They will fully disclose and not conceal information about themselves (even if negative); be transparent in processes of decision making; and clearly specify relevant information, their ideas, and thoughts (Neider & Schriesheim, 2011).

Additionally, displayed emotions will provide followers with invaluable information about their leaders and the numerous dynamic transactions they share inside their organizational environments (Lazarus, 1991). Parallel to this, it was considered that high degrees of consistency between values and behaviors would enable leaders to be more genuine in their emotional expressions and therefore able to build close and authentic relationships with their followers (Ilies et al., 2005). According to Humphrey (2012) and Gardner et al. (2009), authentic leadership and a better leader–follower exchange happens when leaders use higher rates of deep acting rather than concealing their emotions in a masquerade of surface acting.

Moreover, surface acting should hinder leaders in feeling close to their followers. Inconsistency between one's emotional display, one's inner status, and one's identity should lead to a higher experience of emotional dissonance, a state in which felt emotions do not correspond to those that are expressed (Hochschild, 1983). Emotional dissonance has been described as a stressor (Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic, 1999), and it is assumed to lead to the loss of one's sense of authentic self (cf. Hochschild, 1983). In consequence, surface acting seems to be a threat to positive leader–follower relationships and leaders' well-being.

As mentioned before, research on emotional labor strategies in the service industry confirms that surface acting generally is ineffective in generating positive impressions in others (Grandey et al., 2005), and that it is negatively related to effective emotional performance (Bono & Vey, 2005). Customers respond more positively to employees who engage in an authentic emotional display (Grandey et al., 2005). Consequently, employees should respond better to leaders who engage in deep acting; they should perceive them as more authentic and having a more honest overall character (Gardner et al., 2009; Humphrey, 2012).

Leaders who respond to emotional display rules with surface acting are unlikely to garner favorable follower impressions (Gardner et al., 2009). In addition, surface acting may be accompanied by unwanted secondary impressions in that the leader seems to be insincere and manipulative (Gardner & Martinko, 1988). In line with the framework propositions of Gardner and colleagues (2009), we hypothesize the following:

H1a: Leaders' surface acting is negatively related to followers' perceptions of authentic leadership.

H1b: Leaders' deep acting is positively related to followers' perceptions of authentic leadership.

Gender Aspects of Emotional Labor

More than three decades after Hochschild's seminal work on emotional labor (1983), gender-based segregation in occupations with high demands of emotional labor persists. Fifty-three percent of female workers and 32 percent of male workers are in jobs defined as having high emotional labor demands, such as sales, managerial, healthcare, and other service occupations (Bhave & Glomb, 2009). But why is this so?

Gender differences in occupations reflect existing assumptions about men's and women's emotionality. Men are more motivated to stay in control, repress emotional responses (Matud, 2004), and express powerful emotions such as anger or pride. In contrast, women are concerned more with getting along (Timmers, Fischer, & Manstead, 1998); emphasizing benevolent and universal values (Ryckman & Houston, 2003). It has been argued that people-oriented work is related more closely to women's traditional caretaking role, encapsulating a higher suitability for service jobs (cf. Bulan et al., 1997; Hochschild, 1983).

Indeed research has shown that effectiveness in working with people is more important to job success and satisfaction for female workers than their male counterparts (Bulan et al., 1997). This is in line with Hall's (1995) idea of women's job success more likely being evaluated on the basis of their effectiveness in working with people – as a traditional feminine skill – than men's. As a result, occupations with those kinds of experiences may be perceived as more rewarding to women than those that are without them (Bulan et al., 1997).

Various theories have been applied to explain gender differences in leadership, such as Bowlby's attachment theory (1951) or the relational theory (Boatwright & Forrest, 2000). Carless (1998) described female leadership development with respect to the socialization process of women. Principally, workplace roles are defined solely in terms of genderless and formal role structures of individuals, groups, and organizations. It is more probable, however, that female leaders respond – at least partially – to expectations concerning appropriate "female" behavior, the same applying to male leaders (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

According to social role theory (Eagly, 1987) gender differences can be accounted for by one's own set of expectations as well as those of others, depending on gender roles. In general, women are expected to display feminine values, often termed "communal," through affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic, and interpersonally sensitive behaviors. Typically masculine behaviors, often termed "agentic," encompass attributions such as assertive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, self-sufficient, and self-confident (Newport, 2001). These gender-based expectations influence workplace roles, and thus leadership behaviors were described as gender-role spillover effects (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Eagly (2005) theorized that female leaders might be seen as part of an outsider group, and thus face a key challenge to combine their followers' trust and acceptance within their persons. Within this context, Eagly and Karau (2002) developed the role incongruity theory of prejudice to elucidate prejudices that might confront women in leadership positions. This phenomenon rests in the idea of inconsistency between the demands of leadership roles that are construed generically in masculine terms. Therefore, female leaders become subject to adverse preconceptions about future work performance and suffer diminished outcomes (Bass, 1990). It further was argued that, in such cases, the more women epitomize their male counterparts' behavior, the more they may compromise their chances to gain followers' identification and to be perceived without devaluations.

As a result of their meta-analytic findings, Eagly and Johnson (1990) also indicated that competent women might be able to alleviate role conflict and minimize gender-role violations by shaping their behavior and acting stereotypically feminine. Indeed, a great body of evidence shows that leadership styles tend to be gender stereotypic (e.g., Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995). Female leaders tend to show a more people-oriented and democratic style in comparison to male leaders (Eagly et al., 1995). But what does that mean with regard to emotional labor?

Emotional Labor of Female and Male Leaders

Hochschild's qualitative research (1983) suggests that even within the same occupation, emotional expression differs among male and female workers with women showing more positive emotions (Rafaeli, 1989) and higher rates of emotional expressivity (Deaux, 1985). Moreover, a great number of studies have shown that men and women differ in terms of the experience of emotions (Geer & Shields, 1996). Women tend to experience more intense and frequent emotions, and are more likely to report the experience of fear, sadness, shame, and guilt than men (Brody & Hall, 2000). In contrast, men are more likely to report the experience of anger and pride (Fischer & Jansz, 1995). On top of that, women are more likely to manage emotions at work and to be subject to the expectation to do so (Wharton & Erickson, 1993).

Eagly and Johnson (1990) reckoned that women's human skills may account for such differences as they are associated with a better understanding of others' emotions and intentions, and therefore facilitate leadership behavior that is more democratic and participative. Gender role socialization (Rafaeli, 1989) was stressed to have a marked influence on women's ability to handle the demands of emotion management in interactions with others. Being more skilled at emotion management contributes to the idea that women experience more positive emotions with occupations requiring emotional labor, such as service work (Johnson & Spector, 2007).

Bulan et al. (1997) showed that effectiveness in working with people is more important to job success and satisfaction for women in service occupations than it is for men. Thus, a higher degree of role authenticity felt by women, compared to men, contributes to a greater engagement in emotional labor with special regard to deep acting. According to Johnson and Spector (2007) female leaders should try to feel the required emotions. To give an example, they should feel empathetic toward an employee who shows up late, imagining personal problems, instead of showing irritation or anger. In contrast, as discussed before, Bulan et al.'s (1997) research indicates male workers attach less value to people-work in order to feel authentic within their job roles; meaning that, as long as men are engaged in their work performance, interactions with others are less important.

Consequently, it can be assumed that male leaders might lack motivation to engage in deep acting when their feelings are incongruent with the required emotions, resulting in lower levels of deep acting than their female counterparts. Additionally, women should be more successful in expressing genuine emotions because of their superior ability to express emotions in general (Rafaeli, 1989). Therefore, when they engage in deep acting to generate the display of genuine emotions, they are more likely to experience positive outcomes due to felt role congruency. In turn, surface acting causes emotional dissonance, contributing to feelings of role inauthenticity (Hochschild, 1983). For male leaders this might be less of a concern (Johnson & Spector, 2007). Consequently, we hypothesize the following:

H2a: Female leaders show less surface acting than male leaders.

H2b: Female leaders show more deep acting than male leaders.

METHOD

Sample and Procedure

Our hypotheses were tested in a matched leader–follower sample using data from Shanghai, China. After leaders completed an English web-based survey, they forwarded the related employee survey link to their followers to rate their leadership behavior. Data from N_2 = 30 leaders and their subordinates (N_1 = 73), with a mean of 2.52 subordinate ratings per leader were analyzed. The majority of the sample (63.3 percent) was employed in the chemical industry (others: high tech/IT/telecommunication 13.2 percent; fast-moving consumer goods 10 percent; automotive 3.3 percent; finance 3.3 percent; food 3.3 percent).

Managers made up the majority of the sample at 76.7 percent, supervisors, 10.0 percent, and directors or chief executive officers, 6.6 percent. Leaders' age ranged from 27 to 47 with a mean of 36.53 (*SD* = 4.80); 63.3 percent of them were male (36.7 percent female). Regarding their highest education level, 3.3 percent of the leaders had received vocational training only, while 56.7 percent had an undergraduate degree, 33.3 percent a graduate-level degree, and 6.7 percent a doctorate. Leaders' average organizational tenure was 5.87 years (*SD* = 5.13, range = 1–24); their leadership experience was 4.38 years (*SD* = 3.18, range = 1–12).

On average, subordinates were five years younger than their leaders (*M* = 31.58, *SD* = 6.11, range 24–57). The majority of the followers were female (58.9 percent, male: 38.4 percent), and worked less long for their current organization (*M* = 4.59, *SD* = 4.03, range = 0.5–21 years). Subordinates' educational background was comparable to the leader sample (1.4 percent vocational training only, 60.3 percent undergraduate, 32.9 percent graduate-level, 2.7 percent doctorate). About 45.2 percent of the followers stated they had prior leadership responsibility, while 52.1 percent did not, and 16.4 percent said they currently work as a leader.

Measures

Leaders' self-rated emotional labor

Leaders' deep and surface acting was assessed with three items each from the Emotional Labor Scale (ELS; Brotheridge & Lee, 2003); linguistically adapted according to leader–follower interactions. A sample item for surface acting is "I resist expressing my true feelings," and for deep acting "I try to actually experience the emotions that I must show." Reliabilities of both scales were acceptable (surface acting: $\alpha = 0.72$; deep acting: $\alpha = 0.70$). Items were rated on a five-point frequency scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*).

Follower-rated authentic leadership

Subordinates rated their leaders' prototypical behavior using the fourteen-item Authentic Leadership Inventory (ALI; Neider & Schriesheim, 2011), on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*). The scale's reliability was good ($\alpha = 0.90$). A sample item is "My leader shows consistency between her/his beliefs and actions."

RESULTS

Means, standard deviations, and correlations of the study's level 2 variables are summarized in Table 5.1. As followers were nested within leaders, a mean-as-outcome model was estimated to test the role of the leader's emotional labor in followers' perception of authentic leadership (cf. Hofmann, Griffin, & Gavin, 2000).

The intra-class correlation coefficient (ICC) of 0.30 provided justification for the

Table 5.1 Means, standard deviations, and correlations of level 1 and level 2 variables

	Variables	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Leader's age	36.53	4.80								
2.	Leader's gender[1]			0.04							
3.	Leader's leadership experience	4.38	3.18	0.55**	0.10						
4.	Leader's tenure	5.87	5.13	0.69**	0.14	0.78**					
5.	Surface acting	2.76	0.60	−0.05	0.19	0.02	0.16				
6.	Deep acting	3.31	0.64	−0.02	0.16	0.07	0.15	0.28			
7.	Follower's authentic leadership perception	3.92	0.50	0.07°	−0.17°	0.03°	−0.11°	−0.76**°	0.00°		
8.	Follower's age	31.58	6.11	0.40⁺°	0.17°	0.00°	0.37*°	−0.19°	0.18°	0.10	
9.	Follower's gender[1]			−0.46*°	0.39*°	−0.39⁺°	−0.54**°	−0.33°	−0.04°	0.07	0.07

Notes: $N_1 = 73$, $N_2 = 30$.
1 Variable was dummy coded prior to analyses (0 = female, 1 = male).
° Correlations were estimated by the simple multilevel regression coefficient as suggested by Hox (2010, p. 22) when predicting follower variables by leader variables. Displayed coefficients are *z*-standardized.
⁺ $p<0.10$, * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, two-tailed.

Table 5.2 Estimated HLM regression coefficients to predict authentic leadership by emotional labor strategies and follower's gender

	Outcome: Authentic leadership perception		
Step 1	*B*	*SD*	*p*
Intercept	*3.99***	*0.17*	*0.000*
Follower's gender[1]	−0.16	0.37	0.662
Step 2	*B*	*S.E.*	*p*
Intercept	*4.11***	*0.14*	*0.000*
Follower's gender[1]	−0.46	0.31	0.138
Leader's surface acting	−0.25**	0.07	0.000
Step 3			
Intercept	*4.11***	*0.17*	*0.000*
Follower's gender[1]	−0.48	0.33	0.144
Leader's surface acting	−0.24*	0.10	0.012
Follower's gender[1] x leader's surface acting	−0.07	0.35	0.836
Step 2	*B*	*S.E.*	*p*
Intercept	*4.00***	*0.16*	*0.000*
Follower's gender[1]	−0.18	0.38	0.640
Leader's deep acting	−0.02	0.10	0.850
Step 3			
Intercept	*4.35***	*0.22*	*0.000*
Follower's gender[1]	−0.95+	0.51	0.061
Leader's deep acting	−0.68*	0.29	0.018
Follower's gender[1] x leader's deep acting	1.32*	0.62	0.033

Notes:
$N_1 = 73$, $N_2 = 29$. All predictors have been *z*-standardized prior to data-analyses.
1 Variable was dummy coded prior to analyses (0 = female, 1 = male).
+ $p<0.10$, * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, two-tailed.

use of HLM regression analyses to test hypotheses group 1. Results are summarized in Table 5.2. We examined the cross-level relationship between the main effect of leaders' emotional labor (level 2 variable) and followers' rating of authentic leadership (level 1 variable). As research underlined that female and male followers react differently to the same leadership behavior (e.g., Haggard, Robert, & Rose, 2011), we further controlled for the role of followers' gender and a possible interaction when testing H1a and H1b.

Data revealed a significant negative relationship between *surface acting* and authentic leadership, supporting H1a ($B = -0.24$, $p = 0.012$). Followers' gender was unrelated to the authenticity perception.

Regarding *deep acting*, analyses revealed a marginal significant main effect of followers' gender ($B = -0.96$, $p = 0.062$) and a significant effect of leader's deep acting ($B = -0.68$, $p = 0.018$) as well as a significant interaction between followers' gender and leader's use of this strategy ($B = 1.32$, $p = 0.033$). As illustrated in Figure 5.1, data provide support for the assumption that male followers perceive their leaders as being more authentic when they use deep acting (H1b). This relationship was not supported

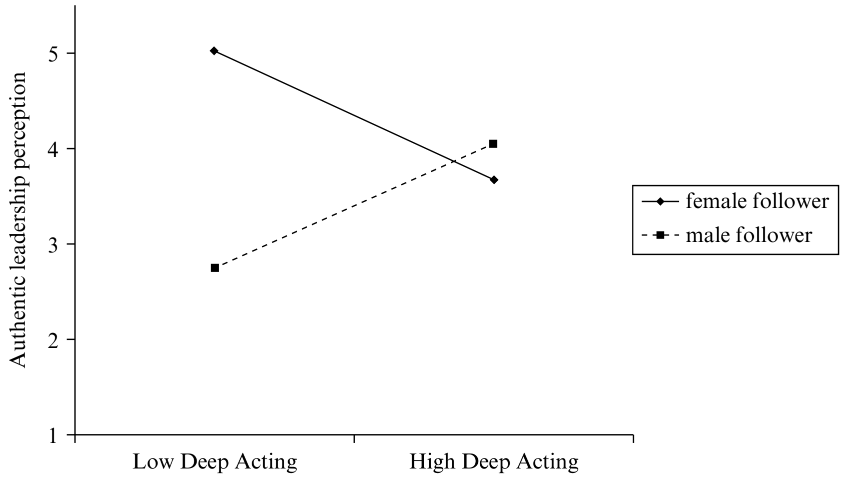


Figure 5.1 Interaction between leader's amount of deep acting and follower's gender when predicting authentic leadership

for female followers, however. The interaction rather implies that female followers perceive their leaders to be more authentic when they use less deep acting. Nevertheless, among male and female followers, leaders were perceived as equally authentic for high deep-acting values.

In a gender comparison of the thirty leaders (11 female, 19 male) no significant differences were found between gender groups, failing to support hypotheses 2a and 2b. Female leaders ($M = 2.61$; $SD = 0.36$) did not engage significantly less in surface acting than males ($M = 2.84$; $SD = 0.70$), $t(28) = -1.04$, $p = 0.307$, nor did they engage more in deep acting (female: $M = 3.18$; $SD = 0.50$, male: $M = 3.39$; $SD = 0.71$), $t(28) = -0.84$, $p = 0.407$.

DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was twofold. Focusing on the leader–follower relationship, we hypothesized that leaders' authentic display of emotions (deep acting) results in higher perceptions of authentic leadership behavior; while inauthentic displays (surface acting) should lower leaders' authenticity. Further, we assumed that female and male leaders differ regarding the use of different emotional labor strategies.

Hypotheses were partially confirmed. Surface acting negatively correlated with authentic leadership. Unexpectedly, deep acting interacted with followers' gender regarding perception of leadership authenticity, in that our hypothesis was supported only for male followers. In contrast, female followers rated their leaders being much more authentic when they used less deep acting. Contrary to expectations, a leader's gender had no effect on the use of the different emotional labor strategies.

Emotional Labor and Perceptions of (Authentic) Leadership

This work underlines that emotional labor is not limited to service encounters but is meaningful to leader–follower interactions as well. As suggested by Humphrey (2008, 2012), psychological processes by which leaders regulate their emotional expression play an important role in followers' leadership perceptions (Gardner et al., 2009; Humphrey, 2008). Moreover, this enlarges evidence from Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) that leaders do engage in emotional labor. Emotional labor can be seen as a skill set that is subject to inter-individual differences in leaders, accounting for good and bad leadership practice (Newman et al., 2009).

We only succeeded, however, in relating surface acting to followers' perception of authentic leadership, irrespective of follower's gender. Deep acting was related to it only among male followers. Results underline that followers detect when leaders show inconsistencies between their behavior and their actual self, which is primarily the case when surface acting. That leaders are being perceived as less authentic, should hinder them in building close and authentic relationships with their followers (Ilies et al., 2005; cf. Humphrey, 2012).

That we found a significant interaction between leaders' deep acting and followers' gender raises some interesting new aspects in this context. In consideration of our results, it is impossible to make general predictions on the impact of leaders' deep acting on followers' perceptions. Our findings deliver some evidence that follower characteristics, such as gender, must be taken into account when choosing the "right" regulation strategy. Although male followers honor it when deep acting is employed, women seem to be able to recognize if a leader engages in emotion regulation, even when deep acting. In consequence, this poses higher demands on leaders in regulating their own emotions when interacting with female followers. Male followers seem to be much easier to satisfy in this regard. As a result, women perceive their leaders to be most authentic when they use less of this regulation strategy.

Leaders need to differentiate with whom they interact (male or female follower) and adapt their strategy accordingly. This should not be seen as an obligation, however, as leaders who engage in much deep acting are not perceived differently among male and female followers. In other words, it is not "problematic" for a leader to engage in deep acting (remember the positive health outcomes of this strategy), but it seems to be much better to engage in less (deep) acting when addressing a female follower.

Former research on service dis-/confirmation suggests that a service is evaluated on the basis of customer expectations (Oliver, 1980). Service receivers may focus (only) on levels of authenticity when they feel that appropriate standards for emotional display have not been met (Ennew, Reed, & Binks, 1993). Therefore, it is necessary to ask whether faking emotions (surface acting) always is detrimental for leader practice. In their framework of authentic leadership, Gardner and colleagues (2009) discussed that a fake display may arise although the leader is deeply involved in the situation and the follower's well-being. Such discrepancies may be due to situational factors that hinder leaders in making an appropriate effort to display the emotion that they wish to feel. To give an example, leaders may find themselves in a stressful situation that leaves no space to engage in proper emotion management. Taking this into account, a useful distinction could be made between "faking in good faith" (e.g., displaying positive but faked emotions toward somebody based on a genuine concern for his/her well-being, which is in line with one's own convictions) and "faking in bad faith" (e.g., mechanically expressing appropriate emotions without being convinced of its meaning; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). In the current study we did not distinguish between both surface acting strategies. This might be a valuable addendum in the future.

In sum, our findings raise important questions about the underlying mechanisms by which the two concepts of authentic leadership and emotional labor are related. Hypotheses were developed based on findings in the service sector, according to which service workers' performance is rated more favorably when the shown emotions are authentic and when they conform to display rules (Grandey et al., 2005). When it comes to leadership, Newcombe and Ashkanasy (2002) showed that the congruency between a leader's verbal message and the emotional display influences how followers evaluate their leader. If the expressed emotion is congruent with the verbal message, leaders are evaluated positively. Conversely, if the expressed emotion is incongruent with the verbal message, leaders are evaluated negatively. This is in line with Gardner and colleagues' (2009) model of authentic leadership mirroring a cognitive aspect of leadership perception. Over and above this, genuine smiles are likely to induce pleasure and emotional empathy (Surakka & Hietanen, 1998), and therefore, may lead to further positive leadership and performance appraisals (Newcombe & Ashkanasy, 2002).

Gender Issues in Leaders' Emotional Labor

The insights on emotional labor in leadership from the current study raise some interesting questions on the existence of gender differences. In detail, our study provides evidence for equal patterns of emotional labor in male and female leaders. Although group mean differences and directions were in favor of hypothesis 2a, results were not significant. Notwithstanding, it has to be acknowledged that the statistical power in our small sample of leaders was very low. As a result, emotional labor tendencies of female and male leaders remain unclear.

It is useful to turn to research on gender roles a second time. Eagly and Johnson's (1990) meta-analytical research on female and male leadership styles stems from data collected between 1967 and 1987. Although many scholars (e.g., Eagly & Carli, 2003) argued that, to succeed in today's frequently changing organizations, leaders must engage in collaborative and democratic relationships, they should show interpersonal sensitivity and be open and empathetic (Avolio, 1999).

Effective and influential leadership may not be driven by mainly stereotypic masculine characteristics; it may rather call for androgyny, a professional blend of culturally feminine and masculine behavioral tendencies that are advantageous to managers and that offer more flexibility for leadership (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). Indeed, women approximated men with respect to their career aspirations (Astin, Parrott, Korn, & Sax, 1997) and their self-report of dominance and masculinity (Twenge, 2001). A recent meta-analytical study brought evidence for an increasing androgyny in leader stereotypes in the last four decades (Koenig et al., 2011). Nevertheless, descriptive gender stereotypes (pertaining to the typical attributes of women and men) still exist in people's beliefs of stereotypically feminine and masculine qualities. Accordingly, Vinkenburg, van Engen, Eagly, and Johannesen-Schmidt (2011) showed that individuals are aware of small differences between male and female leaders.

Notwithstanding, this work revealed that gender at least matters in regard to the detection of emotions in others (e.g., leaders) as female followers reacted differently to leaders engaging in deep acting. In several ways this is in line with Eagly's work (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Johnson, 1990) on gender roles, indicating that women and men act differently due to a gender-specific skill set, resulting in women being much more concerned with interpersonal relationships.

Transferring this to the leadership context means that female leaders might be much more sensitive regarding the perception of emotions in others, although they do not regulate their emotions differently. Of course, this superior ability in detecting emotions might be an important advantage (e.g., in negotiations). Besides, the question arises of whether female leaders' emotional response is more precisely adjusted to the specific interaction partner in regard to emotional quality, which in turn, might be more beneficial to the leader–follower relationship in the long term.

All in all, more research is needed on this interesting topic. Moreover, there are several explanations for why we failed to reveal gender differences in leaders' emotion regulation. First, it must be noted that, besides the small sample size, the gender distribution in our leader sample was unbalanced (more male leaders), possibly hindering us in revealing the hypothesized effects.

A second reason could be the cultural background of our participants. Chinese culture is described as more collectivistic than many Western cultures, like those in most European countries (Hofstede, 1980). In collectivistic cultures, men and women both tend to highly value maintaining harmonious interpersonal relationships and are socialized equally in developing skills to maintain those relationships (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). As a consequence, the current study contributes primarily to research on collectivistic cultures.

Moreover, it is assumed that the use of the emotional labor strategies by female and male leaders depends on the kind of emotions that need to be displayed. In contrast to service professions, the display rules are different in leadership positions; they require and allow a larger range of emotions (cf. Humphrey, 2008; Mann, 2007). Possibly, women use more deep acting only when the display of warmth emotions, such as understanding and sympathy, is required, which is easier for them. In contrast, it is more difficult for them to induce emotions such as anger or irritation, resulting in female leaders using more surface acting when such emotions are required. Hence, we did not differentiate between the qualities of the required emotions. Further research on this point is needed in the future.

Further Implications

To the best of our knowledge this is the first empirical study to examine how the concept of emotional labor relates to authentic leadership. With our results we expand the knowledge on emotional labor by integrating it into the field of leadership. Moreover, we contribute to the research on gender differences in leadership that stem from one of the most discussed differences between men and women: emotionality. In times when gender issues in leadership keep politics and organizations busy (e.g., equal gender compensation, the number of female managing board members), our work provides a further basis for fruitful debates.

Shamir and Eilam (2005) particularly highlighted that authentic leadership is something one can develop in leaders. For this reason, it has been recommended (e.g., in the hospitality industry) to have training courses that teach deep acting skills when the performance of emotional labor is necessary in daily work (Johanson & Woods, 2008). According to our results, it might be promising for leaders to add emotional labor as a key element to their behavioral set. We therefore encourage future research to investigate the effectiveness of emotional labor training programs as a potential jumping-off point to developing authentic leadership behavior.

Over and above this, leaders should be sensitized to take followers' gender into account before deciding on the use of a specific emotion regulation strategy; it is promising to integrate this in leadership training programs. This, however, raises further critical questions about leaders' emotional labor because leaders, of course, are not limited to one-to-one interactions but very often interact with (mixed gender) groups of followers. More research on such questions is recommended. We certainly hope that the study will stimulate interesting and valuable research on this important topic in the future.

REFERENCES

Astin, A. W., Parrott, S. A., Korn, W. S., & Sax, L. J. (1997). The changing American college student: Thirty-year trends, 1966–1996. *The Review of Higher Education*, *21*(2), 115–135.

Avolio, B. J. (1999). *Full Leadership Development: Building the Vital Forces in Organizations.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Avolio, B. J., Gardner, W. L., Walumbwa, F. O., Luthans, F., & May, D. R. (2004). Unlocking the mask: A look at the process by which authentic leaders impact follower attitudes and behaviors. *Leadership Quarterly*, *15*(6), 801–823.

Bass, B. M. (1990). *Bass and Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership.* New York: Free Press.

Bass, B. M., & Steidlmeier, P. (1999). Ethics, character, and authentic transformational leadership behavior. *Leadership Quarterly*, *10*(2), 181–217.

Bhave, D. P., & Glomb, T. M. (2009). Emotional labor demands, wages and gender: A within-person, between-jobs study. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *82*, 683–707.

Boatwright, K. J., & Forrest, L. (2000). Leadership preferences: The influence of gender and needs for connection on workers' ideal preferences for leadership behaviors. *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies*, *7*(2), 18–34.

Bono, J. E., & Vey, M. A. (2005). Toward understanding emotional management at work: A quantitative review of emotional labor research. In C. E. J. Härtel, W. J. Zerbe, & N. M. Ashkanasy (Eds.), *Emotions in Organizational Behavior* (pp. 213–233). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Bowlby, J. (1951). *Maternal Care and Mental Health.* Geneva: World Health Organization.

Brody, L. R., & Hall, J. A. (2000). Gender, emotion and expression. In M. Lewis & J. M. Haviland-Jones (Eds.), *Handbook of Emotions* (pp. 338–349). New York: Guilford Press.

Brotheridge, C. M., & Grandey, A. A. (2002). Emotional labor and burnout: Comparing two perspectives of "people work." *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *60*(1), 17–39.

Brotheridge, C. M., & Lee, R. T. (2003). Development and validation of the Emotional Labor Scale. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *76*(3), 365–379.

Bulan, H. F., Erickson, R. J., & Wharton, A. S. (1997). Doing for others on the job: The affective requirements of service work, gender, and emotional well-being. *Social Problems*, *44*(2), 235–256.

Burch, G. F., Humphrey, R. H., & Batchelor, J. H. (2013). How great leaders use emotional labor: Insights from seven corporate executives. *Organizational Dynamics*, *42*(2), 119–125.

Carless, S. A. (1998). Gender differences in transformational leadership: An examination of superior, leader, and subordinate perspectives. *Sex Roles*, *39*(11), 887–902.

Cooper, C., Scandura, T. A., & Schriesheim, C. A. (2005). Looking forward but learning from our past: Potential challenges to developing authentic leadership theory and authentic leaders. *Leadership Quarterly*, *16*(3), 475–493.
Deaux, K. (1985). Sex and gender. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *36*, 49–81.
Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex Differences in Social Behavior: A Social-Role Interpretation.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Eagly, A. H. (2005). Achieving relational authenticity in leadership: Does gender matter? *Leadership Quarterly*, *16*(3), 459–474.
Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2003). Finding gender advantage and disadvantage: Systematic research integration is the solution. *Leadership Quarterly*, *14*(6), 851–859.
Eagly, A. H., & Johnson, B. T. (1990). Gender and leadership style: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *108*(2), 233–256.
Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, *109*(3), 573–598.
Eagly, A. H., Karau, S. J., & Makhijani, M. G. (1995). Gender and the effectiveness of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *117*(1), 125–145.
Ekman, P. (1992). Facial expressions of emotion: New findings, new questions. *Psychological Science*, *3*(1), 34–38.
Ekman, P., & Friesen, W. V. (1982). Felt, false, and miserable smiles. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*, *6*(4), 238–252.
Ennew, C. T., Reed, G. V., & Binks, M. R. (1993). Importance-performance analysis and the measurement of service quality. *European Journal of Marketing*, *27*(2), 59–70.
Fischer, A. H., & Jansz, J. (1995). Reconciling emotions with western personhood. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*, *25*(1), 59–80.
Gardner, W. L., Fischer, D., & Hunt, J. G. (2009). Emotional labor and leadership: A threat to authenticity? *Leadership Quarterly*, *20*(3), 466–482.
Gardner, W. L., & Martinko, M. J. (1988). Impression management in organizations. *Journal of Management*, *14*(2), 321–338.
Geer, C. G., & Shields, S. A. (1996). Women and emotion: Stereotypes and the double bind. In J. Chrisler, C. Golden, & P. Rozee (Eds.), *Lectures on the Psychology of Women* (pp. 63–74). New York: McGraw-Hill.
George, B. (2003). *Authentic Leadership: Rediscovering the Secrets to Creating Lasting Value.* Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.
Grandey, A. A. (2000). Emotion regulation in the workplace: A new way to conceptualize emotional labor. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *5*(1), 95–110.
Grandey, A. A. (2003). When "the show must go on": Surface acting and deep acting as determinants of emotional exhaustion and peer-rated service delivery. *Academy of Management Journal*, *46*(1), 86–96.
Grandey, A. A., Fisk, G. M., Mattila, A. S., Jansen, K. J., & Sideman, L. A. (2005). Is "service with a smile" enough? Authenticity of positive displays during service encounters. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *96*(1), 38–55.
Gross, J. (1998). The emerging field of emotion regulation: An integrative review. *Review of General Psychology*, *2*(3), 271–299.
Haggard, D. L., Robert, C., & Rose, A. J. (2011). Co-rumination in the workplace: Adjustment trade-offs for men and women who engage in excessive discussions of workplace problems. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *26*(1), 27–40.
Hall, E. J. (1995). Skills, emotions, and gender in three types of service organizations. *Qualitative Sociology*, *18*(3), 377–384.
Hennig-Thurau, T., Groth, M., Paul, M., & Gremler, D. D. (2006). Are all smiles created equal? How emotional contagion and emotional labor affect service relationships. *Journal of Marketing*, *70*(3), 58–73.
Hochschild, A. R. (1983). *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Hofmann, D. A., Griffin, M. A., & Gavin, M. B. (2000). The application of hierarchical linear modeling to organizational research. In K. J. Klein & S. W. J. Kozlowski (Eds.), *Multilevel Theory,*

Research, and Methods in Organizations: Foundations, Extensions, and New Directions (pp. 467–511). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values.* London: Sage.
Hox, J. J. (2010). *Multilevel Analysis: Techniques and Applications*. New York: Routledge.
Humphrey, R. H. (2008). The right way to lead with emotional labor. In R. H. Humphrey (Ed.), *Affect and Emotion: New Directions in Management Theory and Research* (pp. 1–17). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
Humphrey, R. H. (2012). How do leaders use emotional labor? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *33*(5), 740–744.
Ilies, R., Morgeson, F. P., & Nahrgang, J. D. (2005). Authentic leadership and eudaemonic well-being: Understanding leader–follower outcomes. *Leadership Quarterly*, *16*(3), 373–394.
Johanson, M. M., & Woods, R. H. (2008). Recognizing the emotional element in service excellence. *Cornell Hospitality Quarterly*, *49*(3), 310–316.
Johnson, H. M., & Spector, P. E. (2007). Service with a smile: Do emotional intelligence, gender, and autonomy moderate the emotional labor process? *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *12*(4), 319–333.
Koenig, A. M., Eagly, A. H., Mitchell, A. A., & Ristikari, T. (2011). Are leader stereotypes masculine? A meta-analysis of three research paradigms. *Psychological Bulletin*, *137*(4), 616–642.
Lazarus, R. S. (1991). Progress on a cognitive-motivational-relational theory of emotion. *American Psychologist*, *46*(8), 819–834.
Luthans, F., & Avolio, B. J. (2003). Authentic leadership: A positive developmental approach. In K. S. Cameron, J. E. Dutton, & R. E. Quinn (Eds.), *Positive Organizational Scholarship: Foundations of a New Discipline* (pp. 241–261). San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.
Mann, S. (2007). Expectations of emotional display in the workplace: An American/British comparative study. *Leadership and Organization Development Journal*, *28*(6), 552–570.
Matud, M. P. (2004). Gender differences in stress and coping styles. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *37*(7), 1401–1415.
Neider, L. L., & Schriesheim, C. A. (2011). The Authentic Leadership Inventory (ALI): Development and empirical tests. *Leadership Quarterly*, *22*(6), 1146–1164.
Newcombe, M. J., & Ashkanasy, N. M. (2002). The role of affect and affective congruence in perceptions of leaders: An experimental study. *Leadership Quarterly*, *13*(5), 601–614.
Newman, M. A., Guy, M. E., & Mastracci, S. H. (2009). Beyond cognition: Affective leadership and emotional labor. *Public Administration Review*, *69*(1), 6–20.
Newport, F. (2001, February 21). Americans see women as emotional and affectionate, men as more aggressive: Gender specific stereotypes persist in recent Gallup poll. Retrieved from: http://www.gallup.com/poll/1978/americans-see-women-emotional-affectionate-men-more-aggressive.aspx.
Oliver, R. L. (1980). A cognitive model of the antecedents and consequences of satisfaction decisions. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *17*(4), 460–469.
Parasuraman, A., Zeithaml, V. A., & Berry, L. L. (1985). A conceptual model of service quality and its implications for future research (SERVQUAL). *Journal of Marketing*, *49*, 41–50.
Pugh, S. D. (2001). Service with a smile: Emotional contagion in the service encounter. *Academy of Management Journal*, *44*(5), 1018–1027.
Rafaeli, A. (1989). When clerks meet customers: A test of variables related to emotional expression on the job. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *74*(3), 385–393.
Rafaeli, A., & Sutton, R. I. (1987). Expression of emotion as part of the work role. *Academy of Management Review*, *12*(1), 23–37.
Ryckman, R. M., & Houston, D. M. (2003). Value priorities in American and British female and male university students. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *143*(1), 127–138.
Schneider, B., White, S. S., & Paul, M. C. (1998). Linking service climate and customer perceptions of service quality: Tests of a causal model. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *83*(2), 150–163.
Shamir, B., & Eilam, G. (2005). "What's your story?" A life-stories approach to authentic leadership development. *Leadership Quarterly*, *16*(3), 395–417.
Surakka, V., & Hietanen, J. K. (1998). Facial and emotional reactions to Duchenne and non-Duchenne smiles. *International Journal of Psychophysiology*, *29*(1), 23–33.

Timmers, M., Fischer, A. H., & Manstead, A. S. R. (1998). Gender differences in motives for regulating emotions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *24*(9), 974–985.
Triandis, H. C., McCusker, C., & Hui, C. H. (1990). Multimethod probes of individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *59*(5), 1006–1020.
Twenge, J. M. (2001). Changes in women's assertiveness in response to status and roles: A cross-temporal meta-analysis, 1931–1993. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *81*(1), 133–145.
Vinkenburg, C. J., van Engen, M. L., Eagly, A. H., & Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C. (2011). An exploration of stereotypical beliefs about leadership styles: Is transformational leadership a route to women's promotion? *Leadership Quarterly*, *22*(1), 10–21.
Walumbwa, F. O., Avolio, B. J., Gardner, W. L., Wernsing, T. S., & Peterson, S. J. (2008). Authentic leadership: Development and validation of a theory-based measure. *Journal of Management*, *34*(1), 89–126.
Wharton, A. S., & Erickson, R. I. (1993). Managing emotions on the job and at home: Understanding the consequences of multiple emotional roles. *Academy of Management Review*, *18*(3), 457–486.
Zapf, D., Vogt, C., Seifert, C., Mertini, H., & Isic, A. (1999). Emotion work as a source of stress: The concept and development of an instrument. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *8*(3), 371–400.

6. Gender and leadership in education

Alexander-Stamatios Antoniou and Marioleni Apergi

Leadership, according to Brauckmann and Pasiardis (2008) "is the grid of those behaviors you use with others when you attempt to influence their behavior; in other words, the leader is the one who has the ability to influence someone to do something he/she wants" (pp. 197–198). In ancient Athens, the position of the woman was not equivalent to that of the man, since she had no political rights and she was not familiar with reading and writing. Plato restored the position of women in the state, although he believed that the position of women was weaker. Recognizing the possibility of the female gender to acquire the post of "guardians" to train, fight, manage, and philosophize like men, he claimed there were no fundamental differences between the two genders, and there is nothing better in a city than women and men being as good as possible (Plato, 2002).

Theoretically, in most countries of the world, particularly in the West, the legal and institutional framework recognizes gender equality, including labor and opportunities within the working environment. However, this is circumvented in favor of the male gender at the expense of the female gender and demonstrates that stereotyped perceptions of gender roles are powerful components of civilization which prevail over the legal-institutional framework (Arnot, 2002; Vitsilaki-Soronia, 1997). Moreover, educational systems contribute decisively to the differentiation of gender roles, so the work of women is considered subsidiary, with the spouse/mother/housewife roles taking precedence over that of laboring (Arnot & Weiner, 1987; Delamont, 1980; Sidiropoulou-Dimakakou, 1997).

According to scholars of the Enlightenment whose thought and work influenced the way of operation and organization of Western societies, gender constitutes a distinguishing characteristic which determines the space for human activity, defines roles, and generates expectations about individual behaviors that are expressed by that person. Anticipating two spheres where human activity develops – private and public – the female was excluded from the public sphere and was limited to the private sphere, while the male was initiated simultaneously in both realms, engaging in affairs within socio-politico-economic life, management, and power. The intellectuals of the Enlightenment focused on human reason and experience, and inequality between the sexes, relationships of subordination and power that were formed as a result of this inequality, and the exclusion of women from public life and the exercise of power, were considered both a logical and physical condition (Scott, 2003).

The area of command and exercise of power has historically been dominated by men, and the concept of leadership is identified with the male gender (maleness). In most studies of leadership and management, gender is a non-obvious factor and there is an implicit assumption that the male experience is the norm. As such, the female experience is generally not heard, resulting in the absence of the voice of women (Gilligan, 1982; Gold, 1996). Androcentrism imposes a certain framework of perception and vision of the world, requiring that we see the world through the male perspective and accept that this way of perception is not selective and bordered, deducing male experience as universal, while making this process invisible.

In the area of administration and the exercise of power, the dominance of male stereotypes and values such as realism, rationalism, competition, ambition, repression of emotions and sensitivity, and domination often act as a deterrent for women seeking to take leadership positions, or require them to adopt the values and behaviors of the male administrative stereotype. Thus, feminine values such as emotion, caring, intuitiveness, receptivity, providence for the well-being of others, loyalty, and sensitivity need to be rejected by the individual who seeks to exercise power (Coleman, 2002; Daraki, 2007).

In a study by Šilingienė and Škėrienė (2015), it is suggested that gender institutionalizes and affects the way people think about all aspects of their lives, and how members of society develop ideas and values in relation to appropriate behavior, work positions, and activities related to gender. Thus, because of the preliminary ideas regarding gender, the attitudes of men and women in managerial positions need to be interpreted differently.

Burke and Collins (2001) and Van der Boon (2003) examined the effects of stereotypes on gender roles and gender gaps in administrative style with regard to successful/efficient administration. More specifically, these authors suggest that men adopt a form of management characterized as "transactional leadership," which is expressed by the provision of rewards or punishment, depending on performance, and generally utilizing the power that stems from the position that they hold. In contrast, women adopt the model of "transformational leadership" (Pounder & Coleman, 2002), a non-static form of leadership that allows for criticism, collective searching for solutions, encouraging participation, information, and in general the distribution of power. Although the administrative style of women is associated with administrative skills, which are related to the successful/efficient administration, this administrative style, being different from the dominant male style, restrains the claim of senior management positions by women (Burke & Collins, 2001).

THE PRESENCE OF WOMEN IN THE LEADERSHIP OF HIGHER EDUCATION

During the 1950s and 1960s, some feminists spoke of "the problem that has no name," drawing attention to the dissatisfaction that many women felt in their role as wife, mother, and housewife. The modern version of "the problem that has no name" highlights the frustration that women now feel when embarking on a journey to gain high-level leadership positions. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, tertiary education began as an organized interdisciplinary structure of higher education studies. According to Burke and Nelson (2002), Marschke, Laursen, Nielsen, and Rankin (2007), and Gallant (2014), progress towards gender equality between schools in tertiary education has been "glacial" since the early 1970s. Although the total number of "female" faculties in tertiary education has increased over the last thirty-five years, the advancement of women through schools is characterized as extremely slow (Marschke et al., 2007; Tessens, White, & Web, 2011).

Well-known feminist scholars have reflected on the position of women at universities. Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) refer to women of the academic community as "outsiders" in the profession they have chosen. Acker (1980) describes them as "other academics." Mather (1998) points out that women at university are considered "second class citizens." Although the gender composition of the "consumer" population of educational products has radically changed, structural barriers and inhibitory behaviors continue to exist in terms of women as "knowledge producers" (Howie & Tauchert, 2002). Stalker and Prentice (1998, p. 14) report that "Nowadays, as in the last 100 years, those who seek equality are struggling to abolish discriminatory structures and practices just so that individuals can be seen as unique and as citizens, free of stereotypes, myths and prejudice." According to Armenti (2004), medieval professional practices and ideologies that have survived over the centuries continue to render the female university faculty at a disadvantage and in a subordinate position.

In addition, according to relevant international literature, women scientists appear in university institutions as "socially and educationally, extremely diverse, but in the same way" (Blattel-Mink, 2001). Nina Toren (2001) has observed that when entering university and during their career, women academics worldwide and regardless of social, economic, political and historical differences between countries, face "an iron gate, then a sticky ground, atop a glass ceiling and in-between a rough and rugged path" (pp. 53–54). Furthermore, it has often been argued that women are the "foreigners" of the academic world. Thus, the apparent absence of women academics, especially in the higher ranks of the hierarchy, leads to them being viewed as "outgroup members' as noted by Kanter (1977), who expressed the belief that an organization must have a significant number of such members before they begin to be treated more as people than as symbols.

As Perna (2001), and August and Waltman (2004) report, women are disproportionately represented among senior executives in the administration of universities; they learn to advance more slowly and are controlled by variables such as age, discipline, and class. In addition, there are differences between men and women in terms of academic careers, as women devote more time to teaching and counseling than do men (Sax, Hagedorn, Arredondo, & Dicrisi, 2002). Education, in general, is a traditionally female occupation in Europe and in the Western world (Lim, 2000). However, as demonstrated by Redmond and colleagues (Redmond, Gutke, Galligan, Howard, & Newman, 2016), irrespective of the country, there are still fewer women than men in senior leadership positions. Some women may have "broken the code" to achieve senior leadership roles but they have not yet transferred this code to many of their colleagues.

As noted by the European Commission (2012), the increase of women in education is noteworthy in Europe, often represented in higher numbers than men. Nevertheless, the woman's career is still characterized by strong vertical segregation in most countries. This is related to the current "glass ceiling" effect in higher education: while women graduates of higher education outnumber men, they are slightly under-represented at the doctoral level, with even fewer women being among the academic staff of the universities. It has been found that the higher the position in the academic hierarchy, the lower the participation rate of women, which makes the distribution of their presence a "pyramid," with the majority of female teaching and research staff at the lowest stage of development (Bagihole, 2000).

Krais (2002) reports that at the end of the twentieth century, the percentage of female professors was well below 10 percent. Saunderson (2002) emphasizes that in the United Kingdom under-representation of academic women at universities has a long history. In the 1960s and 1970s, the second feminist wave exposed and questioned the minority status of women in universities and openly questioned the "invisibility of women in the canon of accepted scholarship" (Woodward, 2000).

In the twenty-first century, the disproportionate role of a person's gender in the possibilities of entry and success within the scientific community of tertiary education is internationally recognized. Few women have equal opportunities to contribute and enjoy the benefits of a scientific career. Discrimination, both direct and indirect, obvious and latent, persists and acts in such a way as to deprive women the chance of equal participation in scientific excellence and determining scientific policies, thus leaving a large part of human capital unused (ETAN, 2001; Odhiambo, 2011).

In particular, the percentage of women in the rankings of professors and associate professors is cumulatively 10.5 percent of all faculty members at all levels, while the corresponding percentage of men is 42 percent of all faculty members in Greek universities. Women in higher education tend to be represented more in specific sectors, such as humanities, social, legal and economic sciences, showing, in proportion to male academics, a "horizontal distinction," a term referring to the concentration of the majority of female university graduates in areas traditionally considered most suitable for their gender, with their corresponding absence from the technical sciences.

Women are virtually absent within the field of research, as revealed by research conducted by the National Center for Social Research (Maratou-Alipranti, Teferoglou, & Ketsetsopoulou, 2001). Similar findings have been reported by the National Centre for Social Research in the United Kingdom (NCSR, 2000), suggesting that women, compared to their male counterparts, are less likely to be allowed to apply for research funding as a consequence of their working relationships, as these are often fixed-term contracts or refer to the lower posts of the academic hierarchy. It appears that women are more likely to be placed in the role of research assistant as opposed to research manager (Reay, 2000). Typically, women faculty members representing teaching research staff account for 62 percent within the Faculty of Philosophy at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, while at the School of Science, they account for only 29 percent. The percentage of women is particularly low in the Polytechnic Schools of Greek universities and more generally in the departments where mathematics constitutes the basic core.

THE "GLASS CEILING"

The term "glass ceiling" has been used since the mid-1980s. Carol Hymowitz and Timothy Schellhardt, journalists for the *Wall Street Journal*, used this term in 1986 to describe artificial or invisible barriers (based on opinions and prejudices) that slow down or stop the professional advancement of women. Studies conducted over the last few decades (Bacchi, 1993; Luke, 2016; Heward, 1994, 1996), have demonstrated that the terms "metal ceiling," "cellophane ceiling," "greasy pole," "protective shield," "brick wall," or "stone floor" have a central place in feminist analysis of women's careers and opportunities. The term "glass ceiling" refers generally to cultural and organizational barriers that maintain horizontal separation of gender within organizations.

According to Albrecht, Björklund, and Vroman (2003), Jackson (2000), and Chugh and Sahgal (2007), the "glass ceiling" refers to a process where qualified women, despite having the necessary criteria, cannot advance their career in senior positions due to direct or indirect discrimination, and cultural or organizational barriers within the workplace. While they can visualize high grade administrative posts through the "glass ceiling" over them, they cannot obtain access to them. Likewise, Ziogou-Karasgiriou (2008) notes that discrimination in relation to sex is characterized as a "glass ceiling" or as "floors that stick" (sticky floors). The first indicates that the mechanisms that hinder the advancement of women in higher job positions are not visible, while the second suggests that these mechanisms not only hinder women but retain them at the level at which they currently operate.

As Maragoudakis (2008b) suggests, women remain under a "glass ceiling" which allows them to observe managerial and administrative positions, but prevents them from pursuing such posts. The invisible barriers of the "glass ceiling" are real and can relate to the obligations of women towards family, social status, religious beliefs, and even the male leadership style adopted by some women is likely to discourage others from seeking administrative posts (Oplatka, 2006).

Although from a legal point of view, in developed countries men and women are equal, and with the development of university education women could be successful in holding senior positions, they still suffer from multifaceted distinctions when they do (Ledwith & Manfredi, 2000; Rahnavard & Hosseini, 2008). According to the literature (Burke, 2007; Jyrkinen, 2014; Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005), women face greater difficulties and as such their career paths differ from those of men. Being female is still marked as an important obstacle for the development of careers in top managerial and administrative posts (Jyrkinen, 2014). The factors contributing to the exclusion of women have led to a plethora of interpretive approaches and theoretical models. Within these approaches there are two dominant trends: the performance of responsibilities of women themselves, which stresses individual responsibility and the choice of women, and the performance of responsibilities within social interactions and social structures.

According to study conducted in Iran (Shahtalebi & Yarmohammadian, 2012), there are three obstacles that play a role in the evolution of women in leadership positions in higher education:

1. Organizational factors: perspectives of seniors, negative situation, university law and procedures.
2. Social factors: social miseries and problems and negative social perspectives.
3. Individual factors: individual problems, family problems, and work problems.

Cama, Jorge, and Andrades-Peña (2016) report that under-representation of women in senior management positions or as professors at universities is based on the cultural context. Women face multiple cultural barriers to the acceptance of leadership positions arising from the "macroeconomic" political level, the "organic" level, and the "micro" individual level. Political barriers (macroeconomic, socio-political) refer to established hegemonic cultural traditions of a region or country generally required to be followed by women. The strong family obligations of women function as the long-term macroeconomic socio-political cultural barrier to their academic advancement. As noted by Cama et al. (2016), women, especially those in traditional societies, are expected to take on more family responsibilities than men, such as caring for the children, and caring for the spouse and the extended family. Thus, university leaders are often in favor of men being appointed in preference to women, because according to the social model, men are perceived to have more time for work than women. Other barriers relate to lack of trust and the fear of failure (Marschke et al., 2007; Silander, Haake, & Lindberg, 2013).

Ragins and Sundstrom (1989) reported that women's road to power resembles a path full of obstacles. In general, three broad factors can be used as a framework for the underrepresentation of women in the higher education administration: (a) individual factors; (b) cultural factors; and (c) structural and organizational influences. With regard to the individual approach, Timmers, Willemsen, and Tijdens (2010) and Willemsen (2002) report that in terms of "glass ceilings" women fail to reach higher positions because of individual factors. In particular, according to the individual approach, men and women are different. It has been noted that men are more likely to take ethical decisions based on interpersonal rules as to what is fair, while women are more likely to decide on the basis of their interest in specific individuals, and therefore place more value on interpersonal relationships.

With regard to the cultural approach, the limited success of women in senior management positions is thought to be due to the organizational framework, which includes cultural and ideological elements and policies. The structural organizational approach concerns the nature of organizational structures and the organization of work rather than the roles of individuals or genders. Objective factors include the candidate's degrees (PhD, MSc), number of years of work, and managerial experience. Subjective ones include the correlations that influence the choice of candidates, in which women fall behind, often due to family commitments and their difficulty in establishing political relations and interfaces, which ultimately is a barrier to their professional development (Pagaki & Stamatopoulou, 2008).

The contradictory image of female participation in higher education – an increased presence in the student population but a limited presence in the Faculty – highlights the coexistence of:

- structural barriers which lead to non-reconciliation of family and work (Morley, 1997);
- psychological obstacles originating from the socialization of women and internalized perception which sees them as "second class" citizens (Charles & Davies, 2000; McNay, 2000);
- gender communication, cooperation and promotion networks (Eliasson, Berggren & Bondestam, 2000);
- sexual harassment (Durrani, 2001);
- the gender dimension of power, leadership, and intellectual superiority, concepts which are perceived as exclusively masculine characteristics (Clegg, 2001);
- the perpetuation of a hidden gendered curriculum or the "political level" (micropolitics) of daily life in the area of universities (Morley, 1999, 2013).

However, it has been identified that even when women do enter the academic community, a much higher percentage of them (compared to their male counterparts), later leave the profession, possibly with a view to pursuing another career outside the university, due to unequal treatment. The phenomenon of premature withdrawal of women from the academic profession is a potential leak of the academic "tank" and has been called a leaking or leaky pipeline. Jones (2014) suggests that the pipes to the administration of the institutions are not always clear for women. For those who have managed to navigate to it, their journey has been slow and many women who express interest in securing senior leadership roles "are still caught in the middle" (McDermott, 2014). This interruption to career progression has been described as a leak or blockage (Jones, 2014; Madsen, 2012; Peterson, 2014). Morley (2013) considers that "the pipeline will have less traffic since the future generations of suitably satisfied women will move through the organizational hierarchy" (p. 122). According to a report by ETAN (2001), it remains an undeniable fact that leaks of women from the academic "pipeline" are larger than for their male counterparts. For every upper tier of the scale, the proportion of women declines. The reduction in the number of women from a post-doctoral level is then documented as a "leakage tube."

GLOBAL REPORTS

Cama et al. (2016) argue that women have historically been ruled out of leadership and management roles in universities. The presence of women in professorships at Australian universities is 19.8 percent and for their partners 28 percent. The University of Australia also refers to the Odhiambo (2011) survey, which stresses that progress towards equality is very slow and uneven. Only 18 percent of the vice-chancellors, 34 percent of the deputy chancellors, and 40 percent of the administrators were women. Moreover, until February 2010, there were only six women vice-presidents at Australian universities. These researchers also refer to the New Zealand universities, wherein women account for only 16.9 percent of their teachers and associates.

According to White, Carvalho, and Riordan (2014), there were tensions in the universities of South Africa between collective and management models that emerged in power struggles between chancellors and vice-presidents of the schools. The report of the European Commission (2012), on "She Figures 2012" states that 15.5 percent of universities were headed by women. This percentage varies between 27 percent in Sweden, 32 percent in Norway, and 6.5 percent in France. The seven countries with the highest percentage (20 percent or greater) include Sweden, Finland, Italy, Latvia, and Estonia. The lowest proportion (below 10 percent) is found in Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Portugal, and France. When averaged across the European Union only 10 percent of universities are headed by women. A study conducted in Sweden by Angervall (2016) suggests that while women predominate in many academic groups, men tend to overwhelm women in terms of progression to "more advanced" areas and are most often found in high research positions. Women tend to be engaged in teaching rather than in research. Finally, there are relatively high levels of female participation in senior positions in universities in Portugal compared to other developed countries, although the proportion of women operating at the dean/vice-chancellor level remains low. Furthermore, as indicated by Santiago and Carvalho (2008) and Faltholm and Abrahamsson (2010), women have less participation in research programs in contrast to their male counterparts. Within the United Kingdom, under-representation of female academics at universities has a long and slow history. Following the reform of higher education in 1992 with the increase in the number of universities, academic positions for women also increased from 13 percent to 35 percent (Saunderson, 2002).

In Greece, according to a survey conducted within the framework of the undergraduate program of studies on gender issues and equality at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens/NKUA (2004), women began to be systematically present as members of universities in the 1960s. The Historical Archives (NKUA) reveal that prior to 1960, women appear only exceptionally in the teaching and scientific personnel. During the academic year 1963–1964, women accounted for 3 percent of the total scientific staff, while in the academic year 2003–2004 the percentage of female faculty members stood at 34.5 percent. Focusing on the composition and professional structure of the academic research staff in universities, it appears there is a reduced rate of participation of women in positions of responsibility at high levels of the academic hierarchy, as well as their selective presence in certain disciplines (Anastasaki, 2006; Stratigaki, 2005; Vitsilaki-Soronia, Maratou-Alibranti, & Kapellas, 2001).

As Maragoudakis (2008a, pp. 224–225) reports:

i) Female university students constitute the overwhelming majority of the overall number of teaching and research staff members in the country.
ii) Their highest percentage is concentrated in the lower hierarchical ranks, Assistant Professors and lecturers.
iii) Differences in gender between the faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences and Science and Engineering and Technology Sciences, both in terms of access and progress in ranks, are intense, almost polarizing.
iv) Female academics are under-represented in administrative positions in the collective administrative bodies of their workplace.

Research by Unin (2013) showed that women leaders at universities in Malaysia are facing complex restrictions that implicate the patriarchal values, their duties as wives, and the culture of the country. Finally, in 2011, the Association of American University Professors published a document entitled "Persistent Inequity: Gender and Academic Employment." This study reveals that women are still outnumbered more than two to one by men in the highest rank. The percentage of female professors in the universities of the United States is much higher than that in European countries.

CONCLUSION

It is clear from studies conducted from the 1950s to date, that the numbers of women leaders in higher education in most countries of the world are fewer than their male counterparts. Discrimination, both direct and indirect, obvious and latent, persists and acts to deprive women of equal participation in scientific excellence and in the definition of scientific policies, leaving a large part of human capital unused (ETAN, 2001; Odhiambo, 2011).

Gender inequality is a feature of social relations in most societies (Odhiambo, 2011) and clearly intense attention to the role of women is lacking not only in higher education but in society generally. There needs to be a broader understanding of the concept of gender equality and action that can be taken and a clear policy that can be implemented in terms of leadership in higher education. Women academics must know and care about their career development (Huong, 2013).

REFERENCES

Acker, S. (1980). Women: The other academics. *Journal of the Sociology of Education*, *1*(1), 81–91.

Aisenberg, N., & Harrington, M. (1988). *Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Albrecht, J., Björklund, A., & Vroman, S. (2003). Is there a glass ceiling in Sweden? *Journal of Labour Economics*, *21*(1), 145–177.

Anastasaki, A. (2006). The female presence in the Greek academic community. Paper presented at the 4th International Conference on "History of Education," Patras.

Angervall, P. (2016). The academic career: A study of subjectivity, gender and movement among women university lectures. *Gender and Education*, *28*, 1–14.

Armenti, C. (2004). May babies and posttenure babies: Maternal decisions of women professors. *The Review of Higher Education*, *27*(3), 211–231.

Arnot, M. (2002). *Reproducing Gender? Essays on Educational Theory and Feminist Politics.* London: Routledge/Falmer.

Arnot, M., & Weiner, G. (1987). *Gender and the Politics of Schooling*. London: Hutchinson.

Association of American University Professors (J. W. Curtis) (2011). Persistent inequity: Gender and academic employment. Paper prepared for "New Voices in Pay Equity," an event for Equal Pay Day, April 11.

August, L., & Waltman, J. (2004). Culture, climate, and contribution: Career satisfaction among female faculty. *Research in Higher Education*, *45*, 177–192.

Bacchi, C. (1993). The brick wall: Why so few women become senior academics. *The Australian Universities Review*, *36*(1), 36–41.

Bagihole, B. (2000). Too little too late? An assessment of national initiatives for female academics in the British University system. *Higher Education in Europe*, *25*(2), 134–145.

Blattel-Mink, B. (2001). From bottom to top in higher education: Women's experiences and visions in different parts of the world – a summary. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, *21*(1/2), 3–19.

Brauckmann, S., & Pasiardis, P. (2008). New educational policy and empowering leadership: Exploring the foundations of a new relationship. Proceedings of the conference "Training of Training Staff: Actions – Results – Prospects" (pp. 193–233). Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Pedagogical Institute, Volos.

Burke, R. J. (2007). Career development of managerial women: Attracting and managing talent. In D. Bilimoria & S. K. Piderit (Eds.), *Handbook on Women in Business and Management* (pp. 109–131). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Burke, R. J., & Nelson, D. (Eds.) (2002). *Advancing Women's Careers: Research in Practice*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Burke, S., & Collins, K. (2001). Gender difference in leadership styles and management skills. *Women in Management*, *16*(5), 244–256.

Cama, M. G., Jorge, M. L., & Andrades-Peña, F. J. (2016). Gender differences between faculty members in higher education: A literature review of selected higher education journals. *Educational Research Review*, *18*, 58–69.

Charles, N., & Davies, C. (2000). Cultural stereotypes and the gendering of senior management. *Sociological Review*, *48*(8), 544–567.

Chugh, S., & Sahgal, P. (2007). Why do few women advance to leadership positions? *Global Business Review*, *8*(2), 351–365.

Clegg, S. (2001). Expertise, professionalism and managerialism: Troubled relationship in contemporary higher education? Inaugural lecture, Sheffield Hallam University.
Coleman, M. (2002). *Women as Headteachers: Striking the Balance.* Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.
Daraki, H. (2007). *Educational Leadership and Gender*. Thessaloniki: Spotlight.
Delamont, S. (1980). *Sex Roles and the School*. London: Methuen.
Durrani, A. (2001). *The Impact of Sexual Harassment on Women Managers in Two of the Higher Educational Institutions in Pakistan.* London: University of London.
Eliasson, M., Berggren, H., & Bondestam, F. (2000). Mentor programmes: A shortcut for women's academic careers? *Higher Education in Europe*, *25*(2), 173–179.
European Commission (2012). *She Figures 2012: Gender in Research and Innovation – Statistics and Indicators*. Luxembourg: European Commission.
European Technology Assessment Network (ETAN) (2001). *Science Policies in the European Union: Promoting Excellence Through Mainstreaming Gender Equality*. ftp://ftp.cordis.lu/pub/etan/docs/women.pdf.
Faltholm, Y., & Abrahamsson, L. (2010). I prefer not to be called a woman entrepreneur: Gender global and local discourses of academic entrepreneurship. Paper presented to the Gender, Work and Organisation Conference, Keele University, Newcastle-under-Lyme, June 21–23.
Gallant, A. (2014). Symbolic interactions and the development of women leaders in higher education. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *21*(3), 203–216.
Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Gold, A. (1996). Women into educational management. *European Journal of Education*, *31*(4), 419–433.
Heward, C. (1994). Academic snakes and merit ladders: Reconceptualising the glass ceiling. *Gender and Education*, *6*(3), 249–262.
Heward, C. (1996). Women and careers in higher education: What is the problem? In L. Morley & V. Walsh (Eds.), *Breaking Boundaries: Women in Higher Education* (pp. 11–25). London: Taylor & Francis.
Howie, G., & Tauchert, A. (Eds.) (2002). *Gender, Teaching, and Research in Higher Education: Challenges for the 21st Century*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Huong, T.-L. (2013). Barriers to and facilitators of female Deans' career advancement in higher education: An exploratory study in Vietnam. *Higher Education*, *66*, 123–138.
Jackson, J. C. (2000). Women middle managers' perception of the glass ceiling. *Women in Management Review*, *16*(1), 30–41.
Jones, J. (2014). Clogged pipelines. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 7, 45–48.
Jyrkinen, M. (2014). Women managers, careers and gendered ageism. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, *30*, 175–185.
Kanter, R. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
Krais, B. (2002). Academia as a profession and the hierarchy of the sexes: Paths out of research in German universities. *Higher Education Quarterly*, *56*, 407–418.
Ledwith, S., & Manfredi, S. (2000). Balancing gender in higher education: A study of the experience of senior women in a "new" UK university. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *7*, 7–33.
Lim, J. Y. (2000). The effects of the East Asian crisis on the employment of women and men: The Philippine case. *World Development*, *28*(7), 1285–1306.
Luke, C. (2016). Women in higher education management in Thailand. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, *3*(4), 98–130.
Madsen, S. R. (2012). Women and leadership in higher education learning and advancement in leadership programs. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *14*(1), 3–10.
Mainiero, L. A., & Sullivan, S. E. (2005). Kaleidoscope careers: An alternative explanation for the opt-out revolution. *Academy of Management Executive*, *19*(1), 106–123.
Maragoudakis, E. (2008a). Women teachers and participation in the administration of education. In V. Deligiannis-Kouimtzis (Ed.), *Teachers and Gender* (pp. 204–235). Athens: Center for Research on Equality Issues (KETHI).
Maragoudakis, E. (2008b). Women faculty members: Developments and stability of their position

in academia. In V. Deligiannis-Kouimtzis (Ed.), *From Adolescence to Adult Life: Proceedings of Kallirroi Conference* (pp. 239–270). Aristotle University of Thessaloniki: Kallirroi Project.
Maratou-Alipranti, L., Teferoglou, A., & Ketsetsopoulou, M. (2001). *Study to Promote Women in Scientific Research*. On-Site Research Results, 2 vols. Athens: National Center for Social Research (KETHI).
Marschke, R., Laursen, S., Nielsen, J.-M., & Rankin, P. (2007). Demographic inertia revisited: An immodest proposal to achieve equitable gender representation among faculty in higher education. *Journal of Higher Education*, *78*, 1–26.
Mather, J. (1998). Fostering women's full membership in the academy. Status of women supplement. *CAUT Bulletin Insert*, *45*(5), 2.
McDermott, L. (2014). Women, seize your leadership role. *TD Magazine*, *68*(3), 28–33.
McNay, L. (2000). *Gender and Agency: Reconfiguring the Subject in Feminist and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Morley, L. (1997). Change and equity higher education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *18*(2), 229–240.
Morley, L. (1999). *Organizing Feminisms: The Micropolitics of the Academe*. London: Macmillan.
Morley, L. (2013). The rules of the game: Women and the leaderist turn in higher education. *Gender and Education*, *25*(1), 116–131.
NCSR (National Centre for Social Research) (2000). *Who Applies for Research Funding?* London: National Centre for Social Research.
Odhiambo, G. (2011). Women and higher education leadership in Kenya: A critical analysis. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, *33*, 667–678.
Oplatka, I. (2006). Women in educational administration within developing countries: Towards a new international research agenda. *Journal of Educational Administration*, *44*(6), 604–624.
Pagaki, M., & Stamatopoulou, G. (2008). *Gender Segregation (Vertical and Horizontal): Discrimination and Inequalities against Women in Education*. Athens: Center for Research on Equality Issues (KETHI).
Perna, L. W. (2001). Sex differences in faculty salaries: A cohort analysis. *Review of Higher Education*, *24*, 288–307.
Peterson, H. (2014). An academic glass cliff? Exploring the increase of women in Swedish higher education management. *Athens Journal of Education*, *1*(1), 32–44.
Plato (2002). *The State* (trans. M. Skouteropoulos). Athens: Polis.
Pounder, J., & Coleman, M. (2002). Women – better leaders than men? In general and educational management it still "all depends." *Leadership and Organization Development Journal*, *23*(3), 122–133.
Ragins, B. R., & Sundstrom, E. (1989). Gender and power in organizations: A longitudinal perspective. *Psychological Bulletin*, *105*(1), 51–88.
Rahnavard, R., & Hosseini, N. (2008). Women's study. *Scholars Research Library*, *6*(1), 105–118.
Reay, D. (2000). Dim dross: Marginalised women both inside and outside the academy. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *23*(1), 13–22.
Redmond, P., Gutke, H., Galligan, L., Howard, A., & Newman, T. (2016). Becoming a female leader in higher education: Investigations from a regional university. *Gender and Education*, *29*(3), 332–351.
Santiago, R., & Carvalho, T. (2008). Academics in a new work environment: The impact of new public management on work conditions. *Higher Education Quarterly*, *62*(3), 204–223.
Saunderson, W. (2002). Women, academia and identity: Constructions of equal opportunities in the "New Managerialism" – A case of lipstick on the gorilla? *Higher Education Quarterly*, *56*, 376–406.
Sax, J. J., Hagedorn, L. S., Arredondo, M., & Dicrisi, F. A. (2002). Faculty research productivity: Exploring the role of gender and family-related factors. *Research in Higher Education*, *43*, 423–446.
Scott, J. W. (2003). *Feminism and History*. *Oxford Readings in Feminism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Shahtalebi, S., & Yarmohammadian, M. H. (2012). Barriers to women managers climb the peaks of success. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *46*, 3088–3092.

Sidiropoulou-Dimakakou, D. (1997). *Educational and Professional Choices of Both Genders: The Role of School Career Guidance*. Thessaloniki: Vania.
Silander, C., Haake, U., & Lindberg, L. (2013). The different worlds of academia: A horizontal analysis of gender equality in Swedish higher education. *Higher Education*, *66*, 173–188.
Šilingienė, V., & Škėrienė, S. (2015). Expression of leaders' spiritual intelligence in a context of service organizations: A gender approach. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *213*, 758–763.
Stalker, J., & Prentice, S. (1998). *The Illusion of Inclusion: Women in Post-Secondary Education*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.
Stratigaki, M. (2005). *Women Entrepreneurship: Property and Administration*. Athens: Gutenberg.
Tessens, L., White, K., & Web, C. (2011). Senior women in higher education institutions: Perceived development needs and support. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, *33*, 653–665.
Timmers, T. M., Willemsen, T. M., & Tijdens, K. G. (2010). Gender diversity policies in universities: A multiperspective framework of policy measures. *Higher Education*, *59*(6), 719–735.
Toren, N. (2001). Women in the academe: The Israeli case. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, *21*(1/2), 50–56.
Unin, N. (2013). Learning to lead for Malay women in higher education. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *141*, 654–659.
Van der Boon, M. (2003). Women in international management: An international perspective on women's ways of leadership. *Women in Management Review*, *18*(3), 132–146.
Vitsilaki-Soronia, C. (1997). The role of gender in shaping educational and professional ambitions. In V. Deligianni-Kouimtzi and S. Ziogou (Eds.), *Gender and School Act* (pp. 586–620). Thessaloniki: Vania.
Vitsilaki-Soronia, C., Maratou-Alibranti, L., & Kapellas, A. (2001). *Education and Gender Study of Bibliographic Review*. Athens: Kethi.
White, K., Carvalho, T., & Riordan, S. (2014). Gender, power and managerialism in universities. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, *33*(2), 179–188.
Willemsen, T. M. (2002). Gender typing of the successful manager: A stereotype reconsidered. *Sex Roles*, *46*(11/12), 385–391.
Woodward, D. (2000). Gender: Staff. In D. Woodward & K. Ross (Eds.), *Managing Equal Opportunities in Higher Education: A Guide to Understanding and Action* (pp. 41–51). Buckingham: SRHE and Open University Press.
Ziogou-Karasgiriou, S. (2008). Gender representation in the educational profession and its perspectives in educational and social development. UNESCO Headquarters for Gender Equality and Empowerment at the University of Cyprus. Gender Research Center (EKIF).

7. Goddess Athena as leader and mentor in Homeric epics

Christos-Thomas Kechagias and Alexander-Stamatios Antoniou

Athena: Telemachus, where your native wit fails, heaven will inspire you. It is not for nothing that the gods have watched your progress ever since your birth.
(Hom. *Od.* 1.296)

Athena: "Greek god. Coach. Teacher. Guide. Pathfinder. Leader. Pilot. Advisor. Supporter. Counselor. Director. Sponsor. Conductor. Caretaker. Friend."
(Hansman, 2002, p. 9)

GODDESS ATHENA: A FEMALE MENTOR ARCHETYPE

This chapter aims to study one of the most famous mythological origins of women leadership development by exploring the role of the goddess Athena in the Homeric poems, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. We use Homeric poems as a foundation of a new insight into the origins of women mentoring and leadership in one of the most ancient texts of human history. From the perspective of literature and mythology, leadership development practice seems to have almost three thousand years' history starting from the mythological action of the goddess Athena in the Homeric world. By underlining the significance of identifying mentoring and leadership skills that are innate to human societies and specific to their training development process, we suggest that Socrates's value of "know thyself" is more similar to the early leadership role of Athena in the ancient classical world. It seems that Athena acts as a mentor of heroes to guide them or to inspire them to behave as leaders.

The term "mentor" portrays the image of a supportive person providing encouragement or emotional and mental help to a mentee, by assisting him/her for a difficult period of time or by sustaining him/her during personal or professional development. The mentor as a personal coach, teacher, advisor, and sponsor is able to build confidence and self-esteem, and cultivate interpersonal dynamics through emotional bonds or mutual discovery of common interests on an informal basis (Kram & Isabella, 1985). In formal mentoring schemes aimed at career development, there is a need for organized professional structures such as companies or organizations that can improve skills and guide the mentee's career development. In an attempt to move away from mainly male examples of mentoring, one may ask is there a key example of a female mentor archetype guiding a famous protagonist? In our modern myths and popular fiction movies there are of course examples such as Glinda (*Wizard of Oz*), Galadriel (*Lord of the Rings*), General Leia Organa (*The Force Awakens*) and so on.

In Western education, a well-known idea of mentoring is the concept of the goddess Athena when she takes on the form of Mentor. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus, the main hero of the poem, on leaving the battlefield of Troy asks Athena "to be Mentor," in other words to act as a friend to him, to be the wise Mentor, and to guide his son Telemachus as a life coach. Thus, the term "mentor" was applied to people who benefit our lives, and the themes encompassing mentors as helpful teachers were brought into consciousness (see Hansman, 2002). The concept and the image of the mentor have continued through time with many definitions, shapes, and professional models. Athena, the goddess of wisdom and elegance (Guo, 2005), was one of the most beautiful goddesses (with Hera and Aphrodite), "a superior female," with unattainable qualities (Sheng, 2017).

According to Merriam-Webster's *Encyclopedia of Literature*, Athena in the *Iliad* protects her mentees and provides victory and glory to them, whilst spreading fear to the enemies. In *Odyssey*, she appears as the tutelary deity of Odysseus, a helper, mentor, and life coach of the main hero and of his son. Athena with the epithet Pallas means the city protectress, the defender of the ancient polis, a guardian of the welfare of kingdoms/ poleis, a prudent restraint, a creative mind in any case. In *Odyssey*, Athena/Mentor is also a personification of justice, civilization, and war, helping to grow Telemachus in wisdom, without rebellion. Athena, the wise counselor, is the child of Zeus and the female titan Metis (wisdom, skill, craft), an embodiment of *prudentia*, so she is a mixture of wisdom and cunning (like the Mycenaean embodiment of her, Odysseus; see Detienne & Vernant, 1978).

Throughout history leaders have faced challenges and created opportunities (Cotterell, Lowe, & Shaw, 2006) and every leader needs his/her own mentor. By activating the force of their own will, or altering the status quo of their environment or by improving the role of themselves and their teammates (Velsor & McCauley, 2004), their common characteristic is the clearness of bringing radical change into their scope (Velsor & McCauley, 2004). History, literature, and the management bibliography are full of paradigms of outstanding leaders in the fields of strategy, politics, business, sports, science, and philosophy and even everyday life.

Famous historical personae and leaders, such as Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) or god-pharaohs, like Ramesses II the Great (1303–1213 BCE) in ancient Egypt, ruled their people and armies and managed major changes in their behavior to become rulers of a significant part of the ancient world. Also Cleopatra (69–30 BCE) the last pharaoh of the Ptolemy dynasty in ancient Egypt attempted to maintain power for her dynasty by adopting differing methods and tactics to protect her kingdom against its enemies.

There have been countless women in the highest positions of power within nations, armies, or civilizations and cultures, since the beginning of history. Holding a sword in their hand or a scepter as a sign of their divine or supreme power and sovereignty, many women stood atop of their kingdoms and they reformed the history of mankind. Amongst them, the representation of Athena in classical Athens and in the *Eumenides*, Aeschylus's drama of the tragic trilogy *Oresteia*, could be expressing the distinctive brand of masculine femininity (Deacy, 2008) exhibited by the "manly-minded" goddess, with a powerful quality: intelligence. In this drama Athena sets up a law court to try Orestes, the "Areios Pagos," the very first mythological law court in ancient Greek culture. She also provides a mythological model "for the execution of justice by presiding over its first case" (Deacy, 2008, p. 40).

The Golden Age of Athens, in the fifth century BC, was a period of political and strategic hegemony, cultural flourishing, and memorable economic growth. Pericles's political supremacy gives his name to this period, known as the Age of Pericles. He is best remembered "for the rebuilding of the temples on the Acropolis, including the goddess Athena's great temple, the Parthenon" (Cotterell et al., 2006, pp. 90–91), his own model of wisdom and righteousness. The Parthenon as a temple protects the city of Athens personifying the wisdom of the goddess who protects the city under her aegis and by her mentoring excellence. Similarly, the city is thus able to act as a mentor and protector to other cities.

WOMEN LEADERSHIP AND MENTORSHIP ROLES

Many researchers have tried to determine whether leadership is related to gender differences and gender stereotypes. According to their findings female leaders are more interpersonally oriented, democratic (Carless, 1998; Eagly & Johnston, 1990), show more collaboration and share decision making with other members of groups (Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991; Kakabadse & Kakabadse, 1999); they are also more transformational than male leaders in organizational settings (Bass & Avolio, 1992) and, therefore, they could be more effective and accepted by subordinates (Maher, 1997). If that is the case then why, throughout history, have the greatest leaders been male? (Antoniou, 2005).

Nowadays, our understanding of "why women remain so underrepresented in leadership roles" may be transformed into the question "what strategies are most likely to change that fact, and why does it matter?" (Rhode, 2017, p. 2). The modern literature on women leadership suggests that the problem cannot be solved at the individual level but rather on the basis of essential cultural and structural patterns (Lennon, 2014) or stereotypes (Diekman & Eagly, 2000; Kahn, 1996). Many possible reasons for the underrepresentation of women in leadership have been reported. Karin Klenke (1996, 2011) has identified some of the obstacles women encounter in their quest for leadership.

If a modern society desires a plethora of women in leadership positions there must be more skillful women mentors to inspire them to such positions. Likewise, if women wish to be more proactive in controlling their underrepresentation in the international political scene, then they should focus on seeking better leadership positions and demand an increase in more effective women mentoring programs. Thus, they should clarify their leadership goals by asking women who have already succeeded in reaching high-level leadership positions to act as mentors to other mentees.

LEADERSHIP GLOBAL CHARACTERISTICS

According to Triandis (1993), when examining the impact of culture on leadership, there is "a need for leadership and organizational theories that transcend cultures to understand what works and what does not in different cultural settings." Antoniou (2008) has

Table 7.1 Global leadership dimensions, according to CLT (Culturally Endorsed Implicit Leadership Theory)

Leadership items/global dimensions	Definition/characteristics
Definition of leadership	Ability to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute to success of their organization
Sensitive	Aware of slight changes in moods of others
Motivator	Mobilizes, activates followers
Evasive	Refrains from making negative comments to maintain good relationships and save face
Diplomatic	Skilled at interpersonal relations, tactful
Self-interested	Pursues own best interests

Source: House, Javidan, & Dorfman (2001).

studied the vital relation of ethics' role to the laws and rules that apply to every culture, using certain examples that prove the connection between ethical leadership and ethical values across cultures. There is a high impact of specific values, traditions, ideologies, and norms on models of leadership, depending on the structural factors between societies (Lammers & Hickson, 1979). Furthermore, the social structure of each organization and the necessity of every crucial moment regulate the selection of every leadership model (Kechagias, 2009). Redding, Norman, and Schlander (1994) focus on the historical developments which influence phenomena such as the degree of cooperation, but there is a lack of theoretical models that can explain the relationship mentioned above. After completing "the globe research program," House, Javidan, and Dorfman (2001) developed an empirical-based theory to describe, understand, and predict the impact of specific cultural variables on leadership. These authors identified global characteristics for leader behaviors, attributes, and practices that are universally accepted and effective amongst different cultures.

Given that there have already been plenty of comparative studies examining the relationship between divergent cultures and leadership styles we could accept the cultural universality of leadership patterns (House, Wright, & Aditya, 1997). Sometimes, many aspects of leadership transcend cultural boundaries. By searching through cross-cultural literature scholars could stress powerful connections between cultures and leadership styles. House et al. (2001) studied the culture construct definitions on leadership, examining the extent to which specific leader attributes and behaviors are universally endorsed as contributing to effective leadership behaviors linked to cultural characteristics (see Table 7.1).

LEADERSHIP–MENTORING RELATIONSHIP

Many researchers have studied leadership capabilities as a key point to leader development (London, 2002); others have searched for the conceptualization of leadership and leaders (Neck & Houghton, 2006) or the social context within which the leadership constructions and the practice are embedded (Schyns & Meindl, 2005). Wanberg, Welsh, and Hezlett

(2003) examined the development of mentees. The notion of inspirational leadership is connected with charismatic personality traits and the impact of a leader who can lead to innovation (Antoniou & Galaktidou, 2010). This refers to the extent to which a leader can tap into the feeling of others and inspire them (Dunne, Aaron, McDowell, Urban, & Geho, 2016). An inspiring leader "can articulate a vision or mission that resonates emotionally with both themselves and those they lead, which is a key ingredient in marshaling the motivation essential for going in a new direction" (Goleman & Boyatzis, 2017). Zenger and colleagues (Zenger, Folkman, Sherwin, & Steel, 2012) researched ten companion behaviors that define an inspiring leader: (a) making the emotional connection, (b) setting stretch goals, (c) clear vision, (d) communication, (e) developing others, (f) being collaborative, (g) innovative, (h) taking initiative, (i) champion change, (j) being a role model.

Can these characteristics be utilized as criteria to recognize if a woman can act as an inspiring leader? Zenger, Folkman, Sherwin, & Steel (2012) argue that becoming an inspiring leader is not limited to one set of core actions or values mentioned. They suggest that leaders implement at least one of the attributes listed above and infuse it with positive emotion toward their subordinates. Indeed a woman leader who really cares about developing her subordinates will frequently engage with them, in an attempt to inspire them. She is keen to hear of their future aspirations. The leader's conceptualization or mental model takes place within his/her own environment or the social milieu in which the role of the follower emerges. This environment can include the relationship with the mentees or the subordinates that may change the leader's behavior. Mentors are the experts and facilitators of the mentees to guide them and to build up their self-efficacy within a learning framework and dynamic process (Tzani & Kechagias, 2009). A mentor is there when needed; "a trusted advisor, teacher, counselor, friend, and/or parent, older and more senior than the person he or she helps" (Kunich & Lester, 1999).

Middlebrooks and Haberkorn (2009, p. 18) examined the role of mentoring as a leadership development activity arguing that by serving as mentors, individuals "perform implicitly activities that parallel behaviors and skills identified as effective leadership." In addition, when serving as mentors people are able to establish their position in a role that includes leadership, so they draw attention to the perceptions of some aspects of psychological capital connected to leadership success. These aspects of psychological capital would seem to represent critical sustaining assets (Zachary, 2005) for the mentees because they build confidence, toughness, and capacity (Kim, 2007) for them to recover quickly from difficulties in dynamic and challenging environments.

Table 7.2 provides aligned activities as reported by forty-two mentors when Middlebrooks and Haberkorn (2009) conducted research to identify "what an effective mentor knows, does, and acts like and what an effective leader knows, does, and acts like." It is reported that mentors see themselves as reliable, effective for the mentee's thinking process, and also as role models, creating and communicating vision, serving as a resource, and with expert knowledge. The similarities between mentor activities and leader activities are considerable and sometimes there are clear alignments.

Given that the relationship between trainer/trainee differs from the relationship between mentor/mentee (Zachary, 2005) a focus could be placed on the initial and overarching goals in mentoring which is always to establish balance between them. The role of authentic two-way communication and the learning conditions are crucial and valuable in this relationship. It is obvious that the mentor–follower relationship is the oldest and

Table 7.2 Selection from the comparison of leadership traits (Northouse, 2013) and mentor–leader activities according to Middlebrooks and Haberkorn (2009)

	Leadership traits	Mentor activities/ qualities	Leader activities
A)	Integrity	Reliable	Visionary
	Credibility	Role model	Change agent
		Personal mastery	Integrity
		Expert knowledge	Courageous
			Influence groups
			Role model
			Personal mastery
B)	Self-confidence	Inspire	Inspire
	Determination	Serve	Open to ideas
		Encourage autonomy	
C)	Intelligence	Serve as resource	Serve as resource
		Provide knowledge and experience	Provide knowledge and experience
		Model effective thinking processes	
D)	Sociability	Active listener	Active listener
		Constructive feedback	Flexible
		Flexible	Patient
		Patient	Supportive model
		Service-oriented	Build trust
			Identify strengths

most fundamental pedagogical approach, because it may be seen informally in nearly every relational setting, from parent–child to manager–employee to friends sharing experiences (Noe, Greenberger, & Wang, 2002). In addition, mentoring is “a reciprocal learning relationship in which the mentoring partners agree to work collaboratively toward achieving mutually defined goals that will develop the mentee’s skills, abilities, knowledge, and thinking” (Zachary & Fischler, 2009, p. 2).

ATHENA IN THE *ODYSSEY*: INSPIRATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND MENTORING?

Athena, “the goddess of nearness” (Otto, 1954) in Homeric poems seems to be the greatest friend that a man or a hero could have as she intervenes to assist them to survive or to succeed in their endeavors (Rutherford, 1985), providing a divine dimension to their achievements, while inspiring them and enabling them to realize their potential (Deacy, 2008). Does goddess Athena act as a leader and a mentor in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*? Athena is the daughter of Zeus, the supreme and permanent ruler of the universe, and as we learn from the Hesiod’s *Theogony* she is the daughter of Metis, the mother of wisdom and deep thought, an embodiment of prudence and magical cunning. As a modern version of her mother in classical literature Athena incorporates the female cleverness and divine resourcefulness in carrying out the plans of Zeus. Athena symbolizes the brain/mind, the functions and intelligence:

Table 7.3 Athena's mentor/leader role A: reliable, mastery, expert knowledge

	Leadership traits	Mentor activities/qualities	Leader activities
A)	Integrity Credibility	Reliable Role model Personal mastery Expert knowledge	Visionary Change agent Integrity Courageous Influence groups Role model Personal mastery

> Voice of Athena, dearest to me of the gods, how clearly, though you are unseen, do I hear your call and snatch its meaning in my mind. (Odysseus in: Sophocles, *Ajax* 14)

Is it possible to identify initial similarities between the mentor's characteristics and the first Mentor's implicit activities in the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey*? One can examine if the data and the content of the Homeric lines which refer to the action of Athena according to the Middlebrooks and Haberkorn (2009) criteria express a mentor's role or even leadership development activity.

More accurately, we can proceed by examining the first set of mentor–leader activities based on the Middlebrooks and Haberkorn (2009) criteria and identify whether Athena acts as a mentor with qualities such as: reliability, personal mastery, expert knowledge (Table 7.3). According to the myth, Odysseus, the main hero of *Odyssey*, leaving the battlefield of Troy asks the goddess Athena to turn herself into the form of Mentor, a friend to him, to watch and guide his own son Telemachus (Hansman, 2002). Athena transfers herself into Mentor, and she comes to Telemachus, providing him with instructions concerning his journey to Pylos and Sparta, where he attempts to find out anything new about his father; Athena/Mentor following one-to-one mentoring tactics gives Telemachus the order to start the journey to meet Odysseus's kings-friends:

> Telemachus: Mentor, how am I to go up to the great man? How shall I greet him? Remember that I have had no practice in making speeches; and a young man may well hesitate to cross-examine one so much his senior.
>
> Athena: Telemachus, where your native wit fails, heaven will inspire you. It is not for nothing that the gods have watched your progress ever since your birth. (Hom. *Od.* 1.296)

Athena/Mentor seems to be a very skilled leader in terms of initiating a clear picture of the future. As a personal master she drives Telemachus toward his own scope, and she makes him feel comfortable, making an emotional connection. She acts as a knowledge expert in many fields, and is particularly effective at helping her dependent to know himself better than before. She calls on her mentee's courage to face his fears, standing beside him. Starting from this point, the epithet "mentor" was afforded to supportive people in one's life and helpful teachers in several cases (see Hansman, 2002). That is the main root of the definitions around the concept of the mentor. The modern notion of mentoring is based on mutual trust and accountability, for example.

Being an open-minded person him/herself, the mentor inspires, guides, and advises. By using his/her personal qualities (Tzani and Kechagias, 2009) such as: (a) personal integrity, (b) high communication skills, (c) self-confidence, (d) optimism, (e) intimacy, (f) awareness, (g) deep thought, and (h) intelligence, the individual becomes the mentor who is in a position to guide his/her subordinates toward their goals. Athena as a mentor is reliable, because she finally saves Telemachus and assists him in his quest to meet his father Odysseus in Ithaca (also see: *Odyssey* 1.44ff.).

As a functional part in Odysseus's mind, Athena makes him able to draw on the cunning that leads him to be "forever" as the *Odyssey* describes it (Deacy, 2008, p. 63), "using to every advantage the mind that was in him."

> Then the goddess, flashing-eyed Athena [. . .] spake, and the much-enduring, goodly Odysseus was glad, and rejoiced in his land, the land of his fathers, as he heard the word of Pallas Athena, daughter of Zeus, who bears the aegis; and he spoke. (Hom. *Od.* 13.250, tr. Murray, 1919)

Odysseus with Athena's help becomes responsible for the great stratagem and the ploy that enabled Troy to be taken:

> But come now, change thy theme, and sing of the building of the horse of wood, which Epeius made with Athena's help, the horse which once Odysseus led up into the citadel as a thing of guile, when he had filled it with the men who sacked Ilion. (Hom. *Od.* 8.493–495, tr. Murray, 1919)

So, it seems that Odysseus finally becomes a leader, because of the action and the help of his mentor, something like Athena's mortal equivalent, a parallel of Athena's reputation on Olympus. As the goddess states:

> But come, let us no longer talk of this, being both well versed in craft, since thou art far the best of all men in counsel and in speech, and I among all the gods am famed for wisdom and craft. Yet thou didst not know (. . .) (Hom. *Od.* 13.297–299, tr. Murray, 1919)

By examining the first set of the Middlebrooks and Haberkorn (2009) criteria one may assume that Athena/Mentor acts as role model, having the knowledge of an expert, and becomes a personal master of her mentees. However, there is uncertainty regarding her reliability because she is not always standing by her subordinates or mentees.

Everything that exists in the epics is governed by certain epic laws, therefore it belongs to Homer's imagination (Lesky, 1966). Gods, with all of their weaknesses inherited in the Homeric era in the mythical tales (Nilsson, 1949), fly fast from Olympus and appear among the mortals to perform certain functions. By examining the second set of mentor–leader activities based on the Middlebrooks and Haberkorn (2009) criteria we can investigate if Athena represents mentoring qualities such as inspiration and encouragement of autonomous actions (Table 7.4). In the *Odyssey*, Athena forces Telemachus to go back to Ithaca before his mother Penelope gets remarried noticing that the "women's mind" may easily forget the previous husband:

> Athena: For thou knowest what sort of a spirit there is in a woman's breast. (Hom. *Od.* 15.20, tr. Murray, 1919)

Table 7.4 Athena's mentor/leader role B: inspire, serve, encourage (or when Athena is being downloaded)

	Leadership traits	Mentor activities/qualities	Leader activities
B)	Self-confidence Determination	Inspire Serve Encourage autonomy	Inspire Open to ideas

Athena's intervention is crucial to the successful outcome of the plot (Odysseus's return) and to the safety of Penelope's and Telemachus's lives. Athena, goddess of wisdom, appears to give directions, to manage things and people. That is why she "comes down" from the heavens, (just like Virginia Woolf writes in her book, *A Writer's Diary*: "the idea has come to me").

According to the myth, Achilles, the best hero amongst all the Achaeans who came to fight in the Trojan War, loses his prize of war, because the irate commander of the united Greek armed forces, Agamemnon, recouped his loss by depriving Achilles of his favorite slave, Briseis. Achilles refuses to fight any more, burning with rage over Agamemnon's theft:

> Grief came upon the son of Peleus, and within his shaggy breast his heart was divided, whether he should draw his sharp sword from beside his thigh, and break up the assembly, and slay the son of Atreus, or stay his anger and curb his spirit. (Hom. *Il.* 1.189, tr. Murray, 1924)

Homer uses the phrase "his heart was divided" (Maronitis, 1984, p. 195; see also Maronitis, 2004, and line Hom. *Il.* 1.189 comment by Walter Leaf, 1960), which means "he had half a mind" and does not mean two alternatives expressed. Suddenly and while he pondered this in mind and heart, and was drawing his great sword from its sheath,

> [. . .] Goddess Athena came from heaven. (Hom. *Il.* 1.192)

Homer informs us that "for hard are the gods to look upon when they appear in manifest presence" (Hom. *Il.* 20.131), but at this critical moment the goddess intervenes:

> She stood behind him and seized the son of Peleus by his fair hair
> appearing to him alone. (Hom. *Il.* 1.196ff., tr. Murray, 1924)

A modern scholar would notice that it is more appropriate or suitable for a rational mind to interpret: "like a sudden burst of light a great idea flashed through Achilles' mind." In any case this pre-Homeric scene appears in Ugaritic epic (Gordon & Rendsburg, 1990) confirming its broader origins:

> Achilles was seized with wonder.
> Terribly his eyes shone and turned around, and immediately recognized Pallas Athene (Hom. *Il.* 1.200, see Mazon, 1998, p. 11)

Any mortal being could have felt blessed to see a god, but the hero asks:

> Achilles: Why now, daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus, have you come?
> Is it so that you might see the arrogance of Agamemnon? (Hom. *Il*. 1.203)

Indeed the Greek army might have been completely disrupted if Athena's courageous action at the point of crisis had not been matched and exceeded, through Odysseus's words, in the second rhapsody of the *Iliad*. On the battlefield the real leader has to act in accordance with the followers' expectations. In this rhapsody, Agamemnon gathers his troops for attack, but, to test the courage of the army, he lies and tells them that he has decided to give up the war and return to Greece. To his dismay, the soldiers eagerly run to their ships. Goddess Hera alerts Athena, who inspires Odysseus, the most eloquent of the Achaeans, to call the men back (Hom. *Il*. 2.180). Odysseus shouts words of encouragement and insult to goad their pride and restore their confidence (see: http://www.sparknotes.com/lit/iliad/). As Odysseus reminds them (Hom. *Il*. 2.190, 2.200), they vowed at that time that they would not abandon their struggle until the city fell:

> So said she, and he knew the voice of the goddess as she spake (B 182), and set him to run, and cast from him his cloak, which his herald gathered up [. . .] But himself he went straight to Agamemnon, son of Atreus, and received at his hand the staff of his fathers, imperishable ever, and therewith went his way along the ships of the brazen-coated Achaeans. (Hom. *Il*. 2.182ff.)

Through Athena's inspiration, Odysseus confirms his own reputation as one of the most talented rhetoricians. In Hom. *Il*. 4.76, Zeus orders Athena to fly down to the Ilion battlefield to provoke the Trojans into breaking the truce. Athena speeds to Troy, where the troops are anxiously wondering what will happen after the duel's incomplete result: "[. . .] even in such wise as the son of crooked-counseling Cronos sendeth a star to be a portent for seamen or for a wide host of warriors, a gleaming star, and therefrom the sparks fly thick; even so darted Pallas Athene to earth, and down she leapt into the midst; and amazement came upon all that beheld" (Hom. *Il*. 4.76, tr. Murray, 1924). Eleven books after this scene Athena impels the cloud of mist and reveals clarity of mind:

> So saying, he aroused the strength and spirit of every man,
> and from their eyes Athene thrust away the wondrous cloud of mist,
> and mightily did light come to them from either hand (Hom. *Il*. 15.668ff., tr. Murray, 1924)

Sometimes she inspires persistence in a series of action or thoughts – for example she puts strength into a man's shoulders and knees (Menelaus), and in his breast sets the daring of the fly (Hom. *Il*. 17.570).

Athena protects her mentees/comrades like a mother, as she does when the Trojan archer Pandaros, encouraged by Athena in disguise, shoots at Menelaus, but Athena deflects the arrow (Hom. *Il*. 4.127–133). Three more times Athena helps "like a mother," for example in Hom. *Il*. 23.783 when she protects Odysseus: "standeth ever by Odysseus' side like a mother, and helpeth him" (tr. Murray, 1924; compare Hom. *Od*. 13.301; see Dué & Ebbott, 2012, pp. 297–299, 311–312). In these cases one can observe "the fiercely protective nature of the mother, but the action at this point is strictly internal in Odysseus' thoughts" (Dué & Ebbott, 2012).

It is obvious that Athena in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* inspires, protects, and serves as a mentor but it is not clear if she encourages the autonomy of her mentees' actions.

Table 7.5 Athena's mentor/leader role C: serve as resource, providing knowledge and effective thinking processes

	Leadership traits	Mentor activities/qualities	Leader activities
C)	Intelligence	Serve as resource Provide knowledge and experience Model effective thinking processes	Serve as resource Provide knowledge and experience

Are there any examples in Athena's behavior in the epics to testify to her mentor qualities as "knowledge or resource provider" or "model of effective thinker" according to the third set of mentor–leader activities based on the Middlebrooks and Haberkorn (2009) theory (Table 7.5)? In the previous scene of the first book of the *Iliad* and by behaving as a diplomat, goddess Athena clarifies the situation to Achilles in that she comes to him to put an end to his anger, if he is ready to listen to her advice:

> Athena: I have come from heaven to stay your anger, if you will obey (Hom. *Il.* 1.207, tr. Murray, 1924)

The reader might have expected that the divine presence may impose on other situations, to encourage the hero's soul with the virtue of restraint, but Athena is only satisfied when the hero chooses to listen to her voice. Nowadays, any negotiator, mentor, or counselor, elects to give his/her opinion, provided the listener can turn his/her attention toward them and listen. By controlling and reinforcing thoughts, the rational thinking and the argumentation, the hero will restrain his anger. Plato will analyze the same content in the dialogue *Sophist*:

> Stranger: Well, then, thought and speech are the same; only the former, which is a silent inner conversation of the soul with itself, has been given the special name of thought. Is not that true? (Plat. *Soph.* 263e)

Referring again to book 1 of *Iliad*, we follow Athena's behavior when she affects Achilles' attitude providing experience and knowledge:

> But come, cease from strife, and do not grasp the sword with your hand.
> With words indeed taunt him, telling him how it shall be (Hom. *Il.* 1.210–211, tr. Murray, 1924)

And immediately here is her promise:

> Hereafter three times as many glorious gifts shall be yours on account of this arrogance (Hom. *Il.* 1.213)

Instead of threatening to use violence or resorting to violence Athena suggests squabbling; as if the scene was to take place within the Athenian political society where rhetoric would replace armed violence. Achilles rises, addressing Athena; he decides to use the verb χρή ("khrḗ," it is necessary, it must needs, ought to do) accepting that Athena's way is a more effective thinking process:

> Achilles: It is necessary, goddess, to observe the words of you two,
> however angered a man be in his heart, for is it better so. (Hom. *Il.* 1.216–217)

By using the comparative form of the adjective agathon (well-born, gentle), the ameinon (stronger, braver) (superlative: ariston = best), Achilles accepts Athena's word and he decides not to use violence against Agamemnon. After all of the previous fighting this is the only rational decision. This is common as people tend to watch their leaders in order to identify gaps between rhetoric and action; but Achilles has to compromise the divine order with his human outburst of anger against Agamemnon. We do not know whether Athena is still standing by him or if she has left. But now her mission is complete and the divine order is to be interpreted according to the meaning which a reasonable person would give to it. Nestor, the wise old man, substitutes for her in the next lines. Nestor is "sweet of speech," and acts as a negotiator in this instance:

> Nestor: So also should you obey, since to obey is better (Hom. *Il.* 1.274)

After looking into paradigms of Athena's behavior in the epic verses mentioned above one may identify the qualities of "knowledge provider" and "model of effective thinker" according to the third set of mentor–leader activities based on Middlebrooks and Haberkorn (2009), but she does not act as a "resource provider."

The reader recognizes that Athena in the *Odyssey* has been consistently intervening on Odysseus's behalf. Does she perform "active listening," "constructive feedback," "flexibility" or "patience" and "service orientation" according to the fourth set of mentor–leader qualities identified by Middlebrooks and Haberkorn (2009) (Table 7.6)? Let's read the epic verses carefully. While in the *Odyssey* the hero is using his powers to win over Nausika, Athena transforms his appearance giving flexibility to his power:

> Athena, the daughter of Zeus, made him taller to look upon and mightier (Hom. *Od.* 6.229).

Athena is very focused on achieving the end result of Odysseus's journey in that the hero will be returned safely (nostos) to his home, Ithaca (Felson-Rubin, 1987; Winkler, 1990). It seems that the *Odyssey* is the implementation of her own "project" in general terms. Under Athena's watchful supervision Odysseus overcomes the dangers and the monsters of his lifetime (Scylla and Charybdis), and returns safely to his allotted place. "The resolutions she effects involve the acknowledgment of female strength [. . .] and her feminine skill as a weaver of plots, devising an end to his story that is at

Table 7.6 Athena's mentor/leader role D: active listener, flexible, patient, service-oriented

	Leadership traits	Mentor activities/qualities	Leader activities
D)	Sociability	Active listener Constructive feedback Flexible Patient Service-oriented	Active listener Flexible Patient Supportive model Build trust Identify strengths

once the restoration of society and the fulfillment of his desires" (Murnaghan, 1995, pp. 61, 78).

In book 10 of the *Iliad* (the Dolonea rhapsody), two men (Odysseus and Diomedes) arm themselves and set off for the Trojan camp. An omen/heron sent by Athena calls out on their right-hand side, and they both pray to Athena for protection (Hom. *Il*. 10.275ff.). Odysseus makes prayer to Athena:

> Hear me, child of Zeus, that beareth the aegis, thou that dost ever stand by my side in all manner of toils (Hom. *Il*. 10. 275ff.)

Then Athena puts strength into them (Hom. *Il*. 10.366) and "thereon Athena put courage into the heart of Diomedes" (Hom. *Il*. 10.483).

> But Diomedes stayed where he was, thinking [10.507] what other daring deed he might accomplish. He was doubting whether to take the chariot in which the king's armor was lying, and draw it out by the pole, or to lift the armor out and carry it off; or whether again, he should not kill some more Thracians. While he was thus hesitating Athena came up to him and said, "Make your homecoming [nostos, 10.509], Diomedes, to the ships or you may be driven thither, should some other god [10.511] rouse the Trojans." (Hom. *Il*. 10.506ff.)

Athena seems to be service-oriented and two points of Athena's leadership intervention need to be considered here, as a constructive feedback: (a) she reminds Diomedes of his safe homecoming (nostos): "Bethink thee now of returning" (tr. Murray, 1924) and (b) she suggests flexible strategic alternatives: "lest thou go thither in full flight, and haply some other god rouse up the Trojans" (tr. Murray, 1924). Perhaps, if she was a mortal she would express her fearfulness. The subordinate dependent clause begins: "lest thou go thither in full flight" (Hom. *Il*. 10.511). Even a goddess would not say "I am afraid of"; the heroes have to rethink their strategic plan one more time. Thus, in terms of Middlebrooks and Haberkorn's (2009) theory we cannot prove her role as an "active listener" or as having the quality of "patience." Nevertheless the researcher can identify the qualities of "constructive feedback," "flexibility," and "service orientation" in the scenes studied previously.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, Athena acts as a mentor expressing qualities such as: role model, expert knowledge, personal mastery. She inspires, protects, and serves as a mentor and leader providing the knowledge, because she is an effective thinker. She also gives constructive feedback to her mentees behaving with strategic flexibility, providing alternatives and being service-oriented at all times. According to the theory of Middlebrooks and Haberkorn (2009), she acts as a mentor guiding and inspiring her mentees or subordinates to behave as leaders. Besides she is persona-goddess acting in Homer's poetic cycle of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as a representation of the human mind's functions like control, coordination of parts, rational capability of decision making, etc. If modern scholars propose self-awareness as the foundation of emotional intelligence and good leadership (Goleman & Boyatzis, 2017) we suggest that the Socratic value and operating principle of the Delphic oracle "know thyself," as an effective and thoughtful way of life, is more similar to the early leadership role of Athena in the ancient classical world.

The self-belief that marks out the most effective women leaders seems to flow from the understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of the scope and the realistic and actual knowledge of the "battlefield." For example, women's leadership is an ongoing learning experience, and just like life itself can lead to efficient handling of resources and information in terms of knowledge management. Athena acts as a helper of heroes by using her power on behalf of their own good to persuade them, inspire or encourage them to behave as leaders. But at the same time she victimizes their enemies, individuals or groups, by turning against them (i.e., the Trojans). She causes suffering for her mentees' opponents without any ethical or moral barriers. This characteristic does not match the contemporary profile of a mentor who must have a set of ethical principles when teaching his/her own mentees to be leaders. If someone uses aesthetic philosophy and/or arts-based methods "as processes for intervention and change" (Hansen & Bathurst, 2011, p. 258) in women leadership development that person may counteract the overreliance on rational models of decision making.

In this chapter we examined one of the mythological roots of women leadership development through the exploration of the role of the goddess Athena in the famous Homeric poems, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. By navigating through cases of Athena's appearances and metamorphoses we found aspects of the origins of women mentoring and leadership in one of the most ancient texts of human history. Literature and mythology on leadership development practice seems to have almost three thousand years' history starting from the Homeric world and the goddess Athena.

REFERENCES

Antoniou, A.-S. (2005). Emotional intelligence and transformational leadership. In A.-S. Antoniou & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Research Companion to Organizational Health Psychology* (pp. 633–655). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Antoniou, A.-S. (2008). Perspectives and possibilities of performing moral leadership [Προοπτικές και δυνατότητες άσκησης ηθικής ηγεσίας]. In A.-S. Antoniou (Ed.), *Business Ethics* (Vol. II, pp. 1–18). Athens: Sakkoula.

Antoniou, A.-S., & Galaktidou, A. (2010). Research of performing transformational leadership and its likely impact on professional burnout [Διερεύνηση άσκησης μετασχηματιστικού τύπου ηγεσίας και ενδεχόμενη επίδρασή του στην επαγγελματική εξουθένωση]. In A.-S. Antoniou (Ed.), *Stress: Personal Growth and Well-Being* (pp. 73–136). Athens: Papazissi Publications.

Bass, B. M., & Avolio, B. J. (1992). Multifactor leadership questionnaire, Form SX. Center for Leadership Studies, State University of New York at Binghampton.

Carless, S. A. (1998). Assessing the discriminant validity of transformational leader behaviour, as measured by the MLQ. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *71*, 353–358.

Cotterell, A., Lowe, R., & Shaw, I. (2006). *Leadership: Lessons from the Ancient World.* Chichester: John Wiley.

Deacy, S. (2008). *Athena*. New York: Routledge.

Detienne, M., & Vernant, J. P. (1978). *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*. European Philosophy and the Human Sciences. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Harvester Press/Humanities Press.

Diekman, A., & Eagly, A. (2000). Stereotypes as dynamic constructs: Women and men of the past, present, and future. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *26*, 1171–1188.

Dué, C., & Ebbott, M. (2012). Mothers-in-arms: Soldiers' emotional bonds and Homeric similes. *War, Literature and the Arts*, *24*, 297–312.

Dunne, T. C., Aaron, J. R., McDowell, W. C., Urban, D. J., & Geho, P. R. (2016). The impact of leadership on small business innovativeness. *Journal of Business Research*, *69*(11), 4876–4881.

Eagly, A. H., Ashmore, R. D., Makhijani, M. G., & Longo, L. C. (1991). What is beautiful is good, but . . . A meta-analytic review of research on the physical attractiveness stereotype. *Psychological Bulletin*, *110*(1), 109–128.
Eagly, A. H., & Johnston, B. T. (1990). Gender and leadership style: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *108*(2), 233–256.
Felson-Rubin, N. (1987). Penelope's perspective: Character from plot. In J. M. Bremer, I. J. F. de Jong, & J. Kalff (Eds.), *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry* (pp. 61–83). Amsterdam: Grüner.
Goleman, D., & Boyatzis, R. (2017). Emotional intelligence has 12 elements. Which do you need to work on? *Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved from https://hbr.org/2017/02/emotional-intelligence-has-12-elements-which-do-you-need-to-work-on.
Gordon, C., & Rendsburg, G. (1990). *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language* (Vol. 4). Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
Guo, X. (2005). The origin, evolution and influence of the Greek goddess Athena. *The Border Economy and Culture*, *5*(7), 81–83.
Hansen, H., & Bathurst, R. (2011). Aesthetics and leadership. In A. Bryman, D. Collinson, K. Grint, B. Jackson, & M. Uhl-Bien (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Leadership* (pp. 255–266). London: Sage.
Hansman, C. A. (2002). Mentoring: From Athena to the 21st century. In C. Hansman (Ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Mentoring: Trends and Issues*. Information Series No. 388. ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education (071) (pp. 1–3). Columbus, OH: Ohio State University. Retrieved from http://ericacve.org/majorpubs2.asp?ID=29.
House, R. J., Javidan, M., & Dorfman, P. (2001). Project globe: An introduction. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *50*(4), 489–505.
House, R. J., Wright, N. S., & Aditya, R. N. (1997). Cross-cultural research on organizational leadership: A critical analysis and a proposed theory. In P. Earley & M. Erez (Eds.), *New Perspectives in International Industrial Organizational Psychology* (pp. 535–625). San Francisco, CA: New Lexington.
Kahn, K. (1996). *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman: How Stereotypes Influence the Conduct and Consequences of Political Campaigns*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Kakabadse, A., & Kakabadse, N. (1999). *Essence of Leadership.* London: International Thompson Business Press.
Kechagias, C. (2009). *On the Nature of Position* [Η φύση της θέσης στην ελληνική σύλληψη του κόσμου]. Athens: Herodotos.
Kim, S. (2007). Learning goal orientation, formal mentoring, and leadership competence in HRD: A conceptual model. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, *31*(3), 181–194.
Klenke, K. (1996). *Women and Leadership: A Contextual Perspective*. New York: Springer.
Klenke, K. (2011). *Women in Leadership: Contextual Dynamics and Boundaries*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing.
Klenke, K. (Ed.) (2018). *Women in Leadership: Contextual Dynamics and Boundaries*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing.
Kram, K. E., & Isabella, L. A. (1985). Mentoring alternatives: The role of peer relationships in career development. *Academy of Management Journal*, *28*(1), 110–132.
Kunich, J. C., & Lester, R. I. (1999). Leadership and the art of mentoring: Tool kit for the time machine. *Journal of Leadership Studies*, *6*(17), 117–127.
Lammers, C. I., & Hickson, D. J. (Eds.) (1979). *Organizations Alike and Unlike: International and Inter-Institutional Studies in the Sociology of Organizations*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Leaf, W. (Ed.) (1960). Homer, *The Iliad: Edited, With Apparatus Criticus, Prolegomena, Notes, and Appendices*. Amsterdam: Hakkert.
Lennon, T. (2014). *Recognizing Women's Leadership: Strategies and Best Practices for Employing Excellence*. New York: Praeger.
Lesky, A. (1966). *A History of Greek Literature* (trans. J. Willis and C. de Heer). London: Methuen.
London, M. (2002). *Leadership Development: Paths to Self-Insight and Professional Growth*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Maher, K. J. (1997). Gender-related stereotypes of transformational and transactional leadership. *Sex Roles*, *37*(3/4), 209–225.

Maronitis, D. N. (1984). *Search and Return of Odysseus: The Dialectic of the Odyssey* [Αναζήτηση και νόστος του Οδυσσέα: Η διαλεκτική της Οδύσσειας]. Athens: Kedros.

Maronitis, D. N. (1991). *Search and Return of Odysseus: The Dialectic of the Odyssey* [Αναζήτηση και νόστος του Οδυσσέα]. Athens: Kedros.

Maronitis, D. N. (2004). *Homeric Megathemes: War-Homilia-Homecoming* (trans. D. Connolly). New York: Lexington Books.

Mazon, P. (1998). *Iliade Homère*. Paris: Belles Lettres.

Middlebrooks, A. E., & Haberkorn, J. T. (2009). Implicit leader development: The mentor role as prefatory leadership context. *Journal of Leadership Studies*, *2*(4), 7–22.

Murnaghan, S. (1995). The plan of Athena. In C. Beth (Ed.), *The Distaff Side: Representing the Female in Homer's Odyssey* (pp. 61–80). New York: Oxford University Press.

Murray, A. T. (Trans.) (1919). *Homer's Odyssey*, 2 vols. London: Heinemann.

Murray, A. T. (Trans.) (1924). *Homer's Iliad*, 2 vols. London: Heinemann.

Neck, C., & Houghton, J. (2006). Two decades of self-leadership theory and research: Past developments, present trends, and future possibilities. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *21*(4), 270–295.

Nilsson, M. (1949). *A History of Greek Religion* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Noe, R. A., Greenberger, D. B., & Wang, S. (2002). Mentoring: What we know and where we might go. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, *21*, 129–173.

Northouse, P. G. (2013). *Leadership: Theory and Practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Otto, W. F. (1954). *The Homeric Gods: The Spiritual Significance of Greek Religion* (trans. M. Hadas). New York: Pantheon.

Redding, S. G., Norman, A., & Schlander, A. (1994). The nature of individual attachment to theory: A review of East Asian variations. In H. C. Triandis, M. D. Dunnett, & L. M. Hough (Eds.), *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology* (pp. 674–688). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Rhode, D. L. (2017). *Women and Leadership*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rutherford, R. (1985). At home and abroad: Aspects of the structure of the *Odyssey*. *The Cambridge Classical Journal*, *31*, 133–150.

Schyns, B., & Meindl, J. (2005). *Implicit Leadership Theories: Essays and Explorations*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publications.

Sheng, X. (2017). Cultural and value differences of goddess in Ancient Greece and China. *European Scientific Journal*. Retrieved from https://eujournal.org/index.php/esj/article/view/9722.

Triandis, H. C. (1993). The contingency model in cross-cultural perspective. In M. M. Chemers & R. Ayman (Eds.), *Leadership Theory and Research: Perspectives and Directions* (pp. 167–188). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Tzani, M., & Kechagias, C. (2009). The guide and the mentor. In M. Meri (Ed.), *Promoting Teacher Education: From Intake System to Teaching Practice* (pp. 35–46). Beograd, Serbia: Faculty of Education in Jagodina.

Velsor, E., & McCauley, C. (2004). Introduction: Our view of leadership development. In C. D. McCauley & E. V. Velsor (Eds.), *The Center for Creative Leadership Handbook of Leadership Development* (pp. 1–26). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Wanberg, C. R., Welsh, E. T., & Hezlett, S. A. (2003). Mentoring research: A review and dynamic process model. In J. J. Martocchio & G. R. Ferris (Eds.), *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management* (Vol. 22, pp. 39–124). Bingley: Emerald Publishing.

Winkler, J. J. (1990). Penelope's cunning and Homer's. In J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (pp. 129–161). London: Routledge.

Zachary, L. (2005). *Creating a Mentoring Culture: The Organization's Guide*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Zachary, L., & Fischler, L. (2009). *Making Mentoring Work for You*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Zenger, J. H., Folkman, J. R., Sherwin, R. H., & Steel, B. A. (2012). *How to be Exceptional: Drive Leadership Success by Magnifying Your Strengths*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

8. Transpersonal business leadership, global information economies, and diversity

Iris Rittenhofer

> Zombie categories are living dead categories, which blind the social sciences to the rapidly changing realities inside the nation-state containers, and outside as well.
> (Beck, 2002, p. 24)

Held et al. (1999, p. 2) offer a broad definition of globalization as "the widening, deepening, and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life." Globalization processes are diverse and uneven (Appadurai, 1996) and point to economies and societies in transition. In the view of Beck (2002), European societies are currently transitioning from industrial economies to information economies. The landscape of industry structures and boundaries is transforming into "fluid spaces," "competitive arenas" "whose definition is becoming highly elusive" (Hewitt, 2007, p. 206).

Globalization refers to new organizing arrangements, which bring forward the need to rethink social relations and identities in a way that recognizes them as being fluid and flexible (Metcalfe and Woodhams, 2012, p. 132). Interconnectedness, deterritorialization, and disembedding are key theoretical themes that have developed across disciplines, appearing in literature focusing on the geography of space (e.g., Appadurai, 1996; Beck, 2002; Eriksen, 2007; Mathews, 2000; Rittenhofer, 2015; Scholte, 2002). Interconnectedness refers to the idea that economic globalization, and communication and information technologies, render time and distance irrelevant in the understanding of social relations and identities (Eriksen, 2007). Social relations and identities are relatively deterritorialized, confined partially to the bounded space of state societies and to the spread of supraterritorial relations between people (Scholte, 2002). In disembedding, ideas, goods or people are lifted out of a specific social context and recontextualized elsewhere (Eriksen, 2007).

Globalization literatures recognize and articulate the need for new concepts (Beck, 2002; Scholte, 2002) that enable the thinking and perceiving of changing realities in all aspects of social life. An example is Appadurai's (1996) seminal work on the social landscapes emerging from multi-directional flows of people, money, images, ideas, and technologies. These flows are transgressing state societies and territorial geographies. Appadurai developed the concepts of ethno-, finance-, media-, ideo-, and technoscapes to denote the emerging deterritorialized social landscapes that cannot be mapped within the territorial geography of countries, regions, or continents. Metcalfe and Woodhams (2012) perceive these ongoing transformations as a welcome opportunity to rethink existing understandings of gender and diversity concepts and practices in Management and Organization Studies (MOS). The main aim of this chapter is to contribute to a reconceptualization of the gender category in MOS itself.

Three features of contemporary globalization are key to this chapter's argument. One, globalization takes multiple, including non-Western directions, for example, future Buddhist or post-modern globalizations (Scholte, 2002). Two, when viewed concurrently, culture, economics, psychology, and history are among the forces that "also shape the spatial contours of social relations" (Scholte, 2002, p. 15). Three, globalization nullifies dichotomies (Stohl, 2005). This chapter suggests that the cultural-historical thinking emerging from European modernity has collapsed into the present gender category: the man/woman dichotomy, the sex/gender divide, and the values of European pre-industrial and industrial societies. From this perspective, the application of this category to organization and management within and outside Western societies would also be ethnocentric.

This chapter proposes that the man/woman dichotomy is only one out of several coexisting understandings of gender. This particular gender category is burdened by the ideas, values, and history of Europe. The fixity and difference created by the binary man/woman logic are of limited analytical value to the understanding of the fluid social relations and flexible identities related to globalization. This chapter exemplifies transforming alternative gender understandings by looking at the diversity practices of multinational corporations (MNCs). Those practices cut across the structures and boundaries of industries: the digital platform, banking, consultancy, and publishing industries respectively.

This requires a note on the language used in this chapter. This chapter argues that the gender category used in MOS carries the collapsed social, cultural, and economic history of European modernity. In order not to reproduce this history in writing and in order not to undermine the very criticism of the gender category developed here, the chapter uses different language, which replaces the mainstream term "gender" with Lurie's (2005) term "bi-gender." "Bi-gender" refers to the gender category a priori informing mainstream "gender in MO" research. A core problem of bi-gender analysis in MOS is that it carries the tacit notion of "sex difference." Bi-gender reinforces the very fixity and differences it seeks to dismantle.

Applied analytically, the bi-gender blinds MOS to the complexity, flexibility, and fluidity of social relations and relational identities in globalizing information societies. This chapter makes three suggestions for MO research. (1) It proposes that MOS acknowledges bi-gender as a cultural-historical accomplishment. (2) It suggests that MOS de-universalizes and de-privileges bi-gender, and that it does not apply gender a priori to the study of situated organizing and managing in context. (3) It proposes that MOS undertake a transformative move and adopt the flexible, multi-polar transgender (Lurie, 2005; Nordentoft, 2009) category and combine this with "doing difference" (West and Fenstermaker, 1995). Applied analytically as concepts, the proposed tools have the potential to be responsive both to the relative deterritorialization of fluid social relations in post-industrial globalizing societies and to the flexible social organization of work spheres, careers, and identities within organizations.

Benschop (2016) identifies three themes for a future MOS research agenda. This chapter responds to the first and second themes of Benschop's proposed research agenda. The first theme is the conceptual and methodological development of the intersection of gender with other social categories of disadvantage and privilege, such as ethnicity, sexuality, class, race, or age. This theme seems old-fashioned. In 2008, Broadbridge and Hearn acknowledged the contextuality of bi-gender; rather than universalizing the impact of bi-gender on positions of privilege or disadvantage, they recommended the study of gender at the intersection of specific organizations and managements. Holvino (2010, p. 248) challenges the primacy of the bi-gender concept and suggests that MOS reconceptualize intersectionality and study race, gender, and class as "simultaneous processes of identity, institutional and social practice." This chapter introduces the "doing difference" concept and proposes that MOS take an emergent – rather than a prescriptive – approach that is responsive to the reorganization of social relations. This entails the possibility that gender – or race or class – is not at stake in all social relations or at all times.

The second theme of Benschop's proposed research agenda is the empirical study of how organizations (re)produce social inequalities in opportunities, careers, and jobs, and are responsive to the broader dynamics of contemporary globalization. This chapter illustrates the historical cultural boundedness of the bi-gender concept, contrasts it against the fluidity and flexibility of gender categories in MNCs' organization of present and future stakeholder relations, and illustrates how bi-gender has brought about the reorganization of business leadership.

The third theme concerns the impact of postfeminism and its potential contribution to conceptualize new organizational masculinities and femininities in ways that critically undermine feminist agendas and achievements. A recent issue of the journal *Gender, Work & Organization* edited by Lewis, Benschop, and Simpson (2017) is a thematic issue on "Postfeminism, Gender and Organization." The postfeminist approaches offered in the special issue do not loosen the ties of the old dichotomous woman/man paradigm.

This chapter takes a multi-disciplinary approach. First, it examines new gender practices of MNCs developed in response to transforming social relations. Then, it identifies the challenges presented by bi-gender analysis in MOS research. Hereafter, it sketches the cultural-historical past of bi-gender. Next, the chapter introduces alternatives to the bi-gender concept, suggesting that MOS combine them into a tool for the analysis of organizing and managing in transforming contemporary societies. Finally, the chapter illustrates the value of its theoretical and conceptual arguments, offering a short analysis of a Routledge White Paper (Young 2016) on transpersonal business leadership in the twenty-first century.

THE FLUIDITY AND FLEXIBILITY OF GENDER IN CONTEMPORARY MNCs

Bi-gender itself is subject to disorganization and dissolution. Google, Facebook, and the multinational banking and financial services institution HSBC are examples of transborder operations. All of these organizations maintain "global information economies" (Beck, 2002), connecting people in open digital spaces that cut across territorial geographies. These MNCs also maintain social and cultural globalization processes, enabling the diversity and flexibility of gender relations and identities to coexist in globalizing societies. No longer reducing customers to bi-gender identities, they offer their customers multi- and transgender options. Google allows users to choose from "woman," "man," and "other." Facebook acknowledges the inadequacy of the binary gender system for "understanding the gender of all humans, especially across cultures" (Herbenick, 2014). Since 2014, Facebook has offered its users more than seventy gender options (Sparkes, 2014), including "neither" (Williams, 2014). In 2017, HSBC began offering ten new gender-neutral titles (Tatchell, 2017) "as part of its plan to improve the banking experience for customers [. . .] [T]itles chosen would be applied across customers' accounts, including on their bank cards and all correspondence" (Brignall, 2017).

The practices exemplified above contribute a post-modern direction to globalizing processes in which the MNCs stop telling customers who they are. Instead, they detach the link between sex and gender and reintroduce "human" as the primary determinant of customers. In doing this, they maintain the multi-directional, global transborder flows of ideas about gender, and expand people's options for identification. The options offered by the MNCs cut across customers' diverse social realities and are independent of places, religion, ethnicity, class, or age. However, gender itself remains a primary category of signifying global customer relations. In this regard, the practices of the above corporations and of MOS still are aligned. The bi-gender concept applied within MOS, however, proves less adaptable to contemporary transformations.

BI-GENDER IN MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION STUDIES

Broadbridge and Hearn (2008, p. 40) observe that the "area of gender, organizations and management has become more established at the very time that the notion of gender has itself become more problematic." During the 1990s, two notable developments characterized MOS. The concept of gender superseded the concept of woman and extended the analyses of organization and management to comprise both women and men (Calás and Smircich, 1996). At the same time, gender took on broader and more diffuse meanings (Marshall, 1995). Despite these improvements, the women in management strand has remained consistently strong (Benschop, 2016; Broadbridge and Hearn, 2008). Illustrative of that point is the title of a handbook published by Edward Elgar in 2007 (Bilimoria and Piderit): *Handbook on Women in Business and Management*.

This chapter suggests that two features of bi-gender analysis in MOS are inadequate for understanding organizing and managing in times of globalization. First, MOS continues to perform prescriptive gender analysis. Second, the fixity of the analytically applied bi-gender category is inappropriate for understanding fluid social realities and flexible identities. In MOS, gender still refers to the simple man/woman, male/female binaries. These binaries carry cultural-historical assumptions of body differences that continue to distance and keep apart the analysis of opportunities and careers in management. This is illustrated by a glance at the table of contents of the 2014 publication *The Oxford Handbook of Gender in Organizations* (Kumra et al.), which reveals a bi-gender focus. Chapter titles reveal that "woman" is emphasized within sections on "Gender and Career" and "Gender in Leadership and Management." At the same time, an entire section is explicitly dedicated to "Masculinities in Organizations." "Woman" refers to bi-gender identity, while "masculinity" applies to bi-gendered roles. Both identity and roles build analogies to sex or body difference, revealing that the traditional gender model continues to inform MOS analysis. This traditional gender model is discussed below.

Bi-gender, race, class (Benschop, 2016), and diversity (Broadbridge and Hearn, 2008; Konrad, Prasad, and Pringle, 2006) are today considered normal MOS categories. Benschop (2016, p. 61) offers a future research agenda for gender in organizations, calling for "further conceptual and methodological development of intersections of gender with other, organizationally relevant categories," one of them being globalization. This agenda does not question the bi-gender concept itself, which is important if one considers theories of globalization and their methodological implications. Useful here is the insight that "normal social sciences categories are becoming zombie categories [. . .] Zombie categories are living dead categories, which blind the social sciences to the rapidly changing realities" (Beck, 2002, p. 24) of managing and organizing. The examples offered above illustrate that this comprises the dissolution of bi-gender social relations and identities themselves and that this has reached into some of the most globally influential contemporary organizations.

The chapter proposes bi-gender to be one of the zombie categories in MOS. By continuing to work with bi-gender in the established ways, despite globalization, MOS a priori assumes that the (re)production of disadvantage and privilege must be organized and managed along bi-gender lines everywhere and at all times. This entails the notion that gender is a function of sex difference. "Always" and "everywhere," however, do not represent "global." Universalization, Westernization, and Liberalization are examples of redundant understandings of globalization ill-suited to capturing contemporary transformation processes (Scholte, 2002). When globalization "is conceived as universalization [. . . it] is taken to describe a process of dispersing various objects and experiences to people at all inhabited parts of the earth" (Scholte, 2007). In order to be responsive to globalization, this chapter calls for future MOS to methodologically and conceptually develop alternatives to bi-gender.

From this, we recognize two implications for future MOS responses to globalizing societies. First, "this compels a rigorous anti-essentialism without a privileged link [of organizing and managing] to ethnicity, gender, class" (Beck, 2002, p. 37). It is not sufficient to acknowledge the situatedness of gender within societal contexts and to recommend further MO research to study the "doing of gender" at the intersection of specific organizations and managements (e.g., Broadbridge and Hearn, 2008). Second, it means loosening the ties of gender to the bi-gender understanding; people are a priori separated and kept apart by cultural-historical perceptions of body and related notions of identity and the analogous separation of spheres within organizations and management roles.

The following observation reflects that differences are already at work in the very categories brought to MOS analysis of organization and leadership. Those categories carry "the illusion of binary oppositions" (Scott, 1988, p. 38) and build analogies between man/woman and white/colored and privileged/disadvantaged.

> Hierarchies are usually gendered and racialized, especially at the top. Top hierarchical class positions are almost always occupied by white men in the United States and in European countries. This is particularly true in larger influential organizations. The image of the successful organization and the image of the successful leader share many of the same characteristics, such as strength, aggressiveness, competitiveness. (Acker, 2006, p. 445)

Historically, strength, aggressiveness, and competitiveness are values that have been given primacy in a societal context in order to drive industrial capitalism. The operations of bi-gender in MO analysis cannot dismantle the organizing and managing of social relations that make the difference. The division of spheres and of labor is a key function of modern European societies. If the organizing and managing of key functions is studied as a social accomplishment, while man (gender), white (race), and leader (class) are kept in the pre-discursive field, MOS analysis attains an ideological quality that perpetuates the key logics of Western industrialism.

We argue that MOS needs to detach its gender understanding and its analysis of the social doing of difference and hierarchy from characteristics that are socially assigned and tied to bodies. We establish the point that sex characteristics are themselves a social accomplishment. Historically, the categories of bi-gender, race, and class moved from the natural sciences into the social sciences. This implies that MOS should analytically distinguish between culturally informed perceptions of body, their a priori linkage to few social science categories, and situated inequality that is socially accomplished by organizing in context.

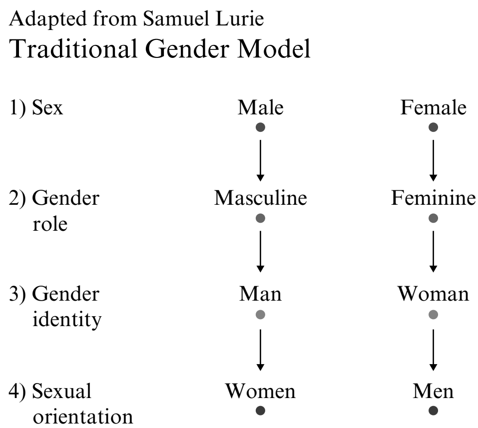
HISTORICAL MYOPIA IN MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION STUDIES

The fact that the bi-gender concept continues to prevail in research suggests that MOS is burdened by historical myopia. The notions of bi-gender, race, and class are historically accomplished and are not biological formations. This chapter suggests that bi-gender in MOS reveals traces of the European past.

Below, we offer a very brief history of bi-gender in order to elaborate on the points made above. This chapter makes the case for the dissociation of bi-gender and the management and organization of positions of power. Bi-gender has cultural-historical layers of ancient Greek philosophy, of the history of the modern natural sciences, and of European industrialization.

In ancient Greek philosophy, man and woman were metaphors for, and as such symbolic markers of hierarchy, such as active/passive in sexual relations, and degrees in human perfection (Lloyd, 1993). This coincided with an understanding of bodies as one human sex. Accordingly, gender was neither tied to ideas of nature, nor fixed. Until the eighteenth century, the human sex could choose and change gender, for instance in the way they dressed. During the eighteenth century, the sciences of the human developed (Honegger, 1992). This development marked the transition from a theological to a positivist natural science view of people. The perception of human bodies changed from a one-sex model to a two-sex model (Laqueur, 1992). Perceptions of observable body difference became key to understanding humans and to societal reorganization. The two-sex model led to the polarization of observed external (e.g., physical strength/beauty) body differences, and internal body differences, that is differences of the mind (e.g., rational/emotional) (Hausen, 1976; Laqueur, 1992). The notion of sex-specific abilities, characteristics, and identities emerged and the sex/gender dichotomy was born. Today, the sex/gender dichotomy is tacit, yet carried by the bi-gender category.

The transition from pre-industrial to industrial societies and the reorganization of work into separate spheres was a parallel development. Society ascribed unequal values to the separated spheres and to related work functions, which emerged as social and



Source: Nordentoft (2009).

Figure 8.1 The traditional bi-gender model

economic inequality. The scientific dissociation of the human sex materialized in the analogous reorganization of labor into separate social spheres (Hausen, 1976). The separation of work spheres penetrated all of society and analogously developed into the characteristics of bodies and minds separated by sex, and into the social separation of humans (Hausen, 1976). Pre-industrial and industrial values were signified with one pole of the two-sex model each. They were incorporated into respective perceptions of external body characteristics and of internal characteristics of the mind.

Figure 8.1 illustrates the traditional bi-gender model of European modernity. It is important to note the polarized perception of bodies and the links to the related separation of identity and role along the lines of the two-sex model. Body is given primacy, and thus, sex becomes a determinant of gender identity and role. It is also important to note the organization of role and identity into a hierarchy in which the two-sex model of humans emerges as a natural determinant of privilege and disadvantage, and analogously, the male sex emerges as a natural carrier of positions of power. The identity of man and masculine behavior are privileged over their counterparts. The history of race and class shows similar traces of combined historical cultural and social accomplishments. This history is, however, beyond the scope of this chapter.

The two-sex model determines the bi-gender category. The illustration of the traditional bi-gender model is adapted from Lurie (2005).

Difference is a routine accomplishment in everyday interaction (West and Zimmerman, 1987). The traditional gender model is a perception of humans that a priori assumes bi-gender as the human condition for the doings of difference. The two-sex model of gender identity and role is "the product of a belief system specific to modern Western societies" (Nicholson, 1994, pp. 83, 84). The doings of differences and hierarchy, of privilege and disadvantage in industrial societies, are maintained by social and economic organizing and managing. Applied as an analytical concept, bi-gender gives direction to and limits analysis.

This historically based, positivist scientific understanding of humans naturally suggests that the two-sex model is always the same worldwide, thus allowing for universalization. Applied in global MO analysis, bi-gender carries an ethnocentric understanding of social relations and identities. In addition, the bi-gender category is inappropriate for the analysis of the emergent MNC gender practices exemplified above because those practices acknowledge the diversity of humans and human lives. This chapter suggests that MOS develop new concepts for the analysis of how differences and hierarchy are socially accomplished.

CONCEPTUAL ALTERNATIVES TO THE BI-GENDER CONCEPT

Benschop (2016) recommends that future MOS research empirically study how organizations (re)produce social inequalities in opportunities, careers, jobs, and responses to the broader dynamics of contemporary globalization. Drori (2016, p. 103) suggests that "[t]he global organizational landscape – which, in spite of its heterogeneity, is highly rationalized, professionalized and webbed – calls on us to reconsider the various categorical distinctions we formulated to describe it." This would include bi-gender approaches and the categorical man/woman distinction. This chapter suggests that this quest will only succeed if the analytical bi-gender concept is replaced using the offerings available from diverse disciplines and from social practice. This chapter proposes four concepts that could be fruitfully combined into alternative analytical tools: (1) Acker's (2006) inequality regimes; (2) West and Fenstermaker's (1995) doing difference; (3) Lurie's (2005) transgender; and (4) Nordentoft's (2009) authentic gender model.

The notion of "inequality regimes" (Acker, 2006, p. 443), defined as "loosely interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender, and racial inequalities within particular organizations," allows the disentanglement of the multilayered organizing of inequality. West and Fenstermaker's (1995) concept of contextualized and situated "doing difference" is underappreciated in MO research. "Doing difference" defines a methodical, situated process of difference as "ongoing interactional accomplishment" in context (West and Fenstermaker, 1995, p. 8). Key to the argument of this chapter is the idea that this accomplishment is detached from any social science category a priori privileged in Acker's "inequality regimes." MO researchers may keep the interest in gender, race, and class in organizations, yet are offered the opportunity to detach this interest from the data on situated accomplishments of difference that generate stratifications in organizations and in management. Doing difference allows for problem-based, data-driven analysis of the categories accomplished in organizational interactions that emerge as mechanisms for stratification. As the category memberships are accomplished on an ongoing basis, this entails the possibility that gender emerges but also disappears. Future MOS could usefully combine inequality regimes with the "doing difference" concept as an ongoing accomplishment of privilege and inequality achieved through interactional, situated organizing and managing in context.

A possible reconceptualization of inequality regimes could involve the ongoing interactional accomplishment of stratifications from loosely interrelated organizational and managerial practices, processes, and actions within particular organizations and the emergent categories that assign meanings to humans. This chapter sees two advantages of this redefinition. First, it opens gender in MO analysis toward the possibility that the interactional organizational accomplishment of difference and hierarchy is not at all about bi-gender, or race, or even class for that matter. This process understanding opens MO research toward diversity of interactions, categories, and assigned meanings emerging from globalizing processes. Second, it would also open gender in MO analysis to the study of whether organizational and managerial interactional accomplishments conform, deviate from, or cut across prevailing normative ideas and practices. This reconceptualization could be useful for the analysis of organizations in times of social, cultural, and economic transition related to globalization processes, and MOS could usefully combine such research with an alternative to the bi-gender category itself.

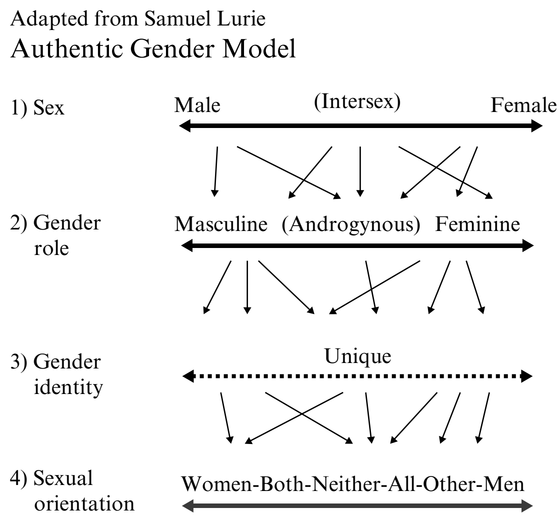
If MO analysis does not a priori privilege gender over all other categories, it also needs a gender category that carries diversity and complexity (rather than traces of its positivist and reductive past) and opens MO research toward a process understanding of gender. Below, this chapter offers MOS the category of transgender (Lurie, 2005; Nordentoft, 2009). Applied as a concept, where relevant, transgender offers the opportunity to perform open MOS analysis that is responsive to emerging situated accomplishments in context and to processes of transformation. Relevance refers to the problem-based analysis of gender if and where gender emerges in data.

Transgender conceptualizes the diversity of identity and roles that are situated and accomplished in interactional practices of organization and management in context. Identity, role, and body perception are themselves processual, rather than fixed. Transgender "broadens the boundaries of the two-gender system," with the concept allowing for the analysis of how organizing and managing "constitutes spectrums, or continuums, with a range of experience, expressions, and desires along that continuum. Further, an individual's place on that continuum can and does change throughout their lives" (Lurie, 2005, p. 94).

Figure 8.2 illustrates the transgender model. The model is "authentic," as it neither a priori tells individuals who they are, nor that they must remain the same. Both the "traditional gender model" shown in Figure 8.1, and the "authentic gender model" shown in Figure 8.2 are taken from the educational movie *Transgender Basics* (Nordentoft, 2009), which is freely available on YouTube. The movie is adapted from Lurie's (2005) article quoted above.

Consistent with Reckwitz's (2002, p. 256) practice theory, in the authentic gender model, "the individual is the unique crossing point of practices." It can enact multiple combinations of differing bodily/identifying/behavioral practices and can enact the same practices in different ways. Reckwitz suggests that "practice," rather than agents, in MOS a priori understood in fixed terms of gender, race, and/or class, should be the unit of choice for the analysis of social phenomena. Reckwitz (2002, p. 250) defines "practice" as a type of behaving and understanding "that appears at different locales and at different points of time and is carried out by different bodies/minds. Yet, this does not necessarily presuppose interactions." This opens an analytical space for the study of global qualities (interconnectedness, deterritorialization, and disembedding) in specific organizing and managing.

The transgender model meets Metcalfe and Woodhams's (2012) requirement for a reconceptualization of gender as fluid and flexible. Sex, identity, and role are ongoing, interactional, and accomplished; all constitutive elements are embedded in the social, bodies included. Fluidity and multi-relatedness replaces fixity, distinctiveness, and linearity. Moreover, transgender encompasses an infinite range of relational identities.



Source: Nordentoft (2009).

Figure 8.2 Transgender model

The transgender concept unties the link between the body and the two-sex model, and between the two-sex model and fixed notions of identity, role, and sexuality respectively. In doing so, it reintroduces the flexibility that is inherent in the perception of a human sex and related flexile gender practices that were dominant prior to European modernity.

The authentic gender model may be developed into a tool for analysis relevant to the "gender in MOS" fields of inquiry. It offers MOS an alternative to the "language and concepts around gender" (Lurie, 2005, p. 94) that are prevalent in MOS analysis. It also offers MOS the potential to study inequalities where they emerge in organizational stratifications. In particular, the feature of "role" may be adapted to the organization of work spheres, the division of job functions and responsibilities, and the opportunities and careers assigned to them. Such an analysis would be responsive to the transformation of "late work societies" characterized as the "Brasilianization of the West" (Beck, 2001, pp. 1, 2) referring to the disappearance of "attractive, highly skilled, and well-paid full-time employment" in "jobs for life," and the increase of flexible, "nomadic multi-activity – until now mainly a feature of female labour in the West" (Beck, 2001, p. 2). The reorganization of work implies the transformation of opportunities and careers in ways not responsive to the fixity and linearity of bi-gender analysis.

Future MOS could usefully combine Acker's inequality regimes with West and Fenstermaker's doing difference concept, Lurie's (2005) and Nordentoft's (2009) authentic transgender model, and Reckwitz's (2002) practice theory. This would further the de-essentialization of organizing and managing practices in research. Consistent with the process understanding of doing difference, and with globalizing processes, practice theory allows for the reconceptualization of fixed categorical intersectionality; the replacement of intersection by interaction, and of a priori categorization by open category accomplishment.

Research on gendered identities in management has exploded in recent years (Pringle, 2008). Depending on the situation and the particular context within an institutional arena, identities may be stressed or muted, or emerge simultaneously (West and Fenstermaker, 1995, p. 30). MOS may usefully combine this understanding with Mathews's (2000) contribution to an understanding of the global qualities in individual identities. They are partly deterritorialized, as they emerge at the intersection of the state and market, understood as transborder flows of people, images, ideas, technologies, and finances (Appadurai, 1996). Mathews introduces the "cultural supermarket" concept in which people can pick, choose, and combine what and how they uniquely identify throughout their lives. The examples of Google, Facebook, and HSBC offered above are illustrative of the deterritorialized transgender choices offered, and which coexist with traditional options conditioned by states. People may pick a conventional or transgender category, or no gender category at all, independent of the bodies they have, the lives they live, or where they live.

The traditional and authentic gender models each inform diverse orientation patterns for managing, organizing, and for MO analysis. The present coexistence of both in theory and in practice is a sign that gender itself is highly contested, and it is a sign of ongoing societal transition. Few gender researchers in MOS map the coexistence of those orientation patterns and the situated negotiation of more than one individual identity accomplished in the merging of private and of managerial spheres in context. We read Gatrell's (2013) study of "maternal body work" as an example. The study is illustrative of how innovative workplace practices may renegotiate and blur the perceived borders between office and home, paid work and reproduction, management and maternity, and professional and individual identity. The two-sex model informs the perception of those borders, which would be reproduced in bi-gender analysis. Gatrell's gender analysis is aligned with contemporary understandings of identity (Alvesson, 2010) that go beyond a view of individuals as unitary and coherent. However, no conceptual alternative to the analytical bi-gender tool is developed.

This chapter makes the case for MOS to acknowledge bi-gender itself as a cultural-historical accomplishment increasingly out-of-step with the social accomplishments of organizing and managing in transforming societies. The traditional gender model is created in the transition from rural to industrialized European societies and from a theological to a scientific worldview. The authentic gender model, in combination with the theories discussed above, has the potential to develop into an analytical concept responsive to the transition of state industrial capitalist societies to global information economies and the rising power of internationally organized non-state actors (Payne, 2007). It captures the multi-directional nature of contemporary social relations, and relatedly, both the fluidity of individual identification processes at the intersection of bodies, states, and organizations, and the complexity of situated management roles and behaviors in context.

TRANSPERSONAL BUSINESS LEADERSHIP AND THE GENDER OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

As we are moving toward global information economies (Beck, 2002), the cultural orientation patterns that organize most power and the job behavior that is expected to drive economies in transition are most likely to be subject to change. This section offers an analysis of a Routledge White Paper to illustrate the analytical value of the suggestions made above. This paper has been selected for four reasons. First, it is the product of cooperation between two globally operating, Western-based organizations: Routledge, a "worldwide operating publisher" of "academic books, journals & online reference" (https://www.routledge.com/, accessed June 23, 2017), and LeaderShape Global, a global consultancy offering coaching, and management education. Second, the White Paper makes the business case for transpersonal business leadership qualities required to successfully meet the challenges of organizing and managing in a transforming, globalizing world. Third, it is illustrative of the above point that the bi-gender category does not reflect reality, but a priori is imposed on organizations in analysis. This strengthens the point of our chapter, that bi-gender is a combined cultural, historical, and economic orientation pattern for navigating organization and management. Finally, the White Paper reflects mainstream "gender in MOS" research by building on the intersectionality of authentic transpersonal business leadership and the non-authentic bi-gender category. At the same time, the paper perpetuates the "women in management" strand prevailing in MOS.

In August 2016, unsolicited, Routledge offered, via email, the opportunity to download the White Paper *Women, Naturally Better Leaders for the 21st Century* written by Greg Young. The mail stated that this is the second White Paper in a series on Transpersonal Leadership which heralds a book publication for 2018 (https://www.routledge.com/posts/9952, accessed June 23, 2017). The series is the product of a business partnership between Routledge and LeaderShape Global. Routledge urges the receivers of the email to

> [d]ownload this essential White Paper to learn more about what female leaders can bring to organisations, and how the areas they're stronger at are essential for success in the 21st century. It also presents some practical input on how to develop organisations that recognize those strengths and to help women develop in areas where they might appear weaker than their male counterparts. (Extract of content, email from Routledge, received August 17, 2016)

In the traditional gender model, "female" and "male" refer to the respective opposite sex and thus to bodies; "woman" refers to identity. The language used around gender builds the link between different bodies/minds and the old and new values of business leadership.

The White Paper characterizes a "transpersonal leader" as a person who operates "beyond the ego, while continuing personal development and learning," and who is characterized as radical, ethical, authentic, emotionally intelligent and caring. Transpersonal leader behavior "embed[s] authentic, ethical and emotionally intelligent behaviours into the DNA of the organization," to "build strong, collaborative relationships" and to "create a Performance Enhancing Culture that is Ethical, Caring and Sustainable" (Young, 2016, p. 1).

> The business environment in the 21st century requires businesses to be nimble and agile, both responding to rapid change and capable of anticipating what the next shift will be. They need to respond to complex, wicked problems with systemic solutions. Successful will be those business leaders who can ride the wave of this increasingly changing world, harnessing the benefits of globalisation, technology and new societal attitudes to ethics and fairness. They will embrace collaborative relationships and be prepared to be radical in their thinking to build organisations that are fleet of foot and thrive on uncertainty and ambiguity. (Young, 2016, p. 3)

Illustrative of tranforming business attitutes relevant to the focus of this chapter are the two following examples. First, a list of the seventy-two American companies that are best at promoting workplace equality policies inclusive of gender identity diversity published on *Business Insider* (http://www.businessinsider.com/the-most-transgender-inclusive-companies-2015-7?r=US&IR=T&IR=T, accessed July 6, 2017). Second, a report published by the Commission of the European Union on good workplace diversity practices inclusive of multiple gender identities (Van Beek et al., 2016).

The characteristics and behaviors of the transpersonal business leader are the outcome of a data-centered approach and a past-oriented analysis performed by LeaderShape Global. They are generated from questionnaires answered by 161 individuals based in the United Kingdon. The questionnaires were collected between 2006 and 2013. The questionnaires compare observed frequency against desired frequency of exhibited individual behaviors in context. The paper states that 40 percent of the respondents were women (Young, 2016).

The inquiry "did not set out to focus on gender as a leadership issue" (Young, 2016, p. 5). Nevertheless, Young sex-disaggregates the individual assessments of meaningful work relationships in order to compare the resulting differences between men and women. "Sex disaggregation" refers to data that is broken down in correspondence with a two-sex model that emerged during the eighteenth century in Europe. In line with MOS practice, Young's White Paper perpetuates the key ideological logics of industrial Western societies into the future of the twenty-first century. Those logics split apart the measured behavioral manager characteristics by perceiving each one of them as being carried by a "bodily and mental agent" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250) and by way of perceiving those bodies and minds through the lens of the two-sex model. Young performs old analysis of present and future business leader skills and dissociates business leader behavior from situated accomplishments and competences in context. This way, unevenly distributed social opportunities and careers are responsive to the pre-organizational and are accomplished from natural sources.

Two-sex characteristics are applied to reorient and sort data diversity into ready-made containers. The ideologies that inform the handling of data tolerate that two-sex characteristics, self-evidently and without further argumentation, are considered prior to the measured behaviors. Thus, the 161 business leader assessments may be disembedded from the context of individual work relationships, and re-embedded in the sex difference of minds. The leader behaviors are polarized, linked to body, and project a sex's natural predetermination for present and future business leadership.

All business leaders were scored on all criteria for measurement; however, Young polarizes the data and emphasizes capabilities in which men and women score better respectively: "WOMEN FARE LESS WELL THAN MEN [author's emphasis] in four EI Capabilities being, Adaptability, Accurate Self-Assessment, Self-Confidence and Emotional Self-control" (Young 2016, p. 7). Young (2016, p. 10) moves on to conclude:

> There are many strong and valid societal and organisational reasons why fewer women reach senior positions and the very top of organisations than would be expected and justified by demographics. What this research study identifies is that women are actually better than men as leaders in many of the EI capabilities that make up the leadership styles that leaders need in the 21st century. However, the study also shows that there are a few areas, especially around emotional self-control and self-confidence where women could and should focus to make themselves as good as they can be as leaders in this fast changing world.

The future of successful business leadership safely – and naturally – remains in the hands of men. This carries the promise that business' success will steadily continue. However, this argumentation is blind toward the reality that business leadership is socially accomplished from learning, competence, and strategy development (Hewitt, 2007), rather than the natural outcome of a particular sex.

Young creates the difference that makes the difference, correlating internal sex characteristics to the observable fact that "the 2016 Female FTSE Board Report [. . .] is typical in showing that out of 279 female held directorships, only 26, that's a mere 9.7% are executive roles so one could argue the real power is still being controlled by the men" (Young, 2016, p. 4). In other words, while women will make ideal future business leaders, they are apparently less than ideal presently due to their lesser degree of perfection in those EI capabilities which Young elevates as key characteristics for further corporate ladder climbing and for moving into senior positions of power in which transformative decisions are made. "Clearly, men play a big part in women getting the real power in companies. The enlightened ones recognize and embrace the strength and diversity of qualities and opinion women bring" (Young, 2016, p. 4). The generation of "thought diversity" (Young, 2016, p. 4) refers to admitting the other sex into "powerful positions in senior management." Accordingly, thought diversity in business leadership refers to the coexistence of men and women in senior management. Young establishes the sex difference of business leader minds, naturalizing certain qualities and opinions, and placing them outside the work context, and thus beyond transformation. Young's move of associating business leader behaviors exhibited in questionnaires with a two-sex model is allegedly grounded in science, and thus (re)claims the status of truth.

Above, this chapter argues that the two-sex model of gender applied by Young (2016) is a cultural-historical accomplishment and that as such, it is an orientation pattern for organizing in pre-globalizing European societies belonging to the period between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. We must bear that in mind when taking a closer look at the similarities and differences Young identifies, and the implications for the accomplishment of an intersection between bi-gender and transpersonal business leader.

The development of a two-sex model, its polarization and respective naturalization of associated characteristics of bodies and minds (Hausen, 1976), and the related traditional gender model is reinforced by Young (2016). This includes the reappreciation of "female" qualities that are at present considered less valuable for positions that are to drive company success. Young's (2016) White Paper showcases that the correspondences between business leader characteristics and a two-sex model for identities and roles are socially accomplished, and that bi-gender still exists as an orientation pattern for navigating opporunities, careers, and management jobs. The correspondences between the White Paper (Young, 2016) and the two-sex characteristics assigned to bodies and minds in European industrial societies (Hausen, 1976) are illustrated in Table 8.1.

Young rethinks business leadership; however, the cultural, industrial, economic, and historical forces that are carried by the traditional bi-gender category literally give the contours of the transpersonal business leader the shape of a female body. Alternatively, Young could have acknowledged the diversity of work tasks, decision-making powers, and related job functions associated with diverse management positions. Accordingly, he could have discussed the diversity of collaborative relationships in organizations as a situated and contextual accomplishment, for instance in relation to the respondents'

Table 8.1 Correspondences between transpersonal business leader characteristics (Young, 2016) and the two-sex model (Hausen, 1976)

	Young (2016)	Hausen (1976)
Woman	Operate beyond the ego	Self-abandonment, benignity
	Able to embed	religious
	authentic	sentience, comprehension
	ethical	home, contiguousness, domestic life
	emotionally intelligent	
	behaviors into the organization	
	building strong, collaborative relationships	
	Create a performance enhancing culture	recreation
	Create a sustainable culture	retain, preserve, keep
	Need (men's) help to get a career into senior management	receiving, dependent
Man	Emotional self-control	volition, will-power
	Accurate self-assessment	knowledge, judgment, spirit, rationality, reasoning
	Adaptability to transforming environment	comprehensiveness, public, outside home
	To help women get careers and real power in organizations	giving, independent, vision

current areas of responsibility or the types of organizations for which they work. The use of the transgender concept would have opened up for the analysis of how the professional performance of organizing and managing tasks constitues a spectrum of observed frequency of exhibited behaviors with a range of experiences, expressions, and desired frequency of exhibited behaviors along that spectrum. Furthermore, the study could have been designed in a way that maps how an individual manager's place on that spectrum can and does change in line with their accomplishments, within the diverse interactions of work relationships, and throughout their professional lives.

Rather than taking this chance, Young (2016) treats woman and man as observable categories prior to and outside of the professional business leader context. Corresponding to modern thought, he uses bi-gender to distance and to keep apart hierarchical levels within business leadership. Table 8.1 is illustrative of Young (2016) slipping in "residual essentialism" (Beck, 2002, p. 37), shackling future-oriented business leadership in globalizing organizations to ideas that emerged during European industrialization in the eighteenth century. This lack of thought flexibility is counterproductive in times of transition.

The White Paper naturalizes a specific history of calibrating manager perfection and makes it the "property of those who belong by virtues of gender" (Beck, 2002, p. 37). The White Paper is prescriptive, as it is telling managers who they are, what they are capable of, and to remain the same, regardless of their behaviors and desires. Young implements the very difference that makes the difference in company success and reconfirms it as a fundamental truth accessible to outsiders, such as policy makers or MOS researchers.

CONCLUSION

The dichotomized approach to gender may oversimplify the situated interactional achievement of stratification of organization and management in context. Voices in MOS and in globalization studies call for the development of new concepts that are adequate for social analysis in the light of globalization. MOS needs to develop new concepts and frames of reference to match societal and organizational complexities and for its analysis of organizing and managing in transforming societies. This chapter suggests that "gender in MO" research abandons the positivist science traces carried by the bi-gender category itself. Applying the words of Beck (2002), this chapter argues that bi-gender is a zombie category of management and organization studies. The polarizing two-sex model and the related bi-gender category mark the transition from theological to scientific orientation patterns, from rural to industrial societies, and from a human sex model to a two-sex model. The current transition of industrialized state societies to global information economies requires MOS to develop new analytical approaches to contemporary organizing and managing that are responsive to the emergence of new social fault lines and related inequalities. The suggestions made above offer a starting point for this conceptual development.

The link of behavior and mind to polarizing perceptions of bodies is a social accomplishment. This chapter proposes future MOS research to work with a problem-based and data-driven approach with stratification in organization and in management, to take emergent approaches to the situated categories at stake in context and to reconsider the use of language and concepts around gender. This chapter discusses contemporary gender options coexisting in society and in the social sciences, and contributes to the reimagination of the gender concept itself. For this endeavor, it cuts across disciplines and the science/practice divide and proposes an interactional transgender model that, if combined with the "doing difference" concept, is responsive to the complexity, fluidity, flexibility, and multilayered nature of organizational relations and of management.

Transgender is also post-gender, as it offers an alternative to the historically accomplished bi-gender concept linked to European modernity. The concept of transgender has the potential to contribute to a differentiated, multilayered, and multi-polar understanding of an individual's volatile accomplishments of category membership responses to globalization in the twenty-first century. Accordingly, the task would be to analyze where and in what social contexts gender is emerging as a (primary) signifier of power within organizations or as primary orientation pattern for organizing and managing. In addition, and despite its legitimate interest in gender, race, and class, MOS should open up to the thought that bi-gender does not matter anywhere and everywhere, and that there is more than one gender category at play. In this spirit, the category of transpersonal leader could meaningfully develop into a "cosmopolitan" (Beck, 2002) business leader that would not carry a privileged link to cultural traditions such as perceptions of West, Europe, or humans.

The focus of this paper is on the limited value of the bi-gender category for MOS and on multi-disciplinary offerings of alternative concepts suitable for MO research in times of transition. However, globalization research literatures do also offer inspiration toward a reconceptualization of the class category responsive to global information economies. Future MOS research may develop Mathews's (2000) concept of the global cultural supermarket and accordingly replace the old social science category of "class" with the new deterritorialized category of "affluent people."

REFERENCES

Acker, Joan (2006). Inequality regimes: Gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender & Society*, *20*(4), 441–464.

Alvesson, Mats (2010). Self-doubters, strugglers, storytellers, surfers and others: Images of self-identities in organization studies. *Human Relations*, *63*(2), 193–217.

Appadurai, Arjun (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Beck, Ulrich (2001). *The Brave New World of Work*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beck, Ulrich (2002). The cosmopolitan society and its enemies. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *19*(1–2), 17–44.

Benschop, Yvonne (2016). Well-trodden paths and roads less traveled: Research directions for gender in management and organizations. In Barbara Czarniawska (Ed.), *A Research Agenda for Management and Organization Studies* (pp. 59–69). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Bilimoria, Diana and Piderit, Sandy Kristin (Eds.) (2007). *Handbook on Women in Business and Management.* Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Brignall, Miles (2017). HSBC offers choice of transgender titles for bank's customers. Bank's LGBT staff network helps develop gender-neutral options for account holders. *The Guardian*, March 30. https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/mar/30/hsbc-offers-choice-of-transgender-titles-for-banks-customers, accessed June 24, 2017.

Broadbridge, Adelina and Hearn, Jeff (2008). Gender and management: New directions in research and continuing patterns. *British Journal of Management*, *19*(1), 38–49.

Calás, Marta B. and Smircich, Linda (1996). From "the woman's point of view" ten years later: Towards a feminist organization studies. In Stewart R. Clegg, Cynthia Hardy, Thomas B. Lawrence, and Walter R. Nord (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Organization Studies* (pp. 284–346). London: Sage.

Drori, Gili S. (2016). Global and comparative studies of organization and management. In Barbara Czarniawska (Ed.), *A Research Agenda for Management and Organization Studies* (pp. 96–107). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland (2007). *Globalization: The Key Concepts*. Oxford and New York: Berg.

Gatrell, Caroline (2013). Maternal body work: How women managers and professionals negotiate pregnancy and new motherhood at work. *Human Relations*, *66*(5), 621–644.

Hausen, Karin (1976). Die Polarisierung der "Geschlechtscharaktere." Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben. In Werner Conze (Ed.), *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas. Neue Forschungen* (pp. 363–393). Stuttgart: Klett Cotta.

Held, David, McGrew, Anthony, Goldblatt, David, and Perraton, Jonathan (1999). *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Herbenick, Debbie (2014). What each of Facebook's 51 new gender options means. *Daily Beast*, February 15. https://www.thedailybeast.com/what-each-of-facebooks-51-new-gender-options-means?ref=scroll, accessed June 14, 2017.

Hewitt, Gordon (2007). Preparing leaders for the new competitive landscape: New mindsets for new games. *The 2007 Pfeiffer Annual: Leadership Development*, pp. 203–210.

Holvino, Evangelina (2010). Intersections: The simultaneity of race, gender and class in organization studies. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *17*(3), 248–277.

Honegger, Claudia (1992). *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter. Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib*, 2nd edn. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag.

Konrad, Alison M., Prasad, Pushka, and Pringle, Judith K. (Eds.) (2006). *Handbook of Workplace Diversity*. London: Sage.

Kumra, Savita, Simpson, Ruth, and Burke, Ronald J. (Eds.) (2014). *The Oxford Handbook of Gender in Organizations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Laqueur, Thomas (1992). *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lewis, Patricia, Benschop, Yvonne, and Simpson, Ruth (Eds.) (2017). *Postfeminism, Gender and Organization*. Special issue of *Gender, Work & Organization*, *24*(3), May.
Lloyd, Genevieve (1993). *The Man of Reason: "Male" and "Female" in Western Philosophy*, 2nd edn. London: Routledge.
Lurie, Samuel (2005). Identifying training needs of health-care providers related to treatment and care of transgendered patients: A qualitative needs assessment conducted in New England. *International Journal of Transgenderism*, *8*, 93–112.
Marshall, Judi (1995). Gender and management: A critical review of research. *British Journal of Management*, *6*(Special Issue), 53–62.
Mathews, Gordon (2000). *Global Culture/Individual Identity: Searching for Home in the Cultural Supermarket*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Metcalfe, Beverly Dawn and Woodhams, Carol (2012). Introduction: New directions in gender, diversity and organization theorizing – re-imagining feminist post-colonialism, transnationalism and geographies of power. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, *14*(2), 123–140.
Nicholson, Linda (1994). Interpreting gender. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *20*(11), 79–105.
Nordentoft, Rosa Juel (2009). *Transgender Basics: An Educational Movie*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UXI9w0PbBXY, accessed June 14, 2017.
Payne, Richard (2007). *Global Issues: Politics, Economies, Cultures.* Harlow: Pearson.
Pringle, Judith (2008). Gender in management: Theorizing gender as heterogender. *British Journal of Management*, *19*(1), 110–119.
Reckwitz, Andreas (2002). Toward a theory of social practices: A development in culturalist theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *5*(2), 243–263.
Rittenhofer, Iris (2015). The reflective case study method: A practice approach to SME globalization. *Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, *21*(3), 410–428.
Scholte, Jan Art (2002). *What is Globalization? The Definition Issue – Again*. CSGR (Center for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation). Working Paper No. 109/02. University of Warwick.
Scholte, Jan Art (2007). Defining globalization. *Clm.economía*, *10*, 15–63.
Scott, Joan W. (1988). Deconstructing equality-versus-difference: Or, the uses of poststructuralist theory for feminism. *Feminist Studies*, *14*(1), 32–50.
Sparkes, Mathew (2014). Facebook sex changes: Which one of 50 genders are you? *The Telegraph*, February 14. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/facebook/10637968/Facebook-sex-changes-which-one-of-50-genders-are-you.html, accessed June 14, 2017.
Stohl, Cynthia (2005). Globalization theory. In Steve May and Dennis K. Mumby (Eds.), *Engaging Organizational Communication Theory and Research* (pp. 223–261). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Tatchell, Peter (2017). HSBC offers choice of transgender title for bank's customers. *The Guardian*, March 30. https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/mar/30/hsbc-offers-choice-of-transgender-titles-for-banks-customers, accessed June 20, 2017.
Van Beek, Lisa, Cancedda, Alessandra, and Scheele, Carlien (2016). *The Business Case for Diversity in the Workplace: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity*. Report on Good Practice. Brussels: European Commission Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers.
West, Candace and Fenstermaker, Sarah (1995). Doing difference. *Gender and Society*, *9*(1), 8–37.
West, Candace and Zimmerman, Don H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society*, *1*(2), 125–151.
Williams, Rhiannon (2014). Facebook's 71 gender options come to UK users. *The Telegraph*, June 27. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/facebook/10930654/Facebooks-71-gender-options-come-to-UK-users.html.
Young, Greg (2016). *Women, Naturally Better Leaders for the 21st Century*. Transpersonal Leadership Series: White Paper Two. London: Routledge.

9. Understanding women's entrepreneurial leadership in the context of families in business

Allan Discua Cruz, Eleanor Hamilton and Sarah L. Jack

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores entrepreneurial leadership by women in the context of the most predominant business form around the world: family business. This undertaking is important for several reasons.

First, evidence of the contribution of women to the creation and development of business around the world is well documented. In the US alone the National Association for Women Business Owners suggests that in 2015 more than 9.4 million firms were owned by women, employing nearly 7.9 million people, and generating \$1.5 trillion in sales (NWBC, 2017). In the UK in 2014, according to the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, (BIS, 2015a, 2015b), 20 per cent of single person businesses were owned and run by women. A further 18 per cent of UK smaller firms that are employers were majority-led by women, totalling around 1.1 million small firms. In emerging and developing economies women entrepreneurship is also on the rise (Aidis et al., 2007).

Second, most businesses around the world are family businesses (IFERA, 2003). Whilst scholars have provided undisputed evidence of the crucial input of women entrepreneurs and leaders in the creation and development of family businesses, their entrepreneurial and leadership engagement is often perceived as muted, thwarted or invisible (Hamilton, 2006). Despite the growing evidence of entrepreneurial activities led by women across the world, particularly in the context of families in business (Barrett and Moores, 2009), we still know little about the processes of their entrepreneurial and leadership practice. To address such gap, this chapter focuses on entrepreneurial leadership (Leitch et al., 2013) of women in the context of families in business. This chapter aims to answer the following question: *How and why is entrepreneurial leadership by women manifested in the context of a family business?*

Women entrepreneurs are important in the foundation, development and continuity of any family business (Howorth et al., 2014). The concept of entrepreneurial leadership challenges traditional approaches to research in both entrepreneurship and family business that have been critiqued for a focus on individualistic or gender neutral perspectives (Hamilton, 2013a). Entrepreneurial leadership encourages an examination of gendered processes in particular contexts, such as family businesses (Leitch et al., 2013). There are myriad reasons why women would engage and lead the entrepreneurial process (McGowan et al., 2012), either on their own or in the company of others in the context of families in business (Hamilton, 2013b). Scholars have recently pointed out that family businesses represent an ideal context to study entrepreneurial leadership by women (Cogliser and Brigham, 2004; Harrison et al., 2015; Vecchio, 2003).

We are keen to explore some of the myths and misconceptions that plague the view of women in terms of entrepreneurial leadership and contribute to closing the divide between theory and practice (Rynes et al., 2001). To advance understanding, there are calls to examine entrepreneurial leadership by women outside the Anglo-American context (Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2010; Stead, 2017). In this chapter, we present an illustration of the entrepreneurial leadership of women in Honduras, a Latin American country where their involvement has been long portrayed as hidden or invisible.

The chapter continues as follows: First we present a review of entrepreneurship, leadership and family business literature and identify the overlapping themes and dimensions relevant for entrepreneurial leadership by women. Then we focus on the research method, followed by our illustrative case. Finally, we end with a discussion, including the limitations and opportunities for further research.

KEY CONCEPTS: ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND LEADERSHIP AND FAMILY BUSINESS

The key concepts in this chapter are based on discussions in the entrepreneurship, leadership and family business literatures. Opportunities for the study of entrepreneurial leadership by women in family business arise in the overlap between these fields of study.

Diverse views and perspectives have resulted in difficulty reaching a common consensus in defining entrepreneurship (Companys and McMullen, 2007). Early debates concentrated on what should be the particular focus of study, the individual or the process (Carland et al., 1984; Gartner, 1988). Since then, themes have ranged from understanding entrepreneurial genesis (Brazeal, 1999) to determining the relevance of entrepreneurship for the survival of existing firms in different contexts (Getz and Petersen, 2004). Recent studies highlight that entrepreneurship embraces a wide spectrum of activities and scenarios and has to be understood in contexts where multiple rationales, purposes and values may clash (Welter et al., 2017).

In this chapter we acknowledge the view that the entrepreneurship field involves 'the study of sources of opportunities; the processes of discovery, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities; and the set of individuals who discover, evaluate, and exploit them' (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000, p. 218). From this definition, entrepreneurship entails more than materializing a business venture, it underscores the study of a process, involving the journey of one or more individuals from a business idea to the foundation or acquisition of a business and its development over time.

Leadership is considered a mature field of study, with diverse theoretical and conceptual discussions (Hunt and Dodge, 2000). There is an implicit assumption that leadership is important because of the effects it creates in teams and organizations when opportunities emerge such as starting a business, a business expansion, or in response to crisis (Carson et al., 2007; O'Reilly et al., 2015). Yet, despite substantial advances, there is also little agreement on what leadership is, if it can be developed and whether leadership theories can inform other disciplines (Kort, 2008; Leitch et al., 2013).

In common with entrepreneurship, early leadership studies focused on individual traits, behaviours and styles (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). Leadership research evolved to focus on interactions and processes that revolve around influencing others to complete tasks and achieve diverse goals (Kort, 2008). There is a growing consensus that leadership is a plural, relational and constructed process, unfolding over time and that it involves a process of influence (Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2003; Gordon and Yukl, 2004; Vroom and Jago, 2007). Recent studies highlight that what is meant or understood by leadership only makes sense in relation to the context or situation in which it is interpreted or enacted (O'Reilly et al., 2015, p. 391; Iszatt-White, 2011).

Entrepreneurial leadership exists at the nexus of entrepreneurship and leadership (Leitch et al., 2013). While a plethora of definitions exists (Renko et al., 2015), in this study we focus on the view that entrepreneurial leadership relates to the leadership role performed in entrepreneurial ventures rather than a focus on entrepreneurial styles of leadership (Leitch et al., 2013). International studies suggest that such role embodies the enactment of scenarios used to assemble and mobilize a cast of committed individuals (Gupta et al., 2004). Renko et al. (2015) argue that in essence it entails influencing and directing a team of individuals towards achieving organizational goals that involve the identification, creation and development of entrepreneurial opportunities.

Renko et al. (2015) argue that entrepreneurial leadership is not specific to any one type of organization, industry or culture and can flourish in new or established firms, for-profit or not-for-profit organizations, and formal or informal groups. Entrepreneurial leaders, including women, are expected to contribute to opportunity recognition and exploitation and their development is strongly based on opportunities for learning and development (Bullough et al., 2015; Harrison et al., 2015). In this chapter, we focus on family business as a context to explore entrepreneurial leadership by women.

Family businesses offer an intriguing context to study entrepreneurial leadership by women. Family businesses have long dominated the business landscape around the world (IFERA, 2003). Their importance in terms of numbers, contributions to employment and turnover in the private sector has been highlighted as significant (IFB, 2018). Since its inception into academic research the family business field has been associated with other academic arenas including leadership and entrepreneurship (Dumas, 1998; Neubauer and Lank, 1998). Prior studies suggest that family businesses are often an incubator of many new entrepreneurs (Craig and Moores, 2006), providing a harbour where women may learn to lead and have the opportunity to create new businesses (Dumas, 1998).

In common with entrepreneurship and leadership, when trying to define a family business a noticeable aspect is the lack of consensus (Howorth et al., 2010). Howorth et al. (2006) argue that definitions may vary because family businesses, and the family behind them, are not homogeneous. In this study we rely on Howorth et al.'s (2006, p. 241) view that a family business is a firm 'where a family owns enough of the equity to be able to exert control over strategy and is involved in top management positions'. This definition highlights that entrepreneurial leadership centres on the decisions of family members in business that have participated in the creation or acquisition of a business and its everyday management.

Several authors suggest the family business is a context that features both challenges and opportunities for entrepreneurial leadership by women (Barrett and Moores, 2009; Hamilton, 2013b; Stead, 2017). Entrepreneurial and leadership activities within family businesses are often geared towards family business continuity (Naldi et al., 2007). Continuity raises issues of leadership succession in family businesses, a process that is strongly linked to entrepreneurship (Howorth et al., 2006). Succession is a process that reflects the intention, shared by most families involved in business, to transfer ownership, leadership and management of one business from one generation to the next (Davis and Harveston, 1998). The changes in ownership and managerial structure that can occur as a result can offer potential for reinvigoration of entrepreneurial processes and could offer opportunities for women entrepreneurs to lead the creation of new firms or spearhead the expansion of existing businesses (Rosa et al., 2014).

Women in family business, it is argued, are rarely considered as serious contenders to take the helm of established family firms (Dumas, 1998). Such invisibility is a consequence of traditional patriarchal business configurations, focused on the male founders and heirs. Even when women may work in the business with their spouses in most situations women are invisible in the perceived leadership of the family firm. Hamilton (2006, 2013b) suggests that such invisibility may continue through generations even when women have been a founding member of a family business and crucial to the day-to-day running of the business and the family behind it.

While women may be more likely than in the past to assume leadership roles, they are less often being systematically prepared for leadership (Barrett and Moores, 2009). If invisibility is the starting point for women in family businesses, their potential to evolve to an entrepreneurial role within the business may depend upon tackling the gendered nature of the succession process. Recent studies suggest that learning about continuity in family firms is a process that can encompass both women and men and can foster further entrepreneurial engagement (Konopaski et al., 2015).

In some contexts, historical studies highlight that social structures may affect women's access or opportunities for entrepreneurial leadership. Colli et al. (2003) found that deeply embedded social expectations, such as primogeniture, as an internalized part of the decision making process, may position the elder son as the leader in the family firm. Gupta and colleagues (2008) highlight that women becoming visible in leadership positions is strongly linked to cultural expectations, yet exceptions occur. Although women in the family may not plan a career in the family business, they may get involved in times of crisis or because other options may be less desirable (Dumas, 1998).

Opportunities for entrepreneurial leadership in family businesses relate strongly to the relational nature of family business (Pearson et al., 2008). In founding generations, women entrepreneurs earn high levels of respect, responsibility and influence in the initial phases of business creation due to the support provided to spouses, their contribution to activities dealing with family welfare and their ability to deal with both family and business challenges (Powell and Eddleston, 2013) and the nurturing of family social capital (Pearson et al., 2008). Additionally the family firm provides a training ground for women to develop relationships with customers, suppliers and employees, and to develop social capital that can be leveraged for business opportunities (Jack et al., 2008). Recent studies suggest that such socialization provides an opportunity for entrepreneurial cultures to develop and facilitate a collective approach to the creation of new firms or the development of existing ones (Discua Cruz et al., 2012).

Opportunities are also related to the variety of objectives within the family firm (Westhead and Howorth, 2007). Paternalistic objectives may include the creation of spaces for career development of women in the family firm or the development of entrepreneurial opportunities based on specific skills and abilities. A long established family business can provide access to industries that may otherwise be hard to enter, such as construction, manufacturing or transportation. The family firm may provide more flexibility in terms of working hours, which can facilitate the work–family challenge that many women in business face (Powell and Eddleston, 2013). Moreover, as role models, females may inspire and have a positive impact on the next generation of women in the family firm (Gherardi and Perrotta, 2016).

Pathways of participation of women in entrepreneurship and leadership have not gone unnoticed by scholars (Table 9.1). Dumas (1998) highlights a sequence of stages influenced by an initiation stage at the crossover of business and home. Table 9.1 shows that such initiation influences how women may engage in entrepreneurship and leadership in the future. Barrett and Moores (2009), based on the learning literature, show that several members of the family in business can engage in four stages to facilitate entrepreneurial leadership: learning business, learning the qualities of the business and its philosophy, learning to lead the business, and learning to let go. Each learning phase involves dealing with a specific paradox arising from the nexus of 'family' and 'business'. Variability of outcomes is expressed in four ways relating to how women can move on to the leadership stage. Table 9.1 shows the outcome of such learning processes in the pathways to entrepreneurship and leadership.

Jennings and Brush (2013) highlight that entrepreneurial leadership by women can be manifested throughout the entrepreneurial process, from the idea (pre-launch), to the creation of the firm (launch), to its development (post-launch). Table 9.1 shows that such a process is influenced by gendered views of entrepreneurship, the influence of the family system, the diverse motivations to engage in entrepreneurship and the balance of objectives pursued through entrepreneurship. Comprehensive views of such processes are examined in recent studies (Wiklund et al., 2011).

Finally, Stead (2017), drawing on social theories of belonging and extant entrepreneurial literature, explores what belonging involves for women in the entrepreneurial context. Stead offers a conceptualization of entrepreneurial belonging. Entrepreneurial belonging by women is relational and dynamic, and material and affective aspects are interwoven. Table 9.1 shows five forms of women's performing of belonging: by proxy, concealment, modelling the norm, tempered disruption and identity-switching. Entrepreneurial belonging illustrates the reinforcement and challenge of gendered norms and highlights the significance of context.

The models of pathways to engage in entrepreneurship and leadership emphasize entrepreneurial leadership as a process influenced by relational issues, as well as education and training. Next we explore a context traditionally associated with muted entrepreneurial leadership by women, under conditions where entrepreneurial leadership in family businesses has been mainly associated with males, with women expected to remain invisible and performing a supporting role. Understanding women's entrepreneurial leadership experiences merits further attention and Latin America provides a rich context.

Table 9.1 Models of pathways to entrepreneurship and leadership by women in family business

Study	Antecedents	Pathway to entrepreneurship	Pathway to leadership
Dumas (1998)			Evaluated by parents
	Initiation: begins at home		Circumstantial
	Founder, Owner(s) is/are role model		Transitional difficulties
	A gradual process – early involvement in business	Women start own business, or work up to greater responsibility in parent's company	Family support, training
	Women familiarize with how business works	Women begin in a managerial position that can be conducive to entrepreneurship	Intrinsic and extrinsic motivators
	Development of technical, interpersonal, managerial knowledge, judgement and skills	Women take on special projects to expand current firm	Team support (siblings, cousins, non-family members) Connected to interests, education
	Founder/Owner fosters interest to follow in his or her footsteps, maintain family ties, work for success of business		Changes in family and business Uniqueness of opportunity
Barrett and Moores (2009)	Learning business: focusing on the absence of women from the business in order to enhance education and training outside the family firm	Unexpected: developing an existing firm due to leadership crisis in existing family business	Stumbling into the spotlight. Unexpected (e.g., death of business founder/spouse) or starting a firm is only way to satisfy a need in society
	Learning the qualities of the business and its philosophy	Building your own stage: women who have an FCB background but are either prevented from leading the original FCB or prefer to create their own firm	Deliberate: may emerge out of thwarted efforts to develop entrepreneurial ideas in existing firms or a clear intention to create own firm to put into practice experience, knowledge and skills
	Learning to lead the business: allows for strategizing for the family firm future.	Directing the spotlight elsewhere. Deliberate invisibility: lead the family firm precisely by not appearing to do so	Covert: preference for covert yet fundamental contribution to the entrepreneurial process through time, information or resources
	Learning to let go: A senior generation leaving the firm whilst reinforcing the incoming leadership successor woman in business	Coping with shadows: women who deal with the legacy of an earlier leader	Difficult: entrepreneurial efforts are compared to previous experiences and approaches

Table 9.1 (continued)

Study	Antecedents	Pathway to entrepreneurship	Pathway to leadership
Jennings and Brush (2013)	Gendered beliefs and relations	Entrepreneurship occurs within (and contributes to) socially constructed systems of gendered beliefs and relations	Pre-launch of a business venture
	Family systems factors	Entrepreneurial decisions, processes and outcomes are influenced (and can influence) family systems factors	Launch of a business venture
	Necessity vs. opportunity based motives	Decision to become entrepreneurs can be precipitated by push and/or pull factors	Post-launch of a business venture
	Goals beyond economic gain	Entrepreneurial efforts based on the balance of economic and non-economic objectives	
Stead (2017)		By proxy: accessing entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial networks through a male partner	Continual accomplishment
	Gendered	Concealment: women perform belonging by concealing their femininity and/or concealing their identity as an entrepreneur	Political
	Complex	Modelling the norm: describes women performing belonging by replicating or reproducing prevailing norms of what constitutes an entrepreneur	Multidimensional: Diverse social conditions
	Relational	Tempered disruption: denotes how female entrepreneurs disrupt traditional and normative gendered expectations of what is an 'entrepreneur' and how they temper this disruption in order to belong	Multilocality: multiple physical and virtual locations
		Identity-switching: describes women performing belonging by switching between different identities in different contexts	

Source: Adapted from Barrett and Moores (2009), Dumas (1998), Jennings and Brush (2013), Stead (2017).

METHOD

Context: Latin America and Honduras

Of all developing country regions, women's entrepreneurship in Latin America has been the least examined (Terjesen and Amorós, 2010). In Latin America, between 25 and 35 per cent of formal sector micro, small- and medium-sized businesses are owned and operated by women. Linkages to support networks, training and technical assistance, and business growth counselling are identified as the greatest challenges (Weeks and Seiler, 2001). Gupta et al. (2008, p. 260) argue that traditionally in Latin American family businesses: daughters are rarely given a stake in the family business, unless marrying strategically to bring husbands into the family business; wives in the family business are involved only in social activities; and mothers of the families in business help to regulate family conflicts concerning the family business and forge strategic marriage alliances to further family and business interests. Such a depiction suggests that in Latin America, male business owners and managers may constitute entrepreneurial leadership within families in business because of prevailing cultural norms and expectations.

This study focuses on women entrepreneurs in Honduras, a Latin American country located in Central America, where the business landscape is dominated by family firms (Discua Cruz et al., 2016). In Honduras, society expects the next generation to want to take over the family business. Yet, recent studies in Honduras suggest that research needs to go beyond existing assumptions in order to capture and understand the complexities of entrepreneurship and leadership in Latin American cultures (Discua Cruz and Howorth, 2008; Discua Cruz et al., 2012).

Research Approach

In this study we adopt a critical approach based on Stead and Hamilton (2018) and Hamilton et al. (2017). Stead and Hamilton (2018) argue that a critical approach is warranted when researchers have a broad critical intent and are concerned about access to accounts of people's experiences in the micro-practice of the everyday. Critical intent involves accessing the experiences and views of those who do not fit the dominant form (Calás et al., 2009). In this study this relates to women entrepreneurs in family businesses. A critical approach allows for greater reflexivity in research design and is a means to interrogate the social complexity of entrepreneurial leadership (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000). It comprises cycles of analysis that allows for theory building and invites reflexivity and more profound ways of understanding, revealing unanswered questions and opportunities for research in entrepreneurial leadership. Stead and Hamilton (2018, pp. 99, 101) refer to the 'cycles of interpretation that first present and organize the data, illuminating reflections and experiences and simultaneously pointing to their interpretive potential; and that second offer a critical interpretation that enables a more nuanced appreciation of relational power dynamics'.

To engage in a critical approach, a phenomenological interview research technique and narrative approach was purposefully adopted to understand families in business (Hamilton et al., 2017). The in-depth interview obtained descriptions of a specified domain of experience. The phenomenological approach, its advantages and its dilemmas, are discussed in detail in Cope (2005) and Hamilton et al. (2017). Interviews with family members in business began with an open conversational question 'tell me how this business started?' Such non-directive conversation encourages and supports participants to feel at ease and be able to respond freely, to tell their own story. In that way, interviewing is considered 'as a social encounter in which knowledge is constructed . . . a site of, and an occasion for, producing reportable knowledge itself' (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003, p. 68). Such accounts are socially and culturally embedded, which prompts researchers to ask 'what is it that we can responsibly do with them?' (Davies and Davies, 2007, p. 1140).

We present illustrations from one study to outline what is involved in taking a critical approach to studying women's entrepreneurial leadership in the context of families in business. This study was selected as illustrative of a critical approach to understand entrepreneurial leadership for three reasons. First it focuses on the experiences of women who hold leadership roles in entrepreneurial ventures (Leitch et al., 2013). Second, it draws attention to women who take on leadership in family businesses in Latin America, who may not necessarily fit current models of entrepreneurial leadership. Third, it is intended to be a helpful illustration of adopting critical methodologies. This study is an illustration that examines entrepreneurial leadership from the experiences of female successors in a male-orientated business (Discua Cruz et al., 2010). This study examines the construction of entrepreneurial leadership crafted in the narratives of family business.

As suggested by Stead and Hamilton (2018), the first cycle of organizing data and identifying themes was illuminating and required a suspension of preconceptions that were both personal and theoretical. This initial cycle of interaction with the empirical material was followed by cycles of interpretation at different levels. The illustration is based on a family business founded in the 1940s in Honduras. The business started in transportation and diversified into lumber mills, automotive services and real estate. It is currently owned and managed by the second and third generation. The second generation is composed of Antonio Snr. and Janeth Snr. Janeth Snr. provides a supporting role for the family at home and is not involved in the everyday management of the business. The third generation comprises four siblings in the following birth order: Noah, Janeth Jnr., Sophie and Antonio Jnr. The first set of interviews identified a succession crisis as a trigger for business diversification. The interviews highlighted narratives that called for a close examination of female successors who did not wish to take over or participate in existing family businesses.

WOMEN'S ENTREPRENEURIAL LEADERSHIP IN A FAMILY BUSINESS TRIGGERED BY A SUCCESSION CRISIS

Janeth Jnr. had grown up involved in the family businesses, alongside her older brother Noah and younger sister Sophie. From such exposure and the honing of her skills within existing businesses she was motivated to study business management at university. She became proficient in accounting and finance, combining a university education with experience helping her father in the management of the lumber mill and transportation businesses. She spent hours reviewing the accounting and financial numbers of the firms and developing financial reports for Antonio Snr. She also enjoyed getting involved with her father and older brother in negotiations with new clients and suppliers. By the end of her university degree she was providing a supporting role managing all the financial aspects of the existing family businesses.

At the end of 2000, Janeth Jnr. had a tough decision to make as she finished her undergraduate degree, whether to continue in the existing family businesses in a supporting role or pursue her own business ambitions. As the time approached she decided that she wanted to pursue personal objectives away from the existing family businesses. Janeth Jnr. envisioned being involved in something beyond lumber mills and transportation: '[the lumber business] is a male-oriented business . . . besides, my father would never relinquish control of his business and quite frankly I wanted to have something of my own'. She secretly applied for, and was later offered, an entry level job as an analyst in a local bank. Janeth Jnr. saw this as a way to gain further experience in finance and a path to eventually establishing her own business.

After receiving the job offer, she told her father of her decision. To her surprise she discovered that Noah, the eldest son and expected successor, had made a decision to leave the family firm frustrated with the limited support to explore new business ideas. Antonio Snr. was devastated; he expected all his offspring to take over the existing family-run ventures. The family businesses now faced a dramatic succession crisis.

Antonio Snr. turned to his wife Janeth Snr., who was not formally involved in business management. He said to his wife 'I would not like to see her [Janeth] go'. They talked about the skills and knowledge of the third generation, the resources available to support them and how they could encourage them to consider staying in business as a family. After a long talk, Antonio Snr. realized that the mills and transportation ventures may not suit his daughters. Janeth Snr. recalled: 'Antonio was heartbroken, I had to convince him that times had changed . . . we could not expect them to just help her brother in one business, the girls learned how to manage a business but also needed their own space . . . they studied in university and were ready for a challenge, they just needed our support.' Both parents appreciated the ambition of Janeth Jnr. to put into practice skills and knowledge acquired both in the business and at university. They decided to support Janeth Jnr. in running her own firm, but did not know where to start.

A few days later, Antonio Snr. met with bank officials who were looking for prospective clients to acquire an automotive service retail centre that had defaulted on a large bank loan. In talking it over with his wife, Antonio Snr. decided that this could be an interesting opportunity to expand their portfolio, but he could not invest any time in managing it. They realized it could be a good opportunity for Janeth Jnr. to prove she could lead and develop a firm of her own. Both parents believed that even if the acquired business failed, the experience would teach Janeth Jnr. many aspects of managing a business independently. Antonio Snr. remained concerned whether Janeth Jnr. would be interested and if it was the right business for her; Antonio had never seen women leading this type of business. Nevertheless, it was a good opportunity to evaluate as a family in business.

Antonio Snr. asked Janeth Jnr. to take a look at the premises and the accounts provided by the bank to make a decision about acquiring the firm. She was accustomed to being involved in this type of opportunity evaluation due to her increasing levels of responsibility in existing businesses. Antonio suggested it was a business she could own and challenged her: '. . . if you think you have what it takes to be in business and you want a real challenge, why don't you try running it?' Janeth Jnr. recalled thinking 'what could I lose by taking a look at the premises? Besides I already have the bank proposal.' After visiting the business premises and reading the accounts, she realized that the business had a strong growth potential. Based on her experience and training she identified that it was a good acquisition opportunity despite being in a different sector.

A few days after visiting the premises and thinking about the proposal, Janeth Jnr. met with her father to agree terms and conditions. She negotiated with him several options in terms of financing, ownership and support if she was to run the firm on her own. Antonio assured her that if she agreed to run the firm financial support would be provided until the business could generate enough profit to stand on its own. Janeth Jnr. stated that if she was going to renounce the bank opportunity she wanted a shared ownership structure that increased over time if the business developed well. Furthermore, she wanted to ask for family support and involvement in setting the business up and manage it during the first years. Antonio recalled the time of the negotiations:

> . . . I knew she was a good negotiator, she could see the potential even when it was a different business, and she knew we would support her if she took up the challenge . . . she learned with me how to manage a tough business. When she said 'yes', I felt relieved. I knew we could trust that the family's financial investment in acquiring this new business would not be squandered.

Antonio Snr. accepted Janeth's terms and she declined the bank job offer. The newly acquired business reopened its doors soon after legal paperwork for the acquisition was completed.

Leading the automotive service business proved difficult during the first weeks of operation: 'Soon after the business started I realized that we were no longer a customer of automotive services but a provider, I knew what large truck fleets [related to existing transportation business] would need but nothing about the everyday car owner.' Whilst Janeth's university education proved important in devising initial managerial controls and her experience in the family transportation business guided her on initial products and services, challenges emerged in terms of industry-specific knowledge and exchange networks. First, Janeth Jnr. realized that she needed to create new ways of attracting customers, mostly male, and gaining market share. Second, she was unknown in the automotive supply industry and hence had problems procuring good credit terms. Her business contacts were limited to suppliers of automotive products for large transport trucks, who knew her as Antonio's daughter. She needed to get acquainted in new networks related to the automotive industry and build legitimacy. Finally, she quickly realized that a crucial aspect for business was missing: customers. New customers would sometimes leave the store when they realized it was a young woman owning and managing the business. Such experience frustrated her:

> It was discouraging; at some point I would just cry because there were no customers coming into the business . . . I felt it was a combination of being young, a woman and in an industry where you know nobody and have to be creative to sell to men.

Entrepreneurial leadership was manifested in her approach to overcoming challenges identified. First, she started designing campaigns and offers that combined products and services intended to develop a loyal customer base. She realized that promoting services for both male and female drivers would give her a competitive advantage over time. Then, she relied on family ties to help her expand her network in the automotive industry. Antonio Snr., who was well known in the transportation sector, called large automotive suppliers to arrange meetings for Janeth to procure new products and build up her supplier base. These introductions allowed Janeth to negotiate better prices for automotive supplies and secure favourable credit terms. To increase her customer base, Antonio asked clients of the lumber and transportation business to visit the new venture and consider discount schemes designed by Janeth. Furthermore, he contacted fellow business owners in the local chamber of commerce to promote the new business with offers and promotions that Janeth devised. In addition, her mother used her own networks to encourage new customers. Janeth Snr. expressed '. . . there were good friends who I drank coffee with regularly that I knew could convince their husbands to help the girls to start trading by buying some of their products'.

To address the increasing need for management support, Janeth assembled a family team for sales and operations. Janeth asked her father to support her during peak sales hours. Antonio Snr. took time off from his existing businesses and went on-site for a few hours on certain days to team up for sales. When new male customers arrived, Antonio Snr. would negotiate alongside Janeth to familiarize customers in dealing with Janeth as the business owner and to increase Janeth's confidence in dealing with male customers in the automotive business. In addition, Janeth convinced Sophie, her younger sister, to become more involved in business operations. Sophie was extremely proficient in the operational side of existing businesses. She was often in charge of the everyday operations in the existing businesses. She studied business management and completed a Master's degree in finance and operations. However, like Janeth, she knew that her father would expect her to remain in the existing businesses. Sophie recalled '. . . I can drive a transportation truck, I can run a lumber mill, yet these businesses will be at the end in the hands of my brother or my father, I would prefer a challenge in something new.' The new business provided this challenge.

As the business became known in the area for good offers and personalized attention it attracted more customers. They talked about the way Janeth Jnr. led the firm and how both sisters worked together. One customer said:

> I am a regular customer; I came here soon after they started because they had good offers, and would talk to both her and her father . . . I came to replace my tyres two years later and now is all run by women . . . one of them would be in charge of sales, while the other takes care of the final negotiation to reduce a price. They talk it over . . . and then they make a good offer. Once you enter in that business they would hardly let you go without a good deal.

Over the years Sophie and Janeth teamed up in the management of the business, while Antonio's involvement diminished. The sisters' skills complemented each other. Janeth led the business strategy and took care of the administrative aspect of the business; Sophie was responsible for the operational side. The business has grown exponentially and is expanding its products and services. Both Janeth and Sophie continue their involvement in the existing family firms in supportive roles in finance and operations.

DISCUSSION

In this study, a crisis in a succession process based on 'socially embedded gendered assumptions' (Stead, 2017, p. 61) triggered a unique family into a business response. The disruption of expected outcomes, based on long-held gender norms, contextualized women's entrepreneurial leadership. This critical event threw into relief aspects of gender and entrepreneurial leadership in family business.

First, there was an assumption of a succession process dominated by male entrepreneurial identities and the assumption of primogeniture, 'the stubborn norm that first-born sons are the natural heirs in family business' (Hamilton, 2013b, p. 20). The narratives suggested a masculine entrepreneurial discourse with a dominant ideology denying the contribution of women in entrepreneurship and in leadership (Hamilton, 2013a). Social expectations in a Latin American family firm assume that Noah, as eldest son, would provide entrepreneurial leadership with female members providing a supporting role (Gupta et al., 2008). It appears, however, that a daughter may navigate her involvement in existing business influenced by a socially gendered succession process (Hytti et al., 2017). Incumbent leaders turning to their wives (e.g., Janeth Snr.) to evaluate solutions during succession or business crisis suggests that pathways to entrepreneurship and leadership in the family in business can be influenced by women who may not necessarily have a business role yet whose influence cannot be underestimated.

Second, as the third generation expressed their intention to leave, Antonio Snr., the male leader of the family in business, was deeply hurt as it represented a challenge to social and family expectations. The expectation was for women in the family in business to remain in a supportive role regardless of any crisis in the succession process. The narratives reveal several interrelated aspects where opportunities for entrepreneurial leadership in family businesses are curtailed, increasing the likelihood of women pursuing entrepreneurial leadership outside the family business. Male incumbents or successors may be unwilling to relinquish control, roles offered may provide little incentive to stay and there might be no opportunity offered to start a business outside existing firms. Formal education, skills and experience may be better appreciated outside existing family businesses. These factors may persuade female members to build their own entrepreneurial career outside the family firm (Barrett and Moores, 2009). The expressed intention to withdraw from family business involvement by Janeth Jnr. as a path to professional recognition can be interpreted as an outcome of these interlinked issues.

Third, the narratives provide an interesting insight into the triggers of entrepreneurial leadership in a family in business. The threat of the withdrawal of labour by female successors (Mulholland, 1996) revealed that women were a vital, yet underappreciated, resource for an existing family business. The response of the male leader of the family in business exposes the importance of both business and family objectives in family firms (Westhead, 2003). Exploring solutions to avert the threat of withdrawal revolved around securing female members as a key business resource. A family rationale revolved around a desire to address the dreams and aspirations of the women in the family business (Dumas, 1998). Hamilton (2013b) suggests that the threat of labour withdrawal can be considered a wake-up call in existing family firms, challenging norms and practices. It can trigger a rethink of succession expectations where entrepreneurial options such as expanding the business portfolio are explored and pathways to entrepreneurial leadership by women provided (Discua Cruz et al., 2013).

Fourth, a critical analysis reveals entrepreneurial leadership by proxy. Stead (2017) suggests that entrepreneurship by proxy is characterized by women engaging in entrepreneurship and accessing entrepreneurial networks through male partners. In this illustration, an intergenerational proxy supported the pathway for women's entrepreneurial leadership. The intention was to gain legitimacy and reputation within an industry where males were expected to take leadership roles. In existing businesses male entrepreneurial leaders (e.g., Antonio) were supported by women in the family in business. The succession crisis resulted in a newly acquired firm led by a woman engaged with the male leader of the family in a supporting role. Male leadership figures, without withdrawing from existing firms, become a supporting agent for women to gain legitimacy and reputation in new and existing networks, in a temporary and partial role reversal. Aspects of business roles are adopted by male leaders to help women to gain reputation and legitimacy in business.

Legitimacy and reputation is also enhanced through the concealed support of other female members (e.g., Janeth Snr.). This reveals what might be termed a 'hidden proxy' by enabling entrance to entrepreneurial networks and a wider entrepreneurial yet invisible community (e.g., wives of business owners). Thus, while Antonio showcased visible support as a male leader in business providing legitimacy in networks connected to existing family businesses, Janeth Snr. played a key role in activating alternative networks. The concealed role of female family members not active in business was equally important in network development and cannot be underestimated (Jack, 2005). Women developing as entrepreneurs and leaders may entail processes by proxy in very visible forms but also in ways that may be more concealed or hidden.

Finally, entrepreneurial leadership was manifested in a team effort to manage business development in a challenging environment. The Latin American context and the nature of the automotive service industry would suggest difficulties for entrepreneurial women leaders. Initial challenges (e.g., lack of legitimacy, networks and support) may raise questions. Yet, evidence suggests that this was counterbalanced by knowledge of the skills, resources and abilities of other family members through experiences in existing firms (Discua Cruz et al., 2012). Narratives suggested that the approach to business development was manifested in several ways. First, the devising of unique business models and propositions in a challenging industry (e.g., enactment of business scenarios) through improving existing services and offerings (e.g., offers, discounts) based on understanding customers and markets (e.g., female consumers). In doing this, female members led entrepreneurially by developing new business models within an acquired business and built their legitimacy and reputation gradually. Second, female members capitalized on knowledge of skills and abilities of other family members (e.g., Antonio, Sophie). A collective approach, where men and women in the family participated intensively at the outset of business operations, with a gradual withdrawal of the men as legitimacy was gained, supported entrepreneurial leadership development. This supports the view that leadership is a plural, relational and constructed process, unfolding over time (Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2003; Vroom and Jago, 2007).

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study argues that a closer examination of narratives of families in business can challenge socially embedded gendered assumptions of entrepreneurial leadership by women. Our discussion supports the view that the nexus of entrepreneurship and leadership research can help develop understanding of women's experience in a family in business

(Hamilton, 2013b). A critical approach was deliberately adopted to focus on non-dominant actors in families in business and hear their voice (Stead and Hamilton, 2018). Narratives allowed the appreciation of socially constructed entrepreneurial approaches by female members (Hamilton et al., 2017). This study contributes to knowledge by illustrating that that even in a society labelled by previous studies as masculine in terms of entrepreneurial leadership (Gupta et al., 2008) critical contemporary approaches can reveal much about women's leadership.

Our illustration might suggest that the role of gender in entrepreneurial leadership, co-constructed in a family in business over time, could remain unchallenged unless succession crises occur. Such crises illuminate pathways to entrepreneurial leadership which may counteract the invisibility of women entrepreneurs in a family in business. We suspect that may also be the case in other contexts where there is an assumption of gender equality in entrepreneurial leadership (Harrison et al., 2015). Further studies should consider the relevance of critical events, such as succession crisis in families in business, to contextualize entrepreneurial leadership by women (Cope, 2005). Further exploration of antecedents, including challenges, and their influence in the pathways to entrepreneurship and leadership is warranted (Dumas, 1998; Fürst, 2017). Moreover, the influence of intergenerational learning within a family in business that may influence entrepreneurial leadership by women merits further exploration (Barrett and Moores, 2009; Hamilton, 2011). Finally, this study illustrates that exploration of alternative social, cultural and geographical contexts where entrepreneurial leadership may be manifested can further illuminate our understanding (Jennings and Brush, 2013; Leitch et al., 2013).

REFERENCES

Aidis, R., F. Welter, D. Smallbone and N. Isakova (2007). Female entrepreneurship in transition economies: The case of Lithuania and Ukraine. *Feminist Economics*, *13*(2), 157–83.

Al-Dajani, H. and S. Marlow (2010). Impact of women's home-based enterprise on family dynamics: Evidence from Jordan. *International Small Business Journal*, *28*(5), 470–86.

Alvesson, M. and K. Skoldberg (2000). *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Alvesson, M. and S. Sveningsson (2003). The great disappearing act: Difficulties in doing 'leadership'. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *14*(3), 359–81.

Barrett, M. and K. Moores (2009). Spotlights and shadows: Preliminary findings about the experiences of women in family business leadership roles. *Journal of Management & Organization*, *15*(3), 363–77.

BIS (2015a). Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, Small Business Survey – Businesses with no employees. March.

BIS (2015b). Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, Small Business Survey – SME employers. March.

Brazeal, D. (1999). The genesis of entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *23*(3), 29–46.

Bullough, A., M. S. de Luque, D. Abdelzaher and W. Heim (2015). Developing women leaders through entrepreneurship education and training. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *29*(2), 250–70.

Calás, M. B., L. Smircich and K. A. Bourne (2009). Extending the boundaries: Reframing 'entrepreneurship as social change' through feminist perspectives. *Academy of Management Review*, *34*(3), 552–69.

Carland, J. W., F. Hoy, W. Boulton and J. A. C. Carland (1984). Differentiating entrepreneurs from small business owners: A conceptualization. *Academy of Management Review*, *9*(2), 354–9.

Carson, J. B., P. E. Tesluk and J. A. Marrone (2007). Shared leadership in teams: An investigation of antecedent conditions and performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, *50*(5), 1217–34.

Cogliser, C. C. and K. H. Brigham (2004). The intersection of leadership and entrepreneurship: Mutual lessons to be learned. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *15*(6), 771–99.

Colli, A., P. Fernandez and M. Rose (2003). National determinants of family firm development? Family firms in Britain, Spain and Italy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Enterprise and Society*, *4*(1), 28–64.

Companys, Y. and J. McMullen (2007). Strategic entrepreneurs at work: The nature, discovery, and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities. *Small Business Economics*, *28*(4), 301–22.

Cope, J. (2005). Researching entrepreneurship through phenomenological inquiry: Philosophical and methodological issues. *International Small Business Journal*, *23*(2), 163–89.

Craig, J. B. L. and K. Moores (2006). A 10-year longitudinal investigation of strategy, systems, and environment on innovation in family firms. *Family Business Review*, *19*(1), 1–10.

Davies, B. and C. Davies (2007). Having, and being had by, 'experience'. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *13*(8), 1139–68.

Davis, P. S. and P. D. Harveston (1998). The influence of family on the family business succession process: A multi-generational perspective. *Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice*, *22*(3), 31–54.

Discua Cruz, A., E. Hamilton and S. L. Jack (2012). Understanding entrepreneurial cultures in family businesses: A study of family entrepreneurial teams in Honduras. *Journal of Family Business Strategy*, *3*(3), 147–61.

Discua Cruz, A. and C. Howorth (2008). Family business in Honduras: Applicability of agency and stewardship theories. In V. Gupta, N. Levenburg, L. Moore, J. Motwani and T. Schwarz (Eds.), *Culturally-Sensitive Models of Family Business in Latin America* (pp. 222–43). Hyderabad: ICFAI University Press.

Discua Cruz, A., C. Howorth and E. Hamilton (2010). Portfolio entrepreneurship as a solution to the succession crisis: A case study of women successors in Honduras. In J. H. Astrachan, K. S. McMillan, T. M. Pieper and P. Z. Poutziouris (Eds.), *Family Business Casebook Annual 2008–2009* (pp. 25–48). Kennesaw, GA: Cox Family Business Center, Kennesaw State University.

Discua Cruz, A., C. Howorth and E. Hamilton (2013). Intrafamily entrepreneurship: The formation and membership of family entrepreneurial teams. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *37*(1), 17–46.

Discua Cruz, A., C. Ramos Rodas, C. Raudales and L. Fortin (2016). Large family businesses in Honduras: The influence of state intervention and immigration in the twentieth century. In P. Fernandez Perez and A. Lluch (Eds.), *Evolution of Family Businesses: Continuity and Change in Latin America and Spain* (pp. 196–215). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Dumas, C. (1998). Women's pathways to participation and leadership in the family-owned firm. *Family Business Review*, *11*(3), 219–28.

Eagly, A. H. and M. C. Johannesen-Schmidt (2001). The leadership styles of women and men. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 781–97.

Fürst, H. (2017). Growing up in a business family: An analytic autoethnography of 'subtle coerced succession'. Doctoral dissertation, University of Gloucestershire.

Gartner, W. B. (1988). 'Who is an entrepreneur?' Is the wrong question. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *12*(4), 11–32.

Getz, D. and T. Petersen (2004). Identifying industry-specific barriers to inheritance in small family businesses. *Family Business Review*, *17*(3), 259–76.

Gherardi, S. and M. Perrotta (2016). Daughters taking over the family business: Their justification work within a dual regime of engagement. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, *8*(1), 28–47.

Gordon, A. and G. Yukl (2004). The future of leadership research: Challenges and opportunities. *German Journal of Human Resource Management*, *18*(3), 359–65.

Gupta, V., N. Levenburg, L. Moore, J. Motwani and T. Schwarz (Eds.) (2008). *Culturally-Sensitive Models of Family Businesses in Latin America*. Hyderabad: ICFAI University Press.

Gupta, V., I. C. MacMillan and G. Surie (2004). Entrepreneurial leadership: Developing and measuring a cross-cultural construct. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *19*(2), 241–60.
Hamilton, E. (2006). Whose story is it anyway? Narrative accounts of the role of women in founding and establishing family businesses. *International Small Business Journal*, *24*(3), 253–71.
Hamilton, E. (2011). Entrepreneurial learning in family business. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, *18*(1), 8–26.
Hamilton, E. (2013a). The discourse of entrepreneurial masculinities (and femininities). *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, *25*(1–2), 90–99.
Hamilton, E. (2013b). *Entrepreneurship across Generations: Narrative, Gender and Learning in Family Business*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Hamilton, E., A. Discua Cruz and S. Jack (2017). Re-framing the status of narrative in family business research: Towards an understanding of families in business. *Journal of Family Business Strategy*, *8*(1), 3–12.
Harrison, R., C. Leitch and M. McAdam (2015). Breaking glass: Toward a gendered analysis of entrepreneurial leadership. *Journal of Small Business Management*, *53*(3), 693–713.
Holstein, J. A. and J. F. Gubrium (2003). Active interviewing. In J. Gubrium and J. Holstein (Eds.), *Postmodern Interviewing* (pp. 67–80). London: Sage.
Howorth, C., J. Jackson and A. Discua Cruz (2014). Entrepreneurship in family businesses. In E. Chell and M. Karatas-Ozkan (Eds.), *Handbook of Research in Small Business and Entrepreneurship* (pp. 333–57). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Howorth, C., M. Rose and E. Hamilton (2006). Definitions, diversity and development: Key debates in family business research. In M. Casson, B. Yeung, A. Cassu and N. Wadeson (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Entrepreneurship* (pp. 225–47). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Howorth, C., M. Rose, E. Hamilton and P. Westhead (2010). Family firm diversity and development: An introduction. *International Small Business Journal*, *28*(5), 437–51.
Hunt, J. G. and G. E. Dodge (2000). Leadership déjà vu all over again. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *11*(4), 435–58.
Hytti, U., G. A. Alsos, J. Heinonen and E. Ljunggren (2017). Navigating the family business: A gendered analysis of identity construction of daughters. *International Small Business Journal*, *35*(6), 665–86.
IFB (2018). The state of the nation: The UK family business sector 2017–18. Institute for Family Business, London, UK, November. https://www.ifb.org.uk/media/3685/ifb_rf_report_2017_lr.pdf, accessed 20 November 2018.
IFERA (2003). Family businesses dominate: International Family Enterprise Research Academy (IFERA). *Family Business Review*, *16*(4), 235–41.
Iszatt-White, M. (2011). Methodological crises and contextual solutions: An ethnomethodologically informed approach to understanding leadership. *Leadership*, *7*(2), 119–35.
Jack, S. L. (2005). The role, use and activation of strong and weak network ties: A qualitative analysis. *Journal of Management Studies*, *42*(6), 1233–59.
Jack, S. L., S. D. Dodd and A. R. Anderson (2008). Change and the development of entrepreneurial networks over time: A processual perspective. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, *20*(2), 125–59.
Jennings, J. E. and C. G. Brush (2013). Research on women entrepreneurs: Challenges to (and from) the broader entrepreneurship literature? *Academy of Management Annals*, *7*(1), 663–715.
Konopaski, M., S. Jack and E. Hamilton (2015). How family business members learn about continuity. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, *14*(3), 347–64.
Kort, E. D. (2008). What, after all, is leadership? 'Leadership' and plural action. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *19*(4), 409–25.
Leitch, C. M., C. McMullan and R. T. Harrison (2013). The development of entrepreneurial leadership: The role of human, social and institutional capital. *British Journal of Management*, *24*(3), 347–66.
McGowan, P., C. L. Redeker, S. Y. Cooper and K. Greenan (2012). Female entrepreneurship and the management of business and domestic roles: Motivations, expectations and realities. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, *24*(1–2), 53–72.

Mulholland, K. (1996). Gender power and property relations within entrepreneurial wealthy families. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *3*(2), 78–102.
Naldi, L., M. Nordqvist, K. Sjöberg and J. Wiklund (2007). Entrepreneurial orientation, risk taking, and performance in family firms. *Family Business Review*, *20*(1), 33–47.
Neubauer, F. and A. Lank (1998). *The Family Business: Its Governance for Sustainability*. London: Macmillan.
NWBC (2017). Accelerating the future of women entrepreneurs – The power of the ecosystem. National Women's Business Council, Washington, DC, December. https://s3.amazonaws.com/nwbc-prod.sba.fun/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/05040802/2017-annual-report.pdf, accessed 20 November 2018.
O'Reilly, D., C. M. Leitch, R. T. Harrison and E. Lamprou (2015). Introduction: Leadership in a crises-constructing world. *Leadership*, *11*(4), 387–95.
Pearson, A. W., J. C. Carr and J. C. Shaw (2008). Toward a theory of familiness: A social capital perspective. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *32*(6), 949–69.
Powell, G. N. and K. A. Eddleston (2013). Linking family-to-business enrichment and support to entrepreneurial success: Do female and male entrepreneurs experience different outcomes? *Journal of Business Venturing*, *28*(2), 261–80.
Renko, M., A. El Tarabishy, A. L. Carsrud and M. Brännback (2015). Understanding and measuring entrepreneurial leadership style. *Journal of Small Business Management*, *53*(1), 54–74.
Rosa, P., C. Howorth and A. Discua Cruz (2014). Habitual and portfolio entrepreneurship and the family in business. In L. Melin, M. Nordqvist and P. Sharma (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Family Business* (pp. 364–82). London: Sage.
Rynes, S. L., J. M. Bartunek and R. L. Daft (2001). Across the great divide: Knowledge creation and transfer between practitioners and academics. *Academy of Management Journal*, *44*(2), 340–55.
Shane, S. and S. Venkataraman (2000). The promise of entrepreneurship as a field of research. *Academy of Management Review*, *25*(1), 217–226.
Stead, V. (2017). Belonging and women entrepreneurs: Women's navigation of gendered assumptions in entrepreneurial practice. *International Small Business Journal*, *35*(1), 61–77.
Stead, V. and E. Hamilton (2018). Using critical methodologies to examine entrepreneurial leadership. In R. T. Harrison and C. M. Leitch (Eds.), *Research Handbook on Entrepreneurship and Leadership* (pp. 87–105). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Terjesen, S. and J. E. Amorós (2010). Female entrepreneurship in Latin America and the Caribbean: Characteristics, drivers and relationship to economic development. *The European Journal of Development Research*, *22*(3), 313–30.
Vecchio, R. P. (2003). Entrepreneurship and leadership: Common trends and common threads. *Human Resource Management Review*, *13*(2), 303–27.
Vroom, V. H. and A. G. Jago (2007). The role of the situation in leadership. *American Psychologist*, *62*(1), 17–24.
Weeks, J. R. and D. Seiler (2001). *Women's Entrepreneurship in Latin America: An Exploration of Current Knowledge*. Technical Notes, Inter-American Development Bank, September. http://publications.iadb.org/handle/11319/5065, accessed 31 August 2017.
Welter, F., T. Baker, D. B. Audretsch and W. B. Gartner (2017). Everyday entrepreneurship: A call for entrepreneurship research to embrace entrepreneurial diversity. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *41*(3), 311–21.
Westhead, P. (2003). Succession decision-making outcomes reported by private family companies. *International Small Business Journal*, *21*(4), 369–401.
Westhead, P. and C. Howorth (2007). 'Types' of private family firms: An exploratory conceptual and empirical analysis. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, *19*(5), 405–31.
Wiklund, J., P. Davidsson, D. B. Audretsch and C. Karlsson (2011). The future of entrepreneurship research. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *35*(1), 1–9.

PART II

Experience: how women in business and management negotiate their position

10. Networking and gender equality in academic leadership

Paula Burkinshaw and Kate White

INTRODUCTION

Higher education generated over £95 billion to the UK economy (UUK, 2017) and in Australia it is the third highest export earner (AFR, 2016). The sector therefore has a moral imperative to pursue gender equality (Jarboe, 2013). Women's leadership at board level and in executive roles continues to be under the spotlight across all segments of society and the economy. The topic is 'critical for HEIs [higher education institutions] who create economic benefit through knowledge and innovation and educate future leaders. How they lead and perform on this issue matters, given the pivotal role they play' (Jarboe, 2016, p. 5). Despite women making up almost 60 per cent of students and 50 per cent of early career academics, only 23 per cent of full professors and 26 per cent of vice-chancellors (VCs) in the UK are women (Advance HE, 2018) and only 27 per cent of full professors and 32 per cent of vice-chancellors in Australia are women (Universities Australia, 2018). Women continue to be underrepresented in HE leadership and it will take many decades before the organizational culture is more welcoming of women in top positions (O'Connor, 2014). Burkinshaw et al. (2018) identified major barriers to women's leadership in higher education (HE) and recommended networking as a measure to effect change.

This chapter analyses findings from two different research projects on the value of networking for women academics. The first case study examined the careers of women VCs at UK universities and the second case study focused on women in the early stage of leadership careers at a newer Australian university. The case studies each involved different methods: qualitative interviews with VCs and a quantitative survey with middle managers and those aspiring to management. The richness of data from these varied sites and methods helped to uncover the seemingly entrenched gender power relations experienced by women at all levels of leadership in universities and the impact of networking on their career development. In summary, this chapter explores the potential and value of networking in: improving gender equality in academic leadership; increasing the visibility of women in senior roles; empowering women in HE; and encouraging senior leaders to take the issues of networking and gender equality seriously.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Networking has been defined as: 'creating a fabric of personal contacts who will provide support, feedback, insight, resources and information' (Ibarra and Hunter, 2007, p. 41).

Networks can be operational, personal or strategic, and networking practices can be defined as ‘the dynamic social political actions of building, maintaining and using relations at work for personal, career and organisational benefits’ (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2014, p. 463). Much has been written about their value for women’s career progression.

This literature review will focus on the value of networks for women in leadership in HE and challenges in establishing them, women’s reticence in developing networks, and optimizing networks and networking.

Value of Networks

Building strong networks and mentoring are important for academic women in order to ensure career progression (Benschop, 2009; Faltholm and Abrahamsson, 2010; Van den Brink, 2009) and especially in moving into leadership roles (Bonetta, 2010; Fouad and Singh, 2011; Ledin et al., 2007; Sabatier et al., 2006). Importantly, women need to learn the value of networking and mutual support in the same way as their male counterparts have already maximized networks for career progression (Priola, 2007). There is evidence that women who have mentors have greater research productivity and career satisfaction than those without mentors (House of Commons Committee, 2014). Moreover, Sabatier et al. (2006, p. 312) found that: ‘it is mainly through internal networks and mentoring that researchers are chosen to be team leaders or deans’. As well, Hartley and Dobele (2009, p. 53) reported that women who worked in research partnerships were significantly more likely to submit funding applications with others than those who tended to work alone, demonstrating the importance of formal research networks in developing research careers.

Other benefits of networks for women have also been identified in the literature. The development of social capital though networking is a key enabling factor for career progression (Manfredi et al., 2014). Moreover, Mavin and Bryans (2002) see women’s networking as supporting their moving on, taking action and challenging existing boundaries through critical reflection and action. Similarly, Coleman and Glover (2010) concluded that women-only networks offer support that has practical and social implications for women leaders. Airini et al. (2011) identified networking as making a difference to women’s advancement as leaders and Limerick and Anderson (1999) examined successful strategies of women who had applied for promotion; these included getting runs on the board, being persistent, networking, managing in their own way and accessing appropriate professional development. Finally, Clarke (2011) highlighted four main benefits of networking for women: learning to survive and thrive; building self-confidence; intimacy and openness; and networking and building support. Thus, there are clear benefits for career progression in women networking.

Challenges in Developing Networks

While networks become essential in securing funding and gaining support and promotion, allocation of funds can produce ‘a pervasive culture of negative bias – whether conscious or unconscious – against women’ (Ledin et al., 2007, p. 986), and result in less access to important research networks necessary for securing funding (Faltholm and Abrahamsson, 2010). Moreover, women are largely excluded from vital resources

(Morley, 1994) as well as key networks, including editorial boards (Morley, 2014), that would enable them to build international research profiles. Benschop (2009, pp. 222–3) argued that these 'intertwined processes of networking and gendering are micro-political processes: they reproduce and constitute power in action in everyday organisational life'.

The culture of organizations, including universities, can be a challenge for women's networking (Pritchard, 2010). Powerful homophilous networks operate by selecting those 'with familiar qualities and characteristics to one's self' (Grummell et al., 2009, p. 335) and can often exclude women. As Wilson-Kovacs et al. (2006, p. 683) assert: 'Informal networks of influence outside women's reach are at the core of their struggle to be acknowledged and treated on an equal footing.' Kanter's tokenism theory predicts that women executives will encounter negative consequences that can be barriers to their career success and advancement. Critically she argues that women are more dependent on formal organizational career management processes and on formal meritocratic procedures such as consideration of objective qualifications whereas men make greater use of informal networks to secure promotion (Kanter, 1977). Women therefore have to be more proactive to achieve developmental experiences whereas many men are more likely to be offered them (Lyness and Thompson, 2000).

Given the exclusion from these powerful male networks, some women in academia may choose to develop all-women networks to further career progression, although such networks can lack the effectiveness of informal male networks (Sagabiel and White, 2013). It has been noted that even in Australia and the US where networking is incorporated into particular levels of management and the professions women still need to broaden their access to power by joining co-educational and more mainstream networks (Ehrich, 1994; Hampel, 1982). Madsen (2012) considers that this is critical to human resource development and practice in the sector.

Women's Reticence in Developing Networks

Given strong male networks, not surprisingly some women have an aversion to what they consider the political games involved in networking (Ibarra and Hunter, 2007) and therefore do not prioritize networking in building their academic careers. Others argue that they do not have the necessary time for networking, particularly if they have family responsibilities, as much male networking occurs after working hours (White, 2015). Women tend to be more embedded in formal networks, while men are better embedded in informal networks (Beaufays and Kegan, 2012). Sluis (2012, p. 64), a younger-generation academic, called academic networks 'capricious and exclusionary', and commented that she and her colleagues were prepared to work hard but not to play the academic game. While younger academics can be strategic networkers (White and Bagilhole, 2013), women may experience tensions between their individual and leadership identities which in turn confuses their relationship with networking as a strategy for getting on (Priola, 2007).

Optimizing Networks and Networking

Networking literature based on social network theory often focuses on the use of networks for achieving power within an organization (Brass, 1992). Generally, more diverse networks made up of 'weak ties' are an advantage over a narrow range of contacts and put individuals in touch with different people from whom they will have access to a yet wider pool of referrals and sources of information (Quinlan, 1991). The literature demonstrates how networks and networking can be optimized. For example, in Malaysia networking resulted in rapid career mobility for 'high flying' women academics (Ismail and Rasdi, 2006), while another study noted unintended consequences of creating and sustaining networks with an expectation of advocacy (Sheridan et al., 2006). Singh et al. (2006) also found formal corporate networks benefited the organization, network members and its leaders and Wojtas (2008) noted that networking can increase women's confidence in tackling the 'old boy' network.

It has been demonstrated that where there is a critical mass of women in leadership positions, women's networking appears to be more effective. For example, in Sweden senior academic women were more likely than in some other countries to introduce younger women to key networks (Carvalho et al., 2013b). But if women are to become a critical mass in top leadership positions they need to collaborate and set up networks to offer guidance, role modelling, and support and information sharing (Singh et al., 2006).

In recent years, there has been more emphasis on sponsorship as an effective mechanism for building strong networks. Sponsorship is a special kind of relationship and is more directed than mentoring (Ibarra et al., 2010). Sponsors are those people 'who will recommend younger colleagues, open doors for them (metaphorically), praise and encourage them' (White and Bagilhole, 2013, p. 184).

In summary, different types of networks in HE may have different kinds of purposes and functions. Mixed gender networks may have a more overt, career sponsorship function which provides important types of bridging capital – that is equally important in women's career development; however, women can be ambivalent about the value of such networks. Potentially women-only networks may provide a safe space for collegial support for women, although the research suggests they are often less powerful and less effective for career development than mixed gender networks.

However, the literature mostly does not examine generational differences in women building academic networks. Hence, as well as focusing on networking's contribution to gender equality in academic leadership, this chapter will analyse the differences in networking between women in top university leadership and the next generation who are starting on their leadership journey or aspiring to leadership positions.

METHODOLOGY

This is a mixed methods study. It merges two different data sets – the first qualitative interviews and the second a quantitative survey – thereby using different methods to address the research problem (Plano Clark and Creswell, 2008). This research design enables the findings to be generalized to different groups (Morse, 2003), adds richness to the discussion, and adds value to the findings.

The first case study involved interviews with eighteen senior women professors who were leading UK higher education institutions (normally as vice-chancellor/principal/president) between 2010 and 2013. The interviews followed an in-depth semi-structured format. The interviewer invited participants to reflect on their academic careers and consider what had contributed to their success. It was mostly through the questions about development opportunities and significant people who had influenced their career that data around the value of networking emerged.

The second study was an online survey in March and April 2014 which was an evaluation of a professional leadership development programme for women (the Women in Leadership [WiL] programme) at a newer Australian university undertaken nine months after its completion. Fifty-three per cent of the eighty-five participants completed the survey which is the average for reported response rates in the field (Baruch and Holtom, 2008). While most of the survey questions required responses on a five-point Likert scale, they also provided an opportunity for respondents to make qualitative comments.

The interviews from the UK case study were transcribed by the interviewer, so analysis started at that point. Themes emerged both inductively from the interview data as well as having been framed by the questions which were also informed by the literature. The data analysis software Atlas Ti helped to code these themes during the analysis process. In the Australian case study, thematic analysis was undertaken in the light of themes emerging from the data in conjunction with those from the literature.

The framework used to analyse the data from the two case studies was the informal organizational learning group, communities of practice. Fundamentally, higher education leadership cultures are manifest through communities of practice as the prerequisites are well satisfied – domain of knowledge, community of people, and shared practice (Wenger, 1998). Through participation in the leadership community its members establish norms and build collaborative relationships. Their interactions as members create a shared understanding of what brings them together – their joint enterprise. As part of its practice, leadership communities produce communal resources – their shared repertoire. Communities of practice provide a context for people to learn: learning skills, knowledge, behaviours and attitudes; in other words, learning leadership. Members of (leadership) communities of practice hold certain status – novice, apprentices, legitimate peripheral participation, and full members – with some remaining as outsiders (other) who never fully belong. In summary therefore, the framework used to analyse data from the two case studies was leadership communities of practice of masculinities and femininities (Paechter, 2006) which Burkinshaw found helped us to learn about leadership in higher education (Burkinshaw, 2015) and to explain networking and gender (in) equality in academic leadership. Membership helps create 'individual and group identity' (Wenger, 1998, p. 73) and 'learning full participation in a community of masculinity or femininity practice is about learning one's own identity and how to enact it' (Paechter, 2003, p. 73). Therefore, leadership identity is fluid, not a fixed state, so precarious in itself, meaning that learning leadership and power relations in higher education are also fluid and determined to some extent by membership of these communities of practice.

So fundamentally leadership is a community performance which historically inevitably involved learning masculinities. People learn to be leaders within higher education through leadership communities of practice and these predominantly perform masculinities. Moreover, these communities define their membership by initiating emerging leaders as novices, apprentices (practising legitimate peripheral participation) and (for some) full members, whereby membership at any level requires 'fitting in' to some extent (Wenger, 1998). By using communities of practice of masculinities to interpret the learning of leadership we allow for the fluidity of boundaries across and between different masculinities and femininities and for local and negotiated ways of being. This recognizes how resistant these communities are to change and that leadership (and leaders) can be constrained by membership of communities of practice of masculinities that have shaped leadership practices and forged the status quo.

To summarize, we argue that this theoretical framework underpinning our data analysis helps us to understand whether (or not) and why women are 'fitting in' to those HE networks which are crucial for career enhancement. Our framework builds on women's experiences of homosociability in the academic workplace (O'Connor, 2011) whereby male (and female) members of leadership networks (communities of practice of masculinities) are continually 'mobilising masculinities which exclude and disadvantage "the other"' (Martin, 2001). It is therefore inevitable when learning leadership that academics are also perpetuating masculinities (Burkinshaw, 2015). Barrett and Barrett (2011) argue that in the HE context male dominance of leadership can produce stability in relationships, networks and structures that reproduce professional hierarchies. We are therefore using this framework to explore if it can: contribute to the challenges women in HE experience in networking; help to reinforce academic leadership and gender (in) equality; and illuminate generational differences between women leaders.

RESULTS

In the light of this framework, our research focuses on the responses of participants in both case studies to the role of networks in career development for women in or aspiring to leadership.

Case Study 1

The women in the UK study – case study 1 – reported that they benefited most in career development from networking and mentoring (both in the HE sector and externally), illustrating the value of local practices such as sponsorship and support for maintaining HE leadership communities of practice (although they observed that ordinarily men attracted more sponsorship and support from those in senior positions) (Burkinshaw, 2015).

Thus, members of HE leadership networks utilized sponsorship and support of emerging leaders to prepare them for forthcoming membership, but this was not universally available to women, as one respondent explained:

> there's something about this rather male dominated environment that says they see these pushy bright men as having more potential. Women who are perhaps not shouting so much about what they are doing, I don't know what it is, who are actually good or sometimes better at work are not being tapped on the shoulder.

This vice-chancellor was reflecting on why women academics (maybe even women who were 'sometimes better' at work) were 'not being tapped on the shoulder'. While resigned to the existence of the 'rather male dominated environment' of HE leadership, this leadership network (community of practice of masculinities) regarded 'pushy bright men' as 'having more potential'. It is helpful to again consider our theoretical framework here to explain why and how homophilious networks police their membership from within, encouraging 'pushy' men to join and keeping women – even more deserving women – out.

Consequently, emerging HE leaders watched and learnt how leadership networks operated and behaved accordingly, as the following respondent noted:

> If you talk to women, they tend not to put themselves forward for promotion. They tend to be less often encouraged to put themselves forward for promotion. I wasn't encouraged actually until very late on in my career.

The outcome for women was often that not only did they 'tend not to put themselves forward for promotion' but also more importantly were 'less often encouraged to put themselves forward for promotion'. Sponsorship and support from leadership networks (communities of practice) seemed to pass them by. This inevitably leads to people recruiting in their own image (Bielby, 2000), especially in education (Grummell et al., 2009; Thornton, 2008), as this VC reported:

> Athena data says that men were more likely to be tapped on the shoulder than women and in particular, going back to those CVs in the American research, men in senior lecturer posts were significantly more likely to be encouraged to apply for a professorial level promotion than women in senior lecturer posts.

Although it rarely happened for women, the impact of receiving sponsorship and support had a positive impact for the following respondents because: 'what really made a difference to me was someone whose opinion I trusted having faith in me. Women never get tapped on the shoulder' and:

> That was my seminal moment really when somebody else said: 'you can do this'. We need to say this more to women because of the culture we live in where there isn't an expectation that women can take these roles. There needs to be more of us saying to more women that 'you can do it'.

These vice-chancellors had received sponsorship and support at critical moments in their careers and it was clear that such encouragement made a difference, especially when HE was a culture 'where there isn't an expectation that women can take on these roles', a culture where 'women never get tapped on the shoulder' and a culture where women are actually 'invisible'. The critical nature of sponsorship and support for career progression was emphasized when a VC had to admit 'that was my seminal moment really when somebody else said you can do this' and 'what really made a difference to me was someone whose opinion I trusted having faith in me'. We argue that sponsorship and support is such a key factor of leadership networking that if, because of the exclusive nature of communities of practice of masculinities, many women are ignored (invisible) rather than encouraged then these networks inevitably perpetuate leadership inequalities.

This lack of sponsorship and support for many women was partly responsible for the underrepresentation of women at VC level because HE leadership networks (communities of practice) groomed emerging leaders and ultimately, in Wenger's (1998) term, many women were only ever practising 'legitimate peripheral participation' even when they appeared to belong to these leadership networks. As one respondent explained:

> I think it's to do with what governing bodies' perceptions and ambitions are and what they think a traditional university is like and therefore the kind of qualities that they think are important for the leader of that institution or the senior manager of that institution and all sorts of things come into play and that's where there's tapping on the shoulder and networking.

Some of these women favoured women-only leadership development and networking because they recognized that gendered leadership cultures – which are both the product and producer of leadership networks (communities of practice) – impacted on women to such an extent that measures were needed to redress the gender balance and to enable not merely equality of opportunity but more importantly equality of outcomes. Women in the Australian case study, discussed below, expressed similar views. Doing leadership was a different experience for women in many ways as one VC explained: 'Yes, it is different for women when moving up. Men have networks where they are introduced to things.'

All the women VCs could often deduce that 'it is different for women when moving up'. By different they meant unfavourably so, not different and equal. Several interviewees mentioned networking that led to men being 'tapped on the shoulder', but this rarely happened for women. And they were almost resigned to the inevitability of things staying the same because 'men have networks where they are introduced to things', such 'things' as ways of being, seeing and doing leadership within gendered HE leadership cultures which are shaping and shaped by communities of practice of masculinities. This research therefore confirms the view that women need these networks too, where they are 'introduced to things' and 'tapped on the shoulder', until the point is reached where the experience for women moving up is no longer prejudicially different.

Overall, women in senior leadership roles indicated that perpetuating gendered leadership cultures, hegemonic masculinities discourses and masculine leadership models, all reinforced through leadership communities of practice of masculinities (networks and networking in other words), contributed significantly to women's underrepresentation in HE leadership. Some reported being discriminated against because they did not 'fit in' with these cultures and models, while others resisted the cultures and steered their ambition accordingly. The university, they asserted, 'is a boy's club' and 'run by men for men'.

Case Study 2

The second case study analyses the value of networking for the next generation of university leaders; those women who were at levels below those of top university leaders or aspiring to leadership roles. These women participated in a Women in Leadership programme; the case study focuses on the effectiveness of women-to-women networking within an HE institution. Participants were encouraged to become more active in communities across the university and to develop networks outside their workplace. They were particularly encouraged to use the various sessions as opportunities to network with colleagues from different areas of the university.

A third of respondents rated the programme as enormously helpful in developing stronger networks, while 40 per cent rated it as helpful, suggesting that they considered the opportunity to develop stronger networks was a key strength of the programme.

Some of the most positive feedback on networking came in response to the question 'Do you think women-only career development programmes are important? Why is this?'

While several respondents preferred to learn about leadership in mixed gender groups, most suggested that women-only programmes were important in encouraging networking and camaraderie; in a sense demonstrating communities of practice of femininities that were quite different from the prevalent communities of practice of masculinities in the wider organization. One described how: 'Creating good relationships with other women is needed in successful organizations', and another saw the programme as: 'creating a network amongst like-minded people in the work place. Many women are not the bread winners in their families but deserved to have the chance to be a leader in their workplace, learn the skills and practise these skills in a safe environment.' The comments that women 'deserved the chance to be a leader' and practise leadership skills in a 'safe environment' suggest that women were positioned as 'other' or outsiders in the organization and they were not receiving the sponsorship needed to move into leadership roles – in other words they were not being tapped on the shoulder – similar to the women in case study 1. Importantly, the programme enabled them to practise leadership away from the gaze of a masculinist leadership culture.

Part of the networking provided for participants was support and empathy for women. One described how: 'women understand women especially when it comes to career development. Men can view it differently', while another observed that a women-only programme was important 'because moving through your career is very different as a woman to that of a man'. A further participant described the programme as a 'safe forum where the issues that are exclusive to women can be aired. For example, many women feel inadequate although talented.' Their views that women's HE careers were 'very different' from those of male colleagues, that 'women understand women' and again the use of the term 'safe' to describe the programme, with the implication that some workplace environments were not safe, all indicated a sense of gendering of university careers. The further comment that women feel 'inadequate although talented' hinted at being excluded from male networks (communities of practice of masculinities) and, in terms of the theoretical framework, only permitted legitimate peripheral participation.

The support and empathy of women-to-women networking was both relevant and targeted with participants describing how:

> It gives us the opportunity to look at career development with issues that are more related to women. Everybody was very open in discussion and I don't know if this would have happened if men were in the group.
>
> I believe women-only programmes allow for more effective and open communication that allows all women within the programme to speak freely.

Thus, the women-only programme enabled a focus on issues 'more related to women' and also an openness that allowed women 'to speak freely'. There was a strong sense that the dominant culture in the university restricted women's career ambitions and freedom of expression. It was only when they were in this safe environment and able to network with other women that the possibility of career enhancement could be explored.

More broadly, the programme provided practical networking opportunities in a variety of ways that were beneficial to career development by helping them to fit in to the existing culture. One participant explained: 'The main thing I got from the programme was networking skills and information on who is in what area and people to contact, and have since developed relationships with these people and utilised them in my work to essentially help the students have better outcomes.' Another improved her internal networks: 'Yes. I formed a good relationship with several other women around designing a mentoring programme, and now I catch up with them from time-to-time.' A further participant talked of developing new networks and friendship through the programme. Others identified the additional value of networking as follows: 'I am more confident in approaching new people at work and social circles'; 'yes, especially in areas that are beneficial to my own work area', and 'quite helpful and interested in doing further networking events'. Thus, networking led to exchange of information, professional relationships, increased confidence and provided benefits to their immediate work environment.

However, there appeared to be a strong disconnect between the safe environment of the programme and the networking opportunities it engendered – through communities of practice of femininities – and the way these women experienced the broader organization, including how broader networks operated, which was predominantly of communities of practice of masculinities that largely excluded women. They took the view, as the following comments indicate, that universities were not a level playing field for women; males dominated leadership positions and gender disparities were obvious:

> Women at this institution are so poorly represented in leadership.

> I believe that women face different challenges to men. It is difficult to break into a traditionally male domain in higher education.

> The academic environment of the university-sector is generally masculinised; strong 'boys' networks are in operation; academic promotion still favours male applicants. Issues confronting women are different, as they generally have many conflicting roles to juggle because of the glaring gender inequities in the workplace.

These women perceived themselves to be outsiders in the masculinist HE culture in which they only had 'legitimate peripheral participation'. They saw women as underrepresented as leaders, as unable to permeate the male domain, as excluded from male networks, and as needing to try that bit harder because they were women, consistent with the findings of Bagilhole and White (2011). Communities of practice of masculinities were therefore impacting on their experience of the workplace and excluding them from full participation, and especially from the powerful networks that might facilitate their career development. In some senses, their observations of men as HE leaders were not too dissimilar from the women in the first case study. But the difference between the two case studies was that the women VCs had been conditioned by the masculinist culture and its networks (communities of practice of masculinities) and decided nevertheless to pursue careers in leadership, while women in the second case study as a younger generation with a raised consciousness of gender discrimination were mostly standing on the periphery, and not wanting to be a part of homophilious networks (O'Connor, 2014). Therefore, the next generation of women leaders still perceived universities as focusing on women 'fitting in' rather than the structure or culture of the organization changing, as this respondent so incisively remarked:

> much of the 'advice' was focused on us changing rather than us working together to fix the system that is the problem. Without real 'buy in' from the university's leadership and our male colleagues nothing will change.

She saw a gender mainstreaming approach – where both women and men are involved in changing the organizational culture – as the only way to fix the system and create networks that would be more welcoming to women. Without the university's leadership demonstrating commitment to change there could be no transformation of gender power relations.

Other respondents identified weak and inadequate leadership in the organization as the main barrier to women's career advancement:

> I felt we were being encouraged to 'play the game' to get ahead and then 'manage' people so that they do what we want regardless of the adverse effects this may have on them. While this may pass as leadership at [the case study university], it really isn't.

> . . . my overall experience is one of frustration because, in isolation, such a programme changes nothing – I do not see any evidence of the leadership of the university doing anything to improve things for their women employees and I do not want more 'leaders' trained in ways that emulate the poor leadership I see throughout our university.

There was a sense of anger expressed here. They asserted that the university was trying to make women fit in to existing networks, but instead should try to improve their working conditions and career opportunities by changing the dominant leadership communities of practice of masculinities. At the same time, they argued that the university needed to also focus on the impact of poor (mostly male) leadership models – which 'may pass as leadership', but merely 'perpetuated poor leadership' (cf. Grummell et al., 2009) – on those they managed. Unlike Wojtas's (2008) findings, there was no indication that networking increased their confidence in tackling such leadership. They saw the solution as 'fixing the system' by improving the predominantly masculinist models of leadership throughout the university, instead of offering programmes to help the women fit in but merely training leaders in the same style as the existing leadership.

From the analysis of data in case study 2 it can therefore be concluded that gendered leadership cultures were reinforced through leadership communities of practice of masculinities and it appeared that different gendered communities of practice tended to operate in different spheres in the university. While participants had a strong understanding of women-to-women networking and localized communities of practice of femininities of which they were part – which were strengthened through their participation in the leadership development programme – the wider senior leadership context was perceived as a strongly masculinized community of practice whose networks discriminated against women and their career ambitions. These women had no sponsorship to enable them to build their careers; instead theirs remained legitimate peripheral participation.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the importance of networking for women's career advancement in two case studies, one of women currently in top leadership positions, and a second of the next generation of those at lower leadership levels or aspiring to leadership in HE. It has been careful not to conflate leadership networks with communities of practice of masculinities, although the data both shaped and was shaped by this theoretical framework. Nevertheless, it argues that networks performing as communities of practice of masculinities perpetuate

HE leadership gender inequality. Similarly, the chapter has been careful not to essentialize communities of practice of femininities as preferable, although the emerging data suggests these are more collaborative and cooperative networks. Moreover, it argues that more women in leadership networks does not necessarily mean more feminist women and it is more feminists (whether women or men) that will bring about change.

The main findings of the first case study were that networking weaves together three emergent themes, namely: that women VCs negotiated and navigated gendered leadership cultures by 'fitting in' to masculine networks; that leadership communities of practice of masculinities groom apprentice leaders in performing masculinities through a combination of sponsorship, support and homophilious networking; and that 'mobilising femininities' by networking and mentoring are crucial to achieving a critical mass of women at the top and enabling these women to move towards feminist leadership that can challenge existing masculine power, structures, processes and institutional practices (Morley, 2014).

In the second case study women reported that participation in a women's leadership programme enabled them to learn more about networking as a valuable tool in career development, and to meet other women from across the organization. This finding reinforces other research on the value of women-to-women networking (Sagabiel and White, 2013) and women-only leadership development programmes (Morley and Crossouard, 2015). Building broader networks enabled participants to understand how they operated in the workplace and how men used networks, often to consolidate their own power, and how networking could be used more effectively for career progression. Participation in this gender equity programme enabled them to network and envision other possibilities of HE communities of practice – a different, feminized way of sharing information and supporting other women (Chesler, 2001). We therefore recommend that universities should enable networking activities for the purposes of career development and promotion, especially for women, and explore the dangers and benefits of patronage and sponsorship with regard to career progression in HE.

However, in case study 2 the organizational culture beyond the women-only programme and their women-to-women networks stood in stark contrast to their experience in the programme. This younger generation of women were acutely aware that communities of practice of masculinities and in particular men's homophilious networks were a major challenge to their career ambitions (Carvalho et al., 2013a). They argued that the masculine leadership was challenging, and that trying to 'fix' the women to 'play the game' changed nothing; unless the university addressed the masculine leadership culture, nothing would change. Tessens (2007) argues that the underlying assumptions, values and approaches of women-only programmes need to be examined: 'Without a clear strategy that includes a focus on organizational culture, programmes will continue to help individual women fit into organizational cultures while leaving those cultures untouched.' Thus the extent of masculinized leadership tended to leave women in case study 2 dispirited and often ambivalent about pursuing HE leadership. It can therefore be concluded that the women-only programme provided participants with opportunities to build networks with other women in the universities, but it did not tackle underlying organizational practices that continued to relegate them to legitimate peripheral participation at all levels of the organization.

Thus, both studies described hegemonic leadership networks and how they operated. Their characteristics included: grooming of males for leadership; the exclusion of women from leadership roles; lack of consultation, cooperation and collaboration; and little valuing of the contribution of work colleagues outside this dominant group (Acker and Armenti, 2014). While women in existing top leadership positions (case study 1) negotiated and navigated gendered leadership cultures by 'fitting in' to masculine networks, the next generation of women moving into or aspiring to leadership positions (case study 2) did not wish to 'fit in'. Rather, they wished to explore other ways of networking that were compatible with their view that top leadership did not serve the interests of women in the organization.

To conclude, these findings highlight the shaping of leadership networks within the theoretical framework around HE leadership communities of practice of masculinities and that these perpetuate the prevailing and pervasive gendered leadership cultures. In turn, these cultures cultivate networks which exclude women from leadership roles, so more research is needed to explore how networks can become more inclusive, with women (and men) in HE leadership 'mobilising femininities'. It would also be interesting to explore if the different generational responses to masculine networks would change once the next generation reach top management positions, and so this is another of our recommendations for further research.

REFERENCES

Acker, S. and Armenti, C. (2014). Sleepless in Academia. *Gender and Education*, *16*(1), 3–24.

Advance HE (2018). *Staff Statistical Report 2018*. London: Advance HE.

Airini, Collings, S., Conner, L., McPherson, K., Midson, B. and Wilson, C. (2011). Learning to be leaders in higher education: What helps or hinders women's advancement as leaders in universities. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, *39*, 3–24.

Australian Financial Review (AFR), 3 February 2016.

Bagilhole, B. and White, K. (Eds.) (2011). *Gender, Power and Management: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Higher Education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Barrett, L. and Barrett, P. (2011). Women and academic workloads: career slow lane or cul-de-sac? *Higher Education*, *61*(2), 141–55.

Baruch, Y. and Holtom, B. C. (2008). Survey response rate levels and trends in organizational research. *Human Relations*, *61*(8), 1139–60.

Beaufays, S. and Kegan, N. (2012). Informal networks in science: Differences between perceived and realised embeddedness of female and male researchers. Paper presented to the 7th European Conference on Gender Equality in Higher Education, Bergen, 29–31 August.

Benschop, Y. (2009). The micro-politics of gendering in networking. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *16*(2), 217–37.

Bielby, W. T. (2000). Minimizing workplace gender and racial bias. *Contemporary Sociology*, *29*(1), 120–29.

Bonetta, L. (2010). Reaching gender equity in science: The importance of role models and mentors. *Science Careers*, 889–95. https://sciencemag.org/career...issues/.../science.opms.r1000084.

Brass, D. J. (1992). Power in organizations: A social network perspective. In G. Moore and J. A. White (Eds.), *Research in Politics and Society* (pp. 295–323). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Burkinshaw, P. (2015). *Higher Education, Leadership and Women Vice Chancellors: Fitting in to Communities of Practice of Masculinities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Burkinshaw, P., Cahill, J. and Ford, J. (2018). Empirical evidence illuminating gendered regimes in UK higher education: Developing a new conceptual framework. *Education Sciences*, *8*, 81.

Carvalho, T., Ozkanli, O., Prozesky, H. and Peterson, H. (2013a). Careers of early and mid-career academics. In B. Bagilhole and K. White (Eds.), *Generation and Gender in Academia* (pp. 127–66). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carvalho, T., White, K. and Machado-Taylor, M. (2013b). Top university managers and affirmative action. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*, *32*(4), 394–409.

Chesler, P. (2001). *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/National Books.

Clarke, M. (2011). Advancing women's careers through leadership development programmes. *Employee Relations*, *33*(5), 498–515.

Coleman, M. and Glover, D. (2010). *Educational Leadership and Management: Developing Insights and Skills*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Ehrich, L. C. (1994). Mentoring and networking for women educators. *Women in Management Review*, *9*(3), 4–10.

Faltholm, Y. & Abrahamsson, L. (2010). I prefer not to be called a woman entrepreneur: Gender global and local discourses of academic entrepreneurship. Paper presented to the Gender, Work and Organisation Conference, Keele University, Newcastle-under-Lyme, 21–23 June.

Fouad, N. and Singh, R. (2011). *Stemming the Tide: Why Women Leave Engineering*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Grummell, B., Lynch, K. and Devine, D. (2009). Appointing senior managers in education: Homosociability, local logics and authenticity in the selection process. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, *37*(3), 329–49.

Hampel, J. (1982). Women administrators: Networking for success. *NASSP Bulletin*, *71*, 44–6.

Hartley, N. and Dobele, A. (2009). Feather in the nest: Establishing a supportive environment for women researchers. *The Australian Educational Researcher*, *36*(1), 43–58.

House of Commons Committee (HOC) (2014). *Women in Scientific Careers*. London: HOC.

Ibarra, H., Carter, N. and Silva, C. (2010). Why men still get more promotions than women. *Harvard Business Review*, *88*(9), 80–85.

Ibarra, H. and Hunter, M. (2007). How leaders create and use networks. *Harvard Business Review*, *81*(1), 40–47.

Ismail, M. and Rasdi, R. M. (2006). Career mobility of high-flying women academics: A study at selected universities in Malaysia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, *26*(2), 155–71.

Jarboe, N. (2013). *Women Count: Leaders in Higher Education*. London: KPMG.

Jarboe. N. (2016). *Women Count: Leaders in Higher Education*. London: KPMG.

Kanter, R. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.

Ledin, A., Bornmann, L., Gannon, F. and Wallon, G. (2007). A persistent problem: Traditional gender roles hold back female scientists. *EMBO Reports*, *8*(11), 982–7.

Limerick, B. and Anderson, C. (1999). 'Go out there and go for broke': Senior women and promotion in education Queensland, Australia. *Women in Management Review*, *14*(2), 37–43.

Lyness, K. S. and Thompson, D. E. (2000). Climbing the corporate ladder: Do female and male executives follow the same route? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *85*(1), 86–101.

Madsen, S. (2012). Opportunities and challenges of shifting identities for women leaders in higher education. International Leadership Association. http://works.bepress.com/susan_madsen/194/.

Manfredi, S., Grisoni, L., Handley, K., Nestor, R. and Cooke, F. (2014). *Gender and Higher Education Leadership: Researching the Careers of Top Management Programme Alumni*. London: The Leadership Foundation.

Martin, P. Y. (2001). Mobilizing masculinities: Women's experiences of men at work. *Organization*, *8*(4), 587–618.

Mavin, S. and Bryans, P. (2002). Academic work in the UK: Mainstreaming our experiences and networking for action. *Gender and Education*, *14*(3), 235–50.

Morley, L. (1994). Glass ceiling or iron cage: Women in UK academia. *Gender, Work & Organisation*, *1*(4), 194–204.

Morley, L. (2014). Lost leaders: Women in the global academy. *Higher Education Research & Development*, *33*(1), 114–28.

Morley, L. and Crossouard, B. (2015). *Women in Higher Education Leadership in South Asia: Rejection, Refusal, Reluctance, Revisioning.* Brighton: CHEER.

Morse, J. (2003). Principles of mixed methods and multimethod research design. In A. Tashakkori and C. Teddlie (Eds.), *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research* (pp. 189–208). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

O'Connor, P. (2011). Where do women fit into university senior management? An analytical typology of cross-national organisational cultures. In B. Bagilhole and K. White (Eds.), *Gender, Power and Management: A Cross Cultural Analysis of Higher Education* (pp. 168–91). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

O'Connor, P. (2014). *Management and Gender in Higher Education*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Paechter, C. F. (2003). Masculinities and femininities as communities of practice. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *26*, 69–77.

Paechter, C. F. (2006). Power, knowledge and embodiment in communities of sex/gender practice. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *29*, 13–26.

Plano Clark, V. and Creswell, J. (2008). *The Mixed Methods Reader*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Priola, V. (2007). Being female doing gender: Narratives of women in education management. *Gender and Education*, *19*(1), 21–40.

Pritchard, R. O. (2010). Attitudes to gender equality issues in British and German Academia. *Higher Education Management and Policy*, *22*(2), 1–24.

Quinlan, P. (1991). *Connectionism and Psychology: A Psychological Perspective on New Connectionist Research*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Sabatier, M., Carrere, M. and Mangematin, V. (2006). Profiles of academic activities and careers: Does gender matter? An analysis based on French life scientist CVs. *Journal of Technology Transfer*, *31*(3), 311–24.

Sagabiel, F. and White, K. (2013). Gender and success in careers in science and engineering. Paper presented at Swiss Sociological Association Conference, Berne, 26–28 June.

Sheridan, J., Brennan, P. F., Carnes, M. and Handelsman, J. (2006). Discovering directions for change in higher education through the experiences of senior women faculty. *Journal of Technology Transfer*, *31*(3), 387–96.

Singh, S., Vinnicombe, S. and Kumra, S. (2006). Women in formal corporate networks: An organisational citizenship perspective. *Women in Management Review*, *21*(6), 458–82.

Sluis, R. (2012). The ambivalent academic. *Journal of Nursing Education*, *51*(2), 63–5.

Tessens, L. (2007). A review of current practices in women-only staff development programmes at Australian universities. Paper presented to HERDSA conference.

Thornton, M. (2008). *Where are the Women? The Swing from EEO to Diversity in the Academy*. Canberra: ANU.

Universities Australia (2018). https://www.universitiesaustralia.edu.au/uni-participation-quality/Equity-and-Participation/Women-in-universities/Universities-Australia-Executive-Women-Group#.

Universities UK (UUK) (2017). *Higher Education Contribution to UK Economy*. London: Universities UK.

Van den Brink, M. (2009). Doing gender in academic education: The paradox of visibility. *Gender, Work & Organisation*, *16*(4), 452–70.

Van den Brink, M. and Benschop, Y. (2014). Gender in academic networking: The role of gatekeepers in professorial recruitment. *Journal of Management Studies*, *51*(3), 460–90.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

White, K. (2015). *Keeping Women in Science*. Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing.

White, K. and Bagilhole, B. (2013). Continuity and change in academic careers. In B. Bagilhole and K. White (Eds.), *Generation and Gender in Academia* (pp. 169–95). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wilson-Kovacs, D., Ryan, M. and Haslam, A. (2006). The glass cliff: Women's career paths in the UK private IT sector. *Equal Opportunities International*, *25*(8), 674–87.

Wojtas, O. (2008). Women given confidence to take on the old boy network. *Times Higher Education*. https://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/news/women-given-confidence-to-take-on-the-old-boy-network/404093.article, accessed 20 February 2015.

11. Gender-specific networking: mind the gap

Laura Weis and Alixe Lay

INTRODUCTION

Despite increasing efforts to remove practices preventing women from moving up the organizational hierarchy, women remain underrepresented in senior management positions. There is still talk in most countries of limited social mobility, unequal opportunities and the importance of smashing glass ceilings holding women back (Johns, 2013).

Several explanations have been put forward for this enduring gender gap. One argument that has recently received considerable attention is that *women do not have the same access to career enhancing networks as men*. Networks, defined as informal relations connecting individuals and groups of individuals, are increasingly relevant in organizations. A recent report published by the British Psychological Society (BPS) revealed that of those women who made it to the top of the corporate chain, their ability to build, maintain and use social capital was the key to their success (BPS, 2016).

Academic studies have shown that establishing powerful networks is beneficial for many reasons including increased motivation, social support, performance and individual career opportunities (Abbasi, Wigand, & Hossain, 2014; Burt, 1992, 1997; Hall & Wellman, 1985). Crucially, these studies provide evidence that men and women differ in the structure of their personal networks, as well as in the rewards gained from them. For instance, men often have a greater number of *instrumental ties*, relationships that provide job-related resources, while women have a greater number of *expressive ties*, relationships that provide emotional and social support. Consequently, women tend to have smaller networks of stronger relationships, while men see their networks as a way to get ahead and are more interested in what the relationship can yield. Women like to get along with others, men ahead of others.

Furthermore, while men prefer to network with other men on both expressive and instrumental contents, women often choose other women for expressive contents only and prefer to go to males for instrumental contents.

This has two important consequences: Since men seek friendship from those men who also provide access to organizational resources, they build so called 'multiplex relations', characterized by the exchange of both personal and professional resources. These relationships are shown to be key in the process of becoming a senior leader. Interestingly, women do not tend to build multiplex ties as frequently, preventing themselves from building the deep, trusting relationships with powerful men (and women) that are often necessary for promotion, in particular in high level jobs where performance is hard to predict.

Second, the preference of both males and females to have instrumental relations with males, results in females rarely being in informal/natural roles of influence (e.g., advice or information giving). This underrepresentation in informal influence positions may negatively affect women's ability to construct a credible leader identity.

Also, in settings where men predominate in positions of power, women often have a smaller pool of high-status individuals (women and men) to draw on. This difference partly stems from a reluctance of women to undertake the instrumental activities required to build a strong network.

Why? It is possible that women often fear that these activities will appear inauthentic and overly instrumental. Is this fear justified? Research suggests yes (Flynn, Anderson, & Brion, n.d.). Successful females are often judged much harsher compared to males and are seen as more aggressive, self-promoting and power-hungry and are thus penalized in the form of social rejection.

In spite of these challenges, some women rise to leadership positions, but structural obstacles and cultural biases continue to influence their progress and leadership experiences. As women climb up the corporate ladder, they become increasingly scarce making them more visible. This subjects women to greater scrutiny, leading them to become risk-averse, overly focused on details, and prone to micromanage, often preventing them from stepping up to the top level.

The above explained network phenomena remain fairly unaddressed challenges to women, and receiving one-on-one mentoring and training only is not likely to lead to advancement. Women need to network differently and be given opportunities to do so. The network literature suggests women need to network upwards to more powerful people more often. Women's natural networking and high EQ (emotional intelligence) skills are a great professional asset. Yet, women often shrink from tactically using that skill, or feel unable to harness it. Companies should give women permission, encouragement and opportunities to build powerful inter- and intra-organizational networks. 'Who you know and who knows you' is responsible for a large percentage of career progressions and women's limited access to powerful networks, as well as prevailing hesitation about strategic networking, represents an often overlooked barrier to their opportunities.

THE RESEARCH

When examining the relationship between gender diversity and work performance, the data tends to show that companies with a higher share of women in top leadership roles are more profitable compared to organizations with fewer women in high-ranking positions (Catalyst, 2004; Noland, Moran, & Kotschwar, 2016; Smith, Smith, & Verner, 2006). Despite this, women still hold significantly fewer managerial and executive roles compared to men (Catalyst, 2017; Zhong, Couch, & Blum, 2011). For example, although women make up 46.8 per cent of the labour force in the United States (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017), only 5.6 per cent of Fortune 500 CEOs are female (Catalyst, 2017). Thus, women continue to confront *glass ceilings*, which are invisible barriers that prevent them from reaching senior leadership positions (Bell, McLaughlin, & Sequeira, 2002; Hoobler, Hu, & Wilson, 2010; Vianen & Fischer, 2002).

Academics have pointed to a number of factors that limit the career advancement of women (Zhong et al., 2011). These include gender stereotypes and discrimination, work–family conflict, and organizational culture (Adams, Gupta, Haughton, & Leeth, 2007; Broadbridge, 2009; Eagly & Carli, 2003; Hardill & Watson, 2004; Ibarra, 1992; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Vianen & Fischer, 2002). In addition to these barriers, scholars have started to study how social network composition can affect the upward mobility of women in the workplace (Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1992, 1993, 1997; Ibarra, Ely, & Kolb, 2013; McGuire, 2002). Interestingly this research indicates that women are excluded, or intentionally exclude themselves, from informal male-dominated social networks, which are typically associated with power and influence in organizations (Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1992; McGuire, 2002; Stackman & Pinder, 1999).

INSTRUMENTAL, EXPRESSIVE AND MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS

Within the social network literature, two of the most widely studied networks are *instrumental* (i.e., those that offer job-related resources) and *expressive* (i.e., those that offer friendship and social support) (Kim & Rhee, 2010; Lincoln & Miller, 1979). While instrumental relationships tend to be formal in nature, informal expressive relationships facilitate the procurement of additional instrumental resources (Ibarra, 1993; Markiewicz, Devine, & Kausilas, 2000). When combined, these *multiplex* business relationships can offer powerful, career-advancing benefits to individuals (Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1992; Kegen, 2013). When examining expressive networking patterns, the literature shows that men tend to form friendships with other men and women tend to form friendships with other women (Brass, Galaskiewicz, Greve, & Tsai, 2004; Ibarra, 1992, 1993; Kegen, 2013; Rose, 1989). However, women typically have less gender diversity within their friend groups than men, a phenomenon that has been linked to an inherent preference for *gender homophily* (i.e., the tendency to befriend individuals of the same gender) among women (Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1992; Laniado, Volkovich, Kappler, & Kaltenbrunner, 2016; Rose, 1989; Stackman & Pinder, 1999). As a result, many academics have concluded that an affinity for same-gender friendships is the primary reason why women have difficulty breaking into senior leadership circles, which usually include more men than women (Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1997; Kegen, 2013).

In the workplace, formal and informal networks exist simultaneously (Lincoln & Miller, 1979). Both of these networks consist of people who are interconnected by different ties, which represent relationships that can either offer opportunities or impose constraints (Brass et al., 2004). Formal relationships are dictated by an organization's structure (i.e., hierarchy and workflow), meaning that the exchanges and transfers (e.g., information to complete a task) in these networks are associated with an individual's rank or job function (Brass et al., 2004). While an employee's position may facilitate or hinder the development of informal relationships, informal networks do not necessarily mirror an organizational chart (Brass et al., 2004; McGuire, 2002). These relationships develop organically, and their related exchanges and transfers (e.g., dating advice) are voluntary (McGuire, 2002).

To this end, employees can form ties with equal status or unequal status employees. Vertical relationships occur between people of unequal status (e.g., supervisor–subordinate, mentor–protégé) (Berman, West, & Richter, 2002; Blickle, Witzki, & Schneider, 2009; Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008; Joshi, 2006; Pompper & Adams, 2006). The individuals in these relationships network either upward or downward and within or across work units, depending on their position within an organization (Blickle et al., 2009; Joshi, 2006; Kaplan, 1984). Scholars have used the terms horizontal and lateral interchangeably to refer to networking that occurs between equal status employees (i.e., peers), either within or across work units (e.g., Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008; Joshi, 2006; Kaplan, 1984).

Multiplexity occurs when more than one formal or informal relationship exists between two individuals (Brass, 1995; Lee & Lee, 2015; Verbrugge, 1979). These ties have the potential for interdependence, which means that one relationship may be influenced by another relationship (Lee & Lee, 2015). Thus, scholars generally agree that multiplex relationships are stronger than uniplex ones because they involve multiple sources of interaction (Lee & Lee, 2015; Skvoretz & Agneessens, 2007).

Different kinds of ties can shape multiplex relationships at work, including instrumental and expressive ones (Balkundi & Harrison, 2006; Kim & Rhee, 2010; Lincoln & Miller, 1979). Instrumental ties occur between employees who interface with each other for job-related information or advice (Ibarra, 1993; Lincoln & Miller, 1979). Most often, these relationships are formally established because they are determined by organizational rank, workflow, or task design (Brass et al., 2004; Friedell, 1967). However, informal instrumental ties can transpire between employees who seek each other out for additional job resources or career advice (Ibarra, 1993, 1997). While structural factors can influence the development of expressive relationships at work, these ties are typically informal and are associated with friendship, personal advice and social support (Balkundi & Harrison, 2006; Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1992, 1993; Krackhardt, 1990; Lincoln & Miller, 1979). *Friendship* at work involves a voluntary, reciprocal relationship characterized by mutual trust and commitment, as well as shared values and interests (Berman et al., 2002). These dyads emerge when two colleagues view each other as more than just the work-related roles they occupy (Sias, Smith, & Avdeyeva, 2003).

While the instrumental ties inherent to any job role provide individuals with critical task-related information, multiplex relationships that include instrumental and expressive components have been associated with a number of benefits (Ibarra, 1997; McGuire, 2002). For example, research shows that employee participation in multiplex relationships facilitates the development of trust, which results in access to additional job-related resources (Ibarra, 1992; Kegen, 2013; Oh, Chung, & Labianca, 2004). Multiplexity has also been shown to enhance organizational commitment (Hartman & Johnson, 1989; Kim & Rhee, 2010) and foster greater collaboration and creativity among employees (Lazega & Pattison, 1999; Lee & Lee, 2015).

Friendships with peers and superiors have been linked to higher job satisfaction, individual performance and team performance (Baldwin, Bedell, & Johnson, 1997; Balkundi & Harrison, 2006; Baruch-Feldman, Brondolo, Ben-Dayan, & Schwartz, 2002; Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008; Parise & Rollag, 2010). Evidence also shows that social support from peers and supervisors is associated with lower stress levels and enhanced well-being (Stansfeld, Shipley, Head, Fuhrer, & Kivimaki, 2013; Viswesvaran, Sanchez, & Fisher, 1999). Further, expressive networking with co-workers in senior roles can lead to the acquisition of additional instrumental resources, which can result in higher salaries and upward mobility (Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1992, 1993; Markiewicz et al., 2000; O'Brien, Biga, Kessler, & Allen, 2010). Thus, the literature suggests that cultivating friendships with high-ranking colleagues is the key to career advancement (Brass, 1985; Markiewicz et al., 2000; O'Brien et al., 2010).

GENDER AND NETWORK COMPOSITION

Several studies have examined how multiplex, instrumental and expressive networks differ among professional men and women (e.g., Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1992; Stackman & Pinder, 1999; Stallings, 2010). Research suggests that men are more easily able to convert their instrumental and expressive resources into power and influence because they have more higher-ranking contacts than women (Ibarra, 1992; Stackman & Pinder, 1999). When examining instrumental contacts in isolation, research shows that both men and women rely primarily on men for job-related support because they tend to occupy a larger share of senior leadership roles (Ibarra, 1992; Stackman & Pinder, 1999).

Men tend to form friendships with other men and women tend to form friendships with other women, though, as mentioned before, studies outside and inside of the workplace show that women usually have less gender diversity within their friend groups than men (Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1992; Rose, 1989; Stackman & Pinder, 1999). These findings have been attributed to a greater affinity for gender homophily among women, as studies indicate that women prefer same-gender friendships because they provide more intimacy, empathy, mutual support and nurturance than their cross-gender friendships (Ibarra, 1992; Markiewicz et al., 2000; Rose, 1989; Sapadin, 1988). Given that there are typically a greater number of men in senior positions, these findings imply that women are more likely to form lateral workplace friendships with other women, as opposed to networking upward with men, who appear to be more open than women to befriending colleagues of the opposite gender (Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1992).

Crucially, women experience greater instrumental benefits when they form friendships with men, as opposed to when they form friendships with women (Brass, 1985; Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992; Markiewicz et al., 2000; Ragins & Cotton, 1999). For example, Brass (1985) found that women with access to high-ranking males were more influential and received more promotions than women without access to this powerful group. A study from Markiewicz and colleagues (2000) also found that female employees with more male instrumental and expressive contacts had higher salaries. The authors surmised that the men in these relationships may have been functioning as mentors, either formally or informally, to their female colleagues (Markiewicz et al., 2000). To this end, meta-analytic evidence demonstrates that male mentors provide more instrumental support to their protégés than female mentors because they tend to have more power in organizations (O'Brien et al., 2010). Moreover, informal mentoring arrangements have been linked to higher incomes and more frequent promotions for protégés (Chao et al., 1992; Ragins & Cotton, 1999). This evidence indicates that informally networking upward with men is advantageous for women.

Research from various domains suggests that cross-gender, heterosexual workplace friendships may be misperceived as sexual in nature by other colleagues, and perhaps even more so if at least one party is single (Elsesser & Peplau, 2006; Fitt & Newton, 1981; Gillen, 2014). Taking this a step further, the literature on workplace romance indicates that hierarchical relationships involving a lower-level woman are viewed more negatively than those that involve a lower-level man (Powell, 2001). This finding is attributed to stereotypes regarding the suspected career motives of the women in these relationships (Powell, 2001). Given this evidence, it is possible that vertical, cross-gender friendships involving a lower-level single female may be unfairly scrutinized by peers who presume that she is trying to 'sleep her way to the top' (Kram, 1988, p. 107; McBride & Bergen, 2015; Morgan & Davidson, 2008; Quinn & Lees, 1984). This is problematic, especially considering the previously mentioned career-enhancing benefits, such as higher salaries and more frequent promotions, when women have male friends or male mentors at work (Brass, 1985; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Markiewicz et al., 2000; O'Brien et al., 2010). Taken together, this presents a conundrum for women: the very relationships that could advance their careers are also the ones that may damage their reputation.

CROSS-GENDER EXPRESSIVE NETWORKING

Taken together, the evidence demonstrates that women reap career-advancing benefits when they form expressive ties with higher-level male employees. Thus, these relationships play an important role in shattering the glass ceilings that women confront. Given this, the question then becomes: Why aren't women forming more friendships with senior men at work? While gender homophily has been well-studied, it is plausible that other factors may prevent or even discourage women from partaking in expressive activities with senior male colleagues. Although scholars have pointed to a number of negative outcomes associated with workplace friendships in general (e.g., maintenance difficulty, reduced objectivity, confidentiality conflicts) (Berman et al., 2002; Bridge & Baxter, 1992; Methot, Lepine, Podsakoff, & Christian, 2016), these potential risks do not specifically account for why women may refrain from developing friendships with men in senior positions. However, when reviewed collectively, research on perceptions, meta-perceptions, and attitudes regarding lateral and vertical workplace friendships, cross-gender workplace friendships, and workplace romance provides some insight into why women may shun expressive relationships with higher-level men.

LATERAL AND VERTICAL WORKPLACE FRIENDSHIPS

While several studies have focused on the antecedents to workplace friendships as well as the pros and cons associated with these kind of relationships (e.g., Bandiera, Barankay, & Rasul, 2008; Sias & Cahill, 1998; Sias et al., 2003), research that explicitly examines how employees view lateral and vertical friendships, regardless of gender, is scant. However, a survey of government sector managers by Berman and colleagues (2002) found that 85.2 per cent of participants approved of co-workers developing friendships with others in their same work group. Moreover, 87.5 per cent of participants indicated that they supported managers developing friendships with other managers. While both of these lateral examples enjoyed support, vertical friendships between managers and subordinates were viewed less favourably, as only 47.7 per cent of participants expressed approval for these kinds of relationships.

When looking at how peers view supervisor–subordinate relationships, the literature indicates that displays of favouritism can affect perceptions of fairness among other colleagues (Berman et al., 2002; Sias & Jablin, 1995). This is largely associated with the idea that friendships between superiors and subordinates can undermine merit-based decision making (Berman et al., 2002). Regarding mentor–protégé relationships, researchers have suggested that that non-protégés may have different outlooks on *perceived distributive justice* (i.e., fairness of outcomes) and *perceived procedural justice* (i.e., consistency and fairness of processes) than protégés (Gelens, Dries, Hofmans, & Pepermans, 2013; Kristic, 2003; Scandura, 1997). However, empirical evidence has provided mixed support for these hypotheses (Kristic, 2003; Scandura, 1997), making it difficult to generalize as to how these relationships are typically viewed among organizational peers.

CROSS-GENDER WORKPLACE FRIENDSHIPS

Most of the research concerning perceptions, meta-perceptions and attitudes about cross-gender friendships is not contextualized within an office setting (Elsesser & Peplau, 2006). Moreover, there are no published studies concerning three-party meta-perceptions of these relationships. However, there are a handful of studies that examine attitudes toward friendships between men and women at work (e.g., Berman et al., 2002; Gillen, 2014). The aforementioned survey from Berman et al. (2002) found that 75.9 per cent of government sector managers approved of friendships between male and female colleagues. Additionally, in a survey of ninety-six working adults from various industries, Gillen (2014) found that 76 per cent of participants thought male–female friendships were normal.

While attitudes toward cross-gender workplace friendships were generally favourable in these studies, other literature indicates that these relationships carry a unique set of perception-related risks (Elsesser & Peplau, 2006; Fitt & Newton, 1981; McBride & Bergen, 2015; Morgan & Davidson, 2008; Sias et al., 2003). These risks revolve around longstanding stereotypes that insinuate that heterosexual, cross-gender friendships will ultimately evolve into romantic or sexual relationships (McBride & Bergen, 2015; Sias et al., 2003). While *workplace romances* (i.e., sexual or affectionate relationships between two employees) do occur, the majority of relationships between male and female colleagues are platonic (Cowan & Horan, 2014; Horan & Chory, 2011; McBride & Bergen, 2015).

However, colleagues may inaccurately assume that a cross-gender friendship is a workplace romance, which can spark rumours and create distractions in the workplace (Elsesser & Peplau, 2006; Fitt & Newton, 1981; Gillen, 2014; McBride & Bergen, 2015; Sias et al., 2003). For example, Fitt and Newton (1981) surveyed forty-three men and women from a variety of industries to better understand the benefits and risks associated with cross-gender mentor–protégé relationships. Regarding meta-perception, both male mentors and female protégés expressed concern over the idea that colleagues may perceive that these relationships involve sexual entanglement, even if the relationship is strictly professional. Similarly, Kram (1988, p. 108) noted that female protégés in cross-gender developmental relationships face considerable stress because they confront accusations of romantic involvement and favouritism from their peers.

WORKPLACE ROMANCE

While the empirical evidence regarding perceptions, meta-perceptions and attitudes associated with vertical, cross-gender workplace friendships is limited, the workplace romance literature generally indicates that vertical romances are viewed less favourably compared to lateral ones (Brown & Allgeier, 1996; Horan & Chory, 2009, 2011). Moreover, lower-level women in hierarchical romantic relationships are scrutinized more harshly than lower-level men by both genders (Horan & Chory, 2009, 2011; Powell, 2001). For example, Horan and Chory (2009, 2011) and Malachowski, Chory, and Claus (2012) conducted a series of related vignette studies on attitudes toward lateral and vertical workplace romances. Horan and Chory (2011) found that lower-level women in vertical romances were seen as less trustworthy and lower in goodwill than lower-level men.

Furthermore, this body of research found that lower-level women in vertical romances were seen as more motivated by instrumental gains, compared to lower-level men (Horan & Chory, 2009, 2011; Malachowski et al., 2012). These results are consistent with Powell's (2001) study, which found that both male and female participants were more likely to attribute job-related motives to a lower-level female employee than to a lower-level male employee. Consequently, colleagues may be more likely to perceive that junior female employees in vertical relationships receive favouritism or unfair career advantages as a result of their unequal status relationship (Horan & Chory, 2009; Malachowski et al., 2012; Powell, 2001). Thus, it appears as though women are viewed more negatively for partaking in the same behaviour as men (Horan & Chory, 2011; Malachowski et al., 2012). This is congruent with other literature indicating that the career risks associated with engaging in an office romance are higher for women than they are for men (Morgan & Davidson, 2008).

Drawing on this research, it is plausible that even if a cross-gender workplace friendship is not romantic in nature, women may be unfairly scrutinized, resented or subjected to gossip by their peers due to misperceptions about platonic relationships between men and women (Cleveland, Stockdale, & Murphy, 2000, p. 81; Kram, 1988, p. 107; McBride & Bergen, 2015; Powell, 2001). Moreover, if the woman is junior and the man is senior, it is possible that colleagues may become jealous of or resent these friendships because of the additional instrumental benefits they confer to the lower-level female employee (McBride & Bergen, 2015; Sias & Jablin, 1995; Sias et al., 2003). For example, women who pursue hierarchical friendships with men are oftentimes wrongly accused of using their sexuality to advance their careers (Quinn & Lees, 1984), which implies that others view their efforts to befriend high-ranking men as largely driven by instrumental motives.

While limited, research also shows that perceptions and meta-perceptions of cross-gender expressive networking at work may vary based on the marital status of the individuals involved. Research outside the workplace indicates that cross-gender friendships between married people are viewed negatively (e.g., Rose, 1989). However, a series of interviews conducted by Elsesser and Peplau (2006) found that married participants believed that their cross-gender workplace friendships were not questioned by colleagues, whereas single participants indicated that their colleagues were more likely to associate romantic involvement with their cross-gender friendships. Additionally, a study from Ng and Hau-siu Chow (2009) found that married women had more gender diversity in their informal instrumental networks than single women. While these ties are not expressive, the study's results imply that single women are less likely to network with men in the workplace. The authors attributed this to the idea that colleagues may be more likely to perceive cross-gender interactions involving single women as sexual or romantic in nature. Overall, the findings from both studies suggest that single women may refrain from developing expressive ties with men because they fear these relationships will result in gossip and reputational damage.

Collectively, research posits that single women abstain from engaging in expressive activities with senior men because they fear that platonic friendships could be mistaken for a workplace romance by their colleagues (Elsesser & Peplau, 2006; McBride & Bergen, 2015). However, perceptions and three-party meta-perceptions about vertical, cross-gender workplace friendships involving single women may differ from personal attitudes toward these relationships. For example, while some of the participants from Elsesser and Peplau's (2006) study indicated that they felt scrutinized by their colleagues for engaging in cross-gender friendships, the individuals in the studies by Berman and colleagues (2002) and Gillen (2014) did not view male–female friendships as unusual.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Previous evidence suggests that people largely disapprove of these relationships because of the potentially unfair career advantages the lower-level employee may receive (Bridge & Baxter, 1992). This presents a paradox, as the literature appears to suggest that developing friendships with higher-status employees, who are often male, is critical to career advancement. Thus, organizations should take steps to normalize friendly relations between employees of unequal status (Berman et al., 2002). Mentoring and sponsorship programmes are one way to accomplish this (Kram, 1988, pp. 2–19). Organizations can also train supervisors on how to provide ongoing social support to their subordinates (Berman et al., 2002). However, managers should proceed with caution in this arena given concerns about favouritism (Sias & Jablin, 1995). To mitigate accusations of favouritism, supervisors can give each member on their team equal levels of attention and equal access to developmental opportunities.

While individuals may not personally disapprove of cross-gender expressive networking in the workplace, it is possible that they may engage in office gossip with others if they feel as though their colleagues would perceive these relationships negatively. Strong human resources policies and related trainings on workplace romances, suspected workplace romances, and the damaging effects of office gossip may help women fend off the stigmas associated with networking upward with men. In addition, Elsesser and Peplau (2006) suggested that encouraging employees to develop friendships with the opposite gender may help these relationships become commonplace, thereby making them seem less unusual to others in the workplace.

Academics suggest that sexual harassment policies have discouraged men from pursuing friendships with women at work (Elsesser & Peplau, 2006; Sias et al., 2003). For example, Elsesser and Peplau (2006) indicated that male employees may abstain from engaging in friendships with female colleagues because they fear that their friendliness will be mistaken for flirtatiousness, and that this could result in accusations of sexual harassment.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN NETWORK STRUCTURES

Hanson and Blake (2009) reviewed the literature on gender and entrepreneurial networks. The review reveals, first, how little is known about gender and entrepreneurial networks in general and in particular about the gendered geography of such networks; and, second, the importance of investigating the impacts of social identity on entrepreneurs' networks if the relationships between entrepreneurship and place are to be understood.

Using network data of 1531 Americans from the 1985 General Social Survey, Moore (1990) found evidence to support gender differences in personal network composition. While women's networks are more focused on family, men's networks are more focused on non-kin, especially co-workers. These gender differences in personal networks arose in part from dissimilar social structural locations of men and women, leading to distinct opportunities for and constraints on the formation of close personal ties. Notably, most gender differences in network composition disappear or are considerably reduced when variables related to employment, family and age are controlled for, although some differences still remain.

Renzulli, Aldrich and Moody (2000) used a sample of 251 men and 97 women to attempt to explain gender inequality in entrepreneurial businesses by demonstrating that high heterogeneity and a low percentage of kin in networks are linked to new business start-ups. Findings indicate that women tend to have more homogeneous networks than men with a higher percentage of kin. Notably, there were no significant interactions between network composition and owner gender, which meant that the network effects on work outcomes held regardless of gender. These findings indicate that although men's and women's social networks differ in their composition, the mechanisms that link network range and entrepreneurial activity are similar across the sexes. Thus, more homogeneous networks, that are made up of a greater proportion of kin create disadvantages in entrepreneurial start-up regardless of gender.

Similarly, Kim and Sherraden (2014) found that overall, women's social networks are more likely to consist of kin and female neighbours (strong ties instead of weak ties) and are more likely to be associated with smaller and domestic affairs-oriented organizations that do not have high levels of business resources, compared to men's social networks. Therefore, women's fewer weak ties and lower resource levels negatively affect business performance (Burt, 1992).

David-Barrett et al. (2006) used more than 112000 profile pictures from nine world regions posted on a popular social networking site, showing that in self-selected displays of social relationships, women favour dyadic relations, whereas men favour larger, all-male cliques. These findings provide evidence for the universality of a male propensity to prefer a higher number of friendships compared to women. The difference observed in the preferred number of friends may signal different solutions to the quantity–quality trade-off in social ties. Importantly, the amount of social capital available that individuals have to distribute among the members of their personal social networks is limited. Thus, it appears that women build a 'dense' network, while men make alliances based on 'loose' networks.

Women's networks appear to be characterized by triadic closure (density). Kirke (2009) interviewed 298 teenagers in a Dublin working-class community. Gender homophily was observed in a network of teenagers, in small cliques of friends, showing clustering among larger groups of friends that differ by gender and that the process of clustering also differs by gender. Males made more friends and form larger clusters than females. Differences in clustering are due to differences in selection whereby males make more friends; triadic closure, which is more likely for females; and endogenous effects, which are impacting more on males.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN NETWORK EFFECTS ON INSTRUMENTAL OUTCOMES

Abraham (2015) attempted to determine whether men and women with the same access to resources through social ties would receive equal benefits, as the mere presence of social ties does not necessarily guarantee that resources will be exchanged. Data of a six-year period from thirty-seven business referral network groups of 2310 members were examined in terms of how actual referrals, or connections to potential new clients are exchanged among entrepreneur-members. The findings show that women receive fewer benefits through social ties than do similar men in the same social structure. Specifically, a comparison of the referrals accruing to men and women with the same access to social ties reveals that female entrepreneurs receive fewer business referrals. Importantly, this suggests that access to valuable social ties alone will not necessarily eliminate gender differences in outcomes produced through social ties and that resource allocation plays a part in perpetuating gender inequality. The gender differences in referrals appear to be primarily driven by third-party referrals, with women receiving over 26 per cent fewer third-party referrals than men. Thus, the author introduced a new network-based mechanism to explain this gender inequality – the anticipatory third-party bias, whereby a resource holder deciding whether to share resources with a network contact expects that a relevant third-party (e.g., a client, friend, family member) has a preference for men over women. This is particularly so in the entrepreneurial context of this study, which is a male-dominated area. This study has provided an alternative explanation to the gender differences in utilizing social capital as well as how networks contribute to the under-representation and lower success of women among entrepreneurs.

Similarly, Fang and Huang (2017) used data from a large pool of Wall Street analysts from 1993 to 2009. Alumni ties with corporate boards were found to differentially affect male and female analysts' job performance and career outcomes. In other words, the extent to which male and female analysts benefit from their connections is different. Specifically, connections improve men's job performance – forecasting accuracy and recommendation impact significantly more than women's. After controlling for performance, connection further contributes to men's, but not women's likelihood of being voted by institutional investors as 'star' analysts, a marker of career success. These asymmetric effects are stronger in more opaque firms and among younger analysts. The findings indicate that men reap higher benefits from social networks than women in both job performance and subjective evaluation.

Lalanne and Seabright (2011) using data of career histories of over 7500 senior executives in the US and the UK, found gender differences in the impact of social networks on earnings. More specifically, men's salaries are positively related to the number of currently influential individuals they have encountered in the past, while women's are not. The same pattern was also found for non-salaried remuneration. Executive men did not have more links than women, but they manage to leverage the opportunities they do have into higher remuneration while women do not. Individuals who are relatively central in the executive network thereby benefit, and women benefit from having networks composed of other women. In contrast to executives, non-executive board members do not display any gender difference in the effectiveness with which men and women leverage their links into remuneration. Possible explanations include gender differences in preferences for social contacts or for forms of interaction with those social contacts, i.e., women are more inclined to rely on a few 'strong ties', while men may prefer a large number of 'weak ties'; and that men may consciously prefer not admitting women to positions of real power, or unconsciously as a side effect of the greater conspicuousness of other men among the networks of people that predominantly male recruiters turn to when seeking to fill such positions.

Lindenlaub and Prummer (2013) provided empirical evidence that men have a larger number of friends, indicated by a higher degree centrality than women, whereas women's friends are more likely to be friends among each other, as indicated by a higher clustering coefficient than men (triadic closure, density). Based on the findings, a theory was proposed to explain discrepancies in the job performance of men and women as well as labour market outcomes. The model involved a trade-off between network density and network span and the impact of these features on peer pressure and information acquisition, which both matter for job performance. In the model, workers consistently cooperate with each other to complete projects. A team member chooses his effort, which is unobservable to the other project partner, based on his network structure. A higher number of friends (sparse network) leads to more information, whereas a network with higher clustering (dense network) leads to higher effort through peer pressure. Overall, both information and peer pressure affect project completion and thus it is not a priori clear which characteristic is more advantageous. The study also found that women outperform men when the uncertainty about the project value is negligible, because there is a lower information flow in the ring compared to the star. In turn, men have a better assessment of the value of the project, as they hold more information and thus perform relatively better under uncertainty.

Lutter (2015) used large-scale longitudinal data on career profiles of about one million performances by 97 657 film actors in 369 099 films productions from 1929 to 2010. The study examined how measures of cohesion, social capital and information diversity moderate gender disadvantages in the pursuit of careers in film. The study found that female actors are at greater risk of career failure compared to their male colleagues when affiliated in cohesive networks, but women have better survival chances when embedded in open, diverse structures. Explained in terms of project-based labour markets, within which recruitment largely depends on informal ties, job-relevant information flow is generally low and redundant in cohesive structures, but high and various in diverse and open network structures. Furthermore, cohesive networks are more likely to exclude actors from relevant sources of information. The findings provided understanding of how and what type of social capital can be either a beneficial resource for otherwise disadvantaged groups or a constraining mechanism that intensifies gender differences in career advancement. In contrast to prior research arguing that women could benefit if they attach in dense, interconnected teams (Burt, 1998), this study emphasizes the possibility of exclusion and information penalties, which are likely to occur in cohesive team structures, and which are more detrimental for women than for men.

Meng (2016) obtained data from a national study consisting of 1598 academic scientists. The findings show that female academic scientists are not disadvantaged in collaboration, whether in terms of general collaboration network size or having any of the specified boundary-spanning collaboration ties. Regarding the relationship between boundary-spanning collaboration ties and patenting involvement, the results suggest that there is no relationship between the two for men in a statistical sense. For women, however, having collaboration ties with the industry significantly promotes their engagement in patenting. This implies that women's credentials and capabilities could be appropriately judged by strategic others once trust is built between them and the strategic others and then could leverage the needed resources for their better outcomes. This finding and interpretation is consistent with other scholars' (Burt, 1998; Ding, Murray, & Stuart, 2006; Tinkler, Whittington, Ku, & Davies, 2015).

Neubert and Taggar (2004) using a sample of 237 members of eighteen manufacturing teams, where collective performance is necessary for sustaining employment, found that gender moderates the relationships between informal leadership emergence and team network centrality (among other dependent variables like conscientiousness, emotional stability and general mental ability). Contradictory to the hypothesis proposed, team member network centrality predicted informal leadership more for men than for women. This suggests that although being included in other team members' networks of advice and support was important for leadership emergence of men and women, it was more instrumental for men than for women. It could be that the expectations of women as being social and nurturing may work against women receiving recognition as leaders.

Westermann, Ashby and Pretty (2005) used a sample of forty-six men's, mixed and women's groups in thirty-three rural programmes in twenty countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia to examine how gender differentiated social groups differ in their activities and outcomes for natural resource management (NRM). Significant gender differences were found in terms of group maturity and NRM achievements and approaches as well as experiences of collaboration and capacity to manage conflict. Particularly, collaboration, solidarity and conflict resolution all increase in groups where women are present. Further, norms of reciprocity are more likely to operate in women's and mixed groups. Likewise, the capacity for self-sustaining collective action increased with women's presence and was significantly higher in the women's groups. Women may depend more on some forms of relational social capital simply because they are excluded from male-dominated formal networks and organized power structures where institutional social capital is built and exercised.

Belliveau (2005) examined job search outcomes of eighty-three women attending elite coeducational and women's colleges. The results show, in terms of the number of offers obtained, that women who consulted with proportionally more male peer and employed adult male advice ties received significantly more job offers than women using fewer male advice contacts, highlighting gendered social resource. Regarding salary offers, there was an institutional sex composition effect, whereby women exiting single-sex institutions received significantly lower salary offers than women from coeducational schools, even after accounting for human capital, job characteristics and institutional reputation. The effects of social networks on pay were moderated by institutional sex composition such that women exiting women's colleges received lower returns in the form of salary to their cross-gender advice ties than did women from a matched coeducational institution. The study posited that salary offers are constructed based on assumptions regarding an individual's knowledge of prevailing wages. Hence, although social ties can enrich a woman's knowledge of wages and opportunities, firms' judgements of women's access to wage information and concomitantly, their assumptions regarding women's salary expectations, are likely to shape initial salary offers, which then anchor final salary offers.

Lewis and Krishnan (2004) used data from a sample of eighty-four customer service executives and found gender differences in the links between power and network centrality. Specifically, centrality is positively related to power for men but not for women. Women also have less power than men have, and this is true even after centrality was controlled for. This meant that women may be central or focal in the communication network due to the nature of their job and the manner of work design, but they still lack power, while men would have more power than women do, even though they are not higher on centrality than women are. Therefore, the evidence suggests that attempts to enhance women's power should focus less on network centrality and more on formal hierarchical level and some personal aspects of power.

McNamara and Pitt-Catsouphes (2014) used data of 1334 employees in twelve departments at nine organizations. This study looked at how social network size (advice) relates to organizational tenure and core self-evaluations, and how this differs between men and women. The findings show that, even after controlling for factors such as family circumstances and job characteristics, there was a larger positive association between core self-evaluations and social network size for men than for women. This suggests that women benefit less from core self-evaluations than men do, alluding to the fact that workplace gender composition shapes the opportunities and constraints that men and women with similar structural and personal resources can bring to bear on task advice network size.

Sappleton (2014) looked at 255 New York City-based entrepreneurs operating firms in two male-dominated industries (construction and sound recording), one female-dominated industry (childcare) and one integrated industry (publishing) who completed an online survey based on the Dutch Resource Generator social network tool. The findings revealed that, irrespective of sex, owners in gender typical industries had networks that were significantly more homogeneous than owners in gender atypical industries. Women owners in the female-dominated sector associated with other women to a greater degree than women in the male-dominated or sex-integrated sectors. And, contrary to expectations, men owners in the female-dominated sector associated with women to a greater degree than men in the male-dominated or sex-integrated sectors. Thus, this finding suggests that owners do not select network partners on the basis of their own sex; rather, business owners appear to be rational in that they construct 'functional' networks comprised largely of same-sex others in gender typical industries, and opposite-sex others in gender atypical sectors; those owners that restrict their networking activities to members of the same sex in sectors where they do not predominate may calculate that they are likely to extract fewer resources from their networks than those owners that engage in cross-sex networking. Furthermore, the ability to mobilize resources is strongly influenced by the sex composition of entrepreneurs' networks, and an interaction between the sex of the business owner and the gender-domination of the industry in which he or she operates. In the female-dominated childcare industry, women were just as successful as men in their attempts to secure resources. Moreover, women operating businesses in male-dominated sectors suffered in terms of their ability to obtain resources, particularly financial resources. Men owners of childcare firms did not suffer in the same way, even though they reported relatively high levels of discrimination against them by staff, customers, suppliers and colleagues. It seems, then that gender incongruence is a problem for non-traditional women looking to locate the support and assistance they require to sustain their firms, and that it is less of a problem for men in the same situation. Networking strategy had little impact on the ability of non-traditional women to secure resources, as regardless of the strategy these non-traditional women followed, they were all less successful in their efforts to extract resources from ties than traditional women. This suggests that non-traditional women are locked into a kind of networking bind, a phenomenon that is dubbed the segregation-stereotyping bind.

Sterling and Perry-Smith (2013) used data on 3575 scientists in collaborative team networks over a twenty-year period. This study looked at the influence of scientific productivity on the status of scientists' network affiliates. The findings show that scientists have greater access to high-status affiliates as their productivity improves, however this effect depends on author gender: women receive greater gains to their networks from productivity than men do. These results indicate differential returns to productivity by gender, highlighting the benefits women's networks receive when organizations use objective criteria like productivity, versus ascribed characteristics such as gender, in network allocation decisions.

Watson (2012) examined 2919 male- and 181 female-controlled small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) (with at least one employee) over a three-year period. While male and female SME owners appear to use a similar number of networks, male SME owners appear to make more frequent use of formal networks (in particular banks, solicitors, industry associations and business consultants). After controlling for education, experience, industry, age and size, only one gender difference remained: men appear to make more use of industry associations.

McDonald (2011) looked at whether white male networks provide more social capital resources than female and minority networks. Using nationally representative survey data the study found that people in white male networks receive twice as many job leads as people in female/minority networks. Further, white male networks are also comprised of higher-status connections than female/minority networks. The information and status benefits of membership in these old boy networks accrue to all respondents and not just white men. Importantly, gender homophilous contacts offer greater job finding assistance than other contacts, while heterophily is associated with higher-status contacts. The study has provided explanation for the gender-based outcomes of social network characteristics of egos. Thus, the findings highlight the importance of women maintaining a gender diverse set of social network connections in order to procure a wide variety of job information and also drawing on the helpfulness of similar others.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN NETWORK EFFECTS ON WELL-BEING OUTCOMES

Haines, Beggs and Hurlbert (2008) used a US sample of 548 hurricane victims to examine whether the effects of gender differences in network composition, density and size affect perceived adequacy of social support and depressive symptoms. The study found only one significant gender interaction for each of the outcome variables considered. Network size and density (triadic closure) had a significant effect on perceived adequacy of social support, for women only. Further, in the hurricane setting, gender composition, density and size exert indirect effects on depressive symptoms, in their pathway through social support, which suggests the overall importance of gender differences in network structure effect.

Carboni and Gilman (2012) found evidence for the hypotheses that women in brokerage positions experience heightened levels of social stress and lower life satisfaction. This supports the notion that women place greater value and find more satisfaction in their affective relationships (and close relationship groups) than men do (e.g., Miller, 1976; Ryan, La Guardia, Solky-Butzel, Chirkov, & Kim, 2005). In addition to the explanation that these gender differences could be a result of women's need to signal their competency by developing strong interconnected networks (Burt, 1992; Ibarra, 1992), this study indicates that the differences may also be influenced by the effects of structural position on psychological well-being. It could for example be that conflicting role expectation could distress women more than men because of the higher value women tend to place on social relationships. Moreover, showing gender-incongruent characteristics (i.e., by being both a woman and occupying a structural position associated with control and relative independence) may induce social processes that affect psychological well-being. Thus, the study implies that brokerage, especially for women, may lead to a lack of network congruence (congruent outcomes for individuals and networks) that can undermine the well-being of the individual.

CONCLUSION

There are many reasons for why women are underrepresented in senior management roles. This chapter looked at gender differences in networking inside and outside of the workplace. It is self-evident that an individual's social network can and does play an important role in getting, maintaining and succeeding in jobs. Indeed the ability to form and grow happy healthy teams could be seen as the essence of leadership.

The literature reviewed above suggests that women network differently from men (see also the literature listed in the Appendix to this chapter). There may be different theoretical explanations for this ranging from evolutionary psychology to social learning theory. The studies reviewed above tend to show that men establish bigger, more heterogeneous and more advantageous networks than women. This appears to be not so much a function of personal skill or motivation but social conventions which pre- and pro-scribe various behaviours leading to distinct network characteristics.

Given the importance of networks, researchers have turned their attention to helping women be more successful in this endeavour.

REFERENCES

Abbasi, A., Wigand, R. T., & Hossain, L. (2014). Measuring social capital through network analysis and its influence on individual performance. *Library & Information Science Research*, *36*(1), 66–73.

Abraham, M. (2015). Explaining unequal returns to social capital among entrepreneurs. Unpublished manuscript.

Adams, S. M., Gupta, A., Haughton, D. M., & Leeth, J. D. (2007). Gender differences in CEO compensation: Evidence from the USA. *Women in Management Review*, *22*(3), 208–224.

Ajrouch, K. J., Blandon, A. Y., & Antonucci, T. C. (2005). Social networks among men and women: The effects of age and socioeconomic status. *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, *60*(6), S311–S317.

Baerveldt, C., Van de Bunt, G. G., & Vermande, M. M. (2014). Selection patterns, gender and friendship aim in classroom networks. *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*, *17*(5), 171–188.

Baldwin, T. T., Bedell, M. D., & Johnson, J. L. (1997). The social fabric of a team-based MBA program: Network effects on student satisfaction and performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, *40*(6), 1369–1397.

Balkundi, P., & Harrison, D. A. (2006). Ties, leaders, and time in teams: Strong inference about network structure's effects on team viability and performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, *49*(1), 49–68.

Bandiera, O., Barankay, I., & Rasul, I. (2008). Social capital in the workplace: Evidence on its formation and consequences. *Labour Economics*, *15*(4), 724–748.

Baruch-Feldman, C., Brondolo, E., Ben-Dayan, D., & Schwartz, J. (2002). Sources of social support and burnout, job satisfaction, and productivity. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *7*(1), 84–93.

Bell, M. P., McLaughlin, M. E., & Sequeira, J. M. (2002). Discrimination, harassment, and the glass ceiling: Women executives as change agents. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *37*(1), 65–76.

Belliveau, M. A. (2005). Blind ambition? The effects of social networks and institutional sex composition on the job search outcomes of elite coeducational and women's college graduates. *Organization Science*, *16*(2), 134–150.

Berman, E. M., West, J. P., & Richter Jr, M. N. (2002). Workplace relations: Friendship patterns and consequences (according to managers). *Public Administration Review*, *62*(2), 217–230.

Bevelander, D., & Page, M. J. (2011). Ms. Trust: Gender, networks and trust – implications for management and education. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, *10*(4), 623–642.

Blickle, G., Witzki, A. H., & Schneider, P. B. (2009). Mentoring support and power: A three year predictive field study on protégé networking and career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *74*(2), 181–189.

Bolis, M., Manzo, C., & Pais, I. (2013). Women and men leading artisan firms: What is the impact on organizations? *AG AboutGender*, *2*(4), 141–164.

Brashears, M. E. (2008). Gender and homophily: Differences in male and female association in Blau space. *Social Science Research*, *37*(2), 400–415.

Brass, D. J. (1985). Men's and women's networks: A study of interaction patterns and influence in an organization. *Academy of Management Journal*, *28*(2), 327–343.

Brass, D. J. (1995). A social network perspective on human resources management. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, *13*(1), 39–79.

Brass, D. J., Galaskiewicz, J., Greve, H. R., & Tsai, W. (2004). Taking stock of networks and organizations: A multilevel perspective. *Academy of Management Journal*, *47*(6), 795–817.

Bridge, K., & Baxter, L. A. (1992). Blended relationships: Friends as work associates. *Western Journal of Communication* (includes Communication Reports), *56*(3), 200–225.

British Psychological Society (BPS) (2016, January 5). Ambitious women must use their social capital to reach top jobs. *ScienceDaily*. Retrieved 27 October 2017 from http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2016/01/160105223952.htm.

Broadbridge, A. (2009). Sacrificing personal or professional life? A gender perspective on the accounts of retail managers. *The International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research*, *19*(3), 289–311.

Brown, T. J., & Allgeier, E. R. (1996). The impact of participant characteristics, perceived motives, and job behaviors on co-workers' evaluations of workplace romances. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *26*(7), 577–595.
Bu, N., & Roy, J. P. (2005). Career success networks in China: Sex differences in network composition and social exchange practices. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, *22*(4), 381–403.
Burt, R. S. (1992). *Structural Holes: The Structure of Social Capital Competition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Burt, R. S. (1997). The contingent value of social capital. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *42*(2), 339–365.
Burt, R. S. (1998). The gender of social capital. *Rationality and Society*, *10*(1), 5–46.
Carboni, I., & Gilman, R. (2012). Brokers at risk: Gender differences in the effects of structural position on social stress and life satisfaction. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, *16*(3), 218–230.
Catalyst (2004). *The Bottom Line: Connecting Corporate Performance and Gender Diversity*. Retrieved 27 September 2006 from https://www.catalyst.org/files/full/financialperformancereport.pdf.
Catalyst (2017). *Women CEOs of the S&P 500*. Retrieved from http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/women-ceos-sp-500.
Chan, R. Y., Huang, J., Hui, D., Li, S., & Yu, P. (2013). Gender differences in collaborative learning over online social networks: Epistemological beliefs and behaviors. *Knowledge Management & E-Learning*, *5*(3), 234–250.
Chao, G. T., Walz, P., & Gardner, P. D. (1992). Formal and informal mentorships: A comparison on mentoring functions and contrast with nonmentored counterparts. *Personnel Psychology*, *45*(3), 619–636.
Chauvet, V., Chollet, B., & Géraudel, M. (2008). The relative disadvantage of women in business: A social network approach. Conference paper.
Chiaburu, D. S., & Harrison, D. A. (2008). Do peers make the place? Conceptual synthesis and meta-analysis of coworker effects on perceptions, attitudes, OCBs, and performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(5), 1082–1103.
Chow, I. H. S., & Ng, I. (2007). Does the gender of the manager affect who he/she networks with? *Journal of Applied Business Research*, *23*(4), 49–60.
Cleveland, J. N., Stockdale, M., & Murphy, K. R. (2000). *Women and Men in Organizations: Sex and Gender Issues at Work*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Conlan, A. J., Eames, K. T., Gage, J. A., von Kirchbach, J. C., Ross, J. V., Saenz, R. A., & Gog, J. R. (2010). Measuring social networks in British primary schools through scientific engagement. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B: Biological Sciences*, *278*(1711), 1467–1475.
Cowan, R. L., & Horan, S. M. (2014). Love at the office? Understanding workplace romance disclosures and reactions from the coworker perspective. *Western Journal of Communication*, *78*(2), 238–253.
Cromie, S., & Birley, S. (1992). Networking by female business owners in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *7*(3), 237–251.
David-Barrett, T., Rotkirch, A., Carney, J., Izquierdo, I. B., Krems, J. A., Townley, D., . . . Stuart, T. E. (2006). Gender differences in patenting in the academic life sciences. *Science*, *313*(5787), 665–667.
Davis, A. B., & Aldrich, H. E. (2000). The organizational advantage? Social capital, gender, and small business owners' access to resources. *Proceedings of the American Sociological Association Meeting* (pp. 12–16), August.
D'Exelle, B., & Holvoet, N. (2011). Gender and network formation in rural Nicaragua: A village case study. *Feminist Economics*, *17*(2), 31–61.
Ding, W. W., Murray, F., & Stuart, T. E. (2006). Gender differences in patenting in the academic life sciences. *Science*, *313*(5787), 665–667.
Dreher, G. F., & Ash, R. A. (1990). A comparative study of mentoring among men and women in managerial, professional, and technical positions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *75*(5), 539–546.
Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2003). The female leadership advantage: An evaluation of the evidence. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *14*(6), 807–834.

Elsesser, K., & Peplau, L. A. (2006). The glass partition: Obstacles to cross-sex friendships at work. *Human Relations*, *59*(8), 1077–1100.

Fang, L. H., & Huang, S. (2017). Gender and connections among Wall Street analysts. *The Review of Financial Studies*, *30*(9), 3305–3335.

Fang, R., & Zhang, Z. (2014). A meta-analysis on women's social network position: Does education help? *Academy of Management Proceedings*, *1*, 1382–1387.

Fitt, L. W., & Newton, D. A. (1981). When the mentor is a man and the protege a woman. *Harvard Business Review*, *58*(2), 56–60.

Flynn, F., Anderson, C., & Brion, S. (n.d.). Too tough, too soon: Familiarity and the backlash effect. Unpublished manuscript.

Friedell, M. F. (1967). Organizations as semilattices. *American Sociological Review*, *32*(1), 46–54.

Gelens, J., Dries, N., Hofmans, J., & Pepermans, R. (2013). The role of perceived organizational justice in shaping the outcomes of talent management: A research agenda. *Human Resource Management Review*, *23*(4), 341–353.

Gillen, H. G. (2014). *Male–Female Workplace Friendships: Third Party Coworkers' Perceptions of and Behavior toward Organizational Peers in Cross-Sex Workplace Friendships*. West Virginia University.

Gremmen, I., Akkerman, A., & Benschop, Y. (2013). Does where you stand depend on how you behave? Networking behavior as an alternative explanation for gender differences in network structure. *Journal of Management & Organization*, *19*(3), 297–313.

Greve, A., & Salaff, J. W. (2003). Social networks and entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *28*(1), 1–22.

Griffin, C. (2009). Gender and social capital: Social networks post-disaster. University of South Carolina, Working Paper.

Haines, V. A., Beggs, J. J., & Hurlbert, J. S. (2008). Contextualizing health outcomes: Do effects of network structure differ for women and men? *Sex Roles*, *59*(3–4), 164–175.

Hall, A., & Wellman, B. (1985). Social networks and social support. In S. Cohen & S. L. Syme (Eds.), *Social Support and Health* (pp. 23–41). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Hanson, S., & Blake, M. (2009). Gender and entrepreneurial networks. *Regional Studies*, *43*(1), 135–149.

Hardill, I., & Watson, R. (2004). Career priorities within dual career households: An analysis of the impact of child rearing upon gender participation rates and earnings. *Industrial Relations Journal*, *35*(1), 19–37.

Hartman, R. L., & Johnson, J. D. (1989). Social contagion and multiplexity communication networks as predictors of commitment and role ambiguity. *Human Communication Research*, *15*(4), 523–548.

Hawarden, R. J. (2010). Glass networks: The network structure of women directors on corporate boards (Doctoral dissertation, Massey University, New Zealand).

Hoobler, J. M., Hu, J., & Wilson, M. (2010). Do workers who experience conflict between the work and family domains hit a 'glass ceiling?' A meta-analytic examination. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *77*(3), 481–494.

Horan, S. M., & Chory, R. M. (2009). When work and love mix: Perceptions of peers in workplace romances. *Western Journal of Communication*, *73*(4), 349–369.

Horan, S. M., & Chory, R. M. (2011). Understanding work/life blending: Credibility implications for those who date at work. *Communication Studies*, *62*(5), 563–580.

Huang, J., & Aaltio, I. (2014). Guanxi and social capital: Networking among women managers in China and Finland. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *39*, 22–39.

Ibarra, H. (1992). Homophily and differential returns: Sex differences in network structure and access in an advertising firm. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *37*(3), 422–447.

Ibarra, H. (1993). Network centrality, power, and innovation involvement: Determinants of technical and administrative roles. *Academy of Management Journal*, *36*(3), 471–501.

Ibarra, H. (1997). Paving an alternative route: Gender differences in managerial networks. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *60*(1), 91–102.

Ibarra, H., Ely, R., & Kolb, D. (2013). Women rising: The unseen barriers. *Harvard Business Review*, *91*(9), 60–66.

Johns, M. L. (2013). Breaking the glass ceiling: Structural, cultural, and organizational barriers preventing women from achieving senior and executive positions. *Perspectives in Health Information Management/AHIMA, American Health Information Management Association*, *10* (Winter), 1e.

Joshi, A. (2006). The influence of organizational demography on the external networking behavior of teams. *Academy of Management Review*, *31*(3), 583–595.

Kaplan, R. E. (1984). Trade routes: The manager's network of relationships. *Organizational Dynamics*, *12*(4), 37–52.

Katungi, E., Edmeades, S., & Smale, M. (2008). Gender, social capital and information exchange in rural Uganda. *Journal of International Development*, *20*(1), 35–52.

Kegen, N. V. (2013). Science networks in cutting-edge research institutions: Gender homophily and embeddedness in formal and informal networks. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *79*, 62–81.

Kim, S. M., & Sherraden, M. (2014). The impact of gender and social networks on microenterprise business performance. *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, *41*, 49–69.

Kim, Y. C., & Rhee, M. (2010). The contingent effect of social networks on organizational commitment: A comparison of instrumental and expressive ties in a multinational high-technology company. *Sociological Perspectives*, *53*(4), 479–502.

Kirke, D. M. (2009). Gender clustering in friendship networks: Some sociological implications. *Methodological Innovations Online*, *4*(1), 23–36.

Kleinbaum, A. M., Stuart, T. E., & Tushman, M. L. (2013). Discretion within constraint: Homophily and structure in a formal organization. *Organization Science*, *24*(5), 1316–1336.

Klyver, K., & Terjesen, S. (2007). Entrepreneurial network composition: An analysis across venture development stage and gender. *Women in Management Review*, *22*(8), 682–688.

Krackhardt, D. (1990). Assessing the political landscape: Structure, cognition, and power in organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *35*(2), 342–369.

Kram, K. E. (1988). *Mentoring at Work: Developmental Relationships in Organizational Life*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Kristic, I. F. (2003). Mentoring and organizational justice: The effects of protege vs. non-protege perceptions of fairness in the workplace (Doctoral dissertation, US: ProQuest Information & Learning).

Kumar, S. (2016). Effect of gender on collaborative associations of researchers in Malaysia. *The Electronic Library*, *34*(1), 74–82.

Lalanne, M., & Seabright, P. (2011). The old boy network: Gender differences in the impact of social networks on remuneration in top executive jobs. CEPR Discussion Paper No. DP8623.

Laniado, D., Volkovich, Y., Kappler, K., & Kaltenbrunner, A. (2016). Gender homophily in online dyadic and triadic relationships. *EPJ Data Science*, *5*(1), 19.

Lazega, E., & Pattison, P. E. (1999). Multiplexity, generalized exchange and cooperation in organizations: A case study. *Social Networks*, *21*(1), 67–90.

Lee, S., & Lee, C. (2015). Creative interaction and multiplexity in intraorganizational networks. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *29*(1), 56–83.

Lewis, G., & Krishnan, V. R. (2004). Sex differences in power: The role of network centrality and value systems. *Prabandhan, XLRI Research Journal*, *1*(4), 25–34.

Lincoln, J. R., & Miller, J. (1979). Work and friendship ties in organizations: A comparative analysis of relation networks. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *24*(2), 181–199.

Lindenlaub, I., & Prummer, A. (2013). More versus closer friends: How gender shapes social networks and their effects on performance. Conference presentation.

Livingston, G. (2006). Gender, job searching, and employment outcomes among Mexican immigrants. *Population Research and Policy Review*, *25*(1), 43–66.

Lutter, M. (2015). Do women suffer from network closure? The moderating effect of social capital on gender inequality in a project-based labor market, 1929 to 2010. *American Sociological Review*, *80*(2), 329–358.

Malachowski, C. C., Chory, R. M., & Claus, C. J. (2012). Mixing pleasure with work: Employee perceptions of and responses to workplace romance. *Western Journal of Communication*, *76*(4), 358–379.

Markiewicz, D., Devine, I., & Kausilas, D. (2000). Friendships of women and men at work: Job satisfaction and resource implications. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *15*, 161–184.
McBride, M. C., & Bergen, K. M. (2015). Work spouses: Defining and understanding a 'new' relationship. *Communication Studies*, *66*(5), 487–508.
McDonald, S. (2011). What's in the 'old boys' network? Accessing social capital in gendered and racialized networks. *Social Networks*, *33*(4), 317–330.
McGuire, G. M. (2002). Gender, race, and the shadow structure: A study of informal networks and inequality in a work organization. *Gender & Society*, *16*(3), 303–322.
McNamara, T. K., & Pitt-Catsouphes, M. (2014). Gender variation in the antecedents of task advice network size: Organizational tenure and core self-evaluations. *The Social Science Journal*, *51*(3), 368–376.
McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *27*(1), 415–444.
Meng, Y. (2016). Collaboration patterns and patenting: Exploring gender distinctions. *Research Policy*, *45*(1), 56–67.
Methot, J. R., Lepine, J. A., Podsakoff, N. P., & Christian, J. S. (2016). Are workplace friendships a mixed blessing? Exploring tradeoffs of multiplex relationships and their associations with job performance. *Personnel Psychology*, *69*(2), 311–355.
Miller, B. C. (1976). A multivariate developmental model of marital satisfaction. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *38*(4), 643–657.
Moore, G. (1990). Structural determinants of men's and women's personal networks. *American Sociological Review*, *55*(5), 726–735.
Morgan, L. M., & Davidson, M. J. (2008). Sexual dynamics in mentoring relationships: A critical review. *British Journal of Management*, *19*(s1), S120–S129.
Morrison, A. M., & Von Glinow, M. A. (1990). Women and minorities in management. *American Psychologist*, *45*(2), 200–208.
Neubert, M. J., & Taggar, S. (2004). Pathways to informal leadership: The moderating role of gender on the relationship of individual differences and team member network centrality to informal leadership emergence. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *15*(2), 175–194.
Ng, I., & Hau-siu Chow, I. (2009). Cross-gender networking in the workplace: Causes and consequences. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *24*(8), 562–576.
Noland, M., Moran, T., & Kotschwar, B. R. (2016). Is gender diversity profitable? Evidence from a global survey. Peterson Institute for International Economics, Working Paper No. 16-3.
O'Brien, K. E., Biga, A., Kessler, S. R., & Allen, T. D. (2010). A meta-analytic investigation of gender differences in mentoring. *Journal of Management*, *36*(2), 537–554.
Oh, H., Chung, M. H., & Labianca, G. (2004). Group social capital and group effectiveness: The role of informal socializing ties. *Academy of Management Journal*, *47*(6), 860–875.
Oke, D. F. (2013). The effect of social network on women entrepreneurs in Nigeria: A case study of Ado-Ekiti small-scale enterprise. *International Journal of Education and Research*, *1*(11), 1–14.
Parise, S., & Rollag, K. (2010). Emergent network structure and initial group performance: The moderating role of pre-existing relationships. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *31*(6), 877–897.
Pompper, D., & Adams, J. (2006). Under the microscope: Gender and mentor–protégé relationships. *Public Relations Review*, *32*(3), 309–315.
Popielarz, P. A. (1999). Voluntary association: A multilevel analysis of gender segregation in voluntary organizations. *Gender & Society*, *13*(2), 234–250.
Powell, G. N. (2001). Workplace romances between senior-level executives and lower-level employees: An issue of work disruption and gender. *Human Relations*, *54*(11), 1519–1544.
Quinn, R. E., & Lees, P. L. (1984). Attraction and harassment: Dynamics of sexual politics in the workplace. *Organizational Dynamics*, *13*(2), 35–46.
Ragins, B. R., & Cotton, J. L. (1999). Mentor functions and outcomes: A comparison of men and women in formal and informal mentoring relationships. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *84*(4), 529–550.
Renzulli, L. A., Aldrich, H., & Moody, J. (2000). Family matters: Gender, networks, and entrepreneurial outcomes. *Social Forces*, *79*(2), 523–546.

Rose, S. (1989). Women biologists and the 'old boy' network. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *12*(3), 349–354.
Rothstein, M. G., & Davey, L. M. (1995). Gender differences in network relationships in academia. *Women in Management Review*, *10*(6), 20–25.
Ryan, R. M., La Guardia, J. G., Solky-Butzel, J., Chirkov, V., & Kim, Y. (2005). On the interpersonal regulation of emotions: Emotional reliance across gender, relationships, and cultures. *Personal Relationships*, *12*(1), 145–163.
Sapadin, L. A. (1988). Friendship and gender: Perspectives of professional men and women. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *5*(4), 387–403.
Sappleton, N. (2014). Gender congruency theory, experience of discrimination and access to finance. In K. V. Lewis, C. Henry, E. J. Gatewood, & J. Watson (Eds.), *Women's Entrepreneurship in the 21st Century: An International Multi-Level Research Analysis* (pp. 50–67). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Scandura, T. A. (1997). Mentoring and organizational justice: An empirical investigation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *51*(1), 58–69.
Sias, P. M., & Cahill, D. J. (1998). From coworkers to friends: The development of peer friendships in the workplace. *Western Journal of Communication* (includes Communication Reports), *62*(3), 273–299.
Sias, P. M., & Jablin, F. M. (1995). Differential superior–subordinate relations, perceptions of fairness, and coworker communication. *Human Communication Research*, *22*(1), 5–38.
Sias, P. M., Smith, G., & Avdeyeva, T. (2003). Sex and sex-composition differences and similarities in peer workplace friendship development. *Communication Studies*, *54*(3), 322–340.
Skvoretz, J., & Agneessens, F. (2007). Reciprocity, multiplexity, and exchange: Measures. *Quality & Quantity*, *41*(3), 341–357.
Smith, N., Smith, V., & Verner, M. (2006). Do women in top management affect firm performance? A panel study of 2,500 Danish firms. *International Journal of Productivity and Performance Management*, *55*(7), 569–593.
Stackman, R. W., & Pinder, C. C. (1999). Context and sex effects on personal work networks. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *16*(1), 39–64.
Stallings, M. (2008). Whom would you approach for advice? Gender differences in network preferences. Unpublished manuscript, University of Pennsylvania.
Stallings, M. M. (2010). Reaching up: The influence of gender, status, and relationship type on men's and women's network preferences (Dissertation, US: ProQuest Information & Learning).
Stansfeld, S. A., Shipley, M. J., Head, J., Fuhrer, R., & Kivimaki, M. (2013). Work characteristics and personal social support as determinants of subjective well-being. *PLoS One*, *8*(11), e81115.
Sterling, A. D., & Perry-Smith, J. (2013). Gender, productivity, and collaborative networks in science. Working Paper.
Stokes, J. P., & Levin, I. (1986). Gender differences in predicting loneliness from social network characteristics. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *51*(5), 1069–1074.
Szell, M., & Thurner, S. (2013). How women organize social networks different from men. *Scientific Reports*, *3*, 1214.
Timberlake, S. (2005). Social capital and gender in the workplace. *Journal of Management Development*, *24*(1), 34–44.
Tinkler, J. E., Whittington, K. B., Ku, M. C., & Davies, A. R. (2015). Gender and venture capital decision-making: The effects of technical background and social capital on entrepreneurial evaluations. *Social Science Research*, *51*, 1–16.
Toma, S. (2012). Ties that bind? Networks and gender in international migration – the case of Senegal (Doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford).
Tonge, J. (2010). The influence of position and gender on personal networks in a UK professional service. *Industrial Marketing Management*, *39*(3), 390–399.
Torres, L., & Huffman, M. L. (2002). Social networks and job search outcomes among male and female professional, technical, and managerial workers. *Sociological Focus*, *35*(1), 25–42.
US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2017, November). Women in the labor force: A databook [Data file]. Retrieved from https://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/womensdatabook/2017/home.htm.

Van Emmerik, I. H. (2006). Gender differences in the creation of different types of social capital: A multilevel study. *Social Networks*, *28*(1), 24–37.
Verbrugge, L. M. (1979). Multiplexity in adult friendships. *Social Forces*, *57*(4), 1286–1309.
Vianen, A. E., & Fischer, A. H. (2002). Illuminating the glass ceiling: The role of organizational culture preferences. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *75*(3), 315–337.
Viswesvaran, C., Sanchez, J. I., & Fisher, J. (1999). The role of social support in the process of work stress: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *54*(2), 314–334.
Watson, J. (2012). Networking: Gender differences and the association with firm performance. *International Small Business Journal*, *30*(5), 536–558.
Westermann, O., Ashby, J., & Pretty, J. (2005). Gender and social capital: The importance of gender differences for the maturity and effectiveness of natural resource management groups. *World Development*, *33*(11), 1783–1799.
Wharton, A. S., & Baron, J. N. (1991). Satisfaction? The psychological impact of gender segregation on women at work. *Sociological Quarterly*, *32*(3), 365–387.
Yang, J., Liu, C., Zhang, Q., Zhao, W., & Wang, C. (2015). Political skill, gender, and social network positioning of Chinese employees. *Frontiers of Business Research in China*, *9*(3), 400–419.
Yeung, D. Y., Fung, H. H., & Lang, F. R. (2007). Gender differences in social network characteristics and psychological well-being among Hong Kong Chinese: The role of future time perspective and adherence to Renqing. *Aging and Mental Health*, *11*(1), 45–56.
Zhong, Y. G., Couch, S., & Blum, S. C. (2011). Factors affecting women's career advancement in the hospitality industry: Perceptions of students, educators and industry recruiters. *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Education*, *23*(4), 5–13.

APPENDIX

Topic	Arguments	Citation
Gender homophily	Equal tendency	Baerveldt et al. (2014)
		Brashears (2008)
		Brass (1985)
		Conlan et al. (2010)
		D'Exelle & Holvoet (2011)
		Hawarden (2010)
		Kirke (2009)
		Kumar (2016)
		McPherson et al. (2001)
		Rothstein & Davey (1995)
	Men more likely	Bu & Roy (2005)
		Cromie & Birley (1992)
		Gremmen et al. (2013)
		Ibarra (1997)
		Torres & Huffman (2002)
		Wharton & Baron (1991)
	Women more likely	Haines et al. (2008)
		Kleinbaum et al. (2013)
		Lindenlaub & Prummer (2013)
		Ng & Chow (2009)
		Popielarz (1999)
		Szell & Thurner (2013)
	Other	Bevelander & Page (2011)
		Chow & Ng (2007)
		Huang & Aaltio (2014)
		Sappleton (2014)
		Stallings (2008, 2010)
		Stackman & Pinder (1999)
Structural difference/ network composition	Difference	Hanson & Blake (2009)
		Moore (1990)
	No difference	Hawarden (2010)
		Renzulli et al. (2000)
	Other	Klyver & Terjesen (2007)
Closure	Women tend to have network closure	Kirke (2009)
Network size	Women tend to have smaller network size	D'Exelle & Holvoet (2011)
		Hawarden (2010)
		Katungi et al. (2008)
		Kim & Sherraden (2014)
		Kirke (2009)
		Lindenlaub & Prummer (2013)
		Moore (1990)
		Stackman & Pinder (1999)
	Women tend to have larger network size	Griffin (2009)
		Kleinbaum et al. (2013)
		Klyver & Terjesen (2007)
		Rothstein & Davey (1995)
		Szell & Thurner (2013)
		Tonge (2010)
Characteristics of alter egos (kin/friends)	Women tend to have more kin ties	Bolis et al. (2013)
		Greve & Salaff (2003)
		Kim & Sherraden (2014)
		Moore (1990)
		Oke (2013)

Topic	Arguments	Citation
		Renzulli et al. (2000)
		Yeung et al. (2007)
Strength of ties	Women tend to have less weak ties	Kim & Sherraden (2014)
	No difference	Katungi et al. (2008)
Diversity	Women have higher network diversity	Ibarra (1997)
		Tonge (2010)
	No difference	Cromie & Birley (1992)
Social capital	Women have less social capital	Burt (1998)
		Kim & Sherraden (2014)
		Timberlake (2005)
	No difference	Katungi et al. (2008)
		Kumar (2016)
	Other	McDonald (2011)
		Van Emmerik (2006)
Network position	No difference	Ibarra (1992)
	Other	Brass (1985)
		Burt (1992)
		Chan et al. (2013)
		Fang & Zhang (2014)
Ability to use network ties	Men are better able to use network ties to improve network positions	Burt (1992)
		Ibarra (1992)
		Toma (2012)
	No difference	Livingston (2006)
Network density	Men have higher network density	Bevelander & Page (2011)
		Stackman & Pinder (1999)
	Women have higher network density	Szell & Thurner (2013)
Ability to build network	No difference	Abraham (2015)
Differential effects of network		Brass (1985)
		Burt (1998)
		Carboni & Gilman (2012)
		Chauvet et al. (2008)
		Chow & Ng (2007)
		Davis & Aldrich (2000)
		Fang & Huang (2017)
		Haines et al. (2008)
		Lalanne & Seabright (2011)
		Lindenlaub & Prummer (2013)
		Livingston (2006)
		Lutter (2015)
		Meng (2016)
		Neubert & Taggar (2004)
		Stokes & Levin (1986)
		Toma (2012)
		Westermann et al. (2005)
		Wharton & Baron (1991)
Differential correlates of network		Ajrouch et al. (2005)
		Belliveau (2005)
		D'Exelle & Holvoet (2011)
		Lewis & Krishnan (2004)
		McNamara & Pitt-Catsouphes (2014)
		Sappleton (2014)
		Sterling & Perry-Smith (2013)
		Yang et al. (2015)

12. Female managers with male-type behavior

Alexander-Stamatios Antoniou and Virginia Aggelou

INTRODUCTION

Over the last few decades, the number of women participating in the workforce and the quality of their employment has increased drastically. With the industrial revolution being the starting point for women looking for employment outside their homes, at least in the Western culture, working conditions have been undoubtedly improving ever since. In 1900 only 19 percent of women in America had found employment, a number which had increased up to 25 percent by 1940 (Bierema, 2001). At the time, the working environment was quite unsafe, with accidents often taking place, such as the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire in New York, on May 25, 1911. The women's liberation movement in America during the 1960s and 1970s had an impact, as many young women started to seek more distinguished and high profile employment (Powell & Butterfield, 2003). In the years that followed, the number of female workers in Europe also increased. In 1998, all European countries had an average increase of 2.1 percent of their female workers, and Ireland in particular had an increase of 10.2 percent (Berkery, Morley, & Tiernan, 2013). This constant rise in numbers continued at the turn of the century. In 2008, 46 percent of the labor force consisted of female workers (Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

A similar increase has been noted in the managerial positions women hold in companies and large organizations. In 1972, in the United States, women managers and administrators represented 18 percent of the workforce and the percentage increased to 46 percent by 2002 (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Melero, 2011). The same phenomenon was also observed in other countries. During the period between 1980 and 2000, the percentage of women managers rose up to 26 percent in Australia, 35 percent in Canada, and 29 percent in Sweden (Powell & Butterfield, 2003). By the end of 2002, the number of female managers in the UK doubled (from 20 percent to 40 percent) (Melero, 2011). In China, in 2011, 46 percent of the workforce consisted of women. Those employed as managers worked in financial positions, in human resources, and as chief operating officers and sales directors (Liu, 2013).

Despite the advances that have been made, it appears that female workers quite often occupy middle and lower level managerial positions, without being able to ascend further in the organizational hierarchy. In 2006, women CEOs made up 28.3 percent of leaders in all organizations with only 6.7 percent being among the top earners within Fortune 500 companies (Johnson, Murphy, Zewdie, & Reichard, 2008). The percentages have continued to drop in the case of Asia. Women represent only 6 percent of the corporate boards and 8 percent of the executive members in the ten wealthiest economies of Asia (e.g., China, India, Singapore) (Peus, Braun, & Knipfer, 2015). In China, research in 2011 showed that 53 percent of women workers were unable to get promoted to a higher position within the workplace (Liu, 2013). By 2016, female executive managers comprised 25 percent of the workforce in the United States and the percentage for women CEOs rose by 5 percent (McLaughlin et al., 2017). At the same time in Germany, 6 percent of the management board seats were held by women (McLaughlin et al., 2017). Furthermore, it seems that in many cases, female managers who acquire a higher position have lesser responsibilities than their male colleagues (Johnson et al., 2008). Also, men appear to take the lead as far as attaining a higher level position is concerned (Budworth & Mann, 2010).

In an attempt to explain the reasons behind this phenomenon, researchers have excluded possibilities such as women managers having less potential, lower education, or other responsibilities that reduce their availability for work (Duehr & Bono, 2006). Furthermore, equality between the two genders in the workplace was established by law in many countries. For example, in 1963 in the United States, gender discrimination in hiring and compensation was banned (Hoobler, Lemmon, & Wayne, 2011). Nonetheless, as the above statistics show, women still tend to be underrepresented in the higher corporate positions.

The barriers that female workers face in their careers are plentiful and are most often categorized under the term "glass ceiling" (Ryan & Haslam, 2007). This metaphor was first mentioned in the *Wall Street Journal* (1986), in order to address the issue of many women finding employment, but remaining in low-level positions (Galanaki, Papalexandris, & Halikias, 2009). The "glass ceiling" in reality represents a variety of widespread invisible obstacles that women come across during their employment, such as gender bias, sex role stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Hoobler et al., 2011; Oakley, 2000). As a result, in spite of their capabilities and education, many female workers are unable to achieve a higher rank in the workplace. On the other hand, the term "glass elevator" represents the reversed analogous situation for male workers, as they appear to be promoted through the corporate ladder more easily than women (Ryan & Haslam, 2007).

Along with the "glass ceiling" phenomenon, the literature suggests two more terms, the "labyrinth" and the "concrete wall" (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Liu, 2013). The "labyrinth" refers to the intricate causes of the "glass ceiling" phenomenon (Liu, 2013). The "concrete wall" includes all the norms and policies which produced the inequality between genders in terms of education and job opportunities at least fifty years ago. Essentially, all three parts of the "glass ceiling" metaphor explain the low percentages of female leaders, even when women do achieve higher education and can demonstrate the same abilities as their male counterparts. For example, in 2000, 51 percent of bachelor degrees and 45 percent of advanced degrees were awarded to women (Carli & Eagly, 2001).

The theories that initially attempted to explain this phenomenon focused on the "pipeline problem." Accordingly, women could not advance in the organizational hierarchy due to their limited time and assets (Heilman, 2001). Family responsibilities and a natural lack of traits necessary for leadership positions were very popular reasons among researchers a few decades back (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Such explanations have already proved to be insufficient, as the literature suggests that prejudice against female leaders is a result of gender stereotyping and perceived sex roles (Berkery et al., 2013). In particular, it is expected that men and women will demonstrate specific behaviors and personality characteristics, according to their gender. Analogously, leaders are expected to have characteristics such as assertiveness, independence, rationality, etc. (Hoyt, Simon, & Reid, 2009; Johnson et al., 2008). These traits are traditionally associated with male behavior and thus being a female leader is viewed as a violation of social norms (Simmons, Duffy, & Alfraih, 2012). In the following sections we discuss the issue of gender in managerial stereotypes and how it is connected to the prejudice against female leaders, as well as the theories which explain the scarcity of female CEOs.

GENDER STEREOTYPES

Stereotypes include general and theoretical traits that characterize a specific social group (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). They are associated with a cognitive function of attempting to process the stimuli in every situation (Embry, Padgett, & Caldwell, 2008). In particular, they help people organize incoming information based on their previous categorizations, as far as certain individuals or experiences are concerned. Stereotypes are widely used, mainly because they represent convenient ways of managing new information. Nonetheless, when stereotyping is biased and imprecise, it can lead to rigid opinions about the way some groups of people are expected to act.

The existence and durability of gender stereotypes has been confirmed by many studies (Powell, Butterfield, & Parent, 2002). They are based on typical social roles assigned to each gender ("breadwinner," "homemaker") (Sczesny, 2003). The word "gender" refers to the psychological side of the sexes, as opposed to the biological sense that encompasses the word "sex" (Abele, 2003). An external (gender category) and internal (gender self-concept) perspective is also associated with the term "gender" (Abele, 2003). Gender stereotyping in particular is interlinked with this categorization, as it describes the view that a certain amount of behavioral and personality characteristics are more likely to be found either in men or in women (Boyce & Herd, 2003). Women are expected to possess more "feminine" ways of thinking and acting and men more "masculine" ones. This distinction can be made by using the terms "communal" and "agentic" characteristics. For example, women are expected to be more gentle and interested in forming social relations, and men, on the other hand are expected to show ambition and assertiveness (Duehr & Bono, 2006; Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Rudman, 2008).

Gender stereotypes are descriptive and particularly prescriptive (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). They indicate the way women and men actually are and behave and the way they ought to be and behave (Vinkenburg, Van Engen, Eagly, & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2011). For example, women are stereotypically linked with the "women are wonderful" effect. Accordingly, they are expected to be warmer and kinder (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). At the same time, they are considered to maintain mainly positive feelings rather than negative ones such as anger, especially in the workplace. On the contrary, men who appear more aggressive in the workplace increase their prestige (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008). The violators of both gender stereotypes receive criticism from others, for example women with less communal behavior are punished and disliked (Parks-Stamm, Heilman, & Hearns, 2008).

GENDER STEREOTYPES AND MANAGEMENT/LEADERSHIP

The issue of gender stereotypes and their link to managerial and leadership stereotypes has been studied since 1970, when female managers began to appear more often. Virginia Schein, an early researcher on this issue, conducted a study in 1973 in order to analyze this relationship. Her initiative is known as the "think-manager–think-male" paradigm. During her research, participants were invited to form a list of male and female characteristics, which was delivered to a sample of middle US managers. The managers were asked to distinguish which of these characteristics fit the image of a woman, the image of a man, and the image of a successful manager in general. The results showed that both female and male managers assumed male characteristics could help a manager become more successful (Powell, 2011). In fact, in her review in 2007, Schein noticed that men still held the same beliefs about female managers' capability (Berkery et al., 2013). The paradigm has also been established by many studies (Sczesny, 2003).

Generally, there is a notion that leadership is associated with agentic traits such as assertiveness or confidence (Chizema, Kamuriwo, & Shinozawa, 2015). As stated above, these traits are traditionally related to the male gender, and as a result women tend to occupy lower level positions in organizations, since these appear to be more fitting for their caretaking image (Heilman, 2001). Leadership roles are linked with power, and power seeking is also fundamental to the male stereotype. Once again, women in search of employment higher in the hierarchy violate the norm and at the same time seem incompatible (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). In particular, women who are thought to be mild-mannered and flexible cannot compete with men who, supposedly, already possess, by nature, the character and behavior appropriate for leadership roles.

Thus, female leaders must overcome gender stereotypes and prove that they can demonstrate the same agentic qualities that men possess. At the same time, they are confronted with a "double bind." Even if they display more competitive and assertive behavior, as the leader stereotype proposes, they fail to live up to the prescribed communion stereotype (Rudman & Glick, 2001). By exhibiting a more masculine leadership style, they may seem competent but they are also judged for their lack of communion traits (Stelter, 2002). This agentic deficiency of female leaders is a result of the descriptive side of gender stereotypes (how women are nice but lacking in ability). The penalties that "agentic women" receive for this behavior derive from prescriptive stereotypes about the way women should and shouldn't act (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2012; Rosette, Koval, Ma, & Livingston, 2016).

These economic or social penalties can take many forms and are grouped under the term "backlash effect." Even though studies have shown that backlash effects occur more often in masculine jobs, agentic women are evaluated more negatively, as less socially skilled and as less likely to be promoted (O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2011). Furthermore, agentic women are less liked by both male and female coworkers and are viewed as more aggressive and scheming than their male counterparts (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). These evaluations can also lead to hiring penalties. Rudman (1998) found that when women promoted themselves as job applicants, they decreased their chances of being hired. On the other hand, male applicants who appeared to be more confident were evaluated as more likeable and had better chances of being hired (Phelan et al., 2008).

THEORIES CONCERNING GENDER DIFFERENCES AND STEREOTYPES

Many researchers have attempted to explain the content of gender stereotypes and the prejudice that exists against female leaders. Based either on biological or social constructs, their ideas have had a serious impact on the way these matters are viewed. The notion of psychological, cognitive, and behavioral differences between genders is not new. At first, the popular belief was that women were inferior in every way to men, a status quo that was determined by nature. After the Enlightenment, this idea began to shift, and the complementarity of the sexes emerged, according to which males and females alike have strengths and weaknesses, compensating one for the other (Shields, 2007). American and British psychologists supported the view that psychological gender differences derived from biology, in order to replace the older view of female inferiority. At the same time, there was a need to justify men's rightful place in authoritative positions in a convincing way. Having a natural talent for it made a compelling argument (Shields, 2007).

These essentialist explanations have been used in order to validate women's submission to men. Essentialism is the view that there is an underlying essence that is accountable for external properties and categorization (Hamilton, Sherman, & Rodgers, 2004). For example, prior to the advance of female workers outside the home, women were thought to be more suited for housework, due to their nurturing nature. Instead of taking into account the historical or situational factors that have led to differences in the behavior of the sexes, people tend to turn to essentialist theories (Brescoll, 2016). In the case of gender differences, the biological explanation offers two important observations. First, that the different behaviors or personality traits between the sexes are determined by nature and second that they cannot be altered (Brescoll, Uhlmann, & Newman, 2013).

Despite the fact that these explanations have a strong biological base, essentialism can be associated with social theories. In particular, system justification theory posits the idea that people prefer to regard the way their social system is organized as right and resort to justifying it (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). This strategy is enhanced by cognitive processes of motivated reasoning (Brescoll et al., 2013). It has been noted that people are easily convinced by theories that confirm the ideas and opinions they already believe in. As a result, existing social norms, for example gender stereotypes, are viewed as natural, fair, and unlikely to change. The differences that are already present between the sexes, supposedly due to biological factors, seem rational and, thus, cannot be doubted. In this manner, the social system and the status hierarchies remain stable (Brescoll et al., 2013).

As far as social concepts are concerned, other approaches have been noted. The female communality stereotype is thought to preserve women's submission to men so they can willingly commit themselves to lower status positions (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Women are essentially being patronized into being kind and submissive, in order to maintain male dominance. At the same time, the stereotypes prevent social changes, even as more women begin to work and appear more agentic (Spence & Buckner, 2000). Undermining women's efforts to become independent, the communality prescription appears to remain prevalent (Diekman & Eagly, 2000). Therefore, social change of sex roles appears to be moderated by the existing stereotypes.

According to social evolution theory, one explanation as to why some work positions seem more appropriate for either men or women lies within the hunter-gatherer ritual in prehistoric societies (Wrangham, 2009). At that time, men were responsible for hunting and women for collecting fruits, nuts, roots, etc. (Toh & Leonardelli, 2012). Wrangham (2009) hypothesized that when people started cooking their food, a need emerged for protecting it from others. Men seemed more suited for this role, whilst women were responsible for preparing the meals. Thus, the sense of authority became essential to the male construct. Likewise, the "male warrior hypothesis" suggests that men are more accustomed to managing conflict and war (Van Vugt, de Cremer, & Janssen, 2007). In particular, women appear to be friendlier even in threatening situations, due to their experiences in nurturing children and their need to create supportive networks. Men, on the other hand, react more effectively during intergroup threats, tend to be more aggressive as far as social choices are concerned, and have a preference for social dominance (Toh & Leonardelli, 2012).

Remaining in the social context, social role theory and congruity theory have offered interesting insights into the matter. Central to the first hypothesis is the concept of "social roles," as the socially acceptable beliefs concerning the way certain people should behave due to their position or participation in a social group (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The gender roles, or gender stereotypes, represent that exact belief as far as the sexes are concerned. Culture is an important contributing factor to the situation, shaping the social expectations of men's and women's conduct (Powell & Butterfield, 2003). When cultures appear to be more "tight" (e.g., Japan, China, Malaysia), there is a lower tolerance for deviance, and the societies are more strict and predictable (Gelfand, Nishii, & Raver, 2006). In such cases, expectations such as gender stereotypes have a strong prescriptive character. On the contrary, looser cultures seem to be more open and keen to variability, allowing social changes in the norms (Toh & Leonardelli, 2012).

In any case, social role theory proposes that the differences in the socially appropriate behavior of men and women derive from their distribution into social roles. Each gender is thought to possess specific traits in order to fulfill specific sex-typical roles (Chizema et al., 2015). Therefore, women who were traditionally assigned to housework and the upbringing of children are thought to be mild-mannered, nice, and gentle (communality stereotype), as opposed to men who took up on the role of the protector and leader of the family, thus becoming more suited for authority positions (agentic stereotype). To sum up, according to social role theory the differences between men and women's conduct reflect widespread stereotypes, which originate from the social roles assigned to each gender in every culture.

The "role congruity" theory describes the incongruity between the leadership role and the female communality stereotype. It is based on social role theory and on the importance of gender roles in defining the behavior of men and women (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The characteristics usually associated with a successful manager or leader, such as dominance, confidence, and assertiveness are central to the masculine stereotype (Glass & Cook, 2016). Female stereotypes suggest women are more helpful, kind, and relationship-oriented and thus deviate from the leadership stereotype (Rosette & Tost, 2010). As a result, being a woman and a leader contains an inconsistency that creates a double type of bias. On the one hand, female leaders are perceived as incompetent, and incapable of carrying on their duties effectively. On the other hand, even if women attempt to escape the communality stereotype by acting more agentic, their efforts are fruitless. Instead of being perceived as more fit to be leaders, since they adopt a more masculine behavior, they are penalized for violating their gender role (Johnson et al., 2008; Koch, 2005a, 2005b). Research suggests that women have to demonstrate higher levels of work performance in order to be perceived as equally competent to their male counterparts and their contributions in projects have to be stated clearly in order to be recognized (Vial, Napier, & Brescoll, 2016).

This double bias represents the prejudice against female leadership, as the unjustified and negative evaluations of women leaders based on stereotypical beliefs instead of their performance (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Both forms of prejudice can lead to less positive evaluations towards women leaders and consequently, can create more obstacles for female workers to achieve higher positions in the organizational hierarchy (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Furthermore, this prejudice is considered as a major factor responsible for the "glass ceiling" phenomenon (Hoyt et al., 2009), outlined above.

A similar concept can be found in Heilman's "lack of fit" model (1983, 1995, 2001). According to this model, employers tend to make decisions concerning personnel management depending on expectations about their performance. If an employee is estimated to be fitting for a certain position, then success is expected. On the contrary, if there is a perceived lack of fit between the candidate's capabilities and the job on demand, then failure will be expected (Koenig et al., 2011). The leadership or manager role is, as stated above, a position that requires, in most countries, mainly agentic characteristics. These traits do not fit the kind and gentle image of women, as they are portrayed through stereotypes. This lack of fit between the typical female attributions and the agentic requirements of leadership positions produces expectations of failure (Heilman, 2001). As a result, women who look for managerial or leadership positions may often encounter this type of negative evaluation and sex bias during the selection processes. The scarcity of female leaders and CEOs can be explained though this concept.

Another theory that attempts to explain why men are perceived as more competent leaders than women, is "expectation states theory." This theory proposes that men and women are more capable at tasks that fit their gender (Koch, 2005a, 2005b). As a result, male-type employment, such as leadership and managerial positions that traditionally require agentic characteristics, would be more fitting for men employees. On the contrary, other positions lower in the hierarchy would be more appropriate for female workers, since they are expected to possess qualities such as submissiveness. In addition, "expectation states theory" contains a wider concept. It also describes the way in which social hierarchies and status beliefs are formed when people collaborate in achieving collective goals (Ridgeway, 2001). In particular, Joseph Berger and his colleagues proposed that a socially dominant group can determine and increase the prescriptive side of stereotypes according to its goals. These stereotypes usually help the dominant group maintain its advantages by portraying other groups as incompetent, socially insignificant, or naturally submissive (Ridgeway, 2001). Therefore, "expectations states theory" can be applied to other cases of discrimination as well, describing for example how racial stereotypes restrict certain people of color from attaining leadership positions.

Finally, "token theory" provides another alternative insight into the matter. The term "token" was used for the first time in an organizational context by Rosabeth Kanter in her book *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977). In her research, Kanter identified that group behavior in the workplace is affected by the unequal numbers of men and women employees. The dynamics that are created in the working environment shape two groups – the "dominants" and the "tokens" (Oakley, 2000). The fact that women leaders are a minority increases the chances of them being labeled as "tokens." Consequently, it is possible that they will be subjected to detailed evaluations and negative stereotyping (McLaughlin et al., 2017). Tokens also appear to be the center of attention and receive increased pressure to produce better results (Boldry, Wood, & Kashy, 2001). In addition, women leaders may be criticized for behaving as a typical leader, for example when they are more outspoken than their coworkers or attempt to promote themselves (Glass & Cook, 2016).

According to token theory, the dominant group – in this case men – usually emphasize those traits that distinguish them from the tokens (women) and as a result, they tend to reject them (Oakley, 2000). Thus, women are either viewed as less capable leaders, since they do not possess natural male qualities, or when they do display a more aggressive behavior fitting for a leader, they may be evaluated negatively for violating gender stereotypes. This behavior can affect women's ascent in the organizational hierarchy and also challenges their authority when they attain leadership positions. Research has shown that female workers in male-dominated environments have a lack of support in the workplace (Taylor, 2010).

BACKLASH EFFECT: CONSEQUENCES FOR FEMALE LEADERS

The prescriptive side of gender stereotypes and the way they affect the numbers of female leaders is evident. Women who attempt to establish their position as leaders face a "double bind," a type of prejudice in which they are either viewed as incompetent, or as too masculine and socially deficient. In addition, female leaders adopting a more masculine type of behavior, in order to fulfill the "think-manager–think-male" paradigm and appear efficient, may cause a different reaction. The backlash effect represents the negative reactions towards agentic women, and it can take many forms in terms of social and economic repercussions. Men are also affected by gender stereotypes, but managerial and leadership positions contain characteristics that are essential to the male stereotype, therefore male employees appear to be more accustomed to the workplace (Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

One aspect of women's careers where backlash affects may be experienced is during the hiring process. Research has shown that people usually express a preference for a male boss rather than a female one, even if they possess identical qualities, and also appear less willing to hire or promote a woman in a managerial position (Vial et al., 2016). A further method that has been used in order to investigate this matter relates to individuals evaluating job applications by male and female candidates (Eagly, 2007). A female and male version of each application was given to different people and the results showed a preference for male candidates as far as masculine employment was concerned (e.g., sales manager), as well as a preference for female candidates for feminine employment (e.g., home economics teacher). Even in neutral professions, such as psychology, men candidates seemed to have a small advantage over women.

Other studies concerning hiring discrimination have used more naturalistic approaches, for example sending male and female applicants to companies for job interviews (Eagly &

Carli, 2004). Discrimination based on the gender of the candidates was observed in this case as well. Men and women's attitudes during interviews can also affect the outcome of the process. Buttner and McEnally (1996) and Rudman (1998) found that women who attempt to promote themselves or adopt a more assertive behavior while seeking employment, decrease their chances of being hired (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). On the contrary, men who used the same strategies were viewed as more likeable, and more likely to be hired.

Women employees can also suffer from negative evaluation in the workplace. This assessment includes their performance and social approval. Studies have shown that the evaluation of the staff's work depends on their gender. Men and women, who produce exactly the same work results, are judged differently. In particular, female workers seem to be viewed as inferior (Heilman, 2001). Unless their work is undeniably successful, women's accomplishments are highly devaluated. Heilman (2001) also suggests that similar behaviors in the workplace are interpreted differently for men and women. There seems to be a notion that men's actions are mostly planned and related to work matters, such as talking frequently on the phone or waiting to take a decision. On the other hand, women behaving in the same manner may be perceived as lazy or passive.

Social repercussions and personally directed negativity have also been observed. In particular, agentic women who use more aggressive strategies appear to be less accepted than men who behave similarly (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). At the same time, masculine women are seen as socially deficient (O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2011) and as cold, deceitful, selfish, and manipulative (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). In an attempt to study this phenomenon Koch (2005a, 2005b) found that subordinates in the workplace expressed more negative behavior towards females in leadership positions during their interactions, despite regarding them as capable workers. This included body language and facial expressions. Thus it is evident that even if agentic women in leadership positions appear to be competent, they may still be perceived as socially insufficient (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012).

This type of negativity may affect a woman's career or ascent in the hierarchy. Experiments have confirmed that employees may try to professionally harm women with leadership skills, compared to men possessing the same qualities (Vial et al., 2016). A famous example of gender discrimination in America is that of Ann Hopkins, an accountant who was denied promotion at her firm in 1982, despite her success in bringing more business to the company. Being too masculine was the reason for this incident, even though her job required a more aggressive set of behaviors. Hopkins sued the company for sex discrimination and violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and eventually won the case. Other experiments have shown that agentic women who were candidates for the vice president position were regarded as intimidating and manipulative in their interactions, leading to them being disqualified from the job (Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

A further interesting factor regarding women's promotion in organizations relates to the "glass cliff." According to this view, even if women manage to break through the so called "glass ceiling" and attain a leadership position, this would often occur only when companies were in financial crisis (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that it represents a form of backlash for agentic women, since it is very probable that they will fail, given the difficulty of the situation (Ryan & Haslam, 2007). It appears that such practices would mainly reinforce stereotypes concerning the inability of female leaders.

Being a woman and a leader, or adopting a more agentic behavior in the workplace, can also lead to feelings of misidentification. Since the role of a leader is profoundly connected with the male stereotype, female leaders may experience an identity asymmetry between being women and occupying a traditionally male position (Meister, Sinclair, & Jehn, 2017). The term "identity" appears to be quite complicated in the literature, but essentially represents the subjective experiences and the cognitive and emotional processes that characterize an individual (Ramarajan, 2014). This contains many levels, such as personal traits, social roles, or even broader meanings such as cultural identities. According to social identity theory, these constructs sustain a social component, connected to the social roles that each person adopts (Karelaia & Guillén, 2014). The social environment and stimuli from people's surroundings affect the shape and the importance of those identities. As a result, an individual manages to maintain multiple identities throughout his/her life, enriching his/her self-concept.

Women leaders need to maintain at least two identities: that of a leader and that of a woman. On the one hand, according to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) the "leader" concept represents the part of an individual that participates in the social group of leaders. On the other hand, being a woman consists of conforming to the cultural expectations of how men and women are supposed to behave (Ely & Padavic, 2007). Some researchers claim that identities are internally organized based on how important they are to each individual; others believe that each identity is activated in any given social situation according to the context (Meister et al., 2017). For example, agentic women outside the workplace may view themselves as caring and loving mothers, when spending time with their families. It is important to understand the way in which these two social identities (being a woman and a leader) interact and how a feeling of misidentification in the workplace can affect female leaders.

Preserving positive social identities motivates people, and this can be achieved through positive regard for each identity (Roberts & Dutton, 2009). A positive evaluation of an identity contains two sides, the side of the individual and the side of the social environment (Karelaia & Guillén, 2014). It is necessary for both the individual and others to view an identity, for example that of a leader, as positive. If a person holds a number of positive identities, it is more likely that he/she will maintain a stronger self-concept and a sense of significance (Hogg, Abrams, Otten, & Hinkle, 2004). This mechanism is very important when identities interfere with one another. In this case, an identity conflict may be observed, where the content of one identity contradicts the meaning of another (Settles, 2004). Female leaders can experience this kind of identity conflict, since being a woman prohibits the display of agentic characteristics, which are essential to the leader stereotype.

Therefore, the pressure that a woman receives from her work environment in the form of backlash, stereotyping her as an incompetent leader or as an aggressive woman, can lead to feelings of vulnerability and an inability to claim a professional identity (Meister et al., 2017). Female employees are often regarded as women first and professionals second (Scott & Brown, 2006). Nonetheless, positive identities can play a protective role in this situation. Additionally, when women leaders view their identities as important and positive, it is more likely they will fuse both of them in their professional performance, achieving better results (Karelaia & Guillén, 2014).

Finally, the backlash effect can take the form of economic repercussions as far as salaries are concerned. Research suggests that women with Master's degrees in Business

Administration who are seeking employment receive lower salary offers than their counterpart male candidates, even more so in cases where there is an ambiguity in the standard salary range (Bowles, Babcock, & McGinn, 2005). Other studies suggest that people prefer to pay women leaders less than male leaders (Vial et al., 2016). It appears that women have become accustomed to this situation and are unwilling to negotiate for higher salaries. When female candidates attempt to negotiate for increased salaries, male evaluators tend to reject them (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Such an observation was not reported in cases where men negotiated for increased salaries.

PRESERVING STEREOTYPES: THE "QUEEN BEE" PHENOMENON

It is evident from the above that women leaders or agentic women in general, encounter many forms of stereotyping in the workplace, due to the traditional incongruity between the female communality prescription and the leader stereotype. Since this phenomenon can potentially affect every female employee, especially those working in male-dominated environments, it may be expected that female workers would support and protect each other. Nonetheless, hostility between female coworkers and a tendency to sabotage each other's ascent in the hierarchy are often observed.

This negative behavior towards female coworkers can appear in many situations. Studies have shown that female nurses may be unwilling to cooperate with female doctors and senior female members in law firms with mostly male employees tended to react negatively towards female partners. In particular, they described other women partners as unlikeable, too masculine, and incompetent (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Literature suggests that this negative reaction originates from fears of social comparison (Parks-Stamm et al., 2008). Women who manage to become successful in male-dominated environments maintain a higher prestige than others, since traditionally female positions are considered to be less important (Lyness, 2002). Simultaneously they become the target of social comparison for other women. Upward social comparison, according to Festinger (1954), can be quite damaging for an individual.

Furthermore, this comparison is unavoidable between women employees, since it requires a sense of similarity, for example having the same gender (Parks-Stamm et al., 2008). Men can disregard this process as far as their female colleagues are concerned, due to the lack of similarity. Other explanations for women's attempts to sabotage female leadership posit that it is a result of internalized sexism (Mavin, 2008). Women have learned to take advantage of their femininity in the workplace by using flirting, admiration, or subordination, strategies that are not effective with female leaders. Additionally, the male leader stereotype strongly suggests that men are natural born leaders, and internalized sexism could have established this hierarchy for women.

Another form of such prejudice among women employees is the "queen bee" syndrome. Initially, this phrase represented the phenomenon of women actively desiring to maintain the traditional sex roles. Later, an alternative version of the term appeared which described women in higher positions who denied the existence of discrimination as the cause of the scarcity of female managers (Mavin, 2006). The term is used nowadays to address the issue of women workers in senior positions who attempt to distance themselves from other female coworkers and even prevent their promotion in the organization (Sheppard & Aquino, 2013). Some research examples can confirm the existence of the phenomenon, even taking into account the limitations of these studies. Interestingly, women seem to choose networking with male superiors rather than females, as far as career advice is concerned (Chow & Ng, 2007). In addition, Duguid (2011) suggested that females in superior positions in male-dominated workplaces were reluctant to choose highly qualified female employees. On the contrary, women in lower positions in the same or different working environment would not express the same tendency.

Many explanations have been suggested as far as the "queen bee" phenomenon is concerned, such as internalized sexism or prescriptive gender stereotypes. Female workers who display this kind of attitude are in fact attempting to adjust in a male-dominant working environment, where they are being perceived as less competent (Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2016). One interesting proposal is that women react in this way when their social identities are threatened. As stated above, the backlash effect for disconfirming stereotypes in the workplace may lead women to feel devaluated due to their gender; they view their gender identity in a negative light (Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2006). In order to cope with this situation individually, women may distance themselves from the minority group (other women) and attempt to become part of a dominant group (e.g., men) (Ellemers & Haslam, 2011). As a result, the "queen bee" phenomenon seems to occur when specific working conditions exist, such as gender discrimination. In many cases, female workers may confront this discrimination by protesting (Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 2001) instead of engaging in the "queen bee" behavior. Furthermore, this phenomenon is observed in other cases as well. It is not limited to women employees, but can be found among members of disadvantaged groups in general (Van Laar, Bleeker, Ellemers, & Meijer, 2014).

Despite the limitations that exist in the studies of the "queen bee" phenomenon, the term is widely used by the media and Worldwide Web. This strategy serves to reproduce gender stereotypes, since women who manage to achieve management positions and oppose the status quo are portrayed as cold, bad, and hostile towards other women (Mavin, 2008). Evidently, women leaders appear to be unfit for the position, confirming the stereotype of men being natural born leaders. Thus, the present gendered hierarchy in the workplace may remain unchanged. Furthermore, an alternative term for men engaging in the same behavior does not seem to exist. To conclude, the "queen bee" syndrome appears to be addressed quite often, even by the media, as an established phenomenon, but more research is needed in order to understand its complexity.

CONCLUSION

Despite the efforts that women have made during the last decades in advancing in the workplace and obtaining equal working rights, stereotypes and prejudice remain a great disadvantage. Female employees are still affected by traditional expectations concerning women's behavior and experience repercussions when they choose to not fulfill them. Gender stereotypes concerning masculinity, the "glass ceiling" effect, and the "queen bee" phenomenon are some of the barriers that women face in their everyday search for employment. These penalties maintain the gendered hierarchy and usually restrict female employees and leaders in carrying out their work. Women who preserve a more aggressive or "masculine" type of behavior are affected even more. As stated above, they are often excluded from prestigious positions; they are questioned by their peers concerning their abilities and can be ostracized by their colleagues.

It is necessary for employees and organizations to address this issue in order to decrease the negative impact of the existing gender stereotypes and improve the working environment in this respect. At the same time, promoting a more androgynous style of leadership and behavior for leaders can prove to be more effective and productive. Research that has already been conducted indicates that masculine or feminine types of behavior in the workplace are social constructions and hence can be reformed with the proper training (Kark, Waismel-Manor, & Shamir, 2012). At a theoretical level, more studies are needed in order to explore this phenomenon further. For example, it would be very interesting to address the same issue in Eastern societies. It has been confirmed that Asian culture represents a different stereotype of leader compared to Western countries (Arvey, Dhanaraj, Javidan, & Zhang, 2015). Nonetheless, as mentioned above, the numbers of female leaders and managers are equally low in these societies. Taking into account the possible differences between Western and Eastern female stereotypes would be an interesting approach in this matter. Furthermore, male managers who maintain more feminine behavior traits would make an interesting sample, as a way of looking into the interaction between gender and the working environment in a holistic approach. In any case, it is evident that there is much scope for future studies aiming to explain and consequently improve the gender balance in the workplace.

REFERENCES

Abele, A. E. (2003). The dynamics of masculine-agentic and feminine-communal traits: Findings from a prospective study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*(4), 768–776.

Arvey, R., Dhanaraj, C., Javidan, M., & Zhang, Z. X. (2015). Are there unique leadership models in Asia? Exploring uncharted territory. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *26*(1), 1–6.

Berkery, E., Morley, M., & Tiernan, S. (2013). Beyond gender role stereotypes and requisite managerial characteristics: From communal to androgynous, the changing views of women. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *28*(5), 278–298.

Bierema, L. L. (2001). Women, work, and learning. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, *92*, 53–62.

Boldry, J., Wood, W., & Kashy, D. A. (2001). Gender stereotypes and the evaluation of men and women in military training. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 689–705.

Bowles, H. R., Babcock, L., & McGinn, K. L. (2005). Constraints and triggers: Situational mechanics of gender in negotiation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *89*(6), 951–965.

Boyce, L. A., & Herd, A. M. (2003). The relationship between gender role stereotypes and requisite military leadership characteristics. *Sex Roles*, *49*(7–8), 365–378.

Brescoll, V. L. (2016). Leading with their hearts? How gender stereotypes of emotion lead to biased evaluations of female leaders. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *27*(3), 415–428.

Brescoll, V. L., & Uhlmann, E. L. (2008). Can an angry woman get ahead? Status conferral, gender, and expression of emotion in the workplace. *Psychological Science*, *19*(3), 268–275.

Brescoll, V. L., Uhlmann, E. L., & Newman, G. E. (2013). The effects of system-justifying motives on endorsement of essentialist explanations for gender differences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *105*(6), 891–908.

Budworth, M. H., & Mann, S. L. (2010). Becoming a leader: The challenge of modesty for women. *Journal of Management Development*, *29*(2), 177–186.
Buttner, E. H., & McEnally, M. (1996). The interactive effect of influence tactic, applicant gender, and type of job on hiring recommendations. *Sex Roles*, *34*(7–8), 581–591.
Carli, L. L., & Eagly, A. H. (2001). Gender, hierarchy, and leadership: An introduction. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 629–636.
Chizema, A., Kamuriwo, D. S., & Shinozawa, Y. (2015). Women on corporate boards around the world: Triggers and barriers. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *26*(6), 1051–1065.
Chow, I. H. S., & Ng, I. (2007). Does the gender of the manager affect who he/she networks with? *Journal of Applied Business Research*, *23*(4), 49–60.
Derks, B., Van Laar, C., & Ellemers, N. (2006). Striving for success in outgroup settings: Effects of contextually emphasizing ingroup dimensions on stigmatized group members' social identity and performance styles. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *32*(5), 576–588.
Derks, B., Van Laar, C., & Ellemers, N. (2016). The queen bee phenomenon: Why women leaders distance themselves from junior women. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *27*(3), 456–469.
Diekman, A. B., & Eagly, A. H. (2000). Stereotypes as dynamic constructs: Women and men of the past, present, and future. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *26*(10), 1171–1188.
Duehr, E. E., & Bono, J. E. (2006). Men, women, and managers: Are stereotypes finally changing? *Personnel Psychology*, *59*(4), 815–846.
Duguid, M. (2011). Female tokens in high-prestige work groups: Catalysts or inhibitors of group diversification? *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *116*(1), 104–115.
Eagly, A. H. (2007). Female leadership advantage and disadvantage: Resolving the contradictions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *31*(1), 1–12.
Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2003). The female leadership advantage: An evaluation of the evidence. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *14*(6), 807–834.
Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2004). Women and men as leaders. In J. Antonakis, A. T. Cianciolo, & R. J. Sternberg (Eds.), *The Nature of Leadership* (pp. 279–301). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2007). Women and the labyrinth of leadership. *Harvard Business Review*, *85*(9), 62–71.
Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, *109*(3), 573–598.
Ellemers, N., & Haslam, S. A. (2011). Social identity theory. In P. Van Lange, A. Kruglanski, & T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology* (pp. 379–398). London: Sage.
Ely, R., & Padavic, I. (2007). A feminist analysis of organizational research on sex differences. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(4), 1121–1143.
Embry, A., Padgett, M. Y., & Caldwell, C. B. (2008). Can leaders step outside of the gender box? An examination of leadership and gender role stereotypes. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, *15*(1), 30–45.
Festinger, L. (1954). A theory of social comparison. *Human Relations*, *7*, 117–140.
Galanaki, E., Papalexandris, N., & Halikias, J. (2009). Revisiting leadership styles and attitudes towards women as managers in Greece: 15 years later. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *24*(7), 484–504.
Gelfand, M. J., Nishii, L. H., & Raver, J. L. (2006). On the nature and importance of cultural tightness-looseness. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *91*(6), 1225–1244.
Glass, C., & Cook, A. (2016). Leading at the top: Understanding women's challenges above the glass ceiling. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *27*(1), 51–63.
Hamilton, D. L., Sherman, S. J., & Rodgers, J. S. (2004). Perceiving the groupness of groups: Entitativity, homogeneity, essentialism, and stereotypes. In V. Yzerbyt, C. M. Judd, & O. Corneille (Eds.), *The Psychology of Group Perception: Perceived Variability, Entitativity, and Essentialism* (pp. 39–60). New York: Psychology Press.
Heilman, M. E. (1983). Sex bias in work settings: The lack of fit model. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *5*, 269–298.
Heilman, M. E. (1995). Sex stereotypes and their effects in the workplace: What we know and what we don't know. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, *10*(4), 3–26.

Heilman, M. E. (2001). Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 657–674.

Heilman, M. E., & Okimoto, T. G. (2007). Why are women penalized for success at male tasks? The implied communality deficit. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(1), 81–92.

Heilman, M. E., Wallen, A. S., Fuchs, D., & Tamkins, M. M. (2004). Penalties for success: Reactions to women who succeed at male gender-typed tasks. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *89*(3), 416–427.

Hogg, M. A., Abrams, D., Otten, S., & Hinkle, S. (2004). The social identity perspective: Intergroup relations, self-conception, and small groups. *Small Group Research*, *35*(3), 246–276.

Hoobler, J. M., Lemmon, G., & Wayne, S. J. (2011). Women's underrepresentation in upper management: New insights on a persistent problem. *Organizational Dynamics*, *40*(3), 151–156.

Hoyt, C. L., Simon, S., & Reid, L. (2009). Choosing the best (wo)man for the job: The effects of mortality salience, sex, and gender stereotypes on leader evaluations. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *20*(2), 233–246.

Johnson, S. K., Murphy, S. E., Zewdie, S., & Reichard, R. J. (2008). The strong, sensitive type: Effects of gender stereotypes and leadership prototypes on the evaluation of male and female leaders. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *106*(1), 39–60.

Jost, J. T., Banaji, M. R., & Nosek, B. A. (2004). A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo. *Political Psychology*, *25*(6), 881–919.

Kanter, R. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.

Karelaia, N., & Guillén, L. (2014). Me, a woman and a leader: Positive social identity and identity conflict. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *125*(2), 204–219.

Kark, R., Waismel-Manor, R., & Shamir, B. (2012). Does valuing androgyny and femininity lead to a female advantage? The relationship between gender-role, transformational leadership and identification. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *23*(3), 620–640.

Koch, S. C. (2005a). Evaluative affect display toward male and female leaders of task-oriented groups. *Small Group Research*, *36*(6), 678–703.

Koch, S. C. (2005b). Evaluative affect display toward male & female leaders II: Transmission among group members and leader reactions. *Journal of Articles in Support of the Null Hypothesis*, *3*(2), 51–73.

Koenig, A. M., Eagly, A. H., Mitchell, A. A., & Ristikari, T. (2011). Are leader stereotypes masculine? A meta-analysis of three research paradigms. *Psychological Bulletin*, *137*(4), 616–642.

Liu, S. (2013). A few good women at the top: The China case. *Business Horizons*, *56*(4), 483–490.

Livingston, R. W., Rosette, A. S., & Washington, E. F. (2012). Can an agentic black woman get ahead? The impact of race and interpersonal dominance on perceptions of female leaders. *Psychological Science*, *23*(4), 354–358.

Lyness, K. S. (2002). Finding the key to the executive suite: Challenges for women and people of color. In R. Silzer (Ed.), *The 21st Century Executive: Innovative Practices for Building Leadership at the Top* (pp. 229–273). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Mavin, S. (2006). Venus envy 2: Sisterhood, queen bees and female misogyny in management. *Women in Management Review*, *21*(5), 349–364.

Mavin, S. (2008). Queen bees, wannabees and afraid to bees: No more "best enemies" for women in management? *British Journal of Management*, *19*(1), 75–84.

McLaughlin, H., Silvester, J., Bilimoria, D., Jané, S., Sealy, R., Peters, K., & Göke, J. (2017). Women in power: Contributing factors that impact on women in organizations and politics; psychological research and best practice. *Organizational Dynamics*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.orgdyn.2017.09.001.

Meister, A., Sinclair, A., & Jehn, K. A. (2017). Identities under scrutiny: How women leaders navigate feeling misidentified at work. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *28*(5), 672–690.

Melero, E. (2011). Are workplaces with many women in management run differently? *Journal of Business Research*, *64*(4), 385–393.

Oakley, J. G. (2000). Gender-based barriers to senior management positions: Understanding the scarcity of female CEOs. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *27*(4), 321–334.

Okimoto, T. G., & Brescoll, V. L. (2010). The price of power: Power seeking and backlash against female politicians. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *36*(7), 923–936.

O'Neill, O. A., & O'Reilly III, C. A. (2011). Reducing the backlash effect: Self-monitoring and women's promotions. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *84*(4), 825–832.

Parks-Stamm, E. J., Heilman, M. E., & Hearns, K. A. (2008). Motivated to penalize: Women's strategic rejection of successful women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *34*(2), 237–247.

Peus, C., Braun, S., & Knipfer, K. (2015). On becoming a leader in Asia and America: Empirical evidence from women managers. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *26*(1), 55–67.

Phelan, J. E., Moss-Racusin, C. A., & Rudman, L. A. (2008). Competent yet out in the cold: Shifting criteria for hiring reflect backlash toward agentic women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *32*(4), 406–413.

Powell, G. N. (2011). The gender and leadership wars. *Organizational Dynamics*, *40*(1), 1–9.

Powell, G. N., & Butterfield, D. A. (2003). Gender, gender identity, and aspirations to top management. *Women in Management Review*, *18*(1–2), 88–96.

Powell, G. N., Butterfield, D. A., & Parent, J. D. (2002). Gender and managerial stereotypes: Have the times changed? *Journal of Management*, *28*(2), 177–193.

Prentice, D. A., & Carranza, E. (2002). What women and men should be, shouldn't be, are allowed to be, and don't have to be: The contents of prescriptive gender stereotypes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *26*(4), 269–281.

Ramarajan, L. (2014). Past, present and future research on multiple identities: Toward an intrapersonal network approach. *Academy of Management Annals*, *8*(1), 589–659.

Ridgeway, C. L. (2001). Gender, status, and leadership. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 637–655.

Roberts, L. M., & Dutton, J. E. (Eds.) (2009). *Exploring Positive Identities and Organizations: Building a Theoretical and Research Foundation*. New York: Psychology Press/Taylor & Francis.

Rosette, A. S., Koval, C. Z., Ma, A., & Livingston, R. (2016). Race matters for women leaders: Intersectional effects on agentic deficiencies and penalties. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *27*(3), 429–445.

Rosette, A. S., & Tost, L. P. (2010). Agentic women and communal leadership: How role prescriptions confer advantage to top women leaders. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *95*(2), 221–235.

Rudman, L. A. (1998). Self-promotion as a risk factor for women: The costs and benefits of counterstereotypical impression management. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*(3), 629–645.

Rudman, L. A., & Glick, P. (2001). Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 743–762.

Rudman, L. A., Moss-Racusin, C. A., Phelan, J. E., & Nauts, S. (2012). Status incongruity and backlash effects: Defending the gender hierarchy motivates prejudice against female leaders. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *48*(1), 165–179.

Rudman, L. A., & Phelan, J. E. (2008). Backlash effects for disconfirming gender stereotypes in organizations. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *28*, 61–79.

Ryan, M. K., & Haslam, S. A. (2005). The glass cliff: Evidence that women are over-represented in precarious leadership positions. *British Journal of Management*, *16*(2), 81–90.

Ryan, M. K., & Haslam, S. A. (2007). The glass cliff: Exploring the dynamics surrounding the appointment of women to precarious leadership positions. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(2), 549–572.

Scott, K. A., & Brown, D. J. (2006). Female first, leader second? Gender bias in the encoding of leadership behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *101*(2), 230–242.

Sczesny, S. (2003). A closer look beneath the surface: Various facets of the think-manager–think-male stereotype. *Sex Roles*, *49*(7–8), 353–363.

Settles, I. H. (2004). When multiple identities interfere: The role of identity centrality. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *30*, 487–500.

Sheppard, L. D., & Aquino, K. (2013). Much ado about nothing? Observers' problematization of women's same-sex conflict at work. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *27*(1), 52–62.

Shields, S. A. (2007). Passionate men, emotional women: Psychology constructs gender difference in the late 19th century. *History of Psychology*, *10*(2), 92–110.

Simmons, A. L., Duffy, J. A., & Alfraih, H. S. (2012). Attitudes toward women managers: The influence of social dominance orientation and power distance on men in college. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *27*(7), 482–498.

Spence, J. T., & Buckner, C. E. (2000). Instrumental and expressive traits, trait stereotypes, and sexist attitudes: What do they signify? *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *24*(1), 44–53.
Stelter, N. Z. (2002). Gender differences in leadership: Current social issues and future organizational implications. *Journal of Leadership Studies*, *8*(4), 88–99.
Tajfel, H. (1982). *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Taylor, C. J. (2010). Occupational sex composition and the gendered availability of workplace support. *Gender & Society*, *24*(2), 189–212.
Toh, S. M., & Leonardelli, G. J. (2012). Cultural constraints on the emergence of women as leaders. *Journal of World Business*, *47*(4), 604–611.
Van Laar, C., Bleeker, D., Ellemers, N., & Meijer, E. (2014). Ingroup and outgroup support for upward mobility: Divergent responses to ingroup identification in low status groups. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *44*(6), 563–577.
Van Vugt, M., de Cremer, D., & Janssen, D. P. (2007). Gender differences in cooperation and competition: The male-warrior hypothesis. *Psychological Science*, *18*(1), 19–23.
Vial, A. C., Napier, J. L., & Brescoll, V. L. (2016). A bed of thorns: Female leaders and the self-reinforcing cycle of illegitimacy. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *27*(3), 400–414.
Vinkenburg, C. J., Van Engen, M. L., Eagly, A. H., & Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C. (2011). An exploration of stereotypical beliefs about leadership styles: Is transformational leadership a route to women's promotion? *The Leadership Quarterly*, *22*(1), 10–21.
Wrangham, R. (2009). *Catching Fire: How Cooking Made Us Human.* New York: Basic Books.
Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (2001). Responding to membership in a disadvantaged group: From acceptance to collective protest. In M. A. Hogg & D. Abrams (Eds.), *Intergroup Relations: Essential Readings* (pp. 337–351). Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press/Taylor & Francis.

13. Gender norm enforcement at work

Jason C. Potwora and Tahira M. Probst

Organizational culture is important in understanding workplace behavior as it provides individuals with information that guides the expression or omission of behaviors important to organizational stakeholders. Research on how organizational assumptions manifest into behavior has influenced many fields including safety (Zohar & Luria, 2005), creativity, innovation (Hogan & Coote, 2014; Ismail, 2005), and harassment (Bergman & Henning, 2008; Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Pryor, LaVite, & Stoller, 1993). The goal of much of this research is to align the organizational culture and climate with the strategic goals of the organization (e.g., fostering innovation, decreasing workplace accidents). With the growing importance of diversity in the workplace, understanding the gender context of organizations is important in helping organizations meet their diversity goals in a meaningful way, rather than proposing surface solutions that do not address the underlying issues.

Despite decades of research, the role of gender in the workplace is still an important issue for organizations and their employees. Gender beliefs refer to a set of assumptions regarding the qualities men and women should possess, and how those assumptions form values, beliefs, norms, and patterns of behavior that reinforce those assumptions. The result of these gender assumptions is the maintenance of male dominance while ensuring smooth cooperation between men and women (i.e., intimate interdependence; Deaux & Kite, 1987; Rudman & Glick, 2008). Over time the examination of gender within the organizational context has shifted from viewing gender as something brought into gender-neutral organizations by employees (Kanter, 1977), to viewing organizations as inherently gendered, reproducing gender expectations in the workplace (Acker, 1990). This shift has led to insights into the persistent gender inequities that occur within organizations.

Despite recognizing that the organization is a stage for the performance of gender, the examination of how gender is reproduced within organizations has stalled, with some arguing that the gender context of organizations is both theoretically and empirically underdeveloped (Britton, 2000). The current methods of measuring the organizational gender context, while useful, have serious limitations that have stunted the examination of gender within the organization and limited the potential paths of organizational change (Britton, 2000; Reichers & Schneider, 1990). To address some of these limitations, this chapter attempts to refocus the investigation of gender in organizations towards underlying organizational processes that reproduce gender inequities in the workplace. To this end, we introduce a new construct called *organizational tolerance of gender norm enforcement* as an organizational climate-based means of evaluating an organization's gender context.

The following sections examine gender belief systems and the role of gender in organizations, and explore how the organizational context and organizational processes reproduce gender expectations. We discuss in depth the construct of gender norm enforcement within organizations, how it differs from related constructs, the mechanisms by which such enforcement occurs, potential methods of measurement, as well as how posited organizational correlates relate to organizational tolerance of gender norm enforcement.

GENDER BELIEF SYSTEMS

Gender is arguably an individual's most important social identity and serves as the primary way in which individuals are categorized (Rudman & Glick, 2008). The gender belief system describes the ubiquitous, and often implicit, shared assumptions of what it means to be a man or woman. The gender belief system refers to:

> a set of beliefs and opinions about males and females and about the purported qualities of masculinity and femininity. This system includes stereotypes of women and men, attitudes towards the appropriate roles and behaviors of women and men, and attitudes towards individuals who are believed to differ in some significant way from the modal pattern. (Deaux & Kite, 1987, p. 97)

Gender beliefs are ubiquitous and largely invisible with the socialization and reinforcement of gender norms starting at birth and continuing throughout one's life. Gender beliefs are reflected in everything from the divisions of labor at home, to the types of jobs that are seen as appropriate for each gender. For example, given the dominant status men have in society, high status positions are stereotypically associated with men and masculine qualities (Rudman & Glick, 2008). These beliefs have a subtle, but powerful, influence in how we view the behaviors of others and ourselves.

The gender belief system serves two functions: (a) it provides a heuristic guide to reduce the ambiguity of social interactions; and (b) it justifies male dominance while ensuring smooth cooperation between men and women (i.e., intimate interdependence; Glick & Fiske, 1997; Rudman & Glick, 2008).

Gender Norms as a Heuristic Guide

The gender belief system functions as a cognitive shortcut, reducing ambiguity in social situations by providing probabilistic information regarding the qualities that individuals are likely to possess (Rudman & Glick, 2008). While these automatic associations may be useful in predicting behavior, stereotypes are overgeneralized and perceived as inherent qualities of men and women. These gender stereotypes are used as guides to elicit stereotypical behavior in others, and prime individuals to attend to behavior that conforms (or fails to conform) to gender expectations. For example, Pinel (2002) found that if women believed a man was sexist, they would act more critically towards him, which elicited negative reactions from the man, which in turn reinforced the belief that the man were sexist.

Gender stereotypes can be roughly categorized into two groups: descriptive and prescriptive. All stereotypes are descriptive in that they describe the qualities that men and women typically possess. Prescriptive stereotypes describe how men and women ideally ought to be, and provide justification for male dominance. As a result, individuals that deviate from prescriptive stereotypes experience greater social pressure to conform (Rudman & Glick, 2008). For example, reactions to men who are not interested in sports (i.e., a deviation from descriptive stereotypes) are likely to be limited to surprise. On the other hand, men who cross-dress (i.e., a deviation from prescriptive stereotypes) are likely to elicit a stronger reaction. It is through observing the contingences between the violation of gender norms and subsequent gender norm enforcement (GNE) that individuals learn what behaviors are typical and atypical for a prototypical member of their gender, and what will likely happen if gender norms are violated. This information is then used to model both the expected behavior of others as well as guide the self-regulation of one's own behavior.

Male Dominance and Intimate Interdependence

According to Glick and Fiske (1997), the reality of sexual reproduction and heterosexual intimacy, paired with the inefficiency of using aggression to meet those needs, means that men are dependent on the willing cooperation of women. Since dominant groups tend to support assumptions that further their own power, a gender belief system is needed that both justifies male dominance while also securing intimate interdependence (Rudman & Glick, 2008). The ambivalent sexism theory (Glick & Fiske, 1997, 1999) suggests that male dominance is perpetuated through the hostile reactions towards women and men that threaten male dominance by blurring the distinction between the genders. These hostile reactions preserve the differentiation between men and women and reinforce male dominance.

However, while hostile interactions between men and women may maintain male dominance, it does not secure intimate interdependence. This is accomplished by viewing women that adhere to traditional gender assumptions in a subjectively positive light, and stressing the importance of intimate interdependence (e.g., women need men for protection, men are not complete without women; Glick & Fiske, 1997). Male dominance is portrayed as a benevolent force used to protect women who are perceived as "wonderful but weak" (Rudman & Glick, 2008). The threat of male hostility further serves to justify the benevolent role of "good men" in protecting women from "bad men" (Rudman & Glick, 2008).

This creates a system where both men and women have a vested interest in maintaining gender differentiation to protect the benefits derived from their sex-based social status (Berdahl, 2007a). While much of the research has focused on the sexual harassment of women by men, it is well established that men are also the largest source of harassment of other men (Stockdale, Visio, & Batra, 1999; Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998). Both men and women who have blurred the distinction between the sexes by having cross-gender traits experience GNE behaviors that include social pressure to conform to gender norms, thereby maintaining the status quo (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Potwora, 2014).

GENDER NORM ENFORCEMENT

The gender belief system also delineates what happens to individuals that deviate from traditional gender norms (Deaux & Kite, 1987). Deviation from the gender belief system threatens the sex-based social statuses of men and women (Berdahl, 2007a) and plays a crucial role in the perpetuation and maintenance of traditional gender norms. GNE can refer to a wide spectrum of behaviors that exert social pressure on individuals to adhere to traditional gender norms. As gender is ubiquitous and largely invisible, GNE can be both purposeful and unintentional. For example, a father telling his son that "real men don't cry" might be categorized as a purposeful attempt to instruct his son on "how to be a man." On the other hand, while a boy teasing another boy because he cried may not be an intentional attempt to reinforce gender norms, it has a similar effect. In short, it is not the intention of the GNE behaviors that matter, it is the impact those behaviors have in the encouragement of gender normative behavior, discouragement of gender norm deviation, and reinforcement of the gender belief system.

Gender norms often put women in a lose–lose situation, such that women who deviate from traditional female gender norms are subject to negative social pressure for threatening those norms (Konik & Cortina, 2008), while women that ascribe to traditional gender roles are treated as subordinates (Konik & Cortina, 2008; see also Berdahl, 2007b). Men are not subject to this same double-standard because of their historically dominant role in society. However, men who deviate from gender norms also experience social pressure to conform (Berdahl, Magley, & Waldo, 1996; Franke, 1997; Miller, 1997). Male gender norms are more constrained and perceived as more serious when violated (Kite & Whitley, 1998). Additionally, GNE as a response to gender norm deviation has been demonstrated to function similarly for men and women (Potwora, 2014). This indicates that although GNE research has typically focused on the sexual harassment of women, the harassment experiences of men are equally important in breaking the cycle of GNE.

Regardless of gender, social pressure encouraging conformity to gendered expectations for both men and women occurs because individuals that deviate from gender norms threaten the sex-based social statuses that the gender belief system maintains (Berdahl, 2007a). GNE serves an important role in maintaining the gender belief system by eliciting conformity to gender norms, and communicating what behaviors are appropriate or inappropriate for men and women.

Mechanisms of Gender Norm Enforcement

There are many "tools" in the GNE toolbox that can be used to respond to a gender norm violation. Some deviations are perceived as less serious than others (i.e., descriptive vs. prescriptive stereotypes) and therefore elicit different GNE mechanisms. Research has identified several mechanisms of GNE, including gender-based harassment (i.e., sexual harassment, gender harassment, sexual orientation harassment; Konik & Cortina, 2008; Potwora, 2014), and incivility (Cortina, 2008; Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, & Magley, 2013). While gender-based harassment is generally viewed as more severe than incivility, it is more common in the workplace. It has also been suggested that incivility may be used when gender-based harassment is prohibited by local norms (Cortina, 2008). Currently, most of the research examining the relationship between gender-norm deviation and GNE has focused on the sexual harassment of women, ignoring the harassment experiences of men (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Potwora, 2014).

Gender Norm Enforcement at Work

The expression of GNE behaviors is influenced by both individual and contextual factors. Research on one mechanism of GNE – sexual harassment (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Potwora, 2014) – has identified both individual and contextual factors that influence the likelihood of sexual harassment. Pryor et al. (1993) found that while some individuals have a temperamental proclivity to engage in sexual harassment, they tend to engage in sexual harassment only in contexts where local norms tolerate the behavior. Similarly, Fitzgerald et al. (1997) found that organizational climates that were tolerant of sexual harassment were predictive of sexual harassment experiences in the workplace (see also Bergman & Henning, 2008).

In addition to research examining the influences of the expression of GNE mechanisms, research has also examined reactions to gender norm deviation in the workplace. Potwora (2014), for example, found that individuals that possessed cross-gender physical traits experienced more gender-based harassment in the workplace. Berdahl (2007b) found that while women with masculine personalities experience more sexual harassment in the workplace, it was women in male-dominated workplaces, with more masculine personalities that experienced the most harassment. Similarly, Heilman and Okimoto (2007) found that women who are seen as successful in stereotypical masculine positions were liked less, seen as having less desirable interpersonal attributes, and were rated as less desirable to have as a boss than similarly described men.

While not directly examined, it is reasonable to assume that individual reactions to women in stereotypically masculine roles may be due to implicit or explicit reactions to deviations from gender norms. For instance, individuals may have negative reactions that arise from explicit feelings that women do not belong in these positions, or from implicit attitudes regarding the role of women in society, that unknowingly affects attitudes and behavior. It is also reasonable to suggest that the negative perceptions of women in stereotypically masculine positions create social pressure that disincentivizes women from seeking these positions (i.e., self-censorship of behavior), as well as impacting the desire of women to stay in these positions. Additionally, the negative perception of women in these positions may serve to further reinforce the belief that men are superior supervisors by setting up women to fail, either through active undermining or negative performance reviews based on these perceptions. This may serve to reinforce the stereotype that women do not belong in these positions (i.e., eliciting stereotypes). Regardless of intent, these negative reactions are forms of GNE, which may result in the reproduction of gender assumptions in the workplace (see also Rudman & Glick, 2008).

It is clear that GNE is present in the workplace to varying degrees, with the organizational context and individual factors playing a role in the expression of GNE behaviors. From an organizational perspective, the role of the organizational gender context is especially important, as it is the easiest antecedent of GNE behaviors that can be manipulated by the organization. While organizations cannot control the gender beliefs of its employees, or control an individual's propensity to harass, organizations can control the social environment to minimize the likelihood of the expression of GNE behaviors.

ANTECEDENTS OF GENDER NORM ENFORCEMENT AT WORK

The Role of the Organizational Gender Context

The organizational gender context refers to the organizational contextual factors that influence the reproduction of gendered expectations and the expression of GNE behaviors in the work environment. Understanding the influence of the organizational context on the expression of GNE is important, as it is one way that organizations can reduce the occurrence of GNE behaviors. Organizational climate researchers have long been proponents of understanding and changing the organizational context to achieve strategic organizational goals such as reducing workplace accidents (i.e., safety climate; Zohar & Luria, 2005), increasing creativity (i.e., creativity climate; Ismail, 2005), and encouraging innovation (i.e., innovation climate; Hogan & Coote, 2014). While the examination of the gender context of organizations is not new, Britton (2000) argues that the gendered organization approach has stalled because of lack of specificity in what it means for an organization to be gendered. While research has identified several organizational contextual factors that play a role in the reproduction of gender norms and the expression of GNE mechanisms (e.g., sexual harassment) the current strategies of examining the organizational gender context have severe limitations. The following discussion reviews the current methods used to examine the organizational gender context and proposes a new measure to address their limitations.

Early Approaches to Assessing Organizational Gender Context

Organizations as inherently gendered

The theory of gendered organizations broke from the previous conceptualization of organizations as gender-neutral to viewing organizations as inherently gendered, such that organizational bureaucracies reproduce gender assumptions (Acker, 1990). Acker (1990) described how the conceptualization of the ideal worker is male, and how organization hierarchies perpetuate gender assumptions resulting in the marginalization of women. Essentially, the implicit assumption that the ideal worker is masculine is perpetuated through values and beliefs, norms, and patterns of behaviors within organizations. The idea that organizational processes result in inequality is well recognized. Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, and Tamkins (2004) found that women who were successful in male-typed jobs were liked less than similarly described men. Additionally, they found that this negative reaction to women's success in male gender-typed jobs impacted their evaluations, recommendations, and reward allocation. This limits the ability of women to be successful in male gender-typed jobs. The negative evaluation and barriers to success serve to justify male dominance of high status positions.

However, conceptualizing organizations as inherently gendered has several major flaws. First, conceptualizing organizations as inherently gendered makes it impossible to examine how the organizational gender context varies between organizations. Second, it makes the abolition of organizational bureaucracy the only viable path to enact social change. Acker (1990) acknowledges that this change would require a radical shift from how organizations exist currently. Such a radical shift, while interesting and potentially important, is not a practical solution.

Organizations as gender-typed

Gender-typing refers to the process by which occupations become stereotypically associated with gender (e.g., nurses and firemen; Ely & Padavic, 2007). While it provides some flexibility in the examination of the gender context of an organization, it is essentially a nominal measure (i.e., masculine or feminine work environments) that fails to acknowledge the complex gender processes within the organizational gender context (Britton, 2000). Much like viewing organizations as inherently gendered, using gender-typing does not allow for the examination of variability in the degree to which organizations are gender-typed. This makes the faulty assumption that all male or female gender-typed organizations are the same. Additionally, the gender-typed occupations perspective does not suggest any meaningful path to change.

Organizations as gender dominated

Sex composition refers to the numerical domination of men or women within an organization or occupation (Berdahl, 2007b; Gutek & Cohen, 1987). Conceptually related to sex composition, sex-ratios are commonly used to examine the organizational gender context, particularly within the sexual harassment literature. Skewed sex-ratios have been linked with organizational gendered processes (Kanter, 1977) and have been useful in predicting harassment experiences (Gutek, Cohen, & Konrad, 1990). Much like gender-typing, sex composition is a nominal measure of the gendered organization context (i.e., male or female dominated). While sex-ratios do provide a more nuanced view of the organizational gender context, it essentially conceptualizes organizations as either male dominated, female dominated, or integrated (Denison, 1996), and therefore has the same issues as sex composition. Additionally, sex composition and sex-ratios limit the possible solutions of gender inequity in organizations to shifting the ratio of men and women. In addition to being potentially legally problematic, it ignores the gendered organizational processes that created the gender disparities in the first place. It is like trying to cure the flu by reducing the fever. While the fever is a useful proxy for understanding the illness, it is not the optimal solution to solve the problem. It is only when you examine the actual organizational processes that you can begin to truly examine the organizational gender context.

A Climate-Based Approach

While each of the earlier approaches attempted to examine the organizational gender context, they fail to directly measure the gendered processes, or allow for meaningful examination of the variability between organizations. While there are many issues in how the organizational gender context is examined within the gender literature, it is here that the organizational literature can help bring needed structure and help bridge the gap between organizational and gender researchers.

Organizational climate developed within the field of social psychology (Denison, 1996; Reichers & Schneider, 1990) and focuses on how cultural assumptions are manifested within the organization through emergent patterns of behavior. Organizational climate has evolved from being broadly conceptualized, focusing primarily on well-being, to being conceptualized as a facet-specific construct (e.g., safety climate, innovation climate, and creativity climate; Schneider, Ehrhart, & Macey, 2013; Zohar & Luria, 2005). Organizational climate refers to "shared perceptions among members of an organization with regard to aspects of the organizational environment that inform role behavior, that is, the extent to which certain facets of role behavior are rewarded and supported in an organization" (Zohar & Luria, 2005, p. 616; see also Reichers & Schneider, 1990; Schneider et al., 2013). Organizational climate examines the probabilistic contingencies between behavior and outcomes, providing organizational members with guidance regarding what behavior is appropriate within the organization. Whereas organizational culture is traditionally examined using qualitative techniques, organizational climate is typically examined using quantitative methods (Reichers & Schneider, 1990; Schneider et al., 2013), which is exemplified by the number of scales measuring various facets of organizational climate (see Hogan & Coote, 2014; Ismail, 2005; Mor Barak, Cherin, & Berkman, 1998; Zohar & Luria, 2005).

It is important to note that organizational climate does not refer to the espoused policies and practices of an organization. While the espoused policies and practices are important in communicating organizational norms, it is the emergent pattern of behaviors that are rewarded or punished that communicates the true priorities of the organization (Zohar & Luria, 2005). For example, Pryor et al.'s (1993) person/situation analysis found that the social context was critical in the decision to engage in sexually harassing behaviors. Specifically, the behavior of the leaders in the organizational context was important in communicating what behaviors were acceptable. Similarly, Gruber (1998) found that while sexual harassment policies reduced sexual harassing behaviors, organizations that were actively involved in modifying the workplace norms regarding sexual harassment through reporting procedures and sexual harassment training saw a greater reduction in the more serious forms of harassment. Both these examples show how organizations communicate to group members what patterns of behaviors are rewarded and punished in the organizational context.

It is through the examination of emergent patterns of behavior that the underlying organizational priorities are communicated (Zohar & Luria, 2005). For example, if an organization tolerates sexually harassing behavior from their top salespeople, organizational members may infer that reporting sexual harassment will not result in punishment and/or that successful organizational members are exempt from sexual harassment policies. This provides information to organizational members as to the likely outcome for sexual harassing behaviors.

Based on Zohar and Luria's (2005) conceptualization of organizational climate, organizational gender climate refers to *the shared perceptions among members of an organization with regard to aspects of the organizational environment that delineate the appropriate behavior of men and women through the pattern of behaviors that are rewarded and supported in the organization.* Organizational gender climate provides a framework to examine the gender context of organizations and provides a clearer path to how social change can take place within organizations.

Organizational tolerance for sexual harassment

There has been one notable attempt to examine organizational gender climate. While sexual harassment research has focused on individual level differences among victims (Konik & Cortina 2008; Potwora, 2014) and perpetrators (Gallagher & Parrott, 2011; Pryor & Stoller, 1994), the importance of organizational variables has also been stressed (Pryor & Stoller, 1994; Pryor et al., 1993). To thoroughly examine sexual harassment in organizations, Hulin, Fitzgerald, and Drasgow (1996) developed the Organizational Tolerance for Sexual Harassment Inventory (OTSHI). The OTSHI was developed to examine the shared perceptions of the contingencies between sexually harassing behaviors and outcomes for both the target and the perpetrator (Hulin et al., 1996). The OTSHI is one example of the organizational climate framework being used to examine the organizational gender context. Sexual harassment has long been identified as a mechanism of GNE (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Potwora, 2014); however, unfortunately the OTSHI measures only one facet of organizational gender climate. Organizational reactions towards GNE mechanisms such as sexual harassment provide salient information regarding what behaviors are acceptable within the organization. Organizational tolerance of those behaviors communicates the local norms regarding gender within the workplace. While Hulin et al. (1996) did not compare the OTSHI with other measures of organizational gender context (i.e., sex composition, gender-typed organizations, or sex-ratios), at the individual level the OTSHI was found to be a better predictor of job withdrawal, life satisfaction, psychological well-being, anxiety, depression, physical health conditions, and health satisfaction than the actual experience of workplace sexual harassment (Hulin et al., 1996).

These powerful effects point to the potential impact that organizational gender climate has on employees. The OTSHI was one of the first attempts to combine the organizational climate literature with the gender literature to examine the gender climate within organizations. However, owing to the limitations within the sexual harassment literature, the scale is narrowly focused on the sexual harassment of women, ignoring other types of GNE behaviors, as well as the experiences of men. To allow for an in-depth examination of organizational gender climate, we propose an expansion of the OTSHI framework to provide a more comprehensive examination of organizational gender climate.

MEASURING ORGANIZATIONAL GENDER NORM ENFORCEMENT

In an attempt to better examine organizational gender climate, Potwora (2017) developed a new scale, called the Organizational Tolerance for Gender Norm Enforcement Inventory (OTGNEI), in order to provide a contingency-based probabilistic examination of how organizations respond to GNE behaviors and to examine mechanisms that perpetuate gender inequities and hostile workplace experiences. The OTGNEI consists of sixteen vignettes (see Table 13.1 for sample vignettes), looking at four different forms of GNE in the workplace (i.e., unwanted sexual attention, sexist remarks, sexual orientation harassment, and gender-specific incivility) crossed with the work status (i.e., coworker/supervisor), and gender of the perpetrator (i.e., male/female). Each vignette was evaluated with three items examining, (1) the perceived risk of reporting (i.e., *It would be risky for his/her future in the organization*); (2) how serious the complaint would be taken (i.e., *His/Her complaint would be taken seriously by the organization*); and (3) the likelihood an individual would experience retaliation for making a formal complaint (i.e., *He/She would likely experience retaliation for making a formal complaint*).

The OTGNEI is intended to be used by researchers to examine the antecedents and outcomes of organizational gender climate within various levels of the organization (i.e., organizational level and subgroup level). The OTGNEI can also be used as a descriptive measure, describing the gendered nature of the workplace and to assess the effectiveness of organizational harassment policies and training aimed at reducing harassment and increasing workforce diversity. Organizational use of the OTGNEI would benefit from

Table 13.1 OTGNEI example

Below are fictional workplace scenarios. Please read each scenario with your CURRENT WORKPLACE in mind, and then indicate how much you agree with the following statement.				
A coworker repeatedly attempts to pressure a male coworker to discuss his sex life despite his attempts to discourage it.				
If **he** made a formal complaint about this **coworker**.				
It would be risky for his future in the organization.				
Strongly Agree	*Agree*	*Neither Agree nor Disagree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
His complaint would be taken seriously by the organization.				
Strongly Agree	*Agree*	*Neither Agree nor Disagree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
He would likely experience retaliation for making a formal complaint.				
Strongly Agree	*Agree*	*Neither Agree nor Disagree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
An employee constantly remarks that women don't have what it takes to be successful because they are too emotional.				
If **she** made a formal complaint about this **coworker**.				
It would be risky for her future in the organization.				
Strongly Agree	*Agree*	*Neither Agree nor Disagree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
Her complaint would be taken seriously by the organization.				
Strongly Agree	*Agree*	*Neither Agree nor Disagree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
She would likely experience retaliation for making a formal complaint.				
Strongly Agree	*Agree*	*Neither Agree nor Disagree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
A supervisor regularly makes disparaging comments towards a male subordinate he believes is gay.				
If **he** made a formal complaint about this **supervisor**.				
It would be risky for his future in the organization.				
Strongly Agree	*Agree*	*Neither Agree nor Disagree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
His complaint would be taken seriously by the organization.				
Strongly Agree	*Agree*	*Neither Agree nor Disagree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
He would likely experience retaliation for making a formal complaint.				
Strongly Agree	*Agree*	*Neither Agree nor Disagree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*

being paired with qualitative methods for a more detailed examination of organizational gender assumptions.

As noted earlier, prior attempts to measure organizational climate surrounding gender have suffered from critical flaws. Strategies focusing on sex-ratios and the stereotypicality of the job are simplistic measures that limit the examination of the true variability that exists between organizations. The OTSHI, arguably the most widely used measure of organizational sexual harassment climate (a mechanism of GNE), addressed this issue by examining the organizational contingencies surrounding the risk of reporting sexual harassment, the likelihood the report would be taken seriously, and the likelihood the perpetrator would receive a meaningful sanction (Hulin et al., 1996). While the OTSHI was vastly superior to prior measures, it narrowly focused on the sexual harassment of women, and ignored the harassment experiences of men. The OTGNEI was created to address the limitations of the OTSHI by expanding the focus beyond from sexual harassment to sexual orientation harassment and gender-specific incivility as well as focusing on the experiences of men.

Workplace GNE Mechanisms

While the spectrum of GNE ranges from expressions of mild surprise to physical assault, the OTGNEI focuses on relatively common hostile behaviors that are used to elicit conformity to gender stereotypes, thereby perpetuating those stereotypes in the workplace. As the OTGNEI is a measure examining organizational tolerance of GNE behaviors, the mechanisms examined must reasonably result in negative outcomes for the victim, and reasonably require a reaction from the organization if reported. For example, making heterosexist remarks regarding an effeminate coworker is an attempt to enforce gender norms, would reasonably cause negative outcomes, and would reasonably require an organizational response. On the other hand, attitudes that are not expressed, behaviors that do not attempt to enforce gender norms, or situations where an organizational response would not be expected or warranted, would not be applicable. As previously established, gender-based harassment and incivility have been identified as mechanisms of GNE, and have been consistently associated with negative personal and workplace outcomes (Bergman & Henning, 2008; Cortina, 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1997). While these behaviors vary in terms of their perceived severity, they represent a spectrum of behaviors that have negative outcomes for victims and would reasonably require an organizational response if reported. While gender-based harassment and incivility are not exclusively mechanisms of GNE, sufficient evidence exists to suggest that they are commonly used to perpetuate gender norms and reinforce male dominance (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Lim & Cortina, 2005; Potwora, 2014).

Gender-based harassment

The OTGNEI expands the focus of the OTSHI to include three common mechanisms of GNE: sexual orientation harassment, sexual harassment, and gender-nonconformity harassment (Kite, 2001; Kitzinger, 2001; Konik & Cortina, 2008; Sliverschanz, Cortina, Konik, & Magley, 2008). Potwora (2014) found that individuals that had cross-gender physical traits experienced an increase in all three forms of gender-based harassment as compared to individuals that had fewer cross-gender traits. These results are supported by findings that indicate that women who deviated from gender norms by having masculine personality traits and/or working in male-dominated organizations experienced higher levels of sexual harassment (Berdahl, 2007b).

Incivility

While gender-based harassment in organizations has been the focus of researchers, other forms of harassment and aggression in the workplace have received less attention.

Workplace incivility refers to low intensity deviant behaviors that have an ambiguous intent to harm, including disrespectful, rude, or condescending behaviors from supervisors or coworkers (Cortina, 2008; Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001). Incivility is common in organizations with 71–79 percent of employees experiencing at least one form of incivility in the past year (Cortina, 2008). The prevalence of incivility is relatively high compared to the 24 percent of women (Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stilbal, 2003) and 21.7 percent of men (Konik & Cortina, 2008) that reported experiencing sexually harassing behavior in the past year. While incivility is on its face gender neutral, it has been suggested that incivility is a covert mechanism of GNE in the workplace (Cortina, 2008). Because overt sexist behavior is on the decline, GNE may take on subtler forms. Cortina extends the person/situation interaction research of Pryor et al. (1993) by hypothesizing that when local norms prohibit gender-based harassment, individuals that have explicit gender biases will use covert forms of harassment, such as incivility. This suggests that gender-based harassment and incivility are complementary methods of GNE in the workplace.

CONSEQUENCES OF ORGANIZATIONAL GENDER NORM ENFORCEMENT

Research strongly supports that organizational tolerance for sexual harassment is highly predictive of actual sexual harassment behaviors (Hulin et al., 1996; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Given that sexual harassment is one component of gender norm enforcement, and the close relationship sexual harassment shares with gender-nonconformity harassment, sexual orientation harassment (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Potwora, 2014), and incivility (Lim, Cortina, & Magley, 2008), one might expect that organizational GNE climate would be similarly predictive of higher levels of sexual harassment, gender-nonconformity harassment, sexual orientation harassment, and incivility.

Potwora (2017) used an online sample of 975 working adults to test the extent to which his measure of organizational GNE predicted these outcomes while controlling for other variables, including organizational tolerance for sexual harassment, organizational justice, job gender context, and psychosocial safety climate. Importantly, the OTGNEI demonstrated incremental validity in predicting harassment and incivility outcomes. Moreover, an examination of gender differences indicated that the OTGNEI may be a better predictor of harassment experiences for men, whereas the OTSHI is a better predictor for women. This provided the first evidence for validity of the OTGNEI as a measure of organizational GNE climate.

It isn't clear how the organizational GNE climate would impact key individual level variables such as those described in Fitzgerald's et al. (1997) model of the antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment (e.g., job satisfaction, job/work withdrawal, and health outcomes). Prior research using the OTSHI has not focused on the direct or indirect impact of climate on these variables. Although Potwora (2017) did not examine indirect relationships, he did find some support for a direct relationship between the OTGNEI and job satisfaction, while holding constant the experience of sexual harassment, sexual orientation harassment, gender-nonconformity harassment and incivility (separately). It is reasonable to conclude that individuals who work in organizations that tolerate GNE would be impacted by that environment, regardless if they themselves experienced GNE. Climates that tolerate GNE behaviors may lead to the concealment of behaviors that deviate from traditional gender norms. Drawing from the literature on concealed stigmas, this may result in negative outcomes (see Pachankis, 2007), without having to directly experience GNE. This suggests that more research needs to focus on the direct and indirect effects of organizational GNE climate. This would also help provide evidence for the importance of changing organizational climate.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Further research on organizational gender norm enforcement and validation of the OTGNEI is needed. For example, as the OTGNEI is proposed as a measure of climate, workgroup level research is needed to show that it measures shared perceptions regarding organizational contingencies of behavior and not simply individual level personal perceptions of these contingencies. Future research should also take a multi-level approach by sampling groups of employees across multiple organizations. This would help establish the OTGNEI as a measure of organizational climate and would also allow for an examination of climate strength within workgroups and organizations.

Additionally, it is important to acknowledge that harassment is not the only way gender norms are reinforced within organizations. Organizational practices, traditions, and assumptions themselves may reinforce gender norms and inequity in the workplace. Assumptions regarding who makes a good manager or who should take time off to care for children do not constitute harassment, but still perpetuate traditional gender norms within an organization. These softer forms of GNE should be examined to complement Potwora's (2017) focus on harassing and uncivil behaviors.

While it is established that sexual harassment, sexual orientation harassment, and incivility have direct and indirect effects on key distal and proximal organizational outcomes (e.g., job satisfaction, life satisfaction, work withdrawal; Fitzgerald et al. 1997; Glomb, Munson, Hulin, Bergman, & Drasgow, 1999; Sliverschanz et al., 2008), the indirect impact of organizational GNE climate has not been thoroughly examined. However, it is reasonable to assume that climate would indirectly impact on these key variables. Future research should examine the indirect effects that organizational gender climate has on key organizational outcomes.

Finally, while Potwora (2017) did demonstrate measurement equivalence (e.g., configural, metric, and scalar equivalence) of the OTGNEI between men and women, he did not collect organizational or workgroup level data. It is important to evaluate whether men and women view the gender norm enforcement climate equivalently within the same work context. It is possible that men and women perceive climate differently within the same organization. Future research should examine whether men and women differ in their perceptions of organizational gender climate and, if so, why those differences exist.

REFERENCES

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gender organizations. *Gender & Society*, *4*(2), 139–158.

Berdahl, J. L. (2007a). Harassment based on sex: Protecting social status in the context of gender hierarchy. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(2), 641–658.

Berdahl, J. L. (2007b). The sexual harassment of uppity women. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(2), 425–437.

Berdahl, J. L., Magley, V. J., & Waldo, C. R. (1996). The sexual harassment of men? Exploring the concept with theory and data. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *20*(4), 527–547.

Bergman, M. E., & Henning, J. B. (2008). Sex and ethnicity as moderators in sexual harassment phenomenon: A revision and test of Fitzgerald et al. (1994). *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *13*(2), 152–167.

Britton, D. M. (2000). The epistemology of the gendered organization. *Gender & Society*, *14*(3), 418–434.

Cortina, L. M. (2008). Unseen justice: Incivility as modern discrimination in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *33*(1), 55–75.

Cortina, L. M., Kabat-Farr, D., Leskinen, E. A., Huerta, M., & Magley, V. J. (2013). Selected incivility as modern discrimination in organizations: Evidence and impact. *Journal of Management*, *39*(6), 1579–1605.

Cortina, L. M., Magley, V. K., Williams, J. H., & Langhout, R. D. (2001). Incivility in the workplace: Incidence and impact. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *6*(1), 64–80.

Deaux, K., & Kite, M. E. (1987). Thinking about gender. In B. B. Hess & M. M. Ferree (Eds.), *Analyzing Gender* (pp. 92–117). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Denison, D. R. (1996). What is the difference between organizational culture and organizational climate? A native's point of view on a decade of paradigm wars. *Academy of Management Review*, *21*(3), 619–654.

Ely, R., & Padavic, I. (2007). The feminist analysis of organizational research on sex differences. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(4), 1121–1143.

Fitzgerald, L. F., Drasgow, F., Hulin, C. L., Gelfand, M. J., & Magley, V. L. (1997). Antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment in organizations: A test of an integrated model. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *83*(4), 578–589.

Franke, K. M. (1997). What's wrong with sexual harassment? *Stanford Law Review*, *49*(4), 691–772.

Gallagher, K. E., & Parrott, D. J. (2011). What accounts for men's attitudes towards women? The influences of hegemonic male role norms and masculine gender role stress. *Violence Against Women*, *17*(5), 568–583.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1997). Hostile and benevolent sexism: Measuring ambivalent sexist attitudes toward women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *21*(1), 119–135.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1999). The ambivalence toward men inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent beliefs about men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *23*(3), 519–536.

Glomb, T. M., Munson, L. J., Hulin, C. L., Bergman, M. E., & Drasgow, F. (1999). Structural equation models of sexual harassment: Longitudinal explorations and cross-sectional generalizations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *84*(1), 14–28.

Gruber, J. E. (1998). The impact of male work environments and organizational policies on women's experiences of sexual harassment. *Gender & Society*, *12*(3), 301–320.

Gutek, B. A., & Cohen, A. G. (1987). Sex ratios, sex-role spillover, and sex at work: A comparison of men's and women's experiences. *Human Relations*, *40*(2), 97–115.

Gutek, B. A., Cohen, A. G., & Konrad, A. M. (1990). Predicting social-sexual behavior at work: A contact hypothesis. *Academy of Management Journal*, *33*(3), 560–577.

Heilman, M. E., & Okimoto, T. G. (2007). Why are women penalized for success at male tasks? The implied communality deficit. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(1), 81–92.

Heilman, M. E., Wallen, A. S., Fuchs, D., & Tamkins, M. M. (2004). Penalties for success: Reactions to women who succeed at male gender-typed tasks. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *89*(3), 416–427.

Hogan, S. J., & Coote, L. V. (2014). Organizational culture, innovation, and performance: A test of Schein's model. *Journal of Business Research*, *67*(8), 1609–1621.

Hulin, C. L., Fitzgerald, L. F., & Drasgow, F. (1996). Organizational influences of sexual harassment. In M. S. Stockdale (Ed.), *Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: Perspectives, Frontiers, and Response Strategies* (pp. 127–150). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Ilies, R., Hauserman, N., Schwochau, S., & Stilbal, J. (2003). Reported incidence rates of work-related sexual harassment in the United States: Using meta-analysis to explain reported rate disparities. *Personnel Psychology*, *56*(3), 607–631.

Ismail, M. (2005). Creative climate and learning organization factors: Their contribution towards innovation. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, *26*(8), 639–654.

Kanter, R. M. (1977). Some effects of proportions on group life: Skewed sex ratios and responses to token women. *American Journal of Sociology*, *83*(5), 965–990.

Kite, M. E. (2001). Changing times, changing gender roles: Who do we want women and men to be? In R. K. Unger (Ed.), *Handbook of the Psychology of Women and Gender* (pp. 215–227). New York: John Wiley.

Kite, M. E., & Whitley, B. E. (1998). Do heterosexual women and men differ in their attitudes towards homosexuality? A conceptual and methodological analysis. In G. Herek (Ed.), *Stigma and Sexual Orientation: Understanding Prejudice against Lesbians, Gay Men, and Bisexuals* (pp. 1–23). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kitzinger, C. (2001). Sexualities. In R. K. Unger (Ed.), *Handbook of the Psychology of Women and Gender* (pp. 272–285). New York: John Wiley.

Konik, J., & Cortina, L. M. (2008). Policing gender at work: Intersection of harassment based on sex and sexuality. *Social Justice Research*, *21*(3), 313–337.

Lim, S., & Cortina, L. M. (2005). Interpersonal mistreatment in the workplace: The interface and impact of general incivility and sexual harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *90*(3), 483–496.

Lim, S., Cortina, L. M., & Magley, V. J. (2008). Personal and workgroup incivility: Impact on work and health outcomes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(1), 95–107.

Miller, L. (1997). Not just weapons of the weak: Gender harassment as a form of protest for army men. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *60*(1), 32–51.

Mor Barak, M. E., Cherin, D. A., & Berkman, S. (1998). Organizational and personnel dimensions diversity climate: Ethics and gender differences in employee perceptions. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *34*(1), 82–104.

Pachankis, J. E. (2007). The psychological implications of concealing a stigma: A cognitive–affective–behavioral model. *Psychological Bulletin*, *133*(2), 328–345.

Pinel, E. C. (2002). Stigma consciousness in intergroup contexts: The power of conviction. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *38*(2), 178–185.

Potwora, J. C. (2014). How deviation from traditional gender norms influences their harassment experiences of heterosexual men, heterosexual women, gay men, and lesbians (Unpublished Master's thesis, Washington State University, Vancouver).

Potwora, J. C. (2017). Creation and validation of the Organizational Tolerance of Gender Norm Enforcement Inventory (Doctoral dissertation; ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, Accession Order No. 10265878).

Pryor, J. D., LaVite, C. M., & Stoller, L. M. (1993). A social psychological analysis of sexual harassment: The person/situation interaction. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *42*(1), 68–83.

Pryor, J. D., & Stoller, L. M. (1994). Sexual cognition processes in men high in the likelihood to sexually harass. *Personality and Social Psychology*, *20*(2), 163–169.

Reichers, A. E., & Schneider, B. (1990). Climate and culture: Evolution of constructs. In B. Schneider (Ed.), *Organizational Climate and Culture* (pp. 5–39). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Rudman, L. A., & Glick, P. (2008). *The Social Psychology of Gender: How Power and Intimacy Shape Gender Relations.* New York: Guilford Press.

Schneider, B., Ehrhart, M. G., & Macey, W. H. (2013). Organizational climate and culture. *Annual Reviews of Psychology*, *64*, 361–388.

Sliverschanz, P., Cortina, L. M., Konik, J., & Magley, V. J. (2008). Slurs, snubs, queer jokes: Incidence and impact of heterosexist harassment in academia. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *58*(3–4), 179–191.

Stockdale, M. S., Visio, M., & Batra, L. (1999). The sexual harassment of men: Evidence for a broader theory of sexual harassment and sex discrimination. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, *5*(3), 630–664.
Waldo, C. R., Berdahl, J. L., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1998). Are men sexually harassed? If so, by whom? *Law and Human Behavior*, *22*(1), 59–79.
Willness, C. R., Steel, P., & Lee, K. (2007). A meta-analysis of the antecedents and consequences of workplace sexual harassment. *Personnel Psychology*, *60*(1), 127–162.
Zohar, D., & Luria, G. (2005). A multilevel model of safety climate: Cross-level relationships between organization and group-level climates. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *90*(4), 616–628.

14. 'Don't you know that it's different for girls': a dynamic exploration of trust, breach and violation for women en route to the top

Rosalind Searle, Ruth Sealy and Beverley Hawkins

Despite a plethora of programmes and policy interventions over the last forty years, there has remained a dearth in the progression of women into leadership of organizations. The limited transcendence of women into senior roles shows stubbornly similar results across different sectors, different industries and different countries. While many firms have an increasing number of women in their graduate intake, it is striking that little has happened to dent both the comparative speed and volume of men's progression into elite leadership positions. In the face of this ongoing gender disparity many nations have sought ways to try and redress the imbalance through the introduction of remedies including changes to governance and legislative quotas for women (Terjesen and Sealy, 2016). In addition to attention regarding the under-promotion of women to boards, there is increased recognition that this is a more ubiquitous issue that stems from the under-representation of women in other leadership positions (Hampton-Alexander review, 2016). Moving the current focus from elites to attention on the role of women in management and leadership more generally makes more transparent how efforts over the last decades to introduce 'female-friendly' policies, such as flexible working and shared parental leave, while somewhat improving the retention at work of women with children, have failed to deliver the projected enhancement of progression rates for women per se. Indeed studies report a clear time-lag of around eight years in the delivery of more inclusive and diversity-focused policy, but more tellingly a particular resistance in male-dominated organizations (Kalysh et al., 2016). What is the impact of this lag? Further, there is a growing challenge to the current dominance of agentic leadership, which now appears antediluvian in the face of critical shifts towards more consultative and collaborative approaches to leadership, behaviours more strongly associated with women leaders (Eagly and Carli, 2003; Rosette and Tost, 2010). In these ways the current myopia against women as leaders serves neither individuals nor organizations well.

This chapter considers the fresh perspective of the dynamics arising from accumulated experiences of women during the employee life-cycle (Searle and Skinner, 2011) and their impact in progression into leadership. We outline the distinct micro-aggressions experienced by subordinate women employees, coupled with the evident divergence between rhetoric and reality of 'equality of access' in their navigation to the top of organizations, to contend how this might accumulate to create a pernicious and insidious decline in many female employees' organizational psychological attachment. Using a lens of trust dynamics, we explore the impact of women's organizational experiences in trying to reach the top, to contend that psychological contract breaches and violations are distinct for women and might significantly transform trust to distrust, changing the retention of the female in the talent pool for elite roles. We outline evidence of gender differences in human resource (HR) policies including recruitment and selection, reward and recognition, and career progression to produce negative psychological contract violations that produce sensebreaking (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016) anchoring events (Ballinger and Rockmann, 2010) that undermine individuals' psychological attachment (Ng, 2015). We commence this chapter by considering what is organizational trust and psychological attachment; we outline the importance of HR processes in organizational trust, before exploring breach and violation. Then we review evidence that reveals different treatment of women compared to men to highlight how women's psychological attachment to an organization and a profession can decline. We illustrate our arguments for how women's experiences differ from interviews with women working in a global professional service firm.

HRM AND TRUST

Trust is a component of psychological attachment to an employing organization. Psychological attachment refers to the degree of bonding with organizations, and includes a nomological net of three distinct but closely related dimensions of organizational identity, commitment and trust (Ng, 2015). Our use of the term here positions organizations as crucibles which contain both individuals' career identities as well as their psychological employment relationship.

Organizational trust is defined as 'a psychological state that compromises the willingness to be vulnerable based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another party' with vulnerability a function of the (inter)dependence and the risks that arise making the situation trust-relevant (Weibel et al., 2016). Organizational trustworthiness is a multi-dimensional perception derived from two distinct aspects (Searle et al., 2011): the first element is concerned with the organization's competence and ability, and the second with its goodwill intentions, as demonstrated in the showing of respect and care about the welfare of employees. Further studies have found a gender difference to organizational trust levels, with women indicating higher levels than males (Searle et al., 2011).

An important means of an organization signalling both of these elements of trustworthiness is found in their choice of human resource management (HRM) policy (Searle, 2018), such as using robust, well-validated processes, such as assessment centres rather than graphology for selection. The types of 'bundles' of HR processes can reveal whether a workplace is focusing on influencing its employees' motivation and commitment as found in the decision to use 'high commitment practices' (e.g., Whitener 2001), or whether its efforts are directed more towards enhancing their skills and productivity through selection of 'high performance systems' (Appelbaum et al., 2001). Further, HR managers' policy choices reflect their willingness to accept the organization's vulnerability towards their staff, as such demonstrated in decisions to make more investment in training for staff who may stay or choose to leave (Tzafrir, 2005).

BUILDING TRUST

A candidate's first step to show they trust in an organization is clearly demonstrated in the submission of a job application providing a physical manifestation of their acceptance of the risks and vulnerabilities associated with starting a new employment relationship (Searle and Billsberry, 2011). Individual differences factors, such as propensity to trust, play a role at the onset of new employment, but diminish over time as new employees settle in to trusting (van der Werff and Buckley, 2014). The action of applying for a job is based on positive expectations of the employing organization, and signals the start of the development of a psychological contract, which sadly appears to be more typically violated (Robinson and Rousseau, 1994). Breaches are not unexpected as new employees have limited insight derived from the choices of HRM policy, and both elements of the aforementioned gleaned from interaction with recruiters. However, these may be very different people from those whom new employees work with and for.

Justice is an important antecedent of both organizational trust (Searle et al., 2011) and trust in managers (Colquitt and Rodell, 2011). In organizational settings, perceptions of all three forms of justice – procedural, distributive and informational – play important roles in competence-based trustworthiness perceptions helping to allay employees' uncertainty, while goodwill trust derived from the quality of interactions creates norms of exchange processes (Colquitt et al., 2012). Justice, however, appears to be more central at the start of new relationships, and is then replaced by a more habitual response of trust (Lind, 2018). Significantly, perceptions of organizational justice vary with both gender and ethnicity, with white males experiencing their employing organization as far more fair than either white women or members of minority groups (Mor Barak et al., 1998).

Trust levels are arguably at their highest at the start of a new employment relationship, with the speed of their subsequent decline determined by the combination of the level of initial trust coupled with the degree to which expectations are not met (Robinson, 1996). Together these can mediate the impact of psychological contract breach and the subsequent level of contribution made by the employee to the organization. Psychological contract research has tended to focus on current relationships, but studies show that those who have experienced a prior psychological contract breach are more likely to experience subsequent violations (Robinson and Morrison, 2000). The intensity of breach experience varies, but becomes more emotionally intense where the violation is deemed to have been intentional, and the treatment received unfair. The elements surrounding a breach are important in determining the salience of the memory, transforming experiences into anchoring events that guide individuals' subsequent decisions and actions (Ballinger and Rockmann, 2010). These anchoring events are distinct types of memory due to their negative affective tone and the threatening content which makes them more easily accessible than other types of memory. They can produce profound chains of events that create legacies in organizations (Morgeson et al., 2015). Negative experiences create three forms of impact: a direct impact for those who are the target, but also a vicarious impact for those who observe or learn subsequently about what has occurred, and an ambient impact that can permeate across the whole organization where poor behaviour taints the entire working environment (Robinson et al., 2014).

Despite insight into breaches, little attention has been given to how employees respond to and recover from such violations. Conceptual work has examined post-psychological contract breach to identify three potential trajectories that might occur following such experiences. These include: a return to the original status quo; a transition to a new and altered contract; or its dissolution into a less functional state (Tomprou et al., 2015). In the next section we briefly explore a further aspect of psychological attachment, namely organizational identity, to provide illustration of how female employees' identity is more likely to be challenged and threatened in male-dominated workplaces. We highlight the divergence in fairness and injustice levels to make the case that the perception of breach is different for women, both in terms of its frequency and the types of violations women are exposed to, which trigger more profound sensebreaking and sensemaking experiences regarding their identity as leaders compared to that experienced by men. It is through such processes that talent pipelines to elite roles become corroded, undermining organizational trust, identity and thus psychological attachment to the employing organization, and also spilling over into the career.

ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY AND SENSEMAKING

Organizational identity is the extent to which employees regard themselves as informed by their employing organization (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). The construction of work identity is multi-faceted, comprising individual but also social components (Searle, Nienaber et al., 2017). It represents a sense of oneness with an organization (Ng, 2015), which is achieved through deep-level and ongoing psychological processes, rather than occurring at a more surface level (Rousseau, 1998). Those who are more defined by their career are orientated more towards an identification that is derived from aspects including job success, advancement and status, while those with more social identities commence with an emphasis on collective advancement progressing identification with their group that informs their subsequent level of organizational identification (Searle, Nienaber et al., 2017). Further, where identification levels are high, so trust levels are also raised (Vanneste et al., 2014).

Organizational identity is achieved through continuous processes of sensemaking and sensebreaking (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016). Individuals do this by utilizing clues and signals they extract from the workplace to define both who they are, but also who they are not in a continuing process until a more stable and satisficing self-concept is achieved (Brickson, 2005). Experiences of breach can produce intense negative affect, creating a disjunction between what was expected and considered 'normal' and what has been experienced (Robinson and Morrison, 2000). This disjunction creates a surprise that is important in triggering a necessary psychological process of conscious sensemaking (Louis, 1980). Sensemaking processes can occur at an individual level, but are also found at the social level such as around shared experiences, which require meanings to be reframed by drawing on others' experiences, interpretations and frames rather than just that individual's per se (Jacobs and Keegan, 2016). Central to these processes of sensemaking is the employee's search for explanations to provide a better understanding of the nature of the potential threat (Bartunek et al., 2011). In this way the cognitive process of sensemaking permits better coping through reducing uncertainty (Gioia and Thomas, 1996).

Long-standing research attests to the conflicting identity of women as leaders that makes it clear that both breach and the resultant sensemaking are more likely to occur for women who want to become more senior. For example, the enduring male bias of 'think manager, think male' (Schein, 1973, 2007), is found to still skew leadership towards masculine traits and thus men, resulting in female applicants either being passed over for promotion, or subject to far greater scrutiny than their male counterparts in demonstrating their suitability for such roles (Powell and Butterfield, 2017). Clearly both of these outcomes create a different experience for women seeking to progress their careers than men. Further, meta-analysis confirms role incongruity (Eagly and Karau, 2002) in which contextual factors push against the acceptance of female leaders in male-dominated contexts (Paustian-Underdahl et al., 2014). In addition to the lacuna found in the identity of women as leaders per se in male-dominated professions and organizations, a far greater identity challenge is evident among black women (Fearfull and Kamenou, 2010), who are more likely to respond to challenges by trying to protect or restore their identity (Atewologun and Singh, 2010). Situations, however, which threaten individuals' identity cause far more powerful existential challenges triggering an ongoing and far more substantive sensemaking process (Maitlis and Sonenshein, 2010). Examples of this lack of gender fit in leader identity are illustrated in the quotes below from women in a global professional service organization:

> I couldn't find anyone else in the firm that was doing the role in the way I thought I would want to do it.

> There's only, until very recently, really two female directors in the whole of this area nationally.

While studies have shown that there is a gender divergence in perceptions of justice for workplaces (Mor Barak et al., 1998), there is growing evidence of gender difference in the mistreatment of women and members of racial minorities, with women exposed to far more incivility and harassment in workplaces than men (Cortina, 2008; Cortina et al., 2013; Rotundo et al., 2001). Research shows that there are differences in the types of mistreatment targeted at women such as sexual misconduct, which appears to be occurring across all kinds of sectors, and especially targeting younger female subordinates (Searle, Rice et al., 2017).

Further, the way HR policies themselves operate may also have gender skew, showing men are less frequent recipients but also paradoxically better insulated by their employing organizations than women (Kath et al., 2009). More specifically a recent meta-analysis examined the differences in workplace mistreatment including bullying, discrimination, harassment and incivility in terms of gender and race (McCord et al., 2018). This study focused on mistreatment, which included demeaning or humiliating behaviour targeted against an employee but also that motivated either due to gender, or race. It confirmed that women perceived greater levels of sex-based mistreatment (sexual discrimination and sexual harassment) compared to men, and also more general harassment, discrimination and incivility than men. Further the results reveal that despite policy directed at reducing sexual harassment and discrimination at work there has been little decline in their frequency. Likewise race-based mistreatment was more common as a form of mistreatment amongst non-white populations.

These results show that men have equal or better treatment in workplaces than women.

This finding implies that not only is there less necessity for sensemaking from men but also that the sensemaking of both women and racial minorities includes a collective dimension, i.e., there is an identity-threat component to their mistreatment that arises *because* they are a woman or non-white. Critically, studies of incivility contend that the impact of such experiences becomes magnified when it is framed as being gender-focused (Ferris et al., 2017). In this way there appears to be an insidious undermining of women at work that is different from that experienced by their male counterparts. Over time, an accumulation of direct, vicarious and ambient experiences is likely to reduce substantially trust levels amongst women, but also their psychological attachment to organizations through challenging their identity and reducing their commitment to their profession and employing organization. In the next quote a white woman recalls her recent selection experiences, to reveal this gender-based framing, which positions this as an unfair organization which will not treat her fairly nor progress her at the same rate as her male colleague due, not to her lack of ability, but her gender:

> At that level promotion it's more about hours served, as long as you're good enough, it's about hours served, and there was no question that it was a question of ability, but there just can be favouritism and I don't think people realize that they're doing it. So there was someone in the [other location] team who'd been in the role less time than I was but got promoted first, which sounds silly, and it niggled me at the time for quite a long time and it took a long time to just accept it. So he was promoted eighteen months ago now to manager, so ahead of me, even though I know from feedback I was good enough and he'd been in the job less time. He's actually just gone up again, but actually what changed quite a lot was my view on it because when he got promoted ahead of me to the manager I was like 'I know I'm good and I know he's been there less time than me, and it is that hours served promotion for manager anyway.' I raised it with my boss and he was like, 'yeah, but apparently he's a superstar, he is based in [other location] so the director there thinks he's amazing.' 'I was like, why don't you think I'm really good enough?' It's very much there's favourites in a team which are obviously going to be boys because, and that's my biggest bug-bear with it at the moment but it's something subconscious. So that was it my realization that you just need to accept some things you can't change. Because I was surprised at how I was so upset last time when I knew that, and people working for me said to me, 'it's not fair that you've been ignored.' People above me were saying, 'it's not right, we know it's not right.' I was so upset, and this time I've just been a bit like, whatever. It's funny how, I've got a really good team and I've got a really good boss as well, but there are certain things that people do subconsciously and you just have to accept it. Particularly if you're working in a male dominated environment, I'm lucky to have as forward-thinking a team as I do. My HR lead at the time took me into the room and she said, 'I'm really sorry I have to tell you this. I know you're not going to like it and it doesn't reflect on the fact that we don't think you're bad, it's just the person pushing for him in [other location] said that he was going to leave if he didn't get promoted and he's determined. The director in [other location] wanted him to go up, and I know that it should have been you next in line and I'm sorry.' And that was the problem, that director was insistent and my director just wouldn't shout up for me not because he doesn't think I'm good, just because we're not pals in the way that the guys in [other location] are.

This quote illustrates how in becoming leaders women have to contend with two mutually incompatible gendered beliefs: first as a group women are expected to have a distinct style to leadership that marks them out as different from male leaders (as noted earlier), but their ascent to their positions is predicated on demonstrations of toughness and competitiveness (Ellemers et al., 2012). These two factors can produce internal dissonance for women which is likely to jar with their prior identities to produce a 'sensebreaking' process which results in an intense divestment from the organization (Ashforth et al., 2014), a liminality (Beech, 2011).

In the next section we consider key HR processes of recruitment and selection, and then reward and recognition to further evidence the differences in experience for female employees.

SELECTION AND RECRUITMENT

The choices of recruitment and selection processes send important signals to candidates about an organization (Searle, 2018). Importantly, evidence shows that more sophisticated approaches to selection, such as assessment centres, are not only more reliable but also more fair methods for women applicants (Dean et al., 2008). Although studies of leadership selection have found women can perform better in interpersonally orientated dimensions (communication and social interaction), and in areas such as drive and determination (Anderson et al., 2006), their selection to and the evaluations they receive of their performance demonstrate prejudice due to role incongruity factors, especially within male-dominated leadership organizations (Eagly and Karau, 2002).

Recruitment and selection are HR process which offer a significant context in which both the employing organization and the applicant can gauge each other's trustworthiness, and the ensuing trust can meaningfully alter the decisions made (Klotz et al., 2013). During selection, initial clues about trustworthiness from recruitment information combine with information ascertained about fairness from the recruitment process itself, to alter subsequent trust levels and influence applicants' decisions (Celani et al., 2008). While organizations with gender diverse leadership communicate a positive reputational message into communities and investors about their competence (Francoeur et al., 2008), these signals can also influence applicants' attraction. Studies show that organizations that are perceived to be more inclusive and to offer a better chance of progression are more attractive to female applicants (Olsen et al., 2016). However, evidence of gender difference has identified the pernicious effects of stereotypes. Thus, while female leadership candidates themselves underplay their experiences and competences, failing to take credit for their successes, their assessors are also more likely to be more harsh in rating female applicants for these roles (Heilman, 2001). In trying to overcome these obstacles women can try to become more active in their self-promotion, yet such efforts may backfire with those women who adopt a more masculine style risking being regarded as less likeable and consequently less likely to be hired (Rudman and Phelan, 2008). Indeed, this study compared candidates using the same scripts to reveal how women who behaved in agentic ways are regarded as less competent and likeable than men. These results imply that the perceptive trustworthiness of such candidates appears to be reduced. A further area of discrimination that arises in male-dominated organizations is directed at could-be leaders, who are women with children, who face further particular stigma in their efforts to become managers (Kalysh et al., 2016).

In these high stakes situations the integrity of recruiters and hiring managers can be more closely scrutinized by applicants, with breaches that occur due to promises made during recruitment being extremely resistant to subsequent repair (Tomlinson and Carnes, 2015). Thus, while efforts have been made to enhance the fairness of selection processes, there are other hidden factors that conspire to create a very different experience for female applicants. These are more likely to give rise to perceptions of having been unjustly excluded or disadvantaged due to their gender and thus thwarted in their efforts to navigate into more senior roles.

REWARD AND RECOGNITION

A further important and accumulative way that trust appears to be threatened for female employees follows directly from selection, related to experiences of reward and recognition, particularly in the setting and negotiation of salaries and bonuses. Women start their careers on less pay due to workplace biases (Belliveau, 2011). Research from different countries attests to the ongoing and insidious gap in the remuneration for women and men, with males not only earning more in the same roles, but also advancing quicker than their female counterparts into senior management roles (Blau and Kahn, 2007). These experiences undermine the trust of female employees in their employing organizations due to perceived violations in both distributive and procedural justice. This divergence is exemplified in results of a large-scale natural field experiment which confirmed that women were more likely to be willing to take a lower salary for their work, and were also far less likely to negotiate for a higher salary (Leibbrandt and List, 2014). The reason for this reluctance emerges from evidence of the backlash against assertive women who ask for a pay rise, with male colleagues less willing to work with them (Rudman and Phelan, 2008); as before this backlash is only found against women (Amanatullah and Tinsley, 2013). Indeed, the level of backlash against women becomes more amplified as they rise through organizations (Lyness and Judiesch, 1999). Research, however, shows women are prepared to and do more actively negotiate where there is a strong signal that this is expected (Leibbrandt and List, 2014). Thus negotiation is something women can do, but based on the signals they receive that this is acceptable. In this way women are more sensitive to the context and the importance of fitting in to avoid the aforementioned perceived penalties.

A further distributive injustice that arises is the type and size of reward package offered to women in top positions compared to their male counterparts. Studies reveal that male directors are offered far larger amounts, which are also more likely to be linked to the organization's performance (Kulich et al., 2011). Further, charismatic male leaders are also likely to receive additional bonuses (Kulich et al., 2007).

Many organizations actively seek to avoid revealing breaches in distributive justice through the operation of wage secrecy clauses (Colella et al., 2007; Kim, 2015). Where such policies are used, large gender differentials are evident. While differentials in pay rates in themselves do not generate perceptions of unfairness where the reason for such differential is felt to be fair, variability in pay levels between those doing comparable jobs does raise the need to justify such variance (Shaw, 2014). Where the reason for pay differences appears to be legitimate, productivity and workplace safety have been found to increase, while non-legitimate differentials are found to produce a decline in overall organizational performance (Frederickson et al., 2010). Indeed, a study in the UK by Aspire (2014) found a gender-related pattern to levels of 'corporate quitting' due to unresolved difference in pay for female employees.

Studies of gender pay inequality indicate the complexity of these anomalies which can mask the true level of the gender pay differentials in organizations. One of the key challenges here is the entire question of what constitutes equal pay. This is positioned as a multi-faceted issue as the recent BBC presenter pay scandal revealed, making the direct comparison between individuals' tasks difficult. While pay transparency is designed to try and close the differential between women and men, there are subtle drivers to pay differentials that require further attention into the reward structures of organizations.

Evidence shows direct discrimination in the salary and rewards given to women and men, even those doing the same work (De la Rica et al., 2010; Kulich et al., 2011). There is also an equivalent inequity found for those who are not white that again further disguises the true extent of this direct form of discrimination (Brynin and Güveli, 2012). Second, job evaluation schemes also include gender bias (Gilbert, 2005; McShane, 1990). For example, the increasing use of broad-banding in job and pay structures makes comparison between roles difficult, thus inequity is concealed. Salary level and the other components of reward are connected to the process of negotiation in workplaces, and as noted earlier, men who more actively engage in these practices are thus able to achieve higher levels of pay and other rewards, while women who do engage in negotiations become victims of the aforementioned gender stereotype backlash (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013; Bowles et al., 2007). Thus there are distinct gender-related rewards and penalties from the same actions.

The type of work undertaken in organizations is also subject to gender differentials with a reduced level of remuneration between the sexes and particularly for female-dominated occupations (Brynin, 2017; Brynin and Perales, 2016). Further, attitudes towards competition and preferences against risk-taking underlie many of the less lucrative career choices of women (Charness and Gneezy, 2012; Marianne, 2011). In addition, the progression of women is often blighted due to stereotypical assumptions that women will have children and hence used to defend blocks to progression opportunities and in the justification of non-legitimate pay progression differences (Nadler and Stockdale, 2012). Yet at least 40 per cent of women employees do not have children, and thus asymmetries in rewards for women are often connected with other issues of intersectionality (Atewologun et al., 2016).

CAREER PROGRESSION

Women are attracted to organizations that they perceive as more inclusive and with better chances of progression (Olsen et al., 2016). In some organizations there can be favourable progression for capable applicants, with a more evident lacuna only becoming apparent as they try to transition from middle management to more senior roles. Paradoxically at these middle management levels there can be a bias towards women candidates. In contexts that are less male-dominated, women who demonstrate competence benefit from stereotypes which enhance their perceived ability to work more cooperatively with others and in motivating their staff. However, progression to top roles places greater emphasis on agentic skills including competitiveness, decisiveness and ruthlessness, and so these opportunities become more skewed towards male applicants (Rudman and Phelan, 2008).

A further restraining factor to these elite roles arises from a more hidden issue, that of gatekeepers. Gatekeepers for top roles have enormous influence in determining who is deemed trustworthy and who is considered a risk (Doldor et al., 2016). These perceptions are used to shape shortlists, the result of which is an exclusion of women by virtue of their different networks and thus social capital (Fitzsimmons and Callan, 2016; van den Brink and Benschop, 2014). There is more attention in these roles paid to the progression of careers, with influences from birth creating not only important but cumulative restrictions to women's progression both into the CEO role, but also in the range of opportunities that are made open to them (Fitzsimmons et al., 2014). These often relate to the distinct accumulation of capital throughout a women's career, placing her at significant disadvantage compared with male counterparts. The perception of women on boards subjectively depresses company stock prices despite positive objective performance metrics (Haslam et al., 2010). Yet objective measures of organizational performance and the composition of their boards show the positive impact of female talent (Post and Byron, 2014), especially regarding corporate responsibility and governance (Adams and Ferreira, 2009; Galbreath, 2011). Sadly, women are often only recruited to lead failing organizations (Ryan and Haslam, 2007, 2009). Thus women face greater risk of failure and criticism due to leading in more precarious positions (Haslam and Ryan, 2008).

Women's ascent into senior roles requires the navigation of complex organizational systems, which often have inherent contradictory signals (Eagly and Carli, 2007). In the next quote, we see a woman's surprise at two levels: as she fails to get the promotion for a job that she is doing well, and her realization and frustration that this rejection was due to her failure to play the game rather than her ability. She goes on to describe this turning point for her in changing her identity and how she passes on her learning to her mentee. In this way we see how learning is shared between women:

> I'd been a senior manager for so long I just thought it was a shoe-horn into director. I felt as though I'd been acting the role. I had to go through panels, went to London for a three partner panel who just didn't really get what I did, being two of them were London partners and one was a North partner but worked on very large clients, so I don't think they understood my market and they failed me, which was total devastation. The week later, the North partner that did fail me actually said, you'll easily get it next year there's a technique to the panels and I'm happy to coach you, but she really frustrated me because I thought, 'well if I can do the job but I'm missing out on a technique, what is it?' So I guess for me I did – whereas I'd just assumed I'd naturally get promoted because of my ability, feedback, that I'd proven myself, I was horrified that actually there was a technique to passing the process and actually that made me then think, 'right well I'll make sure I can do this' and I did. And it was, it was absolutely there's a whole thing about, and I do it a lot with [name of mentee] the whole leaning in and the sitting straight, and the going to the front of the conference and being heard. So it sounds really sexist I know, but being a bit more like a man.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted how women's experiences of organizations are different from their male counterparts'. We have reviewed research examining gender dimensions to three key HRM processes: recruitment and selection, reward and recognition, and progress, to outline how and why women's experiences of navigating to senior roles can be characterized as less just, and more challenging to their identity as a leader than for their male counterparts. We highlighted the roles of distributive and procedural injustices in producing triggers to sensemaking which can undermine female talents' psychological attachment not just to their employing organization, but also to their profession. Further, we have identified how women have more exposure to, and less buffering by, organizations in incidences of incivility, discrimination and harassment, which when framed as gender-related can amplify their impact on the twin mechanisms of sensemaking and sensebreaking. Thus women are both more likely to be direct targets, but also vicariously and ambiently affected by incivility due to its generalized gender dimensionality. Further we contend that these context factors are likely to be more magnified within male-dominated workplaces, in which women face not just typical issues arising from stereotype threats and backlash against them as leaders, but additional challenges by virtue of the male majority not only failing to perceive the organization as unfair, but also because they are likely to place less value on policies designed to enhance inclusion and diversity. We argue that through adopting a more dynamic approach throughout the employee life-cycle these accumulative experiences and the resultant sensemaking and sensebreaking around anchoring events is exposed. We identify that these events are likely to have distinct and insidious undermining impacts for female talent, with the potential to derail their drive to achieve elite roles. Thus we propose through this lifespan perspective an agenda for further attention on exploring the distinct differences that women face as they seek to progress to the top of organizations.

REFERENCES

Adams, R. B. and D. Ferreira (2009). Women in the boardroom and their impact on governance and performance. *Journal of Financial Economics*, *94*(2), 291–309.

Amanatullah, E. T. and C. H. Tinsley (2013). Punishing female negotiators for asserting too much . . . or not enough: Exploring why advocacy moderates backlash against assertive female negotiators. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *120*(1), 110–22.

Anderson, N., F. Lievens, K. van Dam and M. Born (2006). A construct-driven investigation of gender differences in a leadership-role assessment center. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *91*(3), 555–66.

Appelbaum, E., T. Bailey, P. Berg and A. L. Kalleberg (2001). Do high performance work systems pay off? *Research in the Sociology of Work*, *10*, 85–107.

Ashforth, B. E., S. H. Harrison and D. M. Sluss (2014). Becoming. In A. J. Shipp and Y. Fried (Eds.), *Time and Work*, Vol. 1: *How Time Impacts Individuals* (pp. 11–40). London: Taylor & Francis.

Ashforth, B. E. and F. Mael (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. *Academy of Management Review*, *14*(1), 20–39.

Ashforth, B. E. and B. S. Schinoff (2016). Identity under construction: How individuals come to define themselves in organizations. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, *3*(1), 111–37.

Aspire (2014). *The Great Female Corporate Quit: Will You Stay or Will You Go?* London: Aspire.

Atewologun, D., R. Sealy and S. Vinnicombe (2016). Revealing intersectional dynamics in organizations: Introducing 'intersectional identity work'. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *23*(3), 223–47.

Atewologun, D. and V. Singh (2010). Challenging ethnic and gender identities: An exploration of UK black professionals' identity construction. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *29*(4), 332–47.

Ballinger, G. A. and K. W. Rockmann (2010). Chutes versus ladders: Anchoring events and a

punctuated-equilibrium perspective on social exchange relationships. *Academy of Management Review*, *35*(3), 373–91.
Bartunek, J. M., J. Balogun and B. Do (2011). Considering planned change anew: Stretching large group interventions strategically, emotionally, and meaningfully. *Academy of Management Annals*, *5*(1), 1–52.
Beech, N. (2011). Liminality and the practices of identity reconstruction. *Human Relations*, *64*(2), 285–302.
Belliveau, M. A. (2011). Engendering inequity? How social accounts create vs. merely explain unfavorable pay outcomes for women. *Organization Science*, *23*(4), 1154–74.
Blau, F. D. and L. M. Kahn (2007). The gender pay gap: Have women gone as far as they can? *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *21*(1), 7–23.
Bowles, H. R., L. Babcock and L. Lai (2007). Social incentives for gender differences in the propensity to initiate negotiations: Sometimes it does hurt to ask. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *103*(1), 84–103.
Brickson, S. L. (2005). Organizational identity orientation: Forging a link between organizational identity and organizations' relations with stakeholders. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *50*(4), 576–609.
Brynin, M. (2017). *The Gender Pay Gap*. London: Equality and Human Rights Commission.
Brynin, M. and A. Güveli (2012). Understanding the ethnic pay gap in Britain. *Work, Employment and Society*, *26*(4), 574–87.
Brynin, M. and F. Perales (2016). Gender wage inequality: The de-gendering of the occupational structure. *European Sociological Review*, *32*(1), 162–74.
Celani, A., S. Deutsch-Salamon and P. Singh (2008). In justice we trust: A model of the role of trust in the organization in applicant reactions to the selection process. *Human Resource Management Review*, *18*(2), 63–76.
Charness, G. and U. Gneezy (2012). Strong evidence for gender differences in risk taking. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, *83*(1), 50–58.
Colella, A., R. L. Paetzold, A. Zardkoohi and M. J. Wesson (2007). Exposing pay secrecy. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(1), 55–71.
Colquitt, J. A., J. A. LePine, R. F. Piccolo, C. P. Zapata and B. L. Rich (2012). Explaining the justice–performance relationship: Trust as exchange deepener or trust as uncertainty reducer? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *97*(1), 1–15.
Colquitt, J. and J. Rodell (2011). Justice, trust, and trustworthiness: A longitudinal analysis integrating three theoretical perspectives. *Academy of Management Journal*, *54*(6), 1183–206.
Cortina, L. M. (2008). Unseen injustice: Incivility as modern discrimination in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *33*(1), 55–75.
Cortina, L. M., D. Kabat-Farr, E. A. Leskinen, M. Huerta and V. J. Magley (2013). Selective incivility as modern discrimination in organizations. *Journal of Management*, *39*(6), 1579–605.
De la Rica, S., J. J. Dolado and R. Vegas (2010). *Performance Pay and the Gender Wage Gap: Evidence from Spain*. IZA Discussion Papers 5032. Bonn: IZA.
Dean, M. A., P. L. Roth and P. Bobko (2008). Ethnic and gender subgroup differences in assessment center ratings: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(3), 685–91.
Doldor, E., R. Sealy and S. Vinnicombe (2016). Accidental activists: Headhunters as marginal diversity actors in institutional change towards more women on boards. *Human Resource Management Journal*, *26*(3), 285–303.
Eagly, A. H. and L. L. Carli (2003). Finding gender advantage and disadvantage: Systematic research integration is the solution. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *14*(6), 851–9.
Eagly, A. H. and L. L. Carli (2007). Women and the labyrinth of leadership. *Harvard Business Review*, *85*(9), 62–71.
Eagly, A. H. and S. J. Karau (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, *109*(3), 573–98.
Ellemers, N., F. Rink, B. Derks and M. K. Ryan (2012). Women in high places: When and why promoting women into top positions can harm them individually or as a group (and how to prevent this). *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *32*, 163–87.

Fearfull, A. and N. Kamenou (2010). Work and career experiences of ethnic minority men and women. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *29*(4), 325–31.

Ferris, D. L., M. Chen and S. Lim (2017). Comparing and contrasting workplace ostracism and incivility. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, *4*, 315–38.

Fitzsimmons, T. W. and V. J. Callan (2016). CEO selection: A capital perspective. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *27*(5), 765–87.

Fitzsimmons, T. W., V. J. Callan and N. Paulsen (2014). Gender disparity in the C-suite: Do male and female CEOs differ in how they reached the top? *The Leadership Quarterly*, *25*(2), 245–66.

Francoeur, C., R. Labelle and B. Sinclair-Desgagné (2008). Gender diversity in corporate governance and top management. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *81*(1), 83–95.

Fredrickson, J. W., A. Davis-Blake and W. M. G. Sanders (2010). Sharing the wealth: Social comparisons and pay dispersion in the CEO's top team. *Strategic Management Journal*, *31*(10), 1031–53.

Galbreath, J. (2011). Are there gender-related influences on corporate sustainability? A study of women on boards of directors. *Journal of Management & Organization*, *17*(1), 17–38.

Gilbert, K. (2005). The role of job evaluation in determining equal value in tribunals: Tool, weapon or cloaking device? *Employee Relations*, *27*(1), 7–19.

Gioia, D. A. and J. B. Thomas (1996). Identity, image and issue interpretation: Sensemaking during strategic change in academia. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *41*(3), 370–403.

Hampton-Alexander review (2016). *FTSE Women Leaders*. London: UK Government.

Haslam, S. A. and M. K. Ryan (2008). The road to the glass cliff: Differences in the perceived suitability of men and women for leadership positions in succeeding and failing organizations. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *19*(5), 530–46.

Haslam, S. A., M. K. Ryan, C. Kulich, G. Trojanowski and C. Atkins (2010). Investing with prejudice: The relationship between women's presence on company boards and objective and subjective measures of company performance. *British Journal of Management*, *21*(2), 484–97.

Heilman, M. E. (2001). Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 657–74.

Jacobs, G. and A. Keegan (2016). Ethical considerations and change recipients' reactions: 'It's not all about me'. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *152*(1), 73–90.

Kalysh, K., C. T. Kulik and S. Perera (2016). Help or hindrance? Work–life practices and women in management. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *27*(3), 504–18.

Kath, L. M., C. A. Swody, V. J. Magley, J. A. Bunk and J. A. Gallus (2009). Cross-level, three-way interactions among work-group climate, gender, and frequency of harassment on morale and withdrawal outcomes of sexual harassment. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *82*(1), 159–82.

Kim, M. (2015). Pay secrecy and the gender wage gap in the United States. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society*, *54*(4), 648–67.

Klotz, A. C., S. P. Motta Veiga, M. R. Buckley and M. B. Gavin (2013). The role of trustworthiness in recruitment and selection: A review and guide for future research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *34*(S1), S104–S119.

Kulich, C., M. K. Ryan and S. A. Haslam (2007). Where is the romance for women leaders? The effects of gender on leadership attributions and performance-based pay. *Applied Psychology*, *56*(4), 582–601.

Kulich, C., G. Trojanowski, M. K. Ryan, S. Alexander Haslam and L. D. R. Renneboog (2011). Who gets the carrot and who gets the stick? Evidence of gender disparities in executive remuneration. *Strategic Management Journal*, *32*(3), 301–21.

Leibbrandt, A. and J. A. List (2014). Do women avoid salary negotiations? Evidence from a large-scale natural field experiment. *Management Science*, *61*(9), 2016–24.

Lind, E. A. (2018). Trust and fairness. In R. H. Searle, A. L. Nienaber and S. B. Sitkin (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Trust* (pp. 183–96). Abingdon: Routledge.

Louis, M. R. (1980). Surprise and sense making: What newcomers experience in entering unfamiliar organizational settings. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *25*(2), 226–51.

Lyness, K. S. and M. K. Judiesch (1999). Are women more likely to be hired or promoted into management positions? *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *54*(1), 158–73.

Maitlis, S. and S. Sonenshein (2010). Sensemaking in crisis and change: Inspiration and insights from Weick (1988). *Journal of Management Studies*, *47*(3), 551–80.
Marianne, B. (2011). New perspectives on gender. *Handbook of Labor Economics*, *4*, 1543–90.
McCord, M. A., D. L. Joseph, L. Y. Dhanani and J. M. Beus (2018). A meta-analysis of sex and race differences in perceived workplace mistreatment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *103*(2), 137–63.
McShane, S. L. (1990). Two tests of direct gender bias in job evaluation ratings. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, *63*(2), 129–40.
Mor Barak, M., D. A. Cherin and S. Berkman (1998). Organizational and personal dimensions in diversity climate: Ethnic and gender differences in employee perceptions. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *34*(1), 82–104.
Morgeson, F. P., T. R. Mitchell and D. Liu (2015). Event system theory: An event-oriented approach to the organizational sciences. *Academy of Management Review*, *40*(4), 515–37.
Nadler, J. T. and M. S. Stockdale (2012). Workplace gender bias: Not just between strangers. *North American Journal of Psychology*, *14*(2), 281–92.
Ng, T. W. H. (2015). The incremental validity of organizational commitment, organizational trust, and organizational identification. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *88*, 154–63.
Olsen, J. E., C. K. Parsons, L. L. Martins and V. Ivanaj (2016). Gender diversity programs, perceived potential for advancement, and organizational attractiveness: An empirical examination of women in the United States and France. *Group & Organization Management*, *41*(3), 271–309.
Paustian-Underdahl, S. C., L. S. Walker and D. J. Woehr (2014). Gender and perceptions of leadership effectiveness: A meta-analysis of contextual moderators. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *99*(6), 1129–45.
Post, C. and K. Byron (2014). A theoretical expansion and meta-analysis of the women on boards: Firm performance relationship. *Academy of Management Proceedings*, *1*, 10172.
Powell, G. N. and D. A. Butterfield (2017). Linking leader anti-prototypes and prototypes to gender stereotypes. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *32*(2), 128–40.
Robinson, S. L. (1996). Trust and breach of the psychological contract. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *41*(4), 574–99.
Robinson, S. L. and E. W. Morrison (2000). The development of psychological contract breach and violation: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *21*(5), 525–46.
Robinson, S. L. and D. M. Rousseau (1994). Violating the psychological contract: Not the exception but the norm. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *15*(3), 245–59.
Robinson, S. L., W. Wang and C. Kiewitz (2014). Coworkers behaving badly: The impact of coworker deviant behavior upon individual employees. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, *1*, 123–43.
Rosette, A. S. and L. P. Tost (2010). Agentic women and communal leadership: How role prescriptions confer advantage to top women leaders. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *95*(2), 221–35.
Rotundo, M., D.-H. Nguyen and P. R. Sackett (2001). A meta-analytic review of gender differences in perceptions of sexual harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *86*(5), 914–22.
Rousseau, D. M. (1998). Why workers still identify with organizations. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *19*(3), 217–33.
Rudman, L. A. and J. E. Phelan (2008). Backlash effects for disconfirming gender stereotypes in organizations. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *28*(Suppl. C), 61–79.
Ryan, M. K. and S. A. Haslam (2007). The glass cliff: Exploring the dynamics surrounding the appointment of women to precarious leadership positions. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(2), 549–72.
Ryan, M. K. and S. A. Haslam (2009). Glass cliffs are not so easily scaled: On the precariousness of female CEOs' positions. *British Journal of Management*, *20*(1), 13–16.
Schein, V. E. (1973). The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *57*(2), 95–100.
Schein, V. E. (2007). Women in management: Reflections and projections. *Women in Management Review*, *22*(1), 6–18.
Searle, R. H. (2018). Trust and HRM. In R. H. Searle, A. L. Nienaber and S. B. Sitkin (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Trust* (pp. 483–505). Abingdon: Routledge.

Searle, R. H. and J. Billsberry (2011). The development and destruction of organizational trust during recruitment and selection. In R. H. Searle and D. Skinner (Eds.), *Trust and Human Resource Management* (pp. 67–86). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Searle, R. H., D. Den Hartog, A. Weibel, N. Gillespie, F. Six, T. Hatzakis and D. Skinner (2011). Trust in the employer: The role of high involvement work practices and procedural justice in European organizations. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *22*(5), 1068–91.

Searle, R. H., A. Nienaber, D. Price and M. Holtgrave (2017). Lone star or team player? The interrelationship of different identification foci and the role of self-presentation concerns. *Human Resource Management*, *57*(2), 529–47.

Searle, R. H., C. Rice, A. McConnell and J. Dawson (2017). Bad apples? Bad barrels? Or bad cellars? Antecedents and processes of professional misconduct in UK health and social care: Insights into sexual misconduct and dishonesty. Research Paper. University of Coventry.

Searle, R. H. and D. Skinner (2011). Introduction. In R. H. Searle and D. Skinner (Eds.), *Trust and Human Resource Management* (pp. 3–17). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Shaw, J. D. (2014). Pay dispersion. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, *1*, 521–44.

Terjesen, S. and R. Sealy (2016). Board gender quotas: Exploring ethical tensions from a multi-theoretical perspective. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, *26*(1), 23–65.

Tomlinson, E. C. and A. M. Carnes (2015). When promises are broken in a recruitment context: The role of dissonance attributions and constraints in repairing behavioural integrity. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *88*(2), 415–35.

Tomprou, M., D. M. Rousseau and S. D. Hansen (2015). The psychological contracts of violation victims: A post-violation model. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *36*(4), 561–81.

Tzafrir, S. S. (2005). The relationship between trust, HRM practices and firm performance. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *16*(9), 1600–22.

van den Brink, M. and Y. Benschop (2014). Gender in academic networking: The role of gatekeepers in professorial recruitment. *Journal of Management Studies*, *51*(3), 460–92.

van der Werff, L. and F. Buckley (2014). Getting to know you: A longitudinal examination of trust cues and trust development during socialization. *Journal of Management*, *43*(3), 742–70.

Vanneste, B. S., P. Puranam and T. Kretschmer (2014). Trust over time in exchange relationships: Meta-analysis and theory. *Strategic Management Journal*, *35*(12), 1891–902.

Weibel, A., D. N. Den Hartog, N. Gillespie, R. Searle, F. Six and D. Skinner (2016). How do controls impact employee trust in the employer? *Human Resource Management*, *55*(3), 437–62.

Whitener, E. M. (2001). Do 'high commitment' human resource practices affect employee commitment? A cross-level analysis using hierarchical linear modeling. *Journal of Management*, *27*(5), 515–35.

15. Experiencing a secret career in healthcare science

Valerie Bevan

There are many factors influencing why women find it harder to get to the top in science than do men and I have written about some of these previously (Bevan and Gatrell, 2017; Bevan and Learmonth, 2013) as have others (Greenfield, 2002; HoCSTC, 2014; Kirkup et al., 2010; Lane, 1999). The area for discussion in this chapter is why do women in science (in my particular research, in healthcare science[1]) keep quiet about their career aspirations? Why do they seem uncomfortable about talking about their ambitions to the point of having, what we have called in our book (Bevan and Gatrell, 2017), secret careers?

The debate here draws upon texts from qualitative interviews with thirty-three women and fourteen men undertaken between 2005 and 2015 mainly with healthcare scientists working in public sector organizations. In addition, it describes some of my own experiences as a registered biomedical scientist[2] working in the healthcare science world where subtle masculinities are ubiquitous – by subtle masculinities I mean those taken-for-granted, usually invisible, subtle sexist behaviours which marginalize women (Bevan and Gatrell, 2017; Bevan and Learmonth, 2013; Rhoton, 2011). The chapter is divided into two sections: firstly, women's secret careers at work looking at the masculine culture and at subtle masculinities in action in science, and secondly, how subtle masculinities infiltrate into the home, influencing women to keeping their careers a secret from their husbands (all the women in my research living with heterosexual partners were married).

A theme which runs through the chapter is 'place', the importance of which dawned on me when I read a chapter by Janet Newman (1995), where she critiques transformational cultures in which women are expected to conform:

> The gender and 'racial' inequalities of power operating beneath the surface of the seemingly consensual teams and workplaces remain. Women are again, then, operating within contradictory sets of meanings: 'Contribute fully, as equal members of the team', but 'Remember your real place'. (Newman, 1995, p. 19)

So why do men go to such efforts to keep women in their place and why do women find it difficult to escape from this place?

My interest in women's progression in science stems from a life working in and around UK healthcare science laboratories. I started work as a biomedical scientist (then termed laboratory technician) quickly learning my 'place' in the hierarchy of the microbiology science world which was dominated by men and medically qualified doctors (also men). My place in healthcare science has been within the subordinate place of women and a different place from that occupied by the men who were the decision makers, reflecting Miller's (1986, p. 75) comments that, 'Women's place is *outside* the ongoing action' (emphasis in original). I recall taking the oral exam for the advanced bacteriology final and the examiner said to me, 'I suppose you want promotion now'. I was horrified, 'Goodness, no', I replied. But I secretly did want to advance but was too ill at ease to say so. This nervousness about making my ambitions known has never left me.

During my long career as a biomedical scientist, I have worked in clinical diagnostic, public health microbiology and research and development (R&D), progressing along a path to senior management. Leaving school with 'A' Levels, I started working in a laboratory rather than going to university and did not have a first degree. I gained my first Master's degree in 1983 in Applied Immunology at Brunel University. Would I be regarded as a scientific leader? The answer is no: I have no scientific specialism. I did advance over time, however, to having a national and international role contributing (possibly) at the top management committee of the organization and subsequently (when the organization transmogrified) to sit on the senior management team of one of its institutes. My main scientific contribution was to lead the development of standardized methods in microbiology, now used in laboratories throughout the UK.

Like most scientists, feminism did not form any part of my learning during early studies and at work I rarely challenged the subtle masculinities around me. A turning point for me came with further study for a part-time Master's degree in Management Studies at York University when, for the first time, I became exposed to feminist concepts that had previously been on the periphery of my awareness. With new learning, I realized that science itself could be questioned and was subject to different interpretations (and this was after many years accepting the dogma that science was objective). I became interested in the position of women and minority groups in science and followed this second Master's degree with a Doctor of Philosophy degree (PhD; Bevan, 2009) studying part-time at Lancaster University. Here I could explore in much more depth the position and place of women in science. At some point I realized that I was part of the group I was researching.

My new interests took me in a different direction away from science, mostly associated with 'relational' activities as Fletcher (2001) describes where I considered that 'empathy, vulnerability and connection' were strengths but my bosses and colleagues mostly regarded these characteristics as weaknesses (Fletcher, 2001, p. 9). The HoCSTC Report (2014) notes how such relational activities, termed 'soft responsibilities' are not highly valued in the science workplace:

> Interestingly, the skills that are normally considered essential to leadership are under-valued in academia: ScienceGrrl [*sic*] stated that 'non-research skills (for example, leadership, mentoring, pastoral care, teaching, project/lab management) appear to be largely ignored' in career advancement. This can be a gender issue as 'anecdotally . . . more women than men take on so-called "soft" responsibilities'. (HoCSTC, 2014, p. 22, quoting evidence from ScienceGrrl)

With newfound strength founded on new understanding, I started to challenge the rhetoric of my organization's 'values' which were not borne out in the reality of women's place in the science workplace. Using the work I had already led in my own laboratory, I offered to contribute in developing the new Chief Executive's 'values and behaviours' but the offer was not taken up and they were later imposed on the organization. This top-down approach antagonized many staff who saw them as a rhetorical device not borne out in the reality of the workplace. One example of this was when the on-site nursery was closed because it was a cost to the organization.

One area of work (with a colleague and my son who understood statistics) was looking at the proportions of women who progressed within the healthcare science hierarchy in my organization. These quantitative studies (unpublished but available in my PhD thesis; Bevan, 2009) confirmed the literature reporting that men dominate the upper grades in science (Greenfield, 2002; HoCSTC, 2014). This work showed that women healthcare scientists in the organization did not make the top grades and there was a much higher attrition rate for women in their advancement to the higher ranks than for men. The masculinized culture and subtle masculinities contribute to this attrition rate and to why women keep quiet about their career aspirations.

MASCULINIZED CULTURE AND SUBTLE MASCULINITIES IN ACTION

The subtle masculinities in healthcare science are a result of men favouring and advancing men in the science workplace, of women being excluded by men from decision making positions and of men avoiding doing the support work necessary to keep the laboratory functioning and expecting that these roles are undertaken by women (Bevan and Gatrell, 2017; Bevan and Learmonth, 2013).

A masculinized culture at the top of science is not welcoming for women where their voices are shunned and they have difficulty in making a valid contribution as Fotaki (2011, pp. 46–7) points out, where the 'masculine logos [is] the dominant form of speech' and where women may be 'demolished' in a public forum where 'would be participants may . . . be silenced'. Angela recognized the need for a different discourse:

> We need a thinking environment that allows people to talk and give ideas without interruption. You don't want to be shouted down or locked into something that may just be an idea. I can't discuss ideas here with my current colleagues. (Angela)

Mary said she was exhausted and was disillusioned with her boss and her organization and did not know whether to continue the 'fight':

> I get to the point where they just wear me down. They take and take and don't give anything back. I try to contribute but no one has the decency to listen. Do I really want to fight the battle? (Mary)

I have plenty of personal experiences of subtle masculinities in action and of conducting my career at work in secret. The masculinized science world in which I worked inculcated a lack of confidence in this young naïve woman and I did not ask questions which would show my lack of knowledge. In those long ago days, I preferred to wait and find out in a quiet way than to show my ignorance to my bosses and peers. I can see with the benefit of hindsight how I missed opportunities because of this. When I started work in the laboratory for instance, I didn't know what a scientific paper was or what journals were and presumably no one thought to enlighten such a junior member of staff. How much easier it is to research *anything* now with the internet.

In retrospect, I realize that I was obliquely presented with the chance to do a PhD but I needed to find out how to register with a university and all the rest that that would entail. I didn't know how to go about it and was too embarrassed to ask so was probably seen as ignoring the opportunity presented. I was ambitious but couldn't say so. The masculinized science world in which I worked was not conducive to encouraging me. Instead I gained a post in London with the opportunity to study for a PhD part-time but then found that London University would not accept my qualifications from the Institute of Biomedical Science (IBMS) as being degree equivalent. Not being able to register with London University, Brunel University recognized my qualifications and I grasped the opportunity to study for a Master's degree in Applied Immunology. What an experience! At lunch times the whole class would go to the bar and the professor and the (real) immunologists in the group would debate the philosophical aspects of immunology. I learnt a lot. What a difference an encouraging environment makes.

I recall three later personal examples where my voice was publicly silenced. The first was at a meeting where I tried to get my point across but was met with silence and a kind of hushed drawing of breath among my colleagues. I felt as though I had said something completely inappropriate but when I thought about it later I don't think it was that at all. I realized that my boss, who was head of the institute, didn't want to hear my suggestion and the others took his lead. I went hot with embarrassment and am sure I was bright red. The second example was some months later at the same senior management team meeting where I offered to take on a piece of work which was in my area of responsibility. My boss said he wanted 'Joe' to do it and completely ignored my offer whilst looking straight at me. It was as though I hadn't spoken and I felt he deliberately ignored me. I don't know what his motives were but I felt sick at the direct put down. I was certain that 'Joe' wouldn't deliver on the piece of work which was subsequently confirmed. I walked out of the meeting early, shaking. I was so angry that I felt like going home but instead had a cup of coffee and recovered.

The third example was where I had been invited to a meeting in another institute to enable me to speak for a few minutes on a particular subject chaired by a senior male scientist. The first time I tried to speak, the chair bluntly said 'No, not now Valerie'. So I waited and near the end of that agenda item, I asked if I was to be given the opportunity to speak. He said, 'Oh yes, I had forgotten about you'. In such hostile senior environments, why would women want to participate or seek promotion? Women, like me, quietly wait for opportunities to present themselves to be recognized for their contributions but are often passed over and humiliated in public.

Lisa's approach was bolder. When the female deputy of her boss moved posts, Lisa told me that she went to see him to offer her services as his interim deputy and to establish whether he might consider her as his new deputy. She said:

> He was charming. He said, 'I wouldn't have expected anything else of you' but I got the distinct feeling that I wasn't what he wanted. I never bothered to apply for it and he never discussed it with me [any more] so he obviously didn't want me in the post. I would have been good at it and really helped him to put into action all the things he said he wanted to do but couldn't get off the ground. A guy was appointed but he was useless. (Lisa)

Lisa continued as head of her department as a senior healthcare scientist but when followed up several years later, was planning to take early retirement. Women find it difficult to challenge unfair practices (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993) and when they are excluded, they accept the subtle masculinities as the norm. It seems that men want to keep the subordinates, the women, under control away from the stereotypical expert and leadership place of men (Miller, 1986). Kanter (1977, p. 218) records the 'resentment' of men to successful women:

> . . . a central principle for the success of tokens in competition with dominants: to always stay one step behind, never exceed or excell [*sic*].

In my research, it wasn't only the senior women who suffered this subtle discrimination. Younger aspiring women healthcare scientists talked about how male bosses favoured the younger men rather than the women. Kate, for instance, noticed how her male senior scientist boss encouraged her male colleague who was at the same grade as she was by offering training to him rather than to her. She also said that he never reprimanded this male colleague but had no trouble putting Kate in her place, telling her it wasn't her place to propose improvements to the laboratory systems of working. Although Kate wasn't happy about his treatment of her, she didn't challenge him about it. She preferred to keep a low profile and reduced unpleasant contact time with him.

Jackie took a different approach by humouring her male scientist boss by being what she termed 'submissive'. In being submissive, Jackie readily undertook the support work necessary to maintain records, to take on tasks to keep the laboratory safe and to meet the high quality standards required for accreditation assessments. She also trained other colleagues in these requirements. She wanted to please her boss and hoped by working hard she would be recognized as a valuable research scientist. However, working hard does not necessarily lead to rewards as Tannen (1992) points out. He initially encouraged her by suggesting that studying for a PhD would be possible but changed his mind and then agreed to her studying for a Master's degree in a 'quality' related subject in the interim. However, as someone knowledgeable and experienced in quality, Jackie became labelled as a support worker, not as the research scientist she wanted to be.

It seemed that Jackie's boss did not think her capable of studying for a PhD but Jackie knew that she needed a PhD as the first step in enabling her eventually to propose her own research and development programmes and to lead her own team. She didn't know how to persuade him. She was too uncomfortable to make her ambitions clear to him and did not try to negotiate a new position (see Bowles et al., 2005) recognizing her place in the hierarchy. She waited to be spotted by him as a good scientist but that never happened. Jackie eventually moved posts to a laboratory where her potential was recognized and where she eventually gained her PhD by part-time study and started the long climb for recognition as a scientist.

Another example was told by Nina. Nina's male colleague was allowed, encouraged even, to write scientific papers and avoided the support work necessary to keep the laboratory functioning. He was the one who had time to write papers and was rewarded for being the good scientist whereas Nina was labelled the metaphorical 'm[o]ther' (see Bevan and Gatrell, 2017; Cooper, 1992; Fotaki, 2011) and kept in her place in the lower spheres. As publications are a major way that scientists are recognized by their peers, Nina was significantly disadvantaged by her willingness to 'sort out something'.

Taking on such support duties unintentionally identified women as the metaphorical 'm[o]ther' and disadvantaged them by associating them with the place of home which conformed to stereotypical gendered expectations. The HoCSTC report (2014) writes that there should be 'a more inclusive and wide ranging assessment of [women's] wider contribution':

> For example, they should provide acknowledgement and credit for tasks such as organization of group seminars, engagement with visiting school-children, mentoring junior colleagues, taking on placement students, acting as counsellors. (HoCSTC, 2014, p. 34, quoting evidence from the Science and Technology Facilities Council – Women in Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths Network (STFC WiSTEM))

What the experiences of these women indicate is that when women work in a hostile science environment, their confidence is sapped. Appearing confident, however, was seen by at least one very senior man as being extremely important when it came to recruiting to senior posts. He said that despite the curriculum vitae of the women looking excellent, as far as he was concerned women tended not to manifest sufficient confidence to be appointed:

> In some ways women are held back because they will not perform at interview; they are not fully convinced that they should be there. I've been amazed at some of the CVs, then I look at the person and talk to them and they do not have the confidence commensurate.

It seemed that he was content to make judgements and exclude women applicants based on their apparent lack of confidence and even implied that it was wilful when he said 'they will not perform'. Women who show a deficit by lacking masculine attributes (Miller, 1986; Rosser, 2004; Wajcman, 1991) are regarded as Other. As Valian (2004, p. 208) describes, this is a recipe for missing competent women as men tend to overrate men's ability and underrate that of women in what she calls 'gender schemas'. It is also an example of subtle masculinities in action. Lacking obvious confidence means women keep quiet about their ambitions, conducting their careers in secret.

Men see other men in their own image and promote men like themselves (Hearn, 2002; Kanter, 1977). They help other men rather than women to progress but this is taken for granted as a normal process and generally isn't noticed, or if it is noticed it goes unchallenged. Will, looking back over the last forty years, accepted that men would be more likely to head laboratories because, he said, there were more men in his organization:

> Our organization has always been numerically top heavy with males, so I suppose it's more likely to be a man who'll rise to head laboratories or run teams. The ratio has always been more men. It's just the history of how we grew up. (Will)

In Will's public sector organization, women represented over half the staff but this did not alter his 'distorted' (Kanter, 1977, p. 211) perception that it was 'top heavy with males', perhaps because he was used to seeing more men than women at the top of his organization.

Furthermore the possibility occurs that men in science progress because men see science as men's work and women are perceived as a threat to male dominance and power in science, in a similar way to how women are perceived in other fields (Hollway, 1996, p. 30; Wajcman, 1998, p. 2). Writing about the advancement of senior managers, Kanter (1977) uses the term 'homosocial reproduction' to describe how men tend to promote other men rather than women:

> [k]eeping [top] positions in the hands of people of one's [own] kind provides reinforcement for the belief that people like oneself actually deserve to have such authority. 'Homosocial' . . .

> reproduction provide[s] an important form of reassurance in the face of uncertainty about performance measurement in high-reward, high-prestige positions. So [top] positions . . . become easily closed to people who are 'different'. (Kanter, 1977, pp. 62–3)

That this subtle, possibly unconscious, gender bias remains prevalent is confirmed in the HoCSTC Report (2014) quoting evidence submitted by the British Medical Association and Newcastle University:

> 'unconscious bias means that panels frequently have a tendency to choose appointees like themselves'. This type of bias in an environment dominated at senior levels by men may mean that 'many successful candidates will be male'. (HoCSTC, 2014, p. 19)

I once applied for a senior post which would have meant a move of house of about 150 miles. Although I was unsuccessful, I subsequently received a letter from a member of the interview panel, the medical director, to whom I would have reported. The letter (which I still have) expressed regret that I had been unsuccessful and made a few complimentary observations about my interview. It seemed that in a small town laboratory a woman could not be appointed over the incumbent male who was known to fit in.

SECRET CAREERS AT HOME

Heterosexual women with cohabiting partners, especially those with children, lead complex lives where they juggle home and work to a degree not common among cohabiting men with female partners. I now move on to look at how some women were inhibited in their career progression by these home influences, including by their husbands.

Chandler (1991, pp. 121–2) points out that:

> A resident man creates extra chores, more washing, higher standards for cooking, more organization to suit his schedule and women have to set time aside to be with him, to be attentive and accessible.

Tending to the needs of husbands is nothing new as Hetty Morrison, in 1878, comments:

> If man alone loves to eat, and yet will not cook, but makes woman do that for him, who can blame him? He has been taught for thousands of years that he is the Crowning Glory of Creation . . . // . . . A race of donkeys would have learned so much in less time. (Morrison [1878] 2010, pp. 40–41)

Women who take time out of their careers when they have children reduce their earning power and are financially vulnerable (Charles, 1993). Furthermore, during maternity leave, women may take on more household duties than previously and when they return to work, there can be an expectation that this pattern will continue. Women then find it difficult to hand over domestic tasks to their partners. The lagged adaptation (Gershuny et al., 1994) whereby wives and husbands negotiate over time a shared understanding of each other's position is disrupted. Hochschild (2003) describes women working the 'second shift' as regularly working an extra month every year in their home roles and my studies show that working the 'second shift' at home was common among the women healthcare scientists interviewed. Similar to the way women tended not to negotiate at work over pay and promotion (Bowles et al., 2005), some women did not negotiate over their careers with their husbands or over their lack of input into home duties. Instead, women seemed to humour their husbands about the importance of the man's career possibly because they were paying tribute to his masculinity but also because they relied on his financial contribution; they also rarely complained to their husbands about their lack of input into responsibilities for the home and children as it may seem like nagging (Maushart, 2003).

The women healthcare scientists in my study were all highly committed to their work, and this commitment remained when they had husbands and children. The married women all respected the work of their husbands which took precedence over their own careers even when the men did not have high-level occupations or when the men earned less than the women. The seven women who earned less than their husbands seemed proud of the fact that their husbands earned more than they did, in keeping with the analysis by Potuchek (1997) and Brannen and Moss (1991) who show that wives tend to downplay their own earnings preferring to call their husbands the breadwinners.

Both husbands and wives in my study seemed to share the expectation that women would take the major responsibility for the house and for the children, even where the women worked long hours in their paid work. Women 'talked up' the careers of the husbands whilst downplaying their own, making statements such as Anne's:

> I do most of the household stuff because 'Dan' is always so busy at work and he's exhausted when he gets in. And then he brings work home to do. It seems to work OK but I do get cross when I have 'work work' to do in the evenings as well and he just goes and sits in front of the TV after supper. (Anne)

So despite Anne also working in a pressured laboratory environment, her husband did not consider her career expectations, nor did she expect him to. Nor did he appreciate that she also had to bring work home to do in the evenings or that he contributed little to household duties.

Men who earn more that their partners are able to exert more influence in a relationship (Brannen and Moss, 1991; Hochschild, 2003; Vogler, 1998; Vogler and Pahl, 1994). Despite having a demanding job and secretly wanting promotion, unobtrusively Anne arranged her career around her husband and family. It seemed unlikely that her husband knew of her career desires because she didn't want to bother him. In response to a direct question during the interview, Anne replied: 'No, I don't want to trouble him with my work issues'. Anne fitted her career around the demands of her husband and children so that they were not unsettled by it.

Whilst there was nothing in the interviews either from the women or from the men that indicated that husbands downplayed the careers of their wives, for most there was little indication of active encouragement or respect from the men for the women's careers. One example of this lack of active encouragement was the way the husbands avoided household duties, letting their wives take on the bulk of these responsibilities in much the same way as the male healthcare scientists avoided the support duties in the laboratory. It appeared that the women were appreciative of the input from their husbands but they regarded the input from the men as doing their wives a favour, not something they had a right to expect.

One woman, who had recently returned to work, commented that her husband would have preferred that she had stayed at home and given up work. Because her salary only just covered the costs of childcare, he considered that it was not worth her working. Her husband saw her primarily as wife and mother but she knew that she would need to keep up to date with the science to progress her career which would be more difficult to do after a gap of several years, so she calmly persevered and returned to work ignoring the subtle pressure he exerted.

Another woman talked up her husband's career by saying she wished her staff were as appreciative of her as her husband's staff were of him. She said her husband, also a senior healthcare scientist, did not seem to have the problems that she faced:

> I know he doesn't have the issues at work that I face every day. His staff think he's great. He doesn't really want to hear about my problems at work – he just wants me to get on with it and not bother him – keep bringing in the money he says.

Even though she had a pressured career, she still over-praised her husband and expected little from him.

Alice was the only woman who said that her husband took 'equal responsibility' in looking after the children:

> I do all the shopping and cooking but he is always caring for our daughters. I think that is unusual. I must say he's been very good at that but I mean he doesn't do much cooking and not so much cleaning, so I would say I have the primary role. I decide what we are going to eat and make sure there is food in the house and organize the shopping. (Alice)

Like most of the other women, Alice also praised her husband:

> I don't bring work home with me and we don't discuss my work. I think that's because he works so hard and such long hours that he deserves time to himself. (Alice)

Yet Alice also worked hard and long hours but she shielded her husband from her own concerns by keeping quiet at home about any of her own work issues.

So how did this affect the women's careers? Most women seemed uneasy about telling their husbands about their career aspirations, perhaps fearing they were overstepping their 'place'. Two women interviewed told me how they had divorced as a consequence of disputes when they wanted to take their careers further than their husbands wanted them to.

It seems likely that the men saw their wives as mainly associated with the home and Other in career terms, separated by their difference, in a similar vein to the way men tend to see women in the science work environment. The husbands, possibly unknowingly, exerted subtle masculinist pressure on their wives in the expectation that women would assume the prime responsibilities in the home. It seemed that the women conducted their careers in secret from their husbands, knowing their place and not wanting to threaten the unwritten pact they shared (Edgell, 1980; Mansfield and Collard, 1988). By accepting the role as subordinate partners in the relationship with their husbands, they avoided conflict, as Miller (1986) describes. In these arenas, patriarchal practices thrive. The women did not feel able to share their ambitions with their spouses. They wanted to protect them from additional worries, as they saw it, but this meant a degree of hidden conflict within the marriage and was the price they were prepared to pay for a quiet life without obvious discord.

This was subtle masculinities in action in the home. The husbands took the situation as the norm and apparently disregarded their wives need for a career. This was borne out by the men in the study, none of whom 'talked up' the wife's career or her earnings.

Of course, there must be plenty of women who do negotiate better terms for themselves with their partners over the housework and childcare but not for most of the women in my study. For myself, before I embarked on my PhD, without thinking much about 'negotiating', I sat down at the kitchen table with my husband and son and pointed out that the only way I was going to be able to cope with the study obligations was if my husband (with contributions from our son) took over all the shopping, cooking and cleaning – I would continue to do the washing and ironing. Our son needed to keep his room tidy and take a turn with the other chores. There wasn't much for them to gain from my PhD but they agreed. The process seemed to work and we are still married and our son still visits. Perhaps I was lucky in my choice of husband, unknowingly following Sheryl Sandberg's advice: 'The most important career choice you'll make is who you marry' (Sandberg, 2011).

I changed roles and laboratories several times for experience and promotion and moved my family twice, around 200 miles each time, away from London and back to London. My husband gave up work twice to look after our son, both times for around a year. The first time was when I returned to work after five months' maternity leave and the second time was when I moved for a more senior post back to the London area when our son was 11 and about to change schools anyway.

During my studies for my PhD, I met women and men who said they wouldn't talk at home about the controversies they discussed on the course because it might challenge their relationships. I didn't have this problem and probably bored my husband with my newfound learning. As I never planned career moves for the long term but looked for the next possible rung up the ladder, that was the context in which we discussed my career moves. My husband has never expressed an interest in my work in terms of my career progression, or, come to that, in his own. Did I humour my husband to preserve his masculinity? I don't think so, as he always seems quietly confident in his own skin. Did I have a secret career at home? I don't think so, but I certainly did at work.

At this point, it is worth noting that none of the women (or men) commented on the expectation that their older children would contribute to the household tasks yet they also played an indirect role in the career of the mothers and again the pressure is subtle. Essie for instance commented that her four sons did not regard her work highly even though she had always had a career. I asked Essie if she had ever discussed the importance of her career with her sons, and she replied that she hadn't, saying, 'I don't think they'd be interested'. Yet the power balance active in Essie's home involved not only her husband but also their four near grown-up sons who played a significant, albeit indirect, role in her career. Essie considered that men held the power:

> Women can play into hands of men who think that men are superior and so we can't blame men. Why should men change? If you are number one, why are you going to give up power? There's no incentive for men to do that and in many ways women don't help either. Both men and women do not want to change things. (Essie)

Essie recognized that men's dominance reinforces women's weakness:

> I don't think we will ever change this view that men are number one and women are number two. Women can absolutely play into hands of those men who hold the view that men are superior and so we can't blame men, it's ingrained in society. (Essie)

Even though she held a senior position, Essie not only kept quiet about the importance of her job and her career aspirations from her husband but she also downplayed them with her sons and in so doing perpetuated their stereotypical expectation of man's superior place in the world and the subordinate place of women.

So, what were the views of the men interviewed? Twelve of the fourteen men in the study were married and all were apparently appreciative of their wives. However, nine of these wives had given up work to stay at home to look after children and the men all implied that their wives had chosen this rather than to continue in their careers. Ralph, for instance, said:

> First-class honours degree then PhD and post-doc, own grant and then two kids, she just felt that she didn't want to do it anymore. It was just too difficult juggling. (Ralph)

Similar to the other eight men, Ralph rationalized the decision as that of his wife and didn't talk about any contribution from himself which might have helped his wife 'juggle' their home lives so that she could have continued her career.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, women tended not to put themselves forward in the healthcare science workplace or express their ambitions as doing so was often counterproductive. They were aware that they were disadvantaged compared with their male colleagues but in general they avoided challenging their own injustices. In accordance with Miller (1986), many of the women in my research remained in the subordinate place compared with male scientists by keeping a low profile and avoiding conflict, waiting for opportunities to materialize that they could pursue. Meantime, they quietly continued their career ambitions in secret, subject to the subtle masculinities in action which favoured men over women, excluded women and assisted men in avoiding the everyday support duties that held no scientific status.

The lives of the women at home were complex as they took care of their husbands as well as their children. In line with Hochschild's (2003) second shift, all the married women in my study spent more time than their husbands on household duties and caring for children. They were not happy about the amount of additional household responsibilities they undertook but in accord with Chandler (1991), they tended not to challenge those parts of a relationship which were unsatisfactory in case it put the marriage in jeopardy: they kept quiet about the inequitability.

So, what could be described as 'discrimination' by the husbands was as subtle as the discrimination by male bosses at work and was accommodated by the women, keeping them in the home in the recognized place of women; it seemed this was a prudent way to avoid conflict and preserve the relationship. As a result of this inconspicuous pressure from unsympathetic husbands, the careers of the women were hindered. On several occasions, teenage children also played a part by not accepting the career status of the mother possibly by aligning themselves with the father. As a consequence of these subtle masculinities, women mostly conducted their careers in secret, experiencing private patriarchy at home as well as public patriarchy at work (Walby, 1989).

NOTES

1. To preserve the anonymity of the interviewees, the terms 'healthcare science' and sometimes 'science' have been used to cover the diverse healthcare laboratories in which the interviewees worked.
2. Although the terms have changed over time and to preserve the anonymity of the interviewees, the generic term 'healthcare scientist' has been used to cover the two registered and protected titles of biomedical scientist and clinical scientist and the non-registered interviewees. For details on careers for biomedical scientists refer to the Institute of Biomedical Science (IBMS) website. For details on clinical scientist careers refer to the websites of the Academy for Healthcare Science; Council of Healthcare Science; and NHS Careers.

REFERENCES

Academy for Healthcare Science. http://www.ahcs.ac.uk/, accessed 13 December 2017.

Bevan, V. (2009). Positioning women in science: Knowing her place (PhD thesis, Lancaster University).

Bevan, V. and Gatrell, C. (2017). *Knowing Her Place: Positioning Women in Science*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Bevan, V. and Learmonth, M. (2013). 'I wouldn't say it's sexism except that it's all these little subtle things': Healthcare scientists' accounts of gender in healthcare laboratories. *Social Studies of Science*, *43*(1), 136–58.

Bowles, H., Babcock, L. and Lai, L. (2005). It depends who is asking and who you ask: Social incentives for sex differences in the propensity to initiate negotiation. *Faculty Research Working Paper Series.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Brannen, J. and Moss, P. (1991). *Managing Mothers: Dual Earner Households after Matrimony*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Chandler, J. (1991). *Women without Husbands*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.

Charles, N. (1993). *Gender Divisions and Social Change.* Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Cooper, C. (1992). The non and nom of accounting for (m)other nature. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*, *5*(3), 16–51.

Edgell, S. (1980). *Middle Class Couples: A Study of Segregation, Domination and Inequality in Marriage*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Fletcher, J. (2001). *Disappearing Acts: Gender Power and Relational Practice at Work.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Fotaki, M. (2011). The sublime object of desire (for knowledge): Sexuality at work in business and management schools in England. *British Journal of Management*, *22*(1), 42–53.

Gershuny, J., Godwin, M. and Jones, S. (1994). The domestic labour revolution: A process of lagged adaptation? In M. Anderson, F. Bechhofer and J. Gershuny (Eds.), *The Social and Political Economy of the Household* (pp. 151–97). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Greenfield, S. (2002). *Set Fair: A Report on Women in Science, Engineering, and Technology*. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.berr.gov.uk/dius/science/science-and-society/science-workforce/women-in-set/page10491.html, accessed 13 December 2017.

Hearn, J. (2002). Alternative conceptualizations and theoretical perspectives in identities and organizational culture: A personal review of research on men in organizations. In I. Aaltio and A. Mills (Eds.), *Gender, Identity and the Culture of Organizations* (pp. 39–56). London: Routledge.

Hochschild, A. (2003). *The Second Shift*. New York: Penguin Books.

Hollway, W. (1996). Masters and men in the transition from factory hands to sentimental workers.

In D. Collinson and J. Hearn (Eds.), *Men as Managers, Managers as Men: Critical Perspectives on Men, Masculinities and Managements* (pp. 25–42). London: Sage.
House of Commons Science and Technology Committee (HoCSTC) (2014). *Women in Scientific Careers*. Sixth report of Session 2013–2014.
Institute of Biomedical Science (IBMS). https://www.ibms.org/, accessed 12 December 2017.
Kanter, R. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
Kerfoot, D. and Knights, D. (1993). Management, masculinity and manipulation: From paternalism to corporate strategy in financial services in Britain. *Journal of Management Studies*, *30*(4), 659–78.
Kirkup, G., Zalevski, A., Maruyama, T. and Batool, I. (2010). *Women and Men in Science, Engineering and Technology: The UK Statistics Guide 2010*. Bradford: UK Resource Centre for Women (UKRC).
Lane, N. (1999). Why are there so few women in science? *Nature Debates*, 9 September. http://www.nature.com/nature/debates/women/women_contents.html, accessed 13 December 2017.
Mansfield, P. and Collard, J. (1988). *The Beginning of the Rest of Your Life?* Basingstoke: Macmillan.
Maushart, S. (2003). *Wifework: What Marriage Really Means for Women*. London: Bloomsbury.
Miller, J. (1986). *Towards a New Psychology of Women*. London: Penguin.
Morrison, H. ([1878] 2010). *My Summer in the Kitchen*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing.
Newman, J. (1995). Gender and cultural change. In C. Itzin and J. Newman (Eds.), *Gender, Culture and Organizational Change: Putting Theory into Practice* (pp. 11–29). London and New York: Routledge.
Potuchek, J. (1997). *Who Supports the Family? Gender and Breadwinning in Dual-Earner Marriages*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
Rhoton, L. (2011). Distancing as a gendered barrier: Understanding women scientists' gender practices. *Gender & Society*, *25*(6), 696–716.
Rosser, S. (2004). *The Science Glass Ceiling: Academic Women Scientists and the Struggle to Succeed*. London: Routledge.
Sandberg, S. (2011). Sheryl Sandberg: 'The Most Important Career Choice You'll Make Is Who You Marry'. *Business Insider*. http://www.businessinsider.com/sheryl-sandberg-career-advice-to-women-2011-12?IR=T, accessed 13 December 2017.
Tannen, D. (1992). *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*. London: Virago.
Valian, V. (2004). Beyond gender schemas: Improving the advancement of women in academia. *NWSA Journal*, *16*(1), 207–20.
Vogler, C. (1998). Money in the household: Some underlying issues of power. *The Sociological Review*, *46*(4), 687–713.
Vogler, C. and Pahl, J. (1994). Money, power and inequality within marriage. *The Sociological Review*, *42*(2), 263–88.
Wajcman, J. (1991). *Feminism Confronts Technology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Wajcman, J. (1998). *Managing Like a Man: Women and Men in Corporate Management*. Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press in association with Blackwell.
Walby, S. (1989). Theorising patriarchy. *Sociology*, *23*(2), 213–34.

16. Pregnancy in the workplace: the role of stigmas, discrimination, and identity management

Pamela L. Perrewé, Shanna R. Daniels, Kaylee J. Hackney and Liam Maher

Women constitute approximately half of the labor market (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014), which highlights the need to understand their experiences in the workplace. Although some have reported that approximately 90 percent of women will become pregnant while being employed (Fried, 2000; Jones, 2017), we do not yet fully understand pregnant employees' experiences. We focus our chapter on the role of pregnancy in the workplace and how cultural and organizational norms, discrimination, and identity management can affect women's experiences and well-being. Pregnancy discrimination has been found to be a prevalent occurrence in organizations representing a substantial number of claims brought against employers by women (Salihu, Myers, & August, 2012). Understanding the processes through which pregnant employees can either thrive or decline is not only important for the well-being of employees, but also for the organization.

A good deal of research on minority populations in the workplace has focused on employees' identity management strategies and the maintenance of their identity. While research has demonstrated that some identities such as motherhood are often devalued in the workplace (Button, 2001; Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998), the research in this area has a very limited focus on the role of discrimination. That is, identity management and perceived discrimination have almost been examined independent of one another. We provide a systematic review of the research addressing pregnancy in the workplace and examine the role of discrimination and identity management jointly as key factors influencing the experiences of pregnant women in the workplace.

We argue that when studying pregnancy in the workplace, researchers will benefit from having a framework to understand the conceptual underpinnings of the relationships and paths among identity management, discrimination, and personal and organizational outcomes. Surprisingly, little research has reviewed both literatures simultaneously beyond acknowledging the outcome in the study of interest. To move the field forward, we propose that a comprehensive understanding of both identity management and discrimination are needed to best uncover potential negative outcomes related to pregnant women in the workplace as well as the organization.

PREGNANCY AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Scholars define identity as a "self-referential description that provides contextually appropriate answers to the question 'Who am I?'" (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008, p. 327). Identities are viewed as being derived from socially constructed meanings in particular situations (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). The focus of this work is on how particular social interactions or environments may bring to light specific aspects of an individual's identity that then will have an influence on the individual's thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors in those particular situations (Bartel & Dutton, 2001). One way to conceptualize one's self is in relation to society or social groups; known as social identity.

Social identity can be conceptualized as an "individual's knowledge that he belongs to a certain group together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group" (Tajfel, 1972, p. 292). According to Tajfel (1972), a system of social categorizations helps create and define individuals' places in our society. Social identity theory's basic premise is that the social categories in which one falls, and to which one feels attached, provide a personal definition of oneself (Hogg & Terry, 2001, p. 3). Individuals may hold many identities at once, which are cognitively arranged in a hierarchy in accordance with their perceived importance (Ashforth, 2001; Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006). Based on the work of cognitive social psychologists (e.g., Markus, 1977), identity researchers have suggested identities that are more salient, namely, higher in the cognitive hierarchy, will have a higher probability of being invoked and displayed across a variety of situations (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Identities that are salient drive cognitive interpretations of situations, and influence behavior (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Thus, when employees become pregnant, their identity may now include motherhood. Identifying with motherhood does not mean that the woman no longer identifies with being an employee. However, stereotypes of what it means to be the ideal employee and what it means to be the ideal mother may lead to others questioning whether both can be achieved simultaneously. Thus, stigmas may develop and discrimination against pregnant employees may occur when others in the workplace believe the pregnant employee will no longer be committed to her job (King & Botsford, 2009).

Research has demonstrated that pregnant women and women with children are disadvantaged when attempting to get into the workforce (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007) and they experience greater levels of hostility when applying for jobs (Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, & Kazama, 2007). Stereotypes of pregnant employees include incompetence, a lack of commitment, inflexibility, and a need to accommodate these employees (Morgan, Hebl, Walker, & King, 2013). Given the research on negative attitudes toward pregnant women in the workforce, it is clear that employee pregnancy is devalued.

Being a mother working outside of the home is a stigmatized identity in many contexts (Gatrell, 2007, 2013; Major, 2004), especially that of women in professional occupations (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004). Women must construct for themselves the ideals of a good mother and good professional in light of these biases (Buzzanell & Liu, 2005). For example, research shows that women often encounter mixed messages from colleagues about their ability to manage the sometimes conflicting demands of professionalism and motherhood (Halpert & Burg, 1997; Hebl et al., 2007). These messages influence how pregnant women begin to shape their identities as professionals and mothers (Ladge, Clair, & Greenberg, 2012).

Research has demonstrated a relationship between identity management and perceived discrimination among pregnant women. For example, pregnant employees who anticipate or experience pregnancy discrimination are more likely to conceal their pregnancy (Jones, 2017; Jones & King, 2014). Existing theory and empirical evidence suggests that concealing a pregnancy can be detrimental to interpersonal relationships and may actually elicit discriminatory treatment from others (Jones & King, 2014).

Interestingly, most of the research on identity management and pregnancy has been conducted without a specific focus on the work context. In light of the importance of accepting pregnancy in the workplace for working relationships, positive career outcomes for women, performance, and well-being for women, we develop a conceptual model that we hope will help guide research in this area of organizational scholarship. We assert that pregnancy in the workplace is related to stigmas and perceived discrimination but must be considered within the context of social identity.

MULTI-LEVEL CONCEPTUAL MODEL

The many challenges pregnant women face at work can be conceptualized at multiple levels, specifically, societal, organizational, and individual levels. Figure 16.1 displays a conceptual model that will guide this systematic review.

Societal

All organizations function within a larger society or culture, which impacts the extent to which discrimination unfolds in the workplace. Not long ago in the USA, employers could openly fire or refuse to hire women solely on the basis of their gender and, as such, sexism was the norm in American society. Although many of these overt discriminatory

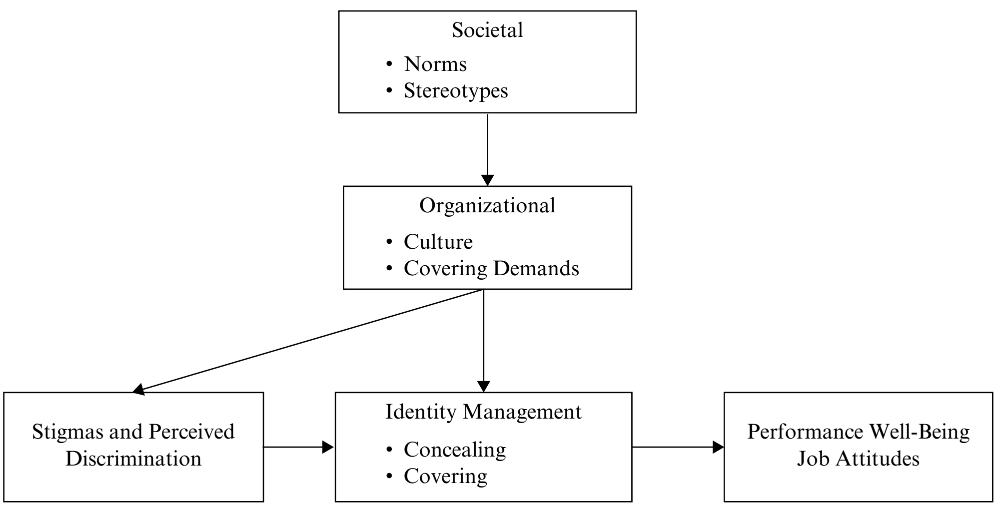


Figure 16.1 A conceptual model of pregnancy discrimination and identity management

practices have since been outlawed, the structure of society remains such that men tend to occupy different social roles than women (Eagly & Wood, 1999; Slaughter, 2012), which helps to sustain stereotypes. These social structural forces provide prime conditions for discrimination to thrive.

Until 1978, discrimination against pregnant women was widespread and in most cases legal. That is, fewer than forty years ago employers could indulge in whatever stereotypes they had about pregnant women and act on their opinions as to what women should do once they became pregnant and those employers were not engaging in unlawful conduct. Despite the fact that laws have been passed to protect pregnant employees, research suggests that discrimination, formal and informal, still occurs today (Salihu et al., 2012). The societal norms and stereotypes of pregnant women in organizations can affect the culture within organizations.

Organizational

Pregnant women face systematic, gendered discrimination in the workplace through many different means that include hiring, termination, denial of promotion, denial of requests for job flexibility, and biased deficiencies in performance appraisals to name a few. Williams and Segal (2003) argued that women face a "maternal wall" that blocks their full labor participation, and that the maternal wall materializes when female employees become pregnant and have children (Williams & Segal, 2003). In many ways the workplace is designed with the assumption that workers do not have children or that those who do also have a stay-at-home spouse. These cultural norms reflect and contribute to organizational discrimination.

Aspects of organizational cultures may place expectations on pregnant employees that encourage them to try to cover their pregnancy and motherhood. These "covering demands" are restrictions placed upon certain identities (e.g., motherhood) that encourage individual members of that group to downplay aspects of their identity in an attempt to assimilate toward the mainstream. Covering demands stem from the explicit or implicit norms of the organizational context, which communicates the values and beliefs within that environment (Rokeach, 1979).

Non-inclusive environments create covering demands, which can create a social identity threat to employees (Crocker et al., 1998) that triggers the need for some form of identity management, often covering. For example, in a culture where individuals competitively jockey for scarce career-advancement opportunities (e.g., many consulting firms that have up-or-out promotion policies), pregnant women may feel as if fully displaying their pregnancy to coworkers and supervisors may endanger their organizational livelihood.

Covering demands can come from the highest levels of authority, such as government action and legislation, religious doctrine, or longstanding aspects of national culture. Covering demands also can come from local sub-cultures (Riley, 1983) that exist within larger collectives. Within the organizational context, these demands could be symbolically or explicitly communicated from the president of a corporation, middle management, direct supervisors, or colleagues. Some covering demands may be echoes of previous iterations of the organization, as certain symbols, artifacts, and stories from the past guide how we interpret our current environment. We examine these sources of covering demands as emerging from either formal or informal aspects of the organization.

Formal covering demands

Formal covering demands are those that are expressed explicitly to employees within the organization, either in the form of written organizational policies or a verbal or written directive. These types of overt covering demands encourage members of the organization to cover identities that are not in alignment with the directive. Covering demands in this form are clearly expressed and help communicate the behavioral expectations, values, and beliefs of the organization. For example, former New York Yankees' centerfielder Johnny Damon was once directed to shave his lengthy beard in order to keep with the clean-cut image of the team, thus demanding he cover the expression of his free-spirited identity. Clearly, organizations utilize socialization systems (Chatman, 1989) as a means to increase cooperation and establish norms of behavior which lead to more efficient and effective organizational performance.

Organizational assimilation is not necessarily a negative or personally destructive phenomenon. In fact, it is a necessary function of organizations to create a culture, which reduces behavioral ambiguity by establishing rules, norms, standards of excellence, and other behavioral cues (Schein, 1996; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Certainly, organizations have an interest in placing formal covering demands on the banishment of racial or sexual epithets in the workplace, as removing those covering demands would empower socially inappropriate and destructive behavior from those who identified with racist, sexist, or homophobic beliefs. Additionally, assimilation is a naturally occurring phenomenon, as individuals strive to meet an innate human need to feel interpersonal relatedness with others or within a social group (Ryan & Deci, 2000). However, covering demands have the potential to negatively affect and harm individuals of outsider groups. Formal covering demands are normally the easiest to identify, and if harmful to a protected or marginalized class, the easiest to litigate. However, the formal covering demands represent a small fraction of all non-inclusive practices, especially for pregnant women, who are a legally protected class. The more common covering demands are perceived the more likely they are informally communicated.

Informal covering demands

Informal covering demands are communicated in a less obvious manner. These covering demands are not formally sanctioned by the organization, and they are interpreted through the culture and norms within the organization. Indeed, these demands may run counter to official policies of the organization, but are maintained informally through the customs of the culture or sub-cultures. Informal demands can be suggested to employees of the organization by others, or more implicitly by observing the behaviors and rituals of others. For example, a coworker may suggest that pregnant employees cover their pregnancy at work by sitting behind a desk to conceal the baby bump.

Further, employees may implicitly receive this message by observing cues from their environment. For example, a pregnant coworker may hear stories from other coworkers about a former female employee whose career was just never the same after she came back from maternity leave, implying that her pregnancy derailed her career. Indeed, because of the implicit nature of informal covering demands, variance in perception and sensemaking can lead to variance about how different messages are interpreted.

In terms of their origin, informal covering demands can develop through informal structures. Historically, the informal structures that inform the organizational culture have masculine roots (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), as men predominate in positions of power in traditional and modern organizations. These powerful individuals have enacted and created organizational cultures that align with their own beliefs, values, goals, and interests, which are a product of their identities (Schneider, 1987). These cultures establish beliefs about the prototypical member.

Unless the culture has developed specifically with principles of inclusion and equality as part of its core mission, prototypes will emerge within the culture that reflect those in power. Thus, organizational actors who do not identify with the prototypical worker must assimilate toward this mainstream ideal, or else run the risk of ostracism and/or exit from the organization. Given the masculine nature of most organizations, this reality can be especially problematic for pregnant women.

Individual

Interpersonal discrimination may act to sustain social inequality by reinforcing traditional gender stereotypes and roles. The accumulated effects of these subtle differences in treatment may produce large discrepancies in meaningful work outcomes over time and can range from hostile to benevolent. For example, in a study examining the treatment of pregnant women (Hebl et al., 2007), store employees exhibited more hostile behavior toward pregnant applicants than non-pregnant applicants and more benevolent behavior toward pregnant customers than non-pregnant customers.

STIGMAS AND DISCRIMINATION

Research examining pregnancy at work suggests that pregnancy is met with negative perceptions (Bragger, Kutcher, Morgan, & Firth, 2002; Masser, Grass, & Nesic, 2007; Salihu et al., 2012). Bragger et al. (2002) proposed several reasons that pregnancy discrimination may take place. First, the authors suggest that pregnant women may be subject to exaggerated gender stereotypes. For example, pregnancy may elicit expectations of stereotypically feminine behaviors (e.g., empathy and passivity) instead of the stereotypically masculine behaviors thought to be important in the workplace (e.g., assertiveness). Bragger et al. (2002) suggested that the extent to which these gender stereotype perceptions lead to discrimination may depend on the organizational role of the pregnant employee. A few other reasons discrimination might occur are the employer's worry about the impact that extended leave would have on the organization, doubt about pregnant women's ability to perform their job, and concern about the impact that pregnancy will have on the workload of other employees (Bragger et al., 2002).

IDENTITY MANAGEMENT

Identities can be visible, invisible, or dynamic. Visible identities are readily observable and include demographic characteristics such as sex, race, age, ethnicity, physical appearance, language, speech patterns, and dialect. Invisible identities, on the other hand, include differences that are not immediately obvious such as religion, occupation, national origin, club, illnesses, and sexual orientation (Clair, Beatty, & MacLean, 2005). Invisible identities can also be components of social group membership. Lastly, dynamic identities are those that change over time. For example, pregnancy is an invisible identity in the early stage, but becomes increasingly visible (Jones et al., 2016).

Negative perceptions about pregnancy at work and the discrimination that may take place, cause pregnant employees to consider complex disclosure decisions such as when, how, and to whom they should reveal their pregnancy. Jones et al. (2016) examined the disclosure decisions pregnant women face. They conceptualized pregnancy as a unique stigmatized identity due to its increasingly obvious nature (i.e., pregnancy cannot be concealed forever). The authors suggested that pregnant women are burdened with two competing motives regarding disclosure decisions: authenticity and self-protection. On the one hand, revealing their pregnancy at work would allow them to be their true self at work (i.e., authenticity). On the other hand, once women reveal their pregnancy, they are at an increased risk of discrimination. In an effort to avoid discrimination, employees may choose to conceal their pregnancy as long as they are able to do so (i.e., self-protection).

Concealing behaviors can be defined as "conscious, active attempts to hide a true identity and 'pass' as a member of the majority group" (Jones et al., 2016). This can include behaviors such as making up stories, avoiding personal questions, speaking in generalities, or taking measures to prevent others from learning information that may confirm an invisible identity (Jones et al., 2016). Although concealing behaviors may allow pregnant employees to avoid discrimination, the suppression of their true identities will create a discrepancy between their own understanding of self and the self they express to others (Jones et al., 2016). This discrepancy creates cognitive dissonance and can lead to a number of detrimental consequences.

Because women recognize the potential for their pregnancy to impact their professional image negatively, they may be compelled to engage in social-identity management. Little and colleagues examined the identity management techniques used by pregnant employees (Little, Major, Hinojosa, & Nelson, 2015). Utilizing self-regulation theories, they found that pregnant employees managed their professional image by engaging in either image maintenance or decategorization behaviors. Image maintenance involves approach-related behaviors focused on preserving the women's professional image. For example, women may maintain the same pace of work as they did before pregnancy, make a point not to ask for special accommodations, work harder than they did before pregnancy, and/or ask for shorter maternity leave than they are entitled to take.

Decategorization behaviors are aimed at avoiding being categorized as "stigmatized" by de-emphasizing one's identity. Little et al. (2015) identified two decategorization strategies: passing and downplaying. Passing involves taking measures to actively conceal the pregnancy by making it less noticeable. For example, women may dress creatively or lie about their physical symptoms such as nausea in order to pass as non-pregnant. Downplaying does not involve passing as non-pregnant, but instead is focused on minimizing the attention being drawn to the pregnancy. This may include not bringing it up in conversations or choosing clothes that minimize the appearance of their bellies.

The concept of downplaying one's identity has also been referred to as covering and dates back to the work of Goffman (1963), who described covering behaviors as those that reduce tension within an interaction that is caused by a stigmatized identity. Goffman argued that individuals enact these behaviors so that parties involved in the interaction are not distracted by the distal covert distractions that stigmatized identities cause, and instead, can focus on the central purpose of the interaction. In his book *Covering: The Hidden Assault on Our Civil Rights*, Yoshino (2006) describes covering as toning down disfavored identities in order to fit into the mainstream. Managing impressions by covering is motivated by concerns that others might think the pregnant employee is no longer career-oriented or will not be able to be as successful at work (Little et al., 2015).

Consequences of Covering

Managing one's stigmatized identity through covering is likely to require a great deal of self-regulation. Further, identity theorists have suggested that individuals possess multiple identities that they arrange cognitively in terms of preference or subjective importance (e.g., Ashforth, 2001; Stryker, 1980). Central identity has been defined as the extent to which individuals define themselves as members of a particular social category (Ashforth, 2001). Specifically, central identities are identities that emerge at the top of the identity hierarchy, whereas peripheral identities are the remaining identities individuals possess. We argue that covering stigmatized identities requires greater levels of self-regulation and can lead to subsequent depletion and feelings of inauthenticity if the identity is central to the individual. We examine the role of self-regulation and ego depletion as explanatory mechanisms through which negative employee and organizational consequences can occur.

Depletion

Self-regulation theory is based on the notion that individuals possess finite stores of regulatory resources that are depleted when resisting temptations or otherwise restraining behavior (Baumeister & Tierney, 2011), such as covering. Self-regulation is defined as individuals' ability to alter their own behavior in order to pursue long-term goals and follow social rules and norms (Baumeister, Vohs, & Tice, 2007). Self-regulation varies within individuals, and is thus subject to depletion throughout the course of the day. Given that self-regulatory resources are finite, individuals' efforts to alter their behavior during the day (e.g., covering) consume regulatory resources and may leave individuals in a state known as ego depletion (Baumeister, 2014; Muraven, Tice, & Baumeister, 1998). Depleted individuals are less likely to regulate their behavior successfully (Baumeister et al., 2007; Trougakos, Beal, Cheng, Hideg, & Zweig, 2015), and they are more likely to experience lower well-being. According to Baumeister's limited-resource self-regulation theoretical framework (Baumeister et al., 2007; Muraven & Baumeister, 2000), individuals capable of regulating their behaviors well may experience depletion and fail to relieve themselves of experienced strain. Thus, individuals with high levels of self-regulation are likely to experience depletion that may lead to lower levels of well-being and poorer performance over time (Baumeister, 2014).

This theoretical perspective, that self-regulation is a universal and finite resource, builds upon earlier self-regulation theories focused on examining individuals' attempts to properly regulate their behavior in order to achieve valued goals (e.g., Bandura, 1989; Carver & Scheier, 1982). Research in this area tends to focus on specific workplace stressors hypothesized to cause the depletion of employees' regulatory resources. We argue that stigmatized identities may serve as a stressor that influences individuals to engage in self-regulating covering behaviors which, in turn, can lead to depletion. Covering behaviors are, essentially, a form of self-regulatory behavior. Although we discussed how covering can lead to fewer personal resources and affect ego depletion, we argue that covering also can lead to feelings of being inauthentic. Covering can be detrimental to a person's sense of authenticity at work to the extent that constant downplaying leads to depletion.

Inauthenticity

Alongside the effects of ego depletion, we assert that feelings of inauthenticity impact well-being, attitudes, and performance. Harter (2002) states that authenticity is an individual's ability to act in congruence with one's real and true self. Further, it is the unhindered embodiment of a person's true self in every aspect of daily life (Goldman & Kernis, 2002). Authenticity is typically discussed as a subjective experience, namely, felt authenticity. It has been defined as the unpretentious, unmasked, and free expression of internal experiences (Avolio, Gardner, Walumbwa, Luthans, & May, 2004). Individuals who are high in authenticity stay true to their core beliefs and values. As Mainiero and Sullivan (2006) argue,

> The authentic self is the 'you' that can be found at your absolute core. It is the part of you that is not defined by your job, or your function, or your role. It is the composite of all your unique gifts, skills, abilities, interests, talents, insights, and wisdom. It is all of your strengths and values that are uniquely yours and need expression, versus what you have been programmed to believe you are.

When employees engage in covering behaviors due to the perceived pressures in the broader social context, we propose there is another resource loss for individuals – feelings of being inauthentic or not being true to one's identity. Employee covering is depleting over time due to the suppression of behaviors, cognitive dissonance, and a loss of personal resources.

Employee and Organizational Outcomes

We argue that depletion and inauthenticity are the explanatory factors that can lead to costly consequences for employees and the organization. Employees' capabilities to regulate their behaviors successfully through identity management strategies decrease throughout the day due to depletion. Further, feelings of inauthenticity impact employee outcomes negatively (Avolio et al., 2004).

Inauthentic behaviors can have a negative effect on employee well-being (Roberts, 2005). Accordingly, efforts to manage others' impressions often conflict with employees' authentic identity which can affect psychological distress. For example, identity management interactions in which pregnant employees engaged in high levels of concealing triggered increased anxiety and depression relative to interactions in which the same employee concealed to a lesser extent (Jones, 2017). Covering entails faking expressions and perhaps surface acting which can threaten individuals' self-worth (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002). Identity management behaviors also influence the way employees experience work and, thus, impact employees' feelings and attitudes toward their job. We suggest that outward attempts to manage others' impressions of oneself may be especially detrimental to job attitudes when those outward impression management behaviors conflict with internal desires to behave authentically (Roberts, 2005).

Finally, identity management behaviors affect employee task performance because there are cognitive and emotional demands imposed by each strategic behavior (Clair et al., 2005). The act of suppressing or changing authentic behaviors or emotions has been shown to lead to higher physiological arousal, lower glucose levels, and reduced motivation and performance (Baumeister et al., 2007). All of these negative consequences for employees have negative implications for the organization.

SUMMARY

We argue that covering demands, stigmatized identities, and perceptions of discrimination will lead pregnant employees to engage in concealing and covering behaviors at work. These employees feel the need to downplay revealed or observable aspects of their identity so that they can attempt to assimilate to the dominant environmental identity. Indeed, covering is a pervasive, but rarely explored, behavior within work and personal life that all individuals engage in to some degree (Yoshino, 2006). In accord with the limited work on covering (e.g., Goffman, 1963; Yoshino, 2006) we posit that these behaviors are the result of pregnancy stigmas and discrimination perceptions. Further, covering behaviors are formally or informally demanded within non-inclusive organizational environments. Finally, in response to pregnancy covering demands, concealing and covering create adverse effects on employees' well-being, attitudes, and performance.

CONCLUSION

Pregnant women are admired outside of the workplace, and the role expectations of being a "good mother" are still represented by traditional family values in which the mother devotes most or all of her time to raising her children (Hebl et al., 2007; Jones, 2017). When employees become pregnant, the negative stereotypes and stigmas associated with becoming a mother while employed can have a negative effect on the employee as well as the organization. Many see these two identities as being in conflict with each other. Although pregnant employees may have some social identity shifts, this does not translate into becoming a less dedicated employee. On the other hand, if there are stigmas and discrimination within the workplace, this may have such a negative effect on pregnant employees that they become less dedicated, satisfied, and engaged.

It is time to view motherhood and employment as complementary rather than conflicting, such that each serves as a coping mechanism for the other. For example, while at home with a baby or children, this may help to put the hassles and stressors of work into perspective. While at work, the ability to talk with other adults who share the same interest in work may be engaging and motivating. Rather than conceptualizing the work and family interface as in conflict with each other, perhaps these two roles actually complement each other so that the mother does become the "ideal mother" and the employee does become the "ideal employee." Additional research is needed to help to change the stigmas associated with motherhood and employment.

REFERENCES

Ashforth, B. E. (2001). *Role Transitions in Organizational Life: An Identity-Based Perspective*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Ashforth, B. E., Harrison, S. H., & Corley, K. G. (2008). Identification in organizations: An examination of four fundamental questions. *Journal of Management*, *34*(3), 325–374.

Avolio, B. J., Gardner, W. L., Walumbwa, F. O., Luthans, F., & May, D. R. (2004). Unlocking the mask: A look at the process by which authentic leaders impact follower attitudes and behaviors. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *15*(6), 801–823.

Bandura, A. (1989). Human agency in social cognitive theory. *American Psychologist*, *44*, 1175–1184.

Bartel, C., & Dutton, J. (2001). Ambiguous organizational memberships: Constructing organizational identities in interactions with others. In M. Hogg & D. J. Terry (Eds.), *Social Identity Processes in Organizational Contexts* (pp. 115–130). Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.

Baumeister, R. F. (2014). Self-regulation, ego depletion, and inhibition. *Neuropsychologia*, *65*, 313–319.

Baumeister, R. F., & Tierney, J. (2011). *Willpower: Rediscovering the Greatest Human Strength.* New York: Penguin.

Baumeister, R. F., Vohs, K. D., & Tice, D. M. (2007). The strength model of self-control. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *16*(6), 351–355.

Bragger, J. D., Kutcher, E., Morgan, J., & Firth, P. (2002). The effects of the structured interview on reducing biases against pregnant job applicants. *Sex Roles*, *46*(7–8), 215–226.

Brotheridge, C., & Lee, R. T. (2002). Testing a conservation of resources model of the dynamics of emotional labor. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *7*, 57–67.

Button, S. B. (2001). Organizational efforts to affirm sexual diversity: A cross-level examination. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *86*(1), 17–28.

Buzzanell, P., & Liu, M. (2005). Struggling with maternity leave policies and practices: A poststructuralist feminist analysis of gendered organizing. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, *33*(1), 1–25.

Carver, C. S., & Scheier, M. F. (1982). Control theory: A useful conceptual framework for personality – social, clinical, and health psychology. *Psychological Bulletin*, *92*, 111–135.

Chatman, J. A. (1989). Improving interactional organizational research: A model of person–organization fit. *Academy of Management Review*, *14*(3), 333–349.

Clair, J. A., Beatty, J. E., & MacLean, T. L. (2005). Out of sight but not out of mind: Managing invisible social identities in the workplace. *Academy of Management Review*, *30*(1), 78–95.

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*, *19*(6), 829–859.

Correll, S. J., Benard, S., & Paik, I. (2007). Getting a job: Is there a motherhood penalty? *American Journal of Sociology*, *112*(5), 1297–1339.

Crocker, J., Major, B., & Steele, C. (1998). Social stigma. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (4th ed., vol. 2, pp. 504–553). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Cuddy, A. J., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2004). When professionals become mothers, warmth doesn't cut the ice. *Journal of Social Issues*, *60*(4), 701–718.

Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (1999). The origins of sex differences in human behavior: Evolved dispositions versus social roles. *American Psychologist*, *54*(6), 408–423.

Fried, M. (2000). *Taking Time: Parental Leave and Corporate Culture*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Gatrell, C. J. (2007). A fractional commitment? Part-time work and the maternal body. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *18*(3), 462–475.

Gatrell, C. J. (2013). Maternal body work: How women managers and professionals negotiate pregnancy and new motherhood at work. *Human Relations*, *66*(5), 621–644.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Goldman, B. M., & Kernis, M. H. (2002). The role of authenticity in healthy psychological functioning and subjective well-being. *Annals of the American Psychotherapy Association*, *5*, 18–20.

Halpert, J. A., & Burg, J. H. (1997). Mixed messages: Co-worker responses to the pregnant employee. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *12*(2), 241–253.

Harter, S. (2002). Authenticity. In C. R. Snyder & S. J. Lopez (Eds.), *Handbook of Positive Psychology* (pp. 382–394). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hebl, M. R., King, E. B., Glick, P., Singletary, S. L., & Kazama, S. (2007). Hostile and benevolent reactions toward pregnant women: Complementary interpersonal punishments and rewards that maintain traditional roles. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(6), 1499–1511.

Hogg, M. A., & Terry, D. J. (2001). *Social Identity Process in Organizational Contexts.* Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.

Jones, K. P. (2017). To tell or not to tell? Examining the role of discrimination in the pregnancy disclosure process at work. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *22*(2), 239–250.

Jones, K. P., & King, E. B. (2014). Managing concealable stigmas at work: A review and multilevel model. *Journal of Management*, *40*(5), 1466–1494.

Jones, K. P., King, E. B., Gilrane, V. L., McCausland, T. C., Cortina, J. M., & Grimm, K. (2016). The baby bump: Managing a dynamic stigma over time. *Journal of Management*, *42*(6), 1530–1556.

King, E. B., & Botsford, W. (2009). Managing pregnancy disclosures: Understanding and overcoming the challenges of expectant motherhood at work. *Human Resource Management Review*, *19*, 314–323.

Kreiner, G. E., Hollensbe, E. C., & Sheep, M. L. (2006). Where is the "me" among the "we"? Identity work and the search for optimal balance. *Academy of Management Journal*, *49*(5), 1031–1057.

Ladge, J., Clair, J., & Greenberg, D. (2012). Cross-domain identity transition during liminal periods: Constructing multiple selves as professional and mother during pregnancy. *Academy of Management Journal*, *55*(6), 1449–1471.

Little, L. M., Major, V. S., Hinojosa, A. S. & Nelson, D. L. (2015). Professional image maintenance: How women navigate pregnancy in the workplace. *Academy of Management Journal*, *58*(1), 8–37.

Mainiero, L. A., & Sullivan, S. E. (2006). Kaleidoscope careers: An alternative explanation for the "opt-out generation." *Academy of Management Executive*, *19*, 106–123.

Major, V. S. (2004). Pregnancy in the workplace: Stigmatization and work identity management among pregnant employees. Unpublished dissertation.

Markus, H. (1977). Self-schemata and processing information about the self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *35*(2), 63–78.

Masser, B., Grass, K., & Nesic, M. (2007). "We like you, but we don't want you": The impact of pregnancy in the workplace. *Sex Roles*, *57*(9–10), 703–712.

Morgan, W. B., Hebl, M. R., Walker, S. S., & King, E. B. (2013). A field experiment: Reducing interpersonal discrimination toward pregnant job applicants. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *98*(5), 799–809.

Muraven, M., & Baumeister, R. F. (2000). Self-regulation and depletion of limited resources: Does self-control resemble a muscle? *Psychological Bulletin*, *126*, 247–259.

Muraven, M., Tice, D. M., & Baumeister, R. F. (1998). Self-control as limited resource: Regulatory depletion patterns. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*(3), 774–789.

Riley, P. (1983). A structurationist account of political culture. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *28*(3), 414–437.

Roberts, L. M. (2005). Changing faces: Professional image construction in diverse organizational settings. *Academy of Management Review*, *30*(4), 685–711.

Rokeach, M. (1979). Some unresolved issues in theories of beliefs, attitudes, and values. *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, *27*, 261–304.

Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, *55*(1), 68–78.

Salihu, H. M., Myers, J., & August, E. M. (2012). Pregnancy in the workplace. *Occupational Medicine*, *62*(2), 88–97.

Schein, E. (1996). Culture: The missing concept in organization studies. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *41*(2), 229–240.

Schneider, B. (1987). The people make the place. *Personnel Psychology*, *40*(3), 437–453.

Slaughter, A. M. (2012). Why women still can't have it all. *The Atlantic Monthly Group*, July/August, 1–24.

Stryker, S. (1980). *Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version.* Menlo Park, CA: Benjamin/Cummings.

Stryker, S., & Burke, P. J. (2000). The past, present, and future of an identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *63*(4), 284–297.

Tajfel, H. (1972). Social categorization (English translation of "La Catégoristion sociale"). In S. Moscovici (Ed.), *Introduction à la psychologie sociale* (vol. 1, pp. 272–302). Paris: Larousse.

Thoits, P., & Virshup, L. (1997). Me's and we's: Forms and functions of social identities. In R. Ashmore & L. Jussim (Eds.), *Self and Identity: Fundamental Issues* (pp. 106–133). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trougakos, J. P., Beal, D. J., Cheng, B. H., Hideg, I., & Zweig, D. (2015). Too drained to help: A resource depletion perspective on daily interpersonal citizenship behaviors. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *100*, 227–236.

US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2014). Women of *Working Age*. Retrieved from https://www.dol.gov/wb/stats/latest_annual_data.htm#labor.

Van Maanen, J., & Schein, E. H. (1979). Toward a theory of organizational socialization. In B. M. Staw (Ed.), *Research in Organizational Behavior* (pp. 209–264). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Williams, J. C., & Segal, N. (2003). Beyond the maternal wall: Relief for family caregivers who are discriminated against on the job. *Harvard Women's Law Journal*, *26*, 77–160.

Yoshino, K. (2006). *Covering: The Hidden Assault on Our Civil Rights*. New York: Random House.

17. Pushback: negative career development experiences of United States post-tenure female faculty 1988–2011

Shani D. Carter and Cathyann D. Tully

INTRODUCTION

Pushback is defined as the increase in barriers placed before women as they advance in their careers. The term was given to one of the authors by a senior executive to describe the adverse treatment women receive after they obtain promotions and find themselves on the same level as men who were previously their superiors.

To explore the possibility of this phenomenon existing in academe, the author casually asked a number of tenured female faculty members about their post-tenure experiences while attending a national academic conference in February, 2009. To a person, they mentioned that they had faced an increasingly hostile work environment post-tenure. A subsequent search of the existing peer-reviewed literature on academic careers revealed that, while a large amount of research was published regarding the pre-tenure experiences of female professors ten years ago, very little has been published regarding their post-tenure experiences (two examples are: Gardner & Blackstone, 2013; Geisler, Kaminski, & Berkley, 2007) except in regard to wage differentials between women and men.

The current chapter explores two aspects of the post-tenure experiences of women. First, an examination of national longitudinal data on the career paths of female and male faculty (e.g., distribution of women across the academic ranks) shows vast difference between women's and men's rates of obtaining promotions over a 23-year period. Second, we attempt to explain the causes for the differences in promotion rates using several well-known psychological theories, focusing on intrapersonal and interpersonal relations. By using longitudinal, economic data combined with psychological theories, we are following the recommendation of Swanson (2008) to combine these areas when conducting human resource development research. Specifically, "economics theory, together with systems and psychological theories, is considered the core theories integrated to create the foundation for the human resource development discipline" (Swanson, 2008, p. 763). Further, by applying a new mode of inquiry to gender issues, we follow the recommendations of Metcalfe (2008) to apply a different lens to the human resource development experiences of women.

This chapter has two sections: the first section is a data-driven, macro-level, economic analysis that presents data on professors by gender and rank from 1988 to 2011. In this section, we present numerical and percentage-based data on rank and gender, showing discrepancies between the percentage of men and women who reach the rank of full professor. Data from the US Department of Education from 1998–2011 are used to show these discrepancies.

The second section of the chapter presents micro-level, psychological theories that could explain the reasons for the discrepancies in the percentage of men and women who reach the rank of full professor. In this section, we discuss differences in the human resource development experiences of men and women that could be responsible for hindering women's attainment of the rank of full professor.

GENDER-BASED DIFFERENCES IN ATTAINMENT OF FACULTY RANK

This section of the chapter presents macro-level data on the numbers and percentages of men and women who hold the different professorial ranks (i.e., professor, also known as full professor; associate professor; assistant professor; instructor; and lecturer). Given that the focus of the chapter is on the post-tenure experiences of female professors, we limit discussion to the top three academic ranks, although the tables present data on all five levels of faculty.

Method

The data were taken from the National Study of Postsecondary Faculty for 1988, 1992, 1996, and 2004 (US DOE, 2000, 2002) and from the Digest of Educational Statistics for 2009 and 2011 (National Center of Educational Statistics, 2012). The sample was derived from information on US citizens employed as faculty at 2-year, 4-year, and graduate level colleges and universities. These were faculty whose primary task was teaching, and most of whom were full-time faculty.

We gathered data for 2-, 4-, 5-, and 6-year intervals because the data were not available for every year. The analysis uses longitudinal (rather than snapshot) data as a new method to analyze gender-based differences. In prior research, the comparison has always been between men and women in a rank at a point in time. In this analysis, we examine each gender separately and longitudinally to show how long-term careers as a professor unfold for women, and then compare this analysis to how analogous careers unfold for men. This career-spanning analysis is aligned with the field of human resource development because it shows career development for a group (women) longitudinally compared with career development for another group (men).

The data for 1988 to 2004 were retrieved on July 3–6, 2009 from the internet-based Data Analysis System, operated by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), an office within the US Department of Education. The data may be accessed via http://nces.ed.gov/das and from http://nces.ed.gov/surveys/nsopf/. The NSOPF was not repeated after 2004, so data for 2009 and 2011 were gathered on October 18, 2014 from the NCES in the Digest of Education Statistics, which may be accessed at: http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d12/tables/dt12_291.asp.

For each of the six years, we collected data on the total number of professors, the percentage in each rank, and the percentage in each rank per gender. The data on number of professors in 1988, 2009, and 2011 appear to be incompatible with data for other years, so this analysis focuses primarily on the percentage of professors in rank over the 23-year period. By "incompatible" we mean that it appears there were different sampling methods used in 1988, 2009, and 2011 than in other years, which led to the number of faculty members being significantly undercounted for 1988, 2009, and 2011. For example, for 1988, there were 687 900 total faculty members which was significantly less than later years (1992 = 935 700; 1988 = 916 400; 2004 = 893 000). So, although the percentages of professors in different ranks in 1988, 2009, and 2011 are similar to the percentages in other years, the population sizes are significantly smaller; as a result, we do not feel entirely comfortable using the number of faculty in 1988, 2009, and 2011 in comparison with number of faculty for other years. Next, we gathered the same data for many of the same years but by academic discipline. Given changes in definitions, some years contained data that were incompatible with data from other years.

Results

Stability in percentage distribution by rank 1988 to 2011

Percentage of all professors in rank Table 17.1 is designed to show the longitudinal experiences of faculty, and should be read left to right rather than top to bottom. For example, for 2004, the number of professors in the United States was 893.1 thousand. Of these, 24.4 percent were full professors, 18.4 percent were associate professors, and 19.9 percent were assistant professors.

We see, then, that for each of the years, the percentage of all professors who were full professors exceeded the percentage who were associate professors or assistant professors. Further, the percentages who were associate and assistant were nearly equal for each of the four years. We can hypothesize that the percentage who were full professors was relatively high compared to the percentages in lower ranks because full professor is the highest rank attainable, and it is held for a greater number of years than the lower ranks are held. Typically, faculty members are eligible for promotion

Table 17.1 Number and percentage of US professors by rank 1988–2011

			Percent of professors in academic rank, male & female				
Total	% Female	Number* M & F	Professor	Associate	Assistant	Instructor	Lecturer
1988	31.5	687.9	25.4	19.2	20.5	28.2	6.7
1992	51.1	935.7	22.7	17.3	18.0	35.3	6.7
1998	53.5	916.4	23.9	17.8	17.8	33.4	7.1
2004	52.9	893.1	24.4	18.4	19.9	30.3	7.0
2009	45.5	729.0	24.4	20.4	23.5	27.1	4.6
2011	48.6	761.6	23.8	20.4	22.9	28.4	4.5

Note: * Thousands.

Source: US Department of Education.

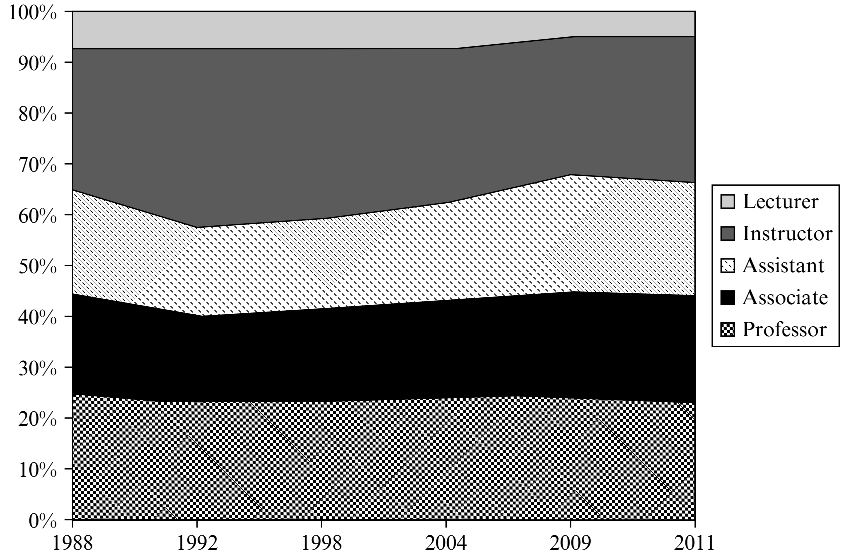


Figure 17.1 Percentage of all US faculty by rank 2004–2011

after six years in rank, so, faculty enter the profession at the rank of assistant, move to the rank of associate after six years, then move to the rank of full after an additional six years. Given that there are no higher professorial ranks, after professors reach the rank of full, they have the option of remaining at the rank of full, pursuing administrative positions (e.g., Dean), or leaving the academy for corporate, non-profit, or government positions, or for retirement. Based on the data, we can assume that many full professors remain in rank until retirement, and we can conclude it is logical that the rank of full should have the highest percentage of all professors of the three ranks.

Table 17.1 and Figure 17.1 indicate the distribution of professors by rank has remained stable over the 23-year period. During this time, the percent of all professors who are women increased from 31.5 percent to 48.6 percent, a significant increase. Further analysis will examine whether the increase in the percentage of professors who are women translated into changes in the career paths of women.

Change in percentage of professors in rank by gender from 1988 to 2011

Table 17.2 contains data on the percentage of each gender per academic rank for the 23 years from 1988 to 2011. The table is designed to show the longitudinal experiences of each gender individually, rather than to compare the genders for each year. For example, the table shows the percentage of all women who are full professors, but does not show the percentage of all full professors who are women. By examining each gender separately, as shown in Figure 17.2 and Figure 17.3, we are able to compare the longitudinal experiences of women to those of men, rather than comparing multiple snapshots of women and men in each rank. We therefore examine the career path of women from the lower ranks to the upper ranks, and compare that career path to the career path of men, making the analysis more dynamic than the snapshot method.

Table 17.2 Number and percentage of female and male professors by rank 1988–2011

		Percent of gender in academic rank				
Female	Number*	Professor	Associate	Assistant	Instructor	Lecturer
1988	216.6	10.5	14.6	24.6	39.8	10.4
1992	351.6	11.1	13.8	20.4	45.9	8.8
1998	367.7	12.4	15.0	19.8	43.9	9.0
2004	364.1	14.6	16.4	22.0	38.2	8.8
2009	313.2	15.9	19.5	26.5	32.5	5.6
2011	334.6	15.8	19.6	25.7	33.4	5.6
Male	Number*	Professor	Associate	Assistant	Instructor	Lecturer
1988	471.0	32.2	21.2	18.7	22.9	5.0
1992	584.1	29.7	19.5	16.6	28.8	5.4
1998	546.9	31.6	19.7	16.5	26.4	5.9
2004	529.0	31.1	19.7	18.5	24.8	5.8
2009	415.8	30.8	21.2	21.3	23.0	3.8
2011	427.0	30.1	21.0	20.6	24.5	3.7

Note: * Thousands.

Source: US Department of Education.

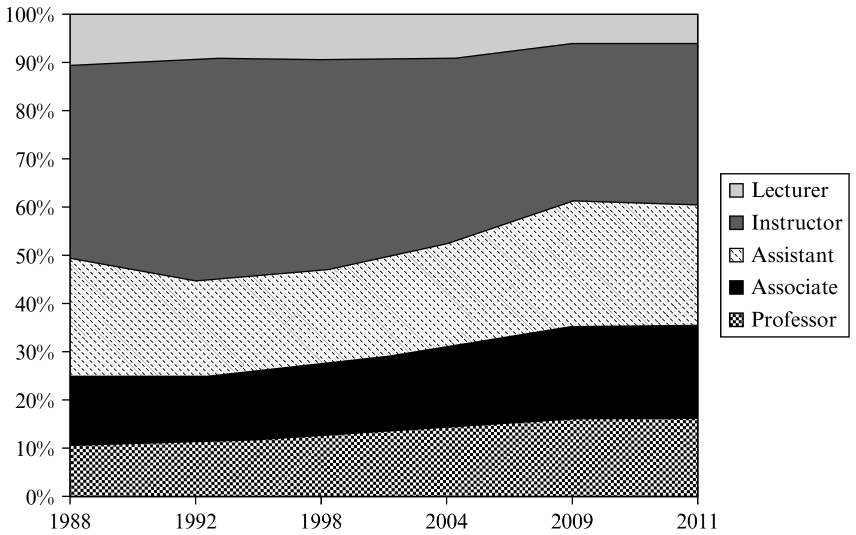


Figure 17.2 Percentage of all female US faculty by rank 2004–2011

Prior research has determined there are different faculty career paths by gender (e.g., Conley, 2005). Further, the career path method is more aligned with analysis methods commonly used in the field of human resource development than the snapshot method of analysis is.

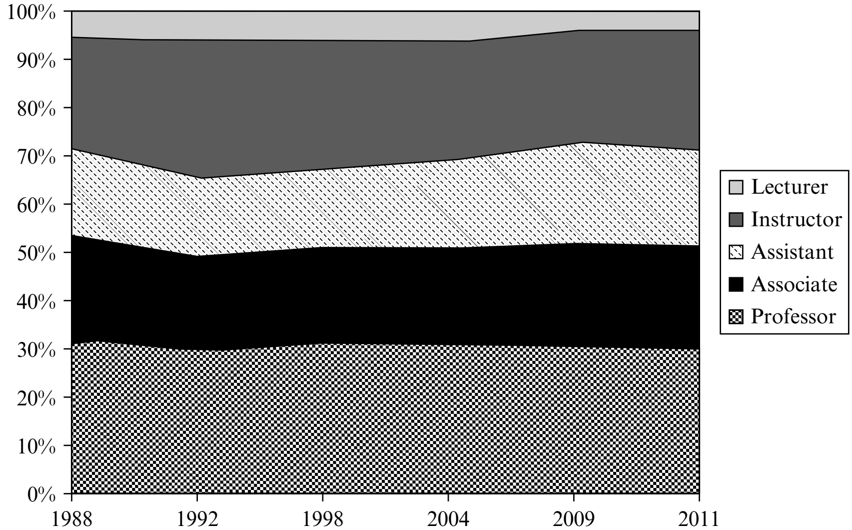


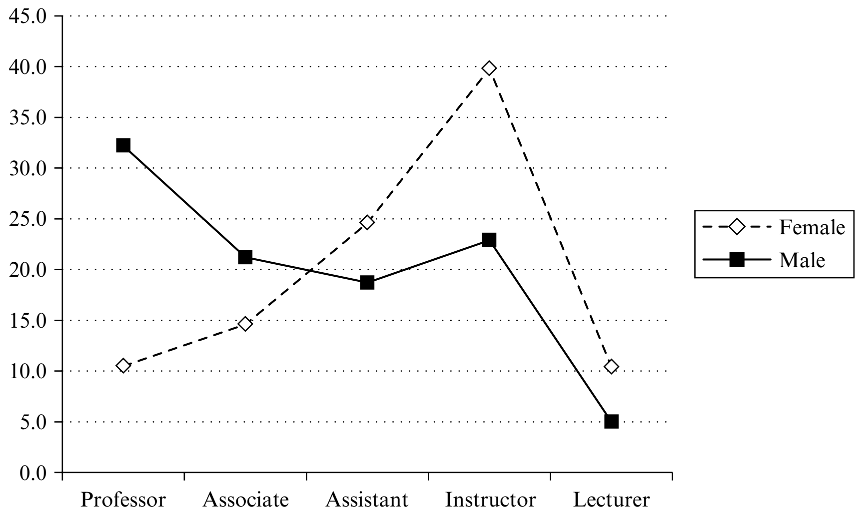
Figure 17.3 Percentage of all male US faculty by rank 2004–2011

Percentage of professors in rank per gender In Table 17.2 along with Figures 17.2 and 17.3, we see that the expected career path exists for men but not for women. For each of the six years, the percentage of all women who were full professors was lower than the percentage who were associate professors, which was in turn lower than the percentage who were assistant professors. This outcome was the opposite of the experience of men. Specifically, the percentage of all men who were full professors was higher than the percentage who are associate professors, which was in turn higher than the percentage who are assistant professors. So, it is clear that the career paths of female professors were very different than the career paths of their male counterparts. While a large percentage of men moved up in rank and settled at full professor, most women either remained at the lower ranks, or possibly exited the academy.

Specifically, in 1988, 10.5 percent of all female professors were full professors, 14.6 were associates, and 24.6 percent were assistants. By 2004, the percentage who were full rose to 14.6 percent, associates rose to 16.4 percent, and assistants declined to 22.0 percent. The percentage of women who are full did not increase significantly after 2004, and by 2011 was 15.8 percent. Despite the early increase in the percentage of female professors who attained the rank of full, that percentage was still far below the percentage who were associate or assistant, indicating that female faculty careers tend to stall at the associate rank.

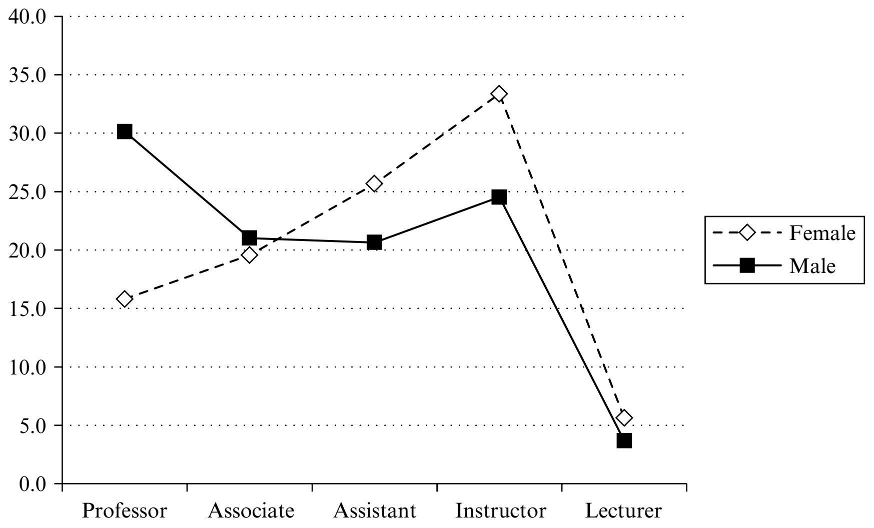
In contrast, the percentages of all male professors at the different ranks remained nearly unchanged over the same period. For men, in 1988, 32.2 percent were full, 21.2 percent were associate, and 18.7 percent were assistant. By 2011, 30.1 percent were full, 21.0 percent were associate, and 20.6 percent were assistant. To summarize, the career path of women differs greatly from that of men, and the pattern of difference has remained consistent, despite some improvement in the percentage of women who hold the rank of full.

These relationships are illustrated more vividly in Figures 17.4 and 17.5, which show the percentage of female and male professors by rank for 1988 and 2011, respectively. The



Source: US Department of Education (see Table 17.1).

Figure 17.4 Percentage of US faculty in rank by gender 1988



Source: US Department of Education (see Table 17.1).

Figure 17.5 Percentage of US faculty in rank by gender 2011

figures show the unmistakable and vast differences between the career paths of women and men, and show that the career paths were nearly unaltered over the 23-year period. Specifically, while the differences in career paths of women and men narrowed slightly, the percentage of women who are full professors continues to be only half the percentage of men. So, it appears an obstacle is hindering the promotion of women from the rank of associate to the rank of full.

Percentage of professors in rank by discipline per gender The preceding data contained information on professors in all disciplines. We conducted a deeper analysis of the data, examining a subset of disciplines. We examined several disciplines that are viewed as being either "male dominated" or "female dominated," to determine whether there is a difference in career paths across the disciplines. The disciplines we examined for 1988 and 2004 are: business; communications; education; engineering; health sciences; nursing; English and literature; mathematics; economics; psychology; humanities; and social sciences. Not all of these disciplines had data available for both years; however, the data nevertheless allow for an examination of whether there are gender-based differences in career paths across disciplines.

Table 17.3 shows that for women, in 1988, only the field of education had more female faculty than male faculty (25.9 thousand versus 23.1 thousand). In all of the disciplines

Table 17.3 Number and percentage of female and male professors by rank and discipline 1988

Category	Number (1000s)	Percentage of gender in academic rank				
		Professor	Associate professor	Assistant professor	Instructor	Lecturer
Female total	216.6	10.5	14.6	24.6	39.8	10.4
Business	16.6	6.4	8.3	16.7	57.6	11.0
Education	25.9	11.0	13.3	23.5	44.2	8.0
Engineering	‡	‡	‡	‡	‡	‡
Health Sciences	50.0	8.3	17.9	34.8	33.6	5.3
Humanities	36.7	12.1	13.7	18.8	39.5	16.0
Social Sciences	16.5	11.9	16.8	35.2	29.8	6.3
Male total	471.0	32.2	21.2	18.7	22.9	5.0
Business	45.8	18.9	15.0	19.2	39.8	7.2
Education	23.1	34.4	27.4	18.5	16.1	3.5
Engineering	32.1	34.1	23.5	18.9	19.4	4.0
Health Sciences	72.9	33.7	24.6	29.5	11.2	0.9
Humanities	61.2	38.5	21.7	13.6	20.0	6.3
Social Sciences	48.4	38.9	25.3	18.2	12.9	4.7
Difference total	−254.4	−21.7	−6.6	5.9	16.9	5.4
Business	−29.2	−12.5	−6.7	−2.5	17.8	3.8
Education	2.8	−23.4	−14.1	5.0	28.1	4.5
Engineering	‡	‡	‡	‡	‡	‡
Health Sciences	−22.9	−25.4	−6.7	5.3	22.4	4.4
Humanities	−24.5	−26.4	−8.0	5.2	19.5	9.7
Social Sciences	−31.9	−27.0	−8.5	17.0	16.9	1.6

Note: ‡ Reporting standards not met.

Source: US Department of Education.

the percentage of women who had attained the rank of full professor was less than the percentage who were working as associate or assistant professors. For example, in the humanities, 12.1 percent were full, 13.7 percent were associate, and 18.8 percent were assistant.

For men in 1988, the percentage who were full professors far exceeded the percentage who were associate or assistant professors in all fields except business, where the percentages across ranks were nearly equal. So, we see the same pattern of the career paths of women differing from career paths of men across different disciplines in 1988.

Table 17.4 shows that in 2004, several disciplines had more female faculty than male faculty. These included: communications (9.8 versus 6.4 thousand); education (21.0 versus 5.0 thousand); English and literature (37.4 versus 15.0 thousand); and psychology (14.7 versus 12.0 thousand). Despite the higher number of women faculty in 2004 than in 1988, only in the field of economics did the percentage of women who were full (28.2 percent) exceed the percentage who were assistant (27.3). In all other fields, the professional stagnation of female professors at middle ranks held. For men, in 2004, their upward career path, as epitomized by the higher percentages of professors at higher ranks, held for all fields except teacher education (27.9 percent for full and 27.8 percent for assistant).

Tenure-track vs. non-tenure-track Further analysis of the data indicates significant differences in the percentage of each gender who hold tenure-track positions, which would make them eligible to obtain the rank of full professor (tenure-track is defined here as faculty members who hold the rank of assistant, associate, or full). Table 17.5 and Figure 17.6 show that the percentage of female faculty who are tenure-track increased from 49.7 percent in 1988 to 61.0 percent on 2011, but this percentage continues to lag the percent of male faculty who are tenure-track, which was 71.8 percent in 2011. Thus, there are significant differences in the experiences of men and women as entry-level faculty in higher education.

Career paths for tenure-track faculty Analysis of the data using only tenure-track faculty indicates that, during the 23-year period from 1988 to 2011, there have been significant increases in the percentage of female faculty who are full professor; nevertheless, the rate of increase has slowed, and the percentage continues to lag the percentage of male faculty who are full professors. Notably, the slowing of the increase in female full professors mirrors the slowing of the increase of racial diversity in higher education (Worthington, 2008). Specifically, Table 17.6 and Figure 17.7 indicate the percentage of female tenure-track faculty members who are full professor rose from 21.1 percent in 1988 to 25.9 percent in 2011. These percentages were significantly lower than the percentages of male tenure-track faculty who were full professor, which declined slightly from 44.7 percent in 1988 to 42.0 percent in 2011.

Plotting the percentage of tenure-track faculty who are full professors by gender (Figure 17.8) shows the percentage of female tenure-track faculty who are full professors increased steadily between 1988 and 2004, then began to decline, leveling off beginning in 2009.

We calculated z-score analysis on the data in Table 17.6 to determine whether the changes in percentages were statistically significant, and the results are shown in Table

Table 17.4 *Number and percentage of female and male professors by rank and discipline 2004*

Category	Number (1000s)	Percentage of gender in academic rank				
		Professor	Associate professor	Assistant professor	Instructor	Lecturer
Female total	364.1	14.6	16.4	22.0	38.2	8.8
Business	17.8	13.8	15.4	20.4	40.7	9.7
Communications	9.8	13.8	17.2	14.8	42.8	11.3
Teacher education	21.0	11.7	11.4	18.1	52.1	6.7
Engineering	3.2	18.0	26.7	22.5	22.7	10.1
Nursing	26.4	11.1	17.8	24.1	42.1	4.8
English & literature	37.4	13.3	11.6	13.9	48.4	12.8
Mathematics	14.6	13.0	11.8	14.2	50.0	10.9
Economics	2.9	28.2	17.7	27.3	20.1	6.8
Psychology	14.7	17.6	16.9	32.3	26.0	7.3
Male total	529.0	31.1	19.7	18.5	24.8	5.8
Business	22.6	38.2	23.2	24.5	10.5	3.7
Communications	6.4	26.9	26.5	23.6	17.3	5.7
Teacher education	5.0	27.9	23.1	27.8	16.7	4.4
Engineering	24.1	42.2	27.3	21.8	5.6	3.1
Nursing	‡	‡	‡	‡	‡	‡
English & literature	15.0	36.4	18.2	17.8	18.4	9.2
Mathematics	16.0	41.6	23.1	18.6	11.5	5.2
Economics	7.9	49.0	17.6	22.5	6.1	4.8
Psychology	12.0	44.3	25.2	16.8	7.6	6.1
Difference total	−164.9	−16.5	−3.3	3.5	13.4	3.0
Business	−4.8	−24.4	−7.8	−4.1	30.2	6.0
Communications	3.4	−13.1	−9.3	−8.8	25.5	5.6
Teacher education	16.0	−16.2	−11.7	−9.7	35.4	2.3
Engineering	−20.9	−24.2	−0.6	0.7	17.1	7.0
Nursing	‡	‡	‡	‡	‡	‡
English & literature	22.4	−23.1	−6.6	−3.9	30.0	3.6
Mathematics	−1.4	−28.6	−11.3	−4.4	38.5	5.7
Economics	−5.0	−20.8	0.1	4.8	14.0	2.0
Psychology	2.7	−26.7	−8.3	15.5	18.4	1.2

Note: ‡ Reporting standards not met.

Source: US Department of Education.

17.7. For example, the increase in percent of female tenure-track faculty who are full professor rose from 2009 to 2011 from 25.6 percent to 25.9 percent, yielding a z-score of 1.6897, which was significant at the 0.05 level. Because the sample sizes are so large, ranging from 216 600 to 471 000, all but three of the changes in percentages from year to year were significant at the 0.01 level, with two being significant at the 0.05 level, and one being insignificant (i.e., change in percentage of male tenure-track faculty from 2009 to

Table 17.5 Percentage of faculty by gender who are tenure-track and non-tenure-track

Female	Number (000)	Tenure-track %	Non-tenure-track %
2011	334.6	61.0	39.0
2009	313.2	61.8	38.2
2004	364.1	53.0	47.0
1998	367.7	47.2	52.9
1992	351.6	45.3	54.7
1988	216.6	49.7	50.2
Male	**Number (000)**	**Tenure-track %**	**Non-tenure-track %**
2011	427.0	71.8	28.2
2009	415.8	73.2	26.8
2004	529.0	69.3	30.6
1998	546.9	67.8	32.3
1992	584.1	65.8	34.2
1988	471.0	72.1	27.9

Source: US Department of Education.

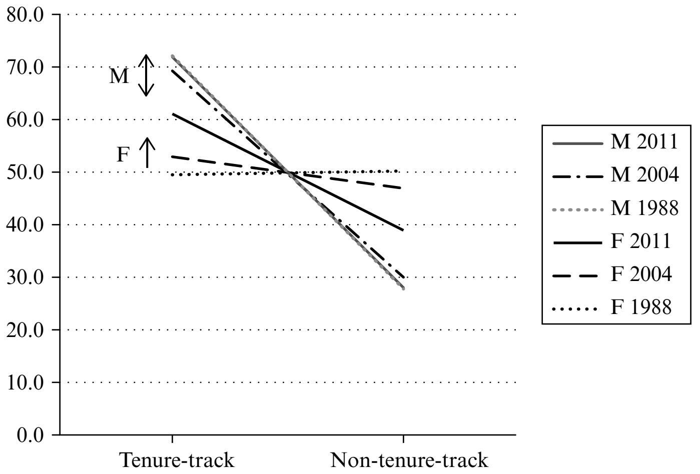


Figure 17.6 Percentage of US female who are tenure & non-tenure-track and percentage of male who are tenure & non-tenure-track 1988–2011

2011). Therefore, we can trust that changes in percentage of tenure-track faculty by rank are actual changes and not sampling error.

An additional analysis was conducted to compare the NSOPF (National Study of Postsecondary Faculty) data with the IPEDS (Integrated Post-Secondary Education Data System) data. IPEDS data are also collected by the US Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), and unlike the NSOPF, IPEDS is

Table 17.6 Percentage of faculty by gender in academic rank, tenure-track only

Female	Professor	Associate	Assistant	Number*
2011	25.9	32.1	42.1	204.2
2009	25.6	31.5	42.8	193.6
2004	27.5	30.9	41.5	193.0
1998	26.3	31.8	41.9	173.6
1992	24.5	30.5	45.0	159.3
1988	21.1	29.4	49.5	107.7
Male	**Professor**	**Associate**	**Assistant**	**Number***
2011	42.0	29.3	28.8	306.6
2009	42.0	28.9	29.1	304.6
2004	44.9	28.4	26.7	366.6
1998	46.6	29.1	24.3	370.8
1992	45.1	29.6	25.2	384.3
1988	44.7	29.4	25.9	339.6

Note: * Thousands.

Source: US Department of Education.

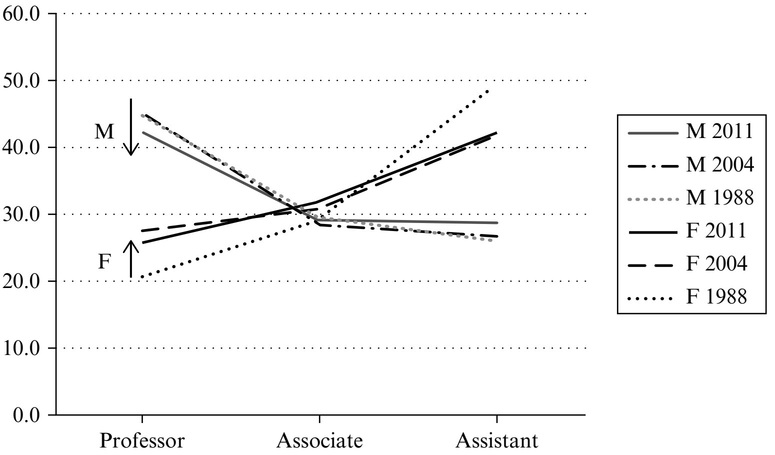


Figure 17.7 Percentage of US female by rank and percentage of male by rank 1988–2001

an ongoing data collection program. The IPEDS data collection began much later than the NCES, however, beginning in 2002. For the purpose of this study, we collected IPEDS data on faculty rank by gender for 2002 to 2015, and compared faculty rank by gender to determine the reliability of NSOPF career path patterns by gender. Figures 17.9 and 17.10 show comparisons of NSOPF and IPEDS data by gender, and indicate that the pattern of relatively few female faculty attaining the rank of full professor

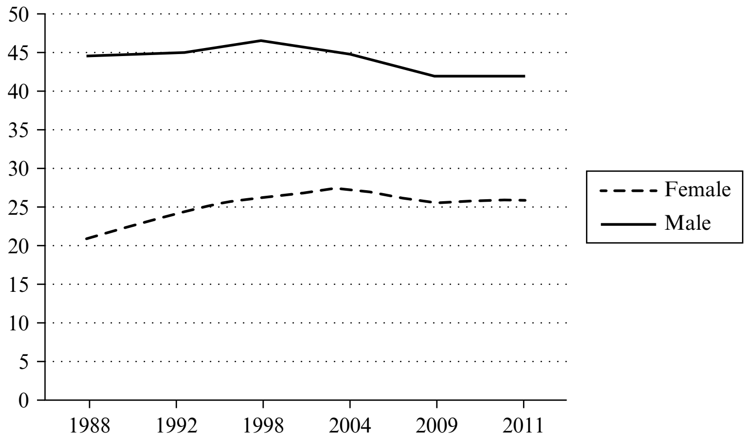


Figure 17.8 Percentage of US female faculty who are full professor and percentage of male faculty who are full professor 1988–2011

Table 17.7 Z-scores for differences in percent of tenure-track faculty who are full professor

Year	2011	2009	2004	1998	1992
Female					
2009	1.6897*				
2004	−11.8093**	−13.318**			
1998	−2.5209**	−4.1117**	8.8403**		
1992	9.8002**	8.1055**	20.7173**	11.8181**	
1988	29.9226**	28.2878**	39.2668**	31.2071**	20.4766**
Male					
2009	−0.3611				
2004	−24.1298**	−23.7101**			
1998	−38.3987**	−37.9523**	−14.911**		
1992	−26.6663**	−26.2372**	−2.3962**	12.6843**	
1988	−22.0818**	−21.6736**	1.7022*	16.3271**	4.0702**

Notes: * 0.05** 0.01
Scores calculated at: http://www.socscistatistics.com/tests/ztest/Default2.aspx.

compared to male professors attaining the rank of full professor is evident in both data sets. For example, for 2011, the percentage of female faculty who were full professor was 17.3 percent in IPEDS and 15.8 percent in NSOPF. Further, for 2011, the percentage of male faculty who were full professor was 32.8 percent in IPEDS and 30.1 percent in NSOPF.

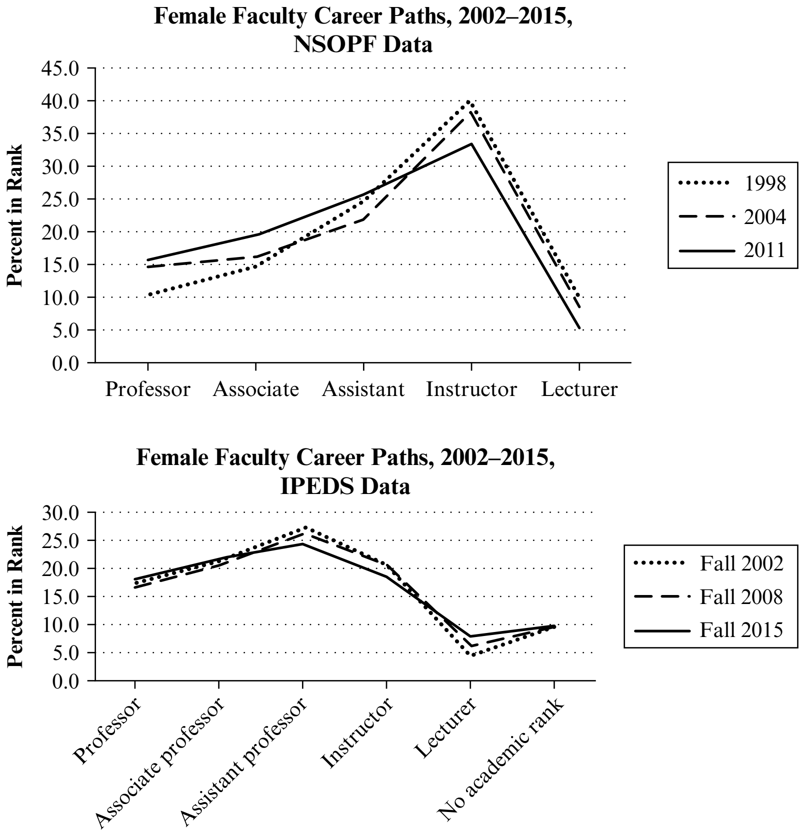


Figure 17.9 Percentage comparison of NSOPF and IPEDS data of female faculty in rank 1988–2015

Summary of Data Analysis

In summary, then, we see that for the 23 years from 1988 to 2015, the career paths of female and male professors were radically different. This difference held even across academic disciplines, and even in fields where the number of female professors exceeded the number of male professors; moreover, the differences held when examining tenure-track faculty separately from non-tenure-track faculty. Carrigan, Quinn, and Riskin (2011) identify similar disparities in the STEM category, which is an area of particular relevance given the prevalence of environmental challenges throughout the world in the twenty-first century. The following discussion presents theories that are proposed to be the cause of these different career paths.

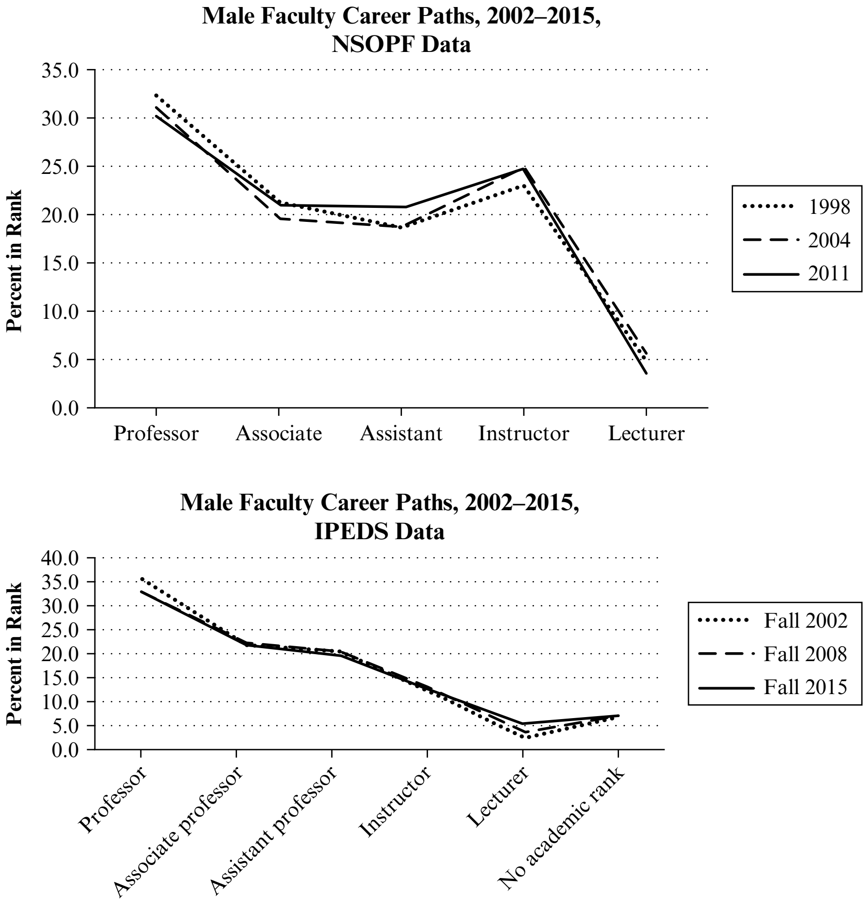


Figure 17.10 Percentage comparison of NSOPF and IPEDS data of male faculty in rank 1988–2015

CAUSES OF DIFFERENCES IN CAREER PATHS OF FEMALE AND MALE FACULTY

In this section, we present theories and hypotheses which could explain the differences in career trajectories of female and male faculty. We begin with a brief discussion of human capital variables, such as experience and education, which generally affect human resource development and career paths (Dobbs, Sun, & Roberts, 2008). Following this, we present the micro-level intrapersonal and interpersonal psychological theories which may be responsible for the different career paths.

Human Capital Effects on Career Paths

The US Department of Education has studied gender-based differences of faculty careers, examining multiple human capital variables, such as level of education, experience, and percentage of time devoted to tasks (e.g., teaching, research; US DOE, 2000). Its studies have shown that while human capital explains some differences in rank, it does not explain all of the differences.

Specifically, the Department of Education concluded that, "gender and racial/ethnic differences in salary and rank are not completely and consistently explained by experience, productivity, and performance (i.e., human capital factors) or by institutional type or academic discipline (i.e., structural factors)" (US DOE, 2000, p. 1). An additional study found that career paths for female and male professors diverge in the second decade of their careers (i.e., post-tenure; Flaherty, 2017). In other words, women and men who have equal human capital have different career outcomes. A separate study of accounting professors, which was not sponsored by the Department of Education, found the same results. Specifically, female faculty are less likely to reach full professor despite having the same productivity as men (Jordan, Pate, & Clark, 2006). Other studies have found similar results within other occupations (Russ-Eft, Dickison, & Levine, 2008). Other studies have found the criteria for promotion to full professor are sometimes vague and this lack of clarity of criteria creates an opportunity for different criteria to be applied to women and men resulting in fewer women being promoted to full professor (Gardner & Blackstone, 2013).

The differences in outcomes, despite equal human capital, could be because women's productivity is valued less than productivity of their male counterparts (Fisher, 2008; Turner, Gonzalez, & Wong, 2011). Specifically, "on average, male faculty received greater rewards than female faculty for publishing books, engaging in public service, and taking on administrative responsibilities" (US DOE, 2000, p. 2). Other research demonstrated that articles, vitae, and applications for promotion are given lower scores if they are submitted under a woman's name than under a man's name (Sandler & Hall, 1986; Wennerds & Wold, 1997). The following sections present theories which might explain why women are rewarded at lower rates than men are rewarded for the same productivity and human capital factors.

1980–2000 Research on Women Gaining Tenure

From 1980 to 2000, a great deal of research was generated regarding the low number of women who were granted tenure. For example, several articles discussed the paucity of tenured women at Harvard and Yale (Hancock & Kalb, 1995), MIT (Anonymous, 1999), in law schools (Moss, 1988), in business schools (Bongiorn, 1992), and in Europe (Rhodes, 1994). While some of these papers focused on the number of women and others focused on the sexism and sexual harassment women faced, they each focused on untenured women. The unspoken assumption was that if a woman was granted tenure, she would have "made it," proven herself, paid her dues, and would no longer be subjected to disparate treatment.

Post-2000 Research on Women Gaining Senior Faculty and Managerial Positions

The assumption that women would be treated equally to men post-tenure is based on the assumption that people who behaved unfairly toward the women would suddenly change their behavior after the women received tenure, as though the pre-tenure treatment were merely a rite of passage. This assumption does not delve into the psychological root causes of the original biased treatment. Further, the assumption also seems to posit that, post-tenure, women will be afforded the same developmental opportunities as men.

Recent research suggests just the opposite. Specifically, studies demonstrate that as women climb the corporate ladder, they face increasing levels of opposition, which we label "Pushback." For example, "women who supervise others have a 132 percent higher odds of experiencing harassment than female non-supervisors" (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blacktone, 2009, p. 18). We therefore *hypothesize* that Pushback is the cause of the low percentage of women advancing to full professor.

Types of Sexism in the Workplace

In the workplace, sexism can take two forms: misogyny (i.e., dislike of women; Merriam-Webster, 2009) and work-related sexual harassment (e.g., hostile environment). Misogyny is expressed when someone discounts women's contributions, belittles women, or objectifies women. For example, research has found that men are more inclined to interrupt women than to interrupt men, and that, when they interrupt women, they are more likely to change the subject than when they interrupt men (Sandler & Hall, 1986). Misogyny also occurs when suggestions are less likely to be approved by a group if the suggestions are made by a woman (Sandler & Hall, 1986). A third type of misogyny occurs when gender-based research is devalued, which is common (Moss, 1988). Fourth, misogyny could include "bullying, sabotage, and social undermining, which contain no references to sexuality or gender but are systematically targeted at individuals on the basis of their sex and gender" (Berdahl & Aquino, 2009, p. 34). In other words, this bullying is directed toward individuals based on their sexuality (which is behavior-based, such as sexual orientation, sexual activity, sex appeal, or lack thereof) or their gender (which is either male or female, and is not behavior-based). Sixth, misogyny could include the finding that "many male managers have a cognitive bias in their promotion decision making that protects their gender's status as an 'in-group'" (Wyld, 2008, p. 84).

Objectification occurs when someone views a person as an object rather than as a person. Specifically, when people are objectified, they are "viewed as if their body is capable of representing them" (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009, p. 598). When people are objectified, they are seen as less competent, less unique, and easily replaced. Recent research has shown that when women are in high status positions, if they are physically attractive, they are more likely to be objectified than women in lower status positions. Thus, as women move into higher level positions, they are more likely to be treated in a dismissive manner (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009).

Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, amended 1991, sexual harassment is prohibited. Specifically, "the EEOC's Guidelines define two kinds of sexual harassment: 'quid pro quo,' in which 'submission to or rejection of [unwelcome sexual] conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual,' and 'hostile environment,' in which unwelcome sexual conduct 'unreasonably interfer[es] with an individual's job performance' or creates an 'intimidating, hostile or offensive working environment.' 29 C.F.R. §§ 1604.11(a)(2) and (3)" (EEOC, 1990).

Therefore, sexual harassment, in the hostile environment form, could include rude jokes or comments (such as a professor joking that a "Women in Management" course should be titled "Kittens in Management") if these statements create an intimidating or hostile environment for some employees. It could include stating that some "ideas are garbage because they are women's stuff" (Moss, 1988, p. 52). It also could include repeated, unwanted romantic advances (Blakeley, 2009). According to a report published by the EEOC, less than 20 percent of people who have been subjected to sexual harassment file complaints (Feldblum & Lipnic, 2016).

Causes of Pushback

Several studies have examined the psychological reasons why men might treat their female coworkers worse as these women rise through the ranks and reach the same occupational level as men. The psychological reasons tend to be based on the theory that men feel threatened when there are increasing numbers of women holding the same positions as men if the men's identity is in some way tied to their positions.

Pushback due to number of women

One cause of Pushback could be the increase in numbers of female faculty. Some articles mentioned that, in law schools and business schools, there are now sufficient numbers of women present to feel like a threat to men (Damast, 2009; Moss, 1988).

Pushback due to stereotype threat

Another cause of Pushback could be Social Identity Threat. To summarize briefly, we hypothesize that some male faculty feel threatened in their identities by the increase in the numbers of female faculty, and they engage in sexual harassment in order to decrease the feeling of the threat and to increase their own feeling of security in their identity. Several streams of research and empirical studies support this hypothesis.

Specifically, Stereotype Threat occurs when people sometimes have a fear of potential mistreatment due to a personal characteristic. For a man, there is the "concern that he will be the target of hostility or unfair treatment" due to his gender (Adams, Garcia, Purdie-Vaughns, & Steele, 2005, p. 604). This hostility could take the form of stereotypes of inferiority. Essentially, a person fears being viewed as inferior and subsequently mistreated. Also, one could fear that one's beliefs are not valued: "To feel that the way you were acculturated is now being called into question, and you are accused of things you don't feel guilty about – it's uncomfortable" (Moss, 1988, p. 52).

Recent research demonstrates that a threat to male identity increased the likelihood of sexual harassment. Specifically, men who felt that their legitimacy or distinctiveness as men was threatened were more likely to engage in sexual harassment, and that this is especially true for men who strongly identify themselves by their manhood (Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003). Further, it has been found that some men are repelled by a high level of intelligence in women who are psychologically close to them (Park, Young, & Eastwick, 2015).

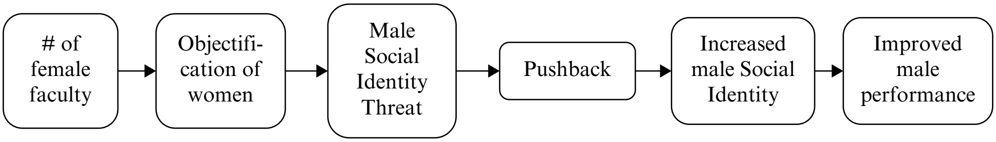


Figure 17.11 Hypothesized male faculty responses to increases in number of female faculty

Given that research has shown that some men who feel threatened are more likely to engage in sexual harassment, we then need to determine what these men gain (or hope to gain) by engaging in sexual harassment. Research has found that some men benefit emotionally from engaging in sexual harassment. Specifically, it has been noted that the harassment led to an enhanced sense of male identity (Maass et al., 2003). This emotional boost affects productivity. In other words, some men experience Stereotype Lift from being exposed to sexist comments about women (i.e., men perform better when exposed to sexism; Adams et al., 2005).

In summary, by uniting several streams of research, we propose the hypothesis that Social Identity Threat causes Pushback through a multi-stage process, shown in Figure 17.11. First, the number of female professors continues to increase, and the percentage of women gaining tenure continues to increase (US DOE, 2000). Second, women at high status levels are frequently objectified, which causes them to be viewed as less competent (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009). Third, some men see themselves as being more competent than women, but this belief is contradicted by the presence of highly productive female faculty, which causes cognitive dissonance and Social Identity Threat among some men (Maass et al., 2003). Fourth, this increased Social Identity Threat increases the likelihood that men will engage in Pushback (i.e., sexually harass women; Maass et al., 2003). Fifth, the sexual harassment leads to increased feelings of manliness, and these feelings improve men's performance on tasks, which serves as a continuing reward for the Pushback (Adams et al., 2005).

Outcomes of Pushback

The outcomes of Pushback differ across gender. As noted above, for some men who engage in Pushback, it has a positive impact on their performance. Some men, however, are harmed by it, merely by being witnesses. For example, sexual behavior at work (e.g., jokes) causes job withdrawal, feeling less valued, and diminished psychological well-being whether or not the employee enjoyed the behavior. Sexual behavior "causes a culture of unprofessionalism" even for those who enjoy it (Berdahl & Aquino, 2009). In other words, a large portion of all employees engage in job withdrawal (e.g., lower productivity) due to sexism in the workplace.

Outcomes of Pushback for female faculty job satisfaction

Bilimoria et al. (2006) found that female faculty members' job satisfaction is more heavily based upon the climate within their departments than upon institutional support (e.g., research funding). Gibson (2008) also found that mentors and other colleagues have a significant impact on women's career development. For men, their job satisfaction was based equally upon department climate and institutional support. Thus, Pushback would have a larger negative effect on women than on men which could account for the discrepancy between the percentage of women who achieve full professor rank and the percentage of men who achieve full professor rank. Specifically, Pushback or bullying could lead female professors to exit the academy (Olson & Agina, 2009).

Outcomes of Pushback for female faculty career paths

Pushback, namely, the increased bullying and sexism experienced by female faculty post-tenure, could lead to significantly fewer women obtaining the rank of full professor through several mechanisms. First, Pushback could lead to female faculty being denied promotion, even when they have the same quality dossiers as male faculty dossiers.

Second, Pushback could hinder women's attempts to seek promotions. For example, female faculty are less likely to be encouraged to apply for promotions or leadership positions (Gardner & Blackstone, 2013). This lack of encouragement decreases women's applications for promotion, despite the fact that women are more ambitious than men (Cookson, 2005). The result is continued significantly lower salaries for female professors in some sectors of academe (Toutkoushian & Conley, 2005).

Third, sexism and gender-based comments might lead women to discount the ability of their male colleagues. For example, female students who were exposed to a suggestion of sexism by a male professor "rated the instructor as less competent than did women who were not exposed to the suggestion" (Adams et al., 2005, p. 607). This disillusionment with one's colleagues could prompt female faculty to exit the academy.

Figure 17.12 shows the hypothesized effects of Pushback on female and male faculty. The figure proposes that the effects of Pushback are negative for female faculty and positive for male faculty. These disparate effects could explain why the percentage of women faculty who are full professors is significantly less than the percentage of male faculty who are full professors. In their STEM study, Carrigan et al. (2011) note the existence of an alarmingly higher rate of dissatisfaction and attrition among academic women in STEM, as compared to their male counterparts. The researchers point to the need for cultural change and inclusiveness as requirements to retain female faculty. We view the ability to retain female faculty as an avenue to academic advancement to the rank of professor. Note that the model assumes human capital factors are equal for all professors.

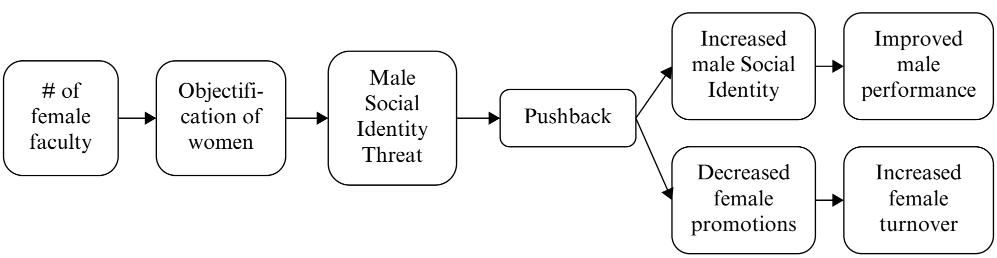


Figure 17.12 Hypothesized female and male faculty responses to increases in number of female faculty

DISCUSSION

The chapter has examined differences in rank of female and male faculty from 1988 to 2011. Data clearly indicate that there are different career paths for women and men, such that women tend to plateau in the mid ranks while men tend to advance to the highest rank. Multiple studies have shown that human capital factors (e.g., education, productivity) are not responsible for all the differences across gender.

Monzo and SooHoo (2014) remind the reader that American universities continue to be considered the "ivory tower" dominated by white male academics. Several studies have shown that gender bias is common in US colleges and universities. Despite these biases, many women manage to obtain tenure, yet relatively few women rise to the highest professorial rank. Other studies have shown that when the number of women in faculty positions increases, and when women executives move into senior positions, they face increasing levels of hostility, which we label Pushback. We hypothesize that Pushback is responsible for improving some men's performance while simultaneously harming women's performance, and that Pushback is responsible for the significantly low percentage of women who attain the rank of full professor.

Implications for Research

Researchers should examine the Pushback phenomenon further. First, researchers should gather data from tenured female faculty regarding their experiences to determine whether they have experienced Pushback and the extent to which it has affected their career paths. Second, researchers should also develop mechanisms to assist female faculty in continuing their career development in the face of increased hostility. Third, researchers should create mechanisms to assist department chairs and deans in recognizing Pushback and in teaching male faculty to avoid this behavior. In summary, researchers should document the extent of the phenomenon and create mechanisms to ensure that the career progression of female faculty mirrors that of male faculty.

Implications for Practice

Practitioners should closely examine the career progressions of their female employees and determine the extent to which women's career paths are governed by human capital factors or by Pushback. Practitioners may need to provide additional development or mentoring opportunities for women to counteract the effects of Pushback, particularly if they ascertain that Pushback is decreasing morale, ambition, and retention of women.

CONCLUSIONS

We have proposed a link between Pushback and the relatively low rates of female faculty who attain the rank of full professors. This proposal assumes that human capital factors are equal across genders, which is the case for many faculty members. Given this assumption, the chapter has several limitations.

Limitations

The chapter has several limitations. First, data on numbers of professors at different ranks are not available for every year. Further, data are not available for all academic areas of study (i.e., English, economics) for each year. Thus, we were unable to conduct a full analysis for the 23-year period on numbers and percentages of professors by gender.

Second, we are presenting *hypotheses*, not data, on Pushback, and are thus unable to state with certainty whether the hypotheses are supported. While we know from the US Department of Education that human capital factors do not explain all the differences in male and female careers, Pushback may or may not be the actual cause. We urge researchers to conduct micro-level studies (i.e., person-based, psychometric studies) on possible causes of career path differences across gender.

Another limitation is that we did not examine factors besides Pushback which could impede women's attainment of full professor rank. For example, we did not discuss Stereotype Threat experienced by female faculty when they face sexism, which has been shown to sometimes decrease performance (Logel et al., 2009; Perry & Skitka, 2009). We also did not examine the effects of gender and physical attractiveness on student course ratings, which are frequently used in promotion decisions (Basow & Montgomery, 2005; Bavishi, Madera, & Hebl, 2010; Cokley et al., 2010; King, 1995; Reid, 2010; Riniolo, Johnson, Sherman, & Misso, 2006). Last, we did not examine the phenomenon whereby some women create their own glass ceilings either by rating themselves lower than men rate them (Associated Press, 2009), which could lead to women's deciding not to seek promotions or by believing their institutions would rate them unfairly (Terosky, O'Meara, & Campbell, 2014).

In short, there are many areas of research in gender differences that could affect the differences in ranks held by women and men. The current chapter has focused on only one of these areas – namely, the relationships between peers when the peers have equal human capital.

Why has nothing been written about Pushback in academe until now? Conceivably, there were not sufficient numbers of female faculty for it to be noticeable as a phenomenon. Alternately, perhaps now there are sufficient numbers of female faculty to be seen as a threat to some men so that Pushback has intensified. This proposition is supported by the groundbreaking work of Faludi (1991) regarding the backlash against women as they moved into higher positions throughout the workforce. In other words, one or two women are seen as unthreatening to the status quo, but large numbers of women are seen as a major change and a challenge to some men's Social Identity, which could lead to Pushback.

REFERENCES

Adams, G., Garcia, D. M., Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Steele, C. M. (2005). The detrimental effects of a suggestion of sexism in an instruction situation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *42*(5), 602–615.

Anonymous (1999). Lab rats. *Working Woman*, *24*(9), 18.

Associated Press (2009). Study: Women create "their own glass ceiling." *MSNBC.com*. http://www.msnbc.com, accessed August 25, 2009.
Basow, S. A., & Montgomery, S. (2005). Student ratings and professor self-ratings of college teaching: Effects of gender and divisional affiliation. *Journal of Personnel Evaluation in Education*, *18*(2), 91–106.
Bavishi, A., Madera, J. M., & Hebl, M. R. (2010). The effect of professor ethnicity and gender on student evaluations: Judged before met. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *3*(4), 245–256.
Berdahl, J. L., & Aquino, K. (2009). Sexual behavior at work: Fun or folly? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *94*(1), 34–47.
Bilimoria, D., Perry, S. R., Liang, X., Stoller, E. P., Higgins, P., & Taylor, C. (2006). How do female and male faculty members construct job satisfaction? The roles of perceived institutional leadership and mentoring and their mediating processes. *Journal of Technology Transfer*, *31*(3), 355–365.
Blakeley, K. (2009). The "new" sexual harassment is more subtle. *MSNBC.com*. http://www.msnbc.com, accessed August 25, 2009.
Bongiorn, L. (1992). Where are all the female B school profs? *Bloomberg*, December 7, 1992. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/1992-12-06/where-are-all-the-female-b-school-profs.
Carrigan, C., Quinn, K., & Riskin, E. (2011). The gendered division of labor among STEM faculty and the effects of critical mass. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *4*(3), 131–146.
Cokley, K. O., Tran, K., Hall-Clark, B., Chapman, C., Bessa, L., Finley, A., & Martinez, M. (2010). Predicting student attitudes about racial diversity and gender equity. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *3*(3), 187–199.
Conley, V. M. (2005). Career paths for women faculty: Evidence from NSOPF:99. *New Directions for Higher Education*, *130*, 25–39.
Cookson, C. (2005). Lack of support holds back women scientists. *Financial Times London*, February 19, p. 4.
Damast, A. (2009). Women shattering B-schools' glass ceiling. *BusinessWeek.com*. http://www.businessweek.com, accessed February 23, 2009.
Dobbs, R. L., Sun, J. Y., & Roberts, P. B. (2008). Human capital and screening theories: Implications for human resource development. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *10*(6), 788–801.
EEOC (1990). Policy Guidance on Employer Liability under Title VII for Sexual Favoritism. http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/docs/sexualfavor.html, accessed December 10, 2009.
Faludi, S. (2006). *Backlash: The Undeclared War against American Women.* New York: Three Rivers Press.
Feldblum, C. R., & Lipnic, V. A. (2016). *Select Task Force on the Study of Harassment in the Workplace: Report of Co-Chairs Chai R. Feldblum & Victoria A. Lipnic.* Washington, DC, US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/task_force/harassment/report.cfm.
Fisher, M. J. (2008). Study: Women professors at UCI face discrimination. *The Orange County Register*, June 19. http://www.ocregister.com, accessed February 27, 2009.
Flaherty, C. (2017). Gender gaps shrinking and lingering. *Inside Higher Education*, May 1. https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2017/05/01/study-faculty-job-market-finds-some-gender-gaps-shrinking-and-others-remaining#.WQjdpmFRo38.gmail.
Gardner, S. K., & Blackstone, A. (2013). "Putting in your time": Faculty experiences in the process of promotion to professor. *Innovative Higher Education*, *38*(5), 411–425.
Geisler, C., Kaminski, D., & Berkley, R. A. (2007). The 13+ club: A metric for understanding, documenting, and resisting patterns of non-promotion to full professor. *NWSA Journal*, *19*(3), 145–162.
Gibson, S. K. (2008). The developmental relationships of women leaders in career transition: Implications for leader development. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *10*(5), 651–670.
Hancock, L., & Kalb, C. (1995). Harvard held up. *Newsweek*. https://www.newsweek.com/harvard-held-180278.
Heflick, N. A., & Goldenberg, J. L. (2009). Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence that objectification causes women to be perceived as less competent and less fully human. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *45*(3), 598–601.

Jordan, C. E., Pate, G. R., & Clark, S. J. (2006). Gender imbalance in accounting academia: Past and present. *Journal of Education for Business*, *81*(3), 165–169.
King, T .C. (1995). "Witness us in our battles": Four student projections of black female academics. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, *8*(6), 16–25.
Logel, C., Walton, G. M., Spencer, S. J., Iserman, E. C., von Hippel, W., & Bell, A. E. (2009). Interacting with sexist men triggers social identity threat among female engineers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *96*(6), 1089–1103.
Maass, A., Cadinu, M., Guarnieri, G., & Grasselli, A. (2003). Sexual harassment under social identity threat: The computer harassment paradigm. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*(5), 853–870.
McLaughlin, H., Uggen, C., & Blacktone, A. (2009). A longitudinal analysis of gender, power, and sexual harassment in young adulthood. American Sociological Association 104th annual meeting. Obtained as a white paper from the first author via email at mclau137@umn.edu.
Merriam-Webster (2009). Misogyny. *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/misogyny, accessed December 14, 2009.
Metcalfe, B. D. (2008). A feminist poststructuralist analysis of HRD: Why bodies, power, and reflexivity matter. *Human Resource Development International*, *11*(5), 447–464.
Monzo, L. D., & SooHoo, S. (2014). Translating the academy: Learning the racialized languages of academia. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *7*(3), 147–165.
Moss, D. C. (1988). Would this happen to a man? *ABA Journal*, *74*(50). ProQuest document ID: 8726851.
National Center of Educational Statistics (2012). *Digest of Educational Statistics*. Washington, DC: US Department of Education. http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/2012menu_tables.asp.
Olson, C., & Agina, I. O. (2009). Is higher education soft on workplace bullies? *AFT on Campus*, *28*(5), 5.
Park, L. E., Young, A. F., & Eastwick, P. W. (2015). (Psychological) distance makes the heart grow fonder: Effects of psychological distance and relative intelligence on men's attraction to women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *41*(11), 1459–1473.
Perry, S. P., & Skitka, L. J. (2009). Making lemonade? Defensive coping style moderates the effect of stereotype threat on women's math test performance. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *43*(5), 918–920.
Reid, L. D. (2010). The role of perceived race and gender in the evaluation of college teaching on RateMyProfessors.com. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *3*(3), 137–152.
Rhodes, E. (1994). Women academics in Europe. *Equal Opportunities Review*, *13*(3–5), 67–73.
Riniolo, T. C., Johnson, K. C., Sherman, T. R., & Misso, J. A. (2006). Hot or not: Do professors perceived as physically attractive receive higher student evaluations? *Journal of General Psychology*, *133*(1), 19–35.
Russ-Eft, D. F., Dickison, P. D., & Levine, R. (2008). Examining career success of minority and women emergency medical technicians (EMTs): A LEADS project. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *19*(4), 281–298.
Sandler, B. R., & Hall, R. (1986). The campus climate revisited: Chilly for women faculty, administrators, and graduate students. *Association of American Colleges and Universities*. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED282462.pdf, accessed July 8, 2009.
Swanson, R. A. (2008). Economic foundation of human resource development: Advancing the theory and practice of the discipline. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *10*(6), 763–769.
Terosky, A. L., O'Meara, K., & Campbell, C. M. (2014). Enabling possibility: Women associate professors' sense of agency in career advancement. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *7*(1), 58–76.
Toutkoushian, R. K., & Conley, V. M. (2005). Progress for women in academe, yet inequities persist: Evidence from NSOPF:99. *Research in Higher Education*, *46*(1), 1–28.
Turner, C. S. V., Gonzalez, J. C., & Wong, K. (2011). Faculty women of color: The critical nexus of race and gender. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *4*(4), 199–211.
US Department of Education (2000). Salary, Promotion, and Tenure Status of Minority and Women Faculty in U.S. Colleges and Universities (1993). Washington, DC, NCES 2000-173.

US Department of Education (2002). Gender and Racial/Ethnic Differences in Salary and Other Characteristics of Postsecondary Faculty: Fall 1998. Washington, DC, NCES 2002-170.
Wennerds, C., & Wold, A. (1997). Nepotism and sexism in peer review. *Nature*, *307*(6631), 341–343.
Worthington, R. L. (2008). Measurement and assessment in campus climate research: A scientific imperative. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *1*(4), 201–203.
Wyld, D. C. (2008). How do women fare when the promotion rules change? *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *22*(4), 83–85.

PART III

Constraints: structural and cultural impediments affecting women's career advancement

18. Shattering the stained glass ceiling: women leaders in the Church of England

Caroline Gatrell and Nigel Peyton

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we consider the position of women employed as religious leaders in the Church of England. The Church is a Christian institution which, for many centuries, exercised a gender bar and forbade women from becoming priests until 1994. It subsequently excluded women from holding the high office of Bishop until twenty years later in 2014.

Since the sixteenth century the Church of England has been the Established, i.e., the official, state recognized Church in England with certain legal rights and social obligations. The Church is most commonly recognized in the parish system with its parish churches and parish clergy serving all of England. It embraces not just the worshipping members, but all who live within the communities which make up the parish area. The Church is led by bishops who have oversight of forty-two regions of England called dioceses, while governance is undertaken by the national General Synod of the Church of England comprising the bishops and elected clergy and laity. The Church has charitable status and considerable resources invested in people, buildings, land and other assets.

Seemingly irreversible decline, accelerating in the 1970s, has been a challenge for the Church in an increasingly multi-cultural and secularized country. Fewer people identify or worship as Church of England members and these are served by fewer full-time paid clergy. Nevertheless, it remains the largest faith group in England and its activities in the public arena and in communities contribute a considerable amount of social capital annually to the nation. There is much debate about the likely causes of and possible remedies for the decline of the Church of England, most recently articulated in a provocative account, *That Was the Church, That Was: How the Church of England Lost the English People* by a journalist and a professor of the sociology of religion (Brown and Woodhead, 2016). Their key thesis is that the Church's internal controversies have been a distraction. They recommend the Church to be more outward looking and less focused on in-house disagreements, and they see a special place for women in its recovery:

> The old church rested on invisible and unpaid women. The new one will have to be sustained by women who are visible, some of whom are paid, and who have other things in their lives as well. The decades of wrangling about whether they are entitled to role and recognition are over . . . [our book] has been a story about people with no common sense whatsoever. It is possible that women will restore that balance. (Brown and Woodhead, 2016, p. 222)

While the Church finally sanctioned the ordination of women as religious ministers in 1994, the high-level position of Bishop remained open only to male priests. Women were barred from presiding as, or even applying to be, bishops. This preclusion was commonly referred to as the 'stained glass ceiling'. Relating to the 'glass ceiling', an invisible barrier which prevents senior women from reaching the top levels in organizations (Gatrell and Cooper, 2007), the stained glass ceiling is also a reference to the decoration of windows in church buildings with tinted, or 'stained' glass. Such glass is crafted together in windows to form (often religious) imagery and stained glass windows become brilliant with colour when the sunlight shines through.

In July 2014, after decades of controversy, the metaphorical stained glass ceiling barring women from the episcopate was finally shattered. The General Synod (the legislative body of the Church of England) finally voted to allow women to become bishops and senior leaders in the Church. As the Church's governing body, the General Synod principally comprises three 'Houses': one of bishops (42 diocesan bishops ex officio); 209 elected clergy, and 207 elected laity (or worshippers within the Church of England who are not ordained ministers). Given that a two-thirds majority in each House is required for major legislation, the path to accepting women's ordained ministry fully in the Church of England had been long and tortuous.

WOMEN IN ORDAINED MINISTRY

The Church of England strives for consensus yet encompasses a broad spectrum of views about tradition versus change. The acceptance of women leaders and the advancement of their careers has thus, over the past thirty years, been painfully slow. There are two key reasons for this. First, among some Church members there exist inherited and inflexible theological beliefs, based on particular interpretations of Christian scriptures, which foreground arguments that women cannot and should not be ordained as religious leaders. Second, the Church of England enjoys an exemption from the 2010 Equalities Act on the basis of being the Established Church, able to make its own statutes which have legislative status in England alongside parliamentary legislation. Consequently, the Church may decide who is ordained (or not) and who may undertake a leadership role. Crucially, most clergy (parish clergy, cathedral clergy, archdeacons, bishops) direct their own activities and do not work to a contract of employment which determines remuneration. These arrangements have been challenged but the Appeal Court has declined to change the law on clergy status (Church Times, 2015; UK Government, 2017). Perhaps this explains why, unlike other vocational careers in medicine, education and the law, Church of England clergy never became unionized or fully professionalized (Russell, 1980).

Despite continued resistance from some opinion formers within the Church (both clergy and lay members) who were firmly set against the female priesthood, women's position as religious leaders started to change during the 1980s. From 1987, women were first ordained as deacons, assisting priests, with some religious responsibility but no authority to preside at the Eucharist, a symbolic Christian rite conducted in memory of Jesus, in which His spirit is believed to reside. Neither could they lead a parish. Women were thus allowed to become deacons, often unpaid and assisting an all-male priesthood, and were finally permitted to be ordained as priests from 1994.

Women could thereafter be appointed as rectors and vicars, i.e., in charge of parishes (local geographical areas where the parish priest leads a church or churches, and where she or he is expected to reside). Women gradually began to take on a wider and more senior variety of ministry roles in the Church of England, including senior responsibilities as Area/Rural Deans (priests with oversight of a group of parishes), Cathedral Deans (senior clerical leaders) and Archdeacons (senior clerics with wider ranging management duties supporting bishops).

The current gender diversity across these ministries illustrates modest progress. Of the 542 candidates entering training for the Anglican priesthood in 2017, more than half (274) are women. Although the number of women in ordained ministry is steadily rising, men still outnumber them, women making up less than a third (29 per cent) of the total number of active clergy. Significantly women are on average ordained at an older age than men. They are also more likely than men to be concentrated in supporting, voluntary ministerial roles which (even though they are fully qualified priests and able to officiate at the Eucharist and lead parishes) are unpaid and are limited in terms of potential for career advancement.

Nevertheless, despite resistance from Church members who are unsupportive of the notion of women priests, opportunities for women have opened up, at least in theory. Since the millennium the Church of England has steadily modernized its recruitment frameworks, clergy terms of service and human resource practices. Women are paid the same as men and both are entitled to contemporary standards of sick pay, time off and childbirth leave. The Church of England is currently engaged in a 'Renewal and Reform' programme which targets 50 per cent more vocations (or entrants to the clergy), including black and minority ethnic vocations, and younger vocations from both women and men by 2020. This strategy is intended to reverse the overall decline in clergy numbers caused by an ageing workforce with annual retirements exceeding new people coming into ordained ministry.

Whilst from an occupational perspective at least, the gendered inequities of the priesthood within the Church have on paper been reformed, women's experience in practice, working as ordained priests in the Church or England has not been easy. The transition within the Church from a religious entity without women priests, to one where female ministers are ordained, and may now be appointed to the position of Bishop (the highest level of leadership role in the Church) has not been without its difficulties. Many unfair attitudes and practices (among both other priests and lay members of the Church) remain in place and continue to constrain the career advancement of women clergy.

Some of the most problematic forms of unfair treatment centre around what has been seen by those opposed to female ordination as the 'invasion' of apparently non-stereotypical bodies within a male clergy-dominated institution which was (and often still is) resistant to diversity and change (Puwar, 2004). The discomfort among traditionally oriented priests and laity, of receiving ministry from a female priest, especially should she be presiding over the Eucharist or the parish, continues to challenge women priests. Such challenges occur both in daily practice and more strategically at Church planning and finance meetings, locally and nationally, where women's voices may be ignored, even when they are in leadership roles (Furlong, 2000).

'Believing bodies' like the Church have been described as the location for embodied religious identity and performance (Shilling, 2008), of belief, structure and agency. Depending on the opinion of the individual believer, the arrival of female ordained bodies has made for either a fundamental religious crisis of faith and identity, or a welcome and timely opportunity for transformation and inclusion. For the Church of England, the entry of women's bodies into masculinized spaces has marked an innovative 'professional project' (Witz, 1992) resonating with the medical field highlighted by *The Woman in the Surgeon's Body* which contended that 'surgeons often define their masculinity through their work and view women as devaluing and threatening the worth of their achievements' (Cassell, 1998, pp. 600–601). There may be an unacknowledged clergy equivalent: 'I am a priest therefore I am a man' in some male clergy opposed to the ordination of women.

The experiences of pioneer women clergy and their increased numbers are shocking and disheartening in some cases, yet hopeful in others (Bagilhole, 2006; Furlong, 1984, 1998; Thorne, 2000). As part of an ongoing project which we are undertaking on how senior priests combine commitments to Church, belief and family (entitled Managing Clergy Lives, see Peyton and Gatrell, 2013) we interviewed fourteen female Church of England priests. In this research we discovered there were striking parallels between the experiences of women priests, and the experiences of female Members of Parliament who took part in research undertaken by Puwar (2004; see also Fotaki, 2013 on women academics). In Puwar's research, 'space invading' women members entering the UK Parliament, a similarly conservative institution with 'an undeclared universal corporeal norm, against whom others are measured' were perceived to be disrupting traditionally male environments and were treated often as unwelcome outsiders (even more so if they were black or from minority ethnic groups). In the House of Commons, women were made to feel that 'the political costume is ill-fitting and unbecoming', intruding on tradition and 'a sedimented relationship between the masculine body and the body politic' (Puwar, 2004, pp. 55, 78).

The experiences of women priests in the Church of England were similar. Their female bodies were treated by some clerical colleagues (and by parishioners) as disrupting an idealized picture, both symbolic and in practice, of the sacramental priest dressed in church vestments at the altar. Arguably, this is paradoxical given the androgynous character of clergy robes (which tend to be long and flowing, covering the body from the neck downwards). Our interviewees reported unfair and unwelcoming treatment of varied aspects of the body. This included what Gatrell (2013) terms the 'maternal' clergy body (women priests were criticized for taking part in Church rituals when pregnant; Peyton and Gatrell, 2013); hair and clothing which might be criticized for appearing overly or insufficiently feminine (Matthews, 2015; Page, 2014); 'fractional' working arrangements where female priests worked part-time and were not available to demanding parishioners 24/7 (Gatrell, 2007); two-clergy couples (women clergy married to male clergy) who were steered into subsidiary or part-time, part-paid roles secondary to the husband's position; and gendered expectations of the husbands of women clergy who were seen to disappoint because their focus was outside the parish. This meant that their wives ended up being both the clergyperson and the clergy spouse, i.e., taking the church service and then baking for the coffee time afterwards (Page, 2008).

WOMEN LEADERS IN THE CHURCH

The organizational structure of the Church of England is a particularly flat one. The majority of female and male clergy are therefore working in parishes, delivering the unique selling point of the Established Church of England, which promises: 'a Christian presence in every community'. Our research on 'Managing Clergy Lives' showed how the parish leadership role remains significant and demanding in hugely different socio-economic contexts across England. The role of priest, with responsibility for church worship and serving the parish was described by women clergy as sacrificial and rewarding in equal measure – as one of our female research participants described:

> I believe in it. I believe being a priest is hugely worthwhile. If you see faith as being something transformative, that changes people's lives and changes the lives of congregations and communities . . . I can't see anything more worthwhile doing really.

The role of priest as minister and religious leader – whether as a local vicar, an Area Dean or more senior post – is complex, and often both unromantic and uncertain. The parish priest may generally be recognized as a church and community leader, but the men and women clergy we interviewed also described themselves as variously a 'counsellor', 'fixer', 'midwife', 'shaman', or 'sacrificial slave to everyone'. Indeed, the sheer variety of tasks and daily happenings were what they enjoyed. Consequently, clergy are required to be adaptive in role because they occupy 'that strange hinterland between the secular and the sacred . . . acting as interpreters and mediators' (Percy, 2006, p. 188). As one of our interviewees said, 'we deal with the things nobody else quite knows how to deal with'.

The contrasting heroic, mundane and darker sides of clergy leadership frequently bleed into each other. Hours of work are not fixed, so clergy roles from parish priest upwards offer flexibility; yet at the same time, priests are expected to be readily and easily available as and when parishioners (or line managers) need them. Clergy are expected to pursue and promote a Christian lifestyle and to manage an operational and financial portfolio of responsibilities, as well as offering committed and faithful religious leadership which requires embodied presence. Obedience towards the Church, an ethos of self-sacrifice and a vocational heart are prerequisites for managing priestly responsibilities.

Clergy are not unique in their working arrangements. However, in the Church of England priesthood, the disciplinary reach of ordination and priests' beliefs regarding what God expects of them, gives rise to a highly committed form of pastoral embodiment which requires long hours to be worked without complaint. Hochschild (2003) elaborated by Bolton (2005) describes the notion of emotional labour and the 'managed heart' which maintains a convincing public impression required by the organization, whatever the cost to the individual. For clergy, however, this is intensified because a priest's outward performance, or 'managed heart' under the gaze of parishioners, disguising an inner angst, is no private matter because it will ultimately be detected by God.

Clergy therefore resist diluting their vocation (for example by requesting better work–life balance) because, unlike other occupations the role of the priest is characterized by the notion of an obedient clergy body (Foucault, 1977), not simply responsible to the Church as an organization but theologically governed by religious commitment to God (Rose, 1989 [1999]) and the ethical notion that others must be prioritized before the self. Embracing personal sacrifice is the hallmark and enduring trajectory of vocational faithfulness and priests need to feel authentic in this regard if they believe they are answering God's calling.

Added to the complexities of running a parish, women priests are required to negotiate their position and place within what was, prior to 1994, an all-masculine environment. As Francis (2005) demonstrates, the chemistry of gender and personality, behaviour and context are complex. The vast majority of female and male clergy work alongside each other, often in mixed teams. Many parishes have experienced both genders in their local vicars over the years and while many are more interested in the gifts and abilities of clergy as individuals, it remains the case that others may be less than enthusiastic about welcoming a female incumbent (Peyton and Gatrell, 2013).

Career advancement within the priesthood for both men and women is, however, difficult to negotiate and achieve due to quotas being imposed on the number of senior clergy in specific roles. Able clergy may demonstrate strategic senior leadership qualities but the limited number of 350 senior appointments thwarts many personal ambitions and can have a corrosive effect on some clergy. Over the years the Church has counselled priests to develop a realistic view of their ambitions and disappointments, given the limited number of avenues for increased pay and promotion to senior status.

Although clergy have the benefit of free housing (in their parish), remuneration within the Church of England is capped and is low compared with equivalent occupations. The pay spine is largely undifferentiated with most clergy on the 2017 national clergy stipend (salary) of £25,440 plus housing, expenses and pension. There are no increments for years served, for taking on the more responsible leadership role of Area/Rural Dean or awards for particularly successful ministry (for example growing congregational size or community outreach). Senior Church leaders are paid modest differentials for the responsibilities held: Archdeacons receive £34,700, Suffragan Bishops and Cathedral Deans £35,500; Diocesan Bishops £43,510 and the Archbishops of York £68,700 and Canterbury £80,160. Differentials are pegged to the lowest paid and annual pay inflation (1.5 per cent in 2017) has been restrained for some years.

Statistics for women in ministry leadership are to be found in the annual *Statistics for Mission* (Church of England, 2017). In 2016, of 5784 parish 'incumbents' – i.e., Rectors, Vicars and Priests in Charge – serving 12 600 parishes, 25 per cent were women. Among 644 Area/Rural Deans, a middle management role caring for churches and clergy in subdivisions of dioceses, 149 (23 per cent) are female – a proportion that has doubled over the past decade. Twenty-nine of 117 Archdeacons (25 per cent) are women, a significant leadership role managing diocesan mission and ministry strategy and resources. Forty women clergy serve full-time in cathedrals, eight of whom were Deans (19 per cent), heading up Church of England's flagship churches.

For women entering the priesthood, then, they face already the challenges of a complex and demanding yet relatively poorly remunerated profession at the same time as managing the difficulties of working in a male environment (Greene and Robbins, 2015). Thus, despite the growing number of women priests developing their careers and gaining leadership positions within the Church, two serious inequalities remain: First, until 2014 women were still barred from being consecrated as bishops. Second, after the 1994 commencement of the ordination of women, parishes were still legally permitted to refuse female priestly ministry under concessions granted to traditionalist Anglicans. Twenty years on these still include alternative, male ('Flying') bishops who only minister to those clergy and laity in over 420 parishes still opposed to women priests and who are excused from ordaining women priests. These continuing arrangements, characterized optimistically by the Church as reciprocity and 'mutual flourishing within difference' have predictably proved to be a minefield of contradictions and division, accentuated now by the advent of women bishops.

As recently as March 2017, Philip North, Suffragan Bishop of Burnley and the traditionalist candidate to be Diocesan Bishop of Sheffield, withdrew his nomination following a public outcry from within and beyond Sheffield Diocese. The potential appointment of North, known to have reservations about the female priesthood, was regarded as inappropriate within an open-minded diocese, comfortable with women clergy. This critical incident prompted an independent review (Mawer, 2017) which called for the Church of England to revisit the 2014 settlement that gave to the traditionalist minority assurances that they would be offered male alternatives to female ministry at the time of the General Synod women-bishops vote.

It seems astonishing that the continuing minority opposed to ordained women leaders in the Church of England can operate with an implicit notion of 'taint' which not only says women cannot be priests and bishops, but which now extends to men who are ordained by women bishops. The Director of the traditionalist (anti-women priests) organization 'Forward in Faith' expressed his perplexity, 'Until last year [2015] you could tell by looking who was a priest whose ministry we could receive. But now . . . how can you tell who ordained whom?' (Podmore, 2016). It is as though the visible 'space-invading' female body described by Puwar is now hidden in male Church of England clergy bodies also, if they are known to support women's ordination. Traditionalists deal with this disturbance by operating a system of registration and identity cards for 'uncontaminated' male clergy. This is seen by many ordained colleagues as discriminatory and wholly inappropriate 'for an established church that wants and needs to be taken seriously' (Percy, 2006, p. 109).

WOMEN BISHOPS

The legislative path to open the episcopate to women (or opportunity to be appointed as a bishop) was marked by acrimonious debate and narrow voting margins in the General Synod's three Houses of bishops, clergy and laity over a period of four years. In 2010 Synod decided that there was no theological objection to women bishops and that legislation for change should be prepared. Yet a failed attempt in 2012 to enact women bishops provoked parliamentary criticism for continuing discrimination within the Church, out of step with public opinion, public policy and UK law. Signalling their response, in 2013 the all-male House of Bishops decided that eight senior women clergy, elected regionally, would participate in all meetings of the House until such time that there were six female bishops in the House. The House of Bishops comprises the forty-two Diocesan Bishops of the Church of England.

Following the 2014 vote, the General Synod of the Church of England finally agreed to allow women to become bishops and within three years several women were chosen as bishops. There are two kinds of episcopal appointments: forty-two *diocesan* bishops have charge of an entire diocese (a regional area), while *suffragan* bishops assist their diocesan bishop in oversight, usually in a local geographical area within a diocese and/or ministry speciality. Currently they number seventy-four and, historically, have provided a talent pipeline for diocesan bishop vacancies.

Since the 2014 vote (and at the time of writing) eleven women bishops have been appointed within the Church. The first of these was Libby Lane, appointed as Suffragan Bishop of Stockport in the Diocese of Chester in January 2015. Since then, the first female diocesan bishops have been appointed also in 2015: Rachel Treweek as Bishop of Gloucester and Christine Hardman as Bishop of Newcastle. At her consecration Bishop Rachel described being 'surprised and daunted, humbled and hopeful' and, commenting on numerical decline in the membership of the Church of England, said it was 'not about saving an institution but joining confidently with what God is doing in the world'. Bishop Christine expressed excitement in leading her diocese on the next stage of its journey, and about engaging in the public sphere, speaking for the voiceless and 'bringing the depth of Christian hope to places where hope is very thin on the ground'. A cornerstone of the Establishment, twenty-six diocesan bishops enter the House of Lords by seniority of appointment but interestingly – perhaps to convince the nation that the Church of England was serious about women in senior leadership – the first two women diocesan bishops were fast tracked into Parliament in the winter of 2015/16, ahead of waiting male colleagues.

These pioneering women were followed by female appointments in 2015 as suffragan bishops of Hull in York Diocese, of Crediton in Exeter Diocese, of Taunton in Bath & Wells Diocese and of Aston in Birmingham Diocese. Three women were appointed Suffragans in 2016, to Sherborne in Salisbury Diocese, Repton in Derby Diocese and Dorking in Guildford Diocese and one in 2017 to Loughborough in Leicester Diocese. There are two female diocesan bishops out of forty-two (three vacancies) and nine women suffragan bishops out of seventy-four (four vacancies). During the period from January 2015 when women could become bishops to date, until December 2017 two out of nineteen diocesan bishop appointments have been female (10.5 per cent) and nine out of twenty-two suffragan bishop appointments have been female (40.9 per cent). This disparity might have represented a degree of caution by Church selection bodies in choosing women as senior bishops, combined with a willingness to see how they get on in junior bishop roles. It could also have been seen as a sign of continued (but unarticulated) views that the top roles in the Church were still reserved for men (see Fotaki, 2013; Puwar, 2004).

However, in December 2017, an important new appointment was announced and Sarah Mullally, Bishop of Crediton since 2015 (also former Chief Nursing Officer for England, and DBE) was installed as Bishop of London in 2018. This is a hugely significant development. The Bishop of London is the third most senior episcopal appointment after the two archbishops of Canterbury and York. Furthermore, the retiring Bishop of London was opposed to women priests and the diocese contains a significant number of traditionalist parishes and clergy. The appointment of Bishop Sarah gives a strong signal that the most senior roles in the Church are opening up for women, and that the influence of the views of the anti-women lobby may be waning.

LIMITED PROGRESS

As far as gender diversity in the ordained ministry is concerned more broadly, historical and statistical data suggest an underwhelming organizational achievement by the Church of England over many decades. The delay in accepting women bishops in the Church of England appears to be not the only 'stained glass ceiling'. As the supporters of women leaders in the Church have noted, the Church of England is only 'a third of the way to reaching gender equality' (Beavan, 2011). The Furlong Table, named after an early advocate of gendered statistics (Furlong, 1998), indicates that in 2011 on average dioceses achieved 35 per cent gender equality, calculated by combining the number of full-time stipendiary women clergy and the number of women senior post-holders. A perfect score of 100 per cent would indicate the half-feminization of clergy in a diocese. A key indicator appears to be the channelling of women, who are ordained later than men, into assistant and unpaid, voluntary and supporting roles, even if they are fully qualified to serve as parish priests. If after two decades only 25 per cent of local 'incumbents' or parish priests receiving a salary are women clergy it is perhaps unsurprising that only modest numbers of women gain further preferment, responsibility and status.

On the positive side, we note that many women serve in chaplaincies (28 per cent of chaplains) and various diocesan roles (mission, vocational discernment, ministry training) all of which may lead to promotion. Earlier research by Towler and Coxon (1979) indicating that making a variety of moves between parochial and specialist ministry might indicate a preferment path in the Church of England still has some validity. For example, our 'Managing Clergy Lives' research confirms that those who become Area/Rural Deans do have an increased likelihood of further promotion. From our sample of forty-six such clergy, 'Managing Clergy Lives' suggests a 15 per cent chance of Area/Rural Deans enjoying preferment. At the end of 2017, of our original sample of thirty-two male and fourteen female clergy who took part in our research, seven have gained senior promotions: two suffragan bishops, one male, one female; four archdeacons including one woman; and one male cathedral dean. The odds of preferment based on our relatively small sample are 15.6 per cent for men and 14.3 per cent for women. Behind the statistics, however, remains the issue that in numeric terms, men still significantly outnumber women when it comes to promotion at senior level.

Whether progress so far amounts to a feminization of the clergy in the Church of England parallel to the North American experience reported by Nesbitt (1997) or a gradualist and 'culturally normalizing' gendered evolution within the clergy 'species' (Percy, 2006, p. 104) is open to debate. Bagilhole (2006) argues that women are still pioneering their way through not so much a (stained) glass ceiling, 'more a lead roof'. As Anglican woman priest Green suggests, although we are past the point of no return as a maturing priesthood of both sexes, honouring sexual difference in mediating the divine and shaping a more effective Church in the world, there is a way to go. As Green describes: 'women need to encounter not just passive tolerance but positive acknowledgement and active, practical affirmation' (Green, 2011, p. 44).

Bishops as senior leaders are gatekeepers to preferment, so the positive vote by General Synod for women bishops should accelerate progress for women clergy in England in the coming years (especially given the recent appointment of Sarah Mullally as Bishop of

London). The larger number of older, male clergy reaching retirement may also create more opportunities. However, not all able women clergy will gain promotion and the range of career ambitions and disappointments described in our research is typified by our interviewee Jean, who held an advisory role to the bishop, and whose last disappointment was particularly difficult:

> I can't even get on the Archdeacon rung of the ladder after various attempts . . . I could not understand why I wasn't, with my wide range of gifts, why I wasn't getting interviews if five Bishops were telling me, 'I think this is the route you should be going' . . . there has been a high personal cost . . . I think what I have found enormously difficult in this process has been to trust the system . . . for me the hardest road was the final one I did apply for because . . . they did appoint a woman and she is good news I am sure, at least from what I gleaned from her, I was pleased that she had got the job, but I was gutted that I didn't because I really wanted it. (Peyton and Gatrell, 2013, p. 101)

If progress into senior leadership roles slows, the few women bishops risk being isolated and labelled as 'token' women (Davidson and Cooper, 1992) or 'queen bees' (Mavin, 2008). However, showing sisterly solidarity and challenging embodied practices can be challenging in situations where women leaders are few in number and under the spotlight, with high expectations about what changes they will make in role (Mavin, 2008). The Church principally (and publicly) excluded women on the basis of gender, but as Gatrell and Swan (2008) point out there are issues of inequality and intersectionality in which other social categories such as class, ethnicity, race and age, sexuality and disability shape every woman individually, and which make discussion of women leaders in organizations much more complex. This is certainly true in the Church of England whose current 'Renewal and Reform' programme aims to improve the shape and diversity of the clergy workforce.

Nesbitt's North American research suggests that the feminization of the clergy, as in some other recently feminized secular occupations, paradoxically has had adverse effects on women clergy careers: either male paradigms and authority structures remain dominant or 'by the time substantial numbers of women gained access, the occupations not only had lost their attractiveness to men but were offering tangibly fewer advantages to women'. Nevertheless, Nesbitt believes that female advancement in organized religion will be influential as 'the clergy becomes strategically more critical as a battleground for occupational feminization and its implications' (Nesbitt, 1997, p. 162). This chimes with our earlier account of Church decline and the arrival of women clergy leaders as potential game-changers.

The key test will be in the forty-two previously all-male membership of the House of Bishops, the senior leadership team of the Church of England, where there are now three full women bishop members. Puwar identifies the double-edged visibility facing women who are expected to justify their inclusion and capability, and are challenged to shine. Their presence in the organization brings opportunities and pressures and it remains to be seen whether the experience of women bishops reveals 'the exclusionary processes at work in the differential allocation of respect and authority to gendered bodies' (Puwar, 2004, p. 92). First impressions matter as women embody senior leadership as bishops in the Church of England.

IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT

Appearing to embody one's professional occupation correctly is clearly important for both women and men. Singh, Kumra and Vinnicombe (2002) explore the tactics of women trying to fit into predominantly male environments. In the Church of England talk of clergy ambition and career paths is generally frowned upon since this does not align with Christian beliefs about placing one's own needs in the background and putting others before the self. Even now the Church still uses a language of 'vocation and preferment' and promotion may be still obtained through informal processes and 'old boy networks' (Betters-Reed and Moore, 1995), which men have learned to negotiate over centuries, using impression management strategies. The experience of over a decade of women priests and their limited progress into more senior posts as Area/Rural Deans, Archdeacons and Cathedral Deans confirms that the gender nuances of the 'promotion game' found in secular research are there also in the Church.

Singh et al.'s research describes how workers engage in self-focused impression management tactics: presenting a professional demeanour, diligent preparation and commitment in ministry beyond supervisory expectations, adding value and getting a reputation. Women clergy negotiate erasing gendered prejudices about ability, in order to embody priesthood as generally understood in the Church. As in other walks of life so for clergy the 'workplace has become the point of convergence of a number of themes' (Morgan et al., 2005, p. 9) – gender and bodies, power and emotions, impressions and achievements.

Work and embodiment are thus linked to the extent to which the work is carried out under the gaze of others (Haynes, 2011). Being called upon to present oneself in a particular way raises questions of gender and the relation between the performance and the audience (Collinson and Collinson, 1989). As for the actor in the theatre of life (Goffman, 1959, p. 244) so also for the priest and her/his congregation. Indeed, style of dress may be important as part of the 'aesthetic labour' of celebrating or camouflaging difference (Morgan et al., 2005).

This leads to some interesting professional and sacred clothing regimes in the ecclesiastical setting (Page, 2014). Although some women have adopted a traditional dark suited and clerical collared approach, rather more have transformed the clerical shirt into an individualized rainbow of colours and styles. Further research is needed to discover whether those women who have reached the most senior positions tend towards a more collegial (traditional, male) dress and demeanour. The difficulty of achieving the invisible professional costume in Parliament without compromising race or gender (Puwar, 2004, p. 78) is in the Church masked by androgynous, floor-length liturgical robes and the clerical collar as professional signifiers, a dramaturgical 'disembodiment' (Morgan et al., 2005, p. 4) achieving visible invisibility – the woman in priest's robes, the priest in the woman's body.

According to Singh et al. (2002) male strategies for promotion focus on gaining an early understanding of the prevalent success model in their organization and emulating it through hard work and fitting the mould. In our research interviews some women admitted to outdoing previously competitive male preoccupations with church size and overt busyness at the expense of personal life and work–life balance. Carole, for example, stressed how much she had energetically enlarged her congregation: 'We built up to between 40 and 50 on a Sunday which is very good particularly for a small village.' Linda seemed ambitious and admitted not giving her youngsters 'my personal attention all the time' and that with her husband, 'we've allocated time tonight to sit down and talk through some issues . . . family communication isn't what it should be at the moment . . . we tend to take each other for granted.' Both woman have been 'recognized' and are in very senior roles in the Church.

This suggests less gender differentiation in that both men and women were clear that 'reading the organization' in terms of identifying key practices and behaviour was necessary to progress. Some clergy don't quite realize the unspoken conventions required to 'fit in' and 'get on'. In the Church, self-image and organizational image are not always consistent and learning to become more visible (without being marked out; Puwar, 2004), does not come naturally to many clergy, male and female alike, who may regard self-promotion with suspicion and discomfort.

CULTIVATING LEADERS

In recent years the Church of England has explored ways of developing able clergy and widening access to senior roles, creating a 'talent pipeline' (Church of England, 2007, p. 30). A further plan, *Talent Management for Future Leaders and Leadership Development for Bishops and Deans: A New Approach* was published in 2014, prepared by a group led by Lord Green of Hurstpierpoint the former chairman of HSBC (Green, 2014). The report was silent on what the shortcomings of previous arrangements were, but advocated transformational senior leadership which grows the Church, reshapes its ministry and contributes to the national and local good. The Green Report attracted particular criticism for a perceived lack of theological foundation and a reliance on secular executive management solutions in a Church setting.

The new approach envisaged a culture change for the leadership of the Church in two stages: first a residential course for all bishops and deans run by a business school; second, and more radically, the development of a select 150 talent pool of high potential individuals, identified by their diocesan bishop, who are enrolled into an intensive training course for up to five years by which time they will either gain a senior appointment or, if apparently failing to fulfil his or her potential, be asked to leave. Diocesan bishops nominate two course participants each year and it is likely that many will go for one of each gender. Not all those nominated are necessarily accepted onto the course.

The results of this initiative are mixed. The first cohort of fifty-seven clergy into the talent pool, now rebranded a 'learning community', was criticized for being 'stale and male' after it was revealed that it comprised 77 per cent male and 91 per cent white participants with an age range of 36–56 years. A diocesan director of vocation and ministry criticized the approach, saying she believed, 'This is designed to open up opportunities, my problem with it is that I would like to see that opportunity open to more people so that anybody could have a chance to improve their skills or to have a go at a big project' (Whitehead, 2015).

The reality is that since the millennium many dioceses have provided clergy leadership programmes of their own, requiring parish vicars to complete the programme as part of their continuing professional development. Building on such diocesan models, 'Leading Women' is a significant programme for women priests across the Church of England who have the potential to develop into senior leaders and may at some stage wish to consider senior appointment. Begun in 2010 it is led by women clergy for women clergy and in 2018 there are thirty-six participants from fifty-two applicants. Over the years 'Leading Women' has clearly been successful in encouraging and equipping women priests for greater leadership roles as 60 per cent of participants have moved on to something else. The 2018 course will be delivered by two bishops, one dean, two archdeacons and one diocesan director of ministry – all women, so the role models are embedded in the programme.

Arguably these initiatives are a more cost-effective investment in women leaders in particular, and in the Church's workforce as a whole, than investing large sums of money in a national talent pool, which in any case, as the Green Report acknowledged, will not prevent those outside it applying for senior leadership posts. The Church of England is optimistic that subsequent cohorts in the national talent programme will become more diverse. A recent female clergy participant in the national talent pool blogged that she was surprised by the quality of the seminars and felt positive about persevering despite early reservations. A male clergy participant commented that being in the pool was neither an executive managerial exercise nor a fast track to anywhere, and commended the positive effect it was having on individual clergy and the contexts in which they served. However, it remains early days for the five-year leadership initiative and, three years in, information about outcomes is hard to come by. Further research will be required to ascertain what if anything women (and men) are gaining.

Underlying these concerns is the view that whilst clergy instinctively value integrity and competence there is considerable resistance to managerialist interventions into their ministry and any performance measurement of their missionary or community success. Clergy keen to promote themselves are perceived as self-selecting and this sits uneasily alongside a priestly vocational calling to a way of life rather than a job. A senior woman priest observes, anecdotally, that 'women are still less likely to apply for bigger jobs though there is still quite a tranche of women who are determined and focused; and that we do have a few women who are struggling with parishes – possibly slightly more than men'.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the evolution and current contours of women clergy leaders in the Church of England. In the last thirty years the workforce has been transformed by the emergence of women, ordained as priests and bishops, leading local parishes and area deaneries, and sharing in the senior leadership teams of dioceses as bishops, deans and archdeacons. As we have demonstrated, the process has been much disputed and prolonged, and a sizeable minority of the Church of England still will not accept the ministry of women. Nevertheless, women clergy leaders are today a growing and appreciated part of everyday church, community and public life. The outstanding question seems to be, especially now that women can hold the top office of diocesan bishop, whether the progress of women clergy into leadership is continuing fast and deep enough to achieve parity with male clergy.

As this volume shows, just as in other institutions and occupations, the breakthrough of women into previously all-male spaces comes at a price and is often difficult to sustain. Organizations and regulatory bodies juggle with quotas and targets for female/male balance in senior posts, in governance, and in the workforce in general with patchy results. In the Church of England there remains a long way to go if at present only three out of forty-two diocesan bishops – the key senior leadership role – are women.

Significantly perhaps the fullest and most recent commentary on episcopal ministry, *Becoming a Bishop: A Theological Handbook of Episcopal Ministry* (Avis, 2015), coincides with the advent of women bishops in England, many years after most other parts of the global Anglican Communion – the USA was first in 1988. Avis writes about the role and attributes of bishops without regard for gender. If leaders are indeed made and not born, then leadership is supposedly about character for a context and its challenges: 'Without leadership any institution drifts aimlessly. It suffers entropy . . . leaders refresh the vision . . . inspire the community . . . with a fresh sense of purpose . . . there is a sense in which the bishop's leadership is formed by his or her reception in the community' (Avis, 2015, pp. 70, 73).

Yet as we observed, while ideals around leadership might on the surface appear to be gender neutral, attitudes towards women in leadership roles in the Church remain often outdated and unfair. In situations where worshippers and other clergy can refuse women's ministry, where women's bodies might be seen as intruding on male space, and where women might be allowed into junior positions (suffragan bishop roles) but may not be trusted in the more senior diocesan positions, the equality agenda in the Church still has a long way to go. The stained glass ceiling in theory may be shattered, but many more women clergy need to be called into the fresh leadership headroom created if equality is to be achieved in practice.

Postscript

As this book moved to publication, the number of Church of England women bishops has increased slightly to five Diocesan Bishops and 13 Suffragan Bishops, in line with the arguments made in our chapter.

REFERENCES

Avis, P. (2015). *Becoming a Bishop: A Theological Handbook of Episcopal Ministry*. London: Bloomsbury.

Bagilhole, B. (2006). Not a glass ceiling, more a lead roof: Experiences of pioneer women priests in the Church of England. *Equal Opportunities International*, *25*(2), 109–25.

Beavan, E. (2011). Women bishops approved. *Church Times*, 18 November, p. 4.

Betters-Reed, B. and Moore, L. (1995). Shifting the management development paradigm for women. *Journal of Management Development*, *14*(2), 24–38.

Bolton, S. (2005). *Emotion Management in the Workplace*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brown, A. and Woodhead, L. (2016). *That Was the Church, That Was: How the Church of England Lost the English People*. London: Bloomsbury.

Cassell, J. (1998). *The Woman in the Surgeon's Body*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Church of England (2007). *Talent and Calling: A Review of the Law and Practice Regarding Appointments to the Offices of Suffragan Bishop, Dean, Archdeacon and Residentiary Canon*. London: Church House Publishing.

Church of England (2017). *Statistics for Mission 2016*. September. https://www.churchofengland.org/media/4034111/ministry-statistics-2016.pdf, accessed 23 October 2017.
Church Times (2015). Clergy are office-holders, not employees, appeal court rules. 30 April. https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2015/news, accessed 10 December 2017.
Collinson, D. and Collinson, M. (1989). Sexuality in the workplace: The domination of men's sexuality. In J. Hearn, D. L. Sheppard, P. Tancred-Sheriff and G. Burrell (Eds.), *The Sexuality of Organization* (pp. 91–109). London: Sage.
Davidson, M. and Cooper, C. (1992). *Shattering the Glass Ceiling: The Woman Manager*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing.
Fotaki, M. (2013). No woman is like a man (in academia): The masculine symbolic order and the unwanted female body. *Organization Studies*, *34*(9), 1251–75.
Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Francis, L. (2005). *Faith and Psychology: Personality, Religion and the Individual*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd.
Furlong, M. (1984). *Feminine in the Church*. London: SPCK.
Furlong, M. (Ed.) (1998). *Act of Synod – Act of Folly?* London: SCM Press.
Furlong, M. (2000). *C of E: The State It's In*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
Gatrell, C. (2007). A fractional commitment? *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *18*(3), 462–75.
Gatrell, C. (2013). Maternal body work: How women managers and professionals negotiate pregnancy and new motherhood at work. *Human Relations*, *66*(5), 621–44.
Gatrell, C. and Cooper, C. (2007). (No) cracks in the glass ceiling: Women managers, stress and the barriers to success. In D. Bilimoria and S. Piderit (Eds.), *Handbook on Women in Business and Management* (pp. 55–77). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Gatrell, C. and Swan, E. (2008). *Gender and Diversity in Management: A Concise Introduction*. London: Sage.
Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London: Penguin.
Green, A. (2011). *A Priesthood of Both Sexes: Paying Attention to Difference*. London: SPCK.
Green, S. (2014). *Talent Management for Future Leaders and Leadership Development for Bishops and Deans: A New Approach*. A Steering Group Report for the General Synod of the Church of England.
Greene, A. and Robbins, M. (2015). The cost of a calling? Clergywomen and work in the Church of England. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *22*(4), 405–20.
Haynes, K. (2011). Body beautiful? Gender, identity and the body in professional service firms. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *19*(5), 489–507.
Hochschild, A. (2003). *The Managed Heart: Commercialization and Human Feeling* (20th anniversary ed.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Matthews, H. (2015). No faith in equality and diversity: Managing gender and sexuality in the Church of England, an organisation exempt from the Equalities Act 2010 (PhD thesis, University of Lancaster).
Mavin, S. (2008). Queen bees, wannabees and afraid to bees: No more 'best enemies' for women in management? *British Journal of Management*, *19*(s1), S75–S84.
Mawer, P. (2017). Review of Nomination to the See of Sheffield and Related Matters. 15 September 2017. https://www.churchofengland.org/4032634/independent-reviewer-sheffield-report.pdf, accessed 23 October 2017.
Morgan, D., Brandth, B. and Kvande, E. (Eds.) (2005). *Gender, Bodies and Work*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Nesbitt, P. (1997). *Feminization of the Clergy in America: Occupational and Organizational Perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Page, S. (2008). The construction of masculinities and femininities in the Church of England: The case of the male clergy spouse. *Feminist Theology*, *17*(1), 31–42.
Page, S. (2014). The scrutinized priest: Women in the Church of England negotiating professional and sacred clothing regimes. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *21*(4), 295–307.
Percy, M. (2006). *Clergy: The Origin of Species*. London: Continuum.

Peyton, N. and Gatrell, C. (2013). *Managing Clergy Lives: Obedience, Sacrifice, Intimacy*. London: Bloomsbury.
Podmore, C. (2016). Director's address: Forward in Faith National Assembly 2016. *New Directions*, February, p. 14.
Puwar, N. (2004). *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*. Oxford: Berg.
Rose, N. (1989 [1999]). *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (2nd ed.). London: Free Association Books.
Russell, A. (1980). *The Clerical Profession*. London: SPCK.
Shilling, C. (2008). *Changing Bodies: Habit, Crisis and Creativity*. London: Sage.
Singh, V., Kumra, S. and Vinnicombe, S. (2002). Gender and impression management: Playing the promotion game. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *37*(1), 77–89.
Thorne, H. (2000). *Journey into Priesthood: An In-Depth Study of the First Women Priests in the Church of England*. Bristol: Centre for Comparative Studies in Religion and Gender, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Bristol.
Towler, R. and Coxon, A. (1979). *The Fate of the Anglican Clergy*. London: Macmillan.
UK Government (2017). https://www.gov.uk/employment-status/office-holder, accessed 10 December 2017.
Whitehead, H. (2015). The leadership talent pool: Questions and answers. *Proceedings of the General Synod of the Church of England July 2015*. London: Church House Publishing.
Witz, A. (1992). *Professions and Patriarchy*. London: Routledge.

19. The steep way to the top: barriers to female leadership in tall hierarchical organizations

Sofia Schlamp, Fabiola H. Gerpott and Sven C. Voelpel

While women constitute about half of the world population and half of the workforce (Holst & Kirsch, 2014; US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2002), they are largely underrepresented in leadership roles (Miller, Taylor, & Buck, 1991; Wirth, 2001). In the Fortune 500 list of companies, less than 5 percent of the CEOs are women (Catalyst, 2002). This number is comparable to women in top leadership roles in other countries. For instance, in Germany, 8.6 percent of the board seats in the largest 100 companies are held by women (DIW Managerinnen-Barometer, 2016), and in Australia, women occupy 16.3 percent of CEO/Head of Business positions (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2016).

Practitioners and researchers alike have explored the various reasons that may evoke and perpetuate this inequality. Previous scholarly work has classified research on the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles into a nature (evolution) or a nurture (socialization) perspective. The first stream of work suggests that men are more likely to be selected for management positions, because they signal leadership status to others through evolved indicators, such as their physical strength, power, and height (Blaker & van Vugt, 2014). Individuals used these indicators in the ancient past to signal and attain leadership (Riggio & Riggio, 2010; van Vugt, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2008). In today's work environment, physical strength and height are not required to exhibit effective leadership. However, evolutionary history may still affect individuals' cognitive processes and behaviors, resulting in a tendency to choose leaders who possess these physical characteristics (van Vugt et al., 2008).

The second stream of work argues that socialization processes related to the ascription of female (communal) and male (agentic) roles hinder women from achieving high status positions (Crandall & Schaller, 2005; Eagly, 1987). From an early age, society teaches individuals how to behave in line with socially accepted gender roles. For example, parents' encouragement of gender-typed play can contribute to the persistence of gender stereotypes (Leaper & Friedman, 2007). Girls are socialized to play nurturing and collaborative games (Wood & Eagly, 2002), while boys are encouraged to engage in more active play and sports (Leaper & Friedman, 2007). Furthermore, boys are taught to act autonomously (Leaper, Anderson, & Sanders, 1998), whereas girls are expected to acknowledge interdependence (Jaffe, Lee, Huang, & Oshagan, 1995). When children repeatedly experience these social learning processes throughout their childhood, they are likely to develop stereotypes about what men and women should be like. These stereotypical beliefs overlap strongly with societal images of what a leader should be like (i.e., the leader prototype; Forsyth, Heiney, & Wright, 1997), thus providing men with an advantage in terms of being perceived as suitable for a leadership role.

More recently, research began looking beyond the nature versus nurture perspective by exploring the role of organizations' structural factors in determining the likelihood that women evolve into leadership positions. For instance, a large body of research has found that a higher share of female leaders is difficult to achieve in "male industries," such as in manufacturing, or the automotive sector (Catalyst Research, 2012; Lloyd & Mey, 2007), because women are more likely to face discrimination in such male-dominated environments (Eagly & Carli, 2003). They may therefore receive lower performance evaluations (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992) and be promoted less frequently (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Hill, 1992) than their male counterparts.

Whereas these findings about "male industries" are certainly interesting, they only inform us about how a majority group (i.e., men) makes it difficult for a minority group (i.e., women) to obtain social influence – a finding that is also well-established in the stereotype literature (Chin, 2013). Yet, hierarchical structures that characterize *every* organization (regardless of its workforce's gender composition) have received little scholarly attention in the context of female leadership. This is surprising, given that companies differ considerably in their hierarchical structure, and that there is an ongoing debate on the optimal hierarchical structure for high performance (Anderson & Brown, 2010; Dalton, Todor, Spendolini, Fielding, & Porter, 1980; Ghiselli & Johnson, 1970).

This chapter adds to the literature by investigating how a company's hierarchical organization can influence the number of women in top management positions. We begin with a review of the hierarchy literature and elaborate on the advantages that a tall hierarchy may bring about in terms of increasing organizational effectiveness. We then point to the potential mismatch of tall hierarchies with the current challenges that organizations face, such as the need for agile project management, quick decision making, and democratic idea development processes. Taking the shortcomings of tall hierarchies as a starting point, we subsequently discuss the advantages of organizing work in flat hierarchies, with a particular focus on the potential benefits for female leadership from a Person–Organization Fit (P–O fit) perspective. Our chapter closes with a discussion of the short- and long-term practical implications of increasing the number of female top managers in organizations with steeply sloped hierarchies.

THE HIERARCHY OF ORGANIZATIONS

Hierarchical organizational structures can be described on a continuum between flat and tall hierarchies (Carzo Jr & Yanouzas, 1969; Cummings & Berger, 1976; Dalton et al., 1980; Galinsky, Magee, Gruenfeld, Whiston, & Liljenquist, 2008). A number of characteristics define an organization's position on that continuum, namely (1) the number of management levels, (2) the span of control, (3) the communication flow, and (4) the centralization of power.

First, the number of management levels refers to the supervisory levels relative to the size of the organization (Indik & Seashore, 1961; Porter & Lawler, 1964). Tall organizations have many supervisory layers relative to the size of the organization, while flat organizations have fewer levels (Indik & Seashore, 1961; Porter & Lawler, 1964).

Second, the span of control (Dalton, Fielding, Porter, Spendolini, & Todor, 1978; Dalton et al., 1980) indicates the number of subordinates for whom one supervisor is responsible. In flat hierarchies, there is a wide span, meaning that several subordinates report to the same supervisor. A narrower span characterizes tall hierarchies in which few people report to one supervisor (Dalton et al., 1978).

Third, communication flow (Carzo Jr & Yanouzas, 1969) refers to the predominant direction of the information exchange between the management teams and the employees. In tall organizations, the communication follows a top-down management approach, whereas in flat companies, communication flows across the organization (Carzo Jr & Yanouzas, 1969; Rishipal, 2014). Furthermore, fewer levels facilitate the fast processing of information, which can in turn positively affect the speed at which decisions are made.

Lastly, the centralization of power (Dalton et al., 1978) describes whether the decision-making power is in the hands of few individuals, or is distributed between several managers. A tall hierarchical organization is characterized by a clear decision-making structure, led by one or few individuals. In contrast, flatter organizations tend to have a decentralized management structure, meaning that decision making is shared more equally between employees (Dalton et al., 1978). Tall organizations also tend to be more open to plural forms of leadership, such as pooling leadership, or spreading leadership across boundaries over time (Denis, Langley, & Sergi, 2012).

Functionalist accounts of hierarchy have long suggested that tall hierarchies are more effective for achieving high organizational performance than flat hierarchies. In the following, we review the arguments of this functionalistic stream of literature and then turn to the potential mismatch between tall hierarchies and contemporary organizations' way of conducting work and dealing with challenges.

A Double-Edged Sword: The Bright and the Dark Side of Tall Hierarchies

In the ancestral past, starting with the primate groups and the early humans, dominant hierarchies were the norm (van Vugt et al., 2008). Hierarchies grew in prominence and relevance approximately 13,000 years ago during the agricultural revolution (Ahuja & van Vugt, 2010). The agricultural revolution allowed individuals to produce food on a large scale, which enabled groups to settle and grow exponentially (Van Vugt et al., 2008). An increase in resources and populations also stimulated the need for a leader who could control the resources and make decisions for the group (Johnson & Earle, 2000). Groups with a leader have a higher degree of centrality, which represents a taller hierarchy. Over time, as groups continued to become larger, tall social structures became even more important to reduce conflict, coordinate resource allocation, and facilitate communication between many group members. To conclude, social hierarchies could develop into a predominant form of coordinating groups across history because of their beneficial social and organizational functions (Magee & Galinsky, 2008).

To effectively coordinate work in organizations, managers also established teams and organized them in hierarchical structures. Organizational teams face three main challenges, namely (1) making collective decisions, (2) coordinating individual behavior, and (3) motivating members (Anderson & Brown, 2010). Hierarchies allow groups to efficiently solve these problems. First, in tall hierarchies, certain individuals have more control and power over the decision-making process than the rest of the group. In case that the most competent individual in the group is selected as a leader (Anderson & Brown, 2010), these clear leadership structures allow fast decision processes and reduce the likelihood of intragroup conflict (van Vugt & Spisak, 2008). Second, hierarchies also establish order, structure, and division of labor (Magee & Galinsky, 2008; Neuberg & Newsom, 1993; van Vugt & Ronay, 2014). Division into ranks and tasks reduces uncertainty and helps group members avoid internal conflict (Anderson, Srivastava, Beer, Spataro, & Chatman, 2006). Third, hierarchies provide clear social, material, and psychological incentives, which can motivate employees (Hardy & van Vugt, 2006; Willer, 2009). For instance, the higher an employee's position in the hierarchy, the more financial benefits and social recognition the employee will receive.

Although the outlined decision-making, coordination, and motivation challenges can be addressed through tall hierarchies, they may also bring about some unintended negative consequences that can jeopardize organizational effectiveness. Particularly, the current economic environment differs considerably from our ancestors' environment and from the predominant organizational settings a few decades ago. This means that there is a potential mismatch between the adopted organizational structures from the past and the organizational requirements of the modern, complex business world (van Vugt et al., 2008).

Tall hierarchies are particularly effective in two contexts, namely in stable environments (Burns & Stalker, 1961; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967), and/or when task complexity is low (Blau & Scott, 1962; Shaw, 1954, 1964). On the one hand, a large number of companies currently operate in competitive environments, in which adaptability and innovation are essential for organizational survival. This means that stable environments are replaced by continuously changing environments. Additionally, technological advancements are affecting the ways of working and communicating in organizations, often making tall hierarchies superfluous. On the other hand, machines increasingly replace repetitive and low complexity tasks (Zarkadakis, Jesuthasan, & Malcolm, 2016). Employees are therefore often required to perform highly complex tasks and need an environment that allows them to reach out to other individuals for information (Cummings & Cross, 2003).

Providing initial evidence of flat hierarchies' functionality in contemporary organizations, recent theoretical and empirical studies suggest that flatter hierarchies have a positive impact on (1) efficient decision-making processes, (2) communication, and (3) motivation as well as job satisfaction (Judge, Thoresen, Bono, & Patton, 2001; Kettley, 1995; Rishipal, 2014).

Firstly, in flat organizations, responsibility is shared by several individuals, resulting in a larger number of participative decisions (Turban & Keon, 1993) and faster decision making. To illustrate, due to the lack of middle management levels, responsibilities are distributed between the upper management and the lower levels. Employees are therefore empowered and capable of making decisions without the top managers' approval, resulting in more efficient decision-making processes than in taller organizations. Flat organizations can also be more cost-efficient, given that they are characterized by less bureaucracy than tall organizations (Rishipal, 2014). Whereas bureaucratic organizations often have a large number of processes and rules to ensure that only authorized individuals make decisions, the decision-making power is more equally distributed between employees in flatter organizations. Thus, bureaucracy can be reduced by eliminating operations and processes that focus on correctly allocating decision-making power (Rishipal, 2014).

Secondly, tall organizations are often confronted with communication problems between the senior leaders and the employees. While communication flows through the various managerial levels, the message might be inconsistent, or inaccurate, by the time it reaches its audience. In flatter organizations, communication flows more efficiently between employees and managers (Carzo Jr & Yanouzas, 1969). Employees in lower management levels may find it easier to have access to the top management to exchange and receive information.

Thirdly, under certain circumstances, flat hierarchies may also result in higher levels of employee motivation and job satisfaction. In tall hierarchies, individuals are motivated by social, material, and psychological incentives (Hardy & van Vugt, 2006; Willer, 2009). Yet, these incentives are mostly targeting employees in high hierarchical positions, or those who have potential to reach managerial positions. Employees in low management levels, who receive considerably lower salaries and do not intend to climb up the career ladder, are not addressed by these incentives. These employees might therefore perceive the organization as having an unfair reward system (Anderson & Brown, 2010), feel they lack control over important decisions, and experience themselves as having low impact on the organization's overall outcomes. Altogether, these drawbacks may decrease lower level employees' job satisfaction and commitment in tall organizations (Appelbaum et al., 2013). In contrast, in flatter organizations, employees have more control over how to conduct their work, experience higher levels of self-actualization, and are consequently more satisfied with their job (Morse & Reimer, 1956). Furthermore, flatter organizations often allow employees to advance their career not only by progressing to the next managerial level, but also by following a horizontal career path (Lawler, 1994). This can motivate employees who are not looking for a position of power in terms of a large number of subordinates, but for a job in which they can exhibit power through their expertise (Speck, 2017).

Tall hierarchies may not only bring about negative consequences for general organizational outcome measures such as efficient decision-making processes, communication, and employee motivation, but they can also contribute to the ongoing existence of the glass ceiling, a metaphor to describe the large number of challenges women face when trying to advance in the corporate hierarchy (Cotter, Hermsen, Ovadia, & Vanneman, 2001). In the next sections, we point out in more detail how tall hierarchies can contribute to the perpetuation of the male dominance in leadership positions.

A MODEL OF BARRIERS TO FEMALE LEADERSHIP IN HIERARCHICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Individuals are attracted to organizations that reflect their values and norms (Chatman, 1989), as well as their personality (Bretz, Ash, & Dreher, 1989). Based on this notion, the person–environment fit perspective states that employees perform better when they work in an environment that matches their values and personality (Tom, 1971). Compatibility between the employee and the organization is referred to as the Person–Organizational Fit (P–O fit; Kristof, 1996).

The workforce was largely male for centuries, with the organizational culture reflecting male values, behavior, and attitudes. Today, male and female employees are equally repented in the workforce (Holst & Kirsch, 2014; US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2002). However, organizational environments may not have kept up with the changes, meaning

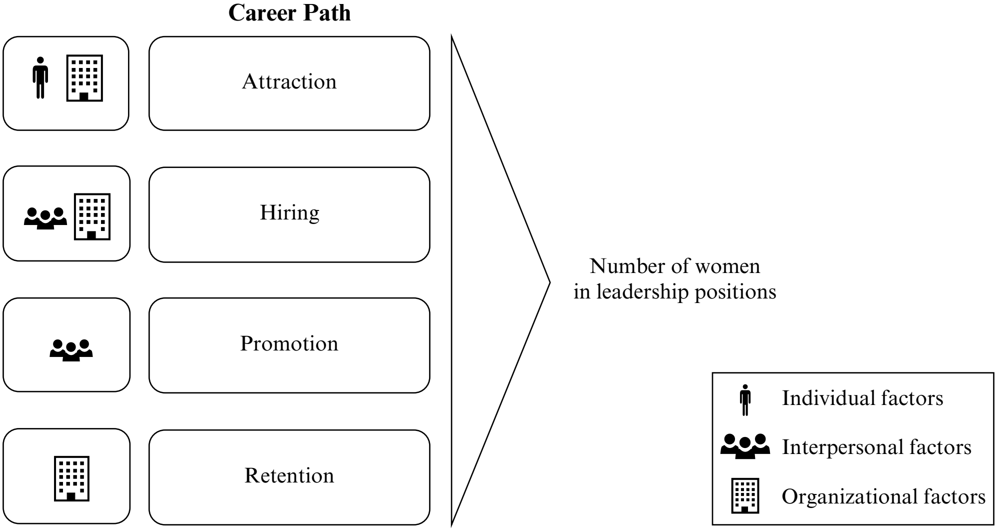


Figure 19.1 Barriers to female leadership across the career path

they are still characterized by a culture that reflects the male workplace. Consequently, the organizational culture may be incompatible with the values, behavior, and attitudes of the female workforce (Kraimer & Jandeska, 2005). For example, while men prefer competitive environments (Flory, Leibbrandt, & List, 2014), and hierarchy-enhancing occupations (Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius, & Siers, 1997), women prefer collaboration (Book, 2000) and hierarchy-attenuating jobs (Pratto et al., 1997). We therefore argue that tall hierarchies may be particularly inappropriate for supporting female leadership. Particularly, we explore how the compatibility between male and female employees' preferences and organizations' hierarchical structure have an impact on their career path in terms of men's and women's attraction to an organization, the organization's intent to hire the applicant, employees' promotion rate, and the period employees remain in an organization. We summarize our assumptions in Figure 19.1 which depicts individual, interpersonal, and organizational barriers for women striving for leadership positions.

Applicant Attraction

Individuals with leadership potential are attracted to organizations that they perceive as fitting to their own preferences and personality. Hierarchical organizations hold a dominant structure that is more aligned with male rather than female preferences. Individuals who have a high degree of social dominance also possess a preference for hierarchical structures (Pratto, Tatar, & Conway-Lanz, 1999). Research has shown that men exhibit more dominant behaviors than women (Brooks, 1982) and prefer power inequality between social groups (Pratto et al., 1997), thus suggesting a preference for hierarchical organizations. Furthermore, women value collaboration more than competition (Whittington & Smith-Doerr, 2008). Hierarchical organizations are often characterized by a competitive culture, whereas women's preferences might be more aligned with an egalitarian and collaborative working environment. Therefore, the dominant model of tall hierarchical organizations may be more attractive to male than to female leaders.

This preference for different types of hierarchies may affect women's and men's decision about where to apply. Bretz and colleagues (1989) showed that the framing of an organization as either individualist or collectivist in a job advertisement influences participants' decisions, such that they accept job offers more often from organizations they perceived as matching their personality. Likewise, an organization described as competitive and hierarchical will attract more men than women, since it has also been shown that men, contrary to women, prefer competitive environments (Niederle & Vesterlund, 2006). Flory and colleagues (2014) ran a field experiment in which they varied jobs' competitiveness levels by manipulating the compensation reward. The findings showed that men are in fact more inclined than women to prefer competitive working environments.

Reward systems constitute an organizational feature that is closely linked to competition. The characteristics of an organization's reward system can therefore also influence applicants' attraction to an organization. Turban and Keon (1993) manipulated an organization's reward system to be either individual oriented (dependent on individual performance), or organization oriented (dependent on the organization's collective performance). Furthermore, compared to women, men have a higher preference for compensation that depends on individual performance (Flory et al., 2014).

Potential incentives are another important feature of reward systems. In tall hierarchies, a strong motivational factor for employees is the perspective to be promoted to a higher rank and to receive an increasing amount of financial compensations (Thibault & Kelley, 1959). However, not all individuals may value these incentives to the same extent. Indeed, men, more than women, are attracted to extrinsic rewards and high financial remuneration (Hüttges & Fay, 2015; Pratto et al., 1997). Thus, overall tall hierarchies tend to have reward systems that may not be highly attractive for female (compared to male) applicants.

Intention to Hire

According to social role theory, men and women have historically been assigned different roles in society – namely caretaker and provider roles, respectively. To conform to these roles, men and women have developed different traits. Women, who in the past tended to be responsible for taking care of the family, have developed communal qualities. Examples of communal traits are being collaborative, interdependent, friendly, benevolent, a good listener, honest, and helpful (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). On the other hand, men, who were responsible for acquiring resources for the family by working outside the home, have developed agentic traits (Eagly, 1987). Examples of agentic traits are being controlling, independent, dominant, competitive, ambitious, and assertive. These traits are not only descriptive, referring to how men and women behave, but also prescriptive, referring to how society expects men and women to behave (Eagly, 1987; Fiske & Stevens, 1993). Individuals, and specifically hiring managers, tend to assume that agentic behavior is required to be a successful leader (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001), thus resulting in a preference for hiring agentic (male) candidates.

Furthermore, stereotypes against women and men can impact the candidate's perceived match with tall and flat hierarchical organizations. For example, a study on implicit stereotypes showed that individuals associate men with hierarchical structures, and women with egalitarian structures (Schmid Mast, 2004). In addition, there is a common belief that women are less hierarchically oriented and more cooperative then men (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). Hiring managers and recruiters might be biased (associating men more strongly than women with hierarchies) when they select a candidate for a job in a hierarchical organization. Consequently, these stereotypes leave women at a disadvantage compared to their male counterparts.

Promotion

Women are promoted less often than men (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Ibarra, Carter, & Silva, 2010; Maume Jr, 1999). Stereotypes are one of the reasons why women tend to receive lower performance evaluations (Eagly et al., 1992), which impacts women's careers negatively. This negative chain of effect occurs because of social expectations regarding how leaders should behave. Owing to their unconscious bias, people tend to expect leaders to behave dominantly, competitively, assertively, and determinedly. These characteristics are more closely associated with male than female behavior (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Hence, if a woman is interested in being promoted and pursuing a leadership role, stereotypes of her communal characteristics might be an obstacle. Employees might describe her as "too nice," "too soft," or "too friendly" to be an effective leader. On the other hand, if a woman is known for her agentic behavior – i.e., more closely aligned to common beliefs about how a leader should behave – her behavior might elicit criticism from her colleagues (Rudman & Glick, 2001). This dilemma is known as the double-bind that women face (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Oakley, 2000), according to which women who strive for a leadership role will be negatively evaluated no matter if they show communal or agentic traits.

In contrast, flatter organizations might provide a working environment with lower barriers for women who strive for leadership positions. In these organizations, there is a great need for teamwork and cooperation, as well as leaders who can collaborate, help others, and minimize intragroup conflict (i.e., communal behaviors). Since women exhibit these behaviors more than males (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001), women's leadership style might be aligned to and positively appraised in such organizational structures.

Retention

Employer attraction, the organization's hiring decision, and the employee's choice to remain in such an organization are influenced by what Schneider (1987) calls the attraction–selection–attrition framework, also referred to as "people make the place." According to this framework, organizational members shape the company climate and practices. Above we elaborated on *attraction*, which refers to how the lack of an organization–person fit can impact an applicant's decision to apply to a company. *Selection* describes people's tendency to like and hire individuals who they believe will perform better in the organization and who have attributes in common with the current employees, therefore creating a homogeneous working population. Finally, *attrition* refers to the tendency that those employees, who do not fit an organization, leave it.

An organization's culture "comprises the deep, basic assumptions and beliefs, as well as the shared values, that define organizational membership, as well as the members' habitual ways of making decisions" (Clegg, Kornberger, & Pitsis, 2015, p. 297). A strong and unifying organizational culture can promote employee integration. On the other hand, a dominant culture can also be a risk for employees' commitment to an organization. Employees who cannot bond with the organizational culture are likely to feel excluded, unhappy, and at a disadvantage. A dominant male culture could be a disadvantage for female employees who, for instance, do not join male networks, or socialize after work by means of drinking, or at sports events. Providing evidence for this idea, research has shown that women who work in male-dominated environments are more likely than their male counterparts to leave the company (Maume Jr, 1999). Furthermore, women who do not feel part of an organization are more likely to accept roles that match traditional values, like prioritizing family over work (Aydin, Graupmann, Fischer, Frey, & Fischer, 2011).

Having explored the obstacles faced by women over the course of their career in organizations, we now turn to the practical implications of our findings.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

What can organizations characterized by a rather hierarchical structure nevertheless do to promote female leadership? We are aware that organizational change takes time; consequently, a large organization cannot be expected to rapidly change its traditional hierarchical structure to a flatter structure, which would be our main recommendation. Nevertheless, organizations can implement changes to slowly transition to an environment that will promote women and men equally. In the following, we suggest a number of practical implications related to female employees' attraction, hiring, promoting, and retention.

Attraction

To increase the number of female applicants, HR managers are well advised to formulate job advertisements by using a gender-neutral vocabulary. Job advertisements in male-dominated areas often contain vocabulary that speaks to the male population, which decreases women's interest in applying for such positions (Gaucher, Friesen, & Kay, 2011). Furthermore, open positions could be advertised through formal networks, which may increase the application pool's diversity. Research has shown that women have less access to the informal networks where information on job openings is often shared (Giscombe & Mattis, 2002). Furthermore, since women value collaboration and teamwork rather than competition, organizations should consider establishing a team-based reward system. This aligns with current organizational trends such as growing interdependence between jobs (Johnson, 1993), flatter organizational structures, and technological advancements that provide new opportunities for measuring and rewarding team performance.

Hiring

First, to ensure a fair assessment during the selection process, companies can implement interventions that aim to tackle unconscious bias. Literally every individual possesses some unconscious bias that he/she acquired from the socio-cultural context in which he/she grew up. These biases might influence how recruiters select a candidate just because he/she is similar to him/her, or to choose a man for a leadership role, since we grew up in a context where there were more male than female leaders. In order to tackle this challenge, recruiters can receive awareness training to understand the unconscious bias process and to identify their own bias (which varies between people).

Second, another intervention could be to change the hiring process. This intervention has been successfully implemented in certain organizations, for example, in the recruitment process of symphony orchestras (which are traditionally male-dominated). Blind auditions have resulted in men and women having an equal chance of being accepted by an orchestra (Fasang, 2006). In organizational settings, an option to decrease the bias in the selection process could be to ask applicants to exclude their photograph from their application. A recent study by Ruffle and Shtudiner (2014) provides evidence that male and female candidates who have an attractive versus average appearance are not treated equally. Compared to average-looking men (as indicated by their CV picture), attractive men receive a significantly higher rate of callbacks from employment agencies, while the reverse is true for women.

Promotion

Increasing awareness of unconscious bias is an intervention that may result in positive outcomes, not only in the hiring process, but also in the promotion process. Since both men and women associate men with leadership roles (Rudman & Kilianski, 2000), and hierarchies (Schmid Mast, 2004), these beliefs may impact their decisions during the promotion process, even though individuals may be aware that stereotyping men and women is wrong (Rudman & Glick, 2001).

Furthermore, the introduction of gender quotas – a minimum number (or percentage) of seats that should occupied by women – is discussed intensively in research and practice. Studies emphasize that a higher number of female leaders in business increases the organization's financial performance (Erhardt, Werbel, & Shrader, 2003) and decreases bias toward female leaders (Beaman, Chattopadhyay, Duflo, Pande, & Topalova, 2009). Female leaders may serve the purpose of role models and mentors, which in turn motivates other women to pursue leadership roles (Fuller, Fondeville-Gaoui, & Haagdorens, 2010). More gender diversity at the top increases the decision-making quality, and creates a more accurate reflection of the organization's population and customers (Huber & O'Rourke, 2017). Women in leadership roles defend the interests and address the concerns of the female population. In politics, quotas increase women's influence on policy outcomes, and more attention is drawn into policies that advance women's rights (Htun, 2005; Pande & Ford, 2012). Although comprehensive evidence speaks for the positive consequences of gender quotas, many people raise concerns against it (Krook, 2016). For instance, opponents of gender quotas argue that it would lead to the selection of poorly qualified women. In fact, when individuals are forced to select a female leader among a low skilled pool of applicants, gender quotas will increase backlash against women in leadership roles (Pande & Ford, 2012).

When gender quotas are implemented correctly, or are brought to the manager's attention for discussion, they can constitute a valuable instrument to encourage organizations to proactively work on providing women with sufficient tools and support to fulfill their potential. Furthermore, gender quotas could be a temporary solution to the gender gap. Once female representation in leadership roles increases, including female role models and mentors, and negative bias on female leaders are eliminated, the gender quotas can be removed. A middle ground could be to set a diversity quota for the list of candidates to the leadership role, rather than having strict gender goals for the leadership positions (Huber & O'Rourke, 2017).

Retention

An organization can implement a number of interventions to retain female leadership candidates. For instance, flexible working hours policies are beneficial for employees who need to balance their work and family. Flexible work options can be organized in a variety of ways, including working from home, a compressed workweek, and shorter hours (Shah-Hosseini & Macfarlane, 2013). Other beneficial human resources policies include child-care assistance and parental leave programs (Catalyst Research, 2012; Lloyd & Mey, 2007). Furthermore, an HR analytics team could be very beneficial – if this is not part of the company – for an organization to understand its hiring, performance, promotion, and turnover patterns (Davenport, Harris, & Shapiro, 2010). An accurate understanding of all of the workforce's elements will allow managers to know exactly where interventions are needed.

CONCLUSION

It is well known that men outnumber women in leadership roles (Catalyst, 2002; Miller et al., 1991; Wirth, 2001). In this chapter, we suggest that the mismatch between steep organizational structures and female leadership can contribute to explaining this phenomenon. Over the past century, several trends emerged in the workplace that motivated managers to change organizations toward flatter hierarchies. We analyzed the benefits of flatter organizations rather than taller hierarchical structures for addressing the current organizational challenges in general and for female leadership in particular. We also illustrated how the mismatch between tall hierarchical cultures and women's preferences may affect the number of women in leadership positions by means of different processes: women's attraction to an organization, an organization's intent to hire, the promotion rate, and the female employee turnover. Furthermore, we outlined practical implications that can help managers to positively influence each of these processes. Overall, we hope that our work inspires practitioners to develop effective interventions that address the needs of the entire workforce.

REFERENCES

Ahuja, A., & van Vugt, M. (2010). *Selected: Why Some People Lead, Why Others Follow, and Why It Matters*. London: Profile Books.

Anderson, C., & Brown, C. E. (2010). The functions and dysfunctions of hierarchy. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *30*, 55–89.

Anderson, C., Srivastava, S., Beer, J. S., Spataro, S. E., & Chatman, J. A. (2006). Knowing your place: Self-perceptions of status in face-to-face groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *91*(6), 1094–1110.

Appelbaum, S. H., Louis, D., Makarenko, D., Saluja, J., Meleshko, O., & Kulbashian, S. (2013). Participation in decision making: A case study of job satisfaction and commitment (part two). *Industrial and Commercial Training*, *45*(6), 352–358.

Aydin, N., Graupmann, V., Fischer, J., Frey, D., & Fischer, P. (2011). My role is my castle: The appeal of family roles after experiencing social exclusion. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *47*(5), 981–986.

Beaman, L., Chattopadhyay, R., Duflo, E., Pande, R., & Topalova, P. (2009). Powerful women: Does exposure reduce bias? *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *124*(4), 1497–1540.

Blaker, N. M., & van Vugt, M. (2014). The status-size hypothesis: How cues of physical size and social status influence each other. In J. T. Cheng, J. L. Tracy, & C. Anderson (Eds.), *The Psychology of Social Status* (pp. 119–137). New York: Springer.

Blau, P. M., & Scott, W. R. (1962). *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Book, E. W. (2000). *Why the Best Man for the Job is a Woman: The Unique Qualities of Leadership*. New York: HarperCollins.

Bretz, R. D., Ash, R. A., & Dreher, G. F. (1989). Do people make the place? An examination of the attraction–selection–attrition hypothesis. *Personnel Psychology*, *42*(3), 561–581.

Brooks, V. R. (1982). Sex differences in student dominance behavior in female and male professors' classrooms. *Sex Roles*, *8*(7), 683–690.

Burns, T. E., & Stalker, G. M. (1961). *The Management of Innovation*. London: Tavistock Publishing House.

Carzo Jr, R., & Yanouzas, J. N. (1969). Effects of flat and tall organization structure. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *14*(2), 178–191.

Catalyst (2002). *Fact sheet: Women CEOs*. Retrieved from http://www.catalystwomen.org/press_room/factsheets/fact_women_ceos.htm.

Catalyst Research (2012). *U.S. Women in Business, 2012: Manufacturing – Durable Goods.*

Chatman, J. A. (1989). Improving interactional organizational research: A model of person–organization fit. *Academy of Management Review*, *14*(3), 333–349.

Chin, J. L. (2013). Diversity leadership: Influence of ethnicity, gender, and minority. *Open Journal of Leadership*, *2*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.4236/ojl.2013.21001.

Clegg, S. R., Kornberger, M., & Pitsis, T. (2015). *Managing and Organizations: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*. London: Sage.

Cotter, D. A., Hermsen, J. M., Ovadia, S., & Vanneman, R. (2001). The glass ceiling effect. *Social Forces*, *80*(2), 655–681.

Crandall, C. S., & Schaller, M. (2005). *Social Psychology of Prejudice: Historical and Contemporary Issues*. Seattle, WA: Lewinian Press.

Cummings, J. N., & Cross, R. (2003). Structural properties of work groups and their consequences for performance. *Social Networks*, *25*(3), 197–210.

Cummings, L. L., & Berger, C. J. (1976). Organization structure: How does it influence attitudes and performance? *Organizational Dynamics*, *5*(2), 34–49.

Dalton, D. R., Fielding, G. J., Porter, L. W., Spendolini, M. J., & Todor, W. D. (1978). *Structure and Performance: A Critical Review*. Irvine: University of California.

Dalton, D. R., Todor, W. D., Spendolini, M. J., Fielding, G. J., & Porter, L. W. (1980). Organization structure and performance: A critical review. *Academy of Management Review*, *5*(1), 49–64.

Davenport, T. H., Harris, J., & Shapiro, J. (2010). Competing on talent analytics. *Harvard Business Review*, *88*(10), 52–58.
Denis, J.-L., Langley, A., & Sergi, V. (2012). Leadership in the plural. *Academy of Management Annals*, *6*(1), 211–283.
DIW Managerinnen-Barometer (2016). *Managerinnen-Barometer 2016*. Retrieved from https://www.diw.de/documents/publikationen/73/diw_01.c.524057.de/16-2.pdf.
Eagly, A. H. (1987). Reporting sex differences. *American Psychologist*, *42*(7), 756–757.
Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2003). The female leadership advantage: An evaluation of the evidence. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *14*(6), 807–834.
Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2007). *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth about How Women Become Leaders*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
Eagly, A. H., & Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C. (2001). The leadership styles of women and men. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 781–797.
Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, *109*(3), 573–598.
Eagly, A. H., Makhijani, M. G., & Klonsky, B. G. (1992). Gender and the evaluation of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *111*(1), 3–22.
Erhardt, N. L., Werbel, J. D., & Shrader, C. B. (2003). Board of director diversity and firm financial performance. *Corporate Governance: An International Review*, *11*(2), 102–111.
Fasang, A. (2006). Recruitment in symphony orchestras: Testing a gender neutral recruitment process. *Work, Employment and Society*, *20*(4), 801–809.
Fiske, S. T., & Stevens, L. E. (1993). What's so special about sex? Gender stereotyping and discrimination. In S. Oskamp & M. Costanzo (Eds.), *Gender Issues in Contemporary Society* (pp. 173–196). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
Flory, J. A., Leibbrandt, A., & List, J. A. (2014). Do competitive workplaces deter female workers? A large-scale natural field experiment on job entry decisions. *Review of Economic Studies*, *82*(1), 122–155.
Forsyth, D. R., Heiney, M. M., & Wright, S. S. (1997). Biases in appraisals of women leaders. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, *1*(1), 98–103.
Fuller, A., Fondeville-Gaoui, N., & Haagdorens, L. (2010). *More Women in Senior Positions: Key to Economic Stability and Growth.* Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
Galinsky, A. D., Magee, J. C., Gruenfeld, D. H., Whiston, J. A., & Liljenquist, K. A. (2008). Power reduces the press of the situation: Implications for creativity, conformity, and dissonance. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *95*(6), 1450–1466.
Gaucher, D., Friesen, J., & Kay, A. C. (2011). Evidence that gendered wording in job advertisements exists and sustains gender inequality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *101*(1), 109–128.
Ghiselli, E. E., & Johnson, D. A. (1970). Need satisfaction, managerial success, and organizational structure. *Personnel Psychology*, *23*(4), 569–576.
Giscombe, K., & Mattis, M. C. (2002). Leveling the playing field for women of color in corporate management: Is the business case enough? *Journal of Business Ethics*, *37*(1), 103–119.
Hardy, C. L., & van Vugt, M. (2006). Nice guys finish first: The competitive altruism hypothesis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *32*(10), 1402–1413.
Hill, M. S. (1992). *The Panel Study of Income Dynamics: A User's Guide*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
Holst, E., & Kirsch, A. (2014). Financial sector: Share of women in top decision-making bodies remains low. *DIW Economic Bulletin*, *5*(4), 49–58.
Htun, M. N. (2005). Women in political power in Latin America. *Europe (OSCE Countries)*, *16*, 1–12.
Huber, C., & O'Rourke, S. (2017). How to accelerate gender diversity on boards. *McKinsey Quarterly*. Retrieved from https://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/leadership/how-to-accelerate-gender-diversity-on-boards.
Hüttges, A., & Fay, D. (2015). The gender-differential impact of work values on prospects in research careers. *Journal of Career Development*, *42*(6), 524–539.
Ibarra, H., Carter, N. M., & Silva, C. (2010). Why men still get more promotions than women. *Harvard Business Review*, *88*(9), 80–85.

Indik, B. P., & Seashore, S. E. (1961). *Effects of Organization Size on Member Attitudes and Behavior*. Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.
Jaffe, J. M., Lee, Y., Huang, L., & Oshagan, H. (1995). Gender, pseudonyms, and CMC: Masking identities and baring souls. 45th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
Johnson, A. W., & Earle, T. K. (2000). *The Evolution of Human Societies: From Foraging Group to Agrarian State*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Johnson, S. T. (1993). Work teams: What's ahead in work design and rewards management. *Compensation and Benefits Review*, *25*(2), 35–41.
Judge, T. A., Thoresen, C. J., Bono, J. E., & Patton, G. K. (2001). The job satisfaction–job performance relationship: A qualitative and quantitative review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *127*(3), 376–407.
Kettley, P. (1995). *Is Flatter Better? Delayering the Management Hierarchy*. London: Institute for Employment Studies.
Kraimer, K. E., & Jandeska, M. L. (2005). Women's perceptions of organizational culture, work attitudes, and role-modeling behaviors. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, *17*(4), 461–478.
Kristof, A. L. (1996). Person–organization fit: An integrative review of its conceptualizations, measurement, and implications. *Personnel Psychology*, *49*(1), 1–49.
Krook, M. L. (2016). Contesting gender quotas: Dynamics of resistance. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, *4*(2), 268–283.
Lawler, E. E. (1994). From job-based to competency-based organizations. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *15*(1), 3–15.
Lawrence, P. R., & Lorsch, J. W. (1967). Differentiation and integration in complex organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *12*, 1–47.
Leaper, C., Anderson, K. J., & Sanders, P. (1998). Moderators of gender effects on parents' talk to their children: A meta-analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, *34*(1), 3–27.
Leaper, C., & Friedman, C. K. (2007). The socialization of gender. In J. Grusec & P. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research* (pp. 561–587). New York: Guilford Press.
Lloyd, H. R., & Mey, M. R. (2007). Gender differences in perceptions of workplace progression: An automotive industry case study. *Southern African Business Review*, *11*(3), 95–120.
Magee, J. C., & Galinsky, A. D. (2008). 8 Social hierarchy: The self-reinforcing nature of power and status. *Academy of Management Annals*, *2*(1), 351–398.
Maume Jr, D. J. (1999). Occupational segregation and the career mobility of white men and women. *Social Forces*, *77*(4), 1433–1459.
Miller, D. T., Taylor, B., & Buck, M. L. (1991). Gender gaps: Who needs to be explained? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *61*(1), 5–12.
Morse, N. C., & Reimer, E. (1956). The experimental change of a major organizational variable. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *52*(1), 120–129.
Neuberg, S. L., & Newsom, J. T. (1993). Personal need for structure: Individual differences in the desire for simpler structure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *65*(1), 113–139.
Niederle, M., & Vesterlund, L. (2006). Do women shy away from competition? Do men compete too much? *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *122*(3), 1067–1101.
Oakley, J. G. (2000). Gender-based barriers to senior management positions: Understanding the scarcity of female CEOs. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *27*(4), 321–334.
Pande, R., & Ford, D. (2012). *Gender Quotas and Female Leadership*. Retrieved from https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/9120/WDR2012-0008.pdf.
Porter, L. W., & Lawler, E. E. (1964). The effects of "tall" versus "flat" organization structures on managerial job satisfaction. *Personnel Psychology*, *17*(2), 135–148.
Pratto, F., Stallworth, L. M., Sidanius, J., & Siers, B. (1997). The gender gap in occupational role attainment: A social dominance approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *72*(1), 37–52.
Pratto, F., Tatar, D. G., & Conway-Lanz, S. (1999). Who gets what and why: Determinants of social allocations. *Political Psychology*, *20*(1), 127–150.
Riggio, H. R., & Riggio, R. E. (2010). Appearance-based trait inferences and voting: Evolutionary roots and implications for leadership. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*, *34*(2), 119–125.

Rishipal, D. (2014). Analytical comparison of flat and vertical organizational structures. *European Journal of Business and Management*, *6*(36), 56–65.

Rudman, L., & Glick, P. (2001). Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 743–762.

Rudman, L., & Kilianski, S. E. (2000). Implicit and explicit attitudes toward female authority. *Society for Personality and Social Psychology*, *26*(11), 1315–1328.

Ruffle, B. J., & Shtudiner, Z. E. (2014). Are good-looking people more employable? *Management Science*, *61*(8), 1760–1776.

Schmid Mast, M. (2004). Men are hierarchical, women are egalitarian: An implicit gender stereotype. *Swiss Journal of Psychology*, *63*(2), 107–111.

Schneider, B. (1987). The people make the place. *Personnel Psychology*, *40*(3), 437–453.

Shah-Hosseini, S., & Macfarlane, B. (2013). How can we make careers in manufacturing more appealing to women? Cornell University.

Shaw, M. E. (1954). Some effects of problem complexity upon problem solution efficiency in different communication nets. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, *48*(3), 211–217.

Shaw, M. E. (1964). Communication networks. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *1*, 111–147.

Speck, A. (2017, November 8). Die Karriereleiter – ein Auslaufmodell? *Personalentwicklung*.

Thibault, J. W., & Kelley, H. H. (1959). *The Social Psychology of Groups*. New York: Wiley.

Tom, V. R. (1971). The role of personality and organizational images in the recruiting process. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *6*(5), 573–592.

Turban, D. B., & Keon, T. L. (1993). Organizational attractiveness: An interactionist perspective. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *78*(2), 184–192.

US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2002). Monthly household data from the current population survey. Retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/cps.

van Vugt, M., Hogan, R., & Kaiser, R. B. (2008). Leadership, followership, and evolution: Some lessons from the past. *American Psychologist*, *63*(3), 182–196.

van Vugt, M., & Ronay, R. (2014). The evolutionary psychology of leadership: Theory, review, and roadmap. *Organizational Psychology Review*, *4*(1), 74–95.

van Vugt, M., & Spisak, B. R. (2008). Sex differences in the emergence of leadership during competitions within and between groups. *Psychological Science*, *19*(9), 854–858.

Whittington, K. B., & Smith-Doerr, L. (2008). Women inventors in context: Disparities in patenting across academia and industry. *Gender & Society*, *22*(2), 194–218.

Willer, R. (2009). Groups reward individual sacrifice: The status solution to the collective action problem. *American Sociological Review*, *74*(1), 23–43.

Wirth, L. (2001). *Breaking through the Glass Ceiling: Women in Management*. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

Wood, W., & Eagly, A. H. (2002). A cross-cultural analysis of the behavior of women and men: Implications for the origins of sex differences. *Psychological Bulletin*, *128*(5), 699–727.

Workplace Gender Equality Agency (2016). *Australia's Gender Equality Scorecard: Key Findings from the Workplace Gender Equality Agency's 2015–16 Reporting Data*. Retrieved from https://www.wgea.gov.au/sites/default/files/80653_2015-16-gender-equality-scorecard.pdf.

Zarkadakis, G., Jesuthasan, R., & Malcolm, T. (2016). The 3 ways work can be automated. *Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved from https://hbr.org/2016/10/the-3-ways-work-can-be-automated.

20. The psychological and social implications of the gender wage gap

Ritsa Fotinatos-Ventouratos

INTRODUCTION

The gender wage gap has received substantial attention by social scientists over the years and simultaneously generated a plethora of international research. Very recently, this issue appears to be taking front stage again, with new and often provocative issues being brought to the limelight (see for example, Bevan and Gattrell, 2017; Broadbridge and Fielden, 2016), confirming that inequalities and discrimination against women still exist in the workplace, of which the gender wage gap is but just one. For instance, and very recently in 2016, The London School of Economics (LSE) Equity, Diversity and Inclusion Taskforce (2016) documented the existence of the gender and ethnicity earnings gap observed at their institution. Silicon Valley has also reported that men dominate the workforce with allegations of sexism and ingrained inequality persisting (cited in *Financial Times*, 2017). On a similar note, in August 2017, *The Daily Telegraph* referred to a call for more flexible work and a greater need to allow for extra paternity leave to help cut the pay gap, as many companies fail to recognize that they have a gender wage gap and therefore take no action to close it.

The fact that women are being ‘treated differently’ and being compensated less than men has been systematically documented around the world for a number of years (see for example Blau and Kahn, 2000; Joyce and Costa Dias, 2016). Furthermore it has been suggested, and early on in the literature, that in Western industrialized societies the GWP ranges from 15 per cent at the overall European Union level (Kulich et al., 2011), through to 17 per cent in the United Kingdom (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2005, cited in DeNavas-Walt et al., 2005), to a high 23 per cent in the United States (DeNavas-Walt et al., Proctor and Lee, 2005). More astounding is the fact that in developing countries, this gap is even wider and can amount to approximately 35 per cent in Asia, 46 per cent in Africa and 51 per cent in Latin America (Chen, 2005, cited in Kulich et al., 2011). Shining the torch back to Western societies the question to pose is *why* are such issues returning with force, and *why* is such discrimination occurring, to the possible psychological and physical detriment of the female worker? Moreover, these inequalities are occurring despite the fact that modernization, development, equality and justice are supposedly issues that have been addressed and scrutinized for the benefit of all in the twenty-first century. Not only is it psychologically, ethically and socially beneficial for the individual to be treated equally, but effectively addressing the gender wage gap and neutralizing any inequality surely renders good and harmonious business sense and thus may assist in boosting profitability. In addition, given the fact that today many women are often the sole breadwinner of the family, the existence of any gender wage disparity should be an immediate concern for all, due its multiple ripple effects at the family and societal level also.

However, an obstacle observed regarding the gender wage gap, is that despite the fact that huge attention has been drawn to this problematic issue, the literature still appears to be somewhat scattered, rather than showing evidence of a solid and uniform attempt to polarize and attack this matter of injustice. Thus starting from the beginning, a consistent method of classification, with general consensus, may assist us in pinpointing areas of weakness regarding inequality of pay. Indeed, one way that the Gender Overall Earnings Gap can scientifically be classified and calculated is as follows:

$$\frac{\mathrm{GOEG} = (\mathrm{E}m \times \mathrm{H}m \times \mathrm{ER}m) - (\mathrm{E}w \times \mathrm{H}w \times \mathrm{ER}w)}{(\mathrm{E}m \times \mathrm{H}m \times \mathrm{ER}m)} \times 100$$

where GOEG means Gender Overall Earnings Gap, Em – Mean Hourly earnings of men, Hm – Mean monthly hours paid to men, ERm – Employment rate of men (aged 15–64), Ew – Mean hourly earnings of women, Hw – Mean monthly hours paid to women, and ERw – Employment rate of women (aged 15–64) (Eurostat Statistics, 2017).

Similarly, data sources available often refer to the new '*unadjusted*' gender pay gap, based on the methodology of the Structure of Earnings Survey (SES) according to European Regulation (EC) No 530/1999. The SES is carried out with a four-yearly periodicity, and the most recent reference years available for the SES are 2010 and 2014. Thus, Eurostat computed the gender pay gap for these years on the basis of the equation above (Eurostat Statistics, 2017). According to this data source, the gender pay gap in unadjusted form represents 'the difference between average gross hourly earnings of male paid employees and of female paid employees as a percentage of average gross hourly earnings of male paid employees'. It is necessary to point out (and before moving forward), that this indicator has been defined as 'unadjusted' (i.e., not adjusted according to individual characteristics that may explain part of the earnings difference) because it 'should give an overall picture of gender inequalities in terms of pay' (Eurostat Statistics, 2017). It is subsequently claimed that the gender pay gap is the consequence of various inequalities (structural differences) in the labour market – such as differences in working patterns, differences in institutional mechanisms and systems of wage setting, which will consequently affect a number of legal, social and psychological factors in the workplace and which are further discussed and analysed below.

Moreover, for organizational psychologists, it is vitally important that we swiftly address issues of any business inequality given the fact that we are confronted with the tail end of a world economic crisis, and indeed, for some countries – such as Greece – their economies still resemble an economic crisis of the same magnitude and strength of the Great Depression of the 1920s (Fotinatos-Ventouratos and Cooper, 2015). Hence it is necessary, more than ever before, to effectively address these unleashed problems of discrepancy with the aim of extinguishing them imminently. Furthermore, on a macroeconomic front, and in the global context of uncertainty, Europe is dealing with the recent increase in migratory flows, a problem which has also reinforced the need for effective policies on integration of third-country nationals (Fotinatos-Ventouratos, 2016). Thus, on the socio-political front, Europe is facing concerns of intolerance and an increase in social inequalities and poverty. In this context therefore, it is important that academics in the social sciences, including organizational and social psychologists, as well as EU officials as a whole, persevere in highlighting legal and social obligations to promote gender equality in all strategic engagements and long-term societal goals. It is also important to note that the gender wage gap appears to be playing itself out differently according to specific cultures and different contexts, that is, whilst the gender wage gap may be a universal phenomenon (as already noted above), it certainly appears to be showing variances in magnitude according to the different contexts and different cultures being examined. It is ironic that this has occurred despite the establishment of the common monetary denominator (within most countries of the European Union), namely the Euro. As most readers will agree, the 'invention' of the Euro was meant, amongst other things, to stabilize 'differences' from country to country and to allow equal and fair trade to manifest between neighbouring countries. However, in our case, the 'stabilizing' of gender differences with regard to pay differentials does not seem to have manifested. Thus, according to Leibbrandt and List (2015) huge inconsistencies between salary and wage negotiations are still very apparent. As a consequence, and to be discussed further, this is certainly resulting in substantial economic and social differentials across the sexes within the workforce. Looking back in hindsight, one would have hoped that the adoption of the Euro would have allowed, amongst other things, for equality and fairness to apply across genders, thus enabling positive psychological well-being to materialize on an equal plateau across the two genders. However, such an optimistic outlook regarding the Euro did not materialize, and starting in the early 2000s, researchers were quick to note inconsistencies that occurred, in what was meant to be a stabilizing common monetary value across European countries. Indeed, Fotinatos-Ventouratos and Cooper (2015, p. 15) note that:

> By forming a common currency, without fiscal integration, the business cycles of the countries involved were unable to work in synchrony and labour imbalances and terms of conditions became unequally transferable from country to country.

In our scenario, thus, the labour imbalances that need to be scrutinized are the imbalances between the two sexes in terms of wages and financial compensation received, in an ever growing attempt to sustain equilibrium, and promote better psychological well-being in the workforce for both men and women. Indeed, most recent statistics show that for the European economy as a whole, in 2015, women's gross hourly earnings were on average 16.3 per cent below those of men in the European Union (EU-28) and 16.8 per cent in the Euro area (EA-19). Across member states, the gender pay gap varied by 21 percentage points, ranging from 5.5 per cent in Italy and Luxembourg to 26.9 per cent in Estonia (Eurostat Statistics, 2017).

Furthermore, statistics reveal that in 2015, the majority of the EU countries recorded a higher gender pay gap (in absolute terms) in the *private* sector than in the *public* sector, suggesting perhaps that this might be due to the fact that within the public sector, in most countries, employees are protected by collective pay agreements and other similar contracts establishing pay. If this stands, then one may suspect that the gender wage gap is not something that occurred by 'accident', rather it is a carefully thought out decision, taken primarily in the private sector. For example, Eurostat Statistics (2017) confirms that the gender pay gap varied in the private sector from 6.0 per cent in Romania to an astounding 24.6 per cent in Germany, and in the public sector from −6.8 per cent in Cyprus to 22.5 per cent in Bulgaria. In summary therefore, one may suggest that imbalances with regard to pay differentials across the sexes are still apparent, working with force, and may be subject to change in magnitude depending on whether an employee is working in the public or private domain of the economy.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND CONSEQUENTIAL GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PAY

One may appreciate that trying to tease out the reasons for the gender wage gap is far from easy, especially given the fact that the literature projects a true picture of constant educational gains being made by women, and on an international scale: Indeed, it is a well-documented fact that over the years, educational attainment levels have increased and reached quite high levels by *both* sexes. However, and specifically, women have reaped the benefits of education, closing any former gaps that may have existed, thus rendering equality in the workplace an absolute 'must' from an educational attainment standpoint. Putting this issue under the microscope and looking at educational advancements in chronological order and in specific European countries, it can be seen from Table 20.1 that both men and women have *increased* their overall educational levels throughout the years. Taking Holland as one European example, in 1996, men were slightly over-represented in both the lower and upper part of the distribution; however, a decade later, these small differences disappeared (OSA Labour Supply Panel – 1996/2006). And in the UK, the domestic trend indicates that women in this country will be surpassing men in educational attainment in the not too distant future. In fact, in a recent article (*The Guardian*, 2016), referring to the UK's university gender gap, it has been noted that:

> Men are less likely than women to go to British universities, and those who do are more likely to drop out, and those who complete their course are less likely to get a good degree.

In 2015, the proportion of men entering UK higher education institutions was at a record low: the gap between the sexes was at a reported record of 9.2 percentage points, meaning women are now 35 per cent more likely to go to university than men.

Table 20.1 Educational related variables – working population (Holland)

	1996		2006	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Educational level				
Primary	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.02
Lower secondary	0.34	0.30	0.21	0.21
Upper secondary	0.38	0.44	0.39	0.41
Lower tertiary	0.17	0.20	0.26	0.26
Upper tertiary	0.06	0.03	0.11	0.10

Source: OSA Labour Supply Panel 1996/2006, taken from Fransen et al. (2012).

Specifically and in numerical form, by January 2015, 94 000 fewer men than women had applied to university, according to the British University Admissions Service UCAS. Moreover, for young men who get to university, previously unpublished data from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA, cited in *The Guardian*, 2016) show that 8 per cent of men drop out of their studies, compared with 6 per cent of women. Finally and outstandingly so, HESA figures also indicate that women today outperform men in terms of degree *classification*, with 73 per cent of women getting a 2:1 or above, compared with 69 per cent of men.

In addition to the above, which strongly indicates that the gender wage gap cannot be attributed to lesser educational attainment for women than men, further overall European statistical evidence renders this claim valid. That is, statistical findings often concur that one of the prominent indicators in education statistics is *the proportion of persons who have attained tertiary education* (i.e., who graduated from universities or other higher education institutions). From the 'tertiary education attainment' indicator, one derives a gender gap defined as '*the proportion of men aged 30–34 that have attained tertiary education minus that of women*' (Eurostat Statistics, 2017). In 2016, this gender gap was −9.5 percentage points in the EU-28, meaning that the proportion of women aged 30–34 that had attained tertiary education exceeded that for men by 9.5 percentage points. At the European level, therefore, all member states, except Germany, recorded a negative gender gap in tertiary education attainment. In 2016, that gap ranged from 0.3 percentage points (the smallest gender gap in absolute value), −3.1 percentage points in Luxembourg, −3.8 percentage points in Austria and Romania, to −20.3 percentage points in Lithuania, −23.2 percentage points in Slovenia, and −27.0 percentage points in Latvia (the largest gender gap in absolute value). Thus, from the recent data, reflecting the realities of the educational lives of women and men at the European level, one can suggest that the gender wage gap certainly does not rest on the pillars of significant differences in educational achievement.

THE GENDER DIVIDE IN SKILLS

An additional component which supposedly bridges education and occupation together are the apparent different skills between the sexes, and the subsequent choices made in labour market options. Indeed, in May 2017, the European Commission delivered a report on equality issues between men and women in the European Union (European Commission, 2017), in which the following key findings emerged. Firstly, the international surveys show that the gender gaps in *sciences* are in favour of boys in some countries, and of girls in others. On average, and at the early age of 15, boys score significantly better than girls in sciences in ten EU countries: Belgium, Czech Republic, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Luxembourg, Austria, Poland and Portugal. On the contrary, girls are significantly better than boys in sciences in eight EU countries: Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus, Latvia, Malta, Romania, Slovenia and Finland. In the remaining ten countries there is no significant gender difference. Hence, gender divides may start early, and indeed at fourth grade, girls already outperform boys in Bulgaria, Finland and Sweden. It should be mentioned, however, and of relevance to the gender wage gap, is that whilst performances are not always determined by gender, this is not the case for *choices*. The report reveals that at the age of 15, boys are more likely to envisage a career as ICT professionals, scientists or engineers, whereas girls see themselves as doctors, veterinarians or nurses. For instance, in Finland 6.2 per cent of boys and only 1.4 per cent of girls plan to become an engineer, scientist or architect, while 17 per cent of girls and 5 per cent of boys see themselves as health professionals. Moving on, and looking at the performance in mathematics of 15-year-old pupils, the European report is striking in noting that Finland is the only country where girls perform better on average than boys at 15 years old. On the contrary, a significant gap in favour of 15-year-old boys can be observed in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Croatia, Italy, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Spain and the UK. Finally, and of interest is that in all countries, girls at the age of 15 achieved a much higher level of proficiency in reading than boys. Yet, the gender gap in reading, although still very significant in 2015, has decreased compared to 2009 in all countries, for two reasons: boys' performance improved, while girls' performance deteriorated (European Commission, 2017).

In 2016, Christina Boll, Julian Leppin, Anja Rossen, and André Wolf, produced an informative report, prepared for the European Commission, undertaking a comprehensive analysis of the 'sources' of wage differences between male and female workers throughout Europe. Tapping into the domain of education and skills, the report is swift to observe the following:

> Something that can be noticed for all countries is that the selection of male and female workers into different sectors contributes to the existence of wage differences. Hence, a significant part of the gender gap is due to the fact that women are over-represented in industries with low pay levels . . . These are primarily the sectors of education, and health and social work activities. Accordingly, men are over-represented in better paid industries. Two of them particularly stand out in terms of a particular high pay level and high male employment share, respectively: construction on the one hand, and chemical products, electric and transport equipment on the other. (Boll et al., 2016, p. 11)

Given the above input, it can be suggested that a strong gender divide at the European level is manifesting, despite overall educational gains and skill attainment. However, on a positive note and in relation to skill attainment, the European Commission has since supported 'dedicated mutual learning' between member states, by organizing a seminar in October 2016 at which the Belgian Gender Pay Act was discussed, and focused on reporting requirements at company level and on gender-neutral job classifications. In addition, the New Skills Agenda adopted by the Commission in 2016 has a particular focus on improving the *transparency of skills and qualifications*, which could subsequently prove to be vitally helpful in eliminating areas of pay inequalities amongst men and women. In summary, therefore, and given the above information, it may indeed be suggested that one's gender does have an impact on career expectations, even among students of similar performances – for example in areas such as science. If this is the case, then such intervening factors may play a critical role in opening up the avenues for further assessment regarding wage and salary disparity between the sexes. On a summarizing point, however, and with the overall information available and noted above, one can now observe from Table 20.2, how the structure of earnings *still* remains unjustifiably different between the sexes from 2007 until 2015.

Table 20.2 Equal pay for equal work and work of equal value: the Gender Pay Gap (%)

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
EU28				16.4	16.9	17.3	16.8	16.7	16.3
Belgium	10.1	10.2	10.1	10.2	9.4	8.3	7.5	6.6	6.5
Bulgaria	12.1	12.3	13.3	13.0	13.2	15.1	14.1	14.2	15.4
Czech Republic	23.6	26.2	25.9	21.6	22.6	22.5	22.3	22.5	22.5
Denmark	17.7	17.1	16.8	15.9	16.4	16.8	16.5	16.0	15.1
Germany	22.8	22.8	22.6	22.3	22.4	22.7	22.1	22.3	22.0
Estonia	30.9	27.6	26.6	27.7	27.3	29.9	29.8	28.1	26.9
Ireland	17.3	12.6	12.6	13.9	12.7	12.2	12.9	13.9	
Greece	21.5	22.0		15.0					
Spain	18.1	16.1	16.7	16.2	17.6	18.7	17.8	14.9	14.9
France	17.3	16.9	15.2	15.6	15.7	15.6	15.5	15.5	15.8
Croatia				5.7	3.4	2.9	9.0	10.4	
Italy	5.1	4.9	5.5	5.3	5.7	6.5	7.0	6.1	5.5
Cyprus	22.0	19.5	17.8	16.8	16.1	15.6	14.9	14.2	14.0
Latvia	13.6	11.8	13.1	15.5	14.1	14.9	16.0	17.3	17.0
Lithuania	22.6	21.6	15.3	14.6	11.5	11.9	12.2	13.3	14.2
Luxembourg	10.2	9.7	9.2	8.7	7.9	7.0	6.2	5.4	5.5
Hungary	16.3	17.5	17.1	17.6	18.0	20.1	18.4	15.1	14.0
Malta	7.8	9.2	7.7	7.2	7.7	9.5	9.7	10.6	
Netherlands	19.3	18.9	18.5	17.8	18.6	17.6	16.5	16.1	16.1
Austria	25.5	25.1	24.3	24.0	23.5	22.9	22.3	22.2	21.7
Poland	14.9	11.4	8.0	4.5	5.5	6.4	7.1	7.7	7.7
Portugal	8.5	9.2	10.0	12.8	12.9	15.0	13.3	14.9	17.8
Romania	12.5	8.5	7.4	8.8	9.6	6.9	4.9	4.5	5.8
Slovenia	5.0	4.1	−0.9	0.9	3.3	4.5	6.3	7.0	8.1
Slovakia	23.6	20.9	21.9	19.6	20.1	20.8	18.8	19.7	19.6
Finland	20.2	20.5	20.8	20.3	19.1	19.2	18.8	18.4	17.3
Sweden	17.8	16.9	15.7	15.4	15.6	15.5	14.6	13.8	14.0
United Kingdom	20.8	21.4	20.6	19.5	19.7	21.2	20.5	20.9	20.8

Note: The Gender Pay Gap is the difference between average gross hourly earnings of male and female paid employees, expressed as a percentage of the former.

Source: Eurostat Statistics (2017), Structure of Earnings Survey.

OCCUPATIONAL TYPE AND GENDER DIFFERENCES

The concentration and often over-segregation of either men or women in particular types of occupations has frequently been raised in the social science literature as being one potential explanation for gender inequality and subsequent pay differences manifesting (see for example varied interpretations by Atewologun et al., 2016; Fotinatos-Ventouratos and Cooper, 2005; Penner et al., 2012; Sealy and Vinnicombe, 2012). In all cases, various forms of inequalities appear to be arising and thus creating a snowball discriminatory effect in the workplace – despite the educational gains made by women (as noted above), as well as the wide spectrum of skill developments as discussed previously. In a series of interesting articles published by the *Financial Times*, and specifically entitled *Management's Missing Women* (April 2017, https://www.ft.com/management-women), it is recognized that there is still inequality and hold-ups regarding opportunities for women in certain types of occupations, such as in the finance sector. To that end, it has been noted that feelings of cynicism as well as anger abound in financial groups around the world, as it is claimed that companies are still a long way off in obtaining gender equality. This encapsulates the gender pay issue also: according to the report, women make up just 24.4 per cent of senior staff at twenty-five international banks that shared their data with the *Financial Times*. Two years earlier, this figure was 23.6 per cent, indicating a gloomy and a non-significant improvement. Furthermore, separate data compiled showed that the broader financial services sector did increase its hiring of women into leadership roles by 10 percentage points in the years from 2008 to 2016, which is better and more promising than the reported 7 percentage points increase in the financial services' hiring of women for all roles. Nonetheless, the overall gestalt of this report concluded by stating that 'Women made up just 23 percent of all "leadership hires" in the sector in 2016, and studies pointed towards a continued pay gap between men and women.'

A similar picture is also emerging in other occupations, again in the UK. For instance, a clear-cut gender pay gap is observed amongst computer programmers and this difference is wider than a national average comparison. Specifically, in April 2017, Leslie Hook (cited by the *Financial Times* series of *Management's Missing Women*), noted that as technology companies have moved towards more transparency around diversity figures, a growing number of companies have also revealed the sensitive issue of the wage gap. These findings, however, are clearly not restricted to the UK: in America similar patterns and trends are emerging, and it was strikingly observed (in the same report) that male computer programmers earn 28 per cent more than their female counterparts in the USA, after adjusting for differences between jobs and workers, and that this gap is four times larger than the national average!

Furthermore, and in eye-opening research by Nadler and Stockdale (2012), it was revealed that although 47 per cent of the US workforce currently consists of women, less than 16 per cent of Fortune 500 board seats, corporate officer positions or executive officer positions were held by women in 2009. This clearly indicates that the more a woman progresses, the greater the hurdles she has to overcome. Thus, directly relevant to the gender wage gap, such discrepancies are likely to have a knock-on effect in the total amount of salary received, as unequal compensations will be distributed between men and women, and this is likely to be more pronounced at senior levels. In a similar vein, Susan Vinnicombe (2013) asks if women are 'disproportionately' under-rated, why is this? In her explanation, and encapsulating the gender wage gap phenomena, her research on FTSE 100 executive committees revealed that 62 per cent of male directors on FTSE 100 committees were internally promoted, compared to 48 per cent of the female directors – a significant difference and perhaps symptomatic of the ways women are continually disadvantaged at work, leading to the gender wage gap still thriving. It is noteworthy to point out that Vinnicombe proposes that one of the biggest obstacles to women's advancement in higher paying sectors of the workforce, and in particular leadership roles, is created by top-management's reluctance to foster gender-inclusive leadership teams. If this is indeed the case, then further and new investigations into such embedded workplace problems will be advantageous in offering us solutions to the problem; and indeed in 2017 Sealy and colleagues investigated this issue in a paper entitled ‘The Case of Women on Boards Research’. This ground-breaking research is timely, especially given the fact that as of summer 2017, new legal issues will be in effect, whereby it becomes a legal requirement in the UK for companies with more than 250 staff to report data on the differentials between what companies are paying their male versus female staff.

Furthermore and in what may be considered a turning point in British history for the prestigious BBC, it was revealed in August 2017 that only a third of its highest-paid staff are women. Thus in the BBC’s occupational industry, specifically in the UK, the seven highest earners are all men, and the highest-paid man earned around four times more than the best-paid woman. As noted in the financial magazine *MoneyWeek* (2017), ‘For a public corporation that often investigates inequality in business and government, these are ugly headlines.’ However, and promising to note, is the fact that in response to this pay discrepancy, more than forty of the BBC’s most high-profile female stars wrote an open letter to the BBC director-general, suggesting that the BBC could do ‘better’. Scientifically, one may suggest that this collaborative and collective team response may be a future viable coping strategy available to women in order to conquer the gender wage gap phenomenon. Indeed, in response, the director-general of the BBC responded positively by saying that closing the pay gap, which is on average 10 per cent, was a ‘personal priority’, and he had committed the BBC to closing it by 2020. However, it is also worth noting that according to the Institute for Fiscal Studies (as cited by *MoneyWeek*, 2017), the average pay gap between men and women in the UK is *still* 18 per cent, and in the US, it is currently 17 per cent. Looking closer at the latter figure and focusing on trends in America, recent reports are also painting a bleak picture with regard to occupational type and gender differences in this country. For instance, and as shown in Table 20.3, one notices that employee breakdown of key technology companies in the USA reveals a clear gender gap in technological occupations. Companies such as Facebook, Amazon, Dell and Instagram are all ‘following suit’ in terms of being highly male dominated. A breakdown of the companies that employ the most female workers is shown in Table 20.4, whilst in Table 20.5, a contrast is shown, of companies on the list that employ the fewest women, as a proportion of their workforce.

Finally, and in ever expanding issue areas, there is evidence that political changes and underpinnings in world economic affairs may also subsequently play out differently according to the two genders. For example, in July 2017 reports showed that the results of Brexit will manifest differently with significant gender overtones being evident. In an article published by the *Financial Times* (2017) entitled ‘Is Brexit bad for women?’ it was noted that when the British and European negotiating teams posed for a picture to mark the start of Brexit negotiations, they drew attention to an awkward omission on the British side: there were *no* women. One may suggest that the lack of diversity and female representation at senior levels in Dexeu (Department for Exiting the European Union, UK Government) will highlight broader concerns about the future of women’s rights in Britain – including pay issues after the country leaves the EU, especially if that means that Britain will no longer be under the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice.

In summary, therefore, one can observe that despite ongoing scientific debate and constant investigation into the various issues relating to the gender wage gap phenomenon, very

Table 20.3 Visualizing the diversity of the tech industry: employee breakdown of key technology companies (2016)

Listed companies	Percentage of female employees (2016)
Facebook	33
Flickr	37
Instagram	33
LinkedIn	42
Pinterest	44
Tumblr	37
Twitter	37
YouTube	30
Amazon	39
Apple	32
Dell	30
eBay	43
Google	31
Groupon	47
HP	33
Indiegogo	45
Intel	25
Microsoft	26
Nvidia	16
Pandora	48
Salesforce	30
Uber	36
Yahoo	37

Source: Visual Capitalist (2017).

Table 20.4 Visualizing the diversity of the tech industry: which companies employ the most women? (2016)

Rank	Tech company	% of females
#1	Pandora	48
#2	Groupon	47
#3	Indiegogo	45
#4	Pininterest	44
#5	eBay	43

Source: Visual Capitalist (2017).

little appears to have changed in the world of work with regard to solid female representation in certain types of occupations, such as the technology domain (see Table 20.6). One may therefore suggest, that in reality, there still remains much to be done to rebalance the treatment of women in the workplace where sexism and gendered disparity are pervasive.

Table 20.5 Visualizing the diversity of the tech industry: which companies employ the fewest women? (2016)

Rank	Tech company	% of females
#18	Salesforce	30
#18	YouTube	30
#18	Dell	30
#21	Microsoft	26
#22	Intel	25
#23	Nvidia	16

Source: Visual Capitalist (2017).

Table 20.6 What has changed in the last 12 months?

- Facebook, Apple, eBay and Microsoft all had their ratio of women increase by 1%
- LinkedIn had their ratio of women increase by 3%
- Google's gender ratio stayed the same

Source: Visual Capitalist (2017).

WORK CONTRACTS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY AND THE GENDER WAGE GAP

It must be noted that since the onset of the global economic crisis, the spectrum of work availability has drastically changed, with the choices of work and preferential time schedules being severely limited (Fotinatos-Ventouratos and Cooper, 2015). Indeed, a sign of job weakness in the economic field is often shown by the large number of people who want to work full-time, but are only offered part-time positions – 'working part-time for economic reasons', is the Bureau of Labor Statistics' term in the USA (Economic Research and Investment Strategy, October 2013, cited in Fotinatos-Ventouratos and Cooper, 2015). However, for economists and organizational psychologists, this obviously reflects the caution of employers and their concern to contain costs, as part-time workers do not have the legal rights or pension benefits enjoyed by full-time workers. Even further, and highly relevant to our particular issue, is whether the part-time positions are being overrepresented by women, when in reality, they wish to be working full-time. Looking at overall information available, Kjeldstad and Nymoen observe (2012, p. 85) that there has been a growth of part-time work in European countries for many years and this has been described as 'a process of mutual adjustment between the employers' needs and employees' willingness in response to demographic and economic changes'. However, as the same authors note, the matching of supply and demand has taken various directions, at different times, and in different countries. Indeed and according to the European Commission *Report on Equality* (2017), it is clearly evident that there has been a greater development and focus on non-standard forms of work, with more short-term engagements being prominent. Women are not immune to this trend, with weaker and less binding work contracts being much more commonly signed amongst female employees. For instance and noted by the European Commission (2017), temporary contracts accounted for 14.1 per cent of employment contracts signed by women, and 12.9 per cent signed by men. Similarly, women are also more likely to be working on the basis of 'zero-hours contracts'. In the UK for instance, women make up 55 per cent of those reporting working on zero-hours contracts, compared to only 45 per cent of those employed who are not on zero-hours contracts. A similar trend is unfolding in other European countries, such as Finland, where it has been documented that women represent a huge 57 per cent of workers with zero-hours contracts. Moreover, and in a report produced by Hamburg Institute of International Economics by Boll et al. (2016), examining the 'Impact Factors of the Gender Pay Gap in EU Countries', the authors note that one of the key driving factors of the ongoing gender pay gap is the hours of work. To that end, it was noted that in all countries under observation (n = 28) female workers have more often been employed part-time than male workers, and in most countries, part-time work is associated with considerably lower hourly wage gaps. The authors also note that 'Another channel that tends to widen the gender pay gap is the distribution of temporary vs. permanent contracts. Working in a temporary position reduced the expected earnings in almost all country regressions whereby females are more frequent among temporary workers' (Boll et al., 2016, p. 13). On the basis of such evidence, it can certainly be concluded that gender segregation in certain types of work and the types of contracts gaining momentum today, are contributing – directly or indirectly – to the wage gap divide.

Another issue related to work contracts are career patterns and the issue of career breaks. In recent research published by the Institute for Fiscal Studies (2016), Dias and colleagues provided an analytical account for the ongoing gender wage gap apparent in Britain. Pivotal to their findings are that the gap widens *gradually* but *significantly so* from the age range of late 20s and early 30s – and this trend has been attributed to the fact that men's wages tend to continue growing rapidly at this point in the life-cycle (particularly for the high-educated), while women's wages plateau – and this is intensified with the arrival of children, which accounts for this gradual widening of the gender wage gap with age.

More specifically in Dias et al.'s analysis, there is, on average, a gap of over 10 per cent even before the arrival of the first child. However, this gap is fairly stable until the child arrives and is small relative to what follows: there is then a gradual but continual rise in the wage gap and, by the time the first child is aged 12, women's hourly wages in Britain may be a third below men's. The gradual nature of the increase in the gender wage gap after the arrival of children suggests that it may be related to the 'accumulation of labour market experience', and that a big difference in employment rates between men and women opens up upon arrival of the first child and is highly persistent. Thus, by the time their first child is aged 20, women today in Brian have on average been in paid work for four years less than men and have spent nine years less in paid work of more than 20 hours per week (Joyce and Costa Dias, 2016).

SUMMARY OF WORLD TRENDS

In addition to looking at European trends, the World Economic Forum report produced in 2016, which focuses on the 'Global Gender Gap', has reported similar and dissatisfactory figures pertaining to economic participation and opportunity across the gender divide. More specifically, it has reported that 54 per cent of working-age women take part in the formal economy, on average, as compared to 81 per cent of men – a striking difference by any standard. Commenting on such differences, the report is quick to observe that educational gains are not always translated into economic gains for women on a global mapping: even though there is near gender parity in employment for professional and technical workers, reflecting in part the equal education and skills levels among women and men with tertiary education, women still hold less than a third of senior roles. Moreover, the 'Global Gender Gap' report of 2016 firmly concluded that there also continues to be *a persistent* wage gap in paid work. In that respect, women's wages are almost half those of men, with average global earned income for women and men estimated at $10,778 and $19,873 respectively. Countries that perform well in this dimension of gender parity span all regional and income groups. Slovenia, Norway and Sweden are some of the most gender-equal economies among high-income countries. Botswana and Thailand exhibit the highest income parity among upper-middle income countries. Vietnam, Lao PDR and Ghana have narrowed their income gender gaps the most among the lower-middle income country group. Mozambique, Tanzania, and Rwanda lead among the low-income countries, having closed over 80 per cent of their estimated earned income gender gaps. On the other end of the scale, countries such as Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and, Republic of Korea have high national income, but income gaps of over 50 per cent.

When it comes to *executives' perceptions* of wage equality for *similar work*, the World Economic Forum report (2016) observed that no country has achieved parity. In only five countries, the remaining gap is less than 20 per cent, while in eighty-eight countries the gap is between 20 per cent and 40 per cent. In thirty-five countries the gap is between 40 per cent and 50 per cent while in five countries – namely France, Chile, Peru, Hungary and Brazil – executives see the remaining wage gap for similar work to be above 50 per cent. In summary, and as can be seen from the above, at both the European and international level, the gender wage gap is well embedded in societies in the twenty-first century, with little signs of abating. In this bleak picture we can see – and without a doubt – exacerbating economic and wage gaps between men and women. An analysis of the psychological and social implications of this gender wage gap is given in the following section.

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE GENDER WAGE GAP

In the first instance and from the information provided above, it is strongly apparent that there is indeed a gender wage gap evident in the workplace today and one may be confident that most researchers will agree with this claim. Thus, a monetary divide exists between the two sexes in the workplace, albeit often not immediately visible or easily accountable. The evidence shows not only that such a gap exists, but that it is operating *quite strongly* in various forms, contents and contexts in the organizational domain, and on an international basis also. From a research perspective, however, it may be suggested that one needs to scratch more than the tip of the iceberg to justify such claims, in an attempt to provide feasible solutions and remedies for the future. Thus further analysis in both depth and breadth is strongly recommended. Furthermore, it is apparent that there are clearly potential determinants and driving forces that are contributing to the ongoing gender wage gap, thus allowing it to continue in our societies. Certainly there is no one isolated factor responsible for this injustice – rather there are various impact factors interwoven together producing these negative output results, which are surely taking their toll on women's psychosomatic health. Needless to say, there are both organizational and societal implications that warrant further investigation.

Based on the various data retrieved and literature currently available, we can conclude – and with certain accuracy – that there is not only a gender wage gap in many societies and in many forms, but furthermore there are minimum signs of it abating. Nonetheless, we are confident that since this issue has been brought into the limelight again – and with some force – that remedies and solutions may become available. Some concrete attempts – primarily at the governmental and legal levels – are being put in place to reduce this significant inequality between males and females. How long it will take, and what tools will be needed is beyond our assessment, and admittedly, it may not be clearly visible to the general public – or immediately accountable, making this issue more difficult to tackle. Furthermore, and beyond the scope of this chapter, it is necessary to assess whether the gender wage gap has been 'deliberately' lodged into place over time, or whether it has occurred somewhat 'by accident'. However, what one can say, and with some certainty, is that the literature has demonstrated than an element of 'pay secrecy' can be a contributing factor, thus allowing for the gender wage gap to continue (see, for example, Colella et al., 2007). One may therefore suggest that immediate transparency in the work setting regarding pay dispersion should be made legally obligatory, to allow for positive and healthy outcomes for women's well-being to emerge and be sustained. Moreover such matters should not be taken lightly, especially given the fact that EU Treaties and the recast Directive on gender equality in the area of employment and occupation (2006/54/EC, cited in European Commission, 2017) prohibit direct and indirect discrimination on the grounds of sex concerning all aspects of remuneration. The Directive also prohibits sex discrimination in job classification systems used for determining pay. Indeed, in the UK, by April 2018, all companies with more than 250 employees (of which there are currently over 9000 in the country), will be obliged to make their gender pay gap publicly available.

Given some of the vagueness surrounding the gender wage gap issue, an accurate assessment in terms of its implications is far from easy. However, recent research tells us that women, as a whole, are reporting lower life satisfaction levels than their male counterparts, and perhaps these warning signs should not be taken lightly by psychologists and other health specialists. To that end, Stevenson and Wolfers (2009), cited in Bertrand (2010), found that despite decades of educational gains and apparent enlargement of their labour market opportunities, women's self-reported levels of life satisfaction appear to have *declined* over time, both in absolute terms and relative to men's. In a further assessment and with regard to the gender divide implications, Lundberg and Cooper (2011), through a plethora of information, have strikingly outlined the health differences found in men and women – some of which may be directly or indirectly associated with pay differentials. Indeed, the authors have clearly demonstrated huge gender differences on important criteria such as work tasks, unpaid work, total workload, and women and stress. Although the detailed findings of this research are beyond the scope of this chapter, the results clearly and vividly point to women faring worse in relation to psychosomatic health: women are reporting more health problems in the domains of muscular pains, sleep problems, mood disturbances, chronic fatigue, burnout syndromes, fibromyalgia and headaches (cited in Lundberg and Cooper, 2011). Thus, along with the possible outcome factors of occupational divides and labour market disparities, there are health divide manifestations also. Such factors may be influencing the differences in work-related stress amongst men and women and one may conclude that not only is there an apparent gender wage gap operating, but corresponding ripple effects in terms of psychosomatic health differences between the sexes appear to be prevailing too. It has been frequently documented (see, for example, Burke and Cooper, 2008; Lewis and Humbert, 2010; Lundberg and Cooper, 2011) that women seek medical care and are absent from work more often than men. Indeed, many reasons explaining this trend have been noted in the literature by different scientists over time. One viable reason, however, is that that such trends are associated with excessive work overload for women, who in an attempt to prove themselves – and in often a male-dominated work arena – subsequently suffer psychosomatically (see, for example, Bertrand, 2010). It seems, therefore, that when and if women do manage to 'succeed in the job' and perhaps acquire managerial and leadership positions in organizations, and with a measure of equality, that these positions come ultimately with a price tag.

CONCLUSION

It appears, therefore, that women are faring the worst, not only financially, but with other psychological and social backlashes too, such as lack of motivation, confidence and overall job satisfaction (Amanatullah and Tinsley, 2013). As a consequence, one must bear in mind that such implications spill over at the societal level too, as women will ultimately be earning less than men, thereby accumulating less wealth during their lifespan than men, and hence over a female's life-cycle their pensions will ultimately be lower. Perhaps on a societal level, such concrete findings should be treated with caution, given the fact that many families, who are still recovering from the world economic crisis, are surviving on one income – and it is often the female who is the 'major breadwinner' if not the 'sole breadwinner' of the family in our current times (Fotinatos-Ventouratos and Cooper, 2015). The implications of such an 'unbalanced seesaw' spread far beyond the female worker, with ripple effects being noticed within families, businesses and at the societal level too. In conclusion, therefore, and given the current problems we are facing, it is strongly recommended that suitable societal, psychological, governmental and economic forces work together, in order to find feasible solutions to combat such inequalities, which will eventually bring about fairness, justice and equality that will go far in reaching most members of modern-day societies.

REFERENCES

Amanatullah, E. T. and Tinsley, C. H. (2013). Punishing female negotiators for asserting too much . . . or not enough: Exploring why advocacy moderates backlash against assertive female negotiators. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *120*(1), 110–22.

Atewologun, D., Sealy, R. and Vinnicombe, S. (2016). Revealing intersectional dynamics in organizations: Introducing 'intersectional identity work'. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *23*(3), 223–47.

Bertrand, M. (2010). New perspectives on gender. In O. C. Ashenfelter and D. Card (Eds.), *Handbook of Labor Economics* (vol. 4b, pp. 1543–90). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Bevan, V. and Gatrell, C. (2017). *Knowing Her Place: Positioning Women in Science*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Blau, F. D. and Kahn, L. M. (2000). Gender differences in pay. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *14*(4), 75–99.

Boll, C., Leppin, J., Rossen, A. and Wolf, A. (2016). *Magnitude and Impact Factors of the Gender Pay Gap in EU Countries*. Report financed and prepared for the European Commission by Hamburg Institute of International Economics.

Broadbridge, A. M. and Fielden, S. L. (Eds.) (2016). *Handbook of Gendered Careers in Management: Getting In, Getting On, Getting Out*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Burke, R. J. and Cooper, C. L. (2008). *The Long Work Hours Culture: Causes, Consequences and Choices.* Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing.

Colella, A., Paetzold, R., Zardkoohi, A. and Wesson, M. J. (2007). Exposing pay secrecy. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(1), 55–71.

DeNavas-Walt, C., Proctor, B. D. and Lee, C. H. (2005). *U.S. Census Bureau, Current Populations Reports, P60-229: Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2004*. http://www.census.gov/prod/2005pubs/p60-229.

Dias, M. C., Elming, W. and Joyce, R. (2016). *The Gender Wage Gap*. Briefing Note BN186. London: Institute for Fiscal Studies.

European Commission (2017, May). *Report on Equality between Women and Men in the European Union*.

Eurostat Statistics (2017, May). http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Gender-statistics.

Financial Times (2017). Is Brexit bad for women? *Financial Times*, 7 July. FT@newsletters.ft.com.

Fotinatos-Ventouratos, R. S. J. (2016). Integrating refugees in the workplace: Multiple perspectives. *British Psychological Society (BPS) Journal, OPMatters*, *32* (December).

Fotinatos-Ventouratos, R. S. J. and Cooper, C. L. (2005). The role of gender and social class in work stress. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *20*(1), 14–22.

Fotinatos-Ventouratos, R. S. J. and Cooper, C. L. (2015). *The Economic Crisis and Occupational Stress*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Fransen, E., Plantenga, J. and Vlasblom, J. D. (2012). Why do women still earn less than men? Decomposing the Dutch gender pay gap, 1996–2006. *Applied Economics*, *44*, 4343–54.

Joyce, R. and Costa Dias, M. (2016). *Gender Wage Gap Grows Year on Year After Childbirth as Mothers in Low-Hours Jobs See No Wage Progression*. London: Institute of Fiscal Studies.

Kjeldstad, R. and Nymoen, E. H. (2012). Part-time work and gender: Worker versus job explanations. *International Labour Review*, *151*(1–2), 85–107.

Kulich, C., Trojanowski, G., Ryan, M., Haslam, A. and Renneboog, L. (2011). Who gets the carrot and who gets the stick? Evidence of gender disparities in executive remuneration. *Strategic Management Journal*, *32*(3), 301–21.

Leibbrandt, A. and List, J. A. (2015). Do women avoid salary negotiations? Evidence from a large-scale natural field experiment. *Management Science*, *61*(9), 2016–24.

Lewis, S. and Humbert, A. L. (2010). Discourse or reality: 'Work–life balance' flexibility and gendered organizations. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *29*(3), 239–54.

Lundberg, U. and Cooper, C. L. (2011). *The Science of Occupational Health: Stress, Psychobiology, and the New World of Work*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

MoneyWeek (2017). An ugly pay gap at the BBC. *MoneyWeek*, *855* (28 July).
Nadler, J. T., and Stockdale, M. S. (2012). Workplace gender bias: Not just between strangers. *North American Journal of Psychology*, *14*(2), 281–92.
Penner, A., Toro-Tulla, H. and Huffman, M. L. (2012). Do women managers ameliorate gender differences in wages? Evidence from a large grocery retailer. *Sociological Perspectives*, *55*(2), 365–81.
Sealy, R., Doldor, E., Vinnicombe, S., Terjesen, S., Anderson, D. and Atewologun, D. (2017). Expanding the notion of dialogic trading zones for impactful research: The case of women on boards research. *British Journal of Management*, *28*(1), 64–83.
Sealy, R. and Vinnicombe, S. (2012). *The Female FTSE Board Report 2012: Milestone or Millstone?* Bedford: Cranfield University.
Stevenson, B. and Wolfers, J. (2009). The paradox of declining female happiness. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, *1*(2), 190–225.
The Daily Telegraph (2017). Flexible working urged for all jobs in an attempt to close the pay gap. *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 August.
The Guardian (2016). UK's university gender gap is a national scandal, says thinktank. *The Guardian*, 12 May. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/may12/university-gender-gap.
The LSE Equity, Diversity and Inclusion Taskforce (2016). *The Gender and Ethnicity Earnings Gap at LSE* (September). London School of Economics.
Vinnicombe, S. (2013). Lean in, but keep your BALANCE. *Management Focus* (Autumn).
Visual Capitalist (2017). *Infographic: Visualizing the Diversity of the Tech Industry*. By Jeff Desjardins, 14 August. Retrieved from http://www.Info@visualcapitalist.com.
World Economic Forum (2016). *The Global Gender Gap*. Report retrieved from http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/gender-parity-and-human-capital.

21. Stereotype threat: impacts for women at work

Lindsey M. Lavaysse and Tahira M. Probst

INTRODUCTION

In 1964, when Title VII of the Civil Rights Act was signed into law, women made up just 35 percent of the labor force. Since then, that number has steadily increased with women comprising 47 percent of the labor force in 2015 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017). Yet, despite decades of legal protections barring discrimination on the basis of sex, women still encounter barriers to success within organizations. A recent study conducted by LeanIn.org and McKinsey & Company (2016) found that women are increasingly less represented the higher up the corporate ladder one goes. For example, although women make up nearly half of workforce entrants, they hold less than one-quarter of the senior vice-president and even fewer "C-suite" positions (e.g., CEO, CIO, CFO, and COO). For every 100 women that get promoted to a managerial position, 130 men are promoted. Thus, despite making strides legislatively and in workforce participation rates, women lag behind when considering other measures of career success.

The purpose of this chapter is to consider one factor – stereotype threat – that may play a role in influencing women's experiences in the workplace. We begin our chapter by briefly reviewing the concept of stereotypes. Next, we discuss what stereotype threat is and early research on how it impacts various measures of performance. Then, we turn our focus to work-related outcomes of stereotype threat and emerging research on its impacts on pregnant employees, women's aspirations for leadership, and work productivity levels. Finally, we offer several avenues for future research to explore, as well as potential points of intervention within organizations and recommendations for managers and leaders within organizations.

STEREOTYPE THREAT

Stereotypes represent beliefs about groups of individuals (often factually incorrect), which are then applied to individual members of those groups (Allport, 1954). Such stereotypical assumptions about these groups can be negative (e.g., lazy), or positive (e.g., smart). While stereotypes (and accompanying emotional prejudices) have been found to lead to increased levels of discrimination and harassment (e.g., Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007), such negative behavior is perpetrated by individuals other than the focal person. However, exposure to stereotypes can also insidiously alter the cognition, attitudes, and behaviors of the individuals about whom the stereotypes are made. Specifically, when individuals feel at risk of confirming a negative stereotype about a social group to which they belong, *stereotype threat* is said to occur (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). The likelihood of stereotype threat increases when the negative stereotype associated with one's group membership can be viewed as a plausible interpretation for one's experience or behavior (Steele, 1997). Individuals experiencing stereotype threat may worry about inadvertently confirming a negative belief about the group to which they belong through their behaviors and actions. For example, an elderly person who misplaces her car keys (something all of us have done) may be worried that others will view her as cognitively declining. There are a myriad of social groups within our society, including but not limited to those defined by: race, gender, nationality, disability status, relationship status, sexual orientation, age, political affiliation, religion, and socio-economic status. Unfortunately, there are numerous negative stereotypes proffered about each of those groups, leading to a multitude of opportunities for stereotype threat to arise. The focus in this chapter is on how stereotype threat may be particularly harmful to women at work due to stereotypes regarding women and associated groups (e.g., pregnant employees, working mothers).

Steele (1997) argues that there are short- and long-term consequences of stereotype threat. In the short term, acute stereotype threat has been shown to result in immediate decreased individual performance. Chronic (or persistent exposure to) stereotype threat, on the other hand, can lead to disidentification and disengagement with that particular performance domain. For example, a woman who experiences acute stereotype threat might perform lower on a calculus test in school. Over time, chronic stereotype threat may result in her disengaging from the domain of math entirely. Indeed, in a longitudinal study tracking the educational and career trajectories of minority students in science disciplines, Woodcock, Hernandez, Estrada, and Schultz (2012) found evidence of chronic stereotype threat predicting a decline in Hispanic and Latino students' intentions to persist in the scientific career pipeline. Such acute and chronic stereotype threat experiences may similarly account for women's performance at work and their shrinking presence within upper levels of organizations.

Prior Research on Performance Outcomes of Stereotype Threat

Since the seminal article on stereotype threat by Steele and Aronson (1995), academic literature on stereotype threat has grown exponentially, gaining considerable attention in the popular press and leading to a better understanding of the wide and varying impacts this psychosocial variable has for a variety of social groups. Such research thus far has primarily focused on the different ways in which stereotype threat impacts performance within a variety of domains.

The primary finding that acute stereotype threat leads to decreased performance has been replicated under a variety of conditions and contexts (for a meta-analysis, see Nguyen & Ryan, 2008). For example, stereotype threat has been shown to negatively impact a wide variety of stereotyped groups as well as a wide range of different types of performance outcomes, including: racial stereotypes negatively affecting athletic performance (Stone, Lynch, Sjomeling, & Darley, 1999), gender stereotypes negatively affecting driving performance (Yeung & von Hippel, 2008), sexual orientation stereotypes negatively affecting childcare performance (Bosson, Haymovitz, & Pinel, 2004), age stereotypes negatively affecting memory performance (Hess, Auman, Colcombe, & Rahhal, 2003), and stereotypes of those in a lower socio-economic status negatively affecting language skills or performance using a language (Croizet & Claire, 1998). As is evident from this previous research, the occurrence of stereotype threat is pervasive to a countless number of social groups; moreover, triggering stereotype threat affects a variety of measures of performance beyond intellectual or test performance. Furthermore, the adverse effects of perceived stereotype threat should theoretically generalize to various negatively stereotyped social groups (Steele et al., 2002), which the growing body of literature is increasingly corroborating as different stereotyped groups are studied.

Mechanisms Explaining the Effects of Stereotype Threat

Given that a large body of literature clearly indicates there are short- and long-term performance-related consequences of stereotype threat, it is important to understand the mechanisms by which these effects occur. In an early test of potential mediators, Schmader, Johns, and Forbes (2008) argued that stereotype threat leads to performance decrements via three interrelated mechanisms. First, stereotype threat triggers an immediate physiological stress response which impairs prefrontal processing. Second, the stress associated with possible stereotype confirmation leads to increased active monitoring of one's performance. Finally, cognitive resources are also drained by attempts to suppress negative and anxious thoughts regarding the potential stereotype confirmation. Together, these interrelated mechanisms result in additive effects that exhaust working memory capacity needed to perform well on "cognitive and social tasks that necessitate coordinated information processing while inhibiting interference from distracting information" (Schmader et al., 2008).

Thus, within an organizational context, employees experiencing stereotype threat may become stressed which leads to a loss of cognitive resources as such resources are shifted to increased self-monitoring of their own work performance and active attempts to quell negative thoughts about their potential stereotype-confirming behaviors. Both of these actions then exhaust their resources leading to worse performance on the relevant work tasks. Subsequent researchers have termed this process as "stereotype threat spillover" (Inzlicht & Kang, 2010; Kang & Inzlicht, 2014). Stereotype threat spillover (or decreased performance) will occur when a situation in which coping (thought suppression, emotion regulation, task vigilance, self-monitoring) with a current threat of a negative stereotype shifts one's priority from the task at hand and requires substantial self-control resources. Use of such a substantial amount of an individual's self-control resources may then drain the individual. This stereotype threat spillover model posits that engaging in these coping strategies to deal with stereotype threat will lead an individual to experience fatigue and decrease their motivation to control future behaviors. This experienced decrease in motivation to control behaviors would then spill over into any task which requires self-control. Therefore, if one is drained from dealing with stereotype threat, subsequent tasks which require self-control will not receive the same motivation or self-controlled behavior. This sort of motivational and attention deficit could lead to impaired decision making regarding a multitude of different work tasks that are of importance to employees and the organizations they work for.

WORK-RELATED OUTCOMES OF STEREOTYPE THREAT

As noted above, stereotype threat has shown to negatively affect performance under a number of different conditions or contexts (Bosson et al., 2004; Croizet & Claire, 1998; Nguyen & Ryan, 2008; Stone et al., 1999; Yeung & von Hippel, 2008). However, studies of how stereotype threat may impact individuals within an organizational or workplace context are few and far between. This void in the research has been acknowledged and there is a call for further research on the effects of stereotype threat within organizations (Kalokerinos, von Hippel, & Zacher, 2014) as there could be a number of possible ways this psychosocial variable might impact employees, managers, and the organizations which employ them. Indeed, other book chapters summarizing what is known so far about stereotype threat in the workplace also acknowledge the need for more research in an organizational context (Kray & Shirako, 2012; Streets & Nguyen, 2014). In regard to stereotype threat impacting women specifically, Streets and Nguyen (2014, p. 270) specifically outline that stereotype threat has implications for women "entering the workforce, choosing a career, and/or advancing with their career." Kalokerinos et al. (2014) describe the important role stereotype threat plays in an organizational context and go on to outline the various organizational consequences or outcomes that may occur due to stereotype threat such as job attitudes, professional identities, career aspirations and leadership, decision making, feedback seeking and communication, negotiations, and perceived relationship with the organization. While most jobs do involve some baseline amounts of judgment in decision making, there are additional stressors occurring for employees who are members of a social group for which negative stereotypes abound, thus causing additional stress, according to Roberson and Kulik (2007).

Below we review some recent empirical evidence on the effects of stereotype threat on the recruitment and retention of women in male-dominated fields; pregnant workers' safety-related attitudes, behaviors and outcomes; and women's leadership opportunities within organizations.

Stereotype Threat and Recruitment, Performance, and Retention

Observers of fields dominated by male employees often comment on the need to increase the number of women in those sectors of the workforce. However, research exploring the impact of stereotype threat on women in male-dominated industries found that women who perceived stereotype threat reported lower workplace well-being which has implications for retention. Furthermore, they reported they were less likely to recommend working in their job to other women which has negative implications for recruitment (von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & McFarlane, 2015). Thus, stereotype threat among women in these male-dominated fields may actually be undermining efforts to increase gender balance. How can an organization increase the number of female workers when women who currently work there intend to quit and would not recommend others to work there?

Furthermore, stereotype threat might impede success among female workers. Research indicates that stereotype threat towards women in business led to business students rating their own managerial skills or ability lower (Flanagan, 2015). While this study was conducted with students, these students are in a field where stereotype threat will continue to be present throughout their career development stages. Another study exploring stereotype threat towards women in business assessed managerial skills among a student population as well, but did so in a laboratory experiment for higher internal control in the research findings (Bergeron, Block, & Echtenkamp, 2006). This experiment found that stereotype threat towards women at work does indeed negatively affect their workplace performance on managerial tasks (Bergeron et al., 2006). Interestingly, this study did mention that while women were affected by stereotype threat, they were not all affected with the same intensity, suggesting stereotype threat impacts each woman uniquely.

Additionally, research indicates that stereotype threat of women in organizations is related to decreased career aspirations (von Hippel, Issa, Ma, & Stokes, 2011). Furthermore, stereotype threat towards women at work was found to have a mediated negative effect via lack of belonging and poor prospects on women's job attitudes as well as turnover intentions (von Hippel et al., 2011).

In sum, research on stereotype threat towards women at work suggests that stereotype threat has negative implications for recruiting and retaining women in male-dominated fields, self-assessment of managerial skills, career aspirations, job attitudes, and turnover intentions. Thus, stereotype threat within the workplace affects female workers in ways that not only negatively affect the employees themselves, but also the organizations which employ them.

Pregnancy: A Visibly Dynamic Experience

While the above section reviewed research on stereotype threat associated with being a woman, women can also have additional identities (not always visible to others) that may trigger stereotype threat. In this section, we discuss how pregnancy may trigger stereotype threat at work and present recent research demonstrating how this may have adverse consequences for pregnant workers.

As mentioned, there are a host of different social groups within a given society that have negative stereotypes associated with them. Some of these groups may actually pertain to an identity that is not visible to others such as one's sexual orientation or employment status. In regard to social interactions and attempts at identity management, research by Clair, Beatty, and Maclean (2005) shows that social identities play a crucial role even though they may be invisible or not obvious to others around them. This review suggests that while at work, there are two strategies for identity management. One such strategy for management of an invisible identity is to conceal or pass on telling others about your invisible social identity. The other option is to reveal (i.e., disclosing) this social identity with coworkers and/or supervisors.

Pregnancy is a visibly dynamic experience which can be an invisible identity for a period of time (most commonly, in the first trimester) and progress into a more visible identity towards the end of the pregnancy (e.g., third trimester). Women experience variation in when they start showing the "baby bump" that is a more obvious signal they are pregnant; generally speaking the earlier weeks of pregnancy are invisible to others unless the woman chooses to disclose that she is indeed pregnant. This makes pregnancy at work or in an organizational context a visibly dynamic stigma.

Given that women comprise a growing segment of today's workforce, research on the pregnancy/work experience as a visibly dynamic stigma has gained considerable attention in recent years. How women may attempt to control this identity and the various strategies they may utilize while at work has thus become a focal point in identity management research. Recent work by Little, Major, Hinojosa, and Nelson (2015) on identity management suggests that pregnant women are not only aware of but also concerned with how others, such as coworkers and/or supervisors, perceive them while at work. This recent research found a negative relationship between pregnant women's image maintenance strategies and levels of perceived discrimination. If women are concerned about their professional image and develop strategies to maintain a particular professional social identity they idolize or are comfortable holding, it is plausible that women may also be gearing their workplace behaviors towards disconfirming those negative stereotypes of pregnant workers. While pregnant workers focus on behaving in ways which will avoid confirming those negative stereotypes, those behaviors may lead to other negative outcomes for the worker as the woman then focuses her attention and resources on countering the stereotypes rather than her work tasks, occupational safety, clients, and/or productivity.

Pregnancy at Work: Implications for Applicants and Health

Concern about the experience of working while pregnant has gained attention from recent popular press articles which indicate that managers are trying to utilize technological advancements in social networks and web data mining techniques in order to identify in advance if or when their employees might become pregnant (June, 2016; Zayra, 2016). Additionally, research on workplace discrimination has shown that pregnant women are discriminated against despite the legal protections currently in place to quell this concern (Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, & Kazama, 2007; Morgan, Walker, Hebl, & King, 2013). In research by Morgan et al. (2013) four specific facets of the stereotype of pregnant workers were assessed and found to be prevalent in the workplace: incompetence, lack of commitment, inflexibility, and a need for accommodation. With these stereotypes about pregnant workers prevalent within our society, there is potential for stereotype threat to impact any employee who is working throughout their pregnancy.

Research exploring the treatment of pregnant job applicants found that women wearing pregnancy prostheses were recipients of more hostile behaviors when applying for a job in a retail setting (Hebl et al., 2007). Furthermore, in a second study, seemingly pregnant job applicants seeking a "masculine" job were even more likely to experience hostile treatment (Hebl et al., 2007). Clearly employee recruitment is impacted when women visibly appear pregnant leading to differential treatment of these job applicants.

In addition to discrimination during the job application process, working while pregnant has also shown to be problematic and hinges on which identity management strategy a pregnant employee decides to utilize. In a study assessing the pregnancy/work experience, pregnant employees who revealed or disclosed their pregnant status at work also reported more health symptoms (Jones et al., 2016). On the other hand, Jones et al. (2016) also found that pregnant workers who decided to conceal their pregnancy within their organization reported decreased health symptoms. Thus, the results of this research suggests that concealing or hiding the pregnancy while at work serves as a protective mechanism for the pregnant worker's health.

Stereotype Threat during Pregnancy

According to stereotype threat theory (Steele, 1997), within a stereotyped group there is a controlling mechanism which essentially triggers the potential for stereotype threat to occur; for the group of pregnant employees this trigger is when one becomes aware of their pregnant status while currently employed. Specifically, stereotype threat is salient for pregnant women only when they are at work. That is, pregnant women experience stereotype threat about being a pregnant worker only when they are simultaneously pregnant and at work. If a pregnant worker happens to be grocery shopping after work, that same stereotype would no longer be operatively salient. Additionally, Steele (1997) describes another feature of stereotype threat which is the effort one puts forth to counter a negative stereotype will be exhaustive. The notion that individuals attempt to disprove a stereotype suggests that pregnant employees may push themselves to work even harder while at work. This could lead them to potentially put themselves in danger since they might not refrain from changing previous work behaviors that may now be potentially unsafe or unhealthy given their pregnancy (e.g., lifting heavy objects, standing long hours).

Explorations of stereotype threat impacting pregnant workers specifically are still fairly novel. In a recent unpublished study which explored the impact of stereotype threat on pregnant women (Isgrigg, 2010), women were indeed affected by this unique stressor. While this study looked at different societal stereotypes than the study by Morgan et al. (2013), the results suggest that stereotypes of pregnant women having increased emotion and decreased attention did indeed lead to a decline in cognitive performance (Isgrigg, 2010) for the pregnant women exposed to the negative threat condition. This study indicates that pregnant women are indeed affected by the negative stereotypes about them; however, exploring stereotype threat of pregnant women within an organizational context was not a focus of that study. How stereotype threat might impact pregnant workers specifically would elucidate yet another way in which stereotype threat impacts organizations and their employees.

Safety-Related Outcomes of Stereotype Threat during Pregnancy

Women undergo many psychological and physical changes during pregnancy. These changes may necessitate altering one's behaviors while at work such as avoiding lifting heavy objects or attempting to take more sitting breaks whenever possible, if standing is more common for the job, and/or incorporating or asking for temporary job-related accommodations in order to protect the health and well-being of both mother-to-be and growing fetus. Yet, statistics indicate that pregnant women are not entirely safe while at work when one in four women fall during pregnancy (Dunning, LeMasters, & Bhattacharya, 2010) and these falls could cause injury or harm to either the fetus or mother-to-be. While laws exist specifically to protect the use of reasonable accommodations at work, there are often discrepancies between recommendations made by physicians and discussed at prenatal appointments for behaviors while at work and the actual on-the-job behaviors of pregnant women (Swarns, 2014).

Unfortunately, research on the relationship between pregnancy and occupational safety as well as the mechanisms underlying this relationship is scant. Given that approximately

1.5 million women working in corporations around the United States become pregnant each year (US Census Bureau, 2010) and 80–85 percent of women become pregnant while employed (Schwartz, 1992), it would be beneficial for academics, organizations, and the employees themselves to have a better understanding of workplace safety for employees who are working through their pregnancy. This will be especially critical for an increasing portion of the workforce as well as their employers.

A recent study by Lavaysse and Probst (2017) explored potential relationships between pregnant worker stereotype threat and occupational safety outcomes, as well as potential mediating mechanisms explaining those relationships. More specifically, this longitudinal study explored whether pregnant employees working in physically demanding jobs experienced stereotype threat. The results suggest that not only are women experiencing stereotype threat regarding their pregnancy while at work, but that this threat increases over time as the worker progresses through her pregnancy.

Additionally, this research (Lavaysse & Probst, 2017) assessed the relationship between stereotype threat and occupational safety outcomes and found that perceived stereotype threat of pregnant employees significantly predicted a decline in safety motivation, as well as an increase in injuries, accidents, and under-reporting of accidents. Thus, stereotype threat appears to have negative implications for pregnant employees' workplace safety.

Their study also explored two possible mediating mechanisms of the stereotype threat and occupational safety relationship. Concealment (i.e., hiding or failing to disclose to coworkers or supervisors) of the pregnancy as well as supra-performance (i.e., going above and beyond at work) were tested as potential mediators. Their results suggest that pregnant workers who respond to perceived stereotype threat with increased levels of concealment at work exhibit more positive safety outcomes, with increased safety attitudes as well as decreased unsafe behaviors. These results indicate that concealment of pregnancy as a response to stereotype threat may actually serve as a protective mechanism and keep both mother-to-be and the growing baby safer while at work. Coupled with previous research mentioned earlier in this chapter by Jones et al. (2016), concealment of pregnant identity at work may be protective for women's workplace safety as well as health. Conversely, the results suggest that responding to stereotype threat by supra-performing was related to worse safety outcomes. The findings indicate that while supra-performance might make a pregnant worker more aware of their safety at work (as seen with safety compliance), actual safety behaviors decline making the pregnant employee less safe at work. Thus, coping with stereotype threat by supra-performing may actually put the pregnant employee in harm's way more frequently.

Stereotype Threat and Women in Leadership

An area of continuing research in regard to stereotypes within organizations explores the stereotypes of women in leadership roles in relation to women's career advancement, rates of taking on leadership roles, and career aspirations. While many societal changes have occurred in the United States over the last century regarding women in the workplace, single women, working while pregnant, working mothers, and other societal norms, the stereotypes of what it means to be feminine are still pervasive for working women which contradicts the stereotypes of what it means to be a leader, manager, or authority figure (Chemers, 1997). It is important to consider the number of ways such commonly discussed stereotypes such as the "think leader, think male" or "women take care, men take charge" standards might impact a woman in business. Does this perception of women alter who is selected from managerial or leadership roles? Do these stereotypes of women alter how subordinates evaluate and respond to female leaders? Does this negative perception of female leaders impact how women perceive themselves, and thereby their own leadership abilities? Do these stereotypes not only impact who is chosen for promotion, but who earns bonuses, salary increases, and other positive evaluation benefits? All of these questions are of interest because a better understanding of the obstacles causing undue discrimination towards women in business will allow organizations to identify ways to develop their most skilled leaders regardless of gender.

While some may argue that the persistent gender wage gap is merely due to a difference in performance, skill, or talent and not a matter of being female, this cannot explain the wage gap for leadership roles as a meta-analysis of various leadership styles concluded that men and women lead in similar fashions, and furthermore, there are actually more similarities between male and female leaders than there are differences (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003). Yet, the pervasive stereotype that men make better leaders still influences judgment and decision making in regard to leadership (Sczesny, 2003) as well as the appraisal of managerial skills which influenced selection for managerial hires (Curseu & Boros, 2008). Additionally, gender stereotypes lead individuals to use gender as a determining or predictive factor of how successful or effective an individual will be as a leader (Prime, Carter, & Welbourne, 2009). Furthermore, research has indicated that stereotypes about female leaders do impact a subordinate's assessment of job performance as well as overall achievement for female leaders (Afolabi, 2013). Indeed, prejudice about women being both feminine and a leader have been used to explain the research findings that women are less likely to obtain leadership positions and face challenges when attempting to do so; women leaders are viewed less favorably than male leaders and female leaders are even viewed as less effective at their job than male counterparts (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

With all stereotypes comes the possibility of stereotype threats to impact our behaviors. Indeed, stereotype threat about women in leadership roles has shown to impact how female leaders choose to communicate (von Hippel, Wiryakusuma, Bowden, & Shochet, 2011). In the study by von Hippel et al. (2011), women who felt threatened by the stereotype of females having poor leadership ability coped with the stressor (stereotype threat) by altering their communication style to adopt a more masculine demeanor, which then led to evaluations as less likeable and less warm, thus, showing women in leadership roles face a double-edged sword. However, further investigation by von Hippel et al. (2011) showed that self-affirmation could actually eliminate this impact of stereotype threat on communication style.

Further research on the impact of belief in one's own leadership ability and skills has shown that leadership self-efficacy can actually buffer the impact of stereotype threat about female leaders on outcomes such as self-esteem and future self-efficacy (post-threat or after the stereotype threat experience) (Burnette, Pollack, & Hoyt, 2010). Moreover, research by Hoyt (2005) also assessed leadership efficacy and found that the impact of stereotypes of female leaders on women's identification as a leader was unrelated to changes in those women's leadership efficacy. Taken together, these studies show that female leaders with high self-efficacy who experience the "think leader, think male" stereotype threat will have a buffering resource which has been shown to protect self-esteem, self-efficacy, and identity as a leader (Burnette et al., 2010; Hoyt, 2005). Additionally, creating an identity-safe environment, where a woman feels her identity as a leader is safe and not in jeopardy, could actually restore leadership aspirations (Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005) which were shown to otherwise be depleted in stereotype-threatening situations.

Looking a bit deeper as to why stereotypes may impact women's career aspirations and career advancement, research investigating the underlying mechanisms of the stereotypes of female leaders explored four processes: social cognition (e.g., gender stereotypes, leader stereotypes, and social identity), justice (e.g., opinions about affirmative action or family friendly policies), threat-rigidity (perceptions of female advancement as a threat could lead to rigid responses), and utility (i.e., showing the utility or benefit of increased diversity and integration), which are thought to play crucial roles (Kottke & Agars, 2005). According to Kottke and Agars (2005), these four processes (social cognition, justice, threat-rigidity, and utility) stand as large barriers to female career advancement; this could impact any number of organizations across a myriad of industries.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Intersectionality and Stereotype Threat: Multiplying the Adverse Effects?

An area for academics, researchers, and practitioners to explore concerns intersectionality within the workplace. The concept of intersectionality has been defined within the psychological literature as an interaction of social identities such as race, religion, class, sexual orientation, and gender, such that these interactions form qualitatively different experiences for individuals (Warner, 2008). There have been calls for further research on intersectionality within the context of organizations (Sawyer, Salter, & Thoroughgood, 2013), stating that research investigating the experiences of intersectional employees will provide a more holistic understanding of workplace experiences.

Research has shown that intersectional individuals have very different experiences. In a study by Livingston, Rosette, and Washington (2012) both race and sex were assessed with various outcomes and it was found that black women and white women had different experiences. While most research will compare the experience of women to men, or of different races to each other (most commonly black individuals to white individuals), this study explored the interaction of these identities (i.e., being a woman and black compared to a woman and white, or a black man compared to a black woman). This calls attention to the importance of studying multiple identities (i.e., intersectionality) simultaneously.

Additionally, research has explored the impact of the intersectional experience of gender and ethnic identity on prevalence rates of ethnic, gender, and/or general workplace harassment and assessed competing theories as to how individuals might fare with multiple aversive experiences at work (Raver & Nishii, 2010). Further, research exploring intersectional identities of race and sex impacting leadership perceptions found that black women face "double jeopardy" as leaders who are perceived significantly more negatively during times of organizational failure as compared to black men or white women (Rosette & Livingston, 2012). The term "double jeopardy" is meant to reflect risk due to two minority identities (female and black), which has the same general meaning of intersectionality; however, "double jeopardy" only reflects two possible identities or group memberships whereas intersectionality is unlimited. It is clear that intersectional experiences vary from the experiences of an employee with a single minority identity, yet more research in the context of businesses or organizations is still needed to better understand how intersectional experiences impact the employee as well as the organizations they work for.

Indeed, even outside of academia the popular press has called attention to the same need for diversification within specific industries. A recent popular press article by Dickey (2015) at TechCrunch called attention to the lack of understanding amongst the technology industry regarding diversity in general and intersectionality more specifically.

The current literature and knowledge base on stereotype threat explores the impact of stereotypes threatening a particular group, singular. How stereotypes about multiple groups that one individual may belong to may impact one's overall level and experience of stereotype threat is unexplored as of yet. That is, stereotypes may impact intersectional employees in a different way than what we currently have seen in the psychological literature. For example, an individual who identifies as female and black may have qualitatively different experiences with stereotype threat about each group she belongs to compared to a man who is Latino and gay. These differences may impact employee health and well-being in different ways as well as work outcomes such as job satisfaction, job security, turnover intention, motivation, productivity, and leadership aspirations.

Reducing Stereotype Threats in the Workplace

Stereotypes abound within our society and we are exposed to them on a regular basis from childhood, thus keeping them out of the workplace during adulthood might seem increasingly difficult to accomplish. However, researchers are continuously looking at potential avenues for successful interventions within organizations. One way for any organization to positively impact their workplace environment would be to ensure that stereotypic messages are not being overtly or inadvertently conveyed by management or those in leadership roles. Messages that openly convey stereotypes are likely to lead to more employees engaging in stereotyping themselves and thus increase the frequency of stereotyped messages being communicated in the workplace (Duguid & Thomas-Hunt, 2015). As described by Duguid and Thomas-Hunt (2015), the well-publicized notion that simply acknowledging that stereotyping is a commonality will result in becoming more open to discussing stereotypes and actively working against the natural inclinations to stereotype is false. While this belief may be heard and discussed frequently in colloquial conversations, Duguid and Thomas-Hunt (2015) found the contrary to this notion in their research; the simple awareness approach may actually have a negative impact by expressing to others that stereotyping is a social norm that cannot be helped and thus acceptable in the workplace. Therefore, simply pointing out that stereotypes exist will not lead to the intended outcome, although the intention may be in the right place. It may potentially be more impactful for organizations' leaders to ensure stereotypic messages are not being sent to coworkers or subordinates as a primary step and include this policy and information in managerial trainings and meetings.

Another potential avenue for organizations to intervene on behalf of their employees would be through showing counter-stereotypic examples, that is, provide examples of individuals who reflect the opposite of whatever stereotypes may be present within a given organization. Dasgupta and Asgari (2004) showed that by simple exposure to counter-stereotypic individuals (e.g., female science professor, male nurse, female CEO) one could decrease their own stereotypic expectations and beliefs. Therefore, showing examples of individuals who represent the opposite of a particular stereotype that has been present within an organization may help decrease the employees' belief in said stereotype and therefore decrease the persistence of that stereotype within the workplace. Exploring this in an organizational setting could be fruitful as a potential stereotype threat intervention, although to our knowledge, it has not been studied just yet.

Further, if stereotypes abound in an organization, it may be worthwhile to orchestrate a training program that informs all employees about what stereotype threat is, how it impacts individuals, and why it is important to prevent. Research shows that by simply discussing what stereotype threat is we can reduce its impact on the individuals it may be relevant to (Johns, Schmader, & Martens, 2005). This is contrary to the aforementioned focus on stereotypes alone. Thus, simply discussing a particular stereotype was shown not to be productive or lead to the intended outcomes (Duguid & Thomas-Hunt, 2015) but discussing stereotype threats, and the negative fallout of stereotypes, was shown to be helpful for achieving the intentions of reducing the effects of stereotype threat (Johns et al., 2005).

Lastly, as mentioned in previous sections, the impact of stereotypes about women in leadership roles specifically can be buffered by self-efficacy in one's leadership ability as well as establishing an identity-safe environment for female leaders. Thus, selection could focus on self-efficacy as a quality they seek in leaders or organizations could develop training programs to promote self-efficacy among females in leadership. Additionally, development of an identity-safe environment for leaders would be an effective way of reducing a woman's risk of experiencing stereotype threat and its potent deleterious effects. As mentioned above, research exploring the underlying mechanisms (social cognition, justice, threat-rigidity, and utility) of female leader stereotypes that still stand as barriers to career advancement for women suggests that organizations which consider each of these barriers in their policies, educational/training tools and informed practices, and encourage all organizational members to embrace these changes would likely further the career aspirations and advancement of women (Kottke & Agars, 2005).

SUMMARY

Stereotype threat impacts individuals who identify with the social group for which stereotypes exist and leads individuals to attempt to counter those stereotypes, often resulting in worsened performance. The impact of stereotype threat within business and organizations remains fairly novel but is an important area for further research within organizational research disciplines. The current chapter discussed the concept and theory of stereotype threat, how leadership stereotypes impact women's aspirations as well as perceptions of female leadership skills and effectiveness, how stereotype threat impacts pregnant employees by decreasing their safety performance while at work, and ended with a call for more research on how stereotype threat may impact intersectional individuals differently rather than exploring each group individually. Further research on the various ways stereotype threat may impact the work-life of employees, and female workers in particular, is still needed and is an ongoing endeavor which we argue is a worthwhile exploration.

REFERENCES

Afolabi, O. A. (2013). Stereotypes against women: How do subordinates perceive the job performance and level of achievement of their leaders? *Gender and Behaviour*, *11*(2), 5698–5706.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Bergeron, D. M., Block, C. J., & Echtenkamp, B. A. (2006). Disabling the able: Stereotype threat and women's work performance. *Human Performance*, *19*(2), 133–158.

Bosson, J. K., Haymovitz, E. L., & Pinel, E. C. (2004). When saying and doing diverge: The effects of stereotype threat on self-reported versus non-verbal anxiety. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *40*(2), 247–255.

Bureau of Labor Statistics (2017). Labor force statistics from the Current Population Survey: Employed persons by occupation, sex, and age. Retrieved from https://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat09.htm.

Burnette, J. L., Pollack, J. M., & Hoyt, C. L. (2010). Individual differences in implicit theories of leadership ability and self-efficacy: Predicting responses to stereotype threat. *Journal of Leadership Studies*, *3*(4), 46–56.

Chemers, M. M. (1997). *An Integrative Theory of Leadership.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Clair, J. A., Beatty, J. E., & Maclean, T. L. (2005). Out of sight but not out of mind: Managing invisible social identities in the workplace. *Academy of Management Review*, *30*(1), 78–95.

Croizet, J. C., & Claire, T. (1998). Extending the concept of stereotype threat to social class: The intellectual underperformance of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *24*(6), 588–594.

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS map: Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*(4), 631–648.

Curseu, P. L., & Boros, S. (2008). Stereotypes and prejudice towards women managers: An experimental illustration using the Goldberg-paradigm in a Romanian sample. *Studia Psychologica*, *50*(3), 233–254.

Dasgupta, N., & Asgari, S. (2004). Seeing is believing: Exposure to counterstereotypic women leaders and its effect on the malleability of automatic gender stereotyping. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *40*(5), 642–658.

Davies, P. G., Spencer, S. J., & Steele, C. M. (2005). Clearing the air: Identity safety moderates the effects of stereotype threat on women's leadership aspirations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *88*(2), 276–287.

Dickey, M. R. (2015). Dear white people, you suck at diversity [Web log post]. Retrieved December 2015, from http://techcrunch.com.

Duguid, M. M., & Thomas-Hunt, M. C. (2015). Condoning stereotyping? How awareness of stereotyping prevalence impacts expression of stereotypes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *100*(2), 343–359.

Dunning, K., LeMasters, G., & Bhattacharya, A. (2010). A major public health issue: The high incidence of falls during pregnancy. *Maternal Child Health Journal*, *14*(5), 720–725.

Eagly, A. H., Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C., & van Engen, M. L. (2003). Transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership styles: A meta-analysis comparing women and men. *Psychological Bulletin*, *129*(4), 569–591.

Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, *109*(3), 573–598.

Flanagan, J. (2015). Gender and the workplace: The impact of stereotype threat on self-assessment of management skills of female business students. *Advancing Women in Leadership*, *35*, 166–171.
Hebl, M. R., King, E. B., Glick, P., Singletary, S. L., & Kazama, S. (2007). Hostile and benevolent reactions toward pregnant women: Complementary interpersonal punishments and rewards that maintain traditional roles. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(6), 1499–1511.
Hess, T. M., Auman, C., Colcombe, S. J., & Rahhal, T. A. (2003). The impact of stereotype threat on age differences in memory performance. *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, *58*(1), P3–P11.
Hoyt, C. L. (2005). The role of leadership efficacy and stereotype activation in women's identification with leadership. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, *11*(4), 2–14.
Inzlicht, M., & Kang, S. K. (2010). Stereotype threat spillover: How coping with threats to social identity affects aggression, eating, decision making, and attention. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *99*(3), 467–481.
Isgrigg, A. L. (2010). Diagnosis threat and cognitive performance during pregnancy (Doctoral dissertation, Ohio University).
Johns, M., Schmader, T., & Martens, A. (2005). Knowing is half the battle: Teaching stereotype threat as a means of improving women's math performance. *Psychological Science*, *16*(3), 175–179.
Jones, K. P., King, E. B., Gilrane, V. L., McCausland, T. C., Cortina, J. M., & Grimm, K. J. (2016). The baby bump: Managing a dynamic stigma over time. *Journal of Management*, *42*(6), 1530–1556.
June, L. (2016). Your job can now predict when you'll have a kid. *New York Magazine*.
Kalokerinos, E. K., von Hippel, C., & Zacher, H. (2014). Is stereotype threat a useful construct for organizational psychology research and practice? *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *7*(3), 381–402.
Kang, S., & Inzlicht, M. (2014). Stereotype threat spillover: Why stereotype threat is more useful for organizations than it seems. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *7*(3), 452–456.
Kottke, J. L., & Agars, M. D. (2005). Understanding the processes that facilitate and hinder efforts to advance women in organizations. *Career Development International*, *10*(3), 190–202.
Kray, L. J., & Shirako, A. (2012). Stereotype threat in organizations: An examination of its scope, triggers, and possible interventions. In M. Inzlicht & T. Schmader (Eds.), *Stereotype Threat: Theory, Process, and Application* (pp. 173–187). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Lavaysse, L. M., & Probst, T. M. (2017, June). Pregnant employees and occupational safety: The impact of stereotype threat. Poster presented at the Society for Occupational Health Psychology biannual conference for Work, Stress, and Health, Minneapolis, MN.
LeanIn.org, & McKinsey & Company (2016). Women in the workplace 2016. Retrieved from https://womenintheworkplace.com/Women_in_the_Workplace_2016.pdf.
Little, L. M., Major, V. S., Hinojosa, A. S., & Nelson, D. L. (2015). Professional image maintenance: How women navigate pregnancy in the workplace. *Academy of Management Journal*, *58*(1), 8–37.
Livingston, R. W., Rosette, A. S., & Washington, E. F. (2012). Can an agentic Black woman get ahead? The impact of race and interpersonal dominance on perceptions of female leaders. *Psychological Science*, *23*(4), 354–358.
Morgan, W. B., Walker, S. S., Hebl, M. M., & King, E. B. (2013). A field experiment: Reducing interpersonal discrimination toward pregnant job applicants. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *98*, 799–809.
Nguyen, H. H. D., & Ryan, A. M. (2008). Does stereotype threat affect test performance of minorities and women? A meta-analysis of experimental evidence. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(6), 1314–1334.
Prime, J. L., Carter, N. M., & Welbourne, T. M. (2009). Women "take care," men "take charge": Managers' stereotypic perceptions of women and men leaders. *The Psychologist-Manager Journal*, *12*(1), 25–49.
Raver, J. L., & Nishii, L. H. (2010). Once, twice, or three times as harmful? Ethnic harassment, gender harassment, and generalized workplace harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *95*(2), 236–254.

Roberson, L., & Kulik, C. T. (2007). Stereotype threat at work. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *21*(2), 24–40.
Rosette, A. S., & Livingston, R. W. (2012). Failure is not an option for Black women: Effects of organizational performance on leaders with single versus dual-subordinate identities. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *48*(5), 1162–1167.
Sawyer, K., Salter, N., & Thoroughgood, C. (2013). Studying individual identities is good, but examining intersectionality is better. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *6*(1), 80–84.
Schmader, T., Johns, M., & Forbes, C. (2008). An integrated process model of stereotype threat effects on performance. *Psychological Review*, *115*(2), 336–356.
Schwartz, F. N. (1992). Women as a business imperative. *Harvard Business Review*, *70*(2), 105–113.
Sczesny, S. (2003). A closer look beneath the surface: Various facets of the think-manager–think-male stereotype. *Sex Roles*, *49*(7–8), 353–363.
Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, *52*(6), 613–629.
Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*(5), 797–811.
Steele, C. M., Spencer, S., & Aronson, J. (2002). Contending with group image: The psychology of stereotype and social identity threat. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *34*, 379–440.
Stone, J., Lynch, C. I., Sjomeling, M., & Darley, J. M. (1999). Stereotype threat effects on Black and White athletic performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *77*(6), 1213–1227.
Streets, V. N., & Nguyen, H. H. (2014). Stereotype threat impacts on women in the workforce. In R. J. Burke & D. A. Major (Eds.), *Gender in Organizations: Are Men Allies or Adversaries to Women's Career Advancement?* (pp. 270–290). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Swarns, R. (2014). Doctor says no overtime; pregnant worker's boss says no job. *New York Times*, *164*(56660), A18.
US Census Bureau (2010). Summary File 4 (SF4) (women 15 to 44 years old who had a birth in the last 12 months and their percentage in the labor force by selected characteristics; selected years, 1990 to 2010). *2010 Census.* Washington, DC: US Dept. of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, US Census Bureau.
von Hippel, C., Issa, M., Ma, R., & Stokes, A. (2011). Stereotype threat: Antecedents and consequences for working women. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *41*(2), 151–161.
von Hippel, C., Sekaquaptewa, D., & McFarlane, M. (2015). Stereotype threat among women in finance: Negative effects on identity, workplace well-being, and recruiting. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *39*(3), 405–414.
von Hippel, C., Wiryakusuma, C., Bowden, J., & Shochet, M. (2011). Stereotype threat and female communication styles. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *37*(10), 1312–1324.
Warner, L. R. (2008). A best practices guide to intersectional approaches in psychological research. *Sex Roles*, *59*(5), 454–463.
Woodcock, A., Hernandez, P. R., Estrada, M., & Schultz, P. (2012). The consequences of chronic stereotype threat: Domain disidentification and abandonment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *103*(4), 635–646.
Yeung, N. C. J., & von Hippel, C. (2008). Stereotype threat increases the likelihood that female drivers in a simulator run over jaywalkers. *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, *40*(2), 667–674.
Zayra, V. (2016). Employers are quietly using big data to track employee pregnancies. *Time.*

22. Attitudes toward women managers and female authority: an empirical study among women managers in Greece

Nikos Drosos and Alexander-Stamatios Antoniou

INTRODUCTION

During the past decades, women's active participation in the labor market has increased tremendously at a global level. Industrialization of economies and the subsequent shift of focus from the agricultural sector to the tertiary sector, along with the growth in public and non-profit sectors has created new job opportunities for women and facilitated their entrance into the world of work (Davidson & Burke, 2011). Furthermore, the need for a second family salary due to the declining incomes of men has contributed to a change in attitudes toward working women, and many policy efforts and legal initiatives have been taken in order to promote gender equality in the labor market. In the European Union the employment rate for women reached the unprecedented high percentage of 65.5 percent in 2016, while the rate for men was 77.4 percent (Eurostat, 2017). Nevertheless, the level of gender equality is uneven across different countries and regions, including within the European Union. For example in Greece, where the current study took place, the employment rate for women was 46.8 percent, whilst for men the rate was 65.8 percent. Thus, although the EU average gender employment gap in 2016 was 11.9 percent, in Greece it was 19 percent.

Despite the growing numbers of women in the workforce, their representation in managerial and leadership positions in the corporate sector is scarce. In 2016 only 23.3 percent of board members of the largest publicly listed companies in the EU were women, while in Greece the figure was just 9.4 percent (European Commission, 2016). Catalyst (2015) reports that women represent less than 5 percent of CEO positions in high-listed companies (such as S&P 500 companies); and hold less than 25 percent of senior management roles. On average, less than one-third of managers are women across OECD countries (OECD, 2017). However, working women tend to have a higher level of education than men. According to Eurostat (2017) in 2016 38.5 percent of women in employment had tertiary level education compared to 31.2 percent of men (for Greece the percentages were 41.9 percent and 30.7 percent respectively). It is clear that the skills of highly qualified women are underutilized and in economic terms there is a lack of return on investment and a loss of economic growth potential. It is remarkable that in times when the labor market faces shortages of skilled personnel, a large percentage of human capital is wasted.

Various studies suggest that women's participation at the most senior levels has no negative effects and is often associated with better organizational and financial performance of the employing organization. In a study among 2 million companies in Europe, Christiansen and colleagues (Christiansen, Lin, Pereira, Topalova, & Turk, 2016) reported a positive correlation between financial performance and the share of women in senior positions providing evidence in support of a causal relationship with gender diversity. Studies by McKinsey & Company (2007) and Catalyst (2004, 2011, 2013) demonstrated similar results indicating that employing women in managerial positions could lead to better financial outcomes. To some extent, other authors have also corroborated a positive correlation of having a high proportion of women managers and firm performance (e.g., Dezso & Ross, 2012; Francoeur, Labelle, & Sinclair-Desgagne, 2008; Khan & Vieito, 2013; Ren & Wang, 2011). Some studies failed to report such an association, but nonetheless they showed no negative impact as a result of gender diversity (e.g., Ahern & Dittmar, 2012; Rhode & Packel, 2014).

The influential work of Ryan and Haslam (2005, 2007) further investigated the results of some studies and demonstrated a superficial poorer performance in companies who employed women on their boards compared to male-only companies. However, their work showed that these companies were already underperforming prior to the appointment of women at a managerial position. Moreover, women were much more likely to be selected for executive positions in companies who were experiencing bad performance, and were actually able to stabilize or improve the performance. Nonetheless, these studies suggested that women were not only underrepresented in executive positions, but when they did manage to climb the organizational ladder they were more likely to achieve a precarious position in companies that were in crisis (Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, & Bongiorno, 2011), a phenomenon that was labeled "glass cliff."

It is natural to question the causes for the tremendous underuse of female potential and talent. The metaphor of the "glass ceiling" has often been used to describe the difficulties that women encounter in terms of advancement to the upper echelons of the corporate ladder (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). Although higher level positions appear attainable to women given their qualifications and experience, a number of barriers prevent them from reaching such positions constituting an invisible obstacle on the road to career advancement. Relevant literature has identified many of these barriers for women. In 2013 the Bureau for Employer's Activities of the International Labour Office conducted a survey among 1300 private sector companies (ILO, 2015) and identified the following as important barriers: (a) women's family responsibilities, (b) roles assigned to each gender by society, (c) masculine corporate culture, (d) women's insufficient experience, and (e) lack of women managers who could function as role models.

Although gender stereotypes and attitudes toward women are closely linked to the first three barriers and to a lesser extent to the fifth barrier, they appear again in the ranking list: stereotypes against women (ranked as no. 8), inherent gender bias in recruitment and promotion (ranked as no. 12), management generally viewed as a man's job (ranked the same at no. 12), and insufficient anti-discrimination legislation (ranked as no. 14). Whereas some studies have focused on other barriers such as difficulties in reconciliation between work and family responsibilities (Mooney, 2009; Moore, Sikora, Grunberg, & Greenberg, 2007) or lack of access to jobs with promotion opportunities (Kanter, 1977), it seems that gender stereotypes and discrimination (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Mihail, 2006a, 2006b), biased recruitment and promotion systems (Marlowe, Schneider, & Nelson, 1996; Singh, Kumra, & Vinnicombe, 2002), and gender segregation appear constantly as core barriers to women's advancement. Therefore the study reported here focuses on these stereotypes and the attitudes toward women managers that are subsequently formed.

The role of gender stereotypes in women's careers is well established in the literature. Two studies conducted among managers by Schein (1973, 1975) found that men and women are considered to possess different characteristics, attitudes, and temperaments. "Feminine" traits are perceived as incompatible with the characteristics that successful managers possess. For example submissiveness, passiveness, along with kindness and selflessness are considered feminine traits; while leadership ability, aggressiveness, self-confidence, and desire for responsibility are viewed as masculine. Schein's initial work showed that these stereotypes existed regardless of the gender of the respondents, while studies (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, & Schein, 1989; Schein, Mueller, & Jacobson, 1989) conducted in the next decades suggested that male managers and management students still adhered to a male managerial stereotype (although this was not necessarily the case for female managers and management students).

A common categorization that is nowadays used for gender stereotypes differentiates "communal" from "agentic" traits (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Galanaki, Papalexandris, & Halikias, 2009; Ritter & Yoder, 2004). Women are associated with communal characteristics, such as affection, helpfulness, friendliness, kindness, gentleness, and interpersonal sensitiveness; while men are associated with agentic characteristics such as aggression, ambition, competitiveness, self-confidence, self-reliance, and problem-solving skills. Agentic traits are considered by most people to be related to effective leadership, placing women in an awkward position: if they exhibit communal qualities they might be perceived as lacking agentic (and therefore effective leadership) traits; and if they exhibit agentic qualities they might be criticized for lacking community (and therefore femininity) traits. That being the case, a source for potential prejudice against women obtaining executive positions is the incompatibility of the female gender role and the expectations that people have for effective leaders. This is highlighted by the commonly used phrase "Think manager – Think male" (Schein, Mueller, Lituchy, & Liu, 1996).

We should highlight that gender stereotypes are equally embraced by men and women. According to Harragan (1989) women have internalized attitudes and behaviors that are incompatible for executive positions. Eagly and her colleagues (Eagly, Wood, & Dickman, 2000) argue that an additional cause for the influence of gender roles on organizational behavior is the internalization (at least to some extent) of gender roles by most people (Wood, Christensen, Hebl, & Rothgerber, 1997). As such, women perceive women as a group as inferior to men as a group in traits associated to leadership (Weyer, 2007). Their efforts to advance in their career mean not only going against other people's stereotypes but overcoming their own stereotypes as well.

Attitudes Toward Women Managers

"Attitudes" can be defined as a favorable or unfavorable response disposition with affective, behavioral, and cognitive components toward social objects, such as persons. Managers are evaluated favorably or unfavorably based on how they fit into existing role schemas regarding the necessary requirements for a manager. The conception of which personal traits are needed for a manager and what traits society attributes to men and women is expected to heavily influence attitudes toward women managers.

Attitudes toward women managers have been widely studied at a global level. Respondents' gender has been found to be the main factor that differentiates their attitudes with women having much more positive attitudes toward women managers in a number of countries (United Arab Emirates – Alibeli, 2015; Turkey – Aycan, 2004; Aycan, Bayazit, Berkman, & Boratav, 2011; Emeksizoglu, 2016; Sakalli-Ugurlu & Beydogan, 2002; USA – Brenner & Beutell, 2001; Chile and USA – Cordano, Scherer, & Owen, 2002; Pakistan – Güney, Gohar, Akıncı, & Akıncı, 2006; China and USA – Jones & Lin, 2001; Nigeria – Mihail & Ogbogu, 2016; United Arab Emirates – Mostafa, 2005; USA and Poland: Tomkiewicz, Frankel, Adeyemi-Bello, & Sagan, 2004). Nevertheless, as expected, there are major differences between different countries due to differences in cultural and social norms. Javalgi and his colleagues (2011) found that in the USA and Chile there are more favorable attitudes than in China. This finding confirmed the results of a similar study conducted by Jones and Lin (2001) that compared managerial employees' attitudes in the USA and China.

Tomkiewicz and his colleagues (2004) also identified that people in the USA reported more favorable attitudes than in Poland. Pakistani academics had more favorable attitudes than their Turkish counterparts (Güney et al., 2006). Preko (2012) revealed that the vast majority of male employees in Ghana who work under female managers would prefer to work under a male manager, while attitudes toward women managers in the United Arab Emirates (Alibeli, 2015) were extremely unfavorable for both men and women respondents (although there were gender differences). Therefore in order to acquire a better understanding of attitudes toward women in different countries and the contributing factors further research is needed.

Some studies indicate that having experience in working with a female manager results in the development of more favorable attitudes toward them (e.g., Mihail & Ogbogu, 2016; Owen & Todor, 1993), whereas others showed that favorable attitudes depended on the quality of the previous interaction with women managers (Aycan et al., 2011; Bhatnagar & Swamy, 1995). Interestingly, education level does not appear to be consistently associated with more favorable views toward women. This might be explained if we take into account the samples of the studies: most of the samples are either business management students, or managers or employees, and therefore they do differ much in their education level and possible significant differences in the general population might be concealed. Other factors that have been found to be correlated with attitudes toward women managers include: patriarchy and sexism that are associated with more negative attitudes (e.g., Mostafa, 2005; Sakalli-Ugurlu & Beydogan, 2002), age, where younger generations have more positive attitudes (e.g., Mostafa, 2005), and birth order, where first-born males were found to have the most negative attitudes and first-born females the most positive attitudes (Brenner & Beutell, 2001).

The few studies that have been conducted in Greece have identified differences in attitudes toward women as managers and tried to correlate them with various personal and organizational characteristics of the participants. A study among 294 middle managers was conducted in 1990 (Papalexandris & Bourantas, 1991) and was replicated in 2006 with a similar sample of 229 middle managers (Galanaki et al., 2009). It is noteworthy that unfavorable attitudes toward women were not found to decrease significantly and in 2006 middle managers appeared to have only slightly more favorable attitudes in comparison to 1990. In both studies gender seemed to be the main characteristic that correlated with attitudes toward women managers, with women having more favorable attitudes than men. In the 1990 study, age and interaction with women managers were found to be significantly correlated to attitudes toward women as managers (with younger respondents having more favorable attitudes). Education and managerial experience were found to be insignificant characteristics. Nonetheless, in the 2006 study none of the aforementioned characteristics (age, interaction with female managers, education, and managerial experience) was found to be correlated with attitudes. Additionally, while the 1990 study found more unfavorable attitudes in departments and sectors, such as production departments where manual work is largely appreciated in comparison to the state sector, in the 2006 study no such factor appears to have any effect on attitudes toward women managers.

Other studies in Greece have helped us acquire a better understanding of these attitudes. In a survey among the largest firms in Greece, Petraki-Kottis (1996) found that the presence of women in high managerial positions was almost non-existent. Additionally, a large percentage of senior managers were found to have negative preconceptions about women or had strong gender stereotypes. Two studies by Mihail among 173 employees (2006a) and 323 business management students (2006b) confirmed that women have more favorable attitudes toward women managers than men, and gender is by far the most influential factor for differences in attitudes. No other personal characteristics such as age, education level, work experience, or cooperation with female supervisors was found to have any effect on attitudes. A more recent study by the same author (Mihail & Ogbogu, 2016) among business management students corroborated the significance of respondents' gender and the more favorable views that women have. Work experience had no effect on attitudes, and age was hardly a significant factor ($p<0.05$).

Nevertheless, students having worked under female supervision have much more positive attitudes compared with those who had not. Perhaps the discrepancy among this finding and results from previous studies could be explained if we take into account that these studies examined only the effect of having worked with a female manager and the duration of this interaction, and not the quality of this interaction. As mentioned previously, some studies indicate that it is the quality of the interaction that is important, and not the interaction itself (Aycan et al., 2011; Bhatnagar & Swamy, 1995). In trying to explain the lack of relationship between attitudes and age, Mihail (2006a) argues that Greek society remains patriarchal and deeply rooted gender-based stereotypes persevere.

The Present Study

The present study aimed to investigate Greek female managers' attitudes toward women managers and their correlation with various personal characteristics, such as age, family status, education level, work experience, and managerial experience. Furthermore several beliefs of female managers regarding the influence of gender on career development are examined.

Most studies regarding attitudes toward women have been conducted among business management students and employees, and rarely among managers. In such cases the focus of the majority of studies has been gender differences. In contrast to previous studies, our aim was to investigate beliefs and attitudes of women who have managed to surpass many obstacles and to acquire a managerial position. It is of interest to examine whether they recognize and report the various gender-based barriers that they have possibly faced, and to what extent they themselves have unfavorable attitudes toward female managers.

Various psychometric scales have been developed to assess attitudes toward women managers. Aycan and her colleagues (2011) argue that despite their wide use many well-established scales, such as "Women As Managers Scale – WAMS" (Peters, Terborg, & Taynor, 1974), "Attitudes Towards Women As Managers scale – ATWAM" (Yost & Herbert, 1985), and "Managerial Attitudes Towards Women Executives Scale – MATWES" (Dubno, Costas, Cannon, Wankel, & Emin, 1979), suffer from various problems that diminish their efficacy. Most notably, apart from all of them having relatively poor psychometric properties, WAMS was created to reflect society's view in past decades and does not address today's reality, ATWAM is difficult to score, and MATWES was developed to assess only males' attitudes toward women. With the problems associated with these scales in mind, Aycan and her colleagues (2011) developed a new scale, "Attitudes Towards Women Managers – ATWoM," and tested its psychometric properties with very good results. In our study, this scale is utilized.

Alternative ways of measuring attitudes toward women is via psychometric tools that assess similar constructs. An example of such a tool is "Schein's Descriptive Index – SDI" (Schein, 1973) which examines the similarity of masculine and feminine characteristics to characteristics of managers. Another example is the "Gender and Authority Measure – GAM" (Rudman & Kilianski, 2000) that assesses preferences for male versus female authorities in various areas of social life (not only in managerial positions). In our study we will also use GAM in order to gain a more elaborated insight of female managers' attitudes toward female managers and female authorities in general.

METHOD

Participants

A total of 364 female managers who are employed in Greek private companies participated in the study. The sample consisted of 98 (26.9 percent) high level managers and 266 (73.1 percent) middle level managers. The average age was 34.42 years old (S.D. = 8.04), while the average years of working experience were 12.61 with a range of 1 to over 35 years. Table 22.1 provides summarized data regarding demographic and job-specific characteristics of the sample.

Measuring Instruments

Attitudes Towards Women Managers – ATWoM

ATWoM (Aycan et al., 2011) was used to assess attitudes toward women as managers. ATWoM consists of twenty-seven statements. Each statement begins with the wording: "In general, women managers . . ." followed by descriptions of various behaviors. ATWoM provides scores for three factors: (a) "Task Role Behaviours" which comprises fourteen

Table 22.1 Demographic and job-specific characteristics of the 364 female managers according to their hierarchical level

Variables		Hierarchical level				Total	
		Middle level managers		High level managers			
		f	%	f	%	f	%
Age (M = 34.42, S.D. = 8.04)	20–25	35	13.2	4	4.2	39	10.8
	26–30	91	34.2	2	2.1	93	25.8
	31–35	67	25.2	17	17.9	84	23.3
	36–40	28	10.5	29	30.5	57	15.8
	41–45	29	10.9	25	26.3	54	15.0
	>45	16	6.0	18	19.0	34	9.4
Education Level	Technical School	55	20.7	10	10.2	65	17.9
	Tertiary Technical Education	64	24.1	8	8.1	72	19.8
	Tertiary University Education	84	31.6	46	46.9	130	35.7
	MSc/PhD	27	10.2	13	13.3	40	11.0
	Other	36	13.5	21	21.4	57	15.7
Family Status	Married	81	30.5	45	45.9	126	34.6
	Single	117	44.0	30	30.6	147	40.4
	Divorced	20	7.6	11	11.2	31	8.5
	Cohabitee	48	18.0	12	12.2	60	16.5
Total work experience (in years) (M = 12.61, S.D. = 10.00)	1–5	70	26.3	2	2.2	72	19.8
	6–10	107	40.2	12	12.2	119	32.7
	11–15	43	16.2	19	19.4	62	17.0
	16–20	20	7.5	39	39.8	59	16.2
	>20	26	9.8	26	26.5	52	14.3
Work experience in the current position (M = 5.99, S.D. = 5.09)	1–5	188	71.2	30	30.6	218	60.2
	6–10	52	19.7	42	42.9	94	26.0
	11–15	16	6.1	12	12.2	28	7.7
	>15	8	3.0	14	14.3	22	6.1
Total		266	73.1	98	26.9	364	100.0

Note: Some participants did not answer all items.

items (e.g., have trouble overcoming challenges), (b) "Relational Role Behaviours" which consists of nine items (e.g., help employees happily in the face of problems), and (c) "Work Ethic of Women Managers" which has four items (e.g., work very hard). Item no. 25 was excluded due to poor psychometric properties, and therefore in our study the third subscale had three items. Respondents are asked to evaluate the extent to which they agree to each statement using a six-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 0 (= strongly disagree) to 5 (= strongly agree). The original study by Aycan et al. (2011) used a seven-point Likert scale, but in our study we chose to use a six-point scale in order to avoid answers falling within the middle of the scale. Higher scores in ATWoM factors suggest more favorable attitudes toward women managers. In the present study internal reliability coefficients (Cronbach's) were satisfactory for all for the aforementioned factors: "Task Role Behaviours" (α = 0.85), "Relational Role Behaviours" (α = 0.85), and "Work Ethic of Women Managers" (α = 0.71).

Gender and Authority Measure – GAM

GAM (Rudman & Kilianski, 2000) assesses respondents' preference for male versus female authorities in five dimensions of social life. It consists of fifteen statements regarding preferences for either male or female gender. Examples of items for each dimension are as follows: (a) Legitimate: "If I were in serious legal trouble, I would prefer a male to a female lawyer," (b) Expert: "For most college courses, I prefer a male professor to a female professor," (c) Reward: "In general, I would rather work for a man than for a woman," (d) Coercive: "In general, I would rather take orders from a man than from a woman," and (e) Referent: "The people I look up to most are women." Participants were asked to rate the extent of agreement to each statement using a six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (= strongly disagree) to 5 (= strongly agree). The original study by Rudman & Kilianski (2000) used a five-point Likert scale, but in our study we chose to use a six-point scale in order to avoid answers falling within the middle of the scale. GAM provides one score for the whole scale. High score indicates preference for male versus female authorities. In the present sample, the GAM showed adequate internal consistency (α = 0.87).

Demographic questionnaire

A demographic questionnaire was also used to obtain information regarding participants' age, family status, exact job position, education level, work experience, and managerial experience. Furthermore several beliefs of female managers regarding the influence of gender on career development are examined. More specifically the following beliefs were examined: (a) whether women's family status affects recruitment chances, (b) whether there are discriminations against women in their company, (c) whether the company has "friendly" policies regarding promoting women in high managerial level, and (d) whether they believe that gender plays an important role in career advancement. Participants are asked to answer with a "YES" or "NO" to the aforementioned questions.

Procedure

All questionnaires were administered to female managers in their workplace during work hours. They were also given written and oral instructions describing the procedure and the aim of the study in general terms (e.g., it aims at examining work attitudes and experiences). It was clearly stated that their participation is voluntary, questionnaires are anonymous, and they were reassured that their answers would be confidential and all data would be solely used for research purposes. Furthermore they were kindly asked to answer all questions as honestly and spontaneously as possible. The average time of completion was 10–15 minutes.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics were calculated for all variables of our study. In Table 22.2 measures of central tendency and dispersion for the three subscales of ATWoM are presented for Greek female managers with respect to their hierarchical level. Scores were rather moderate and slightly positive for the first two subscales. In "Task Role Behaviours" the score was M = 3.08, S.D. = 0.83, and in "Relational Role Behaviours" the score was M = 3.63, S.D. = 0.73 with a scoring range between 0 and 5. Nevertheless, in the "Work Ethic" subscale the score was somewhat higher (M = 4.32, S.D. = 0.68) indicating positive attitudes in this aspect. T-tests with ATWoM subscales as dependent variables and female managers' hierarchical level (middle versus high level) as independent variable were performed in order to examine whether being a middle or a high level manager differentiates attitudes toward women managers. As presented in Table 22.2, hierarchical level was found to differentiate scores only in "Task Role Behaviours." High level managers had higher scores (M = 3.27, S.D. = 0.86) than their middle level counterparts (M = 3.02, S.D. = 0.82).

Table 22.2 also presents the means and standard deviations of the GAM score for female managers with respect to their hierarchical level. This score was also somewhat moderate: M = 2.44, S.D. = 0.90 with a scoring range between 0 and 5. However, one of the items of GAM directly addressed attitudes toward women managers and behavioral intention (item 6: "In general I would rather work for a man than for a woman"), and the scores for this item provide us with a different image. While the average score for this item was M = 2.71 (S.D. = 1.67), 66.3 percent of the participants reported that they agree (partly agree, agree, or strongly agree), and only 33.7 percent answered that they disagree (partly disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree). It is also noteworthy that respondents who reported agreement/strong agreement (not partial agreement) reached up to 31.1 percent. No significant difference in GAM scores as a function of hierarchical level was found.

Table 22.2 Central tendency and dispersion measures of ATWoM and GAM for the female managers as a function of hierarchical level

Variables		Total		Hierarchical level				T-test
				Middle level managers		High level managers		
		M	S.D.	M	S.D.	M	S.D.	
ATWoM	Task Role Behaviours	3.08	0.83	3.02	0.82	3.27	0.86	2.54*
	Relational Role Behaviours	3.63	0.73	3.65	0.67	3.60	0.82	−0.61
	Work Ethic	4.32	0.68	4.28	0.70	4.43	0.63	1.76
GAM		2.44	0.90	2.43	0.88	2.44	0.96	0.09

Note 1: * = p<0.05.
Note 2: Scoring range of all scales: 0–5.
Note 3: Higher scores in ATWoM indicate more favorable attitudes toward women managers, while higher scores in GAM indicate preference for male over female authority.

Table 22.3 Correlation coefficients (Pearson r) between ATWoM subscales, GAM, age and working experience

Variables		ATWoM			GAM
		1	2	3	4
ATWoM	1. Task Role Behaviours	1			
	2. Relational Role Behaviours	0.22**	1		
	3. Work Ethic	0.26**	0.40**	1	
	4. GAM	−0.39**	−0.18**	−0.10	1
Age		0.24**	0.15**	0.14**	0.01
Years of total work experience		0.21**	0.12*	0.21**	−0.04
Years of work experience in the current position		0.14*	0.11*	0.11*	−0.07

Note: * = p<0.05; ** = p<0.01.

One-way analyses of variance were conducted to examine the effect of family status and the level of education on both ATWoM subscales and GAM. No statistically significant differences were identified as a function of the level of education. Family status, however, differentiated the scores in "Task Role Behaviours" [$F(3,350) = 5.86$, $p<0.001$], "Work Ethic" [$F(3,359) = 4.87$, $p<0.001$], and GAM [$F(3,359) = 2.15$, $p<0.05$]. Cohabitees had significantly lower scores (M = 2.69, S.D. = 0.53) than divorced (M = 3.09, S.D. = 0.99), single (M = 3.13, S.D. = 0.78), and married women (M = 3.21, S.D. = 0.91) for "Task Role Behaviours." Married women had higher scores (M = 4.53, S.D. = 0.55) than divorced (M = 4.13, S.D. = 0.65), single (M = 4.23, S.D. = 0.81), and cohabitee women (M = 4.22, S.D. = 0.48) for "Work Ethic." Finally, for GAM, multiple comparisons with Scheffé criterion failed to locate the difference between specific groups. Nevertheless, we should note that divorced women achieved the highest score (M = 2.75, S.D. = 1.04), whilst single women achieved the lowest score (M = 2.35, S.D. = 0.77).

To examine the relationship between ATWoM subscales, GAM, age, and working experience, correlation coefficients were calculated. All results are presented in Table 22.3. The following findings are highlighted:

- GAM scores have a weak negative correlation with "Relational Role Behaviours" ($r = -0.18$) and a moderate negative correlation with "Task Role Behaviours" ($r = -0.39$).
- Scores for the "Task Roles Behaviours" subscale have low positive correlations with the other two ATWoM subscales: "Relational Role Behaviours" ($r = 0.22$), and "Work Ethic" ($r = 0.26$). On the other hand, "Work Ethic" has a moderate positive correlation with "Relational Role Behaviours" ($r = 0.40$).
- Age has low positive correlations with all ATWoM subscales ranging from $r = 0.14$ ("Work Ethic" subscale) to $r = 0.24$ ("Task Role Behaviours" subscale) indicating that older participants have more favorable attitudes. No significant age-GAM scores correlation was found.
- Years of total work experience and years of work experience in the current job position were also found to have low positive correlations with all ATWoM subscales and no correlation to GAM.

Table 22.4 Beliefs of female managers regarding the role of gender in women's career advancement

Questions	Yes		No	
	f	%	f	%
• Do you believe that nowadays during recruitment processes women's family status is taken into account?	344	92.0	30	8.0
• Do you believe that gender has an important role in one's career advancement?	236	63.1	138	36.9
• Do you believe that in your company there is discrimination against women?	105	28.1	269	71.9
• Do you believe that your company has a women-friendly policy regarding promotions in managerial positions?	258	70.3	109	29.7

In our study, we also examined female managers' beliefs regarding the role of gender in women's career advancement. Table 22.4 presents the frequencies and percentages of their answers. The majority of the participants (63.1 percent) recognized the important role that gender has for career advancement. Moreover almost all of the participants (92.0 percent) believe that women's family status is taken into consideration in recruitment processes. Finally almost one-third of women managers reported that in their company there is discrimination against women, and there is no women-friendly policy regarding promotions.

In order to examine the relationship between these beliefs and attitudes toward women managers we performed one-way ANOVAs with ATWoM subscales and GAM as dependent variables and beliefs as independent variables. The following relationships were revealed:

- Participants who believe that women's family status is taken into account in recruitment processes have higher scores than participants who do not hold such beliefs for "Relational Role Behaviors" [$F(1,361) = 6.74$, $p<0.01$, $M(yes) = 3.66$ and $M(no) = 3.30$ respectively], and for "Work Ethic" [$F(1,370) = 4.89$, $p<0.05$, $M(yes) = 4.35$ and $M(no) = 4.06$ respectively]. Furthermore women holding this belief have lower scores for GAM than those who do not [$F(1,355) = 5.21$, $p<0.05$, $M(yes) = 2.41$ and $M(no) = 2.81$ respectively].
- Participants who believe that gender plays an important role in one's career advancement have lower scores than participants who do not hold such beliefs for "Task Role Behaviors" [$F(1,361) = 6.73$, $p<0.01$, $M(yes) = 2.99$ and $M(no) = 3.322$ correspondingly], and for "Role Task Behaviours" [$F(1,359) = 4.51$, $p<0.05$, $M(yes) = 3.56$ and $M(no) = 3.73$ respectively]. Furthermore these women have higher scores for GAM than women who do not hold such beliefs [$F(1,355) = 20.04$, $p<0.001$, $M(yes) = 2.60$ and $M(no) = 2.17$ respectively].
- Participants who believe that their company has a women-friendly policy in promotions for managerial positions have higher scores ($M = 3.12$) than participants who do not hold this belief ($M = 2.94$) for "Task Role Behaviors" [$F(1,354) = 3.93$, $p<0.05$].
- Belief that there is discrimination in the company does not affect ATWoM or GAM scores.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the current study was to investigate attitudes of women who have surpassed the various difficulties and have acquired a managerial position in Greek private companies toward women managers. These attitudes were assessed by two instruments: (a) "Attitudes Towards Women Managers" scale (ATWoM; Aycan et al., 2011) that directly measures attitudes, and (b) "Gender and Authority Measure" (GAM; Rudman & Kilianski, 2000) that examines preferences toward male or female authorities. It was assumed that preference of male authority figures would be a strong indication of unfavorable attitudes toward women managers. Moreover beliefs regarding the role of gender in career advancement were explored. Possible correlations between attitudes and various personal characteristics, such as age, family status, education level, hierarchical level, work experience, and managerial experience were also investigated in order to gain a better understanding of the main sources of influence on gender-based attitudes in corporate Greece.

Attitudes toward women managers as assessed by ATWoM were moderate to slightly positive in the first two subscales. Women achieved the lowest score for the "Task Role Behaviours" subscale that refers to having decision making skills, not getting distracted by non-work responsibilities, being active and not passive, and exhibiting professional behavior in general (M = 3.08 in a scale ranging from 0 to 5). For the "Relational Role Behaviours" subscale that refers to understanding, and helping subordinates, building relationships and influencing others, female managers achieved a somewhat higher score (M = 3.63). The higher score for the second subscale is not surprising. The first subscale examines behaviors that are usually considered more masculine (e.g., Schein, 1973), while the second examines behaviors that are usually considered more feminine. The moderate to slightly positive attitudes for both subscales are in accordance with previous studies (Galanaki et al., 2009; Mihail, 2006a, 2006b; Mihail & Ogbogu, 2016). These studies used another instrument to assess attitudes (WAMS; Peters et al., 1974), and all had an average score of above 5 on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 to 7. Nevertheless, previous studies used samples from employees and management students (with the exception of the study by Galanaki and her colleagues who used middle level managers as sample); and therefore we would expect higher scores in the present study which examined attitudes toward female managers among female managers.

A different image with regard to these attitudes is provided by another finding of our study. Item 6 of the "GAM" scale assessed whether participants would prefer to work under male supervision rather than female. More than 65 percent of female managers reported that they would rather have a male supervisor. It should be noted that this item does not measure attitudes exactly, but rather it is a measure of behavioral intention. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that although there are moderately positive attitudes toward women managers as assessed by the most widely used or most modern and sound scales such as WAMS and ATWoM, people generally tend to prefer working under male supervision. This finding is in accordance to similar results identified in Turkey (Prometheus, 2005) and highlights the necessity to further investigate the relationship between attitudes as assessed by attitudes questionnaires and real behavior. This might also help to explain the extent of the discrepancy between having rather moderate to positive attitudes toward women managers, and having such a small percentage of women in high level positions in private companies.

The third subscale of ATWoM "Work Ethic" elicited quite high scores. This indicates that female managers believe that women tend to work very hard, are well-organized, and ensure that everything runs smoothly. Although this is a positive finding, it is also alarming. Despite the fact that participants believe that women in general go to great efforts to be efficient in their job, they do not feel, to the same extent, that they exhibit the necessary behaviors to advance in their career. Moreover as argued in the next paragraph, female managers believe that women face many other obstacles and gender-based discrimination that prevent them from advancing.

Female managers reported having several disturbing beliefs regarding the role of gender in career advancement. The vast majority (63.1 percent) stated that gender plays a very important role in career advancement, while 92 percent (!!!) felt that in recruitment and hiring procedures women's family status is taken into account. Moreover almost one-third of the participants responded with the view that discrimination against women exists within their company and there are no women-friendly policies regarding promotion. However, as the women participating in our study had managed to advance, we cannot be certain whether these beliefs have resulted from their own experience and reflect their own reality, or whether these are subjective views developed without personal experience.

The results of our study suggest that in general female managers do not have a specific preference in terms of gender with respect to authority figures. The average score for GAM was M = 2.44 with a score range between 0 and 5. We should highlight once more the paradoxical finding of neutral preference in respect of gender, and of underrepresentation of women in the upper echelons of private companies. GAM was very weakly correlated with "Relational Task Behaviours" and especially with "Work Ethic," which suggests that preference for one gender over the other in various authority roles (judge, police officer, doctor, etc.) does not necessarily reflect more positive attitudes toward women managers. GAM had a moderate correlation only with "Task Role Behaviours," which refers to behaviors that are often labeled as more masculine.

We also examined whether various personal characteristics, such as age, family status, level of education, hierarchical level at work, work experience, and managerial experience are associated with attitudes toward women managers. Education was not found to have any effect (possibly because all participants had reached a somewhat high level of education). Age was found to be positively correlated to attitudes, with older participants holding more favorable attitudes than younger participants. This finding superficially contradicts results from various studies that have found the exact opposite relationship (e.g., Mostafa, 2005) or no significant correlation (Galanaki et al., 2009; Mihail, 2006a, 2006b). Nonetheless, this finding can be easily explained if we take into account our sample's synthesis. Female managers participating in our study had successfully surpassed the gender-related obstacles and advanced in their career. Older women had advanced more than their younger counterparts and had developed more favorable attitudes toward women. Positive correlations of attitudes with work experience also contribute to the acceptance of this explanation. Additionally, hierarchical level in the company was found to differentiate the score for "Task Role Behaviours" only. Female high level managers had more favorable attitudes than middle level managers, which can also be attributed to their personal experiences while advancing in their careers.

Family status was also found to have an effect on some of the attitudes' subscales.

Married women had higher scores for "Work Ethic" than single, divorced, and cohabitee women. Married women who have assumed multiple roles (Betz, 2008) seem to have a stronger belief that women in general are able to work hard, and be well organized and efficient in everything they undertake. An interesting finding was that cohabitees had lower scores for "Task Role Behaviors" than divorced, single, and married women. Studies rarely use cohabitees as an independent group and usually ask participants to categorize themselves as married or single. Further studies would be necessary to explain this finding and examine whether it is constant.

Limitations and Future Studies

All data for our study were collected via self-reported measures. Furthermore the findings of our study might not apply to samples other than women managers or to other countries with different characteristics. Future studies should include a wider range of employees and managers; and should focus not only on attitudes toward women managers but on the relationship between attitudes and real behavior toward women as well. Nevertheless, our findings contribute to existing knowledge by providing empirical data regarding attitudes of women managers toward women managers and their beliefs regarding the role of gender in career advancement.

REFERENCES

Ahern, K. R., & Dittmar, A. K. (2012). The changing of the boards: The impact on firm valuation of mandated female board representation. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *127*(1), 137–197.
Alibeli, M. A. (2015). Gender and attitudes toward women in the United Arab Emirates. *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, *14*, 109–125.
Aycan, Z. (2004). Key success factors for women in management in Turkey. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *53*(3), 453–477.
Aycan, Z., Bayazit, M., Berkman, Y., & Boratav, H. B. (2011). Attitudes towards women managers: Development and validation of a new measure with Turkish samples. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *21*(3), 425–455.
Betz, N. E. (2008). Women's career development. In F. L. Denmark & M. A. Paludi (Eds.), *Psychology of Women: A Handbook of Issues and Theories* (2nd ed., pp. 717–752). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
Bhatnagar, D., & Swamy, R. (1995). Attitudes toward women as managers: Does interaction make a difference? *Human Relations*, *48*(11), 1285–1307.
Brenner, O. C., & Beutell, N. J. (2001). The effect of birth order and gender on American managers' attitudes toward female managers. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *129*(1), 57–64.
Brenner, O. C., Tomkiewicz, J., & Schein, V. E. (1989). The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics revisited. *Academy of Management Journal*, *32*(3), 662–669.
Catalyst (2004). *The Bottom Line: Connecting Corporate Performance and Gender Diversity*. Retrieved from http://www.catalyst.org/system/files/The_Bottom_Line_Connecting_Corporate_Performance_and_Gender_Diversity.pdf.
Catalyst (2011). *The Bottom Line: Corporate Performance and Women's Representation on Boards (2004–2008)*. Retrieved from http://www.catalyst.org/system/files/the_bottom_line_corporate_performance_and_women%27s_representation_on_boards_%282004-2008%29.pdf.
Catalyst (2013). *Why Diversity Matters.* Retrieved from http://www.catalyst.org/system/files/why_diversity_matters_catalyst_0.pdf.

Catalyst (2015). *New Global 2014 Catalyst Census: Women Board Directors*. Retrieved from http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/2014-catalyst-census-women-board-directors.
Christiansen, L., Lin, H., Pereira, J., Topalova, P., & Turk, R. (2016). *Gender Diversity in Senior Positions and Firm Performance: Evidence from Europe*. IMF Working Paper 16/50. International Monetary Fund. Retrieved from https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2016/wp1650.pdf.
Cordano, M., Scherer, R. F., & Owen, C. L. (2002). Attitudes toward women as managers: Sex versus culture. *Women in Management Review*, *17*(2), 51–60.
Davidson, M. J., & Burke, R. J. (2011). Women in management worldwide: Progress and prospects – an overview. In M. J. Davidson & R. J. Burke (Eds.), *Women in Management Worldwide: Progress and Prospects* (2nd ed., pp. 1–18). Aldershot: Gower Publishing.
Davidson, M. J., & Cooper, C. L. (1992). *Shattering the Glass Ceiling: The Woman Manager.* London: Paul Chapman Publishing.
Dezso, C. L., & Ross, D. G. (2012). Does female representation in top management improve firm performance? A panel data investigation. *Strategic Management Journal*, *33*(9), 1072–1089.
Dubno, P., Costas, J., Cannon, H., Wankel, C., & Emin, H. (1979). An empirically keyed scale for measuring managerial attitudes toward women executives. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *3*(4), 357–364.
Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2007). *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth about How Women Become Leaders*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
Eagly, A. H., & Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C. (2001). The leadership styles of women and men. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 781–797.
Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, *109*(3), 573–598.
Eagly, A. H., Wood, W., & Dickman, A. B. (2000). Social role theory of sex differences and similarities: A current appraisal. In T. Eckes & H. M. Trautner (Eds.), *The Developmental Social Psychology of Gender* (pp. 123–174). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Emeksizoglu, N. G. (2016). Attitudes toward managers in Turkey: The effects of gender of employees, gender of managers and social dominance orientation (Master's thesis, Department of Psychology – Middle East Technical University, Ankara). Retrieved from http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12620086/index.pdf.
European Commission (2016). *Gender Balance on Corporate Boards: Europe is Cracking the Glass Ceiling, Fact Sheet July 2016*. Brussels: OIB. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/gender_balance_decision_making/1607_factsheet_final_wob_data_en.pdf.
Eurostat (2017). Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-datasets/-/tesem010.
Francoeur, C., Labelle, R., & Sinclair-Desgagne, B. (2008). Gender diversity in corporate governance and top management. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *81*, 83–95.
Galanaki, E., Papalexandris, N., & Halikias, J. (2009). Revisiting leadership styles and attitudes towards women as managers in Greece: 15 years later. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *24*(7), 484–504.
Güney, S., Gohar, R., Akıncı, S. K., & Akıncı, M. M. (2006). Attitudes toward women managers in Turkey and Pakistan. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *8*(1), 194–211.
Harragan, B. L. (1989). *Games Mother Never Taught You: Corporate Gamesmanship for Women.* New York: Warner Books.
ILO (International Labour Organization) (2015). *Women in Business and Management: Gaining Momentum*. Geneva: ILO. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_334882.pdf.
Javalgi, R. G., Scherer, R., Sanchez, C., Pradenas Rojas, L., Parada Daza, V., Hwang, C., & Yan, W. (2011). A comparative analysis of the attitudes toward women managers in China, Chile and the USA. *International Journal of Emerging Markets*, *9*(3), 233–253.
Jones, C. L., & Lin, L. (2001). A comparison of attitudes toward women as managers in China and in the U.S. (Electronic version). *Cal Poly Pomona Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, *4*, 75–82.
Kanter, R. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
Khan, W. A., & Vieito, J. P. (2013). CEO gender and firm performance. *Journal of Economics and Business*, *67*, 55–66.
Marlowe, C. M., Schneider, S. L., & Nelson, C. E. (1996). Gender and attractiveness biases in

hiring decisions: Are more experienced managers less biased? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *81*(1), 11–21.

McKinsey & Company (2007). *Women Matter: Gender Diversity: A Corporate Performance Driver.* New York: McKinsey & Company.

Mihail, D. (2006a). Gender-based stereotypes in the workplace: The case of Greece. *Equal Opportunities International*, *25*(5), 373–388.

Mihail, D. (2006b). Women in management: Gender stereotypes and students' attitudes in Greece. *Women in Management Review*, *21*(8), 681–689.

Mihail, D. M., & Ogbogu, C. O. (2016). Gender-based stereotypes and managerial careers in diverse socio-economic environments: The cases of Greece and Nigeria. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, *7*(2), 39–51.

Mooney, S. (2009). Children and a career: Yeah right! Barriers to women managers' career progression in hotels. *New Zealand Journal of Human Resources Management*, *9*(3), 151–161.

Moore, S., Sikora, P., Grunberg, L., & Greenberg, E. (2007). Managerial women and the work–home interface: Does age of child matter? *Women in Management Review*, *22*(7), 568–587.

Mostafa, M. M. (2005). Attitudes towards women managers in the United Arab Emirates: The effects of patriarchy, age, and sex differences. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *20*(6), 522–540.

OECD (2017). *The Pursuit of Gender Equality: An Uphill Battle*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Owen, C. L., & Todor, W. D. (1993). Attitudes toward women as managers: Still the same. *Business Horizons*, *36*(2), 12–16.

Papalexandris, N., & Bourantas, D. (1991). Attitudes towards women as managers: The case of Greece. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *2*(2), 133–148.

Peters, L. H., Terborg, J. R., & Taynor, J. (1974). Women as Managers Scale (WAMS): A measure of attitudes toward women in management positions. *Journal Supplement Abstract Service Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology*, *4*, 27 (Ms. No. 585).

Petraki-Kottis, A. (1996). Women in management and the glass ceiling in Greece: An empirical investigation. *Women in Management Review*, *11*(2), 30–38.

Preko, A. (2012). Attitude of male employees toward female managers in selected organizations in Ghana. *Researchers World – Journal of Arts, Science & Commerce*, *3*(3), 86–93.

Prometheus (2005). *Kadınların kadınlarla çalışması neden zor?* [*Why Women Have Difficulty in Working with Women?*] Turkey: Prometheus Ltd. Retrieved from http://www.prometheus.com.tr/biz.asp.

Ren, T., & Wang, Z. (2011). Female participation in TMT and firm performance: Evidence from Chinese private enterprises. *Nankai Business Review International*, *2*(2), 140–157.

Rhode, D., & Packel, A. K. (2014). Diversity on corporate boards: How much difference does difference make? *Delaware Journal of Corporate Law (DJCL)*, *39*(2), 377–426.

Ritter, B. A., & Yoder, J. D. (2004). Gender differences in leader emergence persist even for dominant women: An updated confirmation of role congruity theory. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *28*, 187–193.

Rudman, L. A., & Kilianski, S. E. (2000). Implicit and explicit attitudes toward female authority. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *26*(11), 1315–1328.

Ryan, M. K., & Haslam, S. A. (2005). The glass cliff: Evidence that women are over-represented in precarious leadership positions. *British Journal of Management*, *16*(2), 81–90.

Ryan, M. K., & Haslam, S. A. (2007). The glass cliff: Exploring the dynamics surrounding the appointment of women to precarious leadership positions. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(2), 549–572.

Ryan, M. K., Haslam, S. A., Hersby, M. D., & Bongiorno, R. (2011). Think crisis–think female: The glass cliff and contextual variation in the think manager–think male stereotype. *British Journal of Applied Psychology*, *96*(3), 470–484.

Sakalli-Ugurlu, N., & Beydogan, B. (2002). Turkish college students' attitudes toward women managers: The effects of patriarchy, sexism, and gender differences. *Journal of Psychology*, *136*(6), 647–656.

Schein, V. E. (1973). The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *57*, 95–100.

Schein, V. E. (1975). The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite characteristics among female managers. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *60*, 340–344.

Schein, V. E., Mueller, R., & Jacobson, C. (1989). The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics among college students. *Sex Roles*, *20*(1–2), 103–110.

Schein, V. E., Mueller, R., Lituchy, T., & Liu, J. (1996). Think manager – think male: A global phenomenon? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *17*(1), 33–41.

Singh, V., Kumra, S., & Vinnicombe, S. (2002). Gender and impression management: Playing the promotion game. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *37*, 77–89.

Tomkiewicz, J., Frankel, R., Adeyemi-Bello, T., & Sagan, M. (2004). A comparative analysis of the attitudes toward women managers in the US and Poland. *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal*, *11*(2), 58–70.

Weyer, B. (2007). Twenty years later: Explaining the persistence of the glass ceiling for women leaders. *Women in Management Review*, *22*(6), 482–496.

Wood, W., Christensen, P. N., Hebl, M. R., & Rothgerber, H. (1997). Conformity to sex-typed norms, affect, and the self-concept. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *73*, 523–535.

Yost, E. B., & Herbert, T. T. (1985). Attitudes Toward Women as Managers (ATWAM). In L. Goodstein & J. W. Pfeiffer (Eds.), *The 1985 Annual: Developing Human Resources* (pp. 87–108). San Diego, CA: Pfeiffer & Company.

23. Another financial crisis? The underrepresentation of women in UK financial services

Elaine Dunn

INTRODUCTION

In 2017 we witnessed some pleasing progress towards gender equality within the UK. Major television channels broadcast matches played by the England women's rugby, cricket and football teams, challenging long-standing perceptions of these sports as male domains. The Royal Air Force (RAF) became the first military service to open all roles to men and women, bringing forward changes originally planned for 2018 (*The Telegraph*, 2017), a development described by the Defence Secretary as a 'defining moment' (*The Independent*, 2017). These events illustrated society's growing acceptance of the varied roles fulfilled by women and reminded us that women can be strong, competitive, assertive, decisive and physically powerful.

In sharp contrast, the UK financial services (FS) sector remains stuck in the past in terms of gender equality. Recent research reveals a plethora of persistent issues including sexually discriminatory cultures, gender biased promotion, poor support for parent employees, and a gender pay gap for full-time employees twice the average in the overall economy (EHRC, 2009, 2011). The sector is important, employing approximately 1.1 million people (Tyler, 2015) and contributing £124.2 billion in gross value added (GVA) to the UK economy in 2016, 7.2 per cent of the UK's total GVA (House of Commons, 2017). Following the Lehman Brothers' collapse in 2008 and the ensuing financial crisis, analysis of managerial behaviours within the sector highlighted the need for significant cultural changes in order to reduce risk taking, reform short-sighted appraisal processes and tackle opaque systems of excessive privilege and reward (EHRC, 2009, 2011; Fraser, 2014; Martin, 2013). Most importantly, UK government ministers, EU commissioners and the IMF director regard women as part of the solution (van Staveren, 2014).

To address this issue, the UK government launched the 'Women in Finance Charter' in March 2016 reflecting 'the government's aspiration to see gender balance at all levels across Financial services firms' and committing 'firms to supporting the progression of women into senior roles in the FS sector by focusing on the executive pipeline and the mid-tier level' (UK Government, 2016, p. 1). To date, 141 organizations have signed the Charter including all the major high street banks (i.e., Barclays, Co-operative, HSBC, Lloyds, Royal Bank of Scotland, Santander and TSB) (UK Government, 2016, p. 1). The Charter forms part of a larger body of government policies and legislation on gender equality which inform employers' policies and practices. However, despite the enthusiasm of Charter signatories, its primary objective (*gender balance at all levels including the progression of women into senior roles*) raises vital questions:

- Is this objective desirable for FS organizations?
- Is this objective aligned with women's interests, skills and ambitions?
- Is this objective achievable?

Aims and Audience

This chapter investigates these questions by reviewing research into gender inequality as measured by the relative proportions of men and women progressing from graduate intake into senior management and executive roles either in the FS sector or in similar work environments (i.e., office based knowledge workers). Since Schein's (1973, 1975) ground-breaking research and Kanter's (1977) seminal text forty years ago, scholars working within different disciplines (e.g., management and organization studies, psychology, sociology) have undertaken extensive research into this issue from many perspectives. For brevity, this chapter builds on authoritative reviews of the gender in management field since the financial crash in 2008, namely Powell (2012) and Kossek and colleagues (Kossek, Su, & Wu, 2017), to outline key theories explaining the underrepresentation of women as leaders within work organizations. These are then discussed specifically in relation to financial services via empirical research within the sector since 2008, both in the UK (e.g., Broadbridge and Hynd, 2017) and in other developed economies (e.g., Neck, 2015a, 2015b; van Staveren, 2014; von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & McFarlane, 2015). Throughout this chapter, the terms *manager* and *leader* are used interchangeably, meaning a person appointed to a role with responsibility for mobilizing employees to achieve collective outcomes. The intended audience is someone with a working knowledge of management, perhaps through personal experience (e.g., HR manager) or higher education (e.g., MBA student), who seeks a deeper understanding of the key academic debates around gender inequality in management.

FINANCIAL SERVICES: THE CASE FOR MORE WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT

The FS sector involves a wide range of activities including retail banks, building societies, investment banks, accounting firms, and allied professional services hence its occupational groups are diverse ranging from investment analysts, management consultants, actuaries and financial advisers to accounts clerks, marketing and sales, software professionals and secretaries (UKCES, 2012). Rigorous research by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC, 2009, 2011) has evidenced sex discrimination permeating the sector and appearing in many forms including pay inequality, opaque reward systems, poor support for parent employees, negative attitudes towards women, ineffective management of gender inequalities and few women in senior roles, especially on executive committees and in the boardroom.

Much attention has been given to women's representation on boards through initiatives involving either voluntary self-regulation (Machold, Huse, Hansen, & Brogi, 2013) or government targets (Davies, 2015) and claims have been made regarding progress (Davies, 2015). Female board representation in FTSE 100 companies (including several FS firms) appears to have increased from 12.5 per cent in 2011 to 26 per cent in 2016 but if non-executive roles are excluded the 2016 figure reduces to 9 per cent (Gadhia, 2016). Similarly in the USA, progress towards boardroom gender targets has been dubbed 'a delusion' (Carter & Silva, 2010) and recent figures suggest women are leaving Wall Street (Gilbert, 2013).

Female board representation makes the headlines, but research undertaken by both practitioners (e.g., McKinsey, 2012) and academics (e.g., Klettner, Clarke, & Boersma, 2014) concluded the key issue resides in managerial pipelines feeding into top jobs. The business community in the UK has at last recognized this issue and appears keen to address it (CBI News, 2016; CMI, 2016). Gender equality within managerial pipelines is a concern within many sectors, but particularly in FS. For example, McKinsey's (2012) research across Europe showed a sharp tapering in the managerial pipeline in large FS organizations[1] with females comprising 49 per cent of the workforce, 22 per cent of middle managers, 13 per cent of senior managers but only 9 per cent of executives. In the UK, women comprise 48 per cent of the FS workforce, but hold only 36 per cent of managerial positions (mostly middle) and 14 per cent of executive roles (Gadhia, 2016; UKCES, 2012).

Women's underrepresentation in senior roles is a problem not only socially but also economically. The social arguments for more women in management include equity (unacceptable to exclude people from leadership on basis of gender) and efficiency (more balanced representation means better use of available talent). Economically, research consistently shows companies perform better financially with women on the board (Credit Suisse, 2012; McKinsey, 2009, 2012; Pirtea, Nicolescu, Botoc, & Lobont, 2015) and even more so where women are in leadership roles at all levels (Klettner et al., 2014; PwC, 2015). For FS firms this economic argument is especially important. Analysis of managerial behaviours within the sector following the financial crash in 2008 highlighted the need to reduce risk taking, address short-sighted appraisal processes and tackle systems of excessive privilege and reward (Fraser, 2014; Martin, 2013) and women are regarded as part of the solution to this. Their presence in boardrooms generates behavioural improvements by reducing conflict (Nielsen & Huse, 2010), mitigating group-think (Adams & Funk, 2012; Rost & Osterloh, 2010), asking challenging questions (Huse & Solberg, 2006), improving succession planning and improving the evaluation of board performance (Sealy & Vinnicombe, 2012; Thorburn, 2013). Beyond the boardroom, van Staveren's (2014) detailed analysis resulted in clear support for the so-called Lehman Sisters Hypothesis (i.e., more women at the top in banking would have prevented the financial crisis):

> My analysis of the empirical literature on gender differences in risk attitudes and response to uncertainty, in ethics and moral behaviour, and in leadership, finds preliminary but clear empirical support for the hypothesis. (van Staveren, 2014, p, 1010)

If there is a compelling business case for more women leaders in FS, why is it so difficult to achieve?

CHOICES AND CONSTRAINTS

The *career preference perspective* (Kossek et al., 2017) investigates these issues by focusing on women's interests, values and preferences as labour market participants. Historically within industrial economies, women's career interests and goals have differed from men's (Kossek et al., 2017) with research into the *horizontal representation* of women across sectors showing clear gender differences in occupational choices, for example more women choosing nursing and teaching as opposed to working in FS (Su, Rounds, & Armstrong, 2009). Such *labour market segmentation theory* is beyond this chapter's scope because our focus is on women choosing to work for FS firms and facing barriers to advancement. Of greater relevance for these women is their *horizontal representation* across functional areas (e.g., human resources, sales, marketing and finance) since these preferences potentially influence their progression into senior roles. We know women are more likely to apply for roles in general management as opposed to finance, yet experience of the latter is often a prerequisite for senior management roles within FS (Barbulescu & Bidwell, 2013). Many women choose to work in the human resources (HR) function, and numerous FS firms have a female head of HR, yet they are often excluded from the Executive Committee (Gadhia, 2016). Women have also differed from men in terms of the type of organizational environment they regard as congruent with their values and needs with many preferring supportive, humane, communal, and relationship oriented organizations (Kossek et al., 2017). However, despite these various differences in career preferences, research shows that 'women aspire to leadership roles as much as men do' (Kossek et al., 2017, p. 232).

During the last fifty years, women have been more diverse than men in their *work-lifestyle preferences* and this has impacted women's earnings and representation in 'prestigious time-intensive careers' (Kossek et al., 2017, p. 232). British sociologist Catherine Hakim led the way in researching this phenomenon, introducing *preference theory* to explain and predict the choices women make regarding their involvement in the labour market and family life (Hakim, 2000). The theory has since been subjected to empirical testing (Broadbridge, 2010; Campillo & Armijo, 2017; Doorewaard, Hendrickx, & Verschuren, 2004; Johnstone & Lee, 2009; Kangas & Rostgaard, 2007; Kumra, 2010; Nolan, 2009; Weidnerová & Mateju, 2015) and criticism (Broadbridge, 2010; Crompton & Lyonette, 2005; McRae, 2003a, 2003b), yet despite being regarded as both controversial and influential, it has received surprisingly little attention within the academy.[2] However, eminent 'gender in management' scholars have recently revisited Hakim's theory, noting its contribution to the creation of the current post-feminist gender regime where young women see themselves as 'a new choosing agentic feminine subject' (Lewis & Simpson, 2017, p. 129) and arguing for its alignment with many aspects of post-feminism including 'retreat to the home as choice not obligation' (Lewis & Simpson, 2017, p. 121). Inspired by these influential academics, let's explore preference theory in more detail.

Hakim (2000) claimed a *new scenario* emerged in affluent modern societies in the late twentieth century, giving women unprecedented choice and control in relation to employment and childbearing. This *new scenario* was the outcome of two major revolutions, namely contraception and equal opportunities, plus three other socio-economic changes – the expansion of white-collar work (male physical strength no longer privileged), the creation of jobs for secondary earners (flexible, part-time) and the emphasis on lifestyle choices (economy built on wants and aspirations rather than needs). In the UK, contraception became widely available in the mid-1960s, the Equal Pay and the Sex Discrimination Acts were implemented in the 1970s, followed by the three other changes outlined above, in the 1980s and 1990s. In this new scenario, Hakim noted that women as a group display a wide variation in how much time and attention they want to allocate to family life and to paid work, i.e., 'women are heterogeneous in their preferences and priorities on the conflict between family and employment' (Hakim, 2000, p. 7). Using empirical data Hakim (2000, 2006) classified women and men into three work-lifestyle preference groups, estimating the proportion of the population within each group (see Table 23.1 and Table 23.2 respectively). Hakim claimed these work-lifestyle preferences are not determined by social class or education, and are the principal but not the only determinant of people's choices. Hakim (2000) defined the categories of home-centred, adaptive and work-centred as *sociological ideal types* meaning they might help us to understand the social world without fully describing the characteristics of any particular individual.

Table 23.1 Classification of women's work-lifestyle preferences in the 21st century

Home-centred 20% of women Varies 10–30%	Adaptive 60% of women Varies 40–80%	Work-centred 20% of women Varies 10–30%
Family life and children are the main priorities throughout life.	This group is the most diverse and includes women who want to combine work and family, plus drifters and unplanned careers.	Childless women are concentrated here. Main priority in life is employment or equivalent activities in the public arena: politics, sport, art, etc.
Prefer *not* to work.	Want to work but *not* totally committed to work career.	Committed to work or equivalent activities.

Source: Adapted from Table 1.1 in Hakim (2000, p. 6) and Table 2 in Hakim (2006, p. 288; original italics).

Table 23.2 Classification of men's work-lifestyle preferences in the 21st century

Home-centred 10% of men Varies 5–15%	Adaptive 30% of men Varies 20–40%	Work-centred 60% of men Varies 45–75%
Children and families remain the main priorities throughout life.	A diverse group, including men who want to combine work and family, plus unconventional careers, drifters and innovators.	This group is most diverse. Main priority in life is employment or equivalent activities such as politics, sport, art, etc.
Prefer *not* to engage in competitive activities in public domain.	Want to work but *not* totally committed to work career.	Committed to work or equivalent activities in public domain.

Source: Adapted from Table 9.1 in Hakim (2000, p. 255; original italics).

How might preference theory explain the low number of women in senior management roles in FS?

In parts of the FS industry, employers have introduced contractual changes enabling jobs to be undertaken on a flexible, fixed-hours or part-time basis so employees can dedicate time to other interests and commitments outside work. FS includes a wide range of roles but many, particularly at senior levels, are what Hakim (2006) describes as 'greedy' meaning they command a large proportion of employees' time and attention. This might involve working long hours to meet regulatory deadlines, travelling overseas to meet partners, evening entertaining for corporate clients or simply working extra hours to resolve unexpected crises. To be effective in a 'greedy' job, employees must be willing to prioritize work over everything else in their life, i.e., they need to have a *work-centred lifestyle preference*. Hence individuals with such a preference will necessarily be more successful in fulfilling their employer's demands:

> In the long run, it is workcentred people who are most likely to survive, and become high achievers, in greedy occupations. (Hakim, 2006, p. 289)

Whilst this may help to explain the low number of female senior managers within FS, let's not forget that preference theory has been criticized for regarding women as free to choose how they live their lives thereby diverting attention away from constraints and barriers many face, including organizational cultures and societal pressures for how women should behave (Broadbridge, 2010; Crompton & Lyonette, 2005; McRae, 2003a). The long-term stability of the preference categories has also been questioned as well as the influence of occupational class on preferences (Campillo & Armijo, 2017). In possibly the largest empirical examination of Hakim's preference theory to date, Crompton and Lyonette (2005) questioned the validity of preference theory, but acknowledged the data might be evidencing the moderating effect of constraints on women's preferences, rather than invalidating the theory itself. In reaching this conclusion they analysed data from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) Family 2002 involving over 9000 people from six countries, including 2312 from Britain, in which couples were interviewed about their work arrangements, their attitudes to women's employment, and to men's contribution to childcare and household work. Analysing the UK data, Crompton and Lyonette (2005) concluded preferences (i.e., attitudes) played a role in women's employment decisions, but not necessarily a major role, and other structural factors were significant, for example women's age, women's level of education, and having a child in the home.

Preference theory is clearly consistent with the contemporary focus on 'individualism, choice and empowerment' (Lewis & Simpson, 2017, p. 121) and provides a partial, but incomplete explanation for the small number of female senior managers within FS. The theory appears useful and relevant, but the associated data (i.e., estimates for each preference category) look increasingly outdated. Hakim researched women between 1980 and 2000 and men between 1981 and 1991 yet referred to these as 'preferences in the 21st century' despite their twentieth-century origins. Society is changing with a growing number of UK couples adopting a 'she works, he stays home' arrangement with 'a significant proportion of women who are either the sole breadwinner or the main breadwinner for their family' (IPPR, 2015, p. 3). Among UK working couple households in 2013, around

8 per cent of mothers earned 90–100 per cent of household income (IPPR, 2015), suggesting a trend towards new patterns of work-lifestyle preferences.

CONFLICTS

Another way to investigate the underrepresentation of women in management is via the *work-family perspective* (Kossek et al., 2017) which focuses on the conflict between paid work and family responsibilities, a conflict currently experienced by many more women than men. Extensive research has been undertaken from this perspective, so what follows is an outline of the key arguments based on Kossek et al. (2017) plus selected influential scholars within the field. Within the UK, as in many countries, women are expected to be primarily responsible for the care of children and elderly relatives making career advancement difficult, particularly in managerial roles. Despite the growing number of 'modern fathers', women still do more than men in providing family care (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010) to the detriment of their well-being and career outcomes (e.g., Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2016). Married men are advantaged much more than married women in terms of number of children, pay, career advancement and reduced likelihood of redundancy (Kossek et al., 2017).

Attempts to address this issue have mainly focused on organizations implementing family-friendly policies allowing employees to work flexible hours, take maternity or paternity leave, and work part-time or in job share arrangements (Kossek et al., 2017). However, where family-friendly policies are available this can lead to negative outcomes due to implicit gendered expectations surrounding them. For example, men are often discouraged from working flexibly and women (mothers) are criticized for working long hours, creating stress for both men and women (Gatrell & Cooper, 2008). Women are currently the heavier users of family-friendly policies yet this adversely affects their pay and career advancement and they are more likely to be stigmatized or penalized at work in other ways (Kossek et al., 2017). For example:

> employers are more likely to promote and value work-centric employees who are committed to be 'ideal workers' and make work the main focus of their lives. (Kossek et al., 2017, p. 237)

Female managers face a particularly acute dilemma because as managers they are usually expected to be totally committed to their work and yet contemporary discourses around work–life balance urge them to lead perfectly balanced lives (Ford & Collinson, 2011):

> the notion of the perfect manager has changed. It is now someone who is also expected to be an ideal partner; the perfect parent; and the super fit sports enthusiast who enjoys a fulfilling life outside work. (Ford & Collinson, 2011, p. 268)

Conversely, family-friendly policies are not available in all organizations and even where they are available the culture is unsupportive of people accessing these (Kossek et al., 2017). A long-hours culture is increasingly the norm and mobile technology urges managers to be constantly available, particularly when this is a proxy for their commitment and performance (Kossek et al., 2017). While most research to date has focused on how employers can support women through family-friendly policies, Gatrell and Cooper (2016) believe both research and policy-making in this area have incorporated and reinforced several assumptions which look increasingly outdated as society develops and evolves (e.g., assuming mothers are primary carers for the family; assuming mothers working part-time are less career oriented). Social roles appear to be transforming and a 'sense of entitlement among today's fathers, regarding access to family friendly working, may be undergoing a social shift' (Gatrell & Cooper, 2016, p. 134). This is possibly related to the increasing proportion of women being the main breadwinner for their family (IPPR, 2015) resulting in more fathers requesting flexible working.

CHALLENGES

The third way of looking at the challenges faced by aspirational female managers, is via the *gender bias and stereotype perspective* (Powell, 2012) which focuses not only on leader and gender stereotypes but also on attitudes to women leaders, employees' preferences for a male or female boss, and perceived effectiveness of female leaders based on theories of leadership and actual leader behaviour. These factors are fundamental because they affect women's aspirations, influence recruitment decisions, constrain female leaders' behaviours, and result in biased (lower) evaluations and fewer promotions for women (Powell, 2012). Research undertaken over the last fifty years suggests many of these challenges are persistent while others are perhaps fading due to societal shifts including changing attitudes towards women (Powell, 2012).

Both men and women used to express preferences for a male boss but a growing proportion of the workforce (rising from 25 per cent in 1953 to 54 per cent in 2007) are indifferent to whether their boss is male or female (Elsesser & Lever, 2011; Powell, 2012; Powell & Butterfield, 2015). Preferences for a male boss are highest amongst people nearing retirement (i.e., over age 55) indicating that such preferences will soon become irrelevant within the workplace (Powell, 2012). Similarly, the majority of male business leaders now express positive attitudes towards the idea of women in management, unlike fifty years ago (Powell, 2012). However, 'women are still subjected to hostility and prejudice when they are considered in relation to a leader role' (Powell, 2012, p. 134). Supposedly, this arises from sexist attitudes and the complex interplay of leader and gender stereotypes, as discussed below. In early laboratory studies (Eagly et al., 1992 cited in Powell, 2012) female leaders were evaluated less favourably than male leaders, and this was exaggerated when the women occupied a traditionally male role, were evaluated by males and adopted a masculine leader style. However, similar studies of male and female leaders in the workplace found no significant difference in the way subordinates responded to male and female leaders (Powell, 2012). Other people's attitudes towards a female leader can have a significant psychological and practical impact. Internal leadership identity is constructed via a 'claiming and granting process' so a woman needs to see herself as a leader *and* be accepted as leader by others within a given social context (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). If a woman is not accepted by others as a leader, this can impede *leadership identity construction* and hence reduce her sense of well-being and authenticity (Greguletz & Diehl, 2016). Similarly, if others do not acknowledge a woman as a legitimate leader then this can reduce her authority, generating a precarious psychological state and making her less likely to behave effectively as a leader (Vial, Napier, & Brescoll, 2016).

Leader stereotypes present a continuing challenge for women with the image of a 'good leader' as a powerful male still dominant in Western societies (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). These leader stereotypes and gendered expectations (e.g., men need to be masculine) both appear resistant to change (Powell, 2012) which is puzzling given extensive interest in new post-heroic styles of leadership involving collaborative and relational behaviours, more typically defined as feminine (Kouzes & Posner, 2012; Uhl-Bien, 2005). Curiously, both sexes still believe men are more successful than women as managers (Powell, 2012), and research consistently shows that male and female students and managers associate a good manager with masculinity much more than with femininity (Powell & Butterfield, 1979, 1989, 2011 cited in Powell, 2012). Here masculinity is defined as the possession of traits such as being agentic, assertive, decisive, confident, rational and independent, and femininity as the possession of characteristics such as being communal, sensitive, emotional, supportive and nurturing (Powell, 2012). Hence long-standing managerial stereotypes invite us to not only 'think manager – think male' but also 'think masculine' (Powell, 2012). Definitions of masculinity and femininity are 'socially constructed' and therefore fluid (Powell, 2012); equally there is no unambiguous definition of what makes someone a good leader (Northouse, 2013). Hence associating masculine skills and traits with good leadership is itself a social construction, arising from influential founding studies based entirely on male leaders as research subjects.

Gender stereotypes also represent an ongoing challenge for women, in part because they influence behaviour in mixed-sex groups, with the majority (*dominants*) controlling the group's culture and the minority (*tokens*) being 'viewed as representative of their sex rather than as individuals' (Powell, 2012, p. 122). Where women leaders comprise less than 15 per cent of group members (e.g., on some Executive Boards) their *token* status will invite other group members to think of them as stereotypically female, despite the values and behaviours they actually demonstrate (Kanter, 1977). Token status can also have adverse psychological consequences, known as *stereotype threat* (Steele, 1997), occurring when a group (e.g., women) are the minority and the group is negatively stereotyped by others, leading group members to fear they will be judged as representative of the group stereotype.

The complex interplay of leader and gender stereotypes shapes our beliefs about appropriate roles for men and women in society, pressurizing us into associating men with leadership. Numerous theories have been developed to explain this social phenomenon including:

- *lack of fit model* (Heilman, 1983, 1995 cited in Powell, 2012) – female managers evaluated less favourably because of lack of fit with the leader stereotype;
- *role congruity theory* (Eagly & Karau, 2002) – being a woman and being a leader perceived (and possibly experienced) as incongruent;
- *status characteristics theory* (e.g., Ridgeway, 1991, 2006 cited in Powell, 2012) – men more able to influence because they are granted higher status in society.

Role congruity theory explains how gender stereotypes contribute to biased appraisal of female leaders. Line managers who perceive a conflict between an employee being a woman and a leader, produce less favourable evaluations of her *potential* for leadership and less favourable evaluations of her *actual* leadership compared to men (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Heilman, 2001). This is because gender stereotypes create expectations of what people of a particular gender *are like* (descriptive stereotype) and what they *should be like* (prescriptive stereotype) (Heilman, 2001). Thus women are often denied credit for their success, due to the *descriptive* aspect of their gender stereotype, particularly where evaluation criteria are ambiguous (Heilman, 2001). Conversely, when women enact behaviours consistent with effective leadership, they are often disliked or penalized, supposedly due to contravening the *prescriptive* aspect of their gender stereotype (Heilman, 2001). Hence women leaders face a *double bind* – too agentic, assertive or decisive and they will not be likeable as a woman; lacking in these behaviours they will not be considered effective as a leader. This is the essence of *role congruity theory* (Eagly & Karau, 2002) and it neatly explains why masculine female leaders have not been liked and feminine female leaders not regarded as competent. However, gender stereotypes are changing, raising questions about the ongoing validity of these arguments. The original research underpinning role congruity theory dates from the 1970s and 1980s when women's roles and attitudes to women were very different from today. Recent laboratory research undertaken by Bongiorno and colleagues (Bongiorno, Bain, & David, 2014) found many young women now describe themselves as agentic (*descriptive* stereotype) and both men and women now endorse agentic behaviour in a woman (*prescriptive* stereotype) as long as her behaviour is also communal (e.g., friendly, sensitive). This seems like a step in the right direction.

In terms of theories of leadership and perceived effectiveness, it appears that neither men nor women necessarily have an advantage. Comparisons of contemporary theories of leadership with stereotypical definitions of masculine and feminine behaviours concluded that neither a masculine approach nor a feminine approach is uniquely key to being an effective leader (Powell, 2012). *Transformational leadership* is more congruent with behaviours currently regarded as feminine (e.g., high concern for relationships) and *transactional leadership* is more congruent with behaviours regarded as masculine (e.g., control over others) but an effective business leader needs to enact both transformational and transactional leadership styles in varying proportions depending on situational factors (Powell, 2012).

In terms of actual leader behaviour and perceived effectiveness, it seems women come out on top. Powell's (2012) extensive review of research into the actual behaviours of men and women operating in equivalent leader roles in a variety of industry sectors, concluded women demonstrated more behaviours (than men) contributing to leader effectiveness and fewer behaviours (than men) detracting from leader effectiveness. Other large-scale empirical studies confirm his conclusion. For example, Zenger and Folkman (2012) assessed 7000 managers (36 per cent female) working for successful organizations worldwide and found female leaders scored higher than male leaders on twelve out of sixteen leadership competencies. Similarly, van Emmerik and colleagues (van Emmerik, Euwema, & Wendt, 2008) studied 13000 managers (27 per cent female), concluding females scored higher on both agentic ('hard') and communal ('soft') leadership behaviours. Hence the empirical evidence contradicts the stereotypical idea that men are necessarily better leaders and 'blaming the inferiority of female leadership skills seems to be a rather outdated explanation for the inequality in leadership positions' (Greguletz & Diehl, 2016, p. 1).

Situational factors affect the perceived (and actual?) effectiveness of men and women as leaders (Eagly et al., 1995 cited in Powell, 2012), including organizational setting, the gender mix of subordinates, and the managerial level. To date, men have been more effective in lower management roles, in military settings, and where male subordinates outnumber females; women more effective in middle management roles and in education settings, but less effective (according to their subordinates) when supervising a high proportion of males (Powell, 2012). In business, men and women leaders were found to be equally effective in lower and middle management positions (Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995).

Despite empirical evidence demonstrating women's capabilities as leaders, they continue to be subjected to prejudice and bias, particularly in relation to evaluations of their work performance (Powell, 2012). This has been a persistent issue resulting in lower appraisal ratings of women whose performance is equal to their male peers (Heilman, 2001), discriminatory promotion decisions (Barreto, Ryan, & Schmitt, 2009) and harsher 360 degree feedback (Alban-Metcalfe, 2004a, 2004b). Alimo-Metcalfe (2010) believes this form of gender bias is complex, subtle and resistant to change. To some extent women may be contributing to these lower evaluations by being less effective in building the necessary social capital (Greguletz, 2017; Tharenou, 1999) arising in part from their false modesty when engaging in professional networks (Greguletz, 2017). However, it's clear they face numerous forms of bias, including assumptions line managers make about their career aspirations (Hoobler et al., 2014) or about perceived decreases in their cognitive ability during menstruation, pregnancy and menopause (Gatrell, Cooper, & Kossek, 2017).

DISCUSSION

FS firms, policy makers, professional bodies and consulting organizations have focused heavily on improving gender balance within the sector, yet academics have published very few studies in this area since the financial crash in 2008. A search of international peer reviewed journal articles published in English between January 2008 and August 2017 generated only eighteen articles relating to the underrepresentation of women in managerial roles within the UK FS sector (see Appendix for search criteria and results), plus one additional article from a recent conference (Broadbridge & Hynd, 2017).

Among the articles emerging from the literature search, those adopting the *career preference perspective* provide insights into whether women choose to apply for jobs in FS firms, and whether they are likely to be successful. For example, very few women in Ireland choose to work in investment management, particularly on the trading floor, due to the complex interrelationship between personality, self-efficacy, personal identity and goals (Sheerin, 2013). In North America, there was no evidence that women were less likely to receive a job offer in finance, yet female MBA students were less likely to apply for roles in the sector (compared to general management) due to assumptions about poor work–life balance, poor fit with stereotypically masculine roles and reduced chances of career success (Barbulescu & Bidwell, 2013). Intriguingly, Grappendorf and Burton (2014) found women were more likely to be recruited into the US FS industry if they had participated in inter-college athletics, perhaps because this was seen as a proxy for their competitiveness! In South Africa, one FS firm was successful in recruiting women, due to a proactive female CEO and an organizational culture perceived by the women as attractive (Palmer & Bosch, 2017). These research findings support the view that many women avoid the FS sector because they assume the working environment will be unattractive (e.g., masculine, gender biased, long hours) and research in the UK (EHRC, 2009, 2011) and the USA (Galbraith, 2010) confirms their assumptions. However, Palmer and Bosch (2017) have shown not all FS firms match this traditional stereotype hence women may overlook opportunities within firms differing from the norm. Gender balance within FS clearly depends on women choosing to work in the sector, but given expectations for many FS employees to be 'ideal workers' a much bigger issue is the percentage of women willing and able to enact a work-centred lifestyle (Hakim, 2000, 2003, 2006). Curiously, recent research within the FS sector appears to have avoided this issue.

Since 2008, there has been very little research into the underrepresentation of women in FS from the *work-family perspective*. One exception is a study of forty-four female bankers in Australia, exploring why they left their organization (Metz, 2011). Conflict between paid work and family responsibilities was among their reasons, but the women attributed their departure to other factors, claiming these had a bigger influence on their decision (Metz, 2011). These factors included organizational change, redundancy packages, a masculine organizational culture (e.g., long hours, sexual harassment, locker room behaviour), lack of support for people working flexibly, and gender discrimination (e.g., men treating senior female colleague as their junior) (Metz, 2011). Similarly Neck's (2015a, 2015b) research in Australia explored the experiences of twenty-seven senior women working in banking and investment management, of whom seventeen had recently left the sector. She identified a combination of factors frustrating these women and contributing to their decisions to leave, including cultural factors affecting both men and women (e.g., long hours, competitive, political, lack of diversity) and others specifically impacting women (e.g., balancing work and family, experiencing gender bias, finding support, building social capital). The women were also more likely than men to leave out of choice or due to changing organizational circumstances (e.g., restructure) (Neck, 2015a, 2015b).

The FS sector has long been associated with masculine organizational cultures and gender bias, so it is perhaps not surprising that the majority of research into the underrepresentation of women, since 2008, has been from the *gender bias and stereotype perspective*. In addition to the studies discussed above, recent research comprises studies in the UK (Broadbridge & Hynd, 2017; Pryce & Sealy, 2013; Sealy, 2010) plus research in Australia (Metz, 2009; von Hippel et al., 2015) and in the USA (Hopkins & Bilimoria, 2008; Lakshminarayanan, 2011). These studies deliver depressing insights into the challenges experienced by women working in senior roles within FS. For example, Hopkins and Bilimoria's (2008) research involving around 100 senior executives in one FS firm, confirmed earlier laboratory studies (Eagly et al., 1992 cited in Powell, 2012) highlighting biased attitudes towards female leaders. Using a 360 degree instrument they found male leaders were assessed as more successful even when the male and female leaders demonstrated an equivalent level of social and emotional competencies (Hopkins & Bilimoria, 2008). Likewise, biased attitudes towards female leaders were among the explanations for Zoe Cruz's sudden departure from Morgan Stanley in 2007, after a successful 25-year career within the organization (Lakshminarayanan, 2011).

A study of thirty-three female directors working for six global investment banks found many of them lost faith in the idea of meritocracy over the course of their careers, becoming reluctant to engage in 'canvassing' and other forms of political behaviour required to secure promotion, preferring instead to be 'judged on the merit of their work not their political skills' (Sealy, 2010, p. 193). The myth of meritocracy is also rehearsed in Pryce and Sealy's (2013) research into the underrepresentation of women at the top of investment banks. Based on interviews with thirty-three women at director/managing director level, plus interviews with seventeen men and women recently experiencing the managing director promotion process, they found women struggled with their identity as future managing directors and these struggles were influenced by the so-called 'double bind' (conflicting leader and gender stereotypes) as well as organizational practices (e.g., informal networks and the need for sponsorship) requiring them to spell out their ambitions compared to men who were assumed to be ambitious. Metz (2009) studied 848 women in banking, concluding their mentors and networks contributed very little to their advancement. Von Hippel et al.'s (2015) research involving 512 women in professional and/or senior roles in banking and finance concluded that many who experienced *stereotype threat* suffered reduced well-being and disengagement from their work, making them more likely to leave and less likely to recommend the sector to other women. Recent interviews with twenty-nine men and women at various levels in the private division of a global bank found many were unclear about promotion criteria with junior staff still believing merit would secure promotion, whereas senior staff understood the importance of visibility and networking to 'build social capital' (Broadbridge & Hynd, 2017). Several interviewees associated flexible working with reduced prospects for career progression, seeing flexibility as contradictory to the unspoken requirement for employees to be 'ideal workers', i.e., fully committed, willing to work long hours and hungry for success (Broadbridge & Hynd, 2017).

The majority of the empirical research reviewed in this section confirms women's barriers to advancement, barriers occurring in many industry sectors but exaggerated within FS due to entrenched masculine cultures. While many women have the skills required by the FS sector (van Staveren, 2014) and have leadership ambitions (Eagly, 2013 cited in Kossek et al., 2017) and capabilities (Zenger & Folkman, 2012), many are unwilling to behave politically (Sealy, 2010), some lack the ability to build the social capital required for promotion (Greguletz, 2017; Tharenou, 1999) and overall women vary more than men in their willingness to compete (Berlin & Dargnies, 2016). These constitute formidable obstacles to the achievement of gender balance within FS organizations.

On a more optimistic note, the final four articles emerging from the literature search either propose solutions to the underrepresentation of women in FS (Fahy, 2010; Galbraith, 2010) or report on the outcomes of practical interventions within organizations (HSBC, 2014; Lewis-Enright, Crafford, & Crous, 2009). One US management consultant (Galbraith, 2010) recommends giving women high-profile assignments, promoting work–life balance and making gender equality a priority, while CEO Martin Fahy (2010) recommends five strategies for addressing the issue including two original ideas, i.e., more childcare so men and women are on a level playing field, and organizational incentives to encourage more men to take up paternity leave and reduce prejudices against men in caring roles. Other innovative approaches include appreciative inquiry workshops to help FS employees become more willing to overcome gender bias (Lewis-Enright et al., 2009) and HSBC's inclusive leadership programme (ILP) allegedly making the firm a leading employer for women (HSBC, 2014).

TOWARDS A RESEARCH AGENDA

The research discussed so far has provided many insights into what's going on in FS organizations, in particular, why there are so few women making it to the top. Research of this nature is valuable because it informs our thinking about the underlying issues and hence where solutions might be found. However, if we are serious about achieving gender balance at all levels within FS, as expressed in the Women in Finance Charter, then we don't need any more explanations for the underrepresentation of women in management. Instead I believe we need to consider the bigger picture by engaging in something all successful strategic thinkers do, namely scenario planning. Bear with me as I draw on all three perspectives explored in this chapter to rehearse some possible scenarios.

As outlined earlier, one of the biggest issues in achieving gender balance is the percentage of women wanting a work-centred lifestyle and able to enact this choice without constraint (Hakim, 2000, 2003, 2006). If we work through the mathematics the importance of this issue becomes clear. Let's assume Hakim's preference theory and her estimates for the work-lifestyle preferences of UK men and women are valid. This would mean:

- 60 per cent of UK men are work-centred;
- 20 per cent of UK women are work-centred;
- Hence among all work-centred UK people, 75 per cent are men (60/80) and 25 per cent are women (20/80).

Within UK financial services 82 per cent of jobs are full-time, greater than the UK labour force average (UKCES, 2012) and the majority of senior management roles are 'greedy' roles requiring employees to be 'ideal workers'. If this requirement remains unchanged, firms need to recruit future senior managers from the work-centred pool, of whom 75 per cent are men and 25 per cent are women. If a firm can identify and recruit a cohort of potential senior managers who are work-centred and representative of this mix, and if these individuals then compete on fair terms as expressed in the two assumptions below, then the firm will end up with a cohort of actual senior managers comprising 75 per cent men and 25 per cent women.

Assumptions:

- Men and women have equal capabilities (e.g., technical skills, social skills);
- Men and women have equality of opportunity, i.e., no discrimination against or in favour of women.

Hence a fair gender balance target for senior management positions in FS would be 75 per cent men and 25 per cent women and *not 50/50 as in the Women in Finance Charter*. Many feminists will perhaps be horrified by the idea of anything other than a 50/50 outcome and would also accuse me of 'gender essentialism' (i.e., accepting that men and women are fundamentally different). However, while the proportions of work-centred men and women remain unbalanced within society, it is unfair on men to aim for a 50/50 gender mix among senior managers within FS. So, what are the alternative ways of achieving the desired gender balance? One option is to remove the need

Table 23.3 Three perspectives – possible future scenarios

	Scenario	Description
Career Preference Perspective	1	*No change* – Estimate 60% of men and 20% of women are work-centred (both in preference and in ability to enact preference).
	2	Balance the proportions of work-centred men and women by increase in % of work-centred women but no reduction in % of work-centred men (i.e., massive childcare sector). For example, 60% of men and 60% of women work-centred.
	3	Balance the proportions of work-centred men and women by increase in % of work-centred women and reduction in % of work-centred men (i.e., more men become adaptive in their work-lifestyle preference). For example, 40% of men and 40% of women are work-centred.
Work Family Perspective	A	*No change* – Culture of FS sector remains as now – limited availability of family-friendly policies and people using them are disadvantaged in terms of career progression; senior employees expected to be 'ideal worker'.
	B	Culture of FS sector becomes more family-friendly – increase in availability of family-friendly policies, but people using them still disadvantaged in terms of career progression; senior employees expected to be 'ideal worker'.
	C	Culture of FS sector changes radically – increase in availability of family-friendly policies, people using them are **not** disadvantaged in terms of career progression; senior employees **not** expected to be 'ideal worker'.
Gender Bias and Stereotype Perspective	X	*No change* – gender stereotypes remain unchanged in the minds of people, old and young. Women continue to experience bias and prejudice as in the literature..
	Y	New norms – gender stereotypes change in the minds of people, old and young. Women cease to experience bias and prejudice as workers and as leaders.

for senior managers to be work-centred, i.e., restructure roles so they are no longer 'greedy' and can be fulfilled by people with commitments outside work. A second option would be to leave roles unchanged and instead try to balance the proportions of men and women who are work-centred not only in their preferences but also in their freedom to enact these preferences. If we develop these ideas to construct various options, across all three perspectives, then some possible future scenarios emerge as set out in Table 23.3.

Using the scenario labels in Table 23.3, our current situation is represented by 1/A/X. In this scenario far fewer women, compared to men prefer and are able to live work-centred lives (1) and since FS organizations expect senior staff to be 'ideal workers' this necessarily means women juggling career and family are disadvantaged (A). Furthermore, women living work-centred lives suffer discrimination due to bias and prejudice associated with current gender stereotypes (X).

Now let's consider some future scenarios. Firstly, regardless of the number of women choosing and able to live work-centred lives, and regardless of greater implementation of family-friendly policies, gender balance at all levels will never be achieved while gender bias continues to be expressed and experienced (scenario X). Therefore the gender balance target within FS can only be achieved if we are able to create scenario Y. This requires change at a societal level in addition to new organizational practices. Bongiorno et al.'s (2014) laboratory research suggests gender stereotypes are changing among young people but other research argues they remain persistent and influential (Alimo-Metcalfe, 2010; van Staveren, 2014). This is clearly a tricky issue requiring more research.

Secondly, as demonstrated in the earlier calculations, a key requirement for the achievement of gender balance is either equalizing the proportions of men and women able to live work-centred lives (scenarios 2 or 3) and/or moving to a situation where senior employees are not expected to be 'ideal workers' (scenario C). Culture change to produce scenario C seems unlikely in the near future because this risks making FS organizations uncompetitive within the current economy; it would be equivalent to asking one country's Olympic athletes to spend less time training so athletes with family commitments can train to the same level, as a result, at the next Olympic Games they would surely be beaten by athletes from another country who have trained full-time. So for now let's remove work-family scenario C from our thinking. If we do this, it is clear we cannot achieve gender balance while we have an imbalance in the proportions of men and women choosing and enacting work-centred lives (career preference scenario 1). Considering career preference scenarios 2 and 3, the former seems unlikely within a generation although this is exactly what Fahy (2010) recommended in order to put men and women on a level playing field. However, the latter might be more feasible particularly given the increasing number of female breadwinners in couple households (IPPR, 2015). Therefore let's work with career preference scenario 3 and work-family scenarios A and B. Where does this leave us? Using this logic, only two of our scenarios can deliver gender balance within the FS sector, namely 3/A/Y and 3/B/Y. In each of these scenarios we have a balance in the number of men and women choosing and able to live work-centred lives (3) and a significant change throughout society in terms of how gender stereotypes are perceived (Y). In order for FS organizations to benefit from this they would need to attract and recruit work-centred men and women in equal numbers, requiring dramatic changes to the assumptions women make about the sector.

Increasing the availability of family-friendly policies (i.e., moving from scenario A to B) apparently makes very little difference to the achievement of gender balance. In anything other than scenario C, users of these policies continue to be disadvantaged in terms of securing promotion and fulfilling the requirements of senior roles. However, if our aim is to achieve career preference scenario 3 then this involves more men living *adaptive* lives, balancing work and family commitments, hence flexible working becomes a priority for this group. Hence, rather than seeing family-friendly policies as supportive of women, perhaps we need to follow Gatrell and Cooper's (2016) lead and think of them increasingly being used by men. This resonates with Fahy's (2010) recommendation to introduce organizational incentives encouraging more men to take up paternity leave and to reduce prejudices against men in caring roles.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS?

The argument developed in the previous section suggests gender balance at all levels within FS firms can only be achieved via significant societal changes of the following nature:

- **Career preferences** (migrate from scenario 1 to 3) – balance the proportions of men and women choosing and able to live work-centred lives by increasing the percentage of work-centred women and reducing the percentage of work-centred men (i.e., more men become adaptive).
- **Gender bias and stereotype** (migrate from scenario X to Y) – gender stereotypes change so women cease to experience bias and prejudice as workers and as leaders.

Whilst these both require profound change within society, they are extensions of trends which are already emerging. In addition, the argument suggests that FS organizations need to focus on the following:

- **Work family perspective** (migrate from scenario A to B) – increase in availability of family-friendly policies; ensure these are promoted to men as much as to women; introduce organizational incentives encouraging more men to take up paternity leave and reduce prejudices against men in caring roles; monitor the take-up of family-friendly policies by both men and women.
- **Eliminating gender bias in HR processes** – change recruitment, evaluation, promotion and remuneration policies and processes to reduce/remove opportunities for gender bias.
- **Zero tolerance on 'locker room' behaviour** – introduce changes signalling zero tolerance of sexually discriminatory behaviour.
- **Advertising/communication** – promote FS firms so they appeal to women as much as to men.

Future research could focus on monitoring these trends, for example, asking young people about their motivations, values, career preferences and life goals; asking male and female FS employees about their attitudes towards flexible working. Research might also usefully focus on exploring the consequences, intended and unintended, of specific changes. Furthermore, action research could intervene in an attempt to bring about change followed by an evaluation of outcomes. The Appreciative Inquiry workshops run by Lewis-Enright et al. (2009) are an example of this. It would be arrogant to suggest the changes outlined above are the best or the only solution to resolve the underrepresentation of women in management within FS firms. Instead they offer fresh insights into the areas where research and change is required, if we are serious about achieving the objectives of the Women in Finance Charter.

NOTES

1. Companies with more than 10000 employees and/or revenues greater than 1 billion Euros, and that provided data.
2. Only 30 articles published in peer reviewed journals between 2000 and 2017 refer to both 'Hakim' and

'preference theory' in their description, based on a search conducted on 21 September 2017 across all online journal databases available through Lancaster University library.

REFERENCES

Adams, R. B., & Funk, P. (2012). Beyond the glass ceiling: Does gender matter? *Management Science*, *58*(2), 219–235.
Alban-Metcalfe, J. (2004a). *Perceptions – 360 Degree Feedback: An Analysis of Its Differential Effect on Black and Minority Ethnic & White, Male & Female Managers in Local Government*. London: Improvement and Development Agency (IDeA)/Real World Group.
Alban-Metcalfe, J. (2004b). *Prospects – Diversity and the Career Progression of Local Government Managers*. London: Improvement and Development Agency (IDeA)/Real World Group.
Alimo-Metcalfe, B. (2010). Developments in gender and leadership: Introducing a new 'inclusive' model. *Gender in Management*, *25*(8), 630–639.
Barbulescu, R., & Bidwell, M. (2013). Do women choose different jobs from men? Mechanisms of application segregation in the market for managerial workers. *Organization Science*, *24*(3), 737–756.
Barreto, M., Ryan, M. K., & Schmitt, M. T. (Eds.) (2009). *The Glass Ceiling in the 21st Century: Understanding Barriers to Gender Equality*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
Berlin, N., & Dargnies, M.-P. (2016). Gender differences in reactions to feedback and willingness to compete. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, *130*, 320–336.
Bianchi, S., & Milkie, M. (2010). Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *72*(3), 705–725.
Bongiorno, R., Bain, P. G., & David, B. (2014). If you're going to be a leader, at least act like it! Prejudice towards women who are tentative in leader roles. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *53*(2), 217–234.
Broadbridge, A. (2010). Choice or constraint? Tensions in female retail executives' career narratives. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *25*(3), 244–260.
Broadbridge, A., & Hynd, M. (2017). Women's careers in private banking. British Academy of Management, Conference Proceedings 2017. https://www.bam.ac.uk/.
Campillo, I., & Armijo, L. (2017). Lifestyle preferences and strategies of Spanish working mothers: A matter of choice? *South European Society and Politics*, *22*(1), 81–99.
Carter, N. M., & Silva, C. (2010). Women in management: Delusions of progress. *Harvard Business Review*, March.
CBI News (2016). http://news.cbi.org.uk/news/we-need-more-women-leaders-not-just-womenonboards/, accessed 15 February 2016.
CMI (2016). The search for the missing middle: CMI women launches in hunt for true gender diversity. http://www.managers.org.uk/insights/news/2016/november/the-search-for-the-missing-middle-cmi-women-launches-in-hunt-for-true-gender-diversity?utm_source=Chartered%20Management%20Institute&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=7797529_Insights%202%20December%202016&dm_i=SYT,4N4M1,NTRBPN,HB6AS,1, accessed 12 September 2017.
Credit Suisse (2012). *Gender Diversity and Corporate Performance*. Zurich: Credit Suisse AG.
Crompton, R., & Lyonette, C. (2005). The new gender essentialism: Domestic and family 'choices' and their relation to attitudes. *British Journal of Sociology*, *56*(4), 601–620.
Davies (2015). *Improving the Gender Balance on British Boards: Women on Boards Davies Review, Five Year Summary October 2015*. thedaviesreview.com, accessed 29 October 2015.
DeRue, D. S., & Ashford, S. J. (2010). Who will lead and who will follow? A social process of leadership identity construction in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *35*(4), 627–647.
Doorewaard, H., Hendrickx, J., & Verschuren, P. (2004). Work orientations of female returners. *Work, Employment & Society*, *18*(1), 7–27.
Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. (2007). Women and the labyrinth of leadership. *Harvard Business Review*, *85*(9), 62–71.

Eagly, A. H., and Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, *109*(3), 573–598.

Eagly, A. H., Karau, S. J., & Makhijani, M. G. (1995). Gender and the effectiveness of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *117*(1), 125–145.

EHRC (2009). *Financial Services Inquiry: Sex Discrimination and Gender Pay Gap Report of the Equality and Human Rights Commission*. https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/publication-download/financial-services-inquiry-sex-discrimination-and-gender-pay-gap-report.

EHRC (2011). *Financial Services Inquiry: Follow-up Report*. https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/publication-download/financial-services-inquiry-follow-report.

Elsesser, K. M., & Lever, J. (2011). Does gender bias against female leaders persist? Quantitative and qualitative data from a large-scale survey. *Human Relations*, *64*(12), 1555–1578.

Fahy, M. (2010). Dispelling the myths about women and work: From the Chief Executive Officer. *InFinance*, *124*(5), 2–3.

Ford, J., & Collinson, D. (2011). In search of the perfect manager? Work–life balance and managerial work. *Work, Employment & Society*, *25*(2), 257–273.

Fraser, I. (2014). *Shredded: Inside RBS, the Bank that Broke Britain*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

Gadhia, J. (2016). Empowering productivity – harnessing the talents of women in financial services. *Virgin Money Website*. https://uk.virginmoney.com/virgin/women-in-finance/, accessed 28 September 2017.

Galbraith, S. (2010). Creating 'female-friendly' organizations. *Financial Executive*, *26*(3), 45–47.

Gatrell, C., & Cooper, C. (2008). Work–life balance: Working for whom? *European Journal of International Management*, *2*(1), 71–86.

Gatrell, C., & Cooper, C. (2016). A sense of entitlement? Fathers, mothers and organizational support for family and career. *Community, Work & Family*, *19*(2), 134–147.

Gatrell, C., Cooper, C., & Kossek, E. (2017). Maternal bodies as taboo at work: New perspectives on the marginalization of senior-level women in organizations. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *31*(3), 239–252.

Gilbert, K. (2013). Leaning out: Number of women in finance declines. *Institutional Investor* (August).

Grappendorf, H., & Burton, L. (2014). Examining the influence of athletic participation in evaluation of entry-level positions in financial services: An application of role congruity theory. *Journal for the Study of Sports and Athletes in Education*, *8*(1), 19–32.

Greguletz, E. K. (2017). Why women build less effective networks than men: The role of morality and false modesty. British Academy of Management, Conference Proceedings 2017. https://www.bam.ac.uk/.

Greguletz, E. K., & Diehl, M. (2016). The impact of role incongruity on female leadership: Strategies of identity construction. British Academy of Management, Conference Proceedings 2016. https://www.bam.ac.uk/.

Hakim, C. (2000). *Work-Lifestyle Choices in the 21st Century: Preference Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hakim, C. (2003). Public morality versus personal choice: The failure of social attitude surveys. *British Journal of Sociology*, *54*(3), 339–345.

Hakim, C. (2006). Women, careers and work–life preferences. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, *34*(3), 279–294.

Heilman, M. E. (2001). Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 657–674.

Hoobler, J. M., Lemmon, G., & Wayne, S. J. (2014). Women's managerial aspirations: An organizational development perspective. *Journal of Management*, *40*(3), 703–730.

Hopkins, M., & Bilimoria, D. (2008). Social and emotional competencies predicting success for male and female executives. *Journal of Management Development*, *27*(1), 13–35.

House of Commons (2017). Financial services contribution to UK economy. House of Commons Briefing Paper, Number 6193, 31 March.

HSBC (2014). HSBC banks on more women at the top. *Human Resource Management International Digest*, *22*(6), 18–20.

Huse, M., & Solberg, A. G. (2006). Gender-related boardroom dynamics: How Scandinavian women

make and can make contributions on corporate boards. *Women in Management Review*, *21*(2), 113–130.
IPPR (2015). *Who's Breadwinning in Europe? A Comparative Analysis of Maternal Breadwinning in Great Britain and Germany*. https://www.ippr.org/publications/whos-breadwinning-in-europe, accessed 22 September 2017.
Johnstone, M., & Lee, C. (2009). Young Australian women's aspirations for work and family: Individual and sociocultural differences. *Sex Roles*, *61*(3), 204–220.
Kangas, O., & Rostgaard, T. (2007). Preferences or institutions? Work–family life opportunities in seven European countries. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *17*(3), 240–256.
Kanter, R. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
Klettner, A., Clarke, T., & Boersma, M. (2014). Strategic and regulatory approaches to increasing women in leadership: Multilevel targets and mandatory quotas as levers for cultural change. *Journal of Business Ethics* [online].
Koenig, A. M., Eagly, A. H., Mitchell, A. A., & Ristikari, T. (2011). Are leader stereotypes masculine? A meta-analysis of three research paradigms. *Psychological Bulletin*, *137*(4), 616–642.
Kossek, E. E., Su, R., & Wu, L. (2017). 'Opting out' or 'pushed out'? Integrating perspectives on women's career equality for gender inclusion and interventions. *Journal of Management*, *43*(1), 228–254.
Kouzes, J. M., & Posner, B. Z. (2012). *The Leadership Challenge: How to Make Extraordinary Things Happen in Organizations* (5th ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
Kumra, S. (2010). Exploring career 'choices' of work-centred women in a professional service firm. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *25*(3), 227–243.
Lakshminarayanan, S. (2011). Fall from grace or glass ceiling. *Journal of Business Case Studies*, *7*(5), 61–69.
Lewis, P., & Simpson, R. (2017). Hakim revisited: Preference, choice and the postfeminist gender regime. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *24*(2), 115–133.
Lewis-Enright, K., Crafford, A., & Crous, F. (2009). Towards a workplace conducive to the career advancement of women. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, *35*(1), E1–E9.
Machold, S., Huse, M., Hansen, K., & Brogi, M. (Eds.) (2013). *Getting Women on to Corporate Boards: A Snowball Starting in Norway.* Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Martin, I. (2013). *Making it Happen: Fred Goodwin, RBS and the Men Who Blew Up the British Economy*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
McKinsey (2009). *Women Matter 3: Women Leaders, a Competitive Edge in and after the Crisis*. Paris: McKinsey.
McKinsey & Company (2012). *Women Matter: Making the Breakthrough*. http://www.mckinsey.com, accessed 11 January 2016.
McRae, S. (2003a). Constraints and choices in mothers' employment careers: A consideration of Hakim's preference theory. *British Journal of Sociology*, *54*(3), 317–338.
McRae, S. (2003b). Choice and constraints in mothers' employment careers: McRae replies to Hakim. *British Journal of Sociology*, *54*(4), 585–592.
Metz, I. (2009). Organisational factors, social factors, and women's advancement. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *58*(2), 193–213.
Metz, I. (2011). Women leave work because of family responsibilities: 'Fact or fiction?' *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources*, *49*(3), 285–307.
Neck, C. (2015a). Disappearing women: Why do women leave senior roles in finance? *Australian Journal of Management*, *40*(3), 488–510.
Neck, C. (2015b). Disappearing women: Why do women leave senior roles in finance? Further evidence. *Australian Journal of Management*, *40*(3), 511–537.
Nielsen, S., & Huse, M. (2010). The contribution of women on boards of directors: Going beyond the surface. *Corporate Governance: An International Review*, *18*(2), 136–148.
Nolan, J. (2009). 'Working to live, not living to work': An exploratory study of the relationship between men's work orientation and job insecurity in the UK. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *16*(2), 179–197.
Northouse, P. (2013). *Leadership: Theory and Practice* (6th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Palmer, A., & Bosch, A. (2017). What makes representation of executive women in business happen? *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *36*(4), 306–320.
Pirtea, M., Nicolescu, A., Botoc, C., & Lobont, O. (2015). Board gender and firm value: An empirical analysis. *Economic Computation and Economic Cybernetics Studies and Research*, *49*(4), 21–32.
Powell, G. N. (2012). Six ways of seeing the elephant: The intersection of sex, gender and leadership. *Gender in Management*, *27*(2), 119–141.
Powell, G. N., & Butterfield, D. A. (2011). The 'good manager' over four decades: Stability and change. Paper presented at the Academy of Management Annual Meeting, Montreal.
Powell, G. N., & Butterfield, D. A. (2015). The preference to work for a man or a woman: A matter of sex and gender? *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *86*, 28–37.
Pryce, P., & Sealy, R. (2013). Promoting women to MD in investment banking: Multi-level influences. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *28*(8), 448–467.
PwC (2015). Female millennials in financial services: Strategies for a new era of talent. http://www.pwc.com/financialservices, accessed 1 June 2016.
Rost, K., & Osterloh, M. (2010). Opening the black box of upper echelons: Drivers of poor information processing during the financial crisis. *Corporate Governance: An International Review*, *18*(3), 212–233.
Schein, V. E. (1973). The relationship between sex-role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *57*(2), 65–100.
Schein, V. E. (1975). Relationships between sex-role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics among female managers. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *60*(3), 340–344.
Sealy, R. (2010). Changing perceptions of meritocracy in senior women's careers. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *25*(3), 184–197.
Sealy, R., & Vinnicombe, S. (2012). Women and the governance of corporate boards. In T. Clarke & D. Branson (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Corporate Governance* (pp. 325–344). London: Sage.
Sheerin, C. (2013). Destiny or 'choice': Women in investment management – why so few? *Irish Journal of Management*, *32*(2), 29–46.
Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, *52*(6), 613–629.
Su, R., Rounds, J., & Armstrong, P. I. (2009). Men and things, women and people: A meta-analysis of sex differences in interests. *Psychological Bulletin*, *135*(6), 859–884.
Tharenou, P. (1999). Gender differences in advancing to the top. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, *1*(2), 111–132.
The Independent (2017). http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/royal-air-force-all-roles-open-women-defining-moment-gender-parity-equality-raf-defence-a7924426.html, accessed 11 September 2017.
The Telegraph (2017). http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/01/raf-becomes-first-branch-british-military-open-every-role-women/, accessed 11 September 2017.
Thorburn, K. (2013). The EU Directive for gender balanced boards: What does the research say? Norwegian School of Economics, SNS Research Seminar, 20 March. http://www.sns.se/sites/default/files/karin_thorburns_presentation.pdf.
Tyler, G. (2015). Financial services: Contribution to the UK economy. House of Commons Library: Economic Policy and Statistics Section, SN/EP/06193.
Uhl-Bien, M. (2005). Relational leadership theory: Exploring the social processes of leadership and organizing. *Leadership Quarterly*, *17*(6), 654–676.
UK Government (2016). Women in Finance Charter. HM Treasury and Stephen Barclay MP. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/women-in-finance-charter, accessed 12 September 2017.
UKCES (2012). Financial, insurance and other professional services: Sector skills assessment 2012. Briefing Paper, November. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/financial-services-sector-skills-assessment.
van Emmerik, I. J. H., Euwema, M., & Wendt, H. (2008). Leadership behaviors around the world. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, *8*(3), 297–315.

van Staveren, I. (2014). The Lehman Sisters hypothesis. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, *38*(5), 995–1014.
Vial, A. C., Napier, J. L., & Brescoll, V. L. (2016). A bed of thorns: Female leaders and the self-reinforcing cycle of illegitimacy. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *27*(3), 400–414.
von Hippel, C., Sekaquaptewa, D., & McFarlane, M. (2015). Stereotype threat among women in finance. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *39*(3), 405–414.
Weidnerová, S., & Mateju, P. (2015). The role of values in choosing between a career and the home: An international comparison. *Sociologicky Casopis*, *51*(4), 637–666.
Williams, J. C., Blair-Loy, M., & Berdahl, J. L. (2016). Beyond work–life integration. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *67*, 515–539.
Zenger, J., & Folkman, J. (2012). Are women better leaders than men? *Harvard Business Review*, 15 March.

APPENDIX

Search criteria:

- Peer reviewed journal articles (available online through Lancaster University Library services)
- Published between 01/01/2008 and 31/08/2017
- Description contains the words listed in the first column of the table below.

Description contains	Number of articles found	Number of articles relevant[c] to this chapter	References
Women + finance + management	118[a]	5	Barbulescu & Bidwell (2013) Galbraith (2010) Sheerin (2013) van Staveren (2014) von Hippel et al. (2015)
Women + finance + manager	8[b]	0	
Women + finance + senior roles	4[b]	2	Neck (2015a, 2015b)
Women + finance + leader	5	0	
Women + finance + leadership	37[b]	2	Lewis-Enright et al. (2009) van Staveren (2014)
Women + finance + gender bias	15	0	
Women + financial services + management	181[a]	1	Palmer & Bosch (2017)
Women + financial services + manager	12	0	
Women + financial services + senior roles	5	1	Fahy (2010)
Women + financial services + leader	3	0	
Women + financial services + leadership	38[a]	3	Grappendorf & Burton (2014) Lakshminarayanan (2011) Hopkins & Bilimoria (2008)
Women + financial services + gender bias	21	0	
Women + banking + management	60[b]	6	von Hippel et al. (2015) Metz (2009, 2011) Sheerin (2013) van Staveren (2014) Sealy (2010)
Women + banking + manager	4[b]	0	
Women + banking + senior roles	1	1	HSBC (2014)
Women + banking + leader	1	0	
Women + banking + leadership	14	2	van Staveren (2014) HSBC (2014)
Women + banking + gender bias	8	0	

Notes:

a Most of these articles were excluded after reading the Abstract, because they address subjects not relevant to this chapter, e.g., women's personal financial behaviour, health studies, medicine, rural development, marketing, community development.

b Some articles addressed the underrepresentation of women in senior management, but were excluded because the empirical research was conducted in countries culturally distinct from the UK (e.g., Oman, India, Nigeria, Pakistan).

c Articles were deemed relevant if they addressed the issues affecting women progressing into senior roles within the financial services sector *and* the article is informed by empirical research within the sector. Further searches were also conducted replacing 'banking' with 'accounting' or 'insurance' and other industry-relevant terms, but no additional articles were found.

24. Women as leaders and managers in sports: understanding key career enablers and constraints in the British horseracing industry

Kate Clayton-Hathway and Ulrike Fasbender

INTRODUCTION

Globally, women's participation in sport has reached some significant milestones, with around 45 per cent of the athletes taking part in the 2016 Rio Olympics being women, the highest ever. Audiences have grown for female participation in football, rugby, cricket, hockey and other sports. However, women's involvement *off* the field has not progressed at the same rates, with women continuing to be underrepresented in sports management and leadership roles at national and regional levels. In 2016, women made up just 16.6 per cent of decision-making positions within the Olympic movement, a decrease of 1 per cent from 2014. Within Europe, numbers of women directors in national sports organizations remain low (Women on Boards, 2016). A paucity of women in leadership roles and national, governing board positions in sport has been recognized for some time and has attracted a range of studies demonstrating how men maintain privileged positions in sports leadership (see, for example, Adriaanse, 2016; Adriaanse and Claringbould, 2014; Sibson, 2010).

Yet, little empirical research exists on gender and leadership in the sport of horseracing. This is a complex industry that consists of many key participants. In the UK, the sport is a significant employer and comprises many diverse and differently sized organizations. Given increasing interest in both women's role in UK sports and government-backed initiatives to raise the number of women on company boards, a study on the role of gender in this area is timely. Against this background, the present chapter explores the issues encountered by women seeking career progression and senior leadership roles in the British horseracing industry.[1] In particular, we present the results of a research study investigating key career enablers and constraints.

WOMEN, SPORT AND LEADERSHIP

Women as Leaders in the UK

In the UK, sport forms a significant part of the UK economy and in 2015 around 44 per cent of this sector's employees were women (Eurostat, 2015). The goal to increase the number of women participating in sport has been a growing focus of policy and investment, for example, the UK-wide, 'This Girl Can'[2] campaign.

More widely, the issue of gender diversity in business has become increasingly prominent in the UK in recent years, reflecting ongoing government and business community concerns about loss of talent and having the best leadership capability to be globally competitive. Following the 2010, five-year strategy from the European Commission, which included addressing women's underrepresentation in key decision-making roles (European Commission, 2010), the UK launched a government-backed review and examined the underrepresentation of women on boards of the UK's Financial Times Stock Exchange (FTSE) companies. The resultant business-led voluntary framework for action set out a need to collect and analyse data, act on feedback and learn to recognize unconscious bias that can cause decision-makers to make assumptions about women's ambition, preferences or personal circumstances. The subsequent period from 2010 to 2015 saw women's representation on the UK's FTSE 100 boards more than double to 26 per cent with no boards in the FTSE 100 having an all-male board (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2015). Targets are therefore identified as a 'key catalyst to speed up the pace of change' and further goals have been set including a FTSE 100 target for 33 per cent female representation in executive positions (Hampton-Alexander Review, 2016, p. 12). A goal of 30 per cent female membership is widely sought as the minimum required to achieve 'critical mass', avoid tokenistic representation and impact board dynamics (Kanter, 1977; Konrad et al., 2008).

Similar initiatives have been extended into the sports sector where publicly funded sports organizations were set a target of 30 per cent gender diversity and each required to demonstrate 'a strong and public commitment to progressing towards achieving gender parity [. . .] on its Board' to be eligible for support (UK Sport, 2016, p. 26). However, reflecting global and European trends, women remain underrepresented in senior and governance roles. In 2016, half of sixty-eight national sports governing bodies had less than 30 per cent female non-executive directors and just 23 per cent of chief executive officers were female. Moreover, from a high-point of 42 per cent of women in senior leadership roles in national governing bodies in 2014, the percentage fell to 36 per cent in 2016 (Women in Sport, 2017).

The 'Case' for Women in Leadership Roles

The inclusion of women in all roles within sport leadership is essential for increasing their influence in ways that will allow them to set agendas, contribute to decision-making and distribute resources. Those who campaign for change in the sports sector argue that more diversity in decision-making roles leads to improved economic results and improved governance for sports organizations (Women on Boards, 2016).

In the wider, corporate sector, many studies seek to justify the presence of women in leadership and board positions. Underpinning much of the research is a desire to support a 'business case' for them to be there. De Beaufort and Summers (2014, p. 101), for example, argue that the different skills sets women can bring are a strength and create a 'mixed power model' integrating masculine and feminine behaviours for positive impact. Different leadership styles and qualities such as team-working, empathy and emotional intelligence are often associated with female board members. Other research has shown positive board member relationships arising from diversity. This work assesses the positive effects of women on board processes, for example, in their control of conflict or strategies for decision-making, with assumptions that women bring 'something extra' to the board through their personality characteristics and/or non-traditional skills set (Carter et al., 2003; Nielsen and Huse, 2010).

Some also support a 'moral' case for gender diversity, based on the principles of equality, dignity and respect, or emphasize an integrated relationship between the individual, business and society, which forms the core argument of corporate social responsibility (Tatli et al., 2014, cited in Karataş-Özkan et al., 2014). Others argue that women on boards can increase organizational legitimacy and corporate reputation with both existing female employees and potential recruits (Terjesen et al., 2009).

Career Barriers

A series of factors can act as barriers for women in achieving leadership positions and these may combine at different stages of their careers. Explanations for low numbers of women in leadership roles have often focused on the 'supply pipeline', arguing that a range of causes such as caring and family responsibilities, exhibiting fewer leadership traits and being less motivated to attain high-level roles leads to a shortage of female talent to 'feed' senior levels. Within sport, the barriers identified are also attributed to the traditions, long-standing members and 'old boys' networks' which challenge any attempts to create a more inclusive environment (Shaw, 2006). Further, disincentives identified to women's aspiration included feeling pressurized to 'fit' with male-dominated culture (Claringbould and Knoppers, 2007) and overcompensating to prove themselves worthy (Inglis et al, 2000; Walker and Bopp, 2011) and facing persistent discrimination (Burton, 2015). Gender segregation and stereotyping, perceptions of women's leadership styles, work–life balance and the influence of different career paths are further factors identified, and these are explored in the following sections.

Gender segregation

Many sectors and industries experience 'vertical segregation' along gender lines with men concentrated in more senior roles. This is often attributed to the 'glass ceiling', a barrier of prejudice and discrimination which, though unseen, prevents upward movement and increases as women ascend the hierarchy (Galloway, 2012). Eagly and Carli (2007) dispute the idea of a single obstacle, describing instead a 'labyrinth' that is a complex endeavour to negotiate different barriers at different stages in the work-life cycle.

Horizontal segregation can also exist, i.e., women and men concentrated in different types of jobs. Women, for example, are regularly pinned to 'motherly' roles (sometimes known as the '3Cs': care, concern and connection) which are often assigned a lower status (Charles and Grusky, 2004). Within sport, the 'glass wall' metaphor is sometimes used to describe an invisible barrier that obstructs lateral movement and places women in 'female appropriate' roles affording men greater numbers of opportunities (Galloway, 2012, p. 55). Studies by Walker et al. (2011) and Menaker and Walker (2013), for example, identified bias against hiring women to train male athletes, despite their being fully or over-qualified for the role.

Shaw and Frisby (2006) and Cunningham (2008) contend that masculinity and gender inequality can become institutionalized, with male behaviours and activities often seen as appropriate and required. Qualities associated with men can become normalized and prioritized within key organizational processes such as selection, recruitment and promotion (Gronn and Lacey, 2006). This takes place through a process termed 'homologous reproduction' (Kanter, 1977) in which a dominant coalition (i.e., men) works systematically to 'reproduce' itself, maintaining the status quo of male authority within the organization's structures; several studies (e.g., Joseph and Anderson, 2016; Regan and Cunningham, 2012; Whisenant and Mullane, 2007) have identified this as a phenomenon in the sports world. Anderson (2009), for example, identified how male leaders with responsibility for hiring 'seek similar qualities in people they hire – appointing clones to reproduce the masculinized nature of their sport', often assuming that the best person for the role is the one who is least threatening to the current structure (Anderson, 2009, p. 7). Transparency in hiring processes, organizational support for the inclusion of women and both men and women in sport leadership positions taking a role as advocates for change are some of the ways such gender bias might be addressed (Walker and Bopp, 2011; Walker and Sartore-Baldwin, 2013).

Many organizations identify as meritocracies, though it must be recognized that 'merit' can be constructed in both objective and subjective ways (Thornton, 2015, cited in Rodgers, 2015). Objective aspects relate to verifiable factors such as qualifications, work experience and so on. However, subjective factors are open to interpretation by those involved in recruitment and selection processes, and may be evaluated against the prevailing norms of the organization. This can disadvantage candidates whose profile does not match existing norms and values, with 'merit' exercised using 'cultural fit' as a veil for pre-existing (possibly subconscious) prejudices which ultimately reinforce the status quo (McNamee and Miller, 2009).

Gender stereotypes

Gender stereotypes can lead to women being perceived differently to men. Underlying social perceptions, on encountering others, relate to both 'warmth' and 'competence'. The 'warmth' dimension engenders impressions about friendliness, trustworthiness and helpfulness, whereas the 'competence' dimension reflects traits such as respect and efficiency (Fiske et al., 2007). Based on these, some hold strong beliefs about the attributes of men and women and their social roles and acceptable behaviour, which in turn set internalized, stereotypical expectations about what women do and what they *ought* to do. 'Communal characteristics' (pertaining to 'warmth') describe a concern with others' well-being, sympathy and nurturing and are often ascribed to women. 'Agentic' characteristics (pertaining to 'competence') such as assertiveness, ambition and confidence are ascribed to men.

Eagly and Karau (2002) identified that the dissimilarity, or incongruity between ascribed, often idealized female roles and leadership characteristics can lead to prejudice against women in senior roles. Furthermore, they highlight that women are subject to prejudice in two respects. Firstly, females are considered less qualified for leadership because expectations are set for women to be more communal than agentic. Secondly, women who do display the qualities considered important for leadership are judged less positively than a man in the same position because typical leadership traits are incompatible with the acceptable female attributes. This has been described as the 'double bind' situation where women leaders are criticized for being less agentic, but more agentic women are seen as uncaring or lacking empathy. Within the sports sector, Burton et al. (2009) found that women in director positions were judged capable of possessing 'masculine' managerial characteristics such as delegation or problem-solving skills, but that these are not seen as the way women should act.

Gender differences are widely perpetuated throughout sport. Women athletes, for example, face 'gender marking' which verbally and visually presents male athletes and men's sports as the norm with women athletes and competitions as secondary (Fink, 2015). Arguably, this context makes it easier to undermine women's leadership capabilities (Sinclair, 2013, cited in Ladkin and Spiller, 2013), thus trivializing women's accomplishments. Furthermore, sportswomen and female athletes are objectified through sexually suggestive coverage (Clavio and Eagleman, 2011); their appearance given precedence over their athletic performance or skills (Trolan, 2013); infantilized by being described as 'girls', which can position them as weak or unsuited to the physical demands of sport (Bernstein, 2002; Butler and Charles, 2012); or portrayed as being the wrong shape and therefore less resilient than males (Butler and Charles, 2012). Muscular and strong female bodies are shown as 'manly' or 'unfeminine' (Godoy-Pressland, 2016); or female athletes are depicted in heteronormative roles as wives, girlfriends and mothers (Cooky et al., 2013).

Leadership styles

Women in leadership positions may also be perceived less favourably than men, simply because of their differing styles. While masculine leadership styles may emphasize the end-result and 'quick wins' of relationships, more feminine styles often focus on the means of reaching the outcome and the quality of relationships (Annis and Gray, 2013). Carli and Eagly (2011) found that women might look for input from others in an effort to make people feel included and create open communication channels. Such softer communication styles, however, can be interpreted as displaying a lack of self-confidence or a failure to exercise authority effectively, rather than an attempt to be respectful or considerate. Furthermore, Kumra and Vinnicombe (2010) highlighted how women within masculine organizational cultures are expected to perform at a high level whilst maintaining 'impression management techniques' to ensure they fit the key organizational norms of being ambitious, available and likeable whilst dispelling negative stereotypes attached to their gender. The Hampton-Alexander Review (2016) also argue that demonstrating 'stereotypically feminine' traits of showing concern and care can lead to being liked but not respected, producing a trade-off between competence and likeability.

These factors can feed prejudicial views regarding women's suitability for leadership. Within sports organizations, for example, managers have been shown to give more challenging interviews to female applicants because they assumed them to be less well-suited to the role than a man (Shaw and Hoeber, 2003).

Work–life balance

Women often bear the role of primary carer, and have family responsibilities that can be incompatible with organizational practices that demand a separation between career and life (O'Neil et al., 2008). This can pose a challenge of competing priorities for women, where job, childcare and other domestic responsibilities struggle to find an equilibrium (Zilanawala, 2016). In the sports sector, women have seen family responsibilities as a primary obstacle to leadership success through their influence on career decisions and work capacities (Pfister and Radtke, 2009). Dixon and Bruening (2005) and Adriaanse (2016) argue that some specific elements of the sports sector make it particularly susceptible to work–life conflict, including a need for long and non-standard hours and extensive travel. The requirement to be available in addition to working longer than a normal working week may also be a factor that deters women from applying for leadership roles involving dealing with complex and competing demands (Billing, 2011).

Career paths

Traditionally, men have followed a linear career progression pattern, advancing through the ranks of the organizational hierarchy, working steadily, 'full-time', with vertical advancement, external rewards, organizational loyalty and job security (MacDermid et al., 2001, cited in McDonald et al., 2005). In general, career patterns, however, are becoming less linear, with a change to more 'boundaryless' or 'protean' careers, i.e., driven by individual values and an emphasis on a self-directed approach (Briscoe et al., 2006).

Women's careers can also be strongly influenced by change and compromise (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006), and they often find themselves at 'priority junctions', where certain family responsibilities (pregnancy, raising young or teenaged children, eldercare) take priority over other commitments. Therefore, their careers may be interconnected with their lives in more complex ways as they attempt to balance work and non-work issues with other personal and societal factors (O'Neil and Bilimoria, 2005; O'Neil et al., 2008). This may be perceived as a lack of commitment and a move away from normative pathways, which can limit rewards and reduce the chances of success (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).

Career enablers

Several factors have been identified as enablers in developing women's careers. These include the importance of accumulating social capital (e.g., professional networks) and mentoring or sponsorship from senior and influential colleagues (De Vries et al., 2006; Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2010).

Social and human capital

Fugate et al. (2004) identify adaptability as an essential component for career success in times where the pace of change is high, boundaries between jobs, organizations and life roles are increasingly blurred and individuals must negotiate a variety of role transitions. Both social and human capital are important elements of remaining employable and realizing opportunities in the job marketplace.

Social capital provides individuals with career-enhancing opportunities through information, influence and reciprocity along with access to formal and informal social networks, which, in turn, can feed professional and personal development (Fugate et al., 2004). Studies on the success factors of women in sports organizations showed social capital, such as networks of peers, being less available to women and having greater impact on men's careers in sport leadership, with the differences between the two having negative impact both on women's aspirations and their access to opportunities (Anderson, 2009; Burton, 2015; Walker and Bopp, 2011). Women with strong social networks and identifiable models viewed these as career-enhancing (Dixon and Bruening, 2005; Inglis et al., 2000).

Human capital encompasses a range of factors that include work experience and training, knowledge, skills and abilities, possession of which demonstrates an individual's commitment and ability to meet employers' performance expectations. In addition, developing human capital allows employees to be more adaptable, and able to negotiate changing and dynamic environments (Fugate et al., 2004). Studies in the sports sector have identified the importance of human capital in relation to career development which might include education, formal training, on-the-job training (Sagas and Cunningham, 2004) and developing intrapersonal skills such as self-confidence and self-motivation which create a competent leader (Brown and Light, 2012). O'Neil et al. (2008) found that human capital is critical for women's careers. However, taking time out for childbirth and caring responsibilities can impact women's human capital, having a negative effect on those careers.

Mentoring and sponsorship

Sponsorship from within personal networks is a consistent success factor for both men and women in achieving board appointments. However, whilst men are more likely to receive proactive sponsorship, women tend to have advisers and individuals who encourage them, including head-hunters, peers or colleagues (Brown et al., 2015). Ibarra et al. (2010) identify mentoring as a potential success factor, but this takes different forms: where there is 'sponsorship' the mentor goes beyond giving feedback, advice and counselling, and uses their influence to advocate for their mentee. Women are more likely to be promoted and apply for senior roles if they receive this type of sponsorship within their mentoring relationships.

WOMEN IN BRITISH HORSERACING INDUSTRY STUDY

Context and Background

British horseracing is a very broad industry, having strong links with and supporting a variety of economic sectors including horse breeders, trainers and owners, jockeys, stable staff plus event planning, media, catering, veterinary medicine, betting and racing governance. The industry has modernized and expanded significantly in the last few decades, and racecourses have diversified into mainstream entertainment venues. As such a multifaceted industry, it contributes significantly to the wider economy.

The industry provides a wide spectrum of career opportunities through the variety of career paths and role types that are available, attracting increasing numbers of women. However, women remain underrepresented in the leadership structures of the sport. As British horseracing does not attract any public funding, there is no government-led incentive to set targets for gender diversity. Equestrian sports are unusual in that men and women compete on equal terms; however, the relative success of women in equestrian sport is not replicated in horseracing. Amongst notable women athletes in horseracing none were represented in the list of top ten flat or jump jockeys during 2015 (British Horseracing Authority, 2017).

Methodology

The study was designed using a mixed methodology, which encompassed both a quantitative and a qualitative approach. This approach was chosen to provide a broader perspective, and help achieve greater confidence in the research findings (Webb et al., 1966). For the purposes of this chapter, the qualitative element comprising free-format commentary from responses to a survey questionnaire and interview data was extracted as this provided a particularly rich data set allowing deeper analysis of participants' perceptions and experiences.

Existing literature and policy materials relating to women and leadership set the context for initial discussions with a small steering group of horseracing industry stakeholders. Using these discussions to identify key issues specific to women's roles in the horseracing industry, we developed and disseminated an online questionnaire. This explored the career constraints and enablers of individuals involved in all areas of horseracing, and involved men and women from a variety of roles to obtain the greatest possible spread of perspectives.

Overall, 393 people participated in the survey, representing a wide range of individuals from the horseracing community. The distribution of survey participants is shown in Table 24.1. Alongside this, we conducted sixteen semi-structured interviews with senior

Table 24.1 Demographic characteristics of survey respondents

Gender	
Female	79.4%
Male	18.8%
Chose not to say	1.8%
Age	
Most highly represented groups for women were 35–44 (29% of female respondents); 25–34 (28.5% of female respondents).	
Most highly represented groups for men were 45–54 range (29.7% of male respondents) and the 35–44 group (18.9% of male respondents).	
Both men and women were represented from 18–65+.	
Job experience	
The largest group represented were those with experience in racing administration (indicated in 21% of responses), followed by stable staff (14%) then being a racehorse owner (11%).	
55.9% had over 10 years' total experience.	
Many reported lifelong participation in the industry in a *variety* of roles both paid and unpaid.	
Employment types	
85% were in permanent employment.	
Some also combined this with temporary or self-employed work within the industry and in addition a number reported voluntary work, board positions, amateur status or honorary positions.	
Part-time employment was not particularly common for permanent employees (12%), though more so for those on temporary contracts (33%).	

figures, nine of whom were male and seven female, to explore their individual perspectives on gender and leadership across the industry. These individuals were invited to take part by the steering group on the basis of long-standing industry experience and comprised representation from many areas of horseracing including breeding, racehorse training, racecourse management, equine and human welfare, jockeys, stable staff, governing bodies, media and education.

Extensive qualitative data were collected in the form of interview transcriptions and survey participant text, which we coded thematically. To achieve this, we developed a small number of pre-set categories for analysis based on the initial findings of the literature and policy review. In addition, open coding was used based on grounded theory procedures to inductively develop further categorization (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, cited in Silverman, 2005), and allowing any previously unidentified themes to emerge (Charmaz, 2004, cited in Nagy Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2004). Systematic and reiterative reading and discussion within the research team produced a set of key topics and primary areas for focus, under which we could group our findings and further develop discussion.

Empirical Findings

Working environment

Our findings indicated a wide range of factors that had an impact on career progression for women within the horseracing industry. It was notable that career structures can be extremely complex, with many successful individuals in the industry having a lifelong interest in the sport and holding (or having held) multiple paid and unpaid voluntary roles that helped them develop an understanding of how the industry works. Racing is seen by many as a 'way of life', so those with conflicting priorities such as childcare are often portrayed as not taking their role seriously: working flexibly or part-time can be viewed very negatively with ramifications for career opportunities.

In some parts of the industry, particularly small businesses and/or roles working with animals, there is less scope for flexibility if there is no colleague to cover or the working day must meet the animals' needs. In addition, some employers are based in rural or remote locations, at a distance from the areas where racing activity is concentrated. Other, larger, employers though, such as racecourses, allow for a wider range of opportunities and more flexible job roles.

Stereotyping and segregation

These were widely evident, with specific areas categorized as particularly successful for women, such as breeding and bloodstock work, and there were strong perceptions that women have greater empathy with animals than men do and are better at nurturing and caring roles. Some roles were reported as particularly male-dominated and/or 'traditional', including professional jockeys, aspects of print and television media, trainers and stable staff. One female survey participant stated: 'Sexism is still a big issue and people consider elements of the job/roles in industry as [a] male or female role. Woman can nurse foals, men can do stallions etc.'

Popular 'narratives' were evident regarding the different roles women take. One such was that women choose to focus in particular career areas – animal care and HR, for example. One (female) interview participant stated that 'I think women were always interested [in stud farming], because women are always interested in animals', and another highlighted 'a perception that women understand horses or animals better. They're more empathetic'. Another view was that the physical nature of some roles, working in yards and in the open air, for example, means women choose to move on whilst men tend to 'survive' and progress to more senior roles.

Women from across the industry reported being patronized, not being taken seriously or being denied opportunities because of their gender, and several female participants reported facing hostility when considering more senior roles. One female survey participant described how: 'I often get asked to do secretarial work by the older men in the company [despite being an account executive]. They are just very old school and so don't see that I could deem this as derogatory.' Another female survey participant said she 'was discouraged from moving forwards into [a] pupil assistant type role based on my sex' and instead was 'pigeon-holed into a secretarial role'. A further female survey participant, whose managing director had moved on leaving a vacancy 'did not feel that as his second in command [they] would consider a woman in the role. This was never overt however I was not encouraged to apply.'

Though high numbers of women are present at the lower levels of the industry, for example through racing colleges, this is not replicated at the top of the hierarchy which is predominantly populated by men. Although talented women were identified as progressing into key roles, including chief executives (albeit in small numbers), several participants described a bottleneck at senior level and underrepresentation of women in director and executive roles. Analysis of UK horseracing organizations showed that women are more widely represented on charitable boards than other types of board, with 34 per cent of total trustee board membership being female. On other boards, including those integral to industry governance, women constitute just 16 per cent of total membership with five boards having no women at all.

Pregnancy/maternity/caring responsibilities

Negative attitudes towards women during pregnancy, maternity leave and periods of childcare were widely reported. Younger women were seen as less desirable employees because they might leave to have children, and some reported views that motherhood is incompatible with a management or executive role. One male interviewee stated:

> I know it happens. A woman whose child is sick and has to go home early or come in late because there may have been a childcare issue. You know you can get the rolling of the eyes, can't you! But the same guy that might be leaving at 3pm in the afternoon for a game of golf with a colleague is almost a slap on the back and "Go on! Friday! Off you go!"

A female participant shared her experience of poor treatment around maternity and childcare: 'Having been pregnant, I found the support and acceptance extremely poor. When trying to return to my post it was made virtually impossible and I have had to resign. My bonus was withheld as apparently I couldn't claim as I was on maternity leave.'

Additional barriers were also identified for women with caring responsibilities. For example, the need to travel and perform shift work in some roles, particularly when working with horses, but also in the media, dictates where to live and can limit access to good quality childcare.

Career development

Access to *social capital* was limited for some as male-dominated structures and environments restricted the available mentoring and networking opportunities. In terms of *human capital*, training and development opportunities spanned the industry presenting opportunities for formal or structured learning, ranging from apprenticeship qualifications through to a management academy and an MBA programme. Some participants, however, identified that lack of opportunities for and understanding of training and development had constrained their careers.

Retraining opportunities were identified as particularly important for women with childcare responsibilities (either to switch roles, or to make up for 'lost time'), though were closed to some because of cost or an inability to access them, for example, for those based in more remote or rural geographical locations. In addition, those in freelance or self-employed roles had less access to training and networking opportunities because of cost implications.

Mentoring was felt to be particularly useful for understanding the complexities of the industry and helping to build credibility. Many participants reported positive and useful experiences, and where no mentor was available, this was a key career constraint. One female survey participant felt that 'the company I work for has very few women in managerial roles to act as mentors or role models'. Another said she 'just never really had the support and encouragement to go further. A good mentor would have helped, but [I] never found the right person.'

Networks, including friendship networks and contacts outside of the industry, were identified as key for career development, and a significant career enabler. However, some networks, including male-only events and clubs, exclude women and create an area of disadvantage. Furthermore, women who have taken time out for family responsibilities were often less able to build up contacts and industry knowledge. Several women highlighted the importance of women supporting one another, and one female interview participant talked about the importance of a women's networking group she belonged to: 'I think the dynamics of walking into a room full of women is just so different to walking into a room full of people of both genders . . . there's a very supportive network there. And I think for young women going into the industry . . . the confidence that that can give you, and the support they can give you is really important.'

Furthermore, female *role models* were seen as exceptionally important for showing younger women that success is possible. Senior women who have successfully balanced family life and career and can influence both male colleagues' behaviour and/or influence institutional practices were highly valued as inspirational figures. These women helped some to set career goals given the complexity of the industry and the range of potential career pathways.

DISCUSSION

With the modernization of the horseracing industry, women have become increasingly prominent. Diversification has broadened the skills base needed, opening up opportunities for women, though often in more traditionally 'female areas' such as HR or the charitable sector. There has, though, been a breakthrough of women in previously 'male-dominated' areas such as becoming owners and, to an extent, trainers. Racecourse management was identified as a particularly progressive area driven by its commercial and customer-facing nature.

Our research identified polarized views about the difficulties or disadvantages women in the industry face. Some felt very strongly that there is prejudice and discrimination in many areas of the industry. Others felt equally strongly that the industry is a meritocracy, and that women who do not succeed have either 'chosen' family as an alternative or are not sufficiently committed or talented. Some powerful stereotypes remain, and women are often associated with caring and nurturing roles rather than strategic or governance-related jobs. Other women had faced hostility or struggled to be taken seriously in their work roles. As identified elsewhere in other sports, an 'old boys' network' was apparent, with practices which exclude women (specifically with male-only networks), feeding into a process of 'homologous reproduction' with men protecting each other's interests and advancing the careers of those who reflect their own values or adhere to a perceived standard of 'merit'.

Clearly, issues remain that impact women's progression into senior and leadership roles. The low numbers of women in more senior and executive roles challenge the view that there is a consistent meritocracy. A number of structural constraints were identified that impact women in particular, such as restricted access to opportunities to acquire social capital, poor work–life balance, negative attitudes to pregnancy and maternity, and lack of access to childcare.

The higher representation of senior women in UK horseracing charitable organizations when underrepresented on other boards showed one area where women are concentrated in caring or empathetic roles and this is mirrored elsewhere in the industry. The prevailing view that women have greater talent for caring roles can be career-constraining if this labels them as being less 'business-like' and can lead to stereotyping, segregation and perpetuation of a 'glass wall'. Therefore, when reflecting on a narrative of 'choice', we must recognize the difficulties that women may face which – as many other studies have found – can guide and restrict their career choices and aspirations.

One aspect of the horseracing industry that has evolved is the racing media, particularly televising of the sport. Although this was identified as mainly male-dominated, it was also felt that the gender balance is improving in line with wider social trends and political interest in the subject of representation (though horseracing is a little behind other sports). This was attributed, in part, to the diversity focus of external organizations such as Ofcom;[3] voluntary initiatives which include monitoring gender balance and targets for gender-balanced presenting; and wider political interest in gender equality in the media.[4] Elsewhere, there has been mixed success in the imposition of external targets: though the Davies Review has been the catalyst for increased membership on corporate boards, other initiatives, for example the UK Sport Code for Sports Governance,[5] have been less successful. Such initiatives might require further exploration to inform development of a useful template for the horseracing industry as a whole.

Social capital, as elsewhere in the sports sector, is identified as extremely important, and the role of both formal and informal networks cannot be underestimated as a career enabler. Furthermore, whilst the complexity of the industry provides interesting and diverse career paths, a lack of career structure or conventional career paths can make the industry more difficult to negotiate. This presents challenges for those who take career breaks for caring purposes or who may be unable to undertake unpaid roles to gain experience and build contacts. Increasing opportunities for women to network and increase their social capital should therefore, be a priority.

However, care must be taken with any initiatives to avoid over-focusing on 'fix[ing] the women . . . an organizational reaction to the view that women are less capable of dealing with management positions than men' (Shaw and Frisby, 2006, p. 487), encouraging women to simply learn to emulate characteristics seen as male. Knoppers (1987, p. 11) describes a fixation on the different traits possessed by women and men as a belief that people need to be 'repaired', an approach which often encourages the idea that women bring more deficiencies than assets.

Organizational Strategies for Supporting Women's Career Development

Horseracing faces challenges because of its diverse and far-reaching nature and also its traditional roots, all of which can make it difficult to enact systemic change. Smaller employers in particular were identified as needing support to provide access to initiatives, compared to larger organizations with more resources and more central locations. A series of industry-led initiatives (outlined in Table 24.2) is therefore recommended to both provide the necessary support and ensure any programme to advance gender equality is consistently addressed, with the British Horseracing Authority (BHA) – the industry's key governing body – acting as a key change agent.

Future Research Directions

In terms of contribution to future studies, we see this work as providing support for developing investigation into three areas for horseracing and sport.

Firstly, the diversity of career paths in the industry was striking. 'Portfolio' career patterns, for example, appeared to be widespread amongst both male and female participants. Developing a greater understanding of career patterns and trajectories, and ways in which these are gendered, might enable both horseracing and the wider sports sector to better understand these and to facilitate the provision of more structured career support and development strategies. The complexity of the workforce within horseracing also sets the scene for a range of inter- and cross-industry research, for example, for those engaged in hospitality or the betting sectors.

Secondly, the role of social capital and networks was key, and the modes of operation and the way these are negotiated might, again, help develop a better understanding of ways to develop networking as a career strategy.

Finally, participants gave some insight into intersectional issues relating to gender and age, ethnicity and sexual orientation, and this would be a crucial area for future investigation.

CONCLUSION

This research was carried out at an exciting time both for British horseracing and for those who wish to increase diversity and the number of women in leadership roles. It has

Table 24.2 Organizational strategies for women's career development

Proposed intervention	Goals
• Explore industry-wide channels to achieve greater consistency in and increased access to career-based training. • Recognize the importance of mentoring and its different forms, from formalized relationships through to less formal, 'buddying'; develop industry-standard guidelines on mentoring which includes women from the early stages of their careers. • Explore different ways of *cross-industry* mentoring to give individuals greater opportunities for contact with a broader range of career experiences, in recognition of complex and 'portfolio' career structures.	Increase access to social and human capital.
• Raise the visibility of successful women in the industry; encourage successful women to share their career stories, demonstrate strong role models and share ideas around career paths.	Raise visibility of role models and career possibilities.
• Support employers to explore different shift and working patterns, providing industry-led childcare solutions such as voucher schemes. • Ensure good practice is widely shared, for example, in maternity and pregnancy procedures and recruitment processes which minimize discrimination on the basis of gender.	Address structural, workplace barriers to work–life balance.
• Embed diversity training within wider leadership training industry-wide. • When involving executive search firms for appointments, set gender-based criteria.	Challenge stereotypes and existing structures; change perceptions of leadership; address unconscious bias in organizational processes.
• Establish industry-wide voluntary diversity targets in relation to gender equality in board representation; encourage different bodies and organizations to think about how they might diversify their board representation. • Encourage senior or executive stakeholders (both male and female) to sponsor or mentor a woman. • Arrange shadowing and mentoring opportunities for women below executive level.	Address issues of horizontal segregation; aim for a 'critical mass' of female leadership to avoid tokenism.

contributed to the existing body of research on women and leadership in sport, as well as providing a benchmark for future studies.

There is optimism for the future of the industry, and our study identified change that could widen opportunities for women, including the growing prominence of social media in marketing the industry and the diversification into other sectors such as event management. 'Traditional' careers within horseracing might widen out into less male-dominated domains. Nevertheless, addressing long-standing attitudes and industry features that see racing as a 'way of life' with distinct, gendered role segregation will present a challenge. However, the flexibility that many women have shown in dealing with different roles and priorities may be perceived instead as a positive aspect of their human capital that leaves them well-equipped to meet the demands of an adapting and evolving work environment.

NOTES

1. This work was supported by The Racing Foundation (reference: 104/122). We thank Women in Racing for their special support and encouragement during the data collection. We thank Mieke Tyrrell for her assistance in editing and clarifying the manuscript.
2. http://www.thisgirlcan.co.uk/ – launched in January 2015 and aimed at breaking down the barriers preventing women and girls from participating in sport and physical activity.
3. The UK's communications regulator, https://www.ofcom.org.uk/.
4. For example, the Select Committee on Communications, 2015, Women in news and current affairs broadcasting, http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201415/ldselect/ldcomuni/91/91.pdf.
5. http://www.uksport.gov.uk/resources/governance-code.

REFERENCES

Adriaanse, J. (2016). Gender diversity in the governance of sport associations: The Sydney Scoreboard Global Index of Participation. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *137*(1), 149–60.

Adriaanse, J. and Claringbould, I. (2014). Gender equality in sport leadership: From the Brighton Declaration to the Sydney Scoreboard. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *51*(5), 547–66.

Anderson, E. D. (2009). The maintenance of masculinity among the stakeholders of sport. *Sport Management Review*, *12*(1), 3–14.

Annis, B. and Gray, J. (2013). *Work with Me: The 8 Blind Spots Between Men and Women in Business.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Bernstein, A. (2002). Is it time for a victory lap? Changes in the media coverage of women in sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *37*(3–4), 415–28.

Billing, Y. D. (2011). Are women in management victims of the phantom of the male norm? *Gender, Work & Organization*, *18*(3), 298–317.

Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T. and DeMuth, R. L. F. (2006). Protean and boundaryless careers: An empirical exploration. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *69*(1), 30–47.

British Horseracing Authority (2017). *British Racing Statistics 2015*. London: British Horseracing Authority.

Brown, S., Kelan, E. and Humbert, A. L. (2015). *Opening the Black Box of Board Appointments: Women's and Men's Routes to the Boardroom*. Swindon: ESRC.

Brown, S. and Light, R. L. (2012). Women's sport leadership styles as the result of interaction between feminine and masculine approaches. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Health, Sport and Physical Education*, *3*(3), 185–98.

Burton, L. (2015). Underrepresentation of women in sport leadership: A review of research. *Sport Management Review*, *18*(2), 155–65.

Burton, L. J., Barr, C. A., Fink, J. S. and Bruening, J. E. (2009). 'Think athletic director, think masculine?': Examination of the gender typing of managerial subroles within athletic administration positions. *Sex Roles*, *61*(5–6), 416–26.

Butler, D. and Charles, N. (2012). Exaggerated femininity and tortured masculinity: Embodying gender in the horseracing industry. *Sociological Review*, *60*(4), 676–95.

Carli, L. and Eagly, A. (2011). Gender and leadership. In A. Bryman, D. Collinson, K. Grint, B. Jackson and M. Uhl-Bien (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Leadership* (pp. 103–17). London: Sage.

Carter, D. A., Simkins, B. J. and Simpson, W. G. (2003). Corporate governance, board diversity and firm value. *Financial Review*, *38*(1), 33–53.

Charles, M. and Grusky, D. B. (2004). *Occupational Ghettos: The Worldwide Segregation of Women and Men.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Claringbould, I. and Knoppers, A. (2007). Finding a 'normal' woman: Selection processes for board membership. *Sex Roles*, *56*(7–8), 495–507.

Clavio, G. and Eagleman, A. (2011). Gender and sexually suggestive images in sports blogs. *Journal of Sport Management*, *7*, 295–304.

Cooky, C., Messner, M. and Hextrum, R. (2013). Women play sport, but not on TV: A longitudinal study of televised sport media. *Communication and Sport*, *3*(1), 203–30.

Cunningham, G. B. (2008). Creating and sustaining gender diversity in sport organizations. *Sex Roles*, *58*(1–2), 136–45.

De Beaufort, V. and Summers, L. (2014). Women on boards: Sharing a rigorous vision of the functioning of boards, demanding a new model of corporate governance. *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, *4*(1), 101–40.

De Vries, J., Webb, C. and Eveline, J. (2006). Mentoring for gender equality and organisational change. *Employee Relations*, *28*(6), 573–87.

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (2015). *Improving the Gender Balance on British Boards, Women on Boards Davies Review. Five Year Summary*. London: Department for Business, Innovation and Skills.

Dixon, M. and Bruening, J. (2005). Perspectives on work–family conflict: A review and integrative approach. *Sport Management Review*, *8*(3), 227–54.

Eagly, A. H. and Carli, L. C. (2007). *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth about How Women Become Leaders*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Eagly, A. H. and Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, *109*(3), 573–98.

European Commission (2010). *European Commission Strengthens Its Commitment to Equality between Women and Men.* Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Eurostat (2015). *Eurostat Statistics Explained – Employment in Sport.* Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Fink, J. S. (2015). Female athletes, women's sport, and the sport media commercial complex: Have we really 'come a long way, baby'? *Sport Management Review*, *18*(3), 331–42.

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C. and Glick, P. (2007). Universal dimensions of social cognition: Warmth and competence. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *11*(2), 77–83.

Fugate, M., Kinicki, A. J. and Ashforth, B. E. (2004). Employability: A psycho-social construct, its dimensions, and applications. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, *65*(1), 14–38.

Galloway, B. J. (2012). The glass ceiling: Examining the advancement of women in the domain of athletic administration. *McNair Scholars Research Journal*, *5*(1), Article 6.

Godoy-Pressland, A. (2016). 'No hint of bulging muscles': The surveillance of sportswomen's bodies in British print media. *Journalism*, *17*(6), 744–59.

Gronn, P. and Lacey, K. (2006). Cloning their own: Aspirant principals and the school-based selection game. *Australian Journal of Education*, *50*(2), 102–21.

Hampton-Alexander Review (2016). *Improving Gender Balance in FTSE Leadership*. London: KPMG.

Ibarra, H., Carter, N. M. and Silva, C. (2010). Why men still get more promotions than women. *Harvard Business Review*, *88*(9), 80–85.

Inglis, S., Danylchuk, K. and Pastore, D. (2000). Multiple realities of women's work experiences in coaching and athletic management. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal*, *9*(2), 1–26.

Joseph, L. and Anderson, E. (2016). The influence of gender segregation and teamsport experience on occupational discrimination in sport-based employment. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *25*(5), 586–98.

Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.

Karataş-Özkan, M., Nicolopoulou, K. and Özbilgin, M. (Eds.) (2014). *Corporate Social Responsibility and Human Resource Management: A Diversity Perspective.* Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Knoppers, A. (1987). Gender and the coaching profession. *Quest*, *39*(1), 9–22.

Konrad, A. M., Kramer, V. and Erkut, S. (2008). Critical mass: The impact of three or more women on corporate boards. *Organizational Dynamics*, *37*(2), 145–64.

Kumra, S. and Vinnicombe, S. (2010). Impressing for success: A gendered analysis of a key social capital accumulation strategy. *Gender, Work & Organization*, Special Issue: *Women and Men in Management: Issues for the 21st Century*, *17*(5), 521–46.

Ladkin, D. and Spiller, C. (Eds.) (2013). *Authentic Leadership: Clashes, Convergences and Coalescences*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Mainiero, L. A. and Sullivan, S. E. (2006). *The Opt-Out Revolt: Why People are Leaving Companies to Create Kaleidoscope Careers*. Mountain View, CA: Davies-Black Publishing.

McDonald, P., Brown, K. and Bradley, L. (2005). Have traditional career paths given way to protean ones? *Career Development International*, *10*(2), 109–29.

McNamee, S. and Miller Jr, R. K. (2009). *The Meritocracy Myth*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Menaker, B. and Walker, N. (2013). 'I don't feel that women are capable of coaching a men's team': Impact of hegemonic masculinity on collegiate coaching perceptions. *Journal of Contemporary Athletics*, *7*(1), 37–49.

Nagy Hesse-Biber, S. and Leavy, P. (2004). *Approaches to Qualitative Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nielsen, S. and Huse, M. (2010). The contribution of women on boards of directors: Going beyond the surface. *Corporate Governance: An International Review*, *18*(2), 136–48.

O'Neil, D. A. and Bilimoria, D. (2005). Women's career development phases: Idealism, endurance, and reinvention. *Career Development International*, *10*(3), 168–89.

O'Neil, D. A., Hopkins, M. and Bilimoria, D. (2008). Women's careers at the start of the 21st century: Patterns and paradoxes. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *80*(4), 727–43.

Pfister, G. and Radtke, S. (2009). Sport, women and leadership: Results of a project on executives in German sports organizations. *European Journal of Sport Science*, *9*(4), 229–43.

Regan, M. and Cunningham, G. (2012). Analysis of homologous reproduction in community college athletics. *Journal for the Study of Sports and Athletes in Education*, *6*(2), 161–72.

Rodgers, D. (Ed.) (2015). *Pathway to Gender Equality in Australia: The Role of Merit and Quotas*. Minnamurra: Australian Centre for Leadership for Women.

Sagas, M. and Cunningham, G. H. (2004). Does having 'the right stuff' matter? Gender differences in the determinants of career success among intercollegiate athletic administrators. *Sex Roles*, *50*(5–6), 411–21.

Shaw, S. (2006). Scratching the back of Mr X: Analyzing gendered social processes in sport organizations. *Journal of Sport Management*, *20*(4), 510–34.

Shaw, S. and Frisby, W. (2006). Can gender equity be more equitable? Promoting an alternative frame for sport management research, education and practice. *Journal of Sport Management*, *20*(4), 483–509.

Shaw, S. and Hoeber, L. (2003). A strong man is direct and a direct woman is a bitch: Gendered discourses and their influence on employment roles in sport organizations. *Journal of Sport Management*, *17*(4), 347–75.

Sibson, R. (2010). 'I was banging my head against a brick wall': Exclusionary power and the gendering of sport organizations. *Journal of Sport Management*, *24*(4), 379–99.

Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Terjesen, S., Sealy, R. and Singh, V. (2009). Women directors on corporate boards: A review and research agenda. *Corporate Governance: An International Review*, *17*(3), 320–37.

Trolan, E. J. (2013). The impact of the media on gender inequality within sport. *Procedia – Social and Behavioural Sciences*, *91*, 215–27.

UK Sport (2016). *A Code for Sports Governance*. London: UK Sport.

Walker, N. and Bopp, T. (2011). The underrepresentation of women in the male dominated sport workplace: Perspectives of female coaches. *Journal of Workplace Rights*, *15*(1), 47–64.

Walker, N., Bopp, T. and Sagas, M., (2011). Gender bias in the perception of women as collegiate men's basketball coaches. *Journal for the Study of Sports and Athletes in Education*, *5*(2), 157–76.

Walker, N. and Sartore-Baldwin, M. (2013). Hegemonic masculinity and the institutionalized bias

toward women in men's collegiate basketball: What do men think? *Journal of Sport Management*, *27*(4), 303–15.
Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. D. and Sechrest, L. (1966). *Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences*. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally.
Whisenant, W. A. and Mullane, S. P. (2007). Sport information directors and homologous reproduction. *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing*, *2*(3), 252–63.
Women in Sport (2017). *Beyond 30%: Female Leadership in Sport*. London: Women in Sport.
Women on Boards (2016). *Gender Balance in Global Sport Report*. London: Women on Boards UK.
Zilanawala, A. (2016). Women's time poverty and family structure differences by parenthood and employment. *Journal of Family Issues*, *37*(3), 369–92.

25. Lifetime disadvantage requires lifetime solutions

Susan Bisom-Rapp and Malcolm Sargeant

AGEING IS A GENDER ISSUE

The global population continues to age. According to the United Nations (UN) the number of people in the world who are 60 years and older will grow by 56 per cent between 2015 and 2030. That is a growth of the older population from some 901 million to some 1.4 billion. This figure is likely to increase again, to 2.1 billion, by 2050. The UN projections also show that women outlived men by an average of 4.5 years during the period 2010–2015. As a result of this women made up 54 per cent of the world's population aged 60 years and over and 61 per cent of those aged 80 years and over in 2015. Although the average survival of males is projected to increase and catch up with women, there are still projected to be some 58 per cent of those aged 80 and over in 2050 who are female (UN, 2015).

These global figures are reflected in statistics for the UK and the USA. The 65+ population in the UK made up 18 per cent of the population in 2016 and is projected to grow to 24.7 per cent in the following thirty years (ONS, 2017a). The Office for National Statistics (ONS) states that from age 70, the 2014 UK sex ratio (number of males to females) falls rapidly, dropping below 90 from age 72 and ending at 40 males per 100 females for those aged 90 and over (ONS, 2016). Amongst the 'oldest old', i.e., those aged 90 years plus, there are at least twice as many women as men in the UK (ONS, 2017b). Similar trends are apparent in the USA where, between 2005 and 2015 the population age 60 and over increased by a third from 49.8 million to 66.8 million and the 85+ population is projected to triple from 6.3 million in 2015 to 14.6 million in 2040. Older women outnumbered older men by 26.7 million older women to 21.1 million older men (Administration on Aging, 2016).

Ageing is a gender issue because the majority of the world's older population is female, and because women in later life are likely to be at an economic disadvantage compared to men. Older women generally experience poorer financial outcomes in comparison to older men. They are at greater risk of poverty than their male counterparts (ILO, 2014). This is due partly to women's greater longevity as such income and assets accumulated during their working lives must last longer than for men. It is also partly due to the accumulation of disadvantage during women's working lives. They are more likely to be in part-time work, more likely to be in low paid work and more likely to suffer disadvantage and discrimination arising out of the need for career breaks, particularly in relation to pregnancy and maternity, but also in caring for the elderly.

The US Administration on Aging reported that 'Older women had a higher poverty rate (10.3%) than older men (7%) in 2015. Older persons living alone were much more likely to be poor (15.4%) than were older persons living with families (5.7%). The highest poverty rates were experienced among older Hispanic women who lived alone (40.7%)' (Administration on Aging, 2016, p. 10). Similar gendered disadvantage is present in the European Union (EU). In 2012, some 21.7 per cent of women 65 years old and over were at risk of poverty compared with 16.3 per cent of men (European Commission, 2014). A further EU report stated that, 'when looking at women above age 65, a substantially higher risk of poverty or social exclusion than for their male counterparts becomes apparent. For the EU as a whole, this gender gap amounts to more than four percentage points for people between age 65 and 74, and increases to over six percentage points for those above age 75' (European Commission, 2015a, p. 1).

LATER LIFE SUPPORT

Public and private pension schemes can reflect and even exacerbate gender inequality in the labour market, including wage and benefit inequality. Unless pension providers take into account the gendered nature of working life, then the accumulation of service for state pensions and the ability to contribute to private pension schemes may suffer. In the USA and the UK the choices that women make in relation to work – whether to take up full-time or part-time employment, whether to work in the informal economy, or not to take part in paid employment – are influenced by the availability of formal state or informal family support networks. These decisions can have a significant effect on the ability to accumulate assets and income for later life. The way in which pension and other social security systems are designed 'affects overall income inequality in a country as well as inequality between groups . . . namely women and men' (Bernhardt, 2014).

Globally, pensions coverage for women is lower than that of men. Only about a third of women of working age have some form of legal coverage (ILO, 2014). ILO analysis states that

> women's lower coverage rates for contributory schemes largely reflect their lower labour market participation rates, their over-representation among those working as self-employed or unpaid family workers, or in agriculture or other sectors frequently not covered by existing legislation, and their higher likelihood of having shorter and more often interrupted careers in formal employment, which constrains their ability to contribute to social insurance (or other forms of pension insurance). (ILO 2014, p. 11)

In 2013 the European Commission published an analysis of the gender pensions gap in Europe (Bettio et al., 2013). It estimated that the gap average for the EU-27 averaged 39 per cent. The range between countries was very large with Luxembourg and Germany being the highest at 47 per cent and 44 per cent respectively. At the lower end was Estonia with a gap of just 4 per cent and the Slovak Republic with 8 per cent. A large number of countries were around 30 per cent. In this study the UK had a 43 per cent gender gap.

According to the final report of the UK Commission on Older Women (2015; see also their Interim Report in September 2013), in 2015, only half of British women had adequate retirement incomes and almost one in five women in their 50s saved nothing for their old age. Those who did save did so at a rate of 40 per cent less than men. Over one in ten women still expected to rely on their partner's retirement provisions, leaving them vulnerable on divorce or separation from that partner. Thus there is a pensions pay gap, which, of course, is closely related to the gender pay gap. This pensions pay gap in the UK seems have stagnated in recent years, so in 2009 the expected annual retirement income for women was £13,700 per annum compared to £20,300 for men, giving a gender gap of £6,600. In 2017 the expected retirement income for women had grown to £14,300 per annum compared to £20,700 for men, thus giving a gender gap of £6,400 (Prudential, 2017). The gender gap does fluctuate a little from year to year but the overall impression is of a continuing unacceptable gap. In the USA the pattern is similar with some 55 per cent of those aged 55 to 64 having little or no retirement savings (US General Accountability Office, 2015). Another US government report found that trends in marriage and work patterns are increasing the retirement vulnerability of women (US General Accountability Office, 2014). The median income of older persons in 2015 was $31,372 for males and $18,250 for females (Administration on Aging, 2016).

In a 2015 European research note the authors stated that

> The gender gap in pensions can be understood as the sum of gender inequalities over a lifetime, including differences in the lifecourse (motherhood penalty), segregated labour market and gendered social norms and stereotypes more generally. Therefore, it is important not only to illustrate this equation, but also to consider how the gender gap in pensions relates to wider gender inequalities in society. (Burkevica et al., 2015, p. 4)

This report also notes that social security systems define specific norms on which benefits and other support are based. In particular, pension benefit systems are commonly based on the assumption of full-time, lifelong market participation. This helps perpetuate the stereotype of the male breadwinner with a female partner focused on raising the family.

We summarize here our consideration of the gendered nature of the workforce and the accumulation of disadvantages within the framework of a model of lifetime disadvantage (Bisom-Rapp and Sargeant, 2014, 2016).

We focus on the UK/EU and the USA in particular, to show the inadequacy in the way that the law has been used to tackle this issue. We criticize the approach adopted by legal reformers as one of disjointed incrementalism. Disjointed incrementalism is policy-making characterized by: considering a limited number of familiar policy options; mixing goals and values with empirical analysis; emphasizing the limited social ills to be cured rather than a grand goal to be achieved; proceeding slowly through trial-by-error and correction; examining only some of the potential effects of a policy alternative; and providing space for partisan interest groups to influence policy-making through negotiation (Lindblom, 1979). This approach has resulted in many isolated pieces of legislation and many non-statutory campaigns aimed at tackling various individual disadvantages. Although the position of women has clearly improved since the days of the 'marriage bar' in the UK where women were obliged to give up employment when they married (The Spectator, 1946), there remains significant disadvantage. The lifetime disadvantages shouldered by women might be significantly lessened, and ultimately eliminated, through a comprehensive regulatory framework taking into account the whole lifetime of experiences rather than attempting to tackle each disadvantage on an independent incremental basis. Such an approach would of necessity aim to eradicate the poor outcomes many older women experience in later life.

THE MODEL OF LIFETIME DISADVANTAGE

It is worth noting that any analysis of lifetime work disadvantage must take into account the changing nature of work. Increased 'flexibility' and the casualization of the workforce are issues that affect both men and women. This is particularly evident in the growth of the so-called gig economy. A research report by one organization in the UK defined the gig economy as a way of working that is based on people having temporary jobs or doing separate pieces of work, each paid separately, rather than working for an employer (CIPD, 2017). Of course large numbers of people, including women, have been working in this way for very many years, so it is not offering a definition of any new form of working particularly. At its simplest it means that the nature of work is different to the conventional standard view that jobs consist of open-ended contracts of employment where people work regular hours and are paid at a regular rate. In this new economy those who work in it carry out a series of 'gigs', i.e., one-off jobs, in order to create an income. This must mean that they are either self-employed working perhaps for a number of employers or that they are employed on a series of employed contracts and are employees during their working periods. In either case they are to be paid for a particular task or tasks, rather than receive a guaranteed income.

The changing nature of work is especially important to the model since workplace statutory protection and rights generally depend upon there being an employment relationship between a worker and an employer. Those who freelance or are self-employed do not receive the same levels of protection as employees or workers. Even where an employment relationship can be established, women tend to occupy particular non-standard categories and this may place them outside the protective ambit of certain workplace laws. This is especially the case for part-time workers, who are more likely to be female than male. In the USA, women are almost two times as likely to work part-time as men (Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2015) and comprise two-thirds of the part-time workforce. In the UK, 43 per cent of employed women work part-time and, as in the USA, women in the UK comprise two-thirds of the part-time workforce (ONS, 2017c). By one estimate, the wage penalty for working part-time increased in the USA 'from 39 to 46 per cent' between 1979 and 2012 (Bernhardt, 2014). In other words, American part-time workers earn a median wage 46 per cent less than that of full-time workers, and their position vis-à-vis full-time workers has changed for the worse. Although not entirely comparable, there is a part-time pay penalty in the UK as well (Manning and Petrongolo, 2008).

Secondly, we need to take into account the likelihood of multiple discrimination, particularly, for the purposes of this chapter, in relation to the combination of age and gender. The gender discrimination suffered by women is compounded in later life by the addition of age discrimination. Although both age and gender discrimination at work are unlawful in many countries, including the UK and the USA, there is little to protect older women based on the combination of age and sex. A good example is the UK case of Miriam O'Reilly and the BBC (*Miriam O'Reilly,* 2011). Ms O'Reilly was a TV presenter who claimed that she had suffered from being an older woman in the BBC. Something of the attitudes in the media were revealed in the Employment Tribunal, which cited examples of comments from colleagues such as how she would need to look out for her wrinkles once high definition TV came in, or that it was time for Botox, or whether she should be used for prime time because she would not pass the young and pretty test. She was successful in her claim for sex discrimination, but these comments are ones that are most likely to be made against older women. A UN report (UN Economic and Social Council, 1999, point 15) summed up the impact of the gendered nature of ageing at work:

> Older women's socio-economic status is partially rooted in the gender division of labour which assumes that women's primary involvement is in reproductive labour, unpaid household work, caregiving and unequal power relations at home. Such activities often restrict women's employment opportunities, mobility, educational attainment and skills development. When they actively participate in the labour market, most women are concentrated in low-wage, insignificant and demanding jobs, or are relegated to part-time employment with few benefits and little security. Nevertheless, during their lifetime, women spend more time on combined unpaid and paid work than men do. In their life cycle, women earn less and experience inequality at work, in the family and society. Thus, gender, ageing and poverty are interrelated.

The position of older women was summarized in an EIRO report (EIRO, 2009) as follows:

- Older women workers tend to work part-time and a higher proportion are on temporary contracts.
- Women aged 55 years and over are much more likely to be working on insecure contracts than men of the same age.
- The gender pay gap still exists for both older and younger women workers.
- Women are still concentrated in certain occupational groups, such as care workers, clerical workers and service and sales workers.
- The likelihood of a woman being a boss is highest in the 55+ age group.
- Older women are more likely than men to play a dual role of both working and caring, if there are care responsibilities in the family.

The report went on to state that only a small proportion of employers pay specific attention to gender issues but with the rise in the employment rate of older women workers, some employers have introduced measures to improve the working lives of older women workers.

Generally older women may suffer from age and sex discrimination separately or combined into prejudice against older women. Women are traditionally perceived as being 'older' at a much younger age than men and a greater proportion are therefore likely to suffer from age discrimination related to their sex. According to one employer in a survey women who returned to work in their mid-thirties after a career break to raise children were regarded as older workers (Metcalfe, 1990). Other research concluded that 'the disadvantage incurred in being "too young" or "too old" was found to impact more on women than men, suggesting that in these age ranges at least, being female acted to intensify age prejudice' (Duncan and Loretto, 2004, p. 110).

In our model of lifetime disadvantage, we consider the major factors which tend to create unequal outcomes for working women at the end of their careers. We divide them into two groups. The first, gender-based factors, are related to the social or psychological characteristics of gender, particularly those concerned with the stereotyping of women's roles in society. The second, incremental disadvantage factors, are those which produce disadvantage incrementally over a period of time, such as breaks in careers and the gendered nature of work that women carry out.

Gender-Based Factors

Education and training

We begin at the beginning, i.e., the educational system and the way in which young people choose careers and subjects of study. Our concern here is primarily with the UK and the USA, but it needs to be recognized that in some parts of the world there is inequality of access to education between males and females. One estimate is that there are some 131 million girls globally who are out of school and that girls are 1.5 times more likely than boys to be excluded from primary school. One result of this disparity is that women represent some two-thirds of the world's illiterates. Barriers to gender equality in learning include stereotyping and sexism in curricula, textbooks, gender-biased teacher attitudes and classroom practices; school-related gender-based violence; and a lack of separate water and sanitation and menstrual hygiene management facilities for girls (Global Partnership for Education, 2015).

These are not the only issues of course. The historical lack of women in STEM subjects (Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths) leads to extreme outcomes such as the fact that only 17 women have won a Nobel Prize in physics, chemistry or medicine since Marie Curie in 1903, compared to 572 men (UNESCO, 2017). UNESCO's report (2017, p. 12) sums up some of the reasons for the continuing disparity between the genders:

> Studies suggest that girls' disadvantage in STEM is the result of the interaction of a range of factors embedded in both the socialisation and learning processes. These include social, cultural and gender norms which influence the way girls and boys are brought up, learn and interact with parents, family, friends, teachers and the wider community, and which shape their identity, beliefs, behaviour and choices. Self-selection bias, when girls and women chose not to pursue STEM studies or careers, appears to play a key role. However, this 'choice' is an outcome of the socialisation process and stereotypes that are both explicitly and implicitly passed on to girls from a young age.

It is from here that one can begin to consider why there are differences in lifetime outcomes for women compared to men and why, for example, just having legislation on equal pay does not bring real equality in incomes. It is because girls for all these reasons end up choosing subjects and careers which are less financially rewarding. The situation is changing in the UK and USA although slowly, but the potential rewards are great. One US study found 'women with STEM jobs earn . . . 33 per cent more than comparable women in non-STEM jobs . . . [and] the gender wage gap is smaller in STEM jobs than' in other fields (Beede et al., p. 11).

The reasons for female student choices of careers are of course complex and the trends towards greater participation are evident but it is from here that the path to disadvantage over the course of a working life can begin.

Gender stereotyping

When considering the lifetime disadvantage suffered by women, issues related to multiple discrimination are important, particularly in relation to gender and age (we do not go into the meaning of multiple discrimination here, but on the various types – ordinary, additional and intersectional – see Sargeant, 2017, pp. 10–12). So it is not just about stereotypes which assume that women will be the caregivers in a family and that it is they who will sacrifice careers and ambitions in order to care for children and the elderly. It is also about the added issues of stereotyping with regard to older women, although it should be said that many age stereotypes apply to both men and women. A number of studies have been carried out, for example, on the way that the media portrays older people, sometimes positively, but often negatively. In a study carried out by Schmidt and Boland of the way the media depicted older persons, the authors identified twelve subgroups, eight of which were negative (1986). There have also been a number of studies which clearly show that often older people at work are treated negatively compared to younger people. Older workers are perceived as more reliable, more loyal, more committed and less likely to leave than younger workers, but, on the other hand, older workers are more likely to resist change and have problems with technology. They may also be less flexible, less willing to train and be less creative than younger colleagues (McGregor, 2002).

Older women, however, suffer from the disadvantage of the combination of stereotyping based on age and gender, both of which can negatively affect them in the workplace. A TUC analysis stated that 'there is strong evidence that discrimination on the grounds of age and gender continues to disfigure the world of work and that older women face a double disadvantage' (TUC, 2014a, p. 28). A really obvious example is the abuse of older women in television. In the UK a parliamentary report (House of Lords, 2015) on women in the media showed that some 82 per cent of TV presenters over the age of 50 were men. One witness to the inquiry stated that older men could 'continue to function as normal, permitted to be ugly, grizzly, fat, old, and peculiar' (House of Lords 2015, para 114). There is an assumption that audiences prefer younger women presenters and this was the basis of a case brought against the BBC on age and sex discrimination by Miriam O'Reilly. The Employment Tribunal stated that 'the wish to appeal to a prime-time audience, including younger viewers, is a legitimate aim. However, we do not accept that it has been established that choosing younger presenters is required to appeal to such an audience' (*The Guardian*, 2011). These attitudes also affect women outside the media. In the USA, for example, one study found that 'attractive' attorneys earned more than their 'less attractive' colleagues after five years of practice and that the gap increased after fifteen years which suggested, according to the researcher, that there is a correlation between age and attractiveness, and that correlation will affect women more negatively than men (Porter, 2003).

The European Parliament Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (EU, 2013) summed up the issue thus, in an explanatory note to a motion on eliminating gender stereotypes in the EU:

> In addition to this, the negative influences of gender stereotyping reach the top when women reach their retirement pension age. Insecurity caused by flexible working hours in combination with the gender pay gap increase the chance of women to end up in persistent and extreme poverty once they have reached the retirement pension age. Inequality between men and women as a result of gender stereotypes is therefore cumulative; the more women are exposed to stereotypes, the bigger their chances are to end up in poverty later on.

Caregiving and career outcomes

Apart from the generally unequal distribution of domestic work between men and women, there is of course a gendered nature to caregiving. It is predominantly women who provide care for children and for the elderly and sick (Vendramin and Valenduc, 2014). Women generally face three main periods of caregiving: firstly, in relation to parenting their own children, secondly, caring for sick and elderly members of their family and, thirdly, caring for grandchildren. These stages are by no means mutually exclusive.

In relation to parenting there is plenty of evidence that women suffer from discrimination and disadvantage during pregnancy and maternity leave. A 2015 study from the UK Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC, 2015) found, for example that:

- Around one in nine mothers (11 per cent) reported that they were either dismissed; made compulsorily redundant, where others in their workplace were not; or treated so poorly they felt they had to leave their job; if scaled up to the general population this could mean as many as 54,000 mothers a year.
- One in five mothers said they had experienced harassment or negative comments related to pregnancy or flexible working from their employer and/or colleagues; if scaled up to the general population this could mean as many as 100,000 mothers a year.
- 10 per cent of mothers said their employer discouraged them from attending antenatal appointments; if scaled up to the general population this could mean as many as 53,000 mothers a year.

It is when returning to work after maternity leave that women probably suffer from long-term disadvantage. Many women return to part-time work compared to their previous full-time role, which contributes to a reduction in earnings (EOC, 2005). Undoubtedly finance is an issue when deciding when to return to work. One US study found that some 72 per cent of mothers had stayed at home as long as they wanted to. Of the rest the most important reason for returning when they did was income (Declercq et al., 2013).

As for caring for the elderly and sick, one US study estimated that 65.7 million people serve as unpaid family caregivers (Williams et al., 2012). The research also found that women were far more responsible for caregiving than were men. Such American caregivers are predominantly female and made up some 66 per cent of caregivers, excluding those with ordinary parenting responsibilities. There is a link between caregiving and age of course. According to the UK Census 2011 (all the following information comes from the website of Carers UK – see Carers UK, 2015a), some one in five caregivers in the UK are aged between 50 and 64, numbering some 2 million people in all. About 1.3 million caregivers are aged over 65 years and this is the fastest growing group. The gendered nature of caregiving is evident. Some 58 per cent of carers are female and 42 per cent are male. The Census showed that women are more likely to be carers than men. The percentage of carers who are female rises to 60 per cent for those who are caring for 50 hours or more a week. Caring also tends to affect men and women at different times. Women are much more likely to care in middle age. One in four women aged 50–64 have caring responsibilities, compared to one in six men. Women have a 50:50 chance of providing care by the time they are 59, compared with men who have the same chance by the time they are 75 years old.

Self-evidently, caregiving creates a disadvantage for those with caring responsibilities because there may be a conflict between caring and working. One analysis, for example, showed that three in ten carers in full-time employment said that caring has put a strain on relationships with their colleagues at work and 38 per cent have felt isolated from other people at work because of their caring role (Carers UK, 2015b).

Incremental Disadvantage Factors

Next we consider briefly those factors which disadvantage women incrementally over a period of time.

Pay inequality

In a short chapter like this there is insufficient space to show all the evidence about pay inequality between men and women and what causes it. Here we summarize and quote Professor Williams in respect of how women are viewed after having children:

> While some women stand nose pressed against the glass ceiling, many working mothers never get near it. What stops them is the 'maternal wall.' Where mothers are concerned, co-workers and bosses often perceive a trade-off between competence and warmth. (Williams, 2003; see also Williams and Segal, 2003)

The reasons why women are often viewed differently after having children are perhaps historical and complex. One outcome is the gender pay gap. In the USA, women earned 83 per cent of what men earned in 2015 (Pew Research Center, 2017). In the UK estimates are that it will take more than sixty years to end the pay gap (Fawcett Society, 2017) and the European Commission (2014) estimates that women earn about 16 per cent less than men in the EU.

It has been suggested that employed mothers are the group of women that now account for most of the gender gap in wages (Glass, 2004) and that the much of the gender wage gap should be called the family wage gap (Gangl and Ziefle, 2009).

Whatever the reasons, the gap is crucial to understanding why the outcomes in later life are less good for women workers than for male workers. An OECD report notes that 'older women may not meet contributory requirements and are therefore more likely to draw on non-contributory minimum pension payment or old-age safety nets. The data show that across European OECD countries and the United States, pension payments to individuals aged 65 and over were 28% lower, on average, for women than for men' (Rubery et al., 2002).

Occupational segregation and non-standard working

Occupational segregation by gender is linked closely to income inequality. 'Gender segregation – the tendency for men and women to do different jobs – is pervasive across Europe' (Burchell et al., 2014). Just 18 per cent of women work in mixed occupations, some 69 per cent in female-dominated occupations and only 13 per cent in male-dominated occupations. In contrast, only 15 per cent of male employees worked in mixed occupations and 59 per cent in male-dominated occupations (Burchell et al., 2014).

Elsewhere, in 2012 for example, more than half of American women working full-time worked in low-paying positions in administrative support, service and sales, occupying jobs ‘such as secretaries, cashiers, retail sales persons, maids, child care workers, and customer service representatives’ (National Equal Pay Task Force, 2013). The percentage of women in some occupations illustrates the point. Some 96.1 per cent of secretaries and administrative assistants were female, childcare workers – 94.7 per cent, registered nurses – 91.1 per cent, book keeping, accounting and auditing clerks – 90.9 per cent, and so on (US Department of Labor, 2010).

There is a similar story in the UK, where the Women and Work Commission (2006) stated that:

> Women and men tend to do different jobs. Women tend to work in lower paid occupations, in particular dominating the five ‘c’s—caring, cashiering, catering, cleaning, and clerical. The occupations which are regarded as ‘women’s work’ are undervalued.

Occupational segregation by gender is linked closely to income inequality (Hegewisch et al., 2010). There appears to be a negative relationship between the wages paid and the share of women who engage in a particular occupation. The US National Equal Pay Task Force estimated that ‘every 10 percentage point increase in female [occupational] share [is] associated with a 4 per cent decline in average wages’ (2013, p. 27). The UK Office for National Statistics (2017d) states, for example, that:

> Women are much more likely than men to work in low-paid sectors like care and leisure, as well as in administrative and secretarial jobs. Four out of five full-time care and leisure roles are performed by women, but these women earn 9% less per hour, on average, than their male counterparts.

The same report gives nursery and primary school teachers as an example also of an occupation where five out of six workers are female, but there is still a pay gap in favour of men.

One reason for this negative relationship is that many women work part-time and part-time work tends to be less skilled and lower paid. For some, non-standard working means insecure working. This is a particular issue for some women workers. A TUC report on casualization in the UK found that, for example, over half (52 per cent) of temporary workers are women and that women also make up the majority of the ‘zero-hour’ workforce, who are employees with contracts of employment which do not stipulate a minimum number of hours to be worked each week or day (TUC, 2014b).

Retirement and security

For many women who have worked, retirement is negatively affected by all that has preceded it during their working lives. There are likely to have been lower earnings than men over the course of their lifetime and this results in a lower accumulation of assets. A lifetime punctuated by absences from the labour market, part-time working and a conflict between paid work and caregiving leads to inequity in later life. Both men and women can suffer from age discrimination and disadvantage in later life, but women have the additional burden of a lifetime of discrimination and disadvantage.

An EU report (European Commission, 2015b) sums up the analysis:

> Pension systems cumulate gender differences that occur over a people’s lifetime and translate them into pension outcomes. Typical gender differences in formal employment affect contribu-

> tory records, including pay per hour, working hours and number of years worked. Pay differences may be rooted in education and skills levels, as well as various forms of gender segregation and discrimination. Household and caring duties relating to children and frail older relatives explain why women experience more career interruptions and part-time work than men. Lower pensionable ages for women may lead to shorter contributory periods and thus to lower benefits.

It also provides some mitigation by stating:

> But contributory pension schemes may also mitigate the employment handicaps of women through care-crediting, minimum and guaranteed pensions and derived rights such as spouse-supplements and survivor's pensions. Similarly, gender differences in formal employment and contributory records have no impact on the level of basic pensions in countries with residence-based entitlement to universal non-contributory flat-rate pensions.

According to one analysis (Scottish Widows, 2008) some 11 per cent of people stopped their contributions to a pension or long-term savings when they started a family. This rose to 17 per cent for very low income families. Women were twice as likely as men to reduce their savings levels when they had children. Some 24 per cent of men maintained their contributions compared to 12 per cent of women. But, as the report notes, 'women are twice as likely as men to not to be making contributions in the first place (26 per cent compared with 13 per cent of men)'. The same pattern exists in the USA where women are also less likely than men to have a pension or retirement plan such as a 401(k) or an Individual Retirement Account (IRA). They will also accumulate fewer assets (Papke et al., 2008).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have summarized briefly, and probably inadequately, in the space available, the disadvantage and discrimination that women can suffer during their working lives. We have used our own model of lifetime discrimination and disadvantage to focus on those gender-based and incremental disadvantage factors that lead to inequities in later life.

Elsewhere (Bisom-Rapp and Sargeant, 2016) we have considered the legal steps taken by various governments, and in particular those of the UK and the USA, to tackle (or not) the many individual disadvantages itemized above. Laws forbidding gender discrimination at work exist, laws safeguarding equal pay between men and women exist, laws protecting part-time and non-standard workers exist and even state pensions and benefits are equalized between men and women. Despite many measures over a long period of time, disadvantage and discrimination continue.

Governments have approached this issue incrementally and taken many initiatives to tackle individual issues, but, although improvements have happened, there still remains unfairness and inequity which results in women in later life being less well placed than their male counterparts. A good example of this incremental approach failing is that relating to equal pay in the UK. The Equal Pay Act was adopted in 1970 and came into force five years later, in the same year as the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. It subsequently was absorbed into the Equality Act 2010. The legislation on equal pay came about because of the industrial action and protest of sewing machinists employed by Ford UK who objected to their work being classified as unskilled compared to others. Progress has been made and the days of having separate (lower) pay scales for women have long since passed. Yet almost fifty years later there is still a significant pay gap between men and women. Almost fifty years later the government is still tackling unequal pay by introducing new regulations (Equality Act 2010) making those who employ 250 or more people publish annually information about their gender pay gaps. Will these regulations make a difference? They might have some impact, but they are only a statistical analysis of different mean figures for paying male and female workers.

In 2017 the BBC revealed the salaries that it was paying to its senior TV presenters and a huge pay differential between men and women was revealed. In July 2016 also, after the general election, the UK Prime Minister in her inaugural speech on arriving at her official residence stated that 'if you are a women you will earn less than a man'. How is this possible after fifty years of legislation, advisory codes of practice and litigation? There is still a gender pay gap, still a maternal pay gap and still a pensions pay gap.

In our view lifetime disadvantage requires a lifetime solution.

REFERENCES

Administration on Aging (2016). *A Profile of Older Americans 2016*. Department of Health and Human Sciences USA. https://www.acl.gov/sites/default/files/Aging%20and%20Disability%20in%20America/2016-Profile.pdf.

Beede, D., Julian, T., Langdon, D., McKittrick, G., Khan, B. and Doms, M. (2011). *Women in STEM: A Gender Gap to Innovation*. US Department of Commerce. http://www.esa.doc.gov/sites/default/files/reports/documents/womeninstemagaptoinnovation8311.pdf.

Bernhardt, A. (2014). *Labor Standards and the Reorganization of Work: Gaps in Data and Research*. IRLE Working Paper #100-4, U.C. Berkeley. http://www.irle.berkeley.edu/workingpapers/100-14.pdf.

Bettio, F., Tinios, P. and Betti, G. in collaboration with F. Gagliardi and T. Georgiadis (2013). *The Gender Gap in Pensions in the EU*. European Commission. http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/documents/130530_pensions_en.pdf.

Bisom-Rapp, S. and Sargeant, M. (2014). It's complicated: Age, gender and lifetime discrimination against working women – the United States and the UK as examples. *Elder Law Journal*, *22*, 1–110.

Bisom-Rapp, S. and Sargeant, M. (2016). *Lifetime Disadvantage: Discrimination and the Gendered Workforce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burchell, B., Hardy, V., Rubery, J. and Smith, M. (2014). *A New Method to Understand Occupational Gender Segregation in European Labour Markets*. European Commission.

Burkevica, I., Humbert, A. L., Oetke, N. and Paats, M. (2015). *Gender Gap in Pensions in the EU: Research Note to the Latvian Presidency*. European Institute for Gender Equality.

Carers UK (2015a). *Facts about Carers*. Policy Briefing. London: Carers UK. https://www.carersuk.org/for-professionals/policy/policy-library/facts-about-carers-2015.

Carers UK (2015b). *Alone and Caring*. London: Carers UK.

CIPD (2017). *To Gig or Not to Gig? Stories from the Modern Economy*. Survey Report (March). London: CIPD.

Commission on Older Women (2015). Final Report. http://wamuog.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Commission_on_Older_Women_final_report_April_2015.pdf.

Declercq, E. R., Sakala, C., Corry, M. P., Applebaum, S. and Herrlich, A. (2013). *Listening to Mothers III: New Mothers Speak Out*. Report of National Surveys of Women's Childbearing Experiences Conducted October–December 2012 and January–April 2013. http://transform.childbirthconnection.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/LTM-III_NMSO.pdf.

Duncan, C. and Loretto, W. (2004). Never the right age? Gender and age based discrimination in employment. *Gender, Work & Organization, 11*(1), 95–115.
EHRC (2015). *Pregnancy and Maternity-Related Discrimination and Disadvantage*. Equality and Human Rights Commission BIS Research Paper No. 235. London: EHRC.
EIRO (2009). *Drawing on Experience – Older Women Workers in Europe.* http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/htmlfiles/ef0885.htm.
Equal Opportunities Commission [EOC] (2005). *Greater Expectations: EOC's Investigation into Pregnancy Discrimination*. London: EOC.
The Equality Act 2010 (Specific Duties and Public Authorities) Regulations 2017 and The Equality Act 2010 (Gender Pay Gap Information) Regulations 2017.
EU (2013). Report on elimination gender stereotypes in the EU. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=REPORT&reference=A7-2012-0401&format=XML&language=EN#title2.
European Commission (2014). *Tackling the Gender Pay Gap in the European Union*. Directorate-General for Justice. http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/gender_pay_gap/140227_gpg_brochure_web_en.pd.
European Commission (2015a). *Why Older Women are Much More Exposed to the Risk of Poverty than Older Men.* http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=752&newsId=2349&furtherNews=yes.
European Commission (2015b). *The 2015 Pensions Adequacy Report: Current and Future Income Adequacy in Old Age in the EU.*
Fawcett Society (2017). https://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/close-gender-pay-gap.
Gangl, M. and Ziefle, A. (2009). Motherhood, labor force behaviour, and women's careers: an empirical assessment of the wage penalty for motherhood in Britain, Germany, and the United States. *Demography*, *46*(2), 341–69.
Glass, J. (2004). Blessing or curse? Work-family policies and mothers' wage growth over time. *Work and Occupations*, *31*(3), 367–94.
Global Partnership for Education (2015). http://www.globalpartnership.org/focus-areas/girls-education.
The Guardian (2011). Countryfile's Miriam O'Reilly wins BBC ageism claim. 11 January. http://www.theguardian.com/media/2011/jan/11/countryfile-miriam-oreilly-tribunal.
Hegewisch, A., Liepmann, H., Hayes, J. and Hartmann, H. (2010). *Separate and Not Equal? Gender Segregation in the Labor Market and the Gender Wage Gap 2*. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research.
House of Lords (2015). House of Lords Select Committee on Communications 'Women in the News and Current Affairs Broadcasting'. Second Report of Session 2014–15. HL Paper 91.
ILO (2014). *Social Protection for Older Persons: Key Policy Trends and Statistics*. Geneva: International Labour Office. http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_310211.pdf.
Institute for Women's Policy Research (2015). *The Status of Women in the States 2015*. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research.
Lindblom, C. E. (1979). Still muddling, not yet through. *Public Administration Review*, *39*(6), 517–26.
Manning, A. and Petrongolo, B. (2008). The part-time pay penalty for women in Britain. *Economic Journal*, *118*, F28–F51.
McGregor, J. (2002). Stereotypes and older workers. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, *18*, 163–77.
Metcalfe, H. (1990). *Older Workers: Employers' Attitudes and Practices*. Brighton: Institute of Manpower Studies.
Miriam O'Reilly v. BBC. Case Number: 2200423/2010 (2011).
National Equal Pay Task Force (2013). *Fifty Years after the Equal Pay Act: Assessing the Past, Taking Stock of the Future.* Washington, DC: National Equal Pay Task Force.
Office for National Statistics (2016). *Overview of the UK Population*. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/articles/overviewoftheukpopulation/february2016.

Office for National Statistics (2017a). *Overview of the UK Population*. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/articles/overviewoftheukpopulation/july2017.

Office for National Statistics (2017b). *Estimates of the Very Old: 2002 to 2016*.

Office for National Statistics (2017c). *UK Labour Market September 2017*. https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/datasets/summaryoflabourmarketstatistics.

Office for National Statistics (2017d). *How Do the Jobs that Men and Women Do Affect the Gender Pay Gap?* http://visual.ons.gov.uk/how-do-the-jobs-men-and-women-do-affect-the-gender-pay-gap/.

Papke, L. E., Walker, L. and Dworsky, M. (2008). *Retirement Security for Women: Progress to Date and Policies for Tomorrow*. http://www.retirementsecurityproject.org.

Pew Research Center (2017). http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/03/gender-pay-gap-facts/.

Porter, N. B. (2003). Sex plus age discrimination: Protecting older women workers. *Denver University Law Review*, *81*, 79–111 [citing E. M. Adamitis, 'Appearance Matters: A Proposal to Prohibit Appearance Discrimination in Employment', *Washington Law Review* 75 (2000) (citing 'Facial Discrimination: Extending Handicap Law to Employment Discrimination on the Basis of Physical Appearance', 100 *Harvard Law Review* 100 (1987) 2035–52, 2040 (1987))].

Prudential (2017). *Class of 2017: Retirement Income Gender Gap Grows by £1000*. Prudential Assurance. https://www.pru.co.uk/pdf/press-centre/20170628-co2017-gender-gap.pdf.

Rubery, J., Fagan, C., Grimshaw, D., Figueiredo, H. and Smith, M. (2002). *Indicators of Gender Equality in Employment*. Paris: OECD. http://www.oecd.org/gender/data/employment.htm.

Sargeant, M. (2017). *Discrimination and the Law*. London: Routledge.

Schmidt, D. F. and Boland, S. (1986). Structure of perceptions of older adults: Evidence for multiple stereotypes. *Psychology & Ageing*, *1*(3), 255–60.

Scottish Widows (2008). *Women and Pensions Report: What Women Think*. Edinburgh: Scottish Widows.

The Spectator (1946). The marriage bar. *Spectator Magazine*, 23 August. http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/23rd-august-1946/2/the-marriage-bar.

TUC (2014a). *Age Immaterial: Women over 50 in the Workplace*. London: TUC.

TUC (2014b). *Women and Casualisation*. London: TUC.

UN Economic and Social Council (1999). *Gender and Ageing: Problems, Perceptions and Policies*. Follow-up to the Fourth World Conference on Women: Emerging Issues, Trends and New Approaches to Issues Affecting the Situation of Women or Equality between Women and Men. http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/aging.htm.

UNESCO (2017). *Cracking the Code: Girls and Women's Education in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM)*. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0025/002534/253479E.pdf.

United Nations (2015). *World Population Ageing*. New York: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, Population Division.

US Department of Labor (2010). *Leading Occupations of Employed Women*. http://www.dol.gov/wb/factsheets/20lead2010.htm.

US General Accountability Office (2014). *Most Households Approaching Retirement Have Low Savings*. http://www.gao.gov/assets/680/670153.pdf.

US General Accountability Office (2015). *Trends in Marriage and Work Patterns May Increase Economic Vulnerability for Some Retirees*. http://gao.gov/assets/670/660202.pdf.

Vendramin, P. and Valenduc, G. (2014). *A Gender Perspective on Older Workers' Employment and Working Conditions*. Working Paper 2014.03. Brussels: European Trade Union Institute.

Williams, J. C. (2003). The maternal wall. *Harvard Business Review*, October.

Williams, J. C., Devaux, R. and Petrac, P. (2012). *Protecting Family Caregivers from Employment Discrimination*. Washington, DC: AARP Public Policy Institute.

Williams, J. C. and Segal, N. (2003). Beyond the maternal wall: Relief for family caregivers who are discriminated against on the job. *Harvard Women's Law Journal*, *26*, 77–162.

Women and Work Commission (2006). *Shaping A Fairer Future* 4. http://www.ukces.org.uk/assets/ukces/docs/publications/women-and-workshaping-a-fairer-future.pdf.

26. A blind spot in organization studies: gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion*

Shehla Riza Arifeen and Caroline Gatrell

I will be arguing that to create a more just society, people need to feel stronger in their religious identities and more confident in their creeds. In practice this means individuals not diluting their faiths and nations not denying their religious heritages (Baroness Warsi in the *Daily Telegraph*, 13 February 2012[1]).

INTRODUCTION

Most of the management literature in the UK/USA/Canada has focused on the Anglo-Saxon female manager whereas the female ethnic minority manager research is mostly focused on African-Americans (e.g. in the USA, research on the female ethnic minority manager by Combs (2003), Bell and Nkomo (2001), Bova (2000), Blake (1999) and Ferdman (1999)) and to some extent now on Hispanic women (Hite, 2007) or Black and ethnic minority women managers in the UK (Davidson, 1997). Britain today is multicultural (Modood, 2005, 2007; Ryan, 2011). Yet, when we talk of ethnicity and particularly of ethnic women in work organizational context and specifically of ethnic minority women managers, they appear invisible (Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006). While some writers (Bagilhole, 2010) acknowledge that social differentiation creates a non-homogeneous group, in practice in the UK ethnic groups are regarded as one; "minorities". "The term became a code for British citizens from Africa, the Asian subcontinent, and the Caribbean, and their British born children" (Brah, 1994, p. 810).

Nkomo and Stewart (2006, p. 521) describe how "organization and employees were assumed to be void of race", etc. in the early works in organization studies (Fayol, Taylor, Mayo). They explain that as a result of certain legislation in the USA/UK, organizational research on race/ethnicity focused on prejudice reduction and equal opportunity with a focus on documenting differences between men and women and White and non-White. Now, however, diversity has moved beyond just race and gender and has incorporated all groups that could fall in the "socially marked categories" (Nkomo and Stewart, 2006, p. 532) or which could be labeled marginalized. Research on organizations has used many theoretical and research perspectives to understand differences in "diversity" or marginalized groups, in organizations. These include social identity theory, imbedded intergroup relations theory, demography, racioethnicity and gender/feminist anti-racist theories,

* This chapter was previously published in 2013 in *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *28*(3), 151–170.

social dominance theory, critical theory, and post-modern/post-colonial theory. However, Proudford and Nkomo (2006, p. 335) critique the work so far done, by emphasizing that little is known about "the mechanisms that perpetuate and sustain those differences" at the same time arguing that some scholars (Linnehan and Konrad, 1999) have not appreciated the use of the word "diversity" as it obscures the raison d'être of examining marginalized groups, i.e. inequality and "side steps issues of prejudice and discrimination [. . .] diversity programs may fail to interrupt, challenge or question the status quo". Noon (2007) also, critiques the concept of diversity as it is used today, as it reduces the importance of "equality" and takes the focus away from ethnicity. Noon (2007, p. 774) explains that "valuing difference" approach "acknowledges the importance of ethnic identity".

One critique, of the organization studies research is that it could be regarded as considering ethnic minority women as if they form a single category in most studies. However, "ethnicity" cannot be regarded as one homogenous group just as "gender" is no longer regarded as homogenous category. Within the ethnic community in Britain, the South Asian population constitutes a sizeable presence for example in England 4.7 percent (EHRC, 2011). As empirical research has shown, even within this ethnic community in the UK, there are ethnic differences within, as pointed out by Noon (2007) when he cites various authors (Aspinall, 2002; Berthoud, 2000; Modood *et al.*, 1997; Dale *et al.*, 2002b; Parekh, 2000; Dustmann *et al.*, 2003; Al-Rasheed, 1996) to prove the large number of ethnic groups and the diversity within these ethnic groups in Britain.

This paper attempts to demonstrate a gap in women in management literature by focusing on a marginalized group who have been overlooked in management studies; British Pakistani women (BPw). EHRC (2011, p. 402) reports that among working age adults in Britain:

> The low labour market participation among Bangladeshi and Pakistani women, which corresponds to a similar picture for Muslim women, persists to include British-born members of this group despite changing attitudes and improved education levels. Almost half of Bangladeshi (49%) and Pakistani (44%) women are economically inactive, looking after the family or home, compared to 20% or fewer of other groups. It is hard to measure the extent to which this reflects personal choice, cultural pressures, discrimination or lack of opportunities. Even comparing those with degrees, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are 11 percentage points less likely to be employed than White British women.

Most of the EHRC (2011) report, talks of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women as one; British Muslim. This should not be the case. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have to be treated as two distinct, separate groups (two distinct diasporas) with the Pakistani group, more important because it is larger in size in Britain. There are more than one million people in the UK of Pakistani ancestry and are expected to reach at least 2.63 million by 2031.[2]

Focusing on the relationship between gender and other categories of difference, in particular gender with (Broadbridge and Simpson, 2011), this paper will argue the case for an intersectional approach of gender with race/ethnicity, religion and nationality (diaspora identities) in order to capture the different identities within the social group; BPw managers. It also responds to a call from Holvino (2010, p. 262) where she suggests:

> [. . .] the simultaneity of race class and gender, my point of departure, be expanded to include ethnicity, sexuality and nation in organizational analyses for, as transnational feminism helps to

> articulate them, the explanatory value of these categories in today's organizations can no longer be ignored.

We will briefly argue the case for, the British Pakistani woman manager/professional. British Pakistanis constitute the largest diaspora group among Muslims in Britain conversely BPw managers/professionals have limited voice in organization studies literature and appear marginalized. We will then introduce intersectionality as a theory and an approach for understanding the complexities for the multiple identities within this social group. This will be done by first discussing intersectionality; the history behind the development of "intersectionality and gender", and the concept itself with the help of a detailed literature review.

THE CASE FOR "THE OTHER" WOMAN MANAGER, IN THE UK

While research has established that gender itself, is an impediment to managerial advancement, confirming the existence of the "glass ceiling" (EOC, 2007; Konrad *et al.*, 2006; Welle and Heilman, 2005; Powell and Graves, 2003; Powell *et al.*, 2002; Powell, 1999; Davidson, 1997), there is a paucity of research when ethnicity is combined with gender (Syed, 2007). In the UK, there are around 2.3 million ethnic minority women (Government Equalities Office, 2008). "Much research on gender neglects even to comment on race, ethnicity or social class. Perhaps, this is because it has been conducted in monocultural work environments" (Adib and Guerrier, 2003). However, as stated before Britain is multicultural. The question is where are the South Asian women managers and within them the different nationalities? Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshi. Why are they not visible? Is it their ethnicity or something else that is making them invisible? Research on South Asian women demonstrates that they carry an extra burden (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Puwar, 2004). As Ramji (2003, p. 230) argues South Asian women are largely under-researched and elaborates:

> There is a real dearth of material on women as cultural reproducers, who actively manufacture their identities, who do not merely perpetuate but *modify* their cultural systems by engaging with them positively. There is little perception of Asian women as *active* negotiators of the cultural values they accept, the lifestyles to which they subscribe, or their role as innovators and originators of new cultural forms, which are influenced by their ethnicities and are continuously reformulated in the context of their class and local cultures.

Kamenou and Fearfull (2006, p. 157) claim:

> With few exceptions (citing; Nkomo, 1988; Bell, 1990; Bell *et al.*, 1993; Davidson, 1997), the career experiences of ethnic minority women are not well documented. The combined influence of racism and sexism in the career development of ethnic minority women is an under-researched area.

Racism exists in various forms; symbolic racism (Kinder and Sears, 1981; Sears, 1988), aversive racism (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986, 1998) and modern racism (McConahay, 1986). Most of this research has suggested that White Americans are not likely to express racism in overt form specifically in selection decisions (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2000). Discrimination exists for ethnic minority women managers in the UK as previous research of ethnic women has highlighted the disadvantages and discrimination that they characteristically experience (Modood *et al.*, 1997; Dale *et al.*, 2002a, b; Ahmad and Modood, 2003; Bradley *et al.*, 2002, 2004; Mason, 2003; Lindley and Dale, 2004; Botcherby, 2006). Besides, experiencing racism and sexism, ethnic minorities may also experience identity issues. As Hall (1992, p. 310) explains post-colonial migration and "new diasporas", he argues that individuals "must learn to inhabit two identities, to speak to two cultural languages, to translate and negotiate between them". However, the assumption in that statement is of two identities, the host country and the diaspora country. What if the individual has more than these two identities? What role does, for example religion play in the creation of these identities?

ONE STEP FURTHER: THE CASE FOR GENDER "WITH" ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

Amongst the South Asians in the UK, two religious ideologies/faiths are dominant; Hinduism and Islam. One religious category appears more marginalized (Bagilhole, 2010) as two different studies (Bradley *et al.*, 2007; Bunglawala, 2008) have stated that there is an added "Muslim Penalty" for some ethnic groups, namely Pakistani and Bangladeshi. EHRC (2011, p. 62) states:

> Bangladeshi and Pakistani men and women have a much reduced chance of working with only 1 in 4 Bangladeshi and Pakistani women working compared to nearly 3 in 4 White British women.

Botcherby (2006) reports that there is evidence of discrimination suffered by Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women compared to White women. Across all ethnic groups, women are less likely to be employed than men with comparatively few Black Caribbean, Pakistani or Bangladeshi women in management roles (Bradley *et al.*, 2007). The picture at the top level of hierarchy is hardly any different. A report (Sealy *et al.*, 2009) identified 11 female directors (9.7 percent of female directors) from the minority ethnic groups in the FTSE 100 companies, none of whom were British nationals. Religious ideology can either interact or override gender in attitudes about social and political issues (Unger, 1992, 2005), thus effecting ethnic minority women's labor market chances. In any case, Muslim women have a difficult time (Syed, 2008, 2010; Syed *et al.*, 2009). Culture and religion play a strong role in the choices for occupation for them in the UK (Dhaliwal, 2000; Dwyer, 2000; Werbner, 2004). EHRC (2011, p. 406) cites Bunglawala's (2008) research to suggest that:

> [. . .] despite high levels of education, positive attitudes and family support to work among (this) second generation of Muslim women, just under half remain economically inactive, almost three times the rate of second generation Hindu women.

The Muslim angle is important as within the next ten years, Muslims will account for one quarter in the working age population in the UK (Bunglawala, 2008). Interestingly, EHRC (2011) points out that Bangladeshi and Pakistani women in Britain are more likely to be employed as professionals than Bangladeshi and Pakistani men. However, it also states that only one in four Muslim women work, and many face practical barriers preventing them from doing so.

As Dwyer (2000, p. 476) points out, "the lives of young Britain Muslim women are inscribed by gender relations and class structures as well as radicalized discourses". Among British Muslim women, there was higher unemployment partly because of the need to look after children (Bunglawala, 2008) with generally caring responsibilities continuing to shape careers for ethnic minority women as the bulk of caring responsibilities continues to fall disproportionately on women's shoulders (EOWA, 2008). It is possible that highly patriarchal values and traditional roles embedded in the culture of the diaspora (Syed *et al.*, 2009) may be compelling women to make certain choices. Therefore, keeping the cultural, social and historical context in perspective is crucial to capture the perceptions of reality of a particular diaspora.

There has been some research on British Muslim women, in women studies journals and limited research on entrepreneurship and British South Asian women (Dhaliwal, 1998, 2000). Dwyer (2000, p. 475) conducted a qualitative research to discover how young British South Asian Muslim women negotiate "diasporic identities in relation to both changing familial gender ideals and gender relations and against radicalized gender stereotypes". Dale (2005) points out that the concept of "izzat" of family honor is important to Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, with conflict occurring due to differences in workplace culture and their own culture, higher family responsibilities and an assumption that childcare is the mothers' domain (Dale *et al.*, 2006). Dale *et al.* (2006) also point out that motherhood is associated with full-time care for children. In a later study, Dale and Ahmed (2011, p. 918) found that the level of economic activity for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK is influenced, "whether or not a woman is UK born/brought up, *not* whether her partner is". They also found that highly educated Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian women were delaying marriage and conclude (p. 921):

> The biggest impact on a woman's likelihood of being economically active is whether she has qualifications, whether she has young children, and whether she, herself, was born and brought up in the UK.

Therefore, the choice of our research sample and an exploration into the career experiences of second generation BPw born and brought up in the UK and who have the qualifications. In other research Brown (2006), discusses the interplay of religion, gender and ethnicity in the everyday lives of British Muslim women and talks about how religious identity positions have reconstructed the rights to employment and education and the rights to personal security and family. However, there is a gap in the literature. Most of the research respondents have been either young girls still in school (Dwyer, 1999, 2000; Hutnik and Street, 2010) or a small sample mix of managerial and non-managerial women with the numbers of BPw not exceeding 11 (Fearfull and Kamenou, 2010).

Bhimji (2009, p. 365) while talking about how British born South Asian Muslim women have transformed religious spheres, from "male dominated sites to spaces wherein feminine, political and cosmopolitan identities are expressed", argues that the veil is only one aspect of their religious identity. However, the veil is an identity marker and Hijabis may be seen to become stigmatized individuals (Shaheen, 2003; Ghumman and Jackson, 2009). The Hijab makes these women highly identifiable. Many chose to display their faith through Islamic dress, in keeping with research on Hijab as an expression of Muslim identity (Ahmad, 1992; Omair, 2009). Previous research supports the view that highly identifiable ethnic minorities may experience more prejudice than weakly identified ethnic minorities (Branscombe *et al*., 1999; Major *et al*., 2002; Sellers and Shelton, 2003). Faith issues appear to have had a strong effect on work place (Dean *et al*., 2003; Gould, 1995; Kriger and Seng, 2005; Niles, 1999; Parboteeah *et al*., 2008a, b) especially in subtle ways (Park *et al*., 2007, 2009). Despite employer protestations, it has been suggested that the Hijab, often appeared to be a basis of discrimination (Bunglawala, 2008) similar to previous research (Tomei, 2003) that employers may make negative personnel decisions about job applicants based on applicants' religious affiliations. Bunglawala's (2008) analysis confirms discrimination in the form of a combination of faith and ethnicity, which existed among women who worked, as 50 percent of the women respondents who worked wore the Hijab.

Literature has also established that organizations may be considered sites for producing inequalities (Calas and Smircich, 2006; Acker, 2006, p. 441; Ragins, 2011). While governments and organizations may be advocating "equal opportunities", Ragins (2011, p. x) calls this the "myth of equity" in Western organizations; "the unfounded belief that stereotyping and discriminations are things of the past" and argues that the "misogyny is alive and well within and outside the workplace" and women are going to be confronted with "virulent new strains of modern sexism that are more pernicious and damaging than ever". Acker (2006, p. 442) remarks:

> [. . .] *race*, even when paired with *ethnicity*, encapsulates multiple social realities always inflected through gender and class differences. "Class" is also complicated by multiple gendered and racialized differences. The conclusion to this line of thinking – theory and research on inequality, dominance, and oppression must pay attention to the intersections of, at least, race/ethnicity, gender, and class.

However, is that enough? Holvino (2010, p. 262) does not think so:

> The simultaneity of race class and gender, my point of departure, be expanded to include ethnicity, sexuality and nation in organizational analyses for, as transnational feminism helps to articulate them, the explanatory value of these categories in today's organizations can no longer be ignored.

Ozbilgin *et al*. (2011) also critique work life literature for its heavy focus on gender as a symbol of diversity and recommend that other areas be brought into the spotlight, namely "religious minorities and non-heterosexual individuals" (p. 184) and "non-traditional forms of family and the experiences of minority employees" (p. 178). An online search of "Muslim women" on *ISI web of Knowledge* indicated that very limited research has been published to date in a management or business journal. This lack of debates suggests the requirement to look at a phenomenon (career experiences of second generation BPw) using the gender, ethnicity and religion lens, as management research has focused less attention on how ethnicity and religion, together, might promote or prohibit women's advancement. The most appropriate method to understand the creation of inequality regimes in work organizations in the UK using the lens of gender with race/ethnicity and religion will be to use the intersectional approach. As Walby *et al*. (2012, p. 224) state, "the theorization of the intersection of multiple inequalities has become a central issue in gender theory".

THE INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH: A MEANS FOR UNDERSTANDING "GENDER"

Although the insight for intersectionality, originated from Black scholars such as hooks (1981), Davis (1981), Lorde (1984) and Collins (1990), the phrase "intersectionality" was coined by Kimberele Crenshaw (1991) (Prins, 2006). Most feminist scholarship in the 1970s was about White, educated middleclass women which Holvino (2010) calls "a hegemonic feminist theory". The 1980s saw a new perspective being introduced, that of the colored or Black woman (Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1983; Hull *et al.*, 1982; Dill, 1983) with a focus on lived experiences of oppression and the simultaneity of gender and race (Choo and Ferree, 2010) and later the identification of the limitations of certain models (Mullings, 1997; Nakano, 1999) which critiqued the feminist scholarship for its lack of focus on "others" and for assuming that gender was homogenous (Hancock, 2007) and called for a new view of "the experience of social identity" (Shields, 2008).

During the period of the 1970s and 1980s, literature either talked of an "add on" approach of double (Beal, 1970) and triple jeopardy (Greene, 1995) or "women of color were rendered invisible" (Holvino, 2010, p. 250) with different theories emerging for the two groups of women (White and non-White), eventually leading to "different paths in the theorizing and practice of gender at the intersection of race and class" (Brah and Phoenix, 2004). In Britain, ethnic minority women; women of South Asian, African and Caribbean background combined to form a national body called Organization of Women of Asian and African Descent (OWAAD) which were later lumped together as "Black" (Brah and Phoenix, 2004).

Holvino (2010, p. 250), views the liberal feminism's focus as "White women" focus, while she elaborates that, socialist, poststructuralist and transnational feminist theoretical frameworks brought attention to the "other" women. Socialist feminism paid attention to patriarchy and capitalism, and understood multiple identities as "interlocking roots of inequality" with the broader goal of re-structuring organizations for all. While division of labor was seen as a tool of oppression for women with women grouped into low paying jobs, women of color were found further down the hierarchy as compared to the White women (Acker, 2004; Browne, 2000; Glenn, 2001) and mostly confined to domestic service or "occupational ghetto" as labeled by Glenn (1988, p. 57). Holvino (2010) finds that the major contribution of socialist feminism is the focus on class, highlighting a dimension of difference and power, and the incorporation of the accounts of the different types of women, while the contribution of a poststructuralist feminist framework is first "an understanding of subjectivities in organizations as multiple, unstable and inessential" (Gamson and Moon, 2004), second, the "detailed description and critique of organizational practices in relation to [. . .]" and lastly the "researchers reflexive stance". Thus, Holvino (2010, p. 258) claims that a feminist poststructuralist analysis would "have us read how these different identities are understood, produced, performed and 'mutually construct one another', when arriving at intersections of race, gender, class and sexuality" (Collins, 2000b, p. 156). Holvino (2010, p. 259) considers that transnational/post-colonial/third world feminism sees multiple identities of gender, race, class, nation as "complex social processes and discursive constructions that need to be challenged and [. . .] to question dominant Western paradigms (Mohanty, 2003; Spivak, 1988, 1990)".

As a result (Bowleg, 2008) asserts that feminist psychology has been far more progressive than mainstream psychology (with the exception of Ransford (1980) and Deaux (1993)) as mainstream psychology still seems to view social identities as uni-dimensional and independent rather than intersectional while Adib and Guerrier (2003) declare that the relation of gender to other categories is under-researched.

THE INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH: A MEANS FOR UNDERSTANDING "THE COMPLEXITY OF INTERSECTIONALITY IN SOCIAL LIFE"

McCall (2005, p. 1773) describes intersectionality as three approaches to the study of "multiple, intersecting and complex social relations". Anti-categorical complexity and inter-categorical complexity are at two ends of the spectrum, with intra-categorical complexity in the middle. She explains that anti-categorical complexity emerged as a result of the dominance of "White woman" to describe women as a homogenous category. This approach challenges what makes a category and eventually challenges a range of social categories. The inter-categorical complexity approach uses relationship as the main focus and makes use of the categories, in order to explain the relationship.

The intra-categorical complexity emerged when feminists of color began to focus on the "lived experiences at neglected points of intersection – one that tended to reflect multiple subordinate locations as opposed to dominant or mixed locations" (McCall, 2005, p. 1780). Usually, new groups are born/emerge when the master category is deconstructed along its original dimensions. Master category is defined as the dominant category, e.g. Gender or social class. Gender is usually combined with other categories (Adib and Guerrier, 2003).

Much of the debate of intersectionality comes from identity, which is also a weakness (Walby, 2007) because of the emphasis on fragmentation of identities. Shields (2008, p. 302) defines intersectionality as "social identities which serve as organizing features of social relations, *mutually constitute*[3], *reinforce*[4] and *naturalize*[5] one another". She further explains that the relationship between each category or identity is interactional. In other words each category/identity takes its meaning "in relation" to another, with the individual self-involved in the process, which itself is dynamic. Shields (2008, p. 307) explains identity in psychological terms as "awareness of self, self-image, self-reflection and self-esteem [. . .] a quality that enables the expression of the individuals authentic sense of self".

Bowleg (2008) also asserts:

> [. . .] that one's identity [. . .] is the meaningful whole; it is not a mere addition of ethnicity, sexual orientation, and sex/gender [. . .] social inequality based on [. . .] are interdependent and mutually constitutive.

Warner (2008, p. 454) also elaborates the difference between intersectionality and previous approaches to understanding identities by explaining:

> [. . .] intersectionality is the idea that social identities such as race, gender and class interact to form qualitatively different meanings and experiences. This formulation stands in contrast to

> the conceptualization of social identities as functioning independently and as added together to form experience.

McCall (2005, p. 1771) defines intersectionality as "the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations".

In other words intersectionality cannot be expressed mathematically in a formula (Bowleg, 2008) where Identity ABC $\neq$ Identity A + Identity B + Identity C. Nor can it be a layered-on-approach as in a multi layered cake or a pyramid. It is dynamic and there is interconnection and interdependence between each identity (Adib and Guerrier, 2003). Ken (2008), using the metaphor of food (sugar), tries to explain intersectionality as interconnected and interdependent. He explains how race, class and gender (all ingredients, e.g. sugar, flour, butter and eggs) are first processed (made into a cookie dough, then baked), produce (cookies), and used (tasted; experienced; mouth feel) and then absorbed in our bodies. Therefore, when one tastes the cookie it is very difficult to tell each ingredient apart. He also makes clear that we have to study *the origins* of the ingredients (how was the sugar produced) taking into account *the processes that feed into the growth* of that ingredient (Emphasis in italics by the authors):

> Every aspect of race, class and gender has been and is produced under particular social, historical, political, cultural and economic conditions (p. 155) [. . .] how these production processes have typically (and deliberately) relied on grander ideological supports in the form of religion and science to buttress their institutionalization. (p. 158)

In other words, when we study identities we cannot do so in isolation but have to keep the context and the factors that led to the creation and re-creation of that identity, up to the point in question, constantly in the picture. He also stresses that by following a cookie recipe the ingredients *intermingle* in other words:

> [. . .] when they are being *used,* race class and gender depend on each other for the forms (events, situations, institutions, actions, feeling, subjectivities, bodies, structures) of oppression and privilege they produce because of their coming together. (p. 162)

This approach suggests a *critical* perspective which is echoed by Choo and Ferree (2010) who also suggest that intersectional analysis be used to understand issues of culture, institutions, power, multiple inequalities and interpersonal interaction (again emphasis in italics by us especially as the "critical" angle will be used later). This approach is different from Walby *et al*. (2012) who argue for a critical realist perspective and the use of complexity theory to understand intersectionality. We would like to express intersectionality in the shape of a Venn diagram. Figure 26.1 shows the emphasis that the ingredients affect each other and transform each other (Ken, 2008). Consequently, each category should not be seen separately but as interactive producing many combinations (Warner, 2008, p. 458 suggests, factorials), each having a different meaning for those that experience them.

Shields (2008, p. 304) echoes the same argument:

> Intersectionality first and foremost reflects the reality of lives. The facts of our lives reveal that there is no single identity category that satisfactorily describes how we respond to our social environment or are responded to by others.

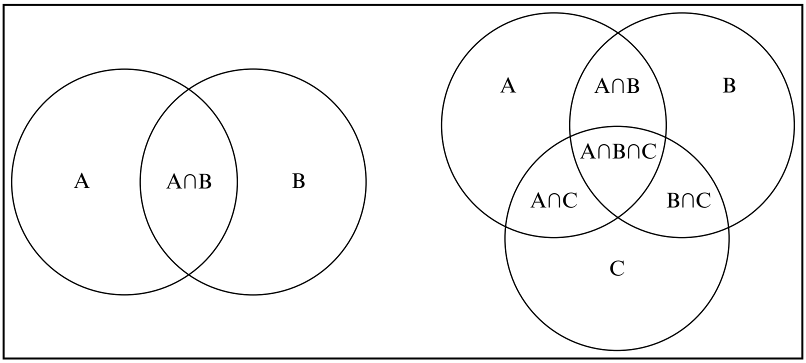


Figure 26.1 Complexity of intersectionality

INTERSECTIONALITY AS A "MEANS TO" GENDER WITH ETHNICITY, NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

This paper argues for a space to voice the experiences of BPw in managerial and professional positions in organization studies. The purpose is to highlight the issues and challenges they are facing as women who have careers, their perceptions of what they are and how they have reached where they are and where do they think they would be going while taking an all-inclusive view of the social/culture/religious context. Most intersectional studies incorporate gender as a master category. Warner (2008) argues that master categories are useful but should be viewed within the context of historical and cultural locations. Warner (2008, p. 459) stresses:

> For anyone undertaking a project relevant to intersectionality it is necessary to understand how the identities studied relate to the structural systems of society that maintain them (citing Collins, 1990; Stewart and McDermott, 2004).

There are a number of advantages of looking at identity as a process (Warner, 2008). The first, according to Warner, is that it allows the researcher to look at any patterns that emerge and to view these patterns as points of connection across intersections. "Through their focus on the social structural context they are better able to describe how identity fluctuates and alters with the context and also to establish patterns across individuals" (p. 459). The second advantage is that when identity is viewed through the social structural context, it helps to show the effect of one identity on another. "Thus, including relationships between individuals, institutions, and other higher order structures provides a more comprehensive representation of the variables that influence identities" (p. 459). The third advantage is that the focus of the researcher becomes process orientated. Identities are viewed as fluid, dynamic, emerging and the result of social interaction. Citing Diamond and Butterworth (2008), Warner (2008, p. 460) states, "Identity is a 'moving target' constantly changing and being negotiated through a person's social life experiences".

Citing Bowleg (2008) and Risman (2004), Warner (2008) suggests that for intersection purposes both master and emergent categories should be considered with qualitative methods being *modus operandi* for as they allow for complexities and multiplicities also since they do not have a hypothesis to prove:

> [. . .] they instead draw information from the respondents themselves, they create space for unanticipated results that come from groups that are underrepresented in theory (citing Marecek *et al*., 2001) [. . .] particularly for those situations that demand complexity and/or a focus on marginalized social groups where there is little existing theory to guide the development of testable hypothesis, qualitative methods may be especially effective in both isolating each individual identity and considering identities simultaneously. (p. 458)

She concludes by suggesting that Grounded theory (Glaser, 1992) may be the way forward (citing both Strauss and Corbin (1994) and Bowleg (2008)) for an analysis of how master categories intersect to form "substantive aspects of identity" (p. 459).

McCall (2005, p. 1782) also suggests that qualitative research has the distinguishable ability to "delve into the complexities of social life". She seems to think case study method is popular among feminists who research on intersectionality, specifically when a new, unstudied or "invisible group" is the subject of interest and is "at the intersection of multiple categories – and proceed to uncover the differences and complexities of experience embodied in that location". The objective of these researches, in her opinion, is to demonstrate differences within the group. Intersectionality focuses on processes rather than differences or as Shields (2008, p. 304) explains, "to go from *acknowledging* linkages among social identities to *explaining* those linkages or the processes through which intersecting identities define and shape on another". Intersectionality theory, understands identity, keeping in mind the social structural context (Warner, 2008) which by default then, makes it a process. It does not look at identity as just a set of a person's traits rather, the context that creates the identity (institutional, political and societal) are all part of the research. A contextual analysis is important to get a complete picture as "contextual analysis, which would probe beneath the single identity to discover other identities that may be present and contribute to the situation disadvantage" (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Shields (2008, p. 307) concurs with this view:

> An intersectionality perspective requires that identity categories be situated in relation to one another – the facts of intersectionality at the individual, interpersonal, and structural level compel us to. At the same time, however, we must be mindful of the specific historical and contextual features of individual identity categories.

Consequently, Holvino (2010) recommends "a simultaneous processes of identity, institutional and social practice". Holvino (2010) specifies each area: processes of identity practice as how others in organizations and individuals see themselves as a result of the interaction of multiple categories (race/class/gender/religion/sexuality/etc.); processes of institutional practice as how these categories are embedded in the norm of the way organizations work yet they are creating inequality; processes of social practice as investigating how practices, beliefs, structures and ways of a society are reflected in the production of inequalities along the categories. She asserts (p. 262), "These processes need to be studied in a double move that breaks them apart and specifies them at the same time that it connects and articulates their relatedness". If we use McCall's (2005) terminology, Holvino is advocating a mix of intra-categorical and inter-categorical approaches.

McCall (2005) also clarifies that research can fall into a domain, that does not fit neatly into one classification or the other and there could be an overlap with the research falling partly in one approach or the other. Holvino (2010, p. 262) suggests three "specific interventions for doing (analyzing and practicing) simultaneity in organizations":

(1) researching and publicizing the hidden stories at the intersections of race, gender, class, sexuality, ethnicity and nation;
(2) identifying and untangling the differential and material impact of everyday practices in organizations; and
(3) identifying and connecting internal organizational processes with external and seemingly unrelated societal processes to understand organizational dynamics within a broader social context and change agenda.

Warner (2008) has also recommended consideration of two methodological issues when adopting intersectionality as a theory. The first concern is about situating identity "within context". This requires interpretation of data from an interdisciplinary perspective. So the researcher needs to keep in mind, historical, cultural, sociological, psychological, anthropological perspectives or an open mind for a comprehensive look. The second concern is the choice of a methodological approach that sees identity as a process. She considers qualitative methods, particularly useful because "qualitative methodological approach pays special attention to subjective experience, and how this experience is dependent on one's social location" (Warner, 2008, p. 461).

CONCLUSION

Shields (2008, p. 305) labels a "uniquely hybrid creation" as emerging identities due to the effect of colonizers' culture on the local culture (involuntary cultural contact) or through immigration (voluntary cultural contact). The British Pakistani woman is therefore, a unique, emergent form of identity created out of intersections of British nationality with diasporic Pakistani/Muslim/wife/mother/daughter in-law/etc. The paper makes a case for empirical research for this group of women who have remained invisible; to give voice to their experiences, to highlight the issues and challenges they are facing as women who have careers, their perceptions of what they are and how they have reached where they are and where do they think they would be going while taking an all-inclusive view of the historical/social/culture/religious context.

Intersectionality usually includes a focus on marginalized people, a focus on interaction and a focus on multiple institutions that work together in their collective creation of inequality (Choo and Ferree, 2010). This paper argues for intersectionality as being the most valid method to study the complexity of these identities. Hancock (2007) argues that intersectionality stands between reductionist research and particularized research and bridges partly the theoretical gap between critical theory and liberalism or deconstructionist tradition. She contends that it uses "constructivist efforts" to ensure that reality is historically and socially constructed, at the same time focusing on "power". It incorporates both structural and individual level analysis:

> It identifies the hegemonic (ideas, cultures, and ideologies), structural (social institutions), disciplinary (bureaucratic hierarchies and administrative practices) and interpersonal (routinized interactions among individuals) playing fields upon which race, gender, class and other categories or traditions of difference interact to produce society. (Collins, 2000a)

Valentine (2007) argues, "in particular spaces there are dominant spatial orderings that produce moments of exclusion for particular social groups". Therefore, it is important to get an insight into the complexities that exist in the identities of this group, to understand the reasons for "exclusion" if any. Empirical research on this marginalized group of women will highlight not only the multiple spaces that these women occupy and the manner in which they negotiate themselves in workplaces, but also describe the structures and systems that are created and maintained as a result of which they remain marginalized or invisible. The systems and structures may be self-created and self-perpetuated, but unless and until voice has been given to their experiences they will remain hidden.

NOTES

1. www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/9080441/We-stand-side-by-side-with-the-Pope-in-fighting-for-faith.html.
2. www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/3533486/Britains-Pakistani-community.html#.
3. A category in relation to another category.
4. Dynamic process; individual actively engaged.
5. Self-evident or basic through the lens of another category.

REFERENCES

Acker, J. (2004). Gender, capitalism and globalization. *Critical Sociology*, *30*, 17–41.

Acker, J. (2006). Inequality regimes – gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender & Society*, *20*, 441–464.

Adib, A. and Guerrier, Y. (2003). The interlocking of gender with nationality, race, ethnicity and class: the narratives of women in hotel work. *Gender Work and Organization*, *10*, 413–432.

Ahmad, F. S. L. and Modood, T. (2003). *South Asian Women and Employment in Britain*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Ahmad, L. (1992). *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Al-Rasheed, M. (1996). The other-others: hidden Arabs? In Peach, C. (Ed.), *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census: Volume 2 – The Ethnic Minority Populations of Great Britain*. London: HMSO.

Aspinall, P. J. (2002). Collective terminology to describe the minority ethnic population. *Sociology*, *36*, 803–816.

Bagilhole, B. (2010). Applying the lens of intersectionality to UK equal opportunities and diversity policies. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences-Revue Canadienne Des Sciences De L Administration*, *27*(3), 263–271.

Beal, F. (1970). Double jeopardy: to be Black and female. In Cade, T. (Ed.), *The Black Woman*. New York, NY: New American Library.

Bell, E. L. (1990). The bicultural life experience of career-oriented Black women. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *11*(6), 459–477.

Bell, E. L., Denton, T. C. and Nkomo, S. M. (1993). Women of color in management: towards an inclusive analysis. In Larwood, L. and Gutek, B. (Eds.), *Women in Management: Trends, Issues and Challenges in Managerial Diversity*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bell, E. L. J. E. and Nkomo, S. M. (2001). *Our Separate Ways: Black and White Women and the Struggle for Professional Identity*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
Berthoud, R. (2000). Ethnic employment penalties in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *26*, 389–416.
Bhimji, F. (2009). Identities and agency in religious spheres: a study of British Muslim women's experience. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *16*, 365–380.
Blake, S. (1999). At the crossroads of race and gender: lessons from the mentoring experiences of professional Black women. In Murrell, A. J., Crosby, F. J. and Ely, R. J. (Eds.), *Mentoring Dilemmas: Developmental Relationships Within Multicultural Organizations*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
Botcherby, S. (2006). *Moving on Up? Ethnic Minority Women and Work – Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Black Caribbean Women and Employment Survey: Aspirations, Experiences and Choices*. Manchester: Equal Opportunity Work.
Bova, B. (2000). Mentoring revisited: the Black woman's experience. *Mentoring and Tutoring*, *8*(1), 5–16.
Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black+lesbian+woman ≠ Black lesbian woman: the methodological challenges of qualitative and quantitative intersectionality research. *A Journal of Research*, *59*, 312–325.
Bradley, H., Healy, G. and Mukherjee, N. (2002). A Double Disadvantage? Minority Ethnic Women in Trade Unions. An Independent Report, Funded by ESRC Future of Work Programme, London.
Bradley, H., Healy, G. and Mukherjee, N. (2004). Union influence on career development bringing in gender and ethnicity. *Career Development International*, *9*(1), 74–88.
Bradley, H., Healy, G., Forson, C. and Kaul, P. (2007). *Moving on Up? Ethnic Minority Women and Work – Workplace Cultures: What Does and Does Not Work*. Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission.
Brah, A. (1994). Racialized boundaries – race, nation, color and class and the antiracist struggle. *Sociology – The Journal of the British Sociological Association*, *28*, 805–813.
Brah, A. and Phoenix, A. (2004). Ain't I a woman? Revisiting intersectionality. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *5*, 75–86.
Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T. and Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: implications for group identification and wellbeing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *77*, 135–149.
Broadbridge, A. and Simpson, R. (2011). 25 years on: reflecting on the past and looking to the future in gender and management research. *British Journal of Management*, *22*, 470–483.
Brown, K. (2006). Realising Muslim women's rights: the role of Islamic identity among British Muslim women. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *29*, 417–430.
Browne, I. (2000). *Latinos and African Women at Work: Race, Gender and Economic Inequality*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
Bunglawala, Z. (2008). *Valuing Family, Valuing Work: British Muslim Women and the Labour Market*. London: Young Foundation and the London Development Agency.
Calas, M. B. and Smircich, L. (2006). From the "woman's point of view" ten years later: towards a feminist organization studies. In Clegg, S. (Ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Organization Studies* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
Choo, H. Y. and Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: a critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities. *Sociological Theory*, *28*, 129–149.
Collins, P.H. (1990). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Collins, P.H. (2000a). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
Collins, P.H. (2000b). It's all in the family: intersection of gender, race, and nation. In Narayan, U. and Harding, S. (Eds.), *Decentering the Center* (pp. 156–176). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Combs, G.M. (2003). The duality of race and gender for managerial African American women: implications of informal social networks on career advancement. *Human Resource Development Review*, *2*, 385–405.

Crenshaw, K.W. (1991). Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*, 1241–1299.

Dale, A. (2005). Combining family and employment: evidence from Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. In Houston, D. (Ed.), *Work-Life Balance in the 21st Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dale, A. and Ahmed, S. (2011). Marriage and employment patterns amongst UK-raised Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi women. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *34*(6), 902–924.

Dale, A., Lindley, J. and Dex, S. (2006). A life-course perspective on ethnic differences in womens economic activity in Britain. *European Sociological Review*, *22*, 323–337.

Dale, A., Shaheen, N., Fieldhouse, E. and Kalra, V. (2002a). The labour market prospects for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. *Work, Employment & Society*, *16*, 5–25.

Dale, A., Shaheen, N., Kalra, V. and Fieldhouse, E. (2002b). Routes into education and employment for young Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *25*, 942–968.

Davidson, M.J. (1997). *The Black and Ethnic Minority Woman Manager: Cracking the Concrete Ceiling*. London: Paul Chapman.

Davis, A. (1981). *Women, Race and Class*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Dean, K. L., Fornaciari, C. J. and Mcgee, J. J. (2003). Research in spirituality, religion, and work. *Journal of Organization Change and Management*, *16*, 387–395.

Deaux, K. (1993). Reconstructing social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *19*, 4–12.

Dhaliwal, S. (1998). Silent contributors: Asian female entrepreneurs and women in business. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *21*, 463–474.

Dhaliwal, S. (2000). Asian female entrepreneurs and women in business: an exploratory study. *Enterprise & Innovation Management Studies*, *1*, 207–216.

Diamond, L. M. and Butterworth, M. (2008). Questioning gender and sexual identity: dynamic links over time. *Sex Roles*, *59*, 365–376.

Dill, B. T. (1983). Race, class, and gender: prospects for an all-inclusive sisterhood. *Feminist Studies*, *9*(1), 131–150.

Dovidio, J. F. and Gaertner, S. L. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In Dovidio, J. F. and Gaertner, S. L. (Eds.), *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism* (pp. 61–89). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Dovidio, J. F. and Gaertner, S. L. (1998). On the nature of contemporary prejudice: the causes, consequences, and challenges of aversive racism. In Eberhardt, J. and Fiske, S. T. (Eds.), *Confronting Racism: The Problem and the Response* (pp. 3–32). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dovidio, J. F. and Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Aversive racism and selection decisions: 1989 and 1999. *Psychological Science*, *11*(4), 315–319.

Dustmann, C., Fabbri, F., Preston, I. and Wadsworth, J. (2003). *Labour Market Performance of Immigrants in the UK Labour Market*. London: Home Office.

Dwyer, C. (1999). Veiled meanings: young British Muslim women and the negotiation of differences. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, *6*, 5–26.

Dwyer, C. (2000). Negotiating diasporic identities: young British South Asian Muslim women. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *23*, 475–486.

EHRC (2011). *How Fair is Britain: Equality, Human Rights and Good Relations in 2010, The First Triennial Review*. London: Equality and Human Rights Commission.

EOC (2007). *Sex and Power, Who Runs Britain?* Washington, DC: Equal Opportunities Commission.

EOWA (2008). *Australian Census of Women in Leadership*. London: Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency.

Fearfull, A. and Kamenou, N. (2010). Work and career experiences of ethnic minority men and women. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *29*, 325–331.

Ferdman, B. M. (1999). The color and culture of gender in organizations: attending to race and ethnicity. In Powell, G. N. (Ed.), *Handbook of Gender and Work*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gamson, J. and Moon, D. (2004). The sociology of sexualities: queer and beyond. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *30*, 47–64.
Ghumman, S. and Jackson, L. (2009). The downside of religious attire: the Muslim headscarf and expectations of obtaining employment. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *31*(1), 4–23.
Glaser, B. G. (1992). *Emergence vs Forcing: Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
Glenn, E. N. (1988). A belated industry revisited: domestic service among Japanese-American women. In Stathem, A., Miller, E. M. and Mauksch, H. O. (Eds.), *The Worth of Women's Work: A Qualitative Synthesis* (pp. 55–75). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
Glenn, E. N. (2001). Gender, race, and the organization of reproductive labor. In Baldoz, R., Koeber, C. and Kraft, P. (Eds.), *The Critical Study of Work* (pp. 71–82). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
Gould, S. J. (1995). The Buddhist perspective on business ethics: experiential exercises for exploration and practice. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *14*, 63–70.
Government Equalities Office (Ed.) (2008). Ethnic Minority Fact Sheet 4/3/08: 7555-TSO, available at: www.hastingsbme.org.uk; http://ia201120.eu.archive.org/tna/20090318011029; http://equalities.gov.uk/pdf/EthinicMinorityWomen.pdf.
Greene, B. (1995). Lesbian women of color: triple jeopardy. In Comas-Diaz, L. and Greene, B. (Eds.), *Women of Color: Integrating Ethnic and Gender Identities in Psychotherapy*. New York, NY: Guilford.
Hall, S. (1992). The question of cultural identity. In Hall, S., Held, D. and McGrew, T. (Eds.), *Modernity and Its Futures* (pp. 273–325). Cambridge: Polity Press.
Hancock, A.-M. (2007). When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition: examining intersectionality as a research paradigm. *Perspectives on Politics*, *5*, 63–79.
Hite, L. M. (2007). Hispanic women managers and professionals: reflections on life and work. *Gender Work and Organization*, *14*, 20–36.
Holvino, E. (2010). Intersections: the simultaneity of race, gender and class in organization studies. *Gender Work and Organization*, *17*, 248–277.
hooks, b. (1981). *Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. London: Pluto Press.
Hull, G. T., Bell-Scott, P. and Smith, B. (1982). *All the Women are White, All The Blacks are Men, But Some of Us are Brave*. Old Westbury, NY: Black Women's Studies.
Hutnik, N. and Street, R. C. (2010). Profiles of British Muslim identity: adolescent girls in Birmingham. *Journal of Adolescence*, *33*, 33–42.
Kamenou, N. and Fearfull, A. (2006). Ethnic minority women: a lost voice in HRM. *Human Resource Management Journal*, *16*, 154–172.
Ken, I. (2008). Beyond the intersection: a new culinary metaphor for race-class-gender studies. *Sociological Theory*, 26, 152–172.
Kinder, D. R. and Sears, D. O. (1981). Prejudice and politics: symbolic racism versus racial threats to the good life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *40*(3), 414–431.
Konrad, A. M., Prasad, P. and Pringle, J. K. (2006). *Handbook of Workplace Diversity*. London: Sage.
Kriger, M. and Seng, Y. (2005). Leadership with inner meaning: a contingency theory of leadership based on worldviews of five religions. *Leadership Quarterly*, *16*, 771–786.
Lindley, J. and Dale, A. (2004). Ethnic differences in women's demographic family characteristics and economic activity profiles, 1992 to 2002. *Labour Market Trends*, *112*(4), 153–165.
Linnehan, F. and Konrad, A. (1999). Diluting diversity: implications for intergroup in equality in organizations. *Journal of Management Enquiry*, *8*, 399–414.
Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister Outsider*. Trumansberg, NY: The Crossing Press.
McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs*, *30*, 1771–1800.
McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale: prejudice, discrimination, and racism. In Dovidio, J. F. and Gaertner, S. L. (Eds.), *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism* (pp. 91–125). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
Major, B., Gramzow, R., Mccoy, S., Levin, S., Schmader, T. and Sidanius, J. (2002). Attributions to discrimination: the role of group status and legitimizing ideology. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 269–282.

Marecek, J., Fine, M. and Kidder, L. (2001). Working between two worlds: qualitative methods and psychology. In Brydon-Miller, D. L. T. M. (Ed.), *From Subjects to Subjectivities: A Handbook of Interpretive and Participatory Methods* (pp. 29–41). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Mason, D. (2003). *Explaining Ethnic Differences: Changing Patterns of Ethnic Disadvantage in Britain*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Modood, T. (2005). *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Modood, T. (2007). *Multiculturalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Modood, T., Berthoud, R., Lakey, J., Nazroo, J., Smith, P., Virdee, S. and Beishon, S. (1997). *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage – Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. London: Duke University Press.

Moraga, C. and Anzaldúa, G. (1983). *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color, Kitchen Table*. New York, NY: Women of Color Press.

Mullings, L. (1997). *On Our Own Terms: Race, Class and Gender in the Lives of African Women*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Nakano, G. E. (1999). The social construction and institutionalization of gender and race: an intergrative framework. In Faree, M. M., Lorber, J. S. and Hess, B. B. (Eds.), *Revisioning Gender*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Niles, F. S. (1999). Toward a cross-cultural understanding of work-related beliefs. *Human Relations*, *52*, 855–867.

Nkomo, S. M. (1988). Race and sex: the forgotten case of the Black female manager. In Rose, S. and Larwood, L. (Eds.), *Women's Careers: Pathways and Pitfalls*. New York, NY: Greenwood Press.

Nkomo, S. M. and Stewart, M. M. (2006). Diverse identities in organizations. In Clegg, S. (Ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Organization Studies*. London: Sage.

Noon, M. (2007). The fatal flaws of diversity and the business case for ethnic minorities. *Work Employment and Society*, *21*, 773–784.

Omair, K. (2009). Arab women managers and identity formation through clothing. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *24*, 412–431.

Ozbilgin, M. F., Beauregard, T. A., Tatli, A. and Bell, M. P. (2011). Work-life, diversity and intersectionality: a critical review and research agenda. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, *13*, 177.

Parboteeah, K. P., Hoegl, M. and Cullen, J. B. (2008a). Ethics and religion: an empirical test of a multidimensional model. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *80*, 387–398.

Parboteeah, K. P., Hoegl, M. and Cullen, J. B. (2008b). Managers' gender role attitudes: a country institutional approach. *Journal of International Business Studies*, *39*, 795–813.

Parekh, B. (2000). *The Future of Multi-ethnic Britain*. London: Profile.

Park, J., Felix, K. and Lee, G. (2007). Implicit attitudes toward Arab-Muslims and the moderating effects of social information. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *29*, 35–45.

Park, J., Malachi, E., Sternin, O. and Tevet, R. (2009). Subtle bias against Muslim job applicants in personnel decisions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *39*, 2174–2190.

Powell, G. N. (1999). *Handbook of Gender and Work*. London: Sage.

Powell, G. N. and Graves, L. M. (2003). *Women and Men in Management*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Powell, G. N., Butterfield, A. and Parent, J. D. (2002). Gender and managerial stereotypes: have the times changed. *Journal of Management*, *28*, 177–193.

Prins, B. (2006). Narrative accounts of origins – a blind spot in the intersectional approach? *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *13*, 277–290.

Proudford, K. L. and Nkomo, S. (2006). Race and ethnicity in organizations. In Konrad, A. M., Prasad, P. and Pringle, J. K. (Eds.), *The Handbook of Workplace Diversity* (pp. 323–344). London: Sage.

Puwar, N. (2004). *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*. Oxford: Berg.

Puwar, N. and Raghuram, P. (2003). *South Asian Women in the Diaspora*. Oxford: Berg.

Ragins, B. R. (2011). Foreword. In Powell, G. N. (Ed.), *Women and Men in Management* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ramji, H. (2003). Engendering diasporic identities. In Puwar, N. and Raghuram, P. (Eds.), *South Asian Women in the Diaspora* (pp. 227–241). Oxford: Berg.

Ransford, H. E. (1980). The prediction of social behavior and attitudes. In Jeffries, V. and Ransford, H. (Eds.), *Social Stratification: A Multiple Hierarchy Approach* (pp. 265–295). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure – theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society*, *18*, 429–450.

Ryan, L. (2011). Muslim women negotiating collective stigmatization: we're just normal people. *Sociology – The Journal of The British Sociological Association*, *45*(6), 1045–1060.

Sealy, R., Vinnicombe, S. and Doldor, E. (2009). The Female FTSE Board Report 2009, International Center for Women Leaders, Cranfield School of Management, Bedford.

Sears, D. O. (1988). Symbolic racism. In Katz, P. A. and Taylor, D. A. (Eds.), *Eliminating Racism: Profiles in Controversy* (pp. 53–84). New York, NY: Plenum.

Sellers, R. M. and Shelton, J. N. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *84*.

Shaheen, J. G. (2003). Reel bad Arabs: how Hollywood vilifies a people. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *588*(1), 171–193.

Shields, S. A. (2008). Gender: an intersectionality perspective. *Sex Roles*, *59*(5/6), 301–311.

Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L. (Eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Spivak, G. C. (1990). *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Stewart, A. J. and McDermott, C. (2004). Gender in psychology. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *55*, 519–544.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology: an overview. In Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Syed, J. (2007). "The other woman" and the question of equal opportunity in Australian organisations. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *18*(11), 1954–1978.

Syed, J. (2008). A context-specific perspective of equal employment opportunity in Islamic societies. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, *25*, 135–151.

Syed, J. (2010). An historical perspective on Islamic modesty and its implications for female employment. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *29*, 150–166.

Syed, J., Ozbilgin, M., Torunoglu, D. and Ali, F. (2009). Rescuing gender equality from the false dichotomies of secularism versus shariah in Muslim majority countries. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *32*, 67–79.

Tomei, M. (2003). Discrimination and equality at work: a review of the concepts. *International Labour Review*, *142*(4), 401–418.

Unger, R. K. (1992). Will the real sex difference please stand up? *Feminism & Psychology*, *2*, 231–238.

Unger, R. K. (2005). The limits of demographic categories and the politics of the 2004 presidential election. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, *5*, 153–163.

Valentine, G. (2007). Theorizing and researching intersectionality: a challenge for feminist geography. *Professional Geographer*, *59*, 10–21.

Walby, S. (2007). Complexity theory, systems theory, and multiple intersecting social inequalities. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, *37*, 449–470.

Walby, S., Armstrong, J. and Strid, S. (2012). Intersectionality: multiple inequalities in social theory. *Sociology*, *46*, 224–240.

Warner, L. R. (2008). A best practices guide to intersectional approaches in psychological research. *Sex Roles*, *59*(5/6), 454–463.

Welle, B. and Heilman, M. E. (2005). Formal and informal discrimination against women at work: the role of gender stereotypes. In Steiner, D., Gilliland, S. W. and Skarlicki, D. (Eds.), *Research in Social Issues in Management*. Westport, CT: Information Age Publisher.

Werbner, P. (2004). Theorising complex diasporas: purity and hybridity in the South Asian public sphere in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*, 895–911.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Intersectionality and feminist politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *13*, 193–209.

FURTHER READING

Fearfull, A. and Kamenou, N. (2006). How do you account for it? A critical exploration of career opportunities for and experiences of ethnic minority women. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, *17*, 883–901.

Index