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Sec. Research Graduate School Committee

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PERCEPTION: A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR IN THE DIFFERENT CAREER ADVANCEMENT OUTCOMES OF FEMALE MANAGERS

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A thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This research set out to address why there are so few women in senior management in 2001. A study was conducted to explore previous explanations, and to propose an alternative explanation to account for the phenomenon. The sample was 507 Australian middle managers, drawn from 12 Australian Bureau of Statistics industry classifications.

Two interrelated areas of research were conducted to address the research problem drawn from the gender differences and gender stereotyping literature. Multi-method techniques were employed for data collection. Firstly, a mailed survey was administered to male and female managers to ascertain if differences existed in behaviour, skills or attitudes on five managerial competencies related to career advancement. These commitment. motivation. geographic mobility, educational qualifications and work-related experience. Perceptions of male managers were also explored in relation to female managers on the above managerial competencies. Secondly, follow-up interviews were carried out with 10 male and female middle managers, and 14 senior managers.

The combined results indicated no support for the view that women are inadequate in their behaviour, skills and attitudes to fill the role of manager, that is, a gender difference view. Male and female managers did not differ on their self reported commitment and motivation toward a career in management, nor on their educational qualifications. Although significant differences were found in relocation and work-related experiences, over fifty percent of female managers who had been asked to relocate, had done so, and three quarters of female managers felt they had received the type of work-related experience appropriate to receive further promotions.

However, significant gender stereotypical attitudes were found from male middle managers toward their female colleagues on all of the five managerial competencies, supporting the existence of gender stereotyping as a factor in women's poor representation in senior management. Nevertheless it was proposed that neither of these conventional explanations were adequate to solely account for the poor representation of women in senior management roles.

An alternative explanation was proposed. As perceptual differences have been found between male and female managers on various organisational factors, the role of self-perceptions was explored to ascertain if these existed in relation to organisational life, and in particular to aspects of promotion. It was hypothesised that perceptual differences will influence an individual's views and subsequent promotion seeking behaviour. The results demonstrated that men and women perceive aspects of organisation culture and policies, previous promotion, requirements for future promotion, and understanding of senior management requirements for future promotion quite differently. It was proposed that such perceptual

differences may account for the unequal career advancement between male and female middle managers.

A framework that included a social sphere of influence was proposed to account for such perceptual differences, and this was tested in a public forum with three very senior women in their specific fields. The explanatory framework incorporated the possibility that men and women have different gendered social realities, which impact on the way they perceive events, which may influence outcomes of promotion seeking behaviour. The interviews confirmed this view.

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution, and that to the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.



Glenice J. Wood,

May, 2001.

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CHAPTER 1

Women's lack of advancement in management careers

Despite the fact that women comprise 42% of the paid workforce, they remain poorly represented in upper management positions in both the public and private sectors. This is the case in skilled and unskilled occupations and even in professions such as education where women comprise a majority of the workforce...(Report of the Inquiry into Equal Opportunity and Equal Status for Women in Australia bv the House Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, [Australia] 1992, p.xx).

1.1 Introduction

Over the last two decades, a considerable amount of research has focused on the career progress of women in management. It has been suggested that attitudinal, behavioural, and structural barriers have made progress difficult for many women within organisational settings (Still, 1997), and that women have difficulty in taking an equal place in decision-making positions within industry and business (Vinnicombe & Colwill, 1995). Although women are graduating in higher numbers than men from educational institutions (Vilkinas, 1995), and are increasing their numbers in lower level management roles (Parker & Fagenson, 1994), the number of women in senior management positions remains low.

In Australia in 1993, approximately 3% of senior managers were women (Bagwell, 1993). According to one report, this figure has not

generally increased (Uren, 1999). In fact, Australia is said to have the lowest proportion of women in management in the industrialised world (James, 1996), with women making up 43% of the paid workforce, and comprising 24% of full-time and part-time Managers and Administrators in May, 1999 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1999). In comparison, in America, where 58% of women are employed outside the home (Parker & Fagenson, 1994), 42% of all management positions are occupied by women (Aguinis & Adams, 1998), with approximately 10% of senior management positions being filled by women (Meyerson & Fletcher, 2000). In addition, in Britain, 44% of the workforce is female, and even though women are estimated to make up one fifth of managers across all levels, only 4% of middle and senior managers are women (Davidson, 1996).

To address this inequity in Australia, legislative changes such as the Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth), the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act 1986 (Cth), and the Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act 1986 (Cth) have been introduced to ensure that equal employment opportunity was "...a fundamental and individual right, regardless of race, sex and marital status" (Nankervis, Compton & McCarthy, 1993, p.105). However, despite this, fewer women may now be holding senior management positions than have been previously reported.

This decline is suggested by three Australian studies. Firstly, between 1984 and 1992, the percentage of senior managers in the private sector who were female was reported to have decreased from 2.5 per cent

to 1.3 per cent (Still, Guerin & Chia, 1992). Secondly, a Federal Government study of the top 100 companies in Australia found that the number of women in senior management had decreased in the previous decade (Newman, 1994). Thirdly, Metz and Tharenou (1999) have reported that women represented 5.93 per cent of all senior managers in their 1995/6 study in the finance sector. This is a decline from the proportion of women in similar roles in 1994/5 (6.12 per cent) (Still, 1997). Such declines in the numbers of women at senior management level have also been reported in the United States (Antal & Izraeli, 1993) and Britain (Wilson, 1995).

addition senior inequities, ln to management the poor representation of women continues at higher executive levels in the organisation. For example, a study by the Office of the Public Service Commissioner found that in the top 200 companies listed in Australia in 1994, there was no female chief executive officer (Newman, 1994). The situation was similar for board membership. In 1995, a survey of 194 organisations released by Korn/Ferry International and the Australian Institute of Company Directors, reported that 1% of executive directors and 5% of non-executive directors were women.

The level of board representation by women (4%) had also remained constant for some years up until 1994, (Australian Women's Year Book, 1995), but in large companies is reported to have risen to 14% in 1999, and then declined to 10% in 2000 (Australian Institute of Management National Salary Survey, 2000). Additionally, the percentage of companies who had at least one woman on their board had risen only

minimally from 24% in 1994, to 26% in 1995 (Korn/Ferry International, 1996). A recent Australian study of publicly listed companies confirms the above trend. Sheridan (2001) has reported that 3.4% of such board positions are held by women, with 87.3% held by men. This gender composition is similar to that reported by Burke (1997a) in Canada, and Talmud & Izraeli (1999) in Israel.

These differences in the representation of men and women at the highest levels of organisations are also found in the United States, where Mainiero (1994) has reported that women held less than 5% of positions within three levels of the Chief Executive Officer. Recent reports based on data from the *Fortune* 500 companies in America suggest that less than 4% of the "uppermost ranks of CEO" are filled by women (Meyerson & Fletcher, 2000, p.127), and that this situation is not expected to improve in the near future (Daily, Certo & Dalton, 1999). These figures are particularly striking when it is considered that Equal Opportunity legislation in the United States of America has been in operation since 1964, when the Civil Rights Act established the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis of religion, national origin, race, and sex.

In summary therefore, the literature reports that only a small proportion of women achieve senior management, executive, or board positions, and this occurrence is noted world-wide (Burke & Davidson, 1994; Davidson & Burke, 2000; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Palmer & Kandasaami, 1993; Still, 1997). Despite government legislation, legal sanctions, greater participation in education, and greater entry into the

workforce, only a very small proportion of women advance to senior management positions (Parker & Fagenson, 1994). In an attempt to account for this low representation of women in senior management, previous research has considered the possibility that career obstacles are experienced by women in their management careers.

1.2 Background to the research

Over a decade ago, Morrison, White and Van Velsor (1987) first wrote about an invisible obstacle or barrier that seemed to impede the advancement of women in reaching senior levels of management.

Many women have paid their dues, even a premium, for a chance at a top position, only to find a glass ceiling between them and their goal. The glass ceiling is not simply a barrier for an individual, based on the person's inability to handle a higher-level job. Rather, the glass ceiling applies to women as a group who are kept from advancing because they are women (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor 1987, p.13).

Five years later, Morrison (1992) reported that barriers to advancement were still evident and that the form and function of the glass ceiling phenomenon appeared to be much the same as it had been when first reported in 1987. These barriers are believed to originate from organisational and attitudinal bias (Snyder, 1993) or be caused by individual dimensions (Still, 1997). The popular press has also used the metaphor of the glass ceiling over the past decade (e.g., Ferguson & Wood, 1998; Neales, 1991). To illustrate, Bagwell (1993) argued that although women were more highly educated and trained in the 1990s, and made up 42% of the workforce, they occupied a very small proportion of

directorships or senior management positions because they were held back by a glass ceiling.

Many researchers in Australia (e.g., Burton, 1994; Hede, 1994; Still, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994), England, (e.g., Davidson & Cooper, 1992) and America (e.g., Bass & Avolio, 1994; Snyder, 1993) have concurred that there are formidable barriers that keep women from advancing up the corporate ladder. In addition, more recent research (e.g., Lyness & Thompson, 1997; Mattis, 1995; Meyerson & Fletcher, 2000; Still, 1997; Still & Smith, 1998; Vinnicombe & Colwill, 1995) continues to point to such a glass ceiling effect, which appears to be very resistant to change.

Increasingly, individuals in many organizations are recognising the importance of shattering the glass ceiling and removing barriers that prevent women from utilizing their full potential. However, the fact that the glass ceiling has remained virtually intact over the last ten years indicates that these efforts have been largely ineffectual (Ragins, Townsend & Mattis, 1998, p.28).

This underrepresentation of women at senior levels is not confined to careers in management, but has also been noted in other career areas, such as accounting (Lawson, 1998; Subramaniam & Lambert, 1993), the police force (Densley, 1994), science (Coorey, 1996), and higher education (Wieneke, 1991). In higher education, senior administrative women as well as academics are affected (Bacchi, 1993; Cass, Dawson & Temple, 1983). Snyder (1993) sums up as follows:

...there is undeniable evidence that women who have 'all the right stuff' (who get similar education to men's, maintain similar levels of family power, work in similar industries, do not move in and out

of the workforce, are equally open to transfers, and so on) simply do not progress in their careers nearly as rapidly as their male counterparts (p.104).

The question is: how can we account for the small numbers of women who reach senior positions in management roles? One explanation that has been proposed is that women, compared to their male counterparts, are considered less likely to possess the required abilities, attributes and skills to fill the role of management (Parker & Fagenson, 1994) and hence are unsuitable in such a role. This explanation reflects a gender differences view.

Another explanation for this phenomenon is that in addition to women being perceived as different to their male counterparts, they are evaluated as less competent and less effective when compared to male managers because they are perceived to have different methods to their male counterparts (Wilson, 1995). Gender stereotypical attitudes may underpin such evaluations. It is therefore important to understand whether gender differences do occur in the attributes and behaviour of men and women who fulfil management roles, and also whether these differences are "actual or perceived" (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990, p.206).

1.3 Research problem

The primary research problem to be addressed in this research can be encapsulated as follows: how can we explain the continuing poor representation of women in senior management roles? Are there real or perceived differences in the behaviours, skills, attitudes and perceptions of male and female managers, and if so, are they sufficient to explain the phenomenon?

To address this problem, firstly an exploration of gender differences in management behaviour will be made, and the specific question to be considered is: Are there gender differences in self-reported application, attributes, qualifications and skills in a contemporary sample of Australian middle managers? Secondly, an exploration of gender stereotypical attitudes will be made, and the question to be considered is: are there stereotypical attitudes evident in middle managers' views relating to female managers' behaviours, skills and attitudes? This study therefore will explore whether there are gender differences in self-reported behaviour, skills and attitudes of middle managers, and whether gender stereotypical attitudes exist in the evaluations of managerial competencies (the behaviour, skills and attitudes of female managers). In addressing these areas of research, two major explanations that have been proposed to account for the small numbers of women in senior management, will be examined and critiqued.

It is the contention of this thesis that the explanations of gender difference and gender stereotyping are inadequate to fully explain the ongoing existence of barriers to women's career advancement in senior management roles. An alternative explanation, that of perceptual differences between male and female managers may offer a more fruitful area of research, and hence will be explored. As perceptual differences between male and female managers have been noted in general areas of organisational functioning (e.g., Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990), this thesis will extend the women in management literature by examining if perceptual differences also exist in relation to promotional experiences

and understanding of future promotional requirements. Therefore, a third aspect of the research problem will be addressed. An exploration of perceived requirements for future promotion will be made through this question: Are there gender differences in perceptions of the requirements for promotion that could account in part for the low numbers of women in senior management? These questions will be addressed through the following theoretical framework.

1.4 Theoretical framework

To address the question of women's poor representation at senior management levels, three theoretical perspectives have evolved in the literature. These theories have generated a vast amount of research in relation to women in management. Each of the theories will be reviewed in Chapter 2, and a critique will be made of their ability to address the above research question. Firstly, the Organisation-structure perspective (sometimes referred to as the Situation or Organisational-centred approach) outlines external factors which may contribute to women not advancing to senior roles (Fagenson, 1990). Secondly, the Gender-Organisation-System approach argues that both gender and the position an individual occupies, as well as the context in which the organisation operates, may affect behaviour (Parker & Fagenson, 1994), and therefore Finally, the Person-centred perspective (sometimes advancement. referred to as the Gender-centred approach) outlines internal factors that are believed to account for women's lack of advancement (Gregory, 1990). This latter theory will be analysed in depth, as it is the theory that lends itself most effectively to an exploration of gender differences in a management context.

1.5 The importance of the study

It is essential to explore why barriers continue to exist to women's career advancement, as projections of future workplace demographics forecast that women will fill double the number of new positions compared to men (Sekaran, 2000). Therefore, in order to fully harness the potential of female employees, it is important to understand the factors that hinder women's career advancement so that these may be eliminated, or at the very least, considerably reduced.

As all industrialised nations are experiencing an increase in the diversity of their workforce, it is essential that organisations recognise the potential of each individual in order to enhance productivity (Parker & Fagenson, 1994). If the potential of a quarter of the managerial workforce is lost (e.g., Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1999) the pool of management talent will be dramatically reduced. Research that considers new avenues in an attempt to account for the lack of women in senior management positions may assist in breaking down barriers for women managers who have similar qualifications, experience, and aspirations to their male counterparts, and who wish to reach their full potential within a management career.

According to Karpin's (1995) report to the Australian Government of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, Australia must capitalise on the diversity of women as well as the skills and talents of our multicultural society in order to improve managerial performance in this country. The Task Force recommended that increasing the number of women at senior management levels will be beneficial to Australia economically, as increasing the numbers of women in senior level positions will translate into economic benefit for both the organisation as well as Australia (Karpin, 1995). In addition, the report concluded that:

...the national economy, and Australian business, cannot afford to operate with one hand tied behind its back by continuing to under-utilise women in management. This is the case in small, medium and large enterprises, on boards of directors, and in management education institutions (Karpin, 1995, pp.243-4).

It may be that organisations are at risk of devaluing half of their potential managers of the future, at a time of globalisation and unprecedented change when all creative talent should be recognised and embraced (Sinclair & Marriott, 1990). Therefore, organisations must be aware of, and take action to reduce any barriers that exist to limit productivity (Parker & Fagenson, 1994), or workplace inequities (Brett & Stroh, 1999).

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According to Sekaran (1990), future research into the area of women in management needs to have applied outcomes if the goal is to influence changes within organisations. The current research study, through an examination of Australian middle managers attitudes and perceptions toward the organisation culture and environment in general, and promotion policies and practices in particular, will address this issue. Several important practical benefits may arise.

Firstly, results of this research could shed light on perceptions relating to career progression of women and men within organisations.

For example, is the criteria to achieve career progression viewed in the same way by male and female employees? Secondly, alerting Human Resources managers to perceived barriers to advancement by both male and female managers may instigate changes in Human Resources practices toward promotion within organisational settings. Thirdly, some changes in the culture of organisations may be possible through recognising the potential in both male and female managers, and thus capitalising on the aspirations and expectations of all middle management employees. To illustrate: if an assumption is erroneously made by senior management that only male managers will be interested in senior management promotions or relocation, the focus will be on male managers for further training programs, specific experience and development opportunities, overseas assignments and possibly mentoring relationships with senior personnel. The effect of such managerial evaluations on aspiring female managers and the organisation's effectiveness is likely to be detrimental. Therefore, in sum, this study aims to generate important findings that may be applied directly to an organisational setting. Flow-on benefits are likely to include less turnover of staff, higher levels of job satisfaction, increased staff loyalty, and higher work productivity.

1.6 Theoretical significance of the study

In addition to women in management research having practical importance, there is a need for research that adds to a theoretical framework for understanding the reasons women remain under-represented in senior management positions. The area of women in

management is relatively new, only becoming a significant field of research activity and teaching within the last twenty five years. Sekaran (1990) has suggested that the important issues to be addressed in this area of research are whether women are any different to men in the role of management; whether research is being generated from sound theoretical bases, and whether the use of appropriate methodologies for building on the knowledge base are utilised. The present study addresses each of these areas, and therefore will contribute to a theoretical understanding of the phenomenon.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The primary focus of this thesis is a quantitative analysis of a survey instrument, designed to elicit attitudes toward promotion of Australian middle managers. This approach was employed because of the size of the sample (507 respondents), which was drawn from all of the major industry classifications used in the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 1996.

In addition, method triangulation was achieved through the use of interviews, as it was felt they would enhance the richness of the findings, and that the different approaches would allow maximum understanding to be gained about the various attitudes and perceptions of the respondents (see Reinharz, 1992). To achieve the method triangulation, the research was conducted in six stages. These stages are elaborated on in Chapter 6 of this thesis. A brief outline of the structure of the thesis follows.

In the following two chapters, a review of the empirical research evidence that has focused on exploring the existence of gender

differences between managers (Chapter 2), and gender stereotypical attitudes of others (Chapter 3) will be made. Because it is the contention of this thesis that these two areas cannot adequately explain the poor representation of women in senior management positions, an alternate explanation will be explored. Therefore, perceptual differences between male and female managers will be considered. It is possible that the behaviour of managerial women may be affected by their perceptions. For example, it may be argued that "women's experiences of the inequalities of the workplace have led to differing perceptions of career development and opportunities, and to lowered expectations" (Hind & Baruch, 1997, p.284). This is an example of perceptions influencing behaviour and attitudes. Another example is that women have been reported to show reticence in believing their successes are due to high levels of ability. Women may therefore erect and maintain obstacles to their own career progression, according to Rosenthal, Guest and Peccei (1996).

It is possible, therefore, that there are gender differences in perception which may influence behaviour. In particular, it is proposed that the behaviour of individuals seeking promotion is likely to be affected by their perceptions of promotion requirements. To illustrate, a person is unlikely to apply for promotion if she or he believes that a certain level of experience or education is required, which they do not possess. Thus, women and men may have different promotion-seeking behaviours if they differ in their perceptions of development issues and promotion requirements. Furthermore, their different promotion-seeking behaviour may be differentially rewarded by organisations. This will have a direct

bearing on the outcome of career advancement for women to senior management roles.

Therefore, Chapter 4 will describe reported perceptual differences between male and female managers in general areas of the organisational dynamics. It will be proposed that as perceptual differences have been shown to occur in general areas of the organisations functioning, they may also exist in relation to the specific areas of promotional requirements. If it can be shown that perceptual differences between male and female managers exist relating to the requirements of promotion, this may add to an understanding of the poor representation of women in senior management positions.

Research questions will be derived from each of these sections to address the primary research problem of this study, as well as the subsidiary questions. These research questions, and the aims of the study, will be set out in Chapter 5 of this thesis. Chapter 6 will detail the methodology employed in this study, and Chapters 7 and 8 will outline the Quantitative and Qualitative results received from the survey and interview process.

Chapter 9 will compare and contrast the results of the study, and in addition, will propose a framework which suggests that gender differences in perception can be explained by an unconscious level of social constraints. The conceptual framework of Social-role theory (Eagly, 1987) is drawn upon to flesh out the social levels of the proposed framework. In Chapter 10, the thesis concludes with an assessment of the proposed

framework in relation to three very senior managers' views, limitations of the study, and implications for future research.

1.8 Summary

This study is being carried out to firstly ascertain if differences exist in the managerial behaviour, skills and attitudes of male and female middle managers. It is important to focus on this question as many previous studies, and one of the major theories in the area, have been based on an assumption of differences between men and women in the managerial role. If it can be established that differences in ability and application cannot be found, then alternative theories must be proposed to more accurately explain the low representation of women in senior management. Thus, the present study will endeavour to make a significant contribution to the women in management literature by exploring whether the proposed differences in women's managerial behaviour actually exist, or are only perceived to exist.

Secondly, an alternative explanation for the phenomenon will be proposed. An original contribution to the women in management literature will be made by exploring whether perceptual differences between male and female managers exist in understanding the requirements of promotion. If perceptual differences are found in this area, it is possible that these may play a role in the small numbers of female managers who advance to senior management positions.

Numerous studies have highlighted the necessity to consider perceptions (e.g., Gregory, 1990) and to distinguish whether behavioural differences are real or perceived (e.g. Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990).

However, it would appear that few studies have addressed both of these factors. The design of the present study includes both of these recommendations.

It is the contention of this thesis that none of the major theories adequately explain why women continue to be underrepresented in senior management roles. Each of these theories has considered whether there are gender differences in managers' cognitions, traits, behaviour and attitudes because of individual characteristics (Fagenson, 1986), or organisational structure (Kanter, 1977), or a combination of these factors, coupled with an acknowledgement of the role of the context in which an organisation operates (Fagenson, 1990). These theories have addressed one of the recurring themes in empirical studies that have focused on barriers to women's career advancement. This is that women are perceived to be 'different' across a range of managerial attributes, and are seen as inappropriate to fill the role of manager. Hence perceptions of women's 'difference' have often been equated with deficits. Αn examination of these 'differences' is a major focus of this thesis. following Table (Table 1.1) illustrates the specific focus of each chapter.

Table 1.1 <u>Structure of the Thesis.</u>

Focus of chapter.

Chapter 1.	Introduction	Are managerial women and men different, and is the difference sufficient to explain women's poor representation in senior management?
Chapter 2.	Literature review: Gender differences. Three theoretical frameworks: Orgstructure theory Gender-Organisation- System theory Person-centred theory	The current theories in the women in management literature are inadequate to explain the low numbers of women in senior management roles. Research questions raised and tested.
Chapter 3.	Literature review: Gender stereotyping.	Stereotypical attitudes and expectations of others may influence behaviour and attitudes within management. Research questions raised and tested.
Chapter 4.	Literature review: Perceptual differences.	Are there gender differences in perceptions that may exist and help explain differences in career advancement? Research questions raised and tested.
Chapter 5.	Summary of Aims and Research questions.	Aims of research outlined and a complete list of research questions detailed.
Chapter 6.	Method.	Data collection methodology.
Chapter 7.	Quantitative results.	Survey results.
Chapter 8.	Qualitative results.	Interview results and qualitative themes.
Chapter 9.	Discussion.	Discussion of findings, and outline of the Social Sphere of Influence framework to analyse results from the perception measures in the present study.
Chapter 10.	Conclusion.	Testing of the proposed framework, limitations of the study, directions for future research.

The following chapter explores the gender difference literature, and critiques the three theoretical frameworks that have evolved in the women in management literature to account for the small numbers of women who progress to senior management positions.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review: Gender Differences

The basic argument for this [gender-centred] approach is that gender, whether due to biological roots or socialization influences, determines many if not most of one's preferences, abilities, and skills, and that these characteristics largely drive behaviours. Accordingly, one might expect men to think and act in certain prescribed ways and women to act in other prescribed ways (Parker & Fagenson, 1994, pp.17-18).

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 identified the area of interest to be addressed in this study, which is that women remain underrepresented in senior management positions despite the intervention of equal opportunity and affirmative action legislation. This chapter aims to describe and evaluate the theoretical frameworks that have been proposed to explain why so few women attain positions in senior management. The chapter is organised in the following manner: firstly, evidence for general gender differences will be reviewed. It is important to describe this area as it underpins the theories that have evolved to address the underrepresentation of women in senior management. Secondly, three theoretical frameworks will be outlined, and their appropriateness to explain the phenomenon of the low numbers of women in senior management will be considered. The first framework, organisation-structure perspective, and the second, gender-

organisation-system framework will be briefly described. Following this the third framework, the person-centred perspective will be analysed in depth, as it is the theoretical framework which lends itself most to the area of focus in this research.

2.2 Gender differences

Research into gender differences had at its base a desire to understand whether males and females differed on a variety of traits and behaviours because of their biological determination. A vast amount of literature has examined behaviours, skills and attitudes of various age groups in order to determine if true gender differences exist, the implication being that differences in behaviour between men and women are innate or acquired from very early socialisation. Much of the literature pertaining to women in management has focused on gender differences, and is based upon this wider literature. This section will therefore explore early studies outside the management literature that have been influential in a belief that innate differences existed in various behaviours, skills and attitudes between the sexes. Following this, gender difference studies which have explored managerial capabilities and attributes, will be examined. This section will conclude with a summary of proven or empirically suggested differences in behaviour, skills and attitudes that are presumed to impact negatively on a manager's performance.

2.2.1 General gender difference studies

The early seminal work into gender differences by Maccoby and Jacklin (1974), focused mainly on children. Sex differences in various

studies into social behaviour, cognition and temperament were reviewed, and the conclusion was that there were very few sex differences between these groups. Similarities between the groups were found in the following areas.

In social interactions such as social stimuli, learning through imitating models, responsiveness to social reinforcement and dependence on caretakers, no differences were found between girls and boys. In addition, both boys and girls were found to be "equally empathic, in the sense of understanding the emotional reactions of others" (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974, p. 349).

In terms of suggestibility or conformity, the researchers found that both boys and girls were likely to spontaneously imitate others, as well as be susceptible to persuasive communication. In addition, both sexes were found to be very similar in their levels of self-satisfaction and self-confidence, although it was noted that "girls rate themselves higher in the area of social competence; boys more often see themselves as strong, powerful, dominant, potent" (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974, p.350).

The review also found that both sexes were equally able to display higher-level cognitive processes, such as "discrimination learning, reversal shifts, and probability learning" (p.350). In addition, boys and girls did not differ in their ability to apply analytic skills. In fact, both sexes were reported as learning with equal facility across a wide variety of learning situations.

The findings on achievement motivation were that there were either no sex differences in observational studies in achievement imagery, or

some reports found that girls were superior on this task. Finally, no differences were found in relation to auditory strengths, or visual strengths, contrary to "unfounded beliefs" (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974, p.349) that girls were more competent in responding to auditory cues, and boys to visual cues.

Sex differences were found, however, in the following areas. Girls were reported to have greater verbal ability than troys, whereas boys were found to be superior in tasks requiring visual-spatial and mathematical ability. In addition, males were found to be more aggressive, both physically and verbally. This sex difference was thought to begin in early social play, and to continue throughout college years. However, data relating to older adults and aggression were not available for inclusion in the study.

There were also a number of areas where the researchers reported that the evidence was ambiguous. These ambiguous areas included tactile sensitivity, fear and anxiety, levels of activity, competitiveness, dominance, compliance and maternal behaviour.

Therefore, the findings from the Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) study were mixed. However despite this, the review was widely interpreted as indicating that there were no significant differences in social behaviour, with the exception of aggressive behaviour, "in experimental studies in which women and men are observed under identical conditions" (Eagly & Wood, 1991, p.306) (my emphasis). That is, the results of the review, which focussed mainly on studies of children, were extrapolated to adults, and the mixed findings were played down, with the 'no difference' findings

receiving prominence. To recapitulate, the studies demonstrated many areas of similarity, but difference in verbal, visual-spatial and mathematical ability, and aggression were reported.

However, methodological flaws in the Maccoby and Jacklin review, such as limiting the sample predominantly to studies of children, and only considering a "very small proportion of the available research on adult social behaviour" (Eagly & Wood, 1991, p.306) have been criticised. In addition, the review analysed various studies in one category that had employed different assessment tools to measure the one construct. Furthermore, subjective techniques were utilised to reach conclusions, and these facets of the work have also been raised as issues of concern (Feingold, 1994).

In addition to these criticisms, some of the early findings have since been refuted. For example, contrary to the findings of Maccoby and Jacklin (1974), Cooper (1979) examined (meta-analytically) the same conformity studies sample and found that females did conform more than males in some types of group-pressure conformity settings. The meta-analytical methodology computes an effect size for each difference between-groups, classifies effect sizes by trait (e.g., conformity) and then combines and compares effect sizes across studies in a quantitative manner (see Feingold, 1994, p.429).

From the late 1970s on, meta analytic methodology became a popular method to aggregate research findings. Research using this methodology became the technique of choice to summarise studies that had explored sex differences in a wide variety of traits; for example social

influence (Becker, 1986), perceptions of ethical decision making (Franke, Crown & Spake, 1997), and moral development (Thoma, 1986).

Findings from the social influence studies reported that female college students appeared to be more influenceable than males (although it was noted that in real life situations, gender differences in influenceability may not be perceptible) (Becker, 1986). In terms of ethical standards, Franke et al. (1997) found that women do show higher ethical standards than men, although observed differences were smaller in samples with more work experience. Furthermore, Thoma (1986) reported that females scored higher on measures of moral judgment than did males. On the whole, findings from the meta-analytic research concluded that gender differences did exist in many of the areas studied, in contrast to the majority of findings by Maccoby & Jacklin (1974).

In summary, the area of gender differences has generated a vast amount of research into social behaviour and cognitions. Although early studies reported few sex differences in behaviour, more recently there has been support for some differences from child and student samples in the majority of the meta-analytic reviews. Further research has been carried out in areas more closely associated with management skills, and gender differences have been reported in areas that may relate to the practice of management. These areas will now be examined more closely.

2.2.2 Gender differences in management attributes

In addition to the above areas of general gender differences, differences in the specific work related behaviours, attitudes and skills of men and women in management have also been considered. One

explanation proposed to account for the low numbers of women in senior management positions is that 'differences' handicap women in their career advancement (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990).

Examples of research into gender differences which may be seen to be related to managerial capabilities include the areas of leadership, personality, aggression, and cognitions. Each of these areas will now be explored as they relate directly to the practice of management.

2.2.2.1 Leadership:

A review by Eagly and Johnson (1990) compared the leadership styles of women and men, and concluded that some differences existed. They found that both male and female leaders performed similarly in both interpersonally oriented and task-oriented styles in studies conducted in organisations. That is, women were found to be equally capable of leading in a task-oriented fashion, and men were equally capable of leading in an interpersonal manner. However, women exhibited a more participative or democratic style, and men exhibited a more directive, autocratic style (Eagly & Johnson, 1990).

Following this work, a meta-analysis on gender and the emergence of leaders was conducted (Eagly & Karau, 1991). This review examined research on leader emergence in groups that were initially without a leader. Findings suggested that men emerged as task-oriented leaders more than did women, although such an event was most likely in short-term groups where the tasks set involved a relatively superficial level of social interaction. On the other hand, women were found to emerge as social leaders more frequently than men. That is, women engaged more

often in leadership behaviour which showed agreement with other members and solidarity of views.

Therefore, it was concluded that gender differences in leadership style did exist. The researchers concluded that because of men's tendency to specialise in task-oriented behaviours, there is a socially accepted tendency for men to assume roles of leadership (Eagly & Karau, 1991). It can be assumed that senior management roles would be seen as requiring task oriented behaviour. According to Eagly and Karau (1991), "men's specialization relative to women in strictly task-oriented behaviors is one key to their emergence as group leaders" (p.705). Thus, men would be seen as a better 'fit' than women in this role.

2.2.2.2 Personality:

In a review of studies that have examined gender differences in personality (Feingold, 1994), results concluded that males were more assertive with higher self-esteem than females, which contradicts the earlier finding by Maccoby and Jacklin (1974). Females were found to have higher levels of extraversion, anxiety, trust and "tender-mindedness" (nurturance) than males, but no sex differences of any import were found in social anxiety, impulsiveness, activity, reflectiveness, locus of control and orderliness. Samples for this meta-analytical review were drawn from earlier studies of gender differences in personality which included students and adults. One noteworthy aspect of this research was that gender differences in personality traits were found to be "constant across ages, years of data collection, educational levels, and nations" (Feingold, 1994, p.429). That is, the gender differences reported were found to be constant

across several generations, from the late 1950s to the early 1990s. Furthermore, there was consistency across educational levels and nationalities, suggesting that the reported differences were stable and fixed. In relation to management, such differences in qualities of assertion and higher self-esteem could be expected to be a powerful differentiator between male and female applicants for managerial positions.

2.2.2.3 Aggression:

Gender differences have also been analysed in relation to aggressive behaviour, through meta-analysis. Eagly and Steffen (1986) concluded that there were sex differences in aggressive behaviour, with men being more aggressive than women. The differences were more prominent in physical rather than psychological aggression. In addition, results led the researchers to believe that women and men view aggression differently, and suggest that "these differing beliefs are important mediators of sex differences in aggressive behavior" (Eagly & Steffen, 1986, p.325). For example, women expressed more guilt and anxiety, more awareness about harmful repercussions, and more concern about danger to themselves in relation to aggression. These sex differences were reported to be "relatively large" (Eagly & Steffen, 1986, p.325).

When women exhibit less aggressive behaviour and more anxiety and discomfort associated with aggression, this could be mooted as a reason for women's failure to reach senior management positions. Eagly and Steffen (1986) make the point that aggressive behaviour toward either

employees or rival companies "...is sometimes held to typify American managers" (p.311). It can be assumed, therefore, that a tendency toward aggressive behaviour will be seen to be an appropriate quality in a male manager, and will therefore be more acceptable in male managers than female managers.

2.2.2.4 Cognition:

In terms of gender differences in cognition, a review by Feingold (1993) concluded that male subjects were superior in general knowledge and quantitative reasoning, whereas female subjects performed better than males in tests requiring perceptual speed. Specifically, results from a sample of American high school students concluded that male students received higher scores than female students on mechanical reasoning and spatial visualisation. Female students were reported to have higher scores on measures of spelling, language use, and perceptual speed than their male counterparts. However, there were no reported sex differences in the areas of verbal, figural or arithmetic reasoning (Feingold, 1988). One significant feature of this research was that adolescent gender differences had decreased, suggesting that gender differences in this age group were diminishing (Feingold, 1993). Possibly, cognitive similarities between adolescents may reflect current societal attitudes where more females expect that they will continue on with their education and independent careers. In terms of management skills, strengths in general knowledge and quantitative reasoning could be expected to be valued qualities. If male adults display these abilities, it is reasonable to assume they will be rewarded in the management context.

In general, therefore, the above gender difference literature has reported differences across a number of behaviours, personality traits and abilities which could be seen to influence the managerial capabilities of men and women. A belief in the different attributes of men and women and their link with valued aspects of the role of manager, is thought to be fundamental to understanding the barriers that exist to women's advancement in organisations. According to Meyerson and Fletcher (2000, p.129) "...organizational definitions of competence and leadership are still predicated on traits stereotypically associated with men: tough, aggressive, decisive."

The various studies examined may be summarised as follows. Pertaining to leadership, in spite of similarity in leadership competence, men were found to exhibit a more instrumental, autocratic style of leadership than women, more in keeping with management expectations. In relation to personality, assertiveness and high self-esteem would serve this same function for men, and perhaps too their greater proven physical aggression. It might seem also that better general knowledge and some forms of superior quantitative reasoning, which men displayed, might be valued more for a senior management role.

All of the above studies appear to come from an implied explanatory theoretical framework. Studies looking at gender differences often imply an innate biological base or at least very early gendered socialisation as causal factors for differences in personality, abilities or attributes. The suggestion is that such differences, therefore, appear to be

unchangeable. Other theories look more broadly at culture and society for explanation.

2.2.3 Reasons for the occurrence of gender differences

Several non-biological theories have been proposed to account for the behavioural differences reported between men and women (Franke, et al. 1997), and these have fallen into two main categories; cultural and structural. The cultural approach has been the most influential in the study of sex differences, and suggests that members of a group are instilled with beliefs and values because of very early childhood socialisation experiences (e.g., Chodorow, 1978). Although termed 'cultural', and focusing on learned behaviour, the approach sometimes leans towards the 'innate' or 'natural' explanation. This perspective proposes that there are different patterns of development which boys and girls experience, and these will lead to different characteristics, such as an emphasis on relationships by females, and justice by males (Gilligan, 1993). Some researchers have argued that such gender identity is permanent, and not susceptible to change during adulthood (e.g., Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). This suggests that people bring with them different interests, traits and values when entering the workforce, and these differences will continue to influence people's perceptions and behaviour over time (Dawson, 1992).

On the other hand there is the structural approach, where groups of people are believed to operate within similar situational constraints, because of the social positions they occupy within the family, or work settings, such as organisations (House, 1981). Social-role theory is an example of a structural group differences approach, and it analyses social

roles as the origin of behavioural differences between women and men (Eagly, 1987). In contrast to the cultural perspective outlined above, Social-role theory proposes that adult social roles will be more influential than will early socialisation experiences or biology in explaining gender differences in the social behaviour of adults. This approach argues that gender differences in behaviour originate from gender roles, and these are thought to influence the types of behaviours held to be appropriate for men and women (Feingold, 1994).

The Social-role theory has been employed to interpret the results of all of the studies conducted by Eagly and her colleagues since 1987. In general, this theoretical perspective has identified a pattern of sex differences that are structured around the societal expectations that men will behave agentically (assertive, independent, competent) and women will behave communally (friendly, unselfish, emotionally expressive and caring of others) (Eagly & Wood, 1991). For example, the sex differences found in emergent leadership were explained by the fact that men's roles equip them to specialise in behaviours which are task-oriented whereas women's roles have led them to specialise more in behaviours which are socially facilitative (Eagly & Karau, 1991).

This theory provides an informative framework to consider why differences between men and women may occur. As it also provides a theoretical explanation of how prior experience can affect gender differences in perception (Franke *et al.* 1997), the conceptual framework of this theory will be drawn on again in Chapter 9.

In summary, in terms of gender differences in management capabilities, the attributes that could be presumed to impact on a manager's performance are task-oriented leadership, communication with high levels of self esteem, aggressive behaviour not associated with guilt and anxiety, and cognitive abilities which are characterised by a wide general knowledge and an ability to reason quantitatively. There are gender differences reported in each of these areas, with the behaviours listed above being attributed to males. Therefore, the behaviours exhibited by males appear to equip them more comfortably to fill the role of manager, as it is currently defined. According to Fielden and Davidson (1999), the "successful manager is aggressive, competitive, independent and self-reliant" (p.74). Characteristics which include acting non-aggressively, being concerned for others welfare, and having artistic qualities - attributes more readily associated with females are seen as "non-related management traits" (Orser, 1994, p.11).

As can be seen from the above, the literature over the past 27 years appears to have focused on what gender differences exist between men and women in general and in particular, in terms of managerial qualities. It is proposed that research into gender differences has underpinned a view that women are inappropriate in the role of management. The following section will describe the three theories that have derived from the gender difference literature. A critique will be offered for the suitability of these theories to adequately explain the phenomenon of the continuing low numbers of women in senior management roles.

2.3 The three theoretical frameworks related to women in management research

As noted previously, research which has spanned a quarter of a century suggests an acceptance of gender differences where men have been considered to have superior behaviour, skills and attitudes to women in the management role. The area of gender differences has been described as it is believed to underpin the three theoretical perspectives which have been advanced to address why women are underrepresented in senior management roles. Two theories, the organisation-structure perspective and the gender-organisation-system framework have attempted to explain why women behave differently in the organisational setting. The implicit assumption here is that 'different behaviour' equates to inappropriate management behaviour. These theories will be dealt with briefly. The third theory, the person-centred perspective will be analysed in depth on pages 45-49, as this is the theory which focuses on individual deficits, and hence lends itself most to one of the groups of research questions posed in this study.

2.3.1 Organisational structure theoretical perspective

The organisation-structure (or situation-centred, or organisation-centred) perspective proposes that gender differences in the behaviour of managers are due to "situational differences in the workplace" (Parker & Fagenson, 1994, p.18). According to the most notable proponent of this approach (Kanter, 1977) an individual's position in the organisational opportunity structures was one of the main determinants of behaviour. In addition, the low level of power attached to women's jobs was also

influential in their behaviour (Fagenson, 1990). Kanter (1977) found that women traditionally filled positions at lower, less powerful levels, and believed that this factor, in addition to their minority numbers in such roles, influenced the behaviour exhibited. Differences in status and power occurred, and both these factors influenced the amount of interest shown in, for example, responsibility (Wilson, 1995).

Furthermore, Kanter (1977) believed that there were advantageous and disadvantageous job situations within organisations. The former types of job situations provided job opportunity and power, and were filled by people who were the majority within the organisation, that is males. These positions appeared to generate "attitudes, behaviours and values that propel individuals along the fast track" (Fagenson, 1990, p.270). Holders of the disadvantageous job situations had little opportunity or power, and were filled by those who were a minority within the organisation, that is females (Riger & Galligan, 1980). These positions appeared to foster attitudes and behaviours that justified the incumbents being placed in As women fill the majority of the disadvantageous these positions. positions and men predominate in the advantageous positions, Kanter (1977) concluded that attitudinal or behavioural differences exhibited by women could be attributed to both their minority numbers, as well as their position within the structure of the organisation.

One example of the way in which organisational structures external to women can influence the way women behave within managerial roles is as follows. Because of the small numbers of women in management, the relative powerlessness of their positions, or because they perceive limited

opportunities for themselves in other work roles, women may use power differently to their male colleagues (Parker & Fagenson, 1994). People with little power and minimal prospects of attaining positions of power will "act differently" to colleagues who feel confident they will achieve more senior, powerful roles (Parker & Fagenson, 1994, p.18). For example, one possibility proposed is that with the acquisition of more power, women could cease to operate as people of low status, and begin to display task directed behaviour and ambition (Wilson, 1995).

However, structural changes in organisations are likely to create multi-dimensional effects. For example, Yoder (1991) suggests that when lower-status members increase their numbers and power, this may have the effect of threatening the incumbents of the higher status positions, and hence gender discrimination will be increased. A similar perspective was reported by Harlan and Weiss (1981) two decades ago. They found that sex bias was "not lower in organizations with high proportions of women in management" (p.99). Bias was perceived as "stereotypic attitudes, increased performance pressure, limited opportunity, differences in supervision, sexual comments and unequal pay" (p.100). Furthermore, resistance to women entering management roles may reduce until their. numbers reach approximately 15% of the workforce. After that, increased resistance to their presence has been reported (Harlan & Weiss, 1981). This suggests that simply taking on more women in lower level management roles will not necessarily change the organisation structure, attitudes towards women's presence, or therefore, women's behaviour in the role of management.

Kanter's own thoughts on this aspect of her original thesis are informative. In an interview for the Human Resources Management Journal (Barnett, 1987), Kanter reflected that women were no longer seen as tokens, but were considered to be members of a minority group in the lower and middle ranks of management. She considered this to be positive progress, because it allowed for collective action, both inside and outside the organisation. Overall, her perception was that although progress had been made since the decade her book had been published, she still considered there were lingering problems in relation to women's progress, especially in senior organisational roles. According to Kanter, women had still not penetrated the 'glass ceiling', and this kept them from obtaining senior roles. She believed that opportunity and power problems accounted for the differences in career advancement. In addition, despite "enlightened HR policies" (Barnett, 1987, p. 261), women still felt that they were excluded from informal decision-making and top jobs.

Kanter also commented that "as old barriers are knocked down, new ones appear" (Barnett, 1987, p.261). That is, with the spread of participative and entrepreneurial management practices that bring with them opportunity and power for some individuals, they create new problems for "woman's advancement as long as women carry disproportionate family responsibilities" (Barnett, 1987, p.261). In concluding, Kanter proposed that more social support for working parents and more equitable division of labour at home, is necessary to allow women to participate in new opportunities. Kanter's predictions continue to be prophetic, some thirteen years after this interview.

Given the experiences of managerial women outlined in the organisational-structure literature (e.g., their powerlessness), it is clear that such a structural milieu would create major problems for women in management who wished to progress through the ranks to hold senior positions. However, the research methodologies employed in empirical studies of organisation-structure theories have been criticised. Some of the early studies that focussed on the structure of an organisation as a factor influencing the behaviour of women in the organisational setting (e.g., Kanter, 1977) do not appear to have adequately considered factors additional to the structure of the organisation (Fagenson, 1990). For example, an organisation's context, that is its history, norms, policies and procedures, may also influence the way a woman behaves, in addition to her position within the organisation (Martin, Harrison, & Dinitto, 1983).

Another criticism of the organisational-structure perspective is that other factors external to the organisation may influence women's behaviour inside the organisation and are not controlled. For example, women have a lower ascribed status when they operate outside the boundaries of the organisation, and therefore it is reasonable to assume this will be carried with them into the organisation. This was illustrated very clearly in an article by Yoder (1991) when she concluded that tokenism was only one of the forces restricting women and their organisational advancement. In addition, she believed that gender status, occupational inappropriateness, and intrusiveness were all influential, and were common experiences of women entering "gender-inappropriate occupations" (Yoder, 1991, p.189).

Certainly gender status is a highly influential factor which is acquired outside, and operates within, the boundaries of the organisation. It has been argued that because women have a lower ascribed status in society, their presence will be devalued within the organisation. When women are devalued, it is likely that they will not receive a fair distribution of the organisational rewards that may facilitate higher career aspirations, long term commitment or motivation to organisational goals (Fagenson, 1990). This is a separate issue to the position they hold, or their numbers within the organisation, but may be related to the power women are awarded.

Furthermore, the organisational-structure perspective assumes that the individual and the structure are two separate factors that may interact. However, it may be that people place themselves in environments that suit their own personality or behavioural characteristics. Because of this, Fagenson (1990) believes that the person, and the situation, cannot be held as independent factors. Both factors will continue to interact, and exert an affect on each other. Support for this view is reported by Freeman (1990) who has shown that when demands of the situation change, such as organisational expectations, so too can people.

Significant evidence of behavioural differences may well be founded in factors much wider than the structures of an organisation. Therefore, results from this approach may not provide unequivocal support for a gender differences theory, even if a significant effect is found (Fagenson, 1990).

However, the main reason to discount this approach is the recognition that strategies, such as Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity, which have been formulated to address the problems of the minority representation of women being in positions of limited power, have not met with the desired results. Thus it is proposed that this theoretical perspective, although influential, is inadequate to account for the continuing poor representation of women in senior management roles. The organisation-structured perspective alone therefore, does not offer an adequate explanation to account for women's positions within organisations (Fagenson, 1990). It would appear that a broader theoretical framework is required in order to explain the phenomenon of the low numbers of women in senior management positions.

In addition to the above focus on structural effects, empirical research has focused on effects of organisational policies and practices and has reported processes that have exerted a detrimental effect on the career advancement of managerial women (e.g., Davidson & Cooper, 1992; Devanna, 1987; Still, 1993). Furthermore, a management culture that has been described as entrenched and male dominated has frequently been reported in the research (e.g., Sinclair, 1994). These findings suggest that in addition to structural features, other organisational related influences need to be considered in order to understand women's behaviour, and lack of advancement, within the organisation. These additional influences are considered in the second theoretical perspective.

2.3.2 Gender-Organisation-System approach

Understanding that people do not exist in isolation from others or situations, and awareness of the influence from the larger society and the organisational workplace, brings us to a modified theoretical perspective which takes into account the interaction between these factors. The gender-organisation-system (GOS) approach suggests that the poor record of women moving into senior management positions is due to an interaction of three factors; their gender, the context of the organisation, and the influence of societal attitudes and mores in which both operate (Fagenson, 1990).

Although this approach agrees with many of the propositions put forward in the organisational-structure perspective, the difference in focus is that the GOS framework contends that the organisational structure as well as the gender of an individual can influence the way women behave. The GOS approach therefore suggests an interactive approach. Here, according to Parker and Fagenson (1994, p.19),

...people, organizations, roles and societies all change simultaneously in response to environmental shifts, albeit at different paces. The fact that there are these different paces of change might explain why progress toward managerial equity for women has differed around the world.

In addition, although there is a recognition that organisational structure impacts on the position, and hence power, a person holds, the GOS approach advocates that the broader context in which an organisation operates is also fundamentally important. The context of an organisation includes such important variables as the organisation's

history, culture, policies and procedures, in addition to its structure (Martin et al. 1983).

According to this perspective, when managerial women's career advancement is impeded, this may be caused by a variety of factors. An example of this may be the following scenario. A negative experience with a previous woman promoted to a senior role (history), an organisation's stereotypical belief that women will leave the organisation to have a family (ideology), or a male dominated culture which operates on informal networks to elevate certain individuals to more senior roles (culture and policy) may all interact to impede women's lack of advancement.

The additional factor in the GOS perspective is the recognition of the influence that the "institutional system" exerts (Fagenson, 1990, p. 271). Organisations operate within the context of the larger society, where "work organizations are social contexts in which societal inequities are enacted or constituted and reconstituted" (Martin *et al.* 1983, p.20). That is, organisations are situated within a societal context, where values, ideologies, expectations and stereotypes operate in relation to how men and women should behave. These societal values will permeate the organisation and influence its structures and processes (Martin *et al.* 1983).

To illustrate this wider societal interaction: perceptions of women managers may be influenced by the current laws on Affirmative Action, by the "ascribed status" (Fagenson, 1990, p.271) they are afforded at that point in time by the society to which they belong, and also by the knowledge that other women are paid less than men for performing similar

work tasks. A two-way interaction process may be set in train. These perspectives will impinge on the attitudes and behaviours of others in the workplace, who in turn will be affected by the way in which women respond (Fagenson, 1990).

Specifically, a GOS explanation for the limited progress of women within senior organisational roles would be based on the following assumptions. Firstly, there is an interaction between the individual, the situation, and the social system which is continuous. Secondly, the individual may be changed by, as well as influence, the situation and the larger social system. Thirdly, research designs should endeavour to "identify characteristics of persons and characteristics of situations that are thought to affect individual attitudes, cognitions, and behaviors" (Terborg, 1981, p.573). These factors need to be considered as joint determinants because of their ability to interact with, and influence each other (Fagenson, 1990).

The GOS theoretical perspective, in contrast to the organisation-structured approach, does not focus on narrow organisational blame for women's limited progress in career advancement. GOS is proposed as a more useful approach because it outlines suggestions for achieving future equity through its potential to consider the complexities of people, organisations and societal interactions (Parker & Fagenson, 1994). Thus, in this perspective an organisation may view the problem of managerial equity for women as requiring systemic change in organisational design, strategy and vision and in organisational members attitudes (Parker & Fagenson, 1994).

As mentioned above, this theoretical framework requires that researchers consider the interaction of aspects of gender, organisations and societal structures (Fagenson, 1990). It is suggested that to include all three elements in a research design would create a very complex study program. Although it is noted that all elements of the GOS framework do not necessarily have to be included in a research design at the one time (Terborg, 1981), the practicalities of endeavouring to conduct research of this nature are problematic. The multiple causation model is in fact very difficult to test. This may account for the limited application of this conceptual framework in the empirical literature (Fagenson, 1990). There is also now considerable evidence that organisations have done a lot with structures and processes with the introduction of Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity since 1986. Such legislative changes can be expected to have exerted some impact on attitudes of colleagues within the workplace, as well as in the wider society.

Notwithstanding these changes, women continue to be poorly represented in senior management positions. For example, Morrison, White and Van Velsor (1987; 1990) believe that despite decades of affirmative action in the United States, and the increased numbers of women in the workforce, top management remains a male stronghold, with management in general still being seen as a man's job. Therefore, it is proposed that the difficulty of applying the GOS theory thoroughly, and the failure of policies targeting the organisation suggest other more fruitful avenues of exploration that are capable of being tested.

2.3.3 Person-centred theoretical perspective

Whilst the organisational and gender-organisation-system approaches play down the significance of individual differences, highlighting instead features of the organisation's structure and processes and of broader social values and ideologies, the 'person centred approach' focuses on the idea of real differences that impact on management abilities, or at least, that are seen to impact on them. It is proposed that this belief of gender differences in managerial attitudes and competencies underpins the person centred theories that have been proposed to account for the poor representation of women in senior management (Gregory, 1990).

In the person-centred framework the argument is that women have, "inappropriate traits, cognitions, attitudes and behaviours" (Fagenson, 1990, p.267) and that this is the cause of their limited representation in senior positions. That is, factors considered to be internal to women can account for their limited career advancement (Riger & Galligan, 1980). Therefore, in contrast to the organisation structure perspective, gender differences in organisational behaviour may be due to the individual characteristics of women, rather than to the structure of the organisation.

In the person-centred perspective, the socialisation of women from early childhood through to adulthood is thought to foster the development of personality traits and behaviour problems that are incongruent with the role of manager. Implicit in the person-centred theories therefore is the assumption that women lack the necessary qualities to be effective in the

managerial role, and in order to be successful in this role, they needed to adopt a male model of organisational behaviour (Riger & Galligan, 1980).

The person-centred perspective implies that gender determines most of an individual's general preferences and abilities, which in turn are believed to strongly influence behaviours (Parker & Fagenson, 1994). Women are considered to be "less likely to possess the skills, abilities and attributes needed for management than are their male counterparts" (Parker & Fagenson, 1994, p.18). Therefore, women are seen as "inappropriate or deficient as managers" (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990, p.201). In addition to socialisation, biological determinants are also believed to have influenced women's traits and behaviours, many of which are considered inappropriate for management roles or career advancement (Gregory, 1990). Both of these causal influences underpin Horner's early explanation of differential gender outcomes in management.

Horner (1972) proposed that capable women were caught in the predicament of wanting to succeed, but fearing to do so because of societal expectations. She reasoned that women believed they would receive negative consequences if they were successful in their achievements, and this brought about fear of success. This fear was thought to inhibit the performance and aspiration levels of women who were otherwise motivated toward achievement. Respondents in her early study were required to complete a story that began: "After first term finals John (Anne) finds himself (herself) at the top of his (her) medical-school class" (Horner, 1972, p.161). Female subjects wrote about Anne, and John was the topic for the male subjects. Horner (1972) concluded that

almost two thirds of the female subjects (65%) expressed concern about succeeding, or used negative imagery, and hence she believed women preferred to avoid success (as success was associated with negative outcomes).

However, the methodology Horner employed in her study has subsequently been criticised. According to Riger and Galligan (1980), fear of success may not be an individual deficit of women, but rather a response to the situation. When the previous research was replicated, it was found that changing the word 'medical' to 'nursing' reduced the amount of negative imagery by the female subjects. Therefore, the critical factor may be that success in non-traditional occupations was difficult or uncomfortable for women to envisage, rather than an interpretation of a personal inadequacy, such as fearing success.

Hennig & Jardim (1978) provide another example of a person-centred explanation, writing that women did not appear to possess appropriate managerial skills or traits, and therefore their behaviour was inadequate to fill this role. They proposed that such behavioural differences were caused by sex role socialisation in childhood and adolescence. For example: boys learn how to tolerate and use each other to a degree that girls seldom do. That is, boys learn about "flexibility, how to develop a style, a way of behaving that makes it simpler to get what one wants" (p.32) by interacting with each other even if they actively dislike each other, as long as it helps them achieve their goal (such as the required number to successfully form a team). In later life, men act

similarly in meetings and in other workplace settings, whereas women find this type of behaviour difficult to comprehend (Hennig & Jardim, 1978).

According to Hennig and Jardim (1978), differences in socialisation also account for different perspectives on risk, success and failure. They concluded that mothers pass on to their daughters the belief that risk is negative, and to be avoided because of its potential to hurt or damage. On the other hand, boys are taught to take risks and to live with the results.

Hennig and Jardim (1978) also observed that there were many differences between men and women who participated in their training programs in relation to the concept of career. They found that women made career decisions later, were passive in interactions with others, reported a sense of waiting to be chosen, and described attitudes toward a job as relating to the present (i.e. what is done between 9 - 5 to earn a living), and a career (personal growth and self fulfillment) as a future event. Hennig and Jardim (1978) concluded that there were "strikingly different" (p.13) responses between men and women, although the authors took pains to qualify their findings as representing differences in perspective, rather than intellectual or competency deficits. Nevertheless, these observed differences could be interpreted as deficits within an organisational context.

In sum, the person-centred framework posits an individual deficit view, based on a belief in gender differences in behaviour and abilities. It implies that women lack the appropriate behaviour, skills and attitudes to

be effective managers, due to their early socialisation and that this is the explanation for so few women succeeding in senior management roles.

Early women in management literature has suggested that such gender differences may exist in a variety of managerial competencies and attributes (Still, 1984). From this period on, the literature has explored this possibility by examining whether women lack commitment (Davidson & Cooper, 1992; Devanna, 1987), reliability because of family commitments (Morrison, White & Van Velsor, 1987; Rosin & Korabik, 1991; Snyder, 1993; Still, 1984), motivation (Marshall, 1984; Still, 1984), geographic mobility (Still, 1984; Wyatt & Langridge, 1996), educational qualifications (Bagwell, 1993; Birrell, 1995; Still, 1984; 1990), and confidence (Hennig & Jardim, 1978; Ragins & Sunstrom, 1989; Snyder, 1993). The 'different' leadership style of women (Bass & Avolio, 1994; Dobbins & Platz, 1988; Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Epstein-Fuchs, 1991; Rosener, 1990; Sinclair, 1998) has also been explored as an explanation for the phenomenon of women's poor representation in senior management.

This study will focus on a group of specific managerial competencies, namely commitment and motivation to a career in management, geographic mobility, educational qualifications and work-related experience. Each one of these areas will be tested throughout this thesis, as each area offers a vehicle for observing if gender differences, or gender stereotypical attitudes exist. These areas were chosen as they represent explanations that have been commonly proposed to account for the low numbers of women in senior management positions (Still, 1984).

2.4 Summary

This chapter has examined some of the early literature into gender differences, and considered some of the literature that outlines that gender differences exist in attributes that are essential as managerial qualities. Although differences have been reported in general knowledge and quantitative reasoning, aggressive behaviour, levels of assertion and self esteem and leadership *style* (as opposed to ability), it is proposed that the differences are relatively minor, and hence inadequate on their own to explain why so few women advance in their careers to senior management levels. These theories are therefore not conclusive.

Three theoretical frameworks were also examined. Each framework has attempted to explain why there are so few women represented in the ranks of senior management. It was proposed that the Organisation-structure and the Gender-Organisation-System perspectives were inadequate as explanatory models as both of these theoretical frameworks focus either solely, or partially on the structure of the organisation. Given the dramatic changes that have occurred within organisational structures due to legislation and raised awareness about women in management, without any significant changes in women's representation in senior management occurring, it is argued that these theoretical perspectives have not been effective at conclusively explaining the phenomenon.

The final theory, the Person-centred perspective, has informed numerous empirical studies which have examined the possibility that women are deficit in the necessary managerial attributes. Essentially,

these empirical studies have considered the existence of gender differences in a number of key managerial competencies. It is proposed that the person-centred explanations that have been used to account for the low numbers of women in senior management roles, are inadequate to solely explain the continuing existence of the phenomenon. That is, women may not be different, or 'deficit' in their behaviour, skills and attitude, but possibly there is a perception that they are different, and this may be a contributing factor in their poor representation in senior management positions. It was proposed that these beliefs in gender differences underpin the person-centred theoretical perspective.

Five areas of managerial competencies were introduced as a framework to explore if there are deficits in the behaviour, skills and attitudes of men and women in the management role. These frequently occurring themes have appeared in the empirical literature and the popular press to account for the poor representation of women in senior management positions.

In addition to beliefs which relate to gender differences, another significant influence on the poor representation of women at senior levels is the possibility that female managers are "perceived and evaluated as being less effective and competent than male managers" (Aguinis & Adams, 1998), and hence are seen as inappropriate in a management role. It may be that women are perceived as less efficient in their managerial role because they do things differently or are perceived as having different capabilities than men, and because of this are effectively disadvantaged in their career advancement (Wilson, 1995). To examine

this possibility, an exploration of a selective sample of the gender stereotype literature will be made in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

Literature Review: Gender Stereotyping Differences in Managerial competencies: Real or perceived?

I think it always gets back to being put into a box. If you're a woman, you're a mother, a wife, a lover, whatever. They get put into this box. Bang. It's a standard 'woman' box regardless of what you're doing or how good you are. You're put in that box. Whereas men are more wary of men, they are seen as competition. Women are seen as a potential partner. (General comment, Male Middle Manager interviewee, 1997).

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the area of gender differences was explored as a factor influencing women's poor representation in senior management roles. Although some differences were found, these are not considered to be of sufficient magnitude to explain this phenomenon. Other researchers have claimed that when age, educational qualifications, and level within the organisation are considered, significant gender differences between managers do not exist, and that women do possess the appropriate leadership skills, personality traits and motivation to manage (Gregory, 1990). One possibility is that although women are not sufficiently different in their behaviour, skills and attitude to justify their poor representation in senior management, they are *perceived* to be different, because of gender stereotypical attitudes.

This chapter therefore aims to explore whether contemporary male and female middle managers are perceived to have different behaviour, skills and attitudes to each other. It is important to consider the role of perception, compared to actual behaviour. According to Gregory (1990):

... the perception still exists that women do not possess the personality attributes, motivation to manage, and leadership skills to manage. Research probing perceptions, particularly in relationship to the overall culture organizational culture, rather than gender differences would be useful in indicating how these perceptions could be changed (Gregory, 1990, pp.260-261).

This chapter is organised in the following manner. Firstly, the concept of perception and common perceptual errors will be described. Secondly, evidence for the existence of the perceptual error of stereotyping in both a general, and a management context will be analysed. Thirdly, the five areas of managerial competencies will be examined to check whether the reported perceptions of others fit the negative assumptions, or stereotypic responses which are often made about women in management. Research questions will be drawn from the literature reviewed in this chapter, and submitted to empirical test.

Throughout this chapter, although the focus is on evidence of negative perceptions of others regarding important managerial competencies, the development of the argument shall include continual juxtaposition with empirical evidence which refutes or minimises the perceptual claim. Firstly, the concept of perception will be described.

3.2 The concept of perception

Perception involves the selection and organisation of various stimuli so that the perceiver's experiences are meaningful. Perception involves three steps: these are searching for, obtaining, and processing information. In essence, perception is a cognitive process (Banks & Krajicek, 1991) which allows people to make sense of their environments and their world. Perceptions relating to events and people will influence behaviour, and hence they are an important aspect of organisational life. However, as individuals are unique, two individuals may interpret one situation vastly differently. The stimuli, or event may be identical in terms of the component parts, but it may be perceived very differently because of each individual's attitudes, values and beliefs, and subsequent evaluations which have been imposed upon the object or environment. Therefore, misperceptions can occur because of the unique interpretation an individual brings to a situation, event or stimuli.

It is likely that these misperceptions are particularly influenced by what are termed the systematic errors in perception, or person-perception shortcuts. Errors in perception commonly include attribution errors, where individuals attribute reasons for another's behaviour. Attribution theory suggests that behaviour is determined by perceived internal forces, such as personal attributes and skill, and external forces, such as organisational rules, policies, and supervisor's style of interaction (Mullins, 1996). Halo effects are another perceptual error, where people are judged solely on the basis of one event or attribute. In addition, projection occurs when people project onto others their own feelings, attitudes, motives or

personal characteristics, as well as selective perception, where individuals focus on what is important to them, and disregard other stimuli or information. Furthermore, stereotyping, which is the tendency to attribute characteristics to an individual solely on the basis of a group or category to which the person belongs, also occurs. An extension of this is gender stereotyping, which involves strong beliefs in the distinctive personality traits that characterise the average man and woman.

3.2.1 The perceptual error of stereotyping

This chapter will particularly focus on the gender stereotyping perceptual error, as gender stereotypes have been reported to be very prevalent in organisations, exerting a major influence on the ability of female managers to compete effectively with their male counterparts, (Gregory, 1990; Snizek & Neil, 1992). Such stereotypes are likely to underpin many of the barriers women face in reaching senior positions in management (Morrison, White & Van Velsor, 1987).

Research in the area of gender stereotypes has its origin in early studies in the sixties, when the Sex Role Stereotype Questionnaire was developed (Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, and Broverman (1968). Following this, further research reported that clearly defined stereotypes of men and women prevailed (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosenkrantz, (1972). These latter researchers reported that "women are perceived as relatively less competent, less independent, less objective, and less logical than men; men are perceived as lacking interpersonal sensitivity, warmth, and expressiveness in comparison to women" (1972, p.75). That is, traits considered to be more characteristic

of men were defined as instrumental (dominance, assertiveness) as opposed to expressiveness (warmth, concern for others) which were seen as typical of women (Deaux & Major, 1987).

Each individual has a gender belief system which includes "a set of beliefs about women, including both descriptive and prescriptive elements", according to Deaux and Major (1987, p.373). In other words, gender belief systems are capable of describing how women are, while also dictating the way they should be. Stereotypes are the most common manifestation of such a gender belief system. However, stereotypes are not only utilised by people who hold prejudicial belief systems, "they are a part of the fabric of general societal beliefs and norms" (Deaux & Kite, 1993, p.127). Therefore, stereotypical attitudes exist in societies at large, and within organisations and are held by the vast majority of people. The work of Williams and Best (1990) illustrates this very clearly. reported that across 25 countries studied, the "characteristics associated with men were stronger and more active than the characteristics associated with women, and that there was a particular pattern of psychological needs which was always characteristic of the two stereotypes relative to one another" (p.303). It would appear that sex stereotypes from country to country are very similar, and that the pervasiveness of these stereotypes is remarkable (Williams & Best, 1990).

Perhaps more importantly, the stereotypical traits associated with male characteristics reported in the seventies were considered to be more desirable generally than were the characteristics associated with feminine traits. That is, they were valued more highly. The masculine traits which

are highly valued are competence, rationality and assertion. Although the feminine traits of warmth and expressiveness are positively valued, (Broverman et al. 1972), it would appear that the characteristics ascribed to men continue to be more positively valued more frequently than characteristics ascribed to women (Heilman, 1997; Wilson, 1995). Further, such type casting appeared to correspond "to the roles that men and women typically occupy in society" (Deaux & Major, 1987, p.373). Traditionally, certain jobs had been considered to be more appropriate for women, and others for men. For example, women have been allocated the role of taking primary responsibility for homemaking, while "only certain specific duties have been considered appropriate for men" (Williams & Best, 1990, p. 17). This suggests that roles associated with 'male' were more highly valued than the roles associated with 'female'. The two areas appeared to be mutually exclusive. That is, men's work was important, and women's work was less important (Wilson, 1995).

Studies have also reported that women and men are perceived as opposites in terms of gender stereotyping. For example, Williams and Best (1990) concluded that women in all of the 25 countries studied were considered to be sentimental, submissive, and superstitious, whereas men were seen as independent, forceful and adventurous. In countries categorised as Catholic (e.g., Bolivia, Brazil, Ireland and Italy), women were seen as nurturing parents and sources of order, and were viewed more favourably than women in Muslim countries. Research therefore suggests that gender stereotyping of women is pervasive and cross cultural, and that stereotypes of men and women's characteristics span

several decades. Further studies on gender stereotypes originally described as early as the 1960s, have reported "little change in people's perceptions of the characteristics possessed by the typical woman and man" (Deaux & Kite, 1993, p.127), although there is some suggestion that women are now viewed more favourably than men. Despite this, the fundamental beliefs in the instrumental (agentic) qualities of men, and the expressive (communal) attributes of women remain. Attention will now be given to evidence for gender stereotyping in a management context.

3.3 Gender stereotyping in a management context

Since the 1970s, various researchers have reported that a good manager was seen as masculine (e.g. Rosen & Jerdee, 1974; 1978; Schein, 1975). Schein (1975) looked at the relationship between sex role stereotypes and female middle managers, and found that "successful middle managers are perceived to possess those characteristics, attitudes, and temperaments more commonly ascribed to men in general than to women in general" (Schein, 1975, p.343). In subsequent research, Schein and Mueller (1992) reported similar findings, almost two decades later: males in America, England and Germany perceived that "successful middle managers possessed characteristics, attitudes and temperaments more commonly ascribed to men in general than to women in general" (Schein & Mueller, 1992, p.439). Further research reported that:

...male management students in five countries, and male corporate managers in the USA, view women as much less likely to have leadership ability, be competitive, ambitious, skilled in business matters, have analytical ability or desire responsibility (Schein, 1994).

These perceptions of appropriate sex role characteristics have exerted a negative influence on managerial women, and offer a possible explanation for why so few women hold senior managerial positions (Schein, 1994). Studies have revealed that self-reports from female managers have detailed the serious negative effects of gender stereotyping in the workplace. These effects include experiences of role contradiction, a sense of marginality, and lower social status in the organisation in comparison with male managers with similar positions (Gregory, 1990), in addition to low expectations, indecisiveness, and inability to delegate responsibility (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). It would seem that the path for women pursuing promotion in a management career, is precarious:

The key to success is for the executive woman to demonstrate that she can pick and choose from sex stereotypic behavior patterns to adopt male behaviors (without being too macho) and retain female behaviors (without being too feminine) (Morrison et al. 1990, p.291).

Furthermore, Schein (1994) has shown that these stereotypical views continue to influence people's attitudes toward women in management, and are pervasive and deeply entrenched. Mattis (1995) concurs that stereotypical attitudes are widespread, and states that one of the major obstacles hindering the career progress of women in management is the negative stereotyping about the suitability of women in management careers. When others perceive women as having communal tendencies, which are deemed to be 'non-male' characteristics, this will then affect selection practices, promotion possibilities, task assignments,

frequency of salary rises, training opportunities, and allocation to positions which are considered to have no future (Still, 1988).

Possibly because there is a differential valuing of gendered characteristics, many men persist in the view that a masculine model is necessary for success in the organisation, according to Schein (1994). When managerial work is sex-role stereotyped in this way, the result is that women are perceived to be less qualified for managerial positions than men, and this has a deleterious effect on their opportunities for promotion within the organisation (Schein, 1975; Schein & Mueller, 1992).

In addition, male sex role characteristics have been "perceived as crucial for success in positions of managerial power, whereas the traits associated with the female sex role are perceived as incongruous with the traits associated with being a good manager" (Steckler & Rosenthal, 1985, p.157). It would seem therefore that the managerial role is considered to be exclusively masculine, requiring behaviours such as aggression, assertiveness and competitiveness; behaviours which are alien to the socialisation of females, according to Wilson (1995).

Furthermore, there is a strong association between stereotypes based on sex roles, and the perceived management characteristics required. That is, being successful in a male-dominated occupation is believed to come from masculine qualities of personality and physical attributes (Cejka & Eagly, 1999). This appears to be one of the factors limiting women reaching senior management positions in greater numbers, because the perceived similarity between the characteristics of an

effective manager, and men in general, increases the probability that a male and not a female will receive a senior promotion.

In addition to management characteristics being based strongly on male sex roles, preconceptions and prejudice about women being less effective in management roles also significantly contributes to women being stalled in their career advancement (Aguinis & Adams, 1998). Such negative attitudes about women lead to men and women of comparable ability being evaluated and rewarded unequally (Lott, 1992). In particular, negative stereotyping about women has been reported as causing a lack of confidence in women being able to adequately perform a similar job to men (Wilson, 1995).

For example, a survey conducted in Europe focused on the confidence people placed in men and women carrying out a number of similar positions. While countries such as Denmark averaged 84% confidence in men and women working as bus drivers, surgeons, barristers and Members of Parliament, only 56% of the Italian sample and 51% of the Irish sample expressed such confidence in men and women performing the same positions (Wilson, 1995). One interpretation of these results is that egalitarian societies, such as Denmark are able to envisage men and women adequately filling similar roles, whereas 'paternalistic' societies, such as Ireland and Italy feel more comfortable when traditional gender roles are clearly delineated between women and men.

Considerable research has reported on how other people's perceptions of women can have a deleterious effect on female managers. In particular, the career progression of organisational women may be

hindered by the perception of colleagues and managers regarding the appropriateness of women to fill management positions (Brenner, Tomkiewicz & Schein, 1989; Gallese, 1991; Gregory, 1990; Heilman, Block, Martell & Simon, 1989; Hirsh & Jackson, 1993; Jabes, 1980; Rosen & Jardee, 1974; Schein, 1975). Such perceptions by others of female managers can be detrimental to the majority of women who choose to pursue a career in management, and may not be correct. Many of the perceptions are particularly damaging because they appear to justify and perpetuate the barriers which constitute the 'glass ceiling' faced by women in management (Rosin & Korabik, 1992).

One early example of stereotypical attitudes operating within the organisational context is found in the work of Harlan and Weiss (1981). They reported the existence of sex bias and stereotypical attitudes toward women in relation to promotion policies almost two decades ago:

Organizational policies and procedures and activities all reflect whatever sex biases were in the organizational system. Thus, promotion policies may be subtly biased to exclude women; peers and colleagues may withhold information and training from women because of deeply held prejudices and stereotypes; and organizational members may provide women with less power because of sex biases (p.30).

Thus stereotypical views have caused, and continue to cause, serious problems for women in management positions (Aguinis & Adams, 1998; Mattis, 1995; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990). Such stereotypical views have been particularly damaging in the areas of promotion, recruitment, selection and performance appraisal. In terms of promotion, the vast majority of senior managers and executives are men, and it is

these managers who are responsible for the decisions to promote employees to senior levels. Therefore, the stereotypical perceptions of those who are responsible for organisational decision-making play a significant role in the progress women make in organisations. This creates a problem as many male managers have been found to hold similar attitudes toward women in the workplace as perceptions which were commonly held at the time of Schein's (1975) original study (Heilman et al. 1989; Schein, 1994). These perceptions are frequently influenced by stereotypical attitudes. Thus, stereotypical thinking may continue to influence those who make the decisions to "think manager" and automatically "think male" (Schein & Mueller, 1992, p.440).

Such stereotypical attitudes about women managers must play a significant role in their promotability. An illustration of how this might occur is found in one study where both male and female managers believed that women managers were more emotional and needed to avoid impulsive reactions to events in the workplace. In addition, male managers felt female managers (but not their male counterparts) needed to develop appropriate ways to express and manage their emotions, to make a commitment and focus to reach the top, and to understand the dynamics of team work (Baack, Carr-Ruffino & Pelletier, 1993). The stereotypes reflected in the above research appear to revolve around women being too emotional, lacking commitment, and not understanding how to be part of a team. All of these attitudes reflect negative assumptions about women which would be likely to impinge on women's promotability and career advancement.

The impact of stereotypes is not confined to promotion practices. An illustration of this is found in an early study by Rosen and Jerdee (1974), which reported clear differences in the expectations for male and female managers in three areas, all of which would directly impact on career advancement for women. Firstly, managers' expectations of their male employees was that they would give top priority to their careers rather than their family obligations. With females they expected the reverse behaviour. Secondly, management made a greater effort to retain the services of a male employee than they did for a valued female employee. Thirdly, managers were biased in favour of males in matters of selection, promotion and decisions relating to career development, except where there were unambiguous guidelines (Rosen & Jerdee, 1974). Therefore, in addition to matters of promotion, career development and selection are also influenced by gender stereotyping.

A decade later, Deaux (1984) reported a similar finding. She suggested that in relation to selection, information about an individual may be of greater importance than the gender of the person but if such information was not available, "stereotyped conceptions prevail" (Deaux, 1984, p.113). Such stereotyped conceptions contribute to the negative bias about women in management roles in general (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990).

A survey of management practices and attitudes in the UK also revealed similar views - that is, women were thought to be inferior to men as prospective employees. Less than 44% of the sample surveyed believed it would be beneficial to have more senior positions filled by

women. This finding takes on more significance because the sample surveyed for their attitudes were men who were involved in hiring and recruiting new employees (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). The impact of such stereotypical attitudes on the selection process can only be negative for women in management.

It would appear that little progress has been made in the area of reducing stereotypical attitudes towards women and promotion, despite the introduction of legislation such as Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity. Possibly, the advent of this type of legislation may have simply driven overt discrimination underground.

3.4 Summation of Literature

In summary, studies have highlighted the negative effects of gender stereotyping in the workplace, and these appear to have created barriers to women's advancement (Gregory, 1990; Heilman, 1997). Such barriers are often difficult to reduce, because gender stereotyping may have an indirect affect on the success and mobility of managerial women (Harlan & Weiss, 1981), and hence may be difficult to confront or change. Nevertheless, it would appear that gender stereotyping may also have a direct affect on women's career advancement in two ways. Firstly, there are status differences, with men having higher and more valued ascribed status (and hence fill the role of primary decision-makers), and secondly, there is an assumption that women will leave their jobs at a higher rate than men. According to Gregory (1990), this latter belief is "a perception by males, a perception which does not reflect reality" (p.262). Therefore, gender stereotyping may underlie biased decisions in selection,

recruitment, promotion and performance appraisal. Thus, discrimination may be the result of both indirect and direct gender stereotyping.

3.5 Managerial competencies

The literature reviewed has looked at gender stereotypes and its effects on promotion, and selection and recruitment in studies encompassing a time frame from the 1970s to the 1990s. In this thesis, a closer look is made of stereotypical attitudes toward the various managerial competencies of women outlined in Chapter 2. As mentioned previously, these competencies and attributes are commitment, motivation, geographical relocation, educational qualifications and work-related experience. These will now be discussed in more detail.

3.5.1 Commitment to a career in management

Commitment to a career in management is one area where women have been perceived as lacking the appropriate behaviour to succeed in the role of manager. One of the ways women managers are seen as inappropriate or different in the role of management is that they are believed to lack commitment toward a management career. Various researchers have considered the question of women's commitment to a management career (Devanna, 1987; Davidson & Cooper, 1992), and also their reliability because of family commitments (Morrison, et al. 1987; Rosin & Korabik, 1992; Snyder, 1993).

To illustrate how women are perceived, Morrison, et al. (1987) reported:

One CEO interviewed was frustrated, perceiving that women expected to have the same chances and rewards as men, while quitting even senior management jobs to have or be with their family. Women haven't yet made the commitment, he argued. Many men in senior management say the same things behind closed doors (p.153).

This excerpt clearly illustrates that women are perceived to lack commitment in senior management roles. However as Devanna (1987) argues, the slower progress of women in organisations appears to be unrelated to what women do, but more to do with what people who make decisions relating to hiring and promotion, think that women do. In other words, it is the negative assumptions of others that can create barriers for women in management (Devanna, 1987).

In the past, the stereotype has been that women work to supplement their family income, rather than being committed to a career (Harlan & Weiss, 1982). Because of this, women were thought to prefer jobs rather than careers, and 'jobs' were not considered to require long term commitment. The reason women have been thought to prefer short-term jobs is because of the commonly held view that women will leave the organisation for family reasons (Davidson & Cooper, 1992; Still, 1997), and they will leave the organisation to have a family before the investment in their training has been recouped (Wilson, 1995). According to Still (1990), the perception that women lack commitment is the most important factor working against women advancing in management careers.

In a study into barriers that affect the careers of women working within the Australian finance industry, Still (1997) found that 19% of women and 37% of men agreed with the statement "Women are less

committed to their careers because they have babies and leave the company while their children are young" (p.47). While there might in fact be evidence that there is some truth women leave work when they bear and rear young children, Davidson & Cooper (1992) argue 90% of women return from maternity leave after a longer break. Perhaps such extended leave may be interpreted as a division of commitment. That is when families are young, the mother may choose to fill family obligations, but as soon as possible or practicable, the mother returns to the workforce, and at such time, her commitment to a career may be renewed. In the long term, the perception of lack of commitment is not warranted.

Also, there is a strong stereotypical 'cultural mandate' which dictates "assumed primacy of the commitment of women to the home and family" (Wilson, 1995, p.26). This view that women have the prime responsibility for domestic commitments leads to prejudice, as it suggests that women cannot be committed to their professions as well as their families. Thus, prospects for promotion are damaged (Spencer & Podmore, 1987). Women are therefore believed to be less committed to their careers and organisations because they have other responsibilities (Wilson, 1995).

This view is almost certainly influenced by gender-role expectations. The attitudes of many men may still conform to the expectations of traditional gender roles. For example, one British study found that 47% of men believed that mothers should not work in paid employment (Wilson, 1995) hence portraying a stereotype that a mother's

place is in the home. Such attitudes about the ideal situation may be a manifestation of how men want women to be.

To support this view, a Management Centre Europe Survey conducted in 1982 reported that "fewer than half of managers (49%) had ever employed a female manager. Of the remaining 51 per cent, 15 per cent stated that they would never promote a woman into management" (Wilson, 1995, p.28). It appears that a long term commitment to a career in management is required from women, where family responsibilities are relegated to a subordinate position (Wilson, 1995). Therefore, there is an implicit assumption that if women are married with children, this excludes them from having the time, or abilities, to be committed to a job as well as their family (Wilson, 1995). A corollary of this family responsibility view is the common perception that *all* women will get pregnant and leave.

3.5.2 All Women will leave because of pregnancy

Another factor which impacts heavily on the gender stereotypical view that women lack commitment to a career in management, is the myth that all women will leave the organisation because of pregnancy (Wilson, 1995). This myth directly influences selection practices, which in turn impact on women's ability to reach senior management roles. An example of this is seen when female applicants are questioned about their marital status and dependent children during selection interviews. Apparently this still occurs despite the fact that Government legislation has decreed this practice to be unlawful. The following quote describes an interview with a female manager, and clearly illustrates this practice.

I was asked during my interview for my first job if I was engaged and I said I was, and they said they didn't want any married women or engaged woman. They wouldn't have asked a man that question! (Davidson & Cooper, 1992, p.122).

In fact, when women leave an organisation, only a small minority state that having children is their prime reason for departing, according to Bellamy and Ramsay (1994). These researchers studied the responses of 30 middle and senior women managers who had left their corporations. They found that 22 (73%) left their corporations because they believed they were treated differently because they were women. A further 20 (66%) left because they believed they did not fit into the corporate culture. Both lack of a mentor and other supports was mentioned by 56% of the group, and a further 15 (50%) left because they felt excluded from male networks. Seven respondents (23%) left because of their "different management style". Conflict because of personal and professional values was mentioned by 13 (43%) of the sample, and only 7 (23%) of the female respondents mentioned that they were leaving to have children.

Furthermore, when women leave organisations, many take up positions in another organisation (Bellamy & Ramsay, 1994; Snyder, 1993; Still 1990; 1993). Alternatively, women may move on to other organisations or business opportunities because of lack of opportunities and advancement in their current place of employ (Bellamy & Ramsay, 1994; Snyder, 1993; Still, 1990, 1993). An example of this is given by Bellamy and Ramsay (1994) when they reported 50% of the sample had moved to another organisation for some form of advancement or promotion. Of the remaining respondents, twelve senior managers had

moved into a small business, and nine of these had established their own businesses. Only two of the sample had chosen full-time mothering, and this was a reluctant choice because of their inability to arrange flexible work patterns with their previous organisation. One further woman felt she was in a transition between careers (Bellamy & Ramsey, 1994). These results suggest that such behaviour cannot be equated with a lack of commitment.

In addition, an assumption is often made that women have higher levels of absenteeism and turnover because of their family responsibilities (Wilson, 1995). Despite the fact that these behaviours are known to be associated with lower occupational level (which women frequent more commonly), such behaviour is labelled as lack of commitment in women.

Ironically, it may be that women with families may have higher levels of commitment to their career. Research by Brett and Stroh (1994) has reported that both male and female managers with children have less turnover than those who are childless, and women with dual responsibilities of career and family are less likely to leave than their single colleagues.

Interestingly, some researchers report that it is becoming more common for male managers to also comment that family concerns affect important decisions and hence are significant influences on their own career planning and organisational futures (Snyder, 1993; Trost 1990). Nonetheless, such consideration of family dynamics does not appear to have held successful men back from attaining senior management positions within organisations, whereas the assumption that women will be

influenced by family concerns appears to have been detrimental to many managerial women's career prospects. It would seem then that the evidence available negates the view that women lack commitment due to the constraints of child bearing and family responsibilities.

One reason for the persistence of such widespread views that women will leave organisations to have families, is a misrepresentation by the press regarding the extent that female managers' careers are affected by family responsibilities. Snyder (1993) believes that there is a tendency for the media to "overrepresent and misrepresent" (p.99) the role that family and child rearing responsibilities have in influencing the career choices of female managers. The implication in such reporting is that women are responsible for their own lack of mobility into senior roles, and not the organisation for which they work. It is interesting to speculate why this may be the case.

Such reporting will obviously strengthen the negative stereotypes of women in management, and this will have an impact on the culture of organisations through the attitudes and negative perceptions of male colleagues and employers. Such stereotypical attitudes could be very detrimental to the many women who choose not to marry or have children, who continue to work after marriage, or who return to work after having children (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). In addition, stereotypical views relating to women and families may also create an automatic assumption amongst many male managers that women who do have children, will have no interest in promotion or demanding developmental assignments (Snyder, 1993).

When women do leave the workforce temporarily, possibly because of family responsibilities, this necessitates a break in their career, which may be problematic for women. Top managerial positions still appear to be filled by people who can show that they have on-going, continuous employment, characterised by increasing levels of responsibility. Such characteristics be equated with commitment. employee may 'Commitment' is considered in the short, rather than the long term. For example, many employers believe that an employee needs to be full time and permanent, in order to avail themselves of the "...training, development and qualification opportunities necessary to provide career paths to senior management" (Affirmative Action Agency, 1995-96, p.22).

In spite of evidence to the contrary in relation to reasons for leaving, women are seen as unreliable in a management role because of their family 'commitments'. This presupposes that the majority of female managers will be living in a family context with partners and children. However, the profile of female managers in the past challenges this view. Still (1993) reports that the profile of the Australian women manager is that she is "relatively young, single or divorced, well-educated, employed mainly in a management service area" (p.33). In addition, the majority of female managers (up to two-thirds) have no children (Still, 1993).

Women who make a choice to limit their paid employment to allow them to parent children, or who refuse to take on a 'workaholic stance' early in their careers, can easily be labelled 'less committed to careers' (Gallos, 1995). This company view of commitment raises an interesting point. Various researchers (e.g., Bryson, 1987; Mattis, 1995) have noted

that supervisors within the work environment appear to equate the amount of time spent in the office with productivity. The reality may be that if women leave the office earlier, they may leave after completing their work, or vice versa. The assumption here is that the commitment has to be 100% or more, which may be interpreted as requiring a 12 hour day in the office, and possibly taking work home after that. Unless an individual gives themself completely to the organisation and their work, they are considered to lack commitment, and therefore are not seen as effective managers.

However, on some occasions, company policy makes it almost impossible to achieve this definition of commitment. Meyerson and Fletcher (2000) illustrate this graphically when describing a global retail company that had few women in senior management roles, and high rates of turnover amongst their female middle managers. The cultural norms of the company dictated that emergency meetings were called frequently, often 'after hours', and all staff were expected to be available and attend. The irregularity and hours of these meetings often made it impossible for women to attend, as many had other responsibilities toward their homes and families. According to Brett and Stroh (1999) such management practices are inappropriate and unnecessary. The outcome of such practices is that women appear less committed than their male counterparts.

In addition, the issue of 'career drift' may also be interpreted as women's poor commitment to a career in management. Women do not always plan their careers (Still, 1990), and this has been termed career

drift. That is, the interpretation of women not planning their careers could be labelled, erroneously, as women 'not being committed enough'. Notwithstanding the impact of 'career drift', some research reports that women are very committed to their careers. In one Australian study, Gold and Pringle (1988) found that work was "central" in the lives of managerial women in their sample (p.22). Furthermore, recent research (Amason & Allen, 1997) reports that when there are gender differences in studies on organisational commitment, "women generally express higher organizational commitment than men" (p.958).

There are however other interpretations to the perception that women lack commitment. For example, it may be that women try to create some balance in their lives by desiring a career as well as family or personal relationships (Gallos, 1995), because of this, they may endeavour to adapt the environment to suit their needs (Still, 1990). The following quotation captures a popular view:

All the signs sent to top management from middle female management suggest that the young female executive on the way up wants all the privileges of management, while retaining all the traditional cop-outs...These cop-outs have, in the past, been the unspoken compensations for the less important positions women occupied in the workplace. Female middle-management executives, it is contended, have more days away sick. They tend, more often than males, to be late for meetings and appointments, take longer lunch hours and want to get away before the traffic gets Of course this is a generalisation. too heavy. There are many exceptions, but as a general comment it seems female executives try to modify the working environment to suit themselves (Courtenay, 1986, p.17).

In summary, women have been perceived as lacking commitment to a management career possibly because of a belief that they will leave the organisation to fulfil family commitments, misrepresentation by the press, or because women do not always appear to have a clear career path. However, these negative assumptions relating to women's commitment to careers in management may represent stereotypical perceptual errors not always based in reality.

3.5.3 Motivation to succeed in a management career

Another area where women are perceived to lack the appropriate behaviour, is in motivation toward careers in management. Despite the fact that as early as 1977 researchers were concluding that women managers had similar levels of motivation to their male colleagues (e.g., Terborg, 1977), there has been a commonly held view that women are less motivated to succeed in a career in management.

More recent research suggests that motivation remains an important factor in success. For example, an article in Fortune (Perry, 1992) reported that the reason women do not break the glass ceiling is that they do not try hard enough. This suggests that lack of motivation to succeed is seen as a large part of the problem. However, studies which report that women have lower levels of motivation need to be interpreted with care. For example, in a study of MBA students that defined motivation competitiveness, authoritativeness. to manage as assertiveness and ability to exercise power comfortably, male students' motivation to manage mean score was 7.04 compared to 3.24 for their female counterparts (Wilson, 1995). Results such as these suggest that women have lower levels of motivation. However, it is important to consider the definition of motivation used in research studies to evaluate this attitude and behaviour (Wilson, 1995), as the above definitions of motivation are more aligned with male agentic qualities than female communal qualities, as described in Chapter 2.

Some research has suggested that men and women exhibit different types of motivation. For example, Sinclair (1998) concludes that the type of motivation men display is termed "achievement motivation" (p.26) and this is highly valued, whereas women's motivation is tempered by the desire to connect with others. Therefore women's motivation may be interpreted, judged and evaluated differently in the perceptions of others. Perhaps it is not women's lack of motivation that can account for few women attaining senior managerial positions within organisations, but the perceptions of others that causes problems in women's career advancement.

3.5.4 Geographic relocation

Lack of geographic mobility has also been an area where women are perceived to be deficit, and this is believed to present a barrier to women's advancement in management roles. There has been a belief that women are unavailable for relocation to other geographical settings if and when required by their organisation (Wyatt & Langridge, 1996). However, in the 1990s, it would appear that many women in management have participated in organisational relocation when the opportunities have arisen. For example, one British study reported that their National Health Services sample of both male and female managers had a high level of

geographic mobility. Top managers (87% male, 59% women) and senior, middle and first line managers (96% male, 55% women) had relocated because of their own careers (Wyatt & Langridge, 1996).

Furthermore, Davidson and Cooper (1992) believe that single women in management are just as likely to accept relocation as are men. They report that in Britain, managers change jobs approximately every three years, and women change their employers faster than do men, therefore mobility *per se* does not appear to be the problem for women that it has been made out to be. A relatively recent phenomenon is that male managers are now becoming more resistant and more questioning to organisational relocation policies than ever before (Davidson & Cooper, 1992).

In an American study, Stroh, Brett and Reilly (1992) examined career progressions of male and female managers in 20 of the top corporations, all of whom had been geographically transferred to advance their careers in the previous two years. Women in this study had achieved high levels of education, had remained in the work force, had relocated their families or their own career, as well as accepted geographic transfers, and had made themselves available for consideration for further transfers. Despite the similarities in the sample, there was still a difference between the salary and frequency of job transfers between men and women managers. It was concluded that following a "male career model" path which included geographic mobility, had not helped women in this sample to achieve equality in their jobs (Stroh et al. 1992, p.257).

A similar phenomenon in relation to the opportunity to transfer is observed in overseas postings. In Australia, low numbers of managerial women are placed in international appointments, and many multi-national organisations are not providing their female managers with sufficient opportunities to take up global careers (Still & Smith, 1998). These researchers surveyed 247 organisations and found that 19% had only male expatriates, with only 9% having both male and female. Women in this sample were available and willing to take up positions overseas, but the reasons given for not considering women were that there were too few senior female managers in the organisation, stereotypes about professional incompetence, perceived personal commitments, and stereotypes of a cultural nature (Still & Smith, 1998).

In summary, empirical research has reported that women's career advancement is different to men's, even when female managers participate in geographic relocation at the request of their organisation. In addition, fewer women are given the opportunity to gain broader work experience through relocation, despite the fact that many women in management make themselves available for relocation experiences. Therefore, it is not at all clear if women do lack the ability to be 'geographically mobile', or whether they are simply perceived to be unavailable because of traditional gender stereotypes, and hence are not invited to partake in overseas assignments as frequently as their male counterparts.

3.5.5 Educational qualifications

Another common explanation put forward to account for the underrepresentation of women in senior management is that women are
perceived to lack the appropriate educational qualifications (e.g., Still,
1990; Bagwell, 1993; Birrell, 1995). Such qualifications are highly prized,
and considered to be an essential attribute for executive positions. For
example, lack of qualifications and experience is commonly cited as the
reason women are not appointed to the position of director (Still, 1990). In
addition, in an attitudinal survey on management issues, career prospects
and barriers for women, one quarter of the female respondents, and 27%
of the male respondents perceived that women were not "as highly or
appropriately qualified as men for many positions" (Still, 1997, p.47).

However, careful interpretation of this statement needs to be made. In terms of educational *qualifications*, in Australia, more women have been enrolled in some form of higher education than have men since 1987 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1997, p.55), and women graduate in equal numbers to men in most university courses. In 1991, more women than men in the 20-24 age group obtained tertiary degrees, and slightly more women than men held degrees in the 25-34 year group (Birrell, 1995 p.27). Furthermore, during this period more women than men between 20-24 years of age had qualified in law, 43% of women of this age group held accounting degrees, 52% held other business degrees, and 48% qualified in the natural sciences (Birrell, 1995). Statistics for 1994 show that female enrolments reached 48% in law, more than 44% in business, and 41% in science (Birrell, 1995). Recent statistics show that women

represented 54% of the entire undergraduate student population, and 41% of the students who undertook a higher qualification. In addition, 56% of commencing students who enrolled in 1996 were women (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1997).

It would appear that contemporary female managers are at least as well, if not better educated in many areas, including business-related areas. What then can account for women not benefiting from their educational qualifications when in management roles? One possibility is that when organisations say that women do not have enough qualifications and experience (Still, 1990), it may be that this is not a reference to educational levels, but appropriate work experience.

3.5.6 Work related experience

There is a perception that women have insufficient appropriate experience in such things as negotiating with unions over threatened strike action, handling takeover threats to the organisation and planning of a financial and/or long term strategic nature (Still, 1990).

Ohlott, Ruderman, and McCauley (1994) supported such findings when they looked at developmental components in the jobs of male and female managers, and found that male managers experienced greater task-related developmental challenges in important areas, (such as high visibility assignments and responsibility for making key decisions) managing business diversity, and handling external pressure. The results were interpreted as follows: men and women may appear to be in similar positions within organisations, but they may actually work with different levels of responsibility.

Appropriate experience may be gained through specific training and certain development opportunities. Tharenou, Latimer & Conroy (1994) argue that training and development may have a more positive effect on men's managerial advancement. Because of this, men's suitability for training, development experiences, and eventually career advancement is considered more appropriate than the suitability of women. Therefore, women may lack the necessary work experience to be effective in a management role because they are denied access to the training and development experiences offered to their male colleagues. Men may be offered specific training and development opportunities because they are believed to acquire more skills and knowledge that are relevant to managerial work. Thus women are not given the same opportunities for work experience as are their male colleagues, possibly through a perception that they are unsuitable for advancement.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has considered the possibility that significant others' perceptual errors in the form of gender-stereotypes can partially explain the low numbers of women in senior management positions. Empirical literature on various key areas of managerial functioning was reviewed. These areas covered commitment, motivation, geographic mobility, educational qualifications, and work-related experience. These frequently occurring themes have appeared in the empirical literature and the popular press to account for the poor representation of women in senior management positions.

As much of the research reported was conducted in England or America a considerable time ago, it is proposed that these issues surrounding women's behavioural, skill, or attitudinal differences need to be tested in a contemporary time frame, in an Australian context. This will confirm if gender stereotypical attitudes relating to women's managerial competencies are a sufficient explanation to account for the poor representation of women in senior management positions.

This chapter has attempted to review a selection of the gender stereotype literature, to consider if such negative assumptions toward women in management can account for the small numbers of women in senior management positions. It is proposed that such perceptions of others toward women are a powerful determinant of women's career advancement. In addition, the role of self-perceptions will be explored. This area has not received a lot of attention in the literature, and therefore the following chapter proposes to outline how such self-perceptions may also play a role in the limited career advancement of women to senior management.

CHAPTER 4

Literature Review: The role of Self Perceptions

Are women's perceptions shared, as far as possible, by their male colleagues? Or is it a case of 'two solitudes,' where women and men in organisations confront each other without any concrete understanding of the experiential world of the other? (Symons, 1986, p.389).

4.1 Introduction

As outlined in the previous chapter, the perceptions of others were shown to play a significant role in a woman entering management positions, receiving workplace training and opportunities, and gaining promotion. Therefore, it is possible that perceptions and not the inadequacies of women in management play a major part in women's lack of career advancement. However, it is proposed that the gender difference and gender stereotype explanations, while compelling, do not adequately account for the dramatic differences in the numbers of men and women who fill senior roles in management. Further explanations are therefore required to contribute to an understanding of this phenomenon. The dominance of the role of perceptions, as described in the previous chapter, suggests a further avenue of exploration. Therefore, this chapter will focus on managers' self-perceptions, as this is an area deemed to be a beneficial focus for future research into women in management (e.g.,

Gregory, 1990), and it is believed that such a perspective will draw together the issues discussed in this thesis.

In contrast to studies that report on the perceptions of others, perceptions of managers themselves have been increasingly studied. These studies have covered a wide range of organisational practices. For example, early research into self-perceptions of managers has looked at the areas of career futures (Nicholson, West & Cawsey, 1985), and factors which have influenced previous management promotion (Gold & Pringle, 1988). In the last decade, research in self-perceptions has focused on such areas as perceived barriers to gaining a mentor (Ragins & Cotton, 1991), perceived barriers to leadership (Kisch & Ryan, 1991), perceptions of fairness and job satisfaction (Witt & Nye, 1992), perceptions of skills needed by women and men managers (Baack, et al. 1993), selfperception accuracy and leadership effectiveness (Van Velsor, Taylor & Leslie, 1993), perceptions of career progression and aspirations (Hede & Ralston, 1993); perceptions of promotion processes (Ferris, Buckley & Allen, 1992) and opportunities (Alderfer & Smith, 1982); (Rosenbaum, 1995), and perceived organisational support (Amason & Allen, 1997). However, no studies have been found which have explored the role self perceptions may play in assessing what is required to achieve promotion to senior management, or the extent to which men and women may differ in such perceptions.

If differences exist in perception between male and female middle managers as to the requirements of promotion, this may go some way toward explaining sex differences in management advancement. This could occur through perceptions influencing individuals to engage in various promotion-seeking behaviours, which may be differentially rewarded by the organisation.

As pointed out in Chapter 1, organisations need to utilise the full potential of their workforce. In order to do this, it may be important to gather subjective data regarding the way male and female managers perceive each other's situation (Symons, 1986), as well as how candidates for promotion, and decision makers, perceive promotion practices within the organisation (Ruderman, Ohlott & Kram, 1995).

Therefore the focus of this chapter will be to explore if perceptual differences exist between male and female middle managers relating to organisational functioning and also to attitudes toward promotion and the understanding of promotion criteria for senior management positions. Subjective responses to these issues for this study will be explored in Chapters 7 and 8. Firstly, this chapter will describe the process of individual perception and the various factors that influence the way people perceive events. Empirical evidence will then be reviewed which describes the different ways that male and female managers perceive their working environment. In addition, the impact of such gender differences in perception will be considered through the following exploration of various workplace attitudes and behaviours: attributions of success, self-appraisal, careers planning, salary expectations and promotion applications.

Secondly, an exploration of literature that reports on promotion requirements will be made, followed by a proposal that female managers may have different perceptions about what is required of them in order to

achieve a senior promotion. As differences in perception have been shown across a wide range of organisational practices, it may be that female managers may also have different perceptions to senior managers about what attributes are valued in order to achieve further promotions. If this is the case, this may constitute an alternative explanation for the continuing poor representation of women in senior management roles. In order to explore these possibilities, it is necessary to describe the perceptual process in more detail.

4.2 The process of individual perception

In Chapter 3, perception is described from the perspective of the perceptions of others within the workplace, and how the perceptual error of stereotyping can impact seriously and negatively on attitudes toward women. In this chapter, the physiological and psychological aspects of self- perception will be explored. This will provide the groundwork for the terminology from which I will select the pertinent aspects to focus upon in this thesis.

Individuals perceive the world in unique ways and because each individual sees things in their own way, the 'real world' is made up of each individual's interpretations of what that reality is. Thus each person receives information from the environment, and proceeds to analyse and judge the stimuli from their own individual perspectives.

Classic early experiments considered the role of personality and perception (Witkin, Lewis, Hertzman, Machover, Meissner & Wapner, 1954), and from these studies, the researchers concluded that individuals draw different information from their environment to make meaning of their

world. Therefore, two individuals may interpret the one situation quite differently (Mansour-Cole & Scott, 1998). Unique expectations and interests will influence individuals to see or focus on events and situations in particular ways.

Perception, therefore, can be defined as a process whereby information (stimuli) from the environment is selected and organised to provide meaning for the individual. Such selective perception occurs frequently in organisations, and vested interests may exert a significant influence on how we perceive events (Beyer, Chatopadhyay, George, Glick, Ogilvie & Pugliese (1997). According to Mullins (1996) "Perception is the root of all organisational behaviour; any situation can be analysed in terms of its perceptual connotations" (p.138).

In addition to selective perception, the sensory basis to the process of perception also influences an individual's perceptions. Sensory systems limit attention because it is impossible to take in everything that happens in the environment. To make sense of the amount of stimuli which has to be processed, people attempt to find meaning and understanding in their environment (Mullins, 1996). There is a tendency to categorise and organise this sensory information according to the present moment, an individual's emotions, or past knowledge about a similar situation and hence this may lead to distortion in the perception process. Furthermore, assumptions and inferences are made quite unconsciously, and these speed up the perceptual processes.

The sensory process in perception operates in the following way.

The brain acts in a dynamic fashion to organise and arrange stimuli

received by the perceiver. This is done primarily in three ways, through the principles of figure and ground, grouping and closure. The first of these principles has the most relevance to the present study. The principle of "figure-ground" (Mullins, 1996, p.143) states that individuals perceive figures against a background. The figure can be concrete, such as an object, or it may be more abstract, such as a pattern. For example, textiles may be perceived as figure-ground relationships, with one pattern being dominant (the figure) to an individual. However, another individual may reverse this process, and see the "ground" pattern as the most dominant (Mullins, 1996).

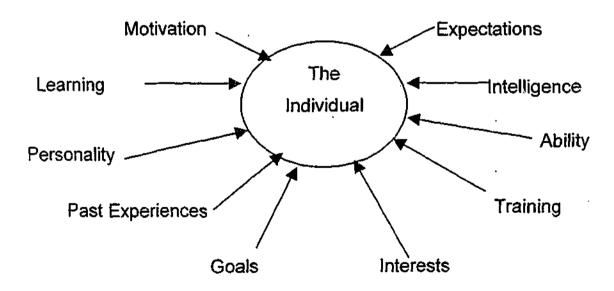
The importance of this principle is that it has relevance in most, if not all, situations in the workplace. For example, employees have to understand what is significant about their work task in order to be able to attend to it (the figure), rather than other aspects of their job which may be less significant (the background). One outcome of an employee not being able to distinguish what is significant about their role may be a stress reaction due to feeling overwhelmed by the "whole picture" (Mullins, 1996, p.144). To take the example of promotion, ideally employees would have to understand what is particularly valued about the way they work (the figure) as opposed to other aspects of their work which may be overlooked (the background), in order to successfully focus on the behaviours which are most likely to result in promotion.

Therefore, the way an individual perceives such figures and backgrounds will affect their behaviour. In addition to individual emphases, there are also influences from the wider culture. Thus

perceptions of the world become embedded in societal structures that come to be seen as 'normal'. These in turn contribute to the way individuals see, or perceive the world (Burton, 1992). This mechanism of societal influences impacting on perceptions will be discussed in depth in Chapter 9.

Psychological factors will also impact on what an individual perceives, and this creates an individual's perceptual set (Mullins, 1996). Internal factors influence perception, and these include personality (Chiang & Gort, 1998), learning, intelligence, ability, training, interests, goals, expectations and past experiences (Gardner & Pierce, 1998). In addition to the above factors, it is recognised that organisational factors also influence how people perceive events in the workplace (Berthon, Pitt & Morris, 1998). The following diagram sets out the factors that are believed to affect an individual's perceptual set.

Figure 4.1. The individual's perceptual set.



Source: Mullins, (1996), p.142.

In management, it is especially important that the process of perception is understood from two perspectives. Firstly, individuals have to be aware of the way they themselves perceive reality and how such perceptions can effect their judgement. Secondly, there must be an awareness of the way people experience perceptions uniquely. That is, there are many different realities, and one example of this is that women can perceive their organisational life differently to men, according to Symons (1986). It is proposed that such perceptual differences may cause significant misunderstandings and behavioural differences within the organisational setting.

Dijksterhuis and van Knippenberg (1998) believe that "perception has a direct and pervasive impact on overt behaviour" (p.865). Within the organisational setting, this means that the unique ways that people perceive events will directly affect their behaviour. One example of this process is found when an individual's perceptual process is influenced by strong expectations that they will be rewarded for a job well done. In this case, attention will be focused in areas where rewards have been given previously in the organisation. It is therefore likely that the individual will strive to emulate behaviour which has been previously rewarded within the culture of the organisation. This is an example of the active process of perception, and how individuals attend to, and select information purposefully.

In summary, perceptions can influence behaviour through an individual's expectations, interests, perceptual set, or the way in which an individual considers work requirements in the organisation. In addition,

societal influences can also impact on individual expectations and perceptions. Both individual and societal influences will therefore impact on an individual's perceptions, and the subsequent behaviour exhibited. Differences have been reported in the perceptions of managerial men and women, and the following section will explore a selection of these.

4.3 Empirical evidence of gender differences in perception

In Chapter 2, a review of the person-centred women in management literature was undertaken, where proposed differences in the behaviours, skills and attitudes of men and women were explored. It was suggested that many of the reported differences between men and women may not be actual, but perceived. Chapter 3 explored how the stereotypical perceptions of others appear to influence beliefs about women being different and inadequate in a managerial role. Perceptions, therefore, appear to play a significant part in contributing to the low numbers of women in senior management roles.

However, in addition to perceptions of others playing a role in women's career advancement, it is also proposed that men and women's own perceptions may be a fruitful area for further exploration. Individual perceptions differ, and this can influence behaviour that may contribute significantly to a potential promotion. The women in management literature has reported that gender differences in perception do occur. For example, many researchers in the past (e.g., Davidson & Cooper, 1992; Gallese, 1991; Gold & Pringle, 1988; Hearn, 1992; Hennig & Jardim, 1978; Marshall, 1984; Miller, 1976; Morrison, White & Van Velsor, 1987; 1990; Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990), and more recently Ramsay, (1994)

and Still (1997) have written about the way men's and women's perceptions of events can differ.

An illustration of differences in perception between men and women has been provided in a study by Russell Reynolds Associates (1990), who investigated factors that contributed to successful men and women executives working in Fortune 500 companies in America. While the researchers found agreement between male and female senior managers relating to executive success factors, there were marked disagreements between men and women in the sample when reporting on perceived opportunities, organisational climate, and culture (p.iii). In particular, two-thirds of the female respondents (67%) perceived hostility towards women within their organisational cultures, whereas only 2% of male respondents believed that any hostility existed toward women in the workplace. In addition, while 77% of male managers felt that their organisations actively supported and encouraged career development among executive women, only 33% of female managers believed this was the case.

Furthermore, when asked about Equal Opportunity, more than 50% of women managers felt that men received more opportunities, while 75% of male managers believed that equal opportunity was a reality within their corporate culture. In addition, over half of the male sample felt that at the very least, women were given equal access to social interactions with potential mentors. However, less than 25% of the female sample agreed that this was their reality. This research exemplifies that individuals can perceive the same issue or event from two vastly different perspectives, and evaluate it from their own personal interpretation. Furthermore, it is

reasonable to assume that such diverse views and perspectives will underpin vastly different behaviour.

A further American study by Lyness and Thompson (1997) has also reported gender differences in subjective reports of individual experience of the organisation culture, with women executives perceiving they had to overcome more obstacles due to lack of support and less culture fit within their organisation than their male counterparts.

To add further support, an Australian study has reported perceptual differences between male and female managers, supervisors, technical and clerical staff within the financial industry in relation to the organisational environment. Women perceived that their male colleagues were favoured by their workplace, and believed that women faced difficulties if they wanted to pursue a career (Still, 1997). However, men in the sample perceived a working environment that offered the same opportunities to women as they themselves received. In addition, perceptual differences were also noted in relation to a wide variety of organisational practices, such as recruitment, selection, transfer and promotion (Still, 1997).

Therefore, there is empirical support for the view that men and women perceive their organisational environment very differently. In addition to empirical studies that document perceptual differences in general areas of the organisation's functioning, there are other studies that report on the link between perception and behaviour. This is an important link to establish, because perceptions influence the behaviour of

individuals (Dijksterhuis & van Knippenberg, 1998). The following literature illustrates the role perceptions can play in influencing behaviour.

4.4 Impact of gender differences in perception

Research studies have documented that perceptions of self affect job-related behaviours and attitudes (Marsh, 1993) and employee performance and satisfaction (Gardner & Pierce, 1998). In addition, several studies have reported on other organisational areas where the impact of perceptual differences have been demonstrated, or logically hypothesised. In this section, the following areas will be analysed to explore this possible link: attributions of success, self-appraisal, perceptions of career paths, salary expectations, and promotion applications.

4.4.1 Attributions of success

The area of personal success within the organisation reveals some interesting gender differences in perception. For example, there is evidence that women are more likely to believe that external factors, such as luck or an easy task influence their ability to perform their work. Men tend to view their success as caused by innate ability (e.g., Deaux, 1984). These differing perceptions are important because internal factors, such as abilities and personal effort, are generally considered to be the factors involved in successful managerial performance. Thus the way an individual evaluates their success may impact on their confidence and degree of comfort within the managerial role.

In addition, recent research by McColl-Kennedy and Dann (2000) has reported that women perceive the concept of success differently to men. These researchers found that women's definition of success incorporated more subjective measures, such as control, recognition, fulfilment and enjoyment when compared to the male responses. Another study by Vinnicombe and Harris (2000) has reported that women define success in terms of achievement and personal recognition or influence, as opposed to status and position within the hierarchy, which male managers reported as a measure of career success.

When considering success, it is interesting to speculate on the opposite end of the spectrum - the concept of failure or risk. Women's advancement within organisations may be inhibited because they perceive risk in terms of a possible loss; men perceive risk as a chance for success, as well as a chance of failure (Deaux, 1984; Fagenson, 1990). In this way, gender differences in perceptions will have an impact on the behaviour exhibited. For example, the motivation of male or female managers to face a new challenge will be influenced by their perceptions of whether risk or a chance for success are the most likely outcomes. Therefore, the behaviour exhibited will be dictated by the perceptions of the individual.

4.4.2 Self Appraisal

In terms of appraisals about personal task performance, differences have been reported in self-perceptions of men and women. There is some evidence that male managers lack objectivity when they estimate their task performance, while with female managers it is the reverse - women

tend to underestimate their performance (Cahoon, 1991; Sinclair, 1994). An example of such underestimation of ability is found in a research study of 150 highly successful academic and professional women, who reported feeling like 'imposters', despite their degrees, senior appointments, and peer recognition. Many of these women felt that they were frauds, who deceitfully fooled other people by convincing them that they were intelligent (Clance & Imes, cited in Marshall, 1984). Such perceptions of their ability led to fears that discovery would be imminent, and hence these women built an elaborate system of defences, including not making personal comments or passing opinions, and basing their work relationships around personal charm.

Perceptions such as these are likely to have a negative impact on the careers of women who aspire to senior positions, through self-doubt lack of confidence and self-fulfilling prophesies on the part of female managers. It would seem that self appraisal relating to problems appears to be experienced differently by men and women. For example, the following quotation illustrates how the way an individual perceives problems can influence the consequential behaviour.

...her perception of the problems facing her is centred on herself, on her own capacity or lack of it. It is an inward pre-occupation which dulls her ability to assess other people objectively. She tends to see them in terms of the impact they have on her own sense of adequacy.

His perceptions of the problems facing him is centred on the people around him on their abilities. It is an outward pre-occupation which sharpens his awareness of who those people are and what they want - and the one tends to condition whether he will give them the other (Hennig & Jardim, 1978, p.43).

It would appear that men and women may experience problems very differently. Such differing perceptions are likely to impact strongly on an objective self appraisal.

4.4.3 Career planning

As mentioned in Chapter 3, women are believed to exhibit 'career drift' and lack planning toward a clear career path (e.g., Gallos, 1995). It is possible that female managers may not see promotion to positions of senior management as a career goal as often as do male managers, as there is evidence that a significant number of female non-executive managers do not expect to join the ranks of senior management before they retire (Hede & Ralston, 1993). Therefore, although women may aspire to take up positions in senior management, it appears they do not really expect that they will achieve their goal (Hede & Ralston, 1993).

There have also been reports that women may feel they lack a specific career path (Bellamy & Ramsey, 1994; McKenzie, 1995; Still, 1990; 1993), whereas men often act in ways that suggest they are comfortably 'on track' for their career. For example, Morrison (1992) noted that men began negotiating titles and positions from the first day they entered an organisation. Women differed in that they assumed they would get the title or promotion if they deserved it. Once again, these different career perceptions will influence the behaviour exhibited. For example, women managers may stand back and wait for opportunities to present themselves because they are unsure of the direction their careers should take.

4.4.4 Salary expectations

Women have been found to have lower salary expectations to men in a study designed to examine gender differences in self-pay expectations (Jackson, Gardner & Sullivan, 1992). These researchers reported there was a \$20,000 career peak difference in salary expectations of women and men, even when the occupations were considered to be 'female-dominated', such as nursing and education. The implicit perceptual difference here revolves around self worth, comfort of role, place within the organisation, and sense of fit or belonging. Once again, these perceptions will dictate the behaviour exhibited, in this instance, either an acceptance of a lower salary, or a desire to achieve equity in salary remuneration. That is, perceptions of self worth will influence the behaviours of both male and female managers.

4.4.5 Promotion applications

In an early study by Alderfer and Smith (1982) it was reported that striking differences in the perceptions of promotion opportunities existed between black and white managers in the same organisation. A significantly greater proportion of black managers, both male and female, believed that whites were promoted more rapidly, while a significantly greater proportion of white managers thought that black managers enjoyed greater promotion. Perceptual differences such as these will impact on the rate that minority groups apply for promotion. The extension of this is that lower rates of applying for promotion will impact on career advancement. In relation to female managers, they apply more often when they have received prior encouragement of significant others,

usually men (Cahoon, 1991; Sinclair, 1993; 1994). This implies that women feel more comfortable when they have the support and endorsement of their colleagues (in particular male colleagues), and when this is received they are prepared to apply for positions of promotion. The reverse is the case for men. Men apply for promotion (or are invited to do so) because they feel confident of their own ability. Perceptions of readiness for promotion, therefore, may dictate the behaviour of men and women. Such confidence by male managers may spring from a differential experience of organisational life to their female colleagues. That is, the male manager:

...perceives an environment which is reinforcing; promotions come more rapidly for them; more choice assignments come their way; they are constantly reassured by looking around them (Devanna, 1987, p.477).

In the above literature, an attempt has been made to illustrate how gender differences in perception may logically affect the behaviour of employees within the workplace. It is clear that men and women have different perceptions about many important aspects of organisational life. Many of these perceptual differences, and the resultant behaviour could have an impact on possible promotion and career advancement.

The above empirical studies have reported on perceptual differences between male and female managers and the link between perception and behaviour. There are, however, other specific areas within the dynamics of the organisation where perceptual differences between male and female managers may be observed, and these highlight how gender differences in perceptions may be influential when promotions to

senior management positions are being considered. An exploration will now be made into how promotion requirements are perceived by male and female managers. This aspect of the literature has been selected because it may offer some insight into understanding why women do not achieve senior management promotion in greater numbers.

As mentioned previously, it is proposed that perceptual differences between male and female middle managers in relation to the requirements of achieving a senior management promotion may play a role in the relatively small number of women being promoted to senior management positions. The following literature is presented to explore if gender-differences are likely to occur in the area of awareness of senior management promotion criteria.

4.5 Perceptions of promotion requirements

Empirical studies have reported some agreement between men and women on the characteristics that are considered important in achieving promotion. For example, Gold & Pringle (1988) found that both men and women believe that training and experience are significant factors in achieving promotion. Being responsible, flexible and an effective delegator were reported as factors which helped managers reach top positions by both men and women (Baack, *et al.* 1993), as was displaying strategic vision (Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990).

However, other research suggests perceptual differences exist between men and women on their understanding of the requirements of promotion. For example, an early study by Stewart and Gudykunst (1982) reported gender differences in the way men and women perceived the

importance of organisation systems in promotion. The researchers believed that most women had a preference for operating in the formal system, and did not value the role that informal systems played in the process of achieving promotion. They reported that women in their study who were aware of the importance of both the informal and formal systems within the organisation were those who were receiving promotions and advancing. In contrast, men believed that the development of skills was important in obtaining promotions.

In terms of skills, 'style' and not 'substance' may be the important deciding factors when senior positions are being considered, according to Still (1996). However, women's perceptions about what constitutes 'style' may be different to those of their male colleagues. An illustration of this is seen in women's attitude toward work; they believe that hard work will be recognised and rewarded. This may be equated with 'substance' perhaps, rather than style. In contrast, men seem to know that the task oriented work approach alone is not what will help them gain recognition and promotion; rather it is also the 'social system' within which the organisation operates, or possibly their individual 'style'. It has also been suggested that 'fitting in', negotiating, being part of the 'old boys' network', and teamwork may be what determines who succeeds in business (Still, 1996).

However, there are also perceptual differences regarding what constitutes 'teamwork' within the organisational setting. Still (1996) suggests women believe teamwork means 'making a contribution' and 'speaking up', whereas men appear to view teamwork as following and supporting the leader. In addition, men consider that trust and loyalty are

essential components of team building, whereas being competent is more highly valued by women when structuring teams (Cahoon, 1991). These criteria for success appear to be understood by male managers, but may be misunderstood by their female counterparts (Still, 1996).

Additional support for the view that female middle managers hold different perceptions to senior managers about what is required of them to achieve a promotion is provided by Fritchie (cited in Davidson & Cooper, 1992), who reported that there is a discrepancy between what employers and women valued in terms of managerial qualities. **Employers** considered that "motivation, anticipation, leadership, intelligence, endurance, ambition and decisiveness" (p.49) were highly valued personal qualities, whereas most women believed that "enthusiasm, discretion, loyalty, dependability, popularity and industriousness" (p.49) were important. Therefore, it would seem that women and men have differing perceptions regarding the appropriate behaviour that is valued or rewarded in terms of future promotions. This attitude to what constitutes appropriate managerial traits could conceivably create differences in promotion seeking behaviour between male and female middle managers.

4.6 Summary

The previous research has reported on factors that influence an individual's perception, as well as aspects of the organisational environment that are perceived very differently by men and women. In addition, perceptual differences have also been reported in the area of promotion requirements. Gender differences in perception of promotion requirements may negatively influence women's potential and

performance within the organisation. Perceptual differences may therefore influence promotion-seeking behaviour, and hence career advancement, because women's perceptions may lead them to act in ways that they believe to be exemplary, yet these behaviours may be judged to be inadequate, insufficient or even inappropriate.

It may be that these differences in perception hold the key to why women who are equally qualified, trained, and have had the same opportunities as men, do not advance within the organisations at the same rate as their male counterparts (Maurer, 1988). Therefore, this study proposes that gender differences in perception may contribute to the continuing poor representation of women in senior management roles. Research questions will be drawn from the literature reviewed above, and will be submitted to empirical test.

The following chapter presents a detailed summary of the research questions which represent a collation and combination of the issues raised in chapter 2, 3, and 4. These issues will be explored in an Australian contemporary context, as it is believed that the answers may enhance an understanding as to why women continue to be underrepresented in the ranks of senior management.

CHAPTER 5

Summary of Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

In the management and behavioural areas, it is not always possible to conduct investigations that are 100 percent scientific, in the sense that, unlike in the physical sciences, the results obtained will not be exact and error-free. This is primarily because of difficulties we are likely to encounter in the measurement and collection of data in the subjective areas of feelings, emotions, attitudes, and perceptions (Sekaran, 2000, p.25).

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together the fundamental tenets of the gender difference and gender stereotyping literature, as well as the three theoretical frameworks that have been explored in Chapter 2. In addition, significant areas of interest will be summarised from the perception literature as it is proposed that this area may provide an alternative explanation to account for the continuing low numbers of women in senior management roles.

5.2 Fundamental tenets of gender difference literature

The gender difference literature selected for consideration in this literature review considered the empirical research into gender differences of various cognitive aspects, personality traits and aptitudes. Early research from the seventies was included, along with more recent meta-analytical studies. Particular emphasis was given to established

differences that may have impinged on a woman's ability to perform the role of manager.

This literature has contributed significantly to the women in management field, and part of the strength of the gender difference perspective may derive from a societal belief in what is appropriate for women to do, given their ascribed "communal" qualities (Eagly, 1987). These issues will be considered in Chapter 9 and social influences will be utilised in the construction of a framework to account for the qualitative results obtained in this study.

However, notwithstanding the importance of past beliefs in gender differences in managerial competencies as a significant contributing factor in explaining the poor representation of women in senior management, it is proposed that such a perspective is inadequate to account for why so few contemporary women fill senior management roles. Much of the literature reviewed on gender differences has been conducted over a long period, dating back 25 years, and more recent literature has drawn attention to the possibility that women and men display similar qualities and attributes in the role of management (e.g., Gregory, 1990; Vilkinas & Cartan, 1997; Vilkinas, 2000). This issue is not yet fully resolved.

It is therefore proposed that an exploration of gender differences in managerial behaviours, skills and attitudes in an Australian contemporary sample will contribute to an understanding of the existence, or prevalence, of gender differences in managerial competencies. These issues will be explored through research questions 1-5.

5.3 Fundamental tenets of the women in management theoretical frameworks

The overriding theme that permeates the person-centred theory is the view that women are considered to be inadequate, inferior, and/or deficit in the role of manager, and this accounts for their poor representation in senior roles.

In the organisation-structure theory, the fact that women lack status and power because of organisational structure and policies, which in turn impacts on their ability to behave differently in the organisational setting, underpins the framework. Finally, the gender-organisation-system perspective concurs with the previous summaries, and in addition, includes the fact that women have lower ascribed status in society, which impacts on their ability to perform the role of manager. In essence therefore, in spite of a variety of reasons, these arguments devolve into one conclusion: women are seen to have inferior abilities and skills in the area of management, and men are considered to exhibit superior abilities and skills. This research attempts to measure this proposition.

5.4 Fundamental tenets of the gender stereotyping literature

The literature reviewed in this area suggests that stereotypical perceptions about women in management may play a significant role in their poor career advancement. It is proposed that negative assumptions about women in management continue to play a major role in women being underrepresented in senior management positions, and therefore an understanding of stereotypical perceptions of others may elucidate why

women continue to remain outside of the majority of senior management roles.

However, despite the significance of these areas of literature and the three theoretical frameworks that have been advanced to account for the low numbers of women in senior management roles, it is proposed that none of these explanations are fully adequate to account for the continuing existence of the phenomenon. In addition to previous research spanning two decades or more, much of the research has been conducted in England and America. It is therefore important to test out whether there are actual differences in the behaviour, skills and attitudes of middle managers in a contemporary Australian sample, or whether there is a perception of differences. That is, are women different, or are they perceived to be different? Either way, is this sufficient to explain the continuing low numbers of women in senior management? An exploration of current views toward women in management roles will be made through research questions 6-10.

5.5 Fundamental tenets of the perception literature

In the selective literature presented, there is evidence to suggest that men and women differ in their perceptions of their working environments and experiences. It is proposed that such perceptual differences may lead to differences in organisational behaviour in general, as well as in specific areas, such as promotion seeking behaviour. Such differences in behaviour could therefore lead to different career advancement outcomes for managerial men and women. These possibilities will be tested by research questions numbered 11-21.

5.6 Summary of Aims and Objectives of the research.

The aims of this research are threefold. Firstly, consideration will be given as to whether women and men report differences in the area of the following managerial competencies, viz: commitment, motivation, educational geographic mobility. qualifications experience. Therefore, this research will attempt to assess if contemporary managers exhibit any self-reported differences in these specific managerial competencies and attributes. Secondly, the perceptions of others will be explored in relation to the above common explanations to test if stereotypical attitudes continue to influence the way women are viewed in a management role. The third area of research will consider the role self-perceptions may play in women's career advancement. One alternative explanation for the poor representation of women in senior management roles may be that the perceptions of women and men may differ in relation to their organisational life, and in particular, to the requirements for future promotion.

To operationalise the general research question on the self-reports of managerial competencies, one set of questions focuses on managers' attitudes toward their own level of commitment and motivation, geographical relocations, educational qualifications and work experience. This provides a basic analytical framework to compare men and women managers' self-reported managerial competencies with the assessments of male managers in the gender stereotype categories.

5.7 Research questions

To address the first area of gender differences, which can be summarised as "are male and female middle managers different in a range of managerial competencies?", the following research questions are posed:

Research question 1. Do managerial men and women report different personal levels of commitment to management as a career? (Survey question 52). Research question 2: Do managerial men and women report different personal levels of motivation to motivation as a career? (Survey question 53). Research question:3 Do managerial men and women report different involvement in geographic relocation? (Survey question 12). Research question 4. Do managerial men and women report different levels of educational qualifications? (Survey question 3). Research question 5: Do managerial men and women report different types of work experience? (Survey question 33).

In addition, gender stereotyping will be examined through the perceptions of male middle managers in relation to the five areas of managerial competencies outlined above. These questions explore if there are negative perceptions (stereotypes) relating to women's commitment and motivation to a management career, their ability to geographically relocate, and if their education and experience are seen as inadequate to fill senior management positions.

This area can be summarised as follows: "Do negative gender stereotypes exist? If so, do they match the reality of the responses received in Question 1-5 above"? The following research questions will be explored:

Research question 8

Research question 8

Research question 9

Research question 10

Do male middle managers express stereotypical perceptions of the commitment of women in management? (Survey question 52).

Do male middle managers express stereotypical perceptions of the motivation of women in management? (Survey question 53).

Will fewer women in management have received a request to geographically relocate for their career? (Survey question 11).

Will women be evaluated as not as well educationally qualified as their male counterparts to fill senior management positions by their male colleagues? (Survey question 54).

Will women be evaluated by their male colleagues as having less work-related experience compared to their male colleagues, to fill senior management positions? (Survey question 55).

Finally, the following research questions will address areas relating to self-perceptions. The final set of questions, used to operationalise a measure of significance of perception, focus on self perceptions of managers in relation to the organisation and effective career development. In order to compare male and female managers' perceptions, and to see if they are using a different perceptual set, this set of questions covers perceptions of workplace environment, organisation culture, performance appraisal, opportunities for advancement, career development, factors impinging on their last promotion, and what is required for advancement a more senior promotion. These latter perceptions are then measured against what the senior managers themselves believe is important. This area of research can be summarised as: Are men and women managers different in finer perceptions regarding how to advance in their careers?

Which perceptions are closest to the situation as explained by what senior management say? These latter responses are presented in Chapter 8.

Research question 11 Will

female managers have a different perception of aspects of their workplace environment to their male colleagues? (Survey questions 36, 37,38).

Research question 12 Will

female managers have a different perception of aspects of the organisation culture to their male colleagues? (Survey questions 40,41,46).

Research question 13 Will female managers have a different perception of Performance Appraisals to their questions male colleagues? (Survey 17,42,43,44).

Research question 14

Will female managers have a different perception of opportunities for advancement in their organisation to their male colleagues? (Survey questions 18,19).

Research question:15:

Will female managers have a different perception of career development factors to their male colleagues? (Survey question 20).

Research question 16:

Will female managers have a perception of factors that influenced their last promotion to their male colleagues? (Survey question 23).

Research question 17:

Will female managers propose explanations to account for why a promotion may not be achieved, compared to their male colleagues? (Survey question 30).

Research question 18:

Will female middle managers have a different perception about what is required to achieve senior management promotion compared to their male colleagues? (Survey question 48).

Research question 19:

Will female middle managers have a different perception to their male colleagues about what senior managers value in middle managers' promotion seeking behaviour? (Survey question 49).

Research question 20:

Will female managers have different views to senior managers regarding what is required to achieve future promotion? (Survey question 49).



Will male managers have similar views to senior managers regarding what is required to achieve future promotion? (Survey question 49).

The twenty one research questions described above address the three areas of foci raised in this study, that is gender differences, gender stereotypes and perceptual differences between male and female managers. Some extra survey questions were designed to provide a smokescreen so that the responses were not seen to be focused solely on women's issues. Such precautions were taken to prevent "participation-linked-to-dependent-variable bias" where the respondents who are not the prime focus of the survey may be less inclined to participate (Hede & Ralston, 1993, p.261).

Other survey questions will provide an empirical base for broader analysis of management issues in the future. Opportunities to gain such information from busy executives are often limited. The questions included in the present survey have therefore provided a rich tapestry of data, and will be used for future reference, and further study. In total, 58 questions were included in the survey (see Appendix 4). The categories of questions, in addition to the methodology for the study, will be outlined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Research Design and Methodology

One can be confident that a range of methods allows a range of individuals or circumstances to be understood in a responsive way. Important women's lives can concerning issues understood in a complex and thorough fashion. Researchers can then communicate understanding to the public in a convincing Multimethod research creates manner. opportunity to put texts or people in contexts, thus providing a richer and far more accurate interpretation (Reinharz, 1992, p.213).

6.1 Introduction

In order to address the question of why so few women reached senior management roles, this study focused on the attitudes of Australian middle managers toward their organisational culture and environment, and promotion. An attempt was made to make the sample as inclusive and representative of middle managers as possible in a contemporary Australian context. Therefore, twelve industry divisions, as outlined in the Australian Bureau of Statistics Labour Force publication (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 6203.0, 1996) were represented in the study.

This study used both quantitative and qualitative research methods for data gathering through the employment of a mailed questionnaire, and face-to-face structured open response interviews. The methodology conducted in this research encompassed six stages, and an overview of the research procedure is set out in 6.2 on page 119.

In Stage 1, the Australian and international women in management literature was initially reviewed in order to gain an understanding of the factors that impacted on women's underrepresentation in senior management.

The focus was on the following aspects of the literature:

- Incidence of female managers in senior management positions
- Attitudes toward factors that enhance promotion possibilities
- An understanding of barriers that impact on career advancement for women.

Following this, a selective literature review was carried out into the two influential areas in the women in management literature; the gender difference and gender stereotype literatures. Finally, literature pertaining to perceptual differences between Australian female managers and their male colleagues was explored. These areas have been described in Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4. The reading, in total, enabled a refinement of the research problem and the development of key subsidiary research questions.

In Stage 2, the survey instrument was designed to elicit contemporary data on demographic detail, and issues relating to career factors, promotion, the workplace environment and workplace participation. A pilot study was carried out on 50 middle managers, which led to some modifications of the survey. After this, the questionnaires were used to survey 507 male and female middle managers, drawn from 24 large Australian organisations based in Melbourne, Sydney, Perth and Canberra from both the public and private sector.

In Stage 3, results of the survey were analysed. Following this, an interview schedule was designed for the purpose of obtaining a deeper understanding of perceptions of the respondents.

Thus, in Stage 4, interviews were conducted with both middle and senior managers. Firstly, interviews were conducted with ten male and 10 female middle managers (20 in total) who had filled in the mailed questionnaire, and indicated their willingness to be contacted in relation to a follow up interview. Secondly, interviews were also conducted with senior managers (9 male and 6 female; 15 in total) for the purpose of comparing their views, attitudes and perceptions with those given by the middle managers on some of the measures in the survey. Conclusions drawn from both the survey and interview data are presented in Chapters 7 (Results - Quantitative) and 8 (Results - Qualitative) of this thesis. This chapter will deal primarily with a description of Stages 2, 3 and 4.

In Stage 5, an analysis of the results obtained during Stages 3 and 4 was critiqued (see Chapter 9), and a framework arising from this analysis was developed. In Stage 6, Chapter 10, the results of the framework testing was discussed, along with limitations to the present research, and implications for future research. This chapter concludes the thesis.

Due to the explanatory nature of the research, and in order to address the primary research problem, multiple research methods were employed. Multiple methods, or triangulation, are utilised when there is a "...commitment to thoroughness" and a "desire to be open ended" (Reinharz, 1992, p.1997). In other words, triangulation increases the

researcher's ability to obtain scientifically credible results (Reinharz, 1992). In addition, as one of the express purposes of this research was to "integrate individual and social explanations of phenomena (Reinharz, 1992), multiple research methods were adopted to enable richer data to be gathered, and hence, more accurate interpretations to be made.

According to Bryman (1988):

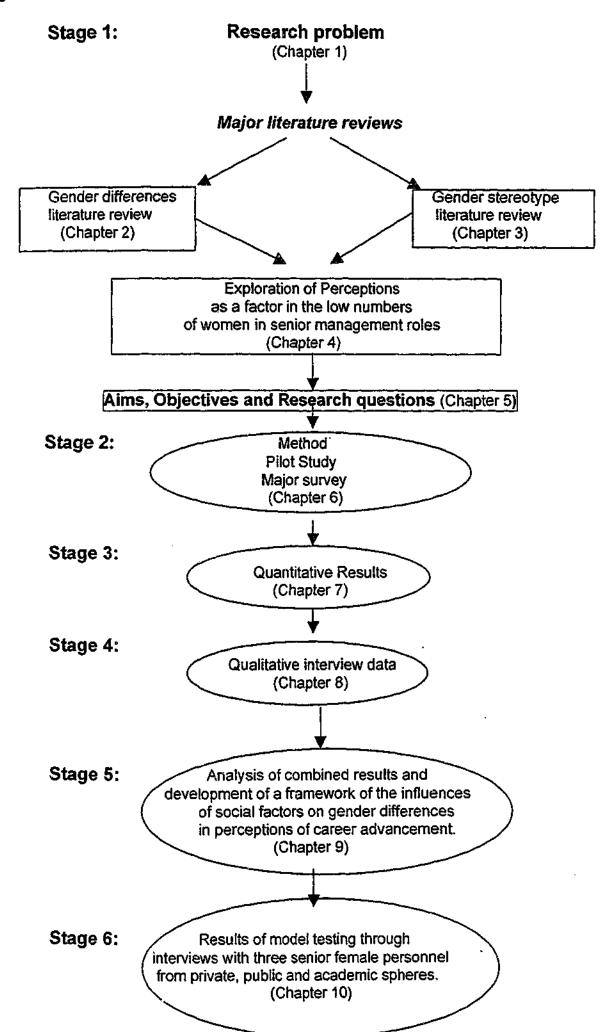
When quantitative and qualitative research are jointly pursued, much more complete accounts of social reality can ensue...the rather partisan either/or tenor of the debate about quantitative and qualitative research may appear somewhat bizarre to an outsider for whom the obvious way forward is likely to be a fusion of the two approaches so that their respective strengths might be reaped (pp.126-7).

Therefore, a combination of qualitative and quantitative design was used for the collection of data. These data were initially gathered through a mailed survey, and further qualitative data was gathered through structured interviews.

The following figure sets out a graphical depiction of the procedures followed in this research, after which a description of the data gathering procedures will be made.

6.2 The research procedure:

Figure 6.1. The research procedure.



6.3 The data gathering procedures

6.3.1 Stage 1: The literature reviews

The purpose of this study was to try to examine the factors that impacted on the low numbers of women in senior management roles. Therefore, an initial review of the Australian and International literature was necessary. This enabled the pertinent empirical studies to be reviewed, and the theoretical frameworks to be examined.

From this review, a decision was made to focus on one of the strongest themes that appeared to underpin many of the empirical studies. That was a recognition that women in management were seen as "different", and as such, did not belong in a managerial role within an organisation. Three avenues of exploration were then carried out. Firstly, a review of a selection of the gender difference literature, which included a general review of the empirical findings into gender differences in abilities, personality and attributes was carried out. Following this, a select segment of the literature relating to gender differences in various managerial competencies was explored. Secondly, a selection of the gender stereotyping literature was reviewed. This led to an exploration of the role perceptions of others may play in the career advancement of women. Finally, a selective review of literature which had explored the role of self perceptions was conducted. Each area of literature review provided a series of research questions to be submitted to empirical test. The major research problems were devised through this process, and are set out together in Chapter 5.

In sum, Stage 1 of this research encompassed a broad literature review of both Australian and international literature, which allowed an identification of the major themes and factors believed to impact on the poor representation of women in senior management positions, and these clustered around gender differences and gender stereotyping and the role of perceptions on the career advancement of female managers.

6.3.2 Stage 2: Quantitative data production

A survey of sixty eight primary questions was initially developed for the purpose of examining gender differences in the perceptions of middle managers regarding attitudes toward promotion in Australian organisations.

6.3.2.1 Questionnaire design:

The questionnaire was designed to elicit demographic information, and attitudes toward organisational culture and environment as well as perceptions relating to the area of promotion. Although numerous measuring instruments are available in the areas of attitudes, beliefs and values in the organisational setting (see Robinson, Shaver & Wrightsman, 1991), no measuring scale was found to address the area of perceptions relating to the requirements of promotion. This necessitated the development of a new measuring instrument.

The literature review into perceptual differences has reported factors managers believed had influenced career development (Kakabadse & Margerison, 1987), or helped or hindered their promotions during management careers (e.g., Gold & Pringle, 1988; Morrison, 1992).

In addition, perceptions of male and female managers regarding their mastery of various skills was reported by Baack, et al. (1993), and an empirical study by Russell Reynolds Associates (1990) reported differences between male and female managers in their perceptions of the organisational culture in which they worked. This literature was used to develop descriptions of the various attributes considered important to achieve promotion (see Appendix 1). These attributes were then included in items to assess if perceptual differences existed between male and female middle managers in terms of their attitudes to promotion requirements. All questions were designed to explore whether gender differences existed across a range of managerial attitudes, competencies, or perceptions, or whether stereotypical attitudes existed toward women in management on a range of managerial competencies.

Questionnaires are considered to be an efficient means of collecting data once the research has established what issues to pursue, and how variables of interest are to be measured (Sekaran, 2000). Five major areas were considered essential to include in the survey, and were drawn from categories compiled after reading the literature. These were: Demographics, Career factors, Promotion, Workplace environment and Workplace participation.

In this study, mailed questionnaires were the method of choice. This is because a wider geographical area could be covered, thus making it possible to include all of the participating organisations, some of whom were situated in other states in Australia. Questionnaires were mailed to the Human Resource Department in each of the participating

organisations, and these were then distributed to male and female middle managers via internal mail. In this way, respondents were able to complete the questionnaire at a time convenient to themselves.

6.3.2.2 Addressing potential bias:

There are three important areas to be addressed in research design, and these are aimed at reducing bias in the results obtained (Sekaran, 2000). Firstly, principles of wording will be discussed, secondly, the type and form of questions will be considered, and thirdly, the general layout of the questionnaire will be outlined. Each of these areas will now be analysed more fully.

6.3.2.2.1 Principles of wording:

Several important aspects relating to the wording of the questions need to be considered in questionnaire design. For example, the purpose of each question needs to be analysed. If the variables require a subjective response (e.g., attitudes toward factors which have influenced career development), the question needs to adequately address career development concepts. If the variables require an objective response (e.g., factual response relating to highest level of education obtained), questions may be single and direct (Sekaran, 2000).

6.3.2.2.2 Type and form of questions:

The type of questions also needs to be addressed in questionnaire design. Some questions were designed as open-ended questions, when responses were required to elaborate and broaden a categorical answer. For example, if respondents answered "No" to a question which asked" Do

you feel every middle manager in this organisation gets the same opportunity for advancement?" (Question 18), then they were given the following invitation to elaborate: "If no, who gets the opportunities, who doesn't and why? Please elaborate" (Question 19). In this way, maximum information was possible from such an open-ended question. However, some questions were designed as closed, because the information required was able to be garnered in this type of question. For example, "Does your organisation have a Performance Appraisal policy?" (Question 15). Response categories were "Yes" or "No".

Care was also taken with the form of questions, including whether questions were worded positively or negatively. Throughout the questionnaire, an attempt was made to compose neutral questions. For example, Question 17 asked: "How effective do you think your organisation's Performance Appraisals are in general for giving staff (a) accurate feedback about work, (b) constructive suggestions for performance improvement?". Response categories ranged from "Very ineffective, 1" (on the left of the scale) to "Very effective, 5" (on the right of the scale). However, on other questions, the positive response, i.e. "Yes" as opposed to "No", was placed in the left position, thus attempting to keep interest and focus high amongst the respondents (Sekaran, 2000).

Another aspect to consider was the potential bias inherent in the questions posed. An attempt was made to avoid double-barrel, ambiguous, leading, or loaded questions throughout the design of the questionnaire. Where questions were asked of an emotive nature, the construction of the question was designed to minimise bias. For example

"In your organisation, toward you or other managers of your sex, how would you typically describe the general attitude of...? (a) Superiors, (b) Subordinates. Response categories were "Very hostile, 1, to Very supportive, 5".

Recall-dependent questions were by their nature and time frame, possible to be easily recalled. For example, "Did you apply for your last promotion, or were you appointed to the position?" (Question 24). It is not likely that this type of issue could be easily forgotten.

In terms of social desirability, an attempt was made to reduce the number of responses contaminated by this influence. For example, to a question "How long do you think it will take before women in this organisation fill 50% of senior management positions?", the following categories were provided: (1) Women already fill 50% of senior management positions, (2) Don't know, (3) Up to 5 years, (4) Between 5-10 years, (5) More than 10 years, (6) Never. In addition, an opportunity was given for respondents to add further comment by the invitation to "Please elaborate" (see question 46). By designing the question in this way, it was hoped that a considerable amount of thought was required to choose the response which most fitted with the individual's view, rather than giving a "Yes/No" type of response, which would have been more likely to lead to a socially appropriate answer.

In addition, consideration was given to the length of questions. While it was recognised that short questions of 20 words or less are more preferable to longer questions, some questions required more than this amount of words to convey the complexity of the issue being explored.

For example, "How important do you think it is to senior management that middle managers possess the following attributes in order to achieve promotion to senior management positions?" (Question 49) is made up of 26 words, but it was considered that this amount was necessary to convey the clear meaning of the question.

The language and wording of the questionnaire must also be considered. Questionnaires should comprise language which provides respondents with a comfortable level of understanding (Sekaran, 2000). Language in this questionnaire was designed to tap organisational culture, experiences, attitudes and perceptions of managers, and it was considered that maximum comprehension was possible because the sample of middle managers was drawn from an environment where such concepts would have been familiar.

Furthermore, over a third of the survey questions asked respondents to consider lists of characteristics that pertained to a particular question, and to respond to how they felt about each item by using a Likert scale. Such questions are also classified as closed (Sekaran, 2000). There are several benefits to utilising this type of question. Firstly, respondents are able to make decisions quickly by utilising the alternatives presented to them, and secondly, coding of the information is more easily achieved for subsequent analysis. With questions of this type, it is necessary to ensure that the alternatives offered are mutually exclusive, to avoid confusion for the respondent. Careful consideration was given to feedback obtained from the pilot study

on this point. Also, to ensure that all possible categories were covered, an "Other" category was included at the bottom of each list of alternatives.

6.3.2.2.3 Layout of the questionnaire:

Finally, sequencing of questions was also considered. Questions were grouped into five categories as outlined previously (Demographics, Career factors, Promotion, Workplace environment, and Workplace participation). This grouping was carried out to avoid confusion among the respondents, and to enable ease of coding and response analysis. The final questionnaire was quite long, being 8 pages (double sided) in length. However, the length was considered necessary in order to adequately address the five research categories mentioned above.

Questions relating to demographic data were considered to be an important part of the data collection process in this research. In surveys that deal with organisational factors, demographic data is considered important, as it will enable a full description of the sample characteristics to be recorded (Sekaran, 2000). As the questionnaire was confidential in nature, and hence did not require the name of the respondent, a decision was made to place these items at the start of the questionnaire. In addition the completed confidential questionnaires were mailed directly to the researcher, and not made available to the Human Resource Department or the organisation involved. It is believed this would have enhanced a sense of security in responding openly. Although some researchers (e.g., Oppenheim, 1986) state that such personal data should be requested at the end of the questionnaire, others, for example Sekaran (2000) consider that placing these questions at the front of the

questionnaire may assist respondents to "psychologically identifying themselves with the questionnaire, and feel more committed to respond" (p.241). This was the approach taken, and therefore no 'warm-up', general styled questions were thought necessary.

Within the five categories listed above, questions were devised of a general nature, with specific questions following from these. For example, a general type question "Have you ever been asked to geographically relocate to another town/city for your career" (Question 11), was followed with a more specific question: "What impact did this [relocation] have on your career?" (Question 13). That is, questions were designed to have the more general, easy to answer responses first, followed by the more specific, possibly more difficult to answer questions.

6.3.2.3 Classification data or Personal information:

A final question asked respondents the following: "Please indicate if you would be willing to be interviewed at a later stage (for approximately 45 minutes) (Question 58). If respondents were willing to participate in an interview, they filled in their names, addresses and phone contact details for future correspondence. Questionnaire numbers linked those not giving names to organisations only. A number was allocated to each questionnaire before administration, and this number was used to sort completed questionnaires into organisation categories.

Finally, the layout of the questionnaire was designed to be as clear as possible, so that the appearance of the questionnaire was not disconcerting. Instructions for filling in the questionnaire were prominently placed on the top of the first page.

6.3.2.4 Measure Development:

The questions were divided into three main categories: (i) fact, (ii) attitude, (iii) and perceptions. The questions of fact dealt primarily with the demographic questions set out at the front of the questionnaire. These questions included sex, age, educational qualifications, living arrangements, and parenthood. Twenty two factual questions were also used to elicit information on the number of organisations worked for, the length of time in the current position, relocation and questions relating to work experience and promotion.

Questions of attitude were included to ask about respondents' evaluations of other people or events within the organisational setting. In essence, attitude refers to emotions or feelings that underpin evaluations. Attitudes differ to values, although they are interrelated. Attitudes have been defined as "relatively stable clusters of feelings, beliefs, and behavioural predispositions" (Greenberg & Baron, 1993, p.156). An example is found in Question 14, which asked: "What effect has your most significant mentoring relationship played in your career advancement in this organisation?" In all, 11 questions were designed to elicit information on respondents' attitudes.

Questions were also designed to tap perceptions of organisational events, career development and various issues relating to promotion. As outlined in Chapter 4, perceptions are involved when individuals make interpretations about sensory impressions in an attempt to give meaning to their environment. It is "the process through which we select, organize, and interpret information brought to us by our senses in order to

6.3.2.4.1 Level of measurement:

Various measurement scales were utilised in the design of the questionnaire. A scale has been defined as "a tool or mechanism by which individuals are distinguished on how they differ from one another on the variables of interest to our study" (Sekaran, 2000, p.187). The following section details the scales employed.

Nominal scale: These scales allow subjects to be assigned to certain mutually exclusive categories, and were primarily used to address the questions of fact. In particular, the demographic section of the questionnaire (e.g., sex, age, educational qualifications, living arrangements, and parenthood) allowed respondents to be assigned to a non-overlapping category.

Summated Ratings method (the Likert scale):

This scale is commonly used for measuring attitudes because it is simple to complete, and analyse. Because the questionnaire focused primarily on attitudes, summated rating methods (Likert scales) were used extensively throughout the survey. Respondents indicated their attitudes

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toward a statement by checking how strongly they agreed or disagreed on a 5-point scale. Research has indicated that this type of scaling permits an accurate measure of attitudes because respondents may agree or disagree with various statements that range from positive to negative (Zikmund, 2000). Within the questionnaire, Likert scales were used to measure attitudes toward career development, promotional factors of importance, attitudes of others within the workplace environment, opportunities to influence decision making, attitudes toward important behavioural and attitudinal characteristics to achieve senior management promotion, and attitudes regarding what senior managers value in order for middle managers to achieve promotion to senior management. addition, attitudes toward common explanations that have been advanced to account for women not achieving senior management positions in greater numbers were assessed by this scale, as well as attitudes toward commitment, motivation, and job satisfaction. All of the above were measured by statements ranging from the negative, for example "No opportunity" to the positive, for example "A lot of opportunity".

In terms of analysis, Likert scale responses are considered as interval scales, as "the difference in the responses between any two points on the scale [are] the same" (Sekaran, 2000, p.198). Although there is some debate about whether the scales should be treated as interval or ordinal data, Likert scales were treated as interval scales in this thesis.

Interval scale:

Interval scales allow statistical analysis of the data, and means and standard deviations may be computed from the respondents' responses.

Furthermore, it allows the researcher to assess the differences, the order, and the equality of the magnitude of the differences in the variable.

6.3.2.5 Measures for the survey:

As some authors (e.g., Bone, 1994) have raised the possibility of a backlash against research which is perceived to be based on 'women's issues', care was taken to design questions for the survey which would be of interest and relevant to both sexes. Therefore, questions were designed to elicit attitudes toward various aspects of the managerial role, and specifically to assess the perceptions of respondents to various promotional requirements within their organisations. As outlined earlier in this chapter, three areas of research were addressed in this study. These were the areas relating to person-centred, gender-stereotype and perception literature. In the first two research areas, a list of managerial competencies as outlined in Chapter 2, formed the basis of the measures. A list of all of the measures used in this study are detailed below.

6.3.2.5.1 Person-centred measures:

Career Commitment.

Questions relating to career commitment were based upon literature which considered low commitment as a possible explanation to account for the small numbers of women in senior management roles (Marshall, 1984; Still, 1990; 1997). Three questions were used. Respondents were asked "How would you describe the degree of commitment to management as a career in your organisation from (1) yourself, (2) managers of your sex, and (3) managers of the opposite

sex"? All had a 5 - point response scale (1 = Very uncommitted; 5 = Very Committed).

Career Motivation.

Questions relating to career motivation were based upon literature that has considered the perception that women have low motivation towards a career in management (e.g., Marshall, 1984; Gallos, 1995). Three questions were used to indicate career motivation. Managers were asked to describe the degree of motivation to management as a career from (1) themselves, (2) managers of their own sex, and (3) managers of the opposite sex. All had a 5 - point response scale (1 = Very unmotivated; 5 = Very Motivated).

Relocation.

One item was used, based on the geographic mobility scale reported by Stroh *et al.* (1992), in which respondents were asked to indicate the number of times they had relocated for their current employer. In the current study, respondents were asked if they had relocated to another town/city as a result of a request from an employer. A Yes/No response was required.

Educational qualifications.

One item was used to ascertain educational levels of the sample. Respondents were asked "What is the highest level of formal education that you have obtained?" Six options were given; 'Year 11, High School', 'Year 12, High School', 'TAFE (or other College)', 'University qualification', and 'Other (Please specify). Lack of qualifications have been proposed as

a major reason to explain the small numbers of women in senior management roles (Still, 1988; 1990).

Work related experience.

This item was included in the survey to allow a distinction to be made between the importance of educational qualifications compared with appropriate work experience in women's career advancement. Inadequate work-related experience has been considered as a variable in hindering management career advancement for women (Ohlott, et al. 1994; Still, 1993; Tharenou, 1990; Tharenou et al. 1994).

6.3.2.5.2 Gender stereotype measures:

Perceptions of female managers' Career Commitment.

This measure was identical to that described under the personcentred measures. The focus for the analysis was on the second and third choices, i.e. 'managers of your sex', and 'managers of the opposite sex'.

Perceptions of female managers' Career Motivation.

This measure was identical to that described under the personcentred measures. The focus for the analysis was on the second and third choices, i.e. 'managers of your sex', and 'managers of the opposite sex'.

Perceptions of female managers' Relocation availability.

The research question pertaining to this item is as follows: "Will fewer women in management have received a request to geographically relocate for their career"? Therefore, the measure for this item asked: "Have you ever been asked to geographically relocate to another town/city for your career?" A Yes/No response was required. The reasoning behind this question is that if less women have been asked to relocate for

their careers, it can be implied that there is a perception that women are less available to geographically relocate.

Perceptions of female managers' educational qualifications.

This question related to perceptions of female managers' education qualifications, and was based upon studies that have reported negative perceptions about the educational qualifications of female managers (e.g., Still, 1992). Managers were asked to respond to the following statement: "In terms of educational qualifications to fill senior management positions, do you think that in general, women in your organisation are...?". Four options were available: 'Not as well qualified as their male counterparts', 'Equally qualified as their male counterparts' and 'Better qualified than their male counterparts'. A 'Don't Know' category was also included.

Perceptions of female managers' work-related experience.

This item was included in the survey to differentiate between perceptions of educational qualifications and work experience. Managers were asked to respond to the following statement: "In terms of work-related experience, do you think that in general, women in your organisation are...?" Four options were available. 'Not as experienced as their male counterparts'; 'Equally experienced as their male counterparts', and 'More experienced than their male counterparts'. A 'Don't Know' category was included.

6.3.2.5.3 Perception measures:

The following perception measures were explored.

Workplace environment.

Based on the report by Russell Reynolds Associates (1990), respondents were asked three questions. Firstly, "In your organisation, toward you or other managers of your sex, how would you typically describe the general attitude of...?" Two options were available. 'Superiors' and 'Subordinates'. Secondly, "In your organisation, towards managers of the opposite sex, how would you typically describe the general attitude of...?" Two options were available. 'Superiors' and 'Subordinates'. Thirdly, "In general, how would you judge the attitudes toward you from the following...?" Four options were available. 'Peers', 'Subordinates', 'Superiors', and 'Client/customers'. All of these questions had a 5 - point response scale (1= Very hostile; 5 = Very supportive).

Organisation culture.

Based on the Russell Reynolds Associates (1990) report, respondents were asked three questions. Firstly, "In your organisation, are there opportunities to influence decision making at senior levels of management for...?". Three options were given. 'You', 'Managers of your sex', and 'Managers of the opposite sex'. This question had a 5 - point response scale (1 = No opportunity; 5 = A lot of Opportunity). Secondly, "In your organisation, is there adequate support for potential to be reached for ...?" Three options were given. 'You', 'Managers of your sex', and 'Managers of the opposite sex'. This question had a 5 - point response scale (1 = Very inadequate; 5 = Very adequate). Thirdly, "How long do you

think it will take before women in this organisation fill 50% of senior management positions?" Six choices were given. 'Women already fill 50% of senior management positions', 'Don't know', 'Up to 5 years', 'Between 5-10 years', 'More than 10 years', 'Never'.

Organisation Policies.

Based on the work of Cahoon (1991) and Bellamy and Ramsey (1994), respondents were asked about two areas of policy; one relating to Performance Appraisals, and the other relating to Equal Employment Opportunity. Four questions were asked to cover these areas. Firstly, "How effective do you think your organisation's Performance Appraisals are in general for giving staff:" Two choices were given. 'Accurate feedback about work', and 'constructive suggestions for performance improvement'. A 5 - point scale (1 = Very ineffective; 5 = Very effective) was the range of choice. Secondly, "Does your company have an Equal Employment Opportunity policy?". Thirdly, "Has your company made its EEO policy known throughout the organisation?". Finally, "Do you think your company actually implements EEO according to this policy?" Three choices were given for each of these questions. 'Yes', 'No', and 'Don't know'.

Perceptions of Opportunities for Advancement.

Firstly, two questions were asked, based on Russell Reynolds Associates (1990) work; respondents were asked if they felt all middle managers in their organisation had the same opportunity for advancement. Responses were categorical, 'Yes' or 'No'. Respondents were then asked "If no, who gets the opportunities, who doesn't, and why?"

Career Development Attributions.

Attributions for career progress were assessed by asking respondents to "Please indicate how important the following factors have been in developing your career to date". A 5-point response scale (1 = hindered a lot to 5 = helped a lot) was provided. The 18 items were drawn from previous research into career development. They were political awareness (Mainiero, 1994), doing the job well (Marshall, 1984; Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990), being a team player (Kakabadse & Margerison, 1987), educational qualifications (Still, 1988; 1990): determination to succeed (Still, 1993; Sinclair, 1994), communication skills (Ruderman et al, 1995), integrity, colleagues, family support and societal attitudes (Kisch & Ryan, 1991), self confidence (Snyder, 1993), stereotyping (Bellamy & Ramsay, 1994); parental role, ability to relocate (Davidson & Cooper, 1992), role models (Gold & Pringle, 1988), gender (Hede & Dingsdad, 1994), formal and informal organisational policies (Stewart & Gudykunst, 1982).

Perceptions of factors that influenced the last Promotion.

Attributions for achievement of the last promotion were assessed by asking respondents to "Please indicate how important a role the following factors played in your last promotion". A 5-point response scale was provided (1 = Very unimportant, to 5 = Very important). Twelve items for this question were drawn from previous research into explanations for promotion achievement. They were: strategic vision (Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990), years of experience (Stroh *et al.* 1992), range of experience (Kakabadse & Margerison, 1987; Still, 1993), personality

(Davidson & Cooper, 1992), potential for development (Ruderman et al. 1995), mentoring relationship (Pringle & Goyma, 1989; Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990), educational qualifications (Still, 1990; Vilkinas, 1995), specific training (Tharenou *et al.* 1994), gender (Hede & Dingsdad, 1994), luck (Pringle & Goyma, 1989), industriousness, and success in a previous project (Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990).

Perception of Promotion requirements.

Twenty four items were used to describe the behavioural and attitudinal characteristics the literature has reported are important to achieve promotion to senior management. In the present study, Managers were asked to rate, on a 5 - point response scale (1 = Very unimportant; 5 = Very Important) the following question: "In your opinion, how important should it be to possess the following behavioural and attitudinal characteristics in order to achieve promotion to senior management positions in your organisation?"

Questions relating to promotion requirements were based upon previous research which considered influences on management promotion, and were as follows: Ability to anticipate organisational needs (Davidson & Cooper, 1992), Ability to take risks (Kakabadse & Margerison, 1987; Baack, et al. 1993), Ambition, Communication skills, Effectiveness as a delegator, Endurance, Industriousness, Intelligence, Knowledge, Leadership, Powerful allies and Responsibility (Kakabadse & Margerison, 1987), Deference to superiors (Gallese, 1991), Discretion (Davidson & Cooper, 1992), Educational qualifications (Jaskolka, Beyer & Trice, 1985; Pringle & Goyma, 1989; Tharenou, 1990), Enthusiasm (Pringle & Goyma,

1989), Experience (Ruderman, et al. 1995), Flexibility to change (Baack et al. 1993), Loyalty and Motivation (Davidson & Cooper, 1992), Personality (Tharenou, 1995), Popularity and Strategic Vision (Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990) and Specific skills (Stewart & Gudykunst 1982).

Perceptions of Senior Management's Promotion requirements.

Questions relating to perceptions of senior management's promotion requirements were based on previous research into influences on management promotion, and are listed in the previous question relating to promotion requirements. An additional two items, attractiveness and likeability/sociability were added to the previous 24 items, as some research has reported that 'attractiveness' (Heilman & Guzzo, 1978; Sinclair. 1994). 'appearance' (Hede & Dingsdag. 1994) 'likeability/sociability' (Fritchie, cited in Davidson & Cooper, 1992; Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990) were important factors in senior management decisions relating to promotability of middle managers. Therefore, twenty six items were used to describe the attributes that middle managers perceived senior managers would value in middle managers. were asked to rate on a 5 - point response scale (1 = Very Unimportant; 5 Very Important) how important they thought it was to senior management that middle managers possessed each attribute in order to achieve promotion to senior management positions.

After the development of the questionnaire, a pilot study was carried out.

6.3.2.6 Pilot Study:

After approval was sought, and obtained from the Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans, Monash University (a copy of this letter is found in Appendix 2), the pilot study was carried out. This was conducted to ensure that respondents were clear on the instructions given, that the questions were unambiguous, and to evaluate the time it would take to complete the survey.

Fifty managers were invited to participate in the pilot survey. They were employees of either a large manufacturing company in rural Victoria, or a national financial institution. The two organisations were contacted by letter, and a follow up telephone call. Permission was granted to post 25 surveys to each organisation.

All respondents were considered to be middle managers by the senior manager in the respective organisations. Middle managers were defined as those who reported to senior managers, and who had lower level managers, such as supervisors, reporting to them. The surveys were delivered to the participating organisations, and 35 were returned completed. This represents a 70% return rate. According to Babbie (1999), this is considered as a "very good" response rate (p. 240). Results from the pilot study were not included in the final sample data.

Written comments regarding clarity of questions and design of the survey were invited at the end of the survey. These comments were analysed, and they highlighted some minor problems with the survey. Two questions were revised by rewording the instructions prior to the question, and some questions were combined or deleted. This step was

taken because feedback from a portion of the sample had indicated there was some redundancy in some of the questions, and the length of the survey (68 questions) made it unlikely that the response rate would be sufficiently high in the final survey. A copy of the Pilot Study, and a list of the questions deleted or combined is presented in Appendix 3. These steps led to the final survey, which was titled 'Attitudes to Promotion' and comprised 58 primary questions (see Appendix 4 for the final survey).

6.3.2.7 Recruitment of Organisations for the final survey sample:

Initially, a list of large well-known organisations in the public and private sector was made from the Melbourne white pages telephone book. The aim was to obtain 100 middle managers from each of the twelve industry classifications of the Australian Bureau of Statistics Classification groups used in this research, as set out in the Australian Bureau of Statistics Year Book, 1995, p.414. In Table 12.1 of this latter publication, nine industry divisions are listed, and Agriculture, Community Services and Government Administration and Defence were added to this list subsequently (see Australian Bureau of Statistics 6203.0, May, 1996). Details of the industry classifications used in the study are listed on page 144 of this chapter.

In order to obtain 100 middle managers from each industry group, two organisations from each industry classification were sought. Therefore, organisations were contacted who were large enough to have 50 middle managers in their employ. Contact was made by phone to the Human Resource personnel in an organisation from each industry classification, until two organisations from each industry classification had

agreed to participate in the research. On occasion, this approval was given in response to the first call made. However, some organisations contacted were already involved in a research program, or had internal commitments, and declined to be part of the present study. This then necessitated three or four phone calls to gain the cooperation of another organisation. There were also occasions where organisations suggested contact be made with their interstate branches or subsidiaries. Participating organisations were offered an aggregate summary of the findings of the research, as well as a summary of the results pertaining to their own organisation. These results were not broken down into gender categories to ensure that confidentiality was maintained.

6.3.2.8 Organisations from which the sample was drawn:

Twenty of the companies were large enough to employ a minimum of 50 middle managers. However, in the case of the Construction division, only one organisation contacted contained 50 middle managers, and therefore it was necessary to involve three additional smaller organisations to obtain a total of 100 middle managers for this division.

Of the total of twenty four organisations who participated in this study, three were drawn from the public sector, and 21 were drawn from the private sector (see Table 6.1). Seventeen organisations were Melbourne based, five were based in Sydney, one in Perth and one in Canberra. Twelve of the companies in the study were amongst the top 100 employers in Australia's Top 500 Companies (The Business Who's Who of Australia, 1997-98). Other organisations included in the study were large, well-known companies.

Table 6.1. Organisation *ABS classifications and Survey distribution and response rate.

Industry classification		Surveys	Surveys	Response Rate
(n)		Received	Distributed	(%)
		(n)	(n)	(70)
Public Sector				
		_	•	
Public Admin. & Defence	(1)	34	50	68
Community (Education)	(1)	15	50	30
Agriculture	(1)	12	50	24
Private Sector				
Manufacturing	(1)	37	50	74
4	(2)	33	50	66
Retail	(1)	42	100	42
#	(2)	18	50	36
Finance	(1)	25	50	50
u	(2)	40	50	80
Agriculture	(1)	1	50	36
Construction	(1)	21	50	42
Construction	(2)	5	7	71
Construction	(3)	6	13	46
Construction	(4)	12	30	40
Recreation	(1)	19	50	38
ų .	(2)	4	50	8
Wholesale	(2)	37	50	74
	(2)	14	50	28
Transport	(1)	36	50	72
	(2)	24	50	48
Mining	(1)	28	50	56
	(2)	8	50	10
Communication	(1)	1	50	2
	(2)	18	50	36
TOTALS:		507	1150	44
24 organisations		ŀ		(Total response
				rate).

Source: Industry classifications derived from the Australian Industrial Classification groups (ABS, 6203.0, 1996).

It will be noted from the above table that some organisations had a particularly poor response rate (e.g., Agriculture, Recreation, Mining, and Communication). The researcher has no knowledge of the reasons behind the low return rate of the first three organisations. However, in the case of the Communication organisation, major downsizing occurred in this company which resulted in an entire branch being retrenched. This

occurred shortly after the surveys had been delivered to the branch. The one completed survey was received from the only remaining middle manager in this section, who had been relocated to another part of the organisation. Despite this, it was felt that these industry classifications were still adequately represented in the sample because of the acceptable return rate of the second organisation drawn from the same industry classification group.

6.3.2.9 Administration of the survey:

Once permission had been obtained from the organisations to review and consider the survey, a covering letter, on Monash University letterhead, and a copy of the survey was sent to the Human Resource section of each organisation. This letter introduced the researcher and supervisor, and explained the survey and reasons for conducting the research (see Appendix 5). Once approval was received to participate in the study, as explained previously, surveys were numbered and given an alphabetical prefix to denote the organisation to which they were being sent. They were then either forwarded by mail, or delivered personally to the organisations where they were distributed by Human Resource Departments via internal mail to middle managers within each organisation. Stamped, addressed envelopes were attached to the surveys for reply directly to the researcher. Four weeks after the initial mail out, telephone contact was made with each of the HR personnel with whom the original communication had been made. A request was made for a company reminder to ask people who had not returned their surveys to do so within the following two weeks. Only one returned survey provided insufficient demographic detail to be included in the analysis. A further two surveys were received after data entry had been completed, so were not included.

These procedures resulted in 507 completed surveys being returned by the end of August, 1996. A response rate of 44% was achieved, and although a response rate of at least 50% is generally considered adequate for analysis and reporting (Babbie, 1999), the response rate in the current study is higher than that obtained in similar mailed survey studies (e.g., Hede & Ralston, 1993). Although not quite optimum in terms of return rates for statistical analysis, the methods of the research outlined in this chapter demonstrate that the process was thorough and rigorous, and that the data obtained was as broad, representative and 'triangulated' as possible, giving good potential for sound and informative data.

Furthermore, according to Sekaran (2000), the return rate of mail questionnaires is often considered to be low. Given this possibility, several precautions were taken in this study to ensure maximum participation. These are set out below.

6.3.2.9.1 Follow-up contact:

Firstly, time was spent initially establishing a professional relationship with various personnel in the Human Resource Departments. This made it possible to follow up by telephone and speak to a particular individual with whom a relationship had been established if responses were slow in coming in. This was only necessary for two organisations, and when the employee in the Human Resource Department was

contacted, they expressed a willingness to send an internal memorandum through the relevant departments urging the middle managers to complete their questionnaires, and return them to the researcher in the stamped, addressed envelope provided. In this way, 44% of the questionnaires were successfully completed and returned.

6.3.2.9.2 Covering letters:

Secondly, a covering letter from Monash University was attached to each questionnaire, as described above. Sekaran (2000) considers that a covering letter from a reputed research organisation is one of the factors that can improve the response rate of a questionnaire survey. This letter was co-signed by Dr. Margaret Lindorff, the original supervisor of this study, and the author. According to Zikmund (2000) when covering letters are included with questionnaires, they serve the purpose of inducing a respondent to participate in the survey, and to return the completed questionnaire. The covering letter clearly set out the aims, goals and stages of the research (Babbie, 1999). In addition, a clause was added which outlined the voluntary nature of the research, and the fact that questions could be omitted if respondents chose to do so. Attention was drawn to the fact that results would be aggregated and analysed by groups rather than individual responses. In this way, anonymity was assured, as organisations were not able to identify individual participants.

Furthermore, this letter aimed to induce in the particular respondents a willingness to participate in the study. According to Zikmund (2000), individuals with a special interest in the topic are more likely to respond to a mail survey. The issue of career advancement for

both male and female middle managers can be assumed to be pertinent, and of 'special interest'.

6.3.2.9.3 Pre-paid envelopes:

Thirdly, pre-paid envelopes are believed to help increase return rates of mail questionnaires, according to Kanuk and Berenson (1975). These were utilised in this study, and because the return address was directly to the researcher, this may have strengthened a perception of confidentiality about the survey results.

6.3.3 Stage 3: Analysis of survey

This stage of the research procedure analysed the results of the survey, and these are reported in Chapter 7 (Quantitative). Following this, an interview schedule was designed.

6.3.4 Stage 4: Interviews

It is possible that "the values, emotional drives, and motivations residing at the subconscious level are disguised from the outer world by rationalization and other ego defenses" (Malhotra, 1996, p.165), and because of this, qualitative research was added to the research design to obtain insights into the problem under study. Therefore, interviews were employed and their purpose was twofold. Firstly the aim was to understand in more depth the perspectives of the individual interviewees, and secondly, to clarify and add depth to the findings received from the quantitative data. Interviews were conducted with male and female middle managers, and male and female senior managers.

6.3.4.1 Interview procedure:

As outlined previously, one question on the survey (Q58) asked if middle managers would be willing to be contacted for an interview at a later stage. Those who were prepared to participate in an interview gave names, addresses and phone contacts. Of those who returned the survey, 70% agreed to participate in an interview. The sampling technique was as follows. An attempt was made to include one male and female middle manager from an organisation from each of the industry classifications located in Melbourne. A decision was made to confine the interviews to Melbourne for practical reasons to reduce costs for the researcher. The goal was to interview one male and one female middle manager from an organisation from each of the twelve industry classifications utilised in this study. However, as previously stated, just prior to the interviews being conducted, one organisation from the Communication industry dramatically downsized their staff numbers in the location originally contacted, and because of this, no middle managers were available for interview. Interviews were conducted with a total of ten male and 10 female middle managers.

6.3.4.2 Drawing the interview sample frame:

The procedure for contacting potential interviewees was as follows. When completed surveys were returned, they were sorted sequentially by number and alphabetical prefix (which denoted the companies participating in the research). Surveys from each of the seventeen Melbourne based companies were then checked sequentially until the names and phone numbers of middle managers who had agreed to

participate in an interview were obtained. A list was made of these names within each company. The aim was to obtain both a male and female manager who had agreed to an interview on their survey from each organisation. Contact was made directly to the first male and female middle managers on the sequentially numbered list from these organisations by telephone. On most occasions, these managers agreed to participate in the interview, and a mutually convenient time was However, in the event that a manager was not able to arranged. participate for any reason, then the next person on the list was chosen. In this way, 10 male and 10 female middle managers were interviewed. The sample was considered to be representative of middle managers (Schmitt & Klimoski, 1991) in the study sample as it included one male and female middle manager from 10 of the original industry classification organisations in the study. A decision was made that twenty interviews were sufficient to achieve the aims of conducting the interviews with middle managers, as outlined above. This decision was based on pragmatic constraints and the likelihood of saturation of some themes during the interviews.

Interviews were conducted on a mutually agreed date and time, and in all cases, a private room, office or separate space was provided by the interviewee. In this way, no interruptions were experienced. A desk or table, and two chairs were available for use. Interviews took approximately 30 minutes to complete, and were carried out in a relaxed, co-operative manner. The researcher explained that the data obtained from the interviews would be treated in a highly confidential manner, and

responses would only be used to elaborate on some of the survey results received in the writing of the thesis, and that none of the qualitative responses were to be included in the general summaries provided to the organisations. Interviews were taped (with the interviewees' permission) and brief notes were taken as interviewees responded to each question.

6.3.4.3 Interview structure:

A structured open-response interview (King, 1994) was employed because the focus was on a descriptive account of various perceptions and experiences. Questions were designed as basic and explanatory probes (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Lowe, 1991) to categorical or short answer responses received on the survey. Where appropriate, the funnel technique (Schmitt & Klimoski, 1991) was employed to elicit more specific questions from an initial broader question. Data was analysed by the use of editing analysis (King, 1994). This technique requires the interpreter to search the text for meaningful segments, compiling a summary that contains the essential core of the respondent's views. In this way, interpretations emerge from analysis of a particular theme or category and then are repeatedly compared with the original textual data.

This constant comparative method allows for continual comparison of research interpretations against the original data (Crabtree & Miller, 1992). The technique is used to develop grounded theory, however, in the present study, a version of this constant comparison methodology was employed. No attempt was made to develop grounded theory from the survey data, rather the information received during interviews was used to elaborate on the quantitative data received from the surveys. It was

believed that including the interviews in the research project allowed the validity of the survey results to be strengthened by this additional data source. In this way, a degree of triangulation was added to the study.

6.3.4.4 Interview schedule:

Eighteen questions were included to attempt to acquire a deeper understanding of individual's perceptions as they related to organisational events (King, 1994), and individual experiences. Five primary questions were the focus, as these picked up the managerial competency areas outlined in Chapter 2. These areas encompassed issues relating to commitment and motivation to management careers, geographic relocation, educational qualifications, and work related experience. The resultant themes arising from these various areas are discussed in Chapter 8. A copy of the middle manager interview schedule is found in Appendix 6.

6.3.4.5 Senior management interviews:

In addition to interviews with middle managers, interviews were conducted with senior management. The decision was made to include senior managers as this allowed a comparison between the middle managers and senior managers views and perspectives. In this way, any differences in perception between middle managers and senior managers would become evident. These managers were recruited in the following manner. When interviews with middle managers were being set up, potential interviewees were asked to suggest a senior manager in their organisation who could be contacted by the researcher, with a view to

inviting their participation. An attempt was made to contact one female and one male senior manager from each organisation from which the middle managers were drawn. However, this was not possible because a fairly high number of senior managers were unavailable at the time the interviews were conducted due to overseas or interstate trips. Therefore, the final number of senior managers interviewed was 14 (9 male, 5 female). This number of senior managers was deemed to be sufficient for the purposes of comparison with middle managers perceptions regarding promotion. Similar themes were chosen to those explored in the middle manager interviews.

Contact was then made by telephone, and a brief description of the research was given. Following this, a mutually convenient interview time was arranged and semi-structured interviews were conducted. The qualitative data obtained from interviews with both middle and senior managers is presented in Chapter 8. A copy of the senior managers interview schedule is found in Appendix 7.

Once again, a private area was provided for the interview by the senior manager, and this typically was their own office. These interviews were conducted in the same manner to the middle manager interviews, although on some occasions, time pressures were experienced by the interviewees. Apart from this, no obvious difference in status relationship toward the researcher was evident.

The schedule for the senior managers was made up of fifteen primary questions, but as with the middle manager interviews, the focus was on the five areas of managerial competencies mentioned previously.

The results obtained from these five areas during the interviews with male and female senior managers are elaborated and discussed in Chapter 8.

6.3.5 Stage 5: Critique of results and framework development

In this stage of the research procedure, results obtained during Stages 3 and 4 will be compared and critiqued. A framework arising from this analysis will be derived, and presented in Chapter 9.

6.3.6 Stage 6: Testing of framework

In this final stage, the results of the framework testing, in the form of interviews with two senior female managers, and one senior female academic, will be reported. A discussion arising from their comments will be presented in Chapter 10, which will conclude the thesis.

6.4 Summary

This chapter has outlined the research procedure for the study, which included the literature reviews, quantitative data production, quantitative analysis and interviews. The three research areas and the measures employed in this study were also detailed. These were the person-centred measures, the gender stereotypical measures, and the perceptual difference measures. Information obtained from these three areas will be used to design a modified perceptual framework representing the influences of social factors on female managers' perceptions of career advancement in their management careers. The following chapter details the quantitative results of the measures described in this chapter.

CHAPTER 7

Results (Quantitative)

...a quantitative approach...is objective in nature and concentrates on measuring phenomena. Therefore, a quantitative approach involves collecting and analysing numerical data and applying statistical tests (Hussey & Hussey, 1997, p. 12).

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the data gathering techniques employed in this study. The measures utilised in the survey were also detailed. This chapter analyses the quantitative results obtained from the survey and these results are presented in three sections. The personcentred measures will be examined, followed by the gender stereotype measures. Finally, perception measures will be explored. Firstly, a description of the sample will be made.

7.2 Description of the sample

Respondents for this survey were 351 male managers and 156 female managers. The majority of the sample, 446, (88%), were drawn from the private sector, and 61 subjects (12%) were drawn from public sector organisations. All managers in the sample were classified as middle managers by the Human Resource Department of the organisation in which they were employed. The majority of male managers were aged between 35-39, whereas the majority of female managers were under 35 years of age. A university degree was the highest level of education

received by the majority of the sample, with a slightly higher proportion of female managers receiving this qualification. More male managers lived in a couple relationship, had dependent children at home, and had more pre-school children than did their female counterparts. Both male (83%) and female (76%) middle managers in the sample stated that they wished to obtain a senior management position during their managerial career. The following table sets out the major demographic characteristics of the sample.

Table 7.1. Main Demographic Characteristics of the Sample by sex.

		Male (%) (n = 351)	Female (%) (n = 156)
Age			
	Under 30	9	31
	30-34 .	16	27
	35-39	24	14
	40-44	19	12
	45-49	17	12
	50-54	10	5
	55-59	5	-
	60-64	.3	-
University Education		50	52
Family structure	Couple	89	66
	Dependent Children at home	66	21
	Number of Pre-school children		
	(0)	65	86
	(1)	25	11
	(2)	8	3
	(3)	2	-
	(4)	.3	-

The following section elaborates on these demographic characteristics in more detail.

7.3 A profile of the contemporary Australian middle manager

Respondents were asked "Which best describes your living arrangements?" Single, couple and 'other' were the choices given to the respondents. This table clearly illustrates the disproportionate numbers of men and women who are single, or who are living in a couple arrangement in the present sample. Almost three times the number of females were single, compared to the male respondents. In addition, 66% of the female respondents classified their living arrangements as 'couple', while 89.2% of the male respondents did so. A small number of both men and women designated their living arrangements as 'other', but this group did not elaborate on what this arrangement was.

Given the large proportion of women in the sample who were under 35 years of age, it is reasonable to assume that this may account for the high proportion of women who are single. Despite the fact that more women live alone in general in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 6224.0, 1996) (for example 12% of women, and 10% of men lived alone in 1996) the figure in the present sample for women is considerably higher (30.8% compared to 10.5% of males).

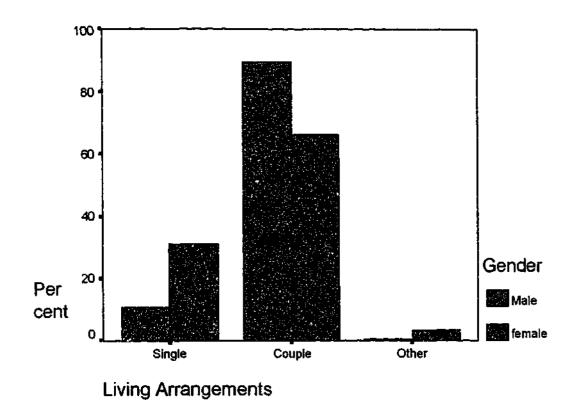
7.3.1 Living arrangements

A comparison of people living in couple relationships in the general population, and in the sample of this study, is very interesting. The Australian Bureau of Statistics figures for 1996 indicate that 59.1% of women lived in a couple relationship, compared to 61.4% of men

(Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996, 6224.0, p.22). In addition, 78% of female managers in Australia are reported to be married (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996; Tharenou, 1999a). The number of female managers living in a couple relationship (which will include married respondents) in the present study (66%) is a significant decrease in this figure. In addition, the study sample have a significantly higher proportion of males who live in a couple relationship, compared to Australian Bureau of Statistics figures, and this could be a reflection of the age of the male cohort.

One can only assume that such a living arrangement would be beneficial to men pursuing a career in management. Research has shown, and continues to show that when women and men are in a couple relationship, women continue to take the majority of the responsibility for the household chores and child care (Davidson & Cooper, 1992; Pringle & Tudhope, 1996). As Gutek, Nakamura and Nieva (1981) have pointed out, there is a reverse order of intrusion for men and women, which may account for some of the negative stereotypes attached to women in management roles. For example, work roles may intrude into family time for men (e.g. a late meeting), but women are viewed negatively if they allow the reverse to happen (e.g. leaving early to care for a sick child) (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). The following Figure outlines the results received in relation to the living arrangements of the current sample.

Figure 7.1. <u>Living arrangements by gender.</u>

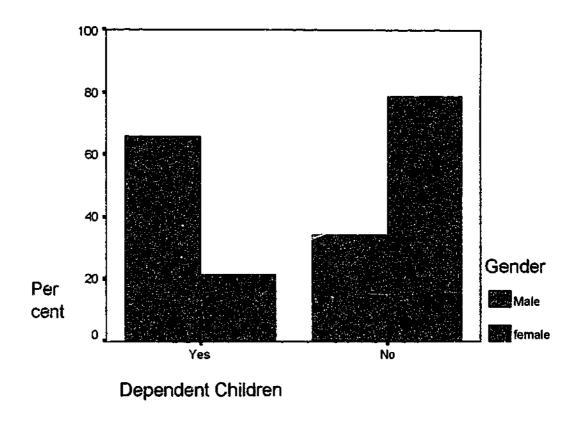


7.3.2 Dependent children

The sample were then asked: "Do you have dependent children living with you?" No age limit was given with this question, so a dependent child could include a son or daughter who may be living at home, but possibly unemployed. Figure 7.2 illustrates clearly the disproportionate numbers of men and women who have dependent children living with them. Almost 80% of the women in the sample had no dependent children. A significantly greater proportion of men (65.8%, compared to 21.3% of women) responded positively to this question. Once again, a comparison with Australian Bureau of Statistics data is informative. In 1996 in Australia, 28.5% of women who lived in a couple relationship had dependents, compared to 29.8% of men. The percentage of women with dependent children who were single was 5.9%, compared

to 0.9% of men in the same circumstances (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996, 6224.0, p.22). This suggests that a greater proportion of males in the present sample had dependent children than in the general population in 1996. Slightly less women in the present sample had dependent children than women in the general population.

Figure 7.2. Dependent children by gender.



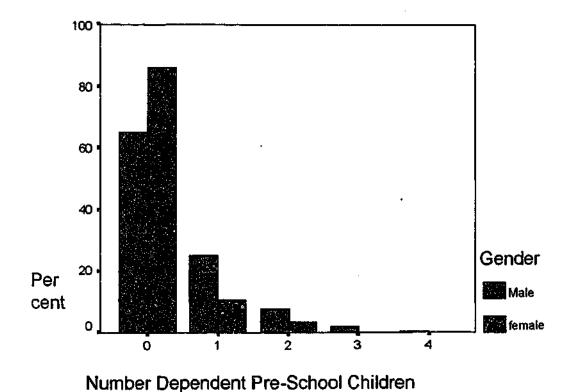
7.3.3 Pre-School age children

Respondents were also asked: "How many pre-school age children do you have living with you?" As can be seen from this table, the vast majority of women in the sample are currently childless (86% compared to 65% of men). Greater proportions of men have one or two children. A clear message appears to be that men can have children and be managers, and that women cannot, or are much less likely to be able to. The implication of this is quite striking. One of the commonly held views of

women in management is that they are 'uncommitted' or 'unreliable' in management, as they have family commitments, or will leave their organisation to start a family (e.g., Still, 1997).

The figures above and below indicate that this has not happened for at least 86% of the female sample in the present study. Only 10.7% of women had one child, and 3.3% had two children. No females in the sample had 3 or 4 children. Therefore, a very small percentage of the female sample had any children. It would seem that family commitments cannot be considered to be a viable justification for women not reaching senior management positions in greater numbers. Figure 7.3 outlines the results obtained.

Figure 7.3. Number of pre-school dependent children by gender.



7.3.4 Work arrangement changes due to child-care responsibilities

A further question was asked of the sample. "How frequently do you have to change your working arrangements because of child care responsibilities, such as a child's illness?" Obviously, as such a small percentage of women in this sample had dependent children, it is not surprising to note that a higher percentage of women never have to change their work arrangements because of child care duties. However, of interest in this graph is the realisation that males state that they do change their work arrangements because of child care arrangements more frequently than women. For example, 35.3% of men believe they changed their work arrangements on a 'seldom' basis (compared to 10.5% of women), and 10.1% 'occasionally' (compared to women, 8.9%). However, only 1.8% reported that they have to change their work arrangements 'often'. In contrast, 2.4% of women responded in a similar fashion. Therefore, the reality appears to be that men, more frequently than women, report changing their working arrangements because of child care responsibilities in this sample. Given the proportion of males who had dependent children in this sample, such results are understandable.

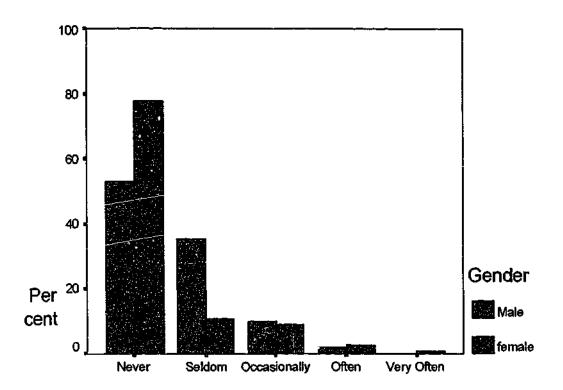
This again challenges the commonly held belief that women are unreliable in the role of management because of their responsibilities to their children. In a large study into the barriers to women working in the Australian finance industry, Still (1997) reports that 37% of men in the sample of 3888 employees (2360 female and 1528 males) believe that "Women are less committed to their careers because they have babies and leave the company while their children are young", and that 16% of

1/0/

men in this survey also responded "Because of child-bearing and child-rearing, women will never be able to make it to the top in finance companies" (p.47). It would seem that these attitudes to women working in the realms of top positions of management, are deeply entrenched, despite the contradictory reality of many women who do not have children or family commitments, and who are currently working in management roles.

As mentioned previously, empirical studies have also reported that when women do exit from a position in an organisation, family responsibilities are only given as a reason for departure by a small minority of women (Bellamy & Ramsay, 1994). Furthermore, in a study by Brett and Stroh (1994) it was reported that women who had both a career and a family were less likely to leave, compared to their single colleagues. This suggests that it is not realistic to assume that 'all women' will leave their organisation for family reasons. The following Figure outlines the results of this question.

Figure 7.4. Percentage of managers who change work arrangements due to child care duties.



Change Work Due To Child Care

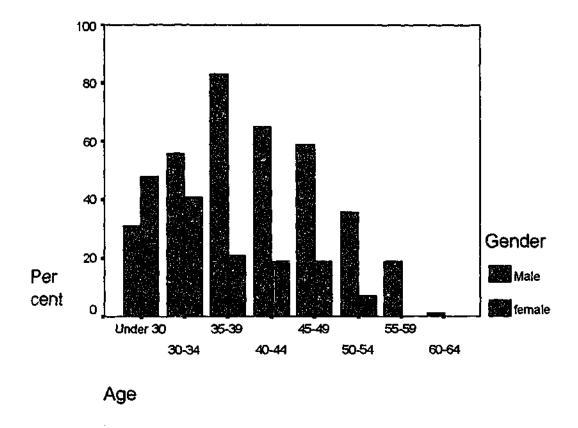
7.3.5 Age

The high proportion of young women in the sample may explain the low numbers of women who had children. For example, the vast majority of the female sample in the present study were under 35 years of age (56% compared with 25% of males). This figure is lower than that reported by Still (1993) in her 1991 study where two thirds of her sample were under 40 years of age.

However, a dramatic change occurred in the 35-39 years of age group, where male managers became predominant (24% compared to 14% of females). One reason for this could be that from 35 years of age, the percentage of women managers decline because this age corresponds with what is commonly perceived to be the last 5 years or so to have a child. However, this is older than the average age in Australia

industry, and continuity of work experience. Company tenure and total years of work experience has been reported to be positively related to managers' promotions (Stroh, et al. 1992), levels and pay (Tharenou, 1997). Therefore, if women are not represented equally over the age of 34, there are obviously less of them to choose from when senior promotions are considered. Figure 7.5 below outlines the male and female age groups of the sample.

Figure 7.5. Age of sample by sex.



7.3.6 Educational qualifications

Respondents were asked "What is the highest level of formal education that you have obtained? The most striking finding (see Figure 7.6) is the similarity in educational qualifications obtained by both males and females in the present sample. For example, of those who completed year 11 high school, 11.7% were male, and 11% were female. Similar

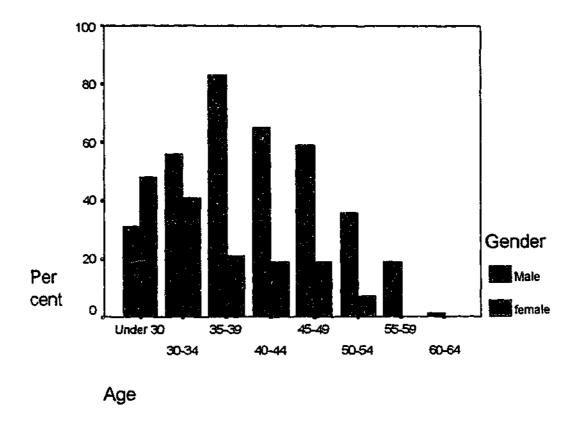
considered as "prime child bearing ages", which is 25-34 year group (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 4124.0, 1997, p.71). This suggests that women working in management roles may put off having children until after they have established themselves in a career. Alternatively, it may also suggest that a large proportion of women disappear from the managerial workforce between the ages of 35-39. Possibly this group may have left to start a family, although the study by Bellamy and Ramsay (1994), which shows that only a small minority of women state that they leave their positions within organisations because of family commitments, does not support this view.

Another interesting observation from the following Figure is that at an age when women are believed to re-enter the workforce after children enter school (e.g. 35-44 years of age, see Australian Bureau of Statistics 4124.0, 1997, p.71), the number of women in middle management positions in the sample does not revert to where they were previously. In fact, the numbers of women in management over 35 do not equal those of males in any subsequent age group. Therefore, the data appears to demonstrate that most women do not return to similar positions after initially leaving in their mid 30's.

It has also been noted that when women do not remain continuously in the labour force, this has a negative effect on their career advancement (Morrison, et al. 1987). This may be a factor that helps to explain the low number of women in senior management positions. It could be assumed that 'senior' management positions are awarded to managers with some seniority and experience in the field or within the

industry, and continuity of work experience. Company tenure and total years of work experience has been reported to be positively related to managers' promotions (Stroh, et al. 1992), levels and pay (Tharenou, 1997). Therefore, if women are not represented equally over the age of 34, there are obviously less of them to choose from when senior promotions are considered. Figure 7.5 below outlines the male and female age groups of the sample.

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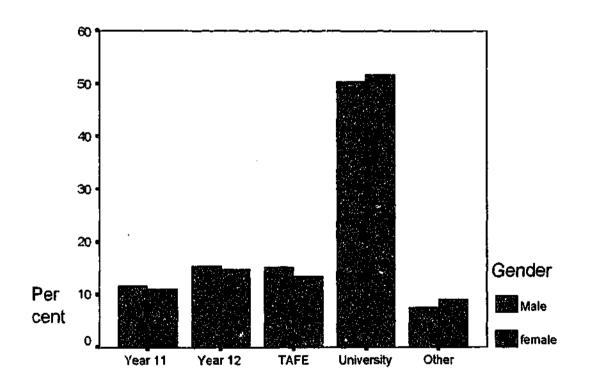


7.3.6 Educational qualifications

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results were obtained for Year 12, TAFE and 'other' categories. This latter category contained a variety of qualifications such as Chartered Accountant, Tax Agent Certificate, and Year 10 in Technical school. The other noteworthy result is the proportion of the sample who had received a University qualification. In this category, a slightly greater proportion of female managers received a university qualification compared to their male counterparts (52% females compared with 50% of the male sample). This figure is very similar to that found by Still (1993) in her 1992 study, which was that 56% had completed a tertiary qualification. The following Figure outlines the highest level of formal educational qualifications obtained by the respondents.

Figure 7.6. Level of educational qualifications obtained by sample.

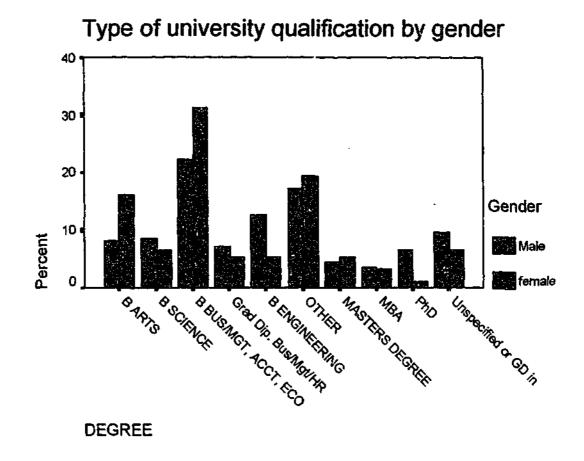


Education Qualifications

Data was also gathered on the type of qualification received by respondents. As shown in Figure 7.7, women received their university qualifications in greater numbers to their male counterparts in three areas: Arts, Business/Management/Accounting or Economics and Masters degrees. The proportion of the sample who received a Master of Business Administration degree was very similar, 3.5% of males compared to 3.2% of females. These statistics indicate that women in this sample are equally, or better qualified than the male respondents in areas which would be considered appropriate, or important, to a career in management.

The present sample, therefore replicates the reported profile of women in management. Still (1993) has reported that managerial women in her 1991 and 1992 studies had high levels of tertiary qualifications, with up to 66% holding a university qualification. Similar findings are also reported in England by Davidson and Cooper (1992). The following Figure outlines the type of qualifications received.

Figure 7.7. Type of University qualification by gender.



In summary, the analysis of the demographic data in the current sample indicates that Australian women in management are younger, and better qualified when compared to their male counterparts. In addition, they are less likely to be in a couple relationship or to have children.

7.4 Distribution of sample

A comparison was made of the gender distribution of the present sample and the labour force statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996) for the 'Managers and Administrators' category to ascertain the representativeness of the survey sample. As indicated in Table 7.2 below, the present sample is representative of five of the twelve Australian Labour Force categories. These were Agriculture, Manufacturing, Wholesale, Communication, and Government Administration and Defence.

In the other seven categories, more female managers are found in the current sample than those reported in the various occupational categories in 1995, with the exception of Education and Recreational, where the reverse was true. One explanation for this could be the choice of large organisations in the sample. Such organisations may have been more likely to have a higher representation of women than smaller companies, where a smaller number of staff, or middle managers, would be employed.

Table 7.2. <u>Distribution of sample compared with the Australian labour force* as at May, 1996.</u>

Industry Classification	Present survey (%)		Australian Labour Force (%)			Significance		
	F	М	Total	F	М	Total	χ²	р
Agriculture	23	77	100	27	73	100	NS	
Mining	17	83	100	4	96	100	8.99	<0.01
Manufacturing	10	90	100	13	87	100	NS	
Construction	20	80	100	3	97	100	14.20	<0.001
Wholesale	16	84	100	12	88	100	NS	
Retail	55	45	100	33	67	100	9.82	<0.01
Transport	43	57	100	10	90	100	27.96	<0.001
Communication	21	79	100	25	75	100	NS	
Finance	48	52	100	23	77	100	13.65	<0.001
Govt. Admin & Defence	27	73	100	26	74	100	NS	
Education	27	73	100	43	57	100	5.63	<0.02
Recreational	42	58	100	29	71	100	3.69	<0.05

NS = Not significant; indicates not significantly different from the Australian labour force.

*Note: Labour force data for occupational category "managers and administrators" (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996). This occupational group name is classified as "M & A head government, industrial, agricultural, commercial and other establishments, organisations or departments within such organisations (e.g. general managers, sales managers, farm managers and bank managers). This group does not include supervisors/overseers etc." Source: Affirmative Action Program – 1995 Progress Report", p.8.

The following section outlines the results obtained from the three groups of measures explored in this study. The results relate to the specific research questions and corresponding survey questions as set out in Chapter 5.

7.5 Person-centred measures

Five research questions addressed a series of issues that arose from the person-centred literature presented in Chapter 2. This literature encapsulates the view that gender differences in managers within the workplace could fundamentally explain the low representation of women in senior management roles. In this approach, gender is considered to be a powerful influence on the attitudes, skills and behaviour of individuals, and because of this, it has been assumed that men and women will differ in the ways they act (Parker & Fagenson, 1994). In the 1970s, research reported that men had the necessary qualities to be effective in management roles and that women did not (Schein, 1975). This perspective influenced early attempts to explain the low number of women in senior management positions, and is still believed to be a commonly held perception (Schein, 1994). The following measures were designed to test if there was any basis for the 'individual deficit' perspective, and in essence, they address the following questions:

Do managerial women differ to their male colleagues in terms of their career commitment, motivation, relocation availability, educational qualifications and work related experience?

7.5.1 Career Commitment

Lack of commitment to managerial careers has been one of the explanations proposed to explain the low number of women in senior management positions (e.g., Still, 1990; 1997). Therefore, the first fesearch question examined the possibility that women had different levels of commitment to their careers compared to their male counterparts. An Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to compare male and female views on the degree of commitment to a management career by themselves, managers of their own sex, and managers of the opposite sex. A significant difference was noted on the views of male and female managers regarding the career commitment of managers of the opposite sex [(F = 11.541, (1, 482), p < .001)]. Female managers were stronger on the belief that male managers were committed to their careers in management (M = 4.17, SD = .76) than male managers' beliefs about female managers' commitment ($\underline{M} = 3.88$, $\underline{SD} = .88$). However, there were no significant differences in the beliefs held by males and females on the level of commitment by themselves [(F = .127, (1, 500), p = .722), or beliefs about managers of the same sex [(F = 1.002, (1, 494), p = .317)]. Therefore, as women report similar personal levels of commitment to management as a career as their male colleagues, research question 1 was not supported.

7.5.2 Career motivation

Lack of motivation within managerial careers has been another of the explanations proposed to explain the poor representation of women in positions of senior management. Research question 2 therefore was designed to examine if female managers had different levels of career motivation to their male colleagues. Differences between male and females were tested on the degree of motivation to management as a career by themselves, managers of their own sex, and managers of the opposite sex. An ANOVA showed that there was a significant difference in male and female views regarding the motivation toward a management career by managers of the opposite sex [(F = 10.737, (1, 475), p = <.001)]. Female managers were stronger in their belief that male managers were motivated in their careers (M = 4.09, SD = .81) than male managers' beliefs about female managers' motivation ($\underline{M} = 3.81$, SD = .91). However, there were no significant differences in the beliefs of male and female managers in terms of their personal motivation (F = .055, (1, 496), p = .82), or motivation of managers of the same sex [(F = 3.251, (1, 488), p = .07)]. Therefore, research question 2, which considered if managerial men and women would report different personal levels of motivation to management as a career was not supported.

7.5.3 Relocation

Research question 3 explored male and female managers' experiences involving relocation for their current employer. A chi-square test was used to compare the frequencies for male and female managers who did relocate which showed a significantly greater proportion of male managers (76%) did relocate as a result of this request than did female managers (56%) ($\chi^2 = 9.04$, df = 1, p = <.005). This result provides support to research question 3.

7.5.4 Educational qualifications

The fourth research question explored whether female managers had different levels of tertiary educational qualifications compared to their male counterparts. A chi-squared test showed that there were no significant differences in the educational qualifications of males and female middle managers (χ^2 = .65, df = 4, p =0.96). Fifty percent of male managers had a university qualification compared to 52% of female managers. Therefore research question 4 was not supported.

7.5.5 Work related experience

Research question 5 explored whether managerial men and women reported different types of work experience. A chi-squared test was used to compare the frequencies of males and females who believed they had received the type of work experience or task assignments which are considered important for future promotion. Results showed a significant difference in the proportion of men (84.3%) and women (76%) who reported that they had received this type of experience ($\chi^2 = 4.30$, df = 1, p $\approx < 0.05$) thus offering support for research question 5.

In summary, of the person-centred measures explored, female and male managers did not differ in their self reports of the following managerial competencies: career commitment, career motivation, or educational qualifications. Two measures, relocation and work-related experience, indicated a significant difference between the responses.

7.6 Gender stereotype measures

The second group of research questions examined gender-stereotype measures. As set out in Chapter 3, gender stereotyping is believed to have played a major role in contributing to the low number of women in senior management. The following measures were used to examine research questions designed to explore the possibility that gender stereotyping toward female managers by male colleagues still exists in organisations today. Prior to conducting the analyses, correlations between Commitment and Motivation measures were examined to determine if there was confounding between the two sets of measures. Although there was strong association between 'Commitment to management as a career by yourself and 'motivation to management as a career by yourself, other measures were not highly correlated. Therefore, in conducting analyses, Commitment and Motivation were treated as independent measures.

7.6.1 Commitment

On this question, female managers' beliefs that males were committed to their careers was significantly stronger (\underline{M} = 4.17, \underline{SD} = .76) than male managers' beliefs (\underline{M} = 3.88, \underline{SD} = .88) that females were committed to their careers [(F =.11.541, (1, 482), P = <.001)]. This would suggest that wemen are perceived as having less commitment than men to management as a career by their male colleagues, which reflects a stereotypical view. Furthermore, such a view does not reflect the reality, as indicated by the self reports of female managers responses to research question 1. Therefore, research question 6 is supported. Although the

difference in ratings were statistically significant, comparative means varied little. Thus the significant result could be more an artefact of the large sample sizes, and needs to be interpreted with caution.

7.6.2 Motivation

Males and females differed on their beliefs about motivation of managers of the opposite sex toward a management career [(F = 10.737,(1, 475), p = <.001)], with female managers believing male managers were more motivated in their management careers ($\underline{M} = 4.09$, $\underline{SD} = .81$) than male managers beliefs about female managers ($\underline{M} = 3.81$, $\underline{SD} = .91$) motivation to their careers. Therefore, research question 7, which stated that female middle managers would be perceived by their male colleagues as having stereotypical (lower) levels of motivation to a management career than will their male counterparts, was supported. Once again, this view is at odds to the reality expressed by female managers responses to research question 2.

7.6.3 Relocation

A chi square test comparing the number of male and female managers who had been asked to relocate showed male managers had received this request more often (62%) than female managers (33%). The difference was highly significant ($\chi^2 = 35.56$, df = 1, p = <.001). Therefore research question 8, which set out to explore if fewer women in management will have received a request to geographically relocate, was supported. This may suggest a stereotypical view that female managers will not be available to relocate.

7.6.4 Educational qualifications

Research question 9 examined male and female managers' attitudes toward female managers' educational qualifications. Insufficient or inadequate educational qualifications have been proposed as another explanation for the low numbers of women in senior management roles. A chi-square test compared the number of male and female managers who considered female manager's educational qualifications as 'not as well qualified', 'equally qualified', or 'better qualified' as their male counterparts, or 'don't know'. Results showed a significant difference between the responses of the male and female middle managers ($\chi^2 = 14.17$, df = 3, p = <.005), with more males considering female managers as 'less qualified' (13% male, compared to 5% female) and more female managers saying they were 'better qualified' (16% female, compared to 7% male). Therefore, as male managers considered that women were less educationally qualified than their male counterparts to fill senior management positions, research question 9 was supported.

7.6.5 Work-related experience

Research question 10 examined the perceptions of male and female managers in relation to female managers having insufficient work-related experience in their organisations. Lack of work-related experience has been proposed as a further explanation to account for the low numbers of women who fill positions of senior management. Differences in the number of male and females reporting perceptions of female managers' work-related experience as 'not as experienced', 'equally

experienced', 'more experienced' than their male counterparts, or 'don't know' were examined.

A chi-square test showed a highly significant difference between male and female responses (χ^2 = 41.21, df = 3, \underline{p} = <.001) with a higher proportion of male managers (50%) than female managers (25%) reporting that women were less experienced than men. In contrast, a higher percentage of female managers believed that women managers had more work-related experience than their male counterparts (female 12%, male 2%). Therefore, as significantly more male managers evaluated female managers as having less work-related experience compared to their male colleagues, research question 10 was accepted.

In summary, the results from an examination of the genderstereotype measures suggest that there may be gender stereotypical perceptions of women in management relating to all of the measures tested; commitment, motivation, geographic relocation, educational qualifications and work related experience.

7.7 Perception measures

The third group of research questions examined the possibility that perceptual differences existed between managerial men and women. As discussed previously, if perceptual differences exist in the areas of work experience, organisational culture, and organisational policies, there may also be perceptual differences in relation to promotion requirements. If this is the case, such perceptual differences may play a role in women's career advancement, and hence the poor representation of women in senior management roles.

7.7.1 Work-place environment

This research question (11) considered three survey questions that examined if female managers had a different perception of aspects of their workplace environment compared to their male colleagues. Firstly, an ANOVA was used to compare the number of male and female managers views on the attitudes of superiors toward themselves, or managers of their own sex. There was no significant difference in the attitudes held by managers to this question. Attitudes of subordinates were also considered. Once again, there was no significant difference in the attitudes held by managers to this issue, although a trend in the data was noted. More male managers (58%) than female managers (48%) believed the attitudes of subordinates towards themselves, or other male managers, were 'supportive'.

These results suggest that middle managers view the attitudes of superiors and subordinates towards them in a similar fashion. It is also noted that the majority of male and female middle managers saw the attitudes as either supportive or very supportive.

The second question in this group explored how managers viewed the attitudes of superiors and subordinates to managers of the opposite sex. An ANOVA was utilised to compare male and female managers' views on their description of superiors attitudes towards managers of the opposite sex. There was a significant difference in the responses received [(F = 6.436, (1, 482), p < .05)]. Female managers felt that superiors were supportive of their male colleagues, $(\underline{M} = 4.02, \underline{SD} = .73)$ compared to the male managers $(\underline{M} = 3.82, \underline{SD} = .85)$ who thought that superiors were

supportive of their female colleagues. On the issue of attitudes of subordinates to managers of the opposite sex, no significant difference was found in the responses.

The third question considered attitudes toward the respondents themselves from four groups. These were peers, subordinates, superiors and clients/customers. An ANOVA was used to compare male and female views. No significant differences in relation to attitudes of peers, subordinates and superiors were noted. However, in relation to attitudes of clients and customers to the respondent, a significant difference was noted [(F = 8.399, (1, 494), p <.005)]. On this question, female managers reported that clients and customers were more supportive of them (\underline{M} = 4.19, \underline{SD} = .71), compared to male managers (\underline{M} = 4.00, \underline{SD} = .67).

In summary, perceptions of male and female managers appear to be very similar in relation to attitudes of superiors and subordinates toward themselves and managers of the same sex. Differences were noted however on managers of the opposite sex for superiors, but not subordinates attitudes. No differences in attitude were noted from peers, subordinates or superiors to managers themselves. However, significant differences were noted on the questions of attitudes of clients and customers, where female managers believed they received more support than male managers reported. Therefore, some aspects of the workplace environment were perceived differently by male and female managers, supporting research question 11.

7.7.2 Organisation Culture

There were three questions posed to consider aspects of organisational culture. First, respondents were asked about opportunities to influence decision makers at senior levels for themselves, managers of their own sex, and managers of the opposite sex. Comparative analyses using ANOVA showed significant differences between male and female managers' responses in two areas: the opportunity to influence decision making by managers of the same sex [(F = 6.99, (1, 494), p = <.05)], and by managers of the opposite sex [(F = 19.76, (1, 488), p = <.001)].

In terms of 'Managers of your own sex', male managers held a stronger belief that other male managers had this opportunity (\underline{M} = 3.56, \underline{SD} = .94) than female managers belief in the case of other female managers (\underline{M} = 3.31, \underline{SD} = 1.01). For 'Managers of the opposite sex', female managers were stronger on the belief that male managers had this opportunity (\underline{M} = 3.81, \underline{SD} = 1.00) compared to male managers who thought this was true of female managers (\underline{M} = 3.38, \underline{SD} = .97). This suggests that both male and female managers agree that male middle managers within their organisations have the opportunity to influence decisions at senior levels significantly more than female managers.

The second question looked at support to reach an individual's potential. An ANOVA was again conducted on the three choices given; 'You', 'Managers of your sex', and 'Managers of the opposite sex'. In relation to 'your' potential, no significant difference was noted in the responses given. However, on the question of 'Managers of the same sex', a significant difference was noted [(F = 7.02, (1, 495), p = <.05)].

Male managers were stronger on the belief that other male managers had support to reach their potential ($\underline{M} = 3.65$, $\underline{SD} = .85$), than female managers felt was true for other managers of their sex ($\underline{M} = 3.42$, $\underline{SD} = .98$). This result demonstrates that more male managers felt that other male managers had adequate support to reach their potential.

In terms of support received by 'Managers of the opposite sex', a significant difference was again noted [(F = 13.24, (1, 495), \underline{p} = <.001)]. This result indicates that female managers (\underline{M} = 3.87, \underline{SD} = .93) were stronger on the belief that male managers received very adequate support to reach their potential (\underline{M} = 3.53, \underline{SD} = .98) than male managers believed was the case for female managers.

The third question asked respondents to estimate how long it would take before 50% of female managers became senior managers in their current organisation. A chi-square test was carried out on the six response choices given. A highly significant difference was noted on the responses given by male and female managers on this question (χ^2 = 22.07, df = 5, p = .001). Results indicated that more female managers (21%) than males (14%) believed that 50% of senior managers would be women within 5-10 years. An equal number of males (22%) and females (21%) believed that such equity in promotion would 'never' occur.

In summary, the measures used to explore attitudes to organisational culture show no differences between male and female managers' beliefs about their opportunities to influence decision making at senior levels, or views relating to managers of their own sex. However, men and women differed in these views in relation to managers of the

opposite sex. More female managers felt that male managers had 'a lot of opportunity' to influence decisions at senior levels. In terms of an individual's potential, no difference was noted on the managers own responses, but when asked to consider the situation for 'Managers of the same sex', differences were noted. In this case, more male managers believed that their male colleagues had adequate support to reach their potential. In terms of 'Managers of the opposite sex', differences were also noted. Here, more female managers believed that male managers received very adequate support to reach their potential. Fewer male managers perceived this to be the case for female managers. differences were noted in the responses given by male and female managers in relation to estimating how long it would take before 50% of senior managers were women. Female managers indicated a more positive response than did their male colleagues, stating that they felt this event would occur within 5-10 years. Therefore, research question 12 was supported.

7.7.3 Organisation Policies

The four questions used to address this area focussed on two examples of organisational policies. These were Performance Appraisals and Equal Employment Opportunity.

The first question asked about the effectiveness of the current organisation's performance appraisals for giving accurate feedback about work, and constructive suggestions for performance improvement. An ANOVA test was carried out to compare male and female ratings. No

significant differences were noted for accurate feedback or constructive suggestions received.

The second question considered awareness of an Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) policy. A significant difference was noted on this question ($\chi^2 = 8.77$, df = 2, p = .012) with more males (94%) than females (86%) aware that their organisation had an EEO policy. Conversely, more female managers (12%) than male managers (6%) did not know if their organisation had this policy or not.

The third question considered whether the EEO policy had been publicised through the organisation. Once again, a significant difference was noted (χ^2 = 16.57, df = 2, \underline{p} = <.001), with more male managers (84%) compared to female managers (68%) stating the EEO policy was well known in their organisation.

The final question in this group addressed whether respondents believed their organisation "actually implemented EEO according to [this] policy". Again, a significant gender difference was noted (χ^2 = 31.95, df = 2, p = <.001). The majority of male managers (71%) believe that their companies do implement EEO properly, compared with only 48% of female managers. It is of interest to note the high proportion of female managers who responded negatively to this question (27%) or with a 'Don't Know' response (25%).

In summary, the measures employed to examine perceptions of organisational policies suggest that there are no differences in the way male and female managers perceive performance appraisals in their organisations. In terms of EEO, more males than females were aware of

10 at

their organisation's EEO policy and believed that such policies were well known throughout the organisation. More male managers than female managers also believed that such policies were actually implemented in their organisation. Therefore, research question 13 was supported.

7.7.4 Perceptions of opportunities for advancement

Research question 14 considered if female managers would have a different perception of opportunities for advancement in their organisation, than their male colleagues. A chi-square test was used to compare the number of male and females who believed that every middle manager in the organisation had the same opportunity for advancement. A Yes/No response was sought. Examination of responses showed the majority of male (55%) and female managers (64%) answered this question negatively (Yes, n = 204; No, n = 282). There were no significant differences between the two groups at the 0.05 level (χ^2 = 3.31, df = 1, p = .07) on this question. Therefore, both male and female managers had similar perceptions regarding opportunities for advancement.

Open-ended responses to the question "If no, who gets the opportunities, who doesn't, and why?" were subjected to a content analysis which identified 7 categories or themes in the data: It's 'who you know'; Depends on the area of management you are in; You have to be in the right place at the right time; Bias and discrimination; and Personal style is important, not ment, Political know-how and Inappropriate selection/recruitment policies. Examples and number of responses for each category are given below, and are represented in Figure 7.8. Of the 282 managers who reported that there were inequalities in advancement

opportunity (55% of male managers, n = 190, and 64% of female managers, n = 92), 211 respondents expanded on this question. Examples of responses in each of the seven themes are given below:

It's who you know (n = 91). For example, "Unfortunately, there seems to be an underlying attitude of 'jobs for the boys' in my organisation. Many positions especially senior ones, are not advertised and are given to 'mates' thereby making it very difficult to achieve more senior executive positions".

Depends on the area of management you are in (or geographic location) (n = 48). For example, "Opportunities can be affected by geography - those closer to Head Office seem to have more chance to be noticed. Middle managers in bigger cities get all the opportunities," and "Not all middle manager positions give the same opportunity to demonstrate capabilities. The focus is on production managing rather than support functions".

You have to be in the right place at the right time (n = 8). For example, "There is some element of right place at the right time," and "It's a matter of timing, being at the right place at the right time".

Bias and discrimination (n = 18). For example, "Specific males are chosen and subsequently trained for better positions. Generally, females don't seem to be offered the same training opportunities," and "Like most large companies, men are often chosen over women of similar performance levels".

Personal style is important, not merit (n = 14). For example, "There is a preferred personal style that appears more important than

performance," and "Opportunities given to those whose style fits more closely with the style of general managers...".

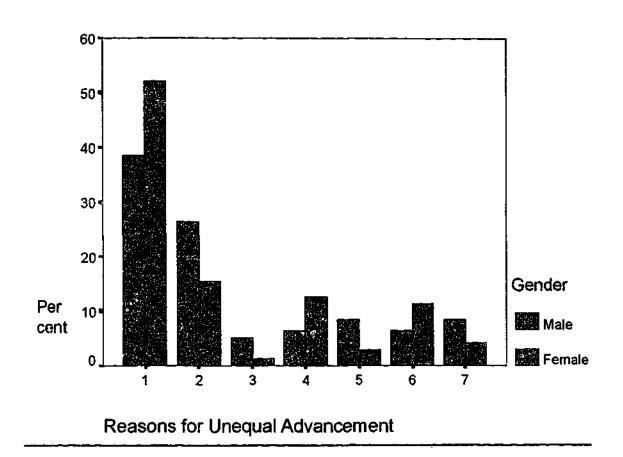
Political know-how (n = 17). For example, "Depends on political orientation, time in business, sex, age and how good at playing the game you are," and "Some opportunities are given to those with the strongest political links, as opposed to the appropriate skills and qualifications".

Inappropriate selection/recruitment policies (n = 15). For example, "We tend to promote those like us, i.e. male, heterosexual, married, children, white, western...".

Males and females differed on the reasons they gave for unequal opportunities (χ^2 = 13.209, df = 6, p = <.05). Fewer male managers (39%) than female managers (52%) believed 'Who you knew' was an important factor in advancing in their organisation in general, and fewer males (6%) than females (13%) believed that 'Bias and discrimination' were reasons for unequal advancement, as well as Political know-how (6% males compared to 11% females). In contrast, more male (26%) than female (16%) managers believed that it 'Depends on the area of management', that 'Style is important, not merit' (9% compared to 3%), and that 'The right place at the right time' (5% compared to 1%) were the reasons for not advancing in the organisation. In addition, more male (9%) than female (4%) managers believed that 'Inappropriate selection/recruitment policies' were reasons for unequal advancement opportunities. A very small percentage of respondents commented that their skills, training, or education levels were responsible for their own lack of opportunities for advancement, and hence were excluded from the

categories above. The following figure summarises the responses to this question.

Figure 7.8. Middle Managers' Reasons for Unequal Advancement.



- 1. "Who you know"
- 2. Depends on the area of management.
- 3. Right place at the right time.
- 4. Bias and discrimination.
- 5. Style is important.
- 6. Political know-how.
- 7. Inappropriate selection/recruitment policies.

In summary, it would appear that both male and female managers believed that 'who you know' is the most important reason for not advancing within organisations, with a greater proportion of female managers believing this than their male counterparts. Therefore, the results of research question 14, which explored if there were sex differences in explanations given for unequal advancement, indicate that

female managers do have different perceptions about the reasons for unequal advancement to their male colleagues thus supporting the research question.

7.7.5 Career Development Attributions

Research question 15 considered if female managers would have a different perception of factors influencing career development than their male colleagues. A principal components analysis with varimax rotation was performed on the 18 items. However, as the component transformation matrix indicated some degree of correlation between two of the factors, an oblique rotation was carried out which generated an interpretable four-factor solution (three multi-item, and one single item) which explained 44% of the total variance.

Of the 18 items included in the analysis, 14 loaded above the .5 cut-off on the four factors, and are represented in bold in the table below. The remaining 4 items did not load and were not included. The internal consistency of multi-item factors cronbach alpha coefficients (∞) were calculated which showed coefficients of .74 for Personal qualities, .60 for Gender and policies, and .44 for Social Network resources. Political awareness was a single item.

The three multi-item career progress variables were obtained by calculating the mean of responses in the appropriate factor. To facilitate further analyses, scores on the multi-item factors were summed to provide scale scores. A summary of the analysis is presented in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3. Principal Components Factor analysis of Career Development Variables with Oblique Rotation.

Career Development Items	Personal Qualities	Gender & Policies	Political Awareness	Social Network resources
Integrity	.73	05	29	02
Doing the job well	.69	01	11	.02
Self confidence	.67	.07	.26	06
Communication	.61	17	.36	.07
Team player	.60	.08	01	.02
Determination to succeed	.58	01	05	.09
Informal Organisational Policies	.05	.75	.07	.02
Formal Organisational Policies	.07	.72	11	04
Gender	02	.59	05	,06
Stereotyping	08	.52	.20	.21
Political Awareness	04	.19	.80	.01
Role Models	06	02	.13	.75
Ability to relocate	02	03	06	.57
Parental role	06	.11	25	.55

Percent of variance explained: 44%.

A discriminant analysis was carried out as this allowed for group differences to be analysed. A significant difference was found between male and females on two attributes. These were Personal qualities [(Wilks Lambda = .975, F =11.53, (1, 445), p < .001)] and Gender and policies [(Wilks Lambda = .946, F =25.23, (1, 445), p < .001)]. The following table shows the items in which sex differences were strongest; these were Personal qualities and Gender and Policies. The Standardized canonical coefficients indicated that 'Gender and Policies' was the strongest discriminator, with males higher on the belief that gender and policies had

helped their careers. In contrast, females were higher on the belief that 'Personal qualities' had helped their careers. The discriminating equation was able to correctly classify 64% of males and females. The following table shows the items that contributed significantly to the equation.

Table 7.4. Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients.

Attributions for Career Development	Standardised discriminant Co-efficient.		
Gender and Policies	.869		
Personal qualities	664		
Political awareness	.026		
Social network resources	.000		

Therefore female managers were found to have different perceptions regarding career development factors to their male colleagues, hence supporting research question 15.

7.7.6 Perception of factors that influenced the last promotion

Research question 16 was posed to examine if female and male managers had different perceptions of factors that influenced their last promotion. Responses to 12 items were subjected to a principal component analysis with varimax rotation. As the component transformation matrix indicated a relatively high correlation between some factors, an oblique rotation was then performed. Based on scree tests and extracting variables with loadings higher than .5, five multi-item factors emerged which accounted for 60% of the total variance. The item Strategic Vision did not load above .5 on any one factor, and was not retained. A summary of the analysis is presented in Table 7.5. The

internal consistency of multi-item factor Cronbach alpha coefficients (α) were calculated, which showed coefficients of .61 for Experience, .46 for Individual Qualities, and .51 for Qualifications, .28 for Luck and Gender, and .14 for Past success. Although the alphas on the latter two factors are low, they were included in the analysis because the items in each factor loaded strongly over the .5 cut-off.

Table 7.5. Principal Components Factor Analysis of Promotion Experiences Variables with Oblique Rotation.

Important issues in past Promotion	Experience	Individual Qualities	Qualifications	Luck and Gender	Past Success
Years of experience	.86	13	03	.20	02
Range of experience	.79	05	03	07	.07
Personality	.09	.76	12	.16	.02
Potential for development	09	.72	.15	18	.04
Mentoring relationship	22	.54	04	.26	12
Qualifications	13	.02	.81	.06	.17
Specific training	.32	.06	,70	01	20
Gender	.16	.17	04	.80	.05
Luck	19	13	.39	.50	02
Industriousness	.03	02	07	.32	.77
Success due to previous project	.01	.03	.12	30	.67

Percent of variance explained: 60%.

To test for sex differences in perceptions, a discriminant analysis was carried out to ascertain the ability of attributions for achievement of last promotion to separate the male and female managers. The discriminating variables included in the analysis were computed scores for the Experience, individual Qualities, Qualifications, Luck and Gender and

Past Success factors. A significant difference was found between male and female managers on two attributes. These were Experience [(Wilks Lambda = .984, F = 7.696, (1, 480), p < .05)] and Individual Qualities [(Wilks Lambda = .977, F = 11.453, (1, 480), p < .001)]. The discriminating equation was able to correctly classify 57% of cases. The following table shows the items that contributed to the equation.

Table 7.6. <u>Discriminant analysis of attributions for achievement of last promotion by sex.</u>

Attributions for achievement of last promotion	Standardised discriminan Coefficient		
Individual qualities	777		
Experience	.564		
Luck and Gender	.361		
Past success	.120		
Qualifications	007		

The standardized discriminant coefficients indicated that Individual qualities (-.77) was the strongest discriminator, with females having a higher belief that potential for development, personality and mentoring relationships played an important part in their last promotion. In contrast, male managers were more likely to believe that Experience (years of experience and range of experience) played an important role in their last promotion (.42). Therefore, female managers did hold a different perception to their male colleagues about the factors that had influenced their last promotion, supporting research question 16.

7.7.7 Explanations for why a promotion may not be achieved

Research question 17 stated that there would be sex differences in the explanations given for why a possible future promotion may not be achieved. To examine this question, managers were invited to make open-ended comments on the question "If such a promotion is not received, why do you think this will be?" Three hundred and sixty two responses were given, which were subsequently assigned to six categories: Politics; Personal inadequacy; No opportunities; Not interested; Family reasons, and Negative Stereotyping. Examples and number of responses for each category are given below.

<u>Politics</u> (n = 36). For example, "Because I'm not one of the boys.

Jobs being advertised internally is a joke. In most instances people are chosen prior to the job being advertised. This has happened to me several times!".

<u>Personal inadequacy</u> (n = 128). For example, "(I have) insufficient tertiary qualifications," and "Company want younger people with very high educational qualifications".

No opportunities (n = 95). For example, "Change in the structure of the organisation," and "Continual downward pressure to reduce staff numbers".

Not interested (n = 63). For example, "Personal choice not to drive for the opportunity," and "Will move into my own business".

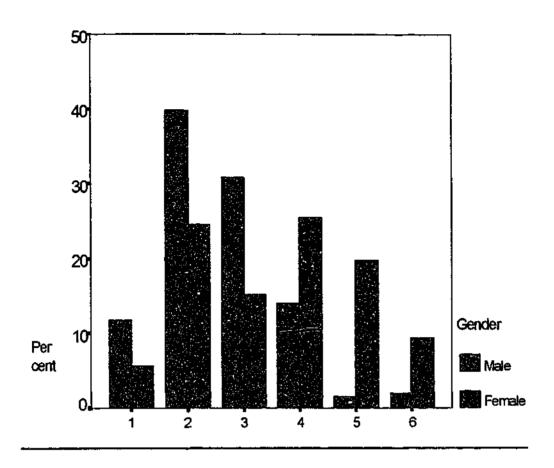
Family reasons (n = 25). For example, "Currently pregnant, wanting to wait a few years," and "Because I have made a conscious

decision to spend more time with my wife and children, and less time/commitment to work".

Negative Stereotyping (n = 15). For example, "Even if women still prove they want promotion after having children, employers (even with EEO policies) do not promote them," and "Part-time women are not seriously considered for promotions to senior ranks".

Comparative analysis using chi-square identified a statistically significant difference in frequency of responses across categories for males and females ($\chi 2 = 66.72$, df = 5, p <0.001). As shown in Figure 7.9, 'Personal Inadequacy', 'No Opportunity' and 'Politics' were the themes most frequently responded to by male managers, whereas female managers' responses indicated that 'Not Interested', 'Personal Inadequacy' and 'Family Reasons' were the most common themes. Therefore, as these results indicate that there is a difference in the perceptions of male and female managers in relation to why promotions may not be received, research question 17 is supported.

Figure 7.9. The percentages of males and females who reported on reasons for not reaching senior management positions



- 1. Politics
- 2. Personal inadequacy
- 3. No opportunities
- 4. Not interested
- 5. Family reasons
- Negative stereotyping

7.7.8 Promotion requirements

Research question 18 examined whether male and female middle managers have different perceptions about what is required of them to achieve a promotion to a senior management position. A principal components analysis with varimax rotation was performed on the 24 items. Based on scree tests and the extraction of variables which loaded above .5, five factors emerged. However, the Component Transformation Matrix indicated a relatively high correlation between the four factors, so an oblique rotation was then performed. The analysis generated four factors that were interpretable, and explained 47% of the variance. A summary of

the analysis is presented in Table 7.7. The internal consistency of multiitem factor Cronbach alpha coefficients were calculated, which showed coefficients of .80 for Leadership skills, .61 for Drive, .61 for Knowledge, and .57 for Political behaviour.

Table 7.7. Principle Components Factor Analysis of Promotion Requirement Variables with Oblique Rotation.

Promotion Variables	Leadership Skills	Drive	Knowledge	Political Behaviour
Leadership	.68	19	23	09
Strategic vision	.66	21	15	.06
Communication skills	.63	.20	.05	11
Flexibility to change	.63	.04	09	04
Motivation	.62	.09	20	03
Ability to take risks	.59	01	.28	.31
Enthusiasm	.57	.17	15	09
Ability to anticipate organisational needs	.54	.09	.03	09
Deference to superiors	18	.66	.04	.24
Ambition	.09	.65	03	.06
Endurance	.18	.58	04	.12
Discretion	.27	.51	03	13
Specific skills	07	.01	71	.02
Knowledge	.11	01	67	.11
Experience	.05	07	65	.22
Educational qualifications	22	.31	52	24
Popularity	08	.08	19	.81
Personality	.27	.07	22	.53
Powerful allies	30	.37	.02	.53

Percent of variance explained: 47%.

These four possible influences on promotion requirements were tested. A discriminant analysis was carried out on these factors to test for sex differences. Two factors differentiated between the two groups:

Leadership skills [(Wilks Lambda = .972, F = 14.233, (1, 487), p = <.001)], and Drive [(Wilks Lambda = .977, F = 11.362, (1, 487), p = <.001).

The standardized canonical coefficients indicated that 'Leadership skills' were the strongest discriminator of group membership. Results indicated that female managers saw this attribute as more important than their male counterparts. Female managers also believed 'Drive' to be more important than their male counterparts in order to achieve promotion to senior management positions. The following table shows the items that contributed significantly to the equation.

Table 7.8. Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficient

Attributes considered important for Promotion requirements	Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function		
Leadership skills	.683		
Drive	.600		
Knowledge	001		
Political behaviour	- .116		

The discriminating equation was able to correctly classify 55% of males and females. Therefore, the results indicate that male and female managers do differ on their perceptions of promotion requirements in relation to leadership skills and drive, supporting research question 18.

7.7.9 Perceptions of Senior Management's Promotion requirements

The second research question (19) in this group considered if male and female managers had different perceptions about what attributes senior managers value in middle managers when considering them for promotion. The 26 items were analysed by a principal components analysis with varimax rotation. Based on scree tests and the extraction of variables that loaded above .5, four variables emerged which accounted for 51% of the total variance. A summary of the analysis is presented in Table 7.18. The internal consistency of the multi-item factor Cronbach alpha coefficients were calculated, which showed coefficients of .86 for Perceived Leadership Qualities, .80 for Perceived Charisma, .70 for Perceived Application and .68 for Perceived Formal Skills. The 24 items which loaded over .5 on each factor are highlighted in Table 7.9.

Table 7.9. Principle Components Factor Analysis of Perceived Senior Managers' Promotion Requirement Variables with Varimax Rotation.

Promotion Variables	Perceived Leadership qualities	Perceived Charisma	Perceived Application	Perceived Formal Skills
Strategic vision	.67	01	.01	.34
Effectiveness as a delegator	.66	.07	.08	.24
Enthusiasm	.64	06	.38	.03
Responsibility	.62	.08	.40	.07
Communication skills	.61	.04	.31	.05
Anticipate organisational needs	.59	.02	.12	.18
Ambition	.58	.19	.05	.03
Leadership	.57	15	.30	.27
Motivation	.57	10	.52	.12
Ability to take risks	.56	.03	03	.08
Flexibility to change	.52	15	.25	.31
Popularity	.07	.81	.17	06
Likeability/sociability	.11	.79	.34	20
Attractiveness	.06	.70	15	.03
Powerful allies	14	.69	21	.14
Personality	.32	.65	.29	08
Deference to superiors	09	.60	.08	.04
Loyalty	.20	.21	.70	05
Experience	.15	.09	.62	.45
Industriousness	.23	08	.57	.28
Specific skills	.16	.06	.17	.70
Educational qualifications	.26	.20	24	.65
Knowledge	.16	03	.47	.62
Intelligence	.35	.04	.28	.53

Percent of variance explained: 51%.

A discriminant analysis was conducted on the four factors to test for sex differences, and showed that one factor was significantly different: Charisma [(Wilks Lambda = .974, F = 12.39, (1, 472), \underline{p} = <.001)]. The standardized canonical coefficients indicated that Charisma was the strongest discriminator of group membership. Average item means were calculated for each factor, and the results indicated that fernale managers perceived this factor to be more important to senior managers than their male counterparts (\underline{M} = 3.5, \underline{SD} = .70, male managers \underline{M} = 3.2, \underline{SD} = .71). Once again, on this analysis, although there is a significant difference between these groups on this factor, this appears to be enhanced by the size of the sample.

On the other three factors tested, there was a high degree of similarity between the responses of the male and female managers, and this is worthy of comment. Both male and female managers felt that in the eyes of senior managers, 'Leadership' was the most important quality for middle managers to possess (male $\underline{M} = 4.2$, $\underline{SD} = .48$, compared to female $\underline{M} = 4.3$, $\underline{SD} = .55$). Following this, 'Application' was considered important (male $\underline{M} = 4.1$, $\underline{SD} = .63$, compared to female $\underline{M} = 4.2$, $\underline{SD} = .68$), and then 'Formal Skills' (male $\underline{M} = 3.9$, $\underline{SD} = .57$, compared to female $\underline{M} = 4.0$, $\underline{SD} = .60$). Therefore, of the four factors, although 'Charisma' was the only factor that discriminated between the groups, it was considered of least importance to both male and female managers. The discriminating equation was able to correctly classify 59% of respondents. Table 7.10 sets out the standardized canonical discriminant function coefficients.

Table 7.10. Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients

Attributions for senior managers promotion requirements	Standardized discriminant Coefficient	
Perceived Charisma	.913	
Perceived Formal Skills	.368	
Perceived Application	089	
Perceived Leadership qualities	016	

This indicated that female managers, more so than their male colleagues, strongly believe that 'Perceived Charisma' is more important to senior management when considering middle managers for promotion. Results therefore indicate that males and females have different perceptions about the importance of various attributes that are valued as promotion seeking behaviour by senior management. Research question 19 was therefore supported.

Research question 20 considered whether male and female middle managers hold similar views to senior managers about the attributes that are valued to achieve promotion to senior management positions. A comparison was made with the middle managers' and senior managers' responses, which were obtained during a series of interviews. Both groups of managers were asked to respond to the question "How important do you think it is to senior management that middle managers possess the following attributes in order to achieve promotion to senior management positions?" Middle managers were asked to rate the importance of attributes (described in the measure above) they believed senior managers would consider when making decisions about promotion of middle managers to senior management.

Firstly, a factor analysis was carried out on this question, combining middle and senior managers' responses. Four influences were isolated; these were 'perceived leadership qualities', 'perceived charisma', 'perceived application' and 'perceived formal skills'. A discriminant analysis was conducted on these influences to test for sex differences. This showed that one factor differentiated between the two groups; 'perceived charisma' [(Wilks Lambda = .974, F = 12.39, (1, 472), p = <.001)]. The standardized coefficients indicated that 'perceived charisma' was the strongest discriminator of group membership.

An ANOVA was then conducted on the above factors, comparing the means of males and female middle managers', and senior managers' responses. Three factors showed significant main effects; these were 'perceived charisma', 'perceived formal skills', and 'perceived application'. On 'perceived charisma' $\{(F = 5.38, (3, 486), p = <.005)\}$, female middle managers means ($\underline{M} = 3.5$, $\underline{SD} = .70$) were higher than both male middle managers (M = 3.2, SD = .70), male senior managers (M = 2.9, SD = .58), and female senior managers (M = 2.6, SD = .54). On 'formal skills' [(F = 3.19, (3, 495), p = <.05), female managers means (M = 4.0, SD = .60) were again higher than male managers (M = 3.9, SD = .58) and senior male managers (M = 3.4, SD = .51) and senior female managers (\underline{M} = 3.6, SD = .75). For 'Application', [(F = 2.80, (3, 505), p = <.05)], female managers means (\underline{M} = 4.20, \underline{SD} = .67) were similarly higher than their male manager counterparts (M = 4.12, SD = .63) as well as for male senior managers ($\underline{M} = 3.71$, $\underline{SD} = .52$) and female senior managers ($\underline{M} =$ 3.50, SD = .69).

This would suggest that both male and female middle managers believe that 'perceived charisma', 'perceived formal skills' and 'perceived application' are more important to senior management than senior managers believe these attributes to be. Therefore, research question 20, which examined if female managers would have different views to senior managers regarding the attributions that are valued for senior management promotion, was supported. In addition, research question 21, which stated that male middle managers will have similar views to senior managers regarding the attributions that are valued for senior management promotion, was partially supported, as male middle managers and senior managers were closer to each other on their mean responses for the influences entitled 'perceived charisma', 'perceived formal skills', and 'perceived application'.

7.8 Summary

This chapter has outlined the results in the three areas where research questions were examined and tested. The person-centred measures which examined whether gender differences existed on a range of managerial behaviours, skills and attitudes, found minimal support for the explanation that women are deficient in these areas. The gender stereotype measures found that stereotypical attitudes were evident toward female managers in an Australian contemporary sample. Finally, differences were found in the perceptions of male and female managers in the way they perceived their work experience, organisational culture, and organisational policies. The results obtained provide support for the examination of perceptual differences as a contributing factor in the career

advancement of female middle managers, and this possibility will be explored in Chapter 9. A summary of the significant differences obtained from the quantitative results is graphically presented in the following table.

Table 7.11. Summary of significant differences between male and female middle managers on quantitative results.

Focus of study	Male	Female	
Person-centred			
Relocation	Took part more frequently than did female managers.	Took part less frequently than did male managers.	
Work related experience	More male managers (84%) believed they had received this type of experience	Fewer female managers (76%) felt they had received this type of experience	
Gender-Stereotypes			
Career commitment	Perceived women as having less commitment than men to management as a career	Perceived men as having more commitment than women to management as a career	
Career motivation	Perceived women as having less motivation than men to management as a career	Perceived men as having more motivation than women to management as a career	
Relocation	Two thirds of the male managers were asked to relocate.	One third of the female managers were asked to relocate.	
Educational qualifications	More male managers (13%) thought female managers were less qualified.	More female managers (16%) felt female managers were better qualified than male managers.	
Work-related experience	50% of male managers thought female managers had less work-related experience compared to male managers.	60% of female managers thought female managers had equal work-related experience compared to male managers.	
Perception measures			
Work experience	Believed attitudes of clients/customers were less supportive of them than female managers	Believed attitudes of clients/customers were more supportive of them than male managers	
Organisation culture	10% believed female managers had 'a lot of opportunities to influence decision making at senior levels'.	26% believed male managers had 'a lot of opportunities to influence decision making at senior levels.	

Organisation culture	47% believed female	33% believed that female	
(continued)	managers had adequate support to reach potential. 8% believed males received inadequate support.	managers had adequate support to reach potential. 15% believed female managers received inadequate	
		support.	
	15% of male managers believed female managers received very adequate support.	26% believed male managers received very adequate support.	
	14% of male managers believed that 50% of senior managers would be women within 5-10 years.	21% of female managers believed that 50% of senior managers would be women within 5-10 years.	
Organisation policies	94% aware of Equal Employment Opportunity policy in organisation.	86% aware of Equal Employment Opportunity policy in organisation	
	84% believed the policy was well publicised.	68% believed policy was well publicised.	
	71% believed the policy was actually implemented	48% believed the policy was actually implemented	
Opportunity for Advancement	Male managers believed that the area of management, being in the right place at the right time, style and inappropriate selection/recruitment were reasons for unequal advancement.	Female managers believed that 'who you know', bias and discrimination and political know-how were reasons for unequal advancement.	
Previous promotion	Male managers believed that 'Experience' (Years and Range of experience) had influenced their last promotion.	Female managers believed that 'Individual qualities' (Potential for development, Personality and Mentoring relationships) had influenced their last promotion.	
	Reasons for not reaching senior management promotion included personal inadequacy, no opportunities, and politics.	Reasons for not reaching senior management promotion included lack of personal interest, personal inadequacy and family reasons.	
Requirements for future promotions	Male managers believed that Leadership skills (leadership, strategic vision, communication skills, flexibility to change, motivation, ability to take risks, enthusiasm, ability to anticipate organisational	Female managers believed that 'Leadership skills and 'Drive' were more important than their male counterparts in order to achieve promotion to senior management positions.	

Requirements for
future promotion
(continued)

needs), and Drive (deference to superiors, ambition, endurance and discretion) were important in achieving promotion.

Senior management requirements for future promotions

Male managers believed that Leadership Qualities was the most important group of skills to senior managers, followed by Formal skills, Application and Charisma (attractiveness, deference to superiors, likeability, personality, popularity and powerful allies).

Female managers believed more strongly than their male colleagues that Leadership Qualities was the most important group of skills, followed by Formal skills, Application and 'Charisma'. Charisma significantly discriminated between male and female middle and senior managers.

As outlined in Chapter 6, qualitative data was also collected to enhance the richness and accuracy of the results obtained. The following chapter therefore describes the qualitative data collected through interviews, and Chapter 9 will discuss the implications arising from both the quantitative and the qualitative results in detail.

CHAPTER 8

Results (Qualitative)

Qualitative research (is) a subjective approach which includes examining and reflecting on perceptions in order to gain an understanding of social and human activities (Hussey & Hussey, 1997, p.20).

8.1 Introduction

As explained in Chapter 6, the decision was made to conduct research interviews with middle and senior managers so that a deeper understanding of the meaning participants attached to particular organisational events could be gained (see King, 1994). As individual's perceptions were a primary focus of the research, it was considered that research interviews would afford a vehicle to explore the possible existence and magnitude of any gender differences in perception between male and female managers. Therefore, as outlined in Chapter 6, an interview schedule was drawn up for the purpose of clarifying and elaborating on some of the responses given in the survey.

In chapter 2, five managerial competencies were introduced to provide a frame to explore if gender differences in behaviour, skills and attitudes existed in a contemporary Australian sample of middle managers. These person-centred measures were explored further in interviews, with questions relating to educational qualifications and work experience being combined into one question on the interview schedule.

Differences between male and female managers in these behaviours, skills and attitudes have been suggested as explanations to account for the low numbers of women in senior management positions (Still, 1984). As reported in Chapter 7, there were significant differences on some of the results from the survey data, and it was felt necessary to explore further the reasons for these findings. Therefore, interview questions were designed to glean information relating to a straightforward question on the survey schedule in each of these areas and to enable a deeper understanding of the perceptions held by the interviewees. Because the perceptions of the respondents may have been subconscious, an indirect probe was often employed to elicit a response on the interview schedule. One method of accessing underlying attitudes and perceptions that may have been covert involved presenting the interviewees with a summary finding from the survey data analysis, and then adding a question to this. For example "Only 14% of women managers in the sample had pre-school dependent children. Do you believe that women are remaining childless in order to have a successful management career"?

The following section details the questions and responses received from the middle managers. Firstly, a brief description of the coding and notation system will be made. Coding was carried out by themes for each question on the interview schedule. That is, the majority of similar responses were classified as the major theme. On the occasion where there was an opposing view, these were also classified into another theme. In some instances, a third, more minor theme, was noted.

Examples are given for each theme in the form of a direct quotation from at least one of the middle manager respondents. In terms of the notation system used in this chapter, the following was the method employed: the number of the question was placed first, followed by two letters to denote the sex of the individual, and whether they were a middle or senior manager, followed by the position of the respondent in the overall interview schedule. For example, 1.MM8 indicated that on question 1 of the interview schedule, a male middle manager, who was the 8th to be interviewed, responded with the previous quote. The following table details the pertinent demographic data of each respondent.

Table 8.1. Demographic data of interviewees.

Level, sex of manager and ID code	Company classification	Age group (years)	Highest educational qualification	Date of Interview
Middle Male 1. C.93	Retail	35-39	Year 12, HS	March, 1997
2. A.4	Manufacturing	50-54	Grad. Dip.	February,1997
3. E.39	Finance	40-44	Year 11, HS	March, 1997
4. P.15	Wholesale	45-49	PhD (Science)	March, 1997
5, B,17	Manufacturing	30-34	Year 11, HS	March, 1997
6. M.10	Recreation	40-44	Uni.Post.grad.	March, 1997
7. T.19	Mining	30-34	Uni.Post.grad.	May, 1997
8. H.43	Community Services	45-49	B.Sc. (Psychology)	May, 1997
9. 1.9	Agriculture	45-49	B.Ag.Science	May, 1997
10. L.2	Construction	50-54	TAFE College	May, 1997
Middle Female 1. B.10	Manufacturing	Under 30	B. Business	March, 1997
2. C.86	Retail	30-34	B. Business	March, 1997
3. A.38	Manufacturing	30-34	B. Arts	March, 1997
4. D.46	Retail	Under 30	TAFE College	February,1997
5. E.37	Finance	40-44	Year 11, HS.	March, 1997
6. M.8	Recreation	40-44	Uni.U/G.degree	March, 1997
7. T.46	Mining	35-39	B.Comm.	May, 1997
8. N.45	Recreation	50-54	TAFE College	May, 1997

9. H.33	Community Services	50-54	B.A. Psych,	May, 1997
10. Q.18	Transport	30-34	* B.Bus.	May, 1997
Senior Male 1. Male	Manufacturing	Not required	Not required	March, 1997
2. Male	Retail	4		March, 1997
3. Male	Retail	4	•	March, 1997
4. Male	Manufacturing	*	"	March, 1997
5. Male	Wholesale	•	*	May, 1997
6. Male	Finance	•		May, 1997
7. Male	Construction	*	*	May, 1997
8. Male	Mining	4	#	May, 1997
9. Male	Mining	4		May, 1997
Senior Female 1. Female	Recreation	st	4	May, 1997
2. Female	Agriculture	*	4	May, 1997
3. Female	Transport	4		May, 1997
4. Female	Community Services		u	May, 1997
5. Female	Mining	<u> </u>	4	May, 1997

^{*} Indicates currently studying.

8.2 Interview responses by Middle Managers

8.2.1 Career Commitment

The first area to be explored during the interviews was that of women's commitment toward a career in management. Two indirect questions were devised to ascertain interviewees' views. Two themes emerged from the first question, which was "What are your views on women combining marriage and a career". Firstly, the majority (7/10) of male responses indicated an acceptance of women combining marriage and a career, but clear reservations were noted. The following comments illustrate these responses: There is nothing wrong with combining marriage and career as long as marriage has priority (1.MM10). No problem as long as it is done successfully (1.MM5). Another male

manager expressed this view: I am supportive, but planning at home and work is necessary (1.MM9).

In these comments, there appears to be an implied understanding that there are responsibilities and tasks for women within marriage that may compete with a successful career. These views infer that success at the marriage role should not suffer, and that women have greater responsibility for this role.

A second and related theme (3/10) to emerge from the responses was a recognition of the difficulties involved in women combining both roles. It's difficult, but it very much depends on the individual, how they organise themselves, and what their motivation is. Some people appear to have a lot of trouble with it. It's a fine balance (1.MM3) and It's up to the individual – I don't know how they cope (1MM1). These responses acknowledge the notion of individual compared to social responsibility and reinforce the idea that the obligations for women in marriage exceed those for men.

The majority of female respondents (7/10) also indicated an acceptance of women combining career and marriage, and respect for women who managed to achieve both, underpinned by the implication that such an aim is very difficult to achieve. For example: I admire people who do it, to balance career and personal life (1.FM1), and I have a huge amount of admiration for those who can achieve it; I think organisations have made some inroads into that area. Women should be able to maintain a balance in life (1.FM2), and It is to be applauded! (1.FM9).

In addition, some female managers (3/10) also noted that it was problematic to combine marriage and a career. Personally, I have always combined marriage with a career. In retrospect, I don't think it is a very good idea. I have missed a lot of time with my children who have now grown up. Where have all those years gone? Maybe that is not all to life having a career and the financial aspects. What is important maybe is being close to the family. My family are not close to me now (1.FM8). In this latter case, it is not marriage per se that has suffered at the expense of career, but the relationship with children. The respondent looks back with some remorse at what she has missed.

Another respondent expressed some ambivalence: I have mixed views, especially where infants are involved. If a woman has to work she misses out a lot. Maybe they should just try it out for a while to see if they can do it (1.FM6).

In summary, these views suggest that male managers, while agreeing in principle to women combining marriage and a career, appear to show a preference for women prioritising their roles, with the traditional roles taking precedence. Both men and women see the possibility of marriage and career for women, but while men focus on the work chores and responsibility and perhaps the prior duty of marriage 'work' for women, other women focused more on the difficulties associated with career and children. They acknowledge the need for positive family relationships and feel some regret if it is sacrificed. For the majority of women, however, their acceptance of women combining the roles of marriage and career included a respectful appreciation, even awe of those

women who have achieved this. However a smaller percentage of women expressed regret for the loss of family closeness – in their view, a result of pursuing full time careers. In this instance, a fine difference in perception can be discerned, and some commonality in recognition that women are, and perhaps should be, the main 'family' worker.

The second question asked: "What are your views on who should be responsible for dependent children"? Three types of answers emerged. Those deemed responsible were 'mothers', 'both parents', and the choice of the couple'. The most frequent response by male (5/10) and female managers (9/10) answered that both parents should be responsible for the children, although it is noted that the male responses do not endorse this as strongly as the responses made by the female managers. Comments which illustrate this patterned response are as follows: The lower income earner, or by agreement. Ultimately both parents (1b.MM5). This comment brings in 'both' and 'choice' and a sense that it will be women (who are most frequently the lower income earner), although there are individual exceptions in today's society. The lower income earner historically has been the woman, and this continues statistically. The broad view that it is ultimately both parents implies that proximately in the small picture it might be one parent, the mother. Another view was expressed in this way: Both. The woman often feels more responsible. Nowadays, if it is known women are taking their own sick leave for their children, it comes out of their annual leave (1b.FM6). This respondent recognises that there is an institutional punishment for women caring for sick children. Another comment was: I've never had dependent children.

It should be a joint responsibility, but the burden falls to the Mother (1b.FM9). Some other male responses (3/10) agreed that "both" parents should share the responsibility of dependent children, but that ideally mothers were best in this role. For example: Both parents are responsible for dependent children. But I still like to see mothers spend prime with the children, particularly at a young age (1b.MM10). A mother has a more natural instinct, but it's probably up to the individual (1b.MM1).

These comments appear to be more complex than first impressions warrant. There are hidden clues from both male and female responses that those responding 'both' imply that it will mostly be Mothers who are responsible. So there is a flavour of a 'surface' response which is 'politically correct', and yet somewhat unrealistic. The bias towards seeing women as responsible from men appears to reflect a belief in nature or instinct, while women's responses are grounded in the idea of social obligations. However, one female manager reflected the complexities of combining careers and children: For example: A very personal issue - not a general judgement. The couple need to think about those issues before the child arrives. If both parents are in the workforce, they have to have contingencies; day care, relatives, or other alternatives. legislation now that you can use your sick leave, it will help. However, there is no easy answer. Not just a female's responsibility (1b.FM2). This latter quote suggests that the male responsibility is an 'add on' - while the female responsibility toward her children is taken for granted.

The majority of these responses to questions relating to women's careers and family responsibilities indicate that marriage and a family are

considered to be a prime responsibility, which rests with women. Although most male and female managers answered that both parents should share the responsibility for children, there is a suggestion that both male and females in the present sample continue to be influenced to some extent by the gender role stereotype of women, where women fulfil the nurturing 'communal' role, and men the dominant 'agentic' role. It seems that the question evoked an ideal response on the one hand, based on ideas of traditional roles, and a 'politically correct' response on the other. Modifications or elaborations to questions often revealed a conscious or subconscious awareness of a more realistic appraisal, or deeply held stereotypical responses. It may be inferred from the above responses that in spite of a wish for equality, if women who have children are to fulfil the primary caring role with children, they cannot therefore be fully committed to their careers in management.

One further question was designed to explore this issue. The following question was posed to tap views relating to women being seen as unreliable in management as they will leave to have families. This question therefore invited a response to survey data that indicated that only 14% of women in the current sample had pre-school dependent children. The question was: "Only 14% of women managers in the sample had pre-school dependent children. Do you believe that women are remaining childless in order to have a successful management career?"

Three types of responses were received. Firstly, the majority of both male (60%) and female (80%) responses agreed that women were remaining childless in order to have a successful management career.

This suggests a strong commitment toward a career in management. For example: A large percent are (2.MM10), and Yes, I would think that with a family and young children and a career in management, you're always going to have your energies split. That's not a criticism (2.MM1).

One female respondent expressed this view: Yes, as most women believe their careers are over once they leave work to have a family - many are out of the workplace for several years and may lose skills or not be up to date with new techniques etc. (2.FM4). There is a recognition here that there is no institutional mechanism to accommodate or make up for a break in a career. Another commented: Yes, women are remaining childless in order to have a successful management career (2.FM1). One female manager took this view even further: "Not so much childless, but maybe husbandless. It's difficult to find a suitable guy. If you like your career, and do want to advance, you don't have the time or energy to put into a partner (2.FM6). This response supports earlier comments by male managers, and acknowledges inequality in marriage 'work'.

Secondly, only one female respondent did not believe that women may be remaining childless. She simply responded: No. Thirdly, these views by female managers capture the complexities of the area of commitment to a career and/or a family. The following comments are examples of this viewpoint: As time goes by it becomes less attractive to me to take a break from my career and have a child. However, I think I could manage a successful career and a child if I changed the parameters of what I do. Perhaps work for myself, for example (2.FM2), and I think the way society is at the moment, I don't think there's much choice. It's

changed in the last 20 years, but if you want a career these days, it's not a 9-5 job anymore. It's very hard to bring up children in that environment, especially if the other partner doesn't have that responsibility (2.FM5). This comment appears to recognise the significance of the social level and how it constrains choice. There is also a recognition that work is not structured to allow family responsibilities which require considerable work and energy.

It was of interest to note that almost half of the male managers (4/10) commented that they did not know why only 14% of women managers in the sample had pre-school dependent children, e.g. I can't really answer that, I don't know. It certainly makes life a lot easier not to have children (2.MM4). A further observation by a female manager noted that 'self-selection' may be occurring to explain this result: It can be a choice in the organisation, i.e. "she has no children, so perhaps she can do the job". Self selection seems to occur (2.FM9). It is of interest to note in this latter comment that it is management selection, and not 'self-selection' that dictates who will fill certain positions within the organisation.

Once again, these responses indicate that a career in management is very demanding, and that it is difficult to combine both career and motherhood. This view underpins the majority of responses to the question: "Do you believe that women are remaining childless in order to pursue a career in management"? It is of interest to note the higher proportion of female managers (80%) who responded affirmatively to this question, compared to 60% of male managers who responded similarly.

This suggests that more women are aware of this issue as it impacts on their own personal lives.

8.2.2 Career motivation

Survey responses indicated that female managers in the present sample felt that men were more committed and more motivated to have a career in management than women. One question was therefore constructed to check current perceptions about women's motivation and commitment to a management career. Responses to the question "Do you think women's level of commitment and motivation is a problem in their careers?" were categorised into two themes; the statements which agreed that women's level of commitment and motivation is a problem in their careers, and those that disagreed with this premise. Most male (70%) and female managers (80%) believed that motivation or commitment was not a problem for female managers in their management careers. For example: Not for those who wish to pursue a management career (3.MM7). This latter comment implies that when women decide to commit themselves to a management career, then motivation is not an issue.

The responses from the female managers were also informative. For example: Absolutely not! I can only judge that on the women I see around me. It's not a gender issue (3.FM2). Two other comments suggest perceptions of others may be influential: No, but perhaps their perception is. A conversation with a senior manager today was interesting, because his perception of where we are going is completely different to mine (3.FM5). No. I think women are far more work oriented and task

oriented than men. They get more done. Men measure commitment by the number of hours worked in a day. Women are efficient, and get work done in the time required (3.FM9).

In addition, one male manager's comment highlighted a clear stereotypical viewpoint: I've found that women don't lack the intelligence or motivation. If you have to do the dirty side of management, like retrench people, a lot of women get up tight with having to do that side of things. You always see a male manager on TV of, say, a large company, saying "We've had a tough year, and we're going to have to lay off 5000 people". It's never a woman (3.NM1). This comment may reflect the reality, that is, very few women head powerful companies and have a high public profile. However, the above respondent appears to have internalised the generalisation that women can't do this, rather than recognise that few women are in a position to do this at this point in time.

In addition, a third of the male respondents (3/10) agreed with the statement. For example: I wouldn't be surprised. If they're older and have a family, they may lack the commitment and motivation (3.MM8), and Commitment and motivation is a problem, possibly due to lack of confidence in long-term arrangements (3.MM10). One woman also expressed this view: Yes, but not all. Generally, women may come to a certain level and they are happy there. To me this is unfair because they are blocking other people getting ahead. Some women get comfortable, and don't want to push any harder (3.FM6). In this comment, there is a recognition that women and men value things differently. Some women do not want to get to the top.

These responses suggest that although women may not lack commitment and motivation, a career in management is not necessarily a comfortable fit, particularly in the minds of some male managers. For female managers, the above excerpts suggest that some women are happy with the roles they are employed in, and perhaps have different values to their male colleagues. These interpretations are supported by Vinnicombe and Harris' (2000) findings that men and women perceive success differently. These researchers reported that female managers believed the content of their jobs were more important, whereas their male counterparts felt that status and influence was a measure of their career success. Because of these factors, female managers may be satisfied and fulfilled in the roles they already occupy, and therefore not seek further promotion. However, this is quite different to lacking motivation or It is of interest also to note the awareness of the role commitment. perception may play within the dynamics of the organisation.

These comments imply that there may be two distinctly different definitions of 'motivation' and 'commitment' that are used by men and women. Women may be defining motivation as doing a job well, whereas men seem to be implying that a manager is motivated only if they pursue a career to the top. There is also a suggestion that although most respondents are not prepared to say that women lack motivation, it is hedged around with side issues and explanations and modified meanings, such as is seen in the understanding of 'motivation'. To a male manager, it seems that being motivated means desiring to go up the career ladder, rather than being motivated to work efficiently at the same level, which is

what female managers appear to focus on. The following quote illustrates these different perspectives: No, I don't think that [lack of motivation for women] is a problem. I think they recognise what they need to satisfy them as an individual, and quite often they can get stimulation from a role without requiring the status. Quite often I think men's egos make them strive for higher positions, whereas women look for overall satisfaction (3.FM1).

8.2.3 Relocation

Two questions were asked to examine the view that female managers may be less available for geographic relocation, compared to their male colleagues. These questions were used to check perceptions of the need to relocate, and to see if any bias was perceived in the opportunities given. The first question was "Do you feel you have to (or have had to) leave a job to improve your position? Over half of the men (60%) and half of the women (50%) agreed they had to leave, or had left a job to improve their positions. These comments illustrate the responses received: Yes, definitely - absolutely (4.M4). Yes, I've done this (4.M8). Earlier on in my career, yes (4.F6). Yes, in my case as I am already as far as I can go in this business, I would have to re-locate to go higher (4.F4).

The responses to this question indicate that half of the women in this sample believe they have had to leave a job to improve their position, and have either relocated for their organisation, or moved to another company when seeking promotion. However, 40% of men and 50% of women disagreed that they had had to leave a job to improve their position: No, in [company name] I have just kept being promoted (4.MM1).

haven't had to leave, but have been promoted within [public sector](4.FM9). These comments suggest that the perceived wisdom that mobility is a necessity may be changing in some organisations.

The second question is "Twice as many men were asked to relocate for their career. Why?" The majority of responses indicated similar views by male (80%) and female (80%) managers, which suggested that traditional stereotypical perceptions of the organisation were instrumental in this decision. The following comments illustrate these responses: A perception on behalf of senior managers that this woman can't be moved because she's got a family. It's a perception (4b.MM4). It's another perception - people feel that he's the man, and the breadwinner. He'll go. With women, you think of her with her children, and hence she won't be free to go (4b.FM5). In reality of course, as reported in the previous chapter, considerably fewer female managers in this sample have children.

A variation on the organisational perspective was seen in the following responses. One male and one female manager stated that men were seen as head of the family, and believed this influenced why more men were asked to relocate for their careers. I'd say I guess in most families if the woman came home and said my career is going to advance if we move to NSW, most husbands would say "that's too bad". The male is still the head of the family. It's a cliche, but it's right (4b.MM1). Men make decisions as head of the family, so it will be easier for them to relocate (4b.FM8). In addition, this somewhat cynical response was offered by a female manager: There is an assumption that a man would do

anything for a promotion (4b.FM9). The implication here appears to be that women would not.

This response indicates a shift in company policy: This company traditionally used to relocate men a lot. Today, you can say no to relocation without it damaging career, and that's a huge shift (4b.FM2). However, overall the above responses suggest that the organisational perception persists that male manager's are a better 'fit' in a management role, whereas the role of women still appears to be inextricably tied to the social role of nurturer in the family or at least not equal in power in the household.

8.2.4 Educational qualifications and work related experience

The following questions were asked to explore two issues relating to educational qualifications. Firstly, middle managers were asked: "How have your educational qualifications assisted you in achieving promotion?" Responses ranged from not at all, to helped initially, to absolutely assisted. Half of the male (5/10) and female responses (5/10) suggested that their educational qualifications had not assisted them in achieving promotions. For example: No, more my experience has been a major factor (5.MM1), and Zero! Some guys are in senior positions without any qualifications. They already know who they want for the job. Whether or not you have the paper qualifications is incidental. (I'm a teacher and a registered psychologist) (5.FM9). This excerpt illustrates a cross-gender awareness that qualifications are not essential for promotions, but experience and who you know may be more important.

Several managers (4/20) commented that their educational qualifications had helped them at the start of their careers. *Initially it would* have been very helpful, the PhD. It really got me going. Lately, it's a matter of my track record, and the qualifications wouldn't make any difference at all (5.MM4). One further response made this distinction quite clear: The base degree of psychology gave me my first job. Not helpful beyond that. The second degree hasn't got me anywhere in particular (5.MM8). One female manager's comments supported this view: I am a chef; I have the qualifications. It gave me a start (5.FM8).

Of those managers who responded positively to this question, twice the number of female managers (4/10) compared to their male counterparts (2/10) believed that educational qualifications had assisted them in receiving promotions. For example: Yes, they have although I haven't completed my formal qualifications, but I have previous qualifications in the health care industry, and I have been working through a Bachelor of Business double major. Now I've stopped that and gone straight into an MBA (5.FM10).

These responses suggest that some male managers, and one female manager believed an early degree gave them a start initially in their management role, but beyond that, performance counted more. This view was held by half of the women interviewed, while the other half of the interviewees felt that educational qualifications had helped their careers. This finding is at odds with the literature which reports that women feel the need to keep upgrading their formal educational qualifications (Still, 1990). One possible explanation for this could be that women initially believe that

higher qualifications will assist them with career advancement, but when they are placed in a management role, they see that other factors appear to influence the attainment of promotion.

Secondly, a further question was asked: "More women are upgrading their formal qualifications, but more men are attending leadership courses. What do you make of these discrepancies?" This question was designed to check perceptions relating to formal qualifications, training and work experience in general. Approximately a third of male and female managers commented that male managers believed leadership was more important than educational qualifications. The following comments from male managers illustrate this theme: Interesting. I suppose - I often think the best managers are born and not A man always sees himself as head of the family or of a made. department, whether they are or not. I guess they would see being a highly qualified leader was the comerstone of their success, whereas for a woman it's not her natural calling to go off and lead. I suppose she would be more motivated by her skill base and knowledge (5b.MM1). comment reaffirms the naturalness of males as leaders, and picks up on the issue of commitment discussed earlier: It shows more commitment from women; men are looking at the short-term fix. Upgrading formal qualifications is a big commitment (3 years), rather than a weekend course (5b.MM3).

A female manager's comment, quite different from those noted above, was as follows: Not sure, I suppose it provides women with something to fall back on to upgrade their educational qualifications. A lot

of men need to do courses in leadership because they have a fairly autocratic style of leadership and need to improve. Not that courses always change people, but perhaps they go on these courses because they do recognise a weakness and want to get along with people (5b.FM1). In this case the 'natural' leadership style of men is seen as an impediment, needing modification.

Half of the male respondents (5/10) thought that women believed that higher educational qualifications would help them. For example: Many women feel more of a need to be well qualified. Sometimes it is true that a woman has to be 50% better again to win the job (5b.MM5). Similarly, half of the female respondents (5/10) expressed this view. Women are more motivated. They want to be sure of themselves and improve themselves. Men think they already know! A lot of them think they are entitled to it! (5b.FM8).

One female manager summed up the issue in this way: I guess again it's the perception of what one sees as more important, and how to get there. Obviously men see that leadership is the focal point to get where they want. Women see qualifications as important, that's because organisations put so much emphasis on a piece of paper; that's very much so in the last 10 years. We're still trying to break down that wall, it's still around. But you have to have a bit of both (5b.FM5).

Overall, the responses by male managers indicated that they see leadership courses as important to their career prospects, whereas they believe that women feel the need to pursue higher educational qualifications. Responses from half of the female managers support this

view, as they illustrate a desire to continue to learn and improve their performance through educational qualifications, more so than training courses or work related experience. What is of interest here is that the previous question drew responses from half of the female interviewees that highlighted a belief that educational qualifications had not particularly assisted them in achieving promotions. This suggests that although half of the women interviewed had no illusions about higher educational qualifications being a necessary pre-requisite to achieve promotion, half clearly believed that higher educational qualifications would be helpful in their careers. The following comment offers another perspective: Perhaps men are more confident? And we're always looking to prove ourselves. It all boils down to jobs, and promotions come easier to males than to females (5b.FM6).

A further question was designed to explore attitudes toward the factors which were important in the last promotion received. Interviewees were advised that "[Results from the survey indicated] women believed that potential for development was an important factor in their last promotion (and men did not). Do you have any comments to make on this"? Some responses (3/10) from male managers indicated that women's perception of the requirements for promotion was influenced by a misguided belief that potential for development was an important factor in their last promotion, whereas male managers believed other factors were influential. The quotes below are illustrative of the comments received from male managers. It should be across the board - it must be to do with attitude more than anything else. Women see themselves as more

confident if they feel they have the potential. Whereas men know how things work. (I understand how this company works - it's a matter of who you know, and not what you know) (6b.MM4). Also, I think big business feels pressured to promote women, and I know there are laws there that they should be looking at; I guess I have come across women that have all the skills, but I guess men play a more political game than women do. I suppose men network, especially in large companies. Networking is a fairly strong factor, a key factor in getting promoted. I guess it's always hard for women to network, with a large group of men (6b.MM1). One comment from a female manager supported this male perspective. She commented: Most women are naive. Women's promotion was simply in the performance plan. A target of critical mass was probably set, and that is why women were promoted (6b.FM9).

In contrast, the vast majority of female managers (90%) believed that women focus on their personal development, because it assists them in their goal achievement. For example: I understand why women say that. It is important. Perhaps it is a thing of confidence. Women keep striving; men feel they are already there (6b.FM6), and Women see things differently to men. Women are very centred on their personal potential in the workplace, and have to believe in themselves strongly to actually get anywhere. Whereas guys don't have the other outside influences pulling them in different directions at one time (6b.FM10). This comment recognises again the fact that domestic responsibilities play a role in women's careers.

The responses by the female managers suggest that women may have different perceptions to males in relation to the factors that benefit them in gaining promotions. It would seem that women keep trying to prove themselves, or their worth. It may be that when women feel they are seen as having potential for development, that this is an endorsement of them, and their abilities. This suggests that women appear to have a subjective reality; that is they themselves feel responsible for their career development.

On the other hand, men's comments reflect a knowledge about the implicit way in which organisations work - men appear to have an objective reality; that is they acknowledge the importance of factors external to themselves. This comment sums up this view: The law of the land says that 'X' number of women need to be on a management program etc. Then you get situations over a few years where people say, "Oh well, the law says she's got to be promoted" but that isn't always what actually happens. More men get promoted. I think a lot of women are happy doing what they're doing and don't want extra responsibility. The focus is always on promoting men. Men employ men; men promote men (General comment, MM1). One female manager concluded: This is a good question; I can't really answer it. Is it part of the syndrome that "I'm a male, I'm going to get there anyway"? With women you work twice as hard; it's the perception that you have to do it, whether it's true or not. The boy's club syndrome! (6b.FM5).

One final question was explored during interviews with the middle managers. In order to tap views relating to women's interest in obtaining

promotion, the following question was posed. Middle managers were asked "What do you believe is the probability you will achieve promotion to a senior management position". This question brought forward a variety of responses, with half of both male and female managers commenting that they were confident and the other half expressing uncertainty.

As the majority of female managers in this sample were younger than their male counterparts, the interviewee's age group was ascertained. in order to examine if age influenced the responses. This decision was made in order to add a further degree of interpretation to the result obtained. For example, of those respondents who stated that they were confident of achieving a promotion to a more senior position, it was considered important to know whether this group were all younger with aspirations intact (Tolbert & Moen, 1998), or from the middle age group, where their superior experience may have played a part in their confidence. Previous research has reported that age is negatively related to the promotion rate of managers (Scandura, 1992) as are ratings by supervisors about the potential promotability of an employee (Igbaria & Wormley, 1995). More specifically, when managers' ages are below 45 years, this has been found to be related to supervisor-rated promotability (Cox & Nkomo, 1992). It would appear therefore that a manager's age is likely to play a significant part in the degree of confidence in obtaining a senior position in management.

The following comments are illustrative of the responses made by all of the male managers who expressed confidence to this question (5/10), and clearly demonstrate the influence of age: It's hard to say. The

business tells me I'm marked as a person that's going to be promoted. I'm fairly confident that I will...I'm marked to go places, I know (6.MM1; 35-39 years of age). This can be compared to responses which reflected a lack of confidence (5/10): Just about zero (6.MM4; 45-50 year of age). Female responses showed a similar trend. For example: 70% positive it will happen (6.FM1; under 30 year of age), to At my age, probably unlikely. I was in senior management previously, but my mentor got shafted. Hence I got punished for belonging to the wrong power faction. Another interesting point here is that you also lose your referees when a shift in the power base occurs (6.FM9; 50-54 years of age).

These responses suggest that both men and women in the sample have similar levels of confidence in relation to achieving a promotion to a senior management career when they are younger. Also there appears to be a realistic appraisal of the role increasing age plays in possible future promotions. Equal numbers of male and female managers (between the ages of 40 and 55) stated that they were not confident that they would achieve a promotion to a senior management position. To illustrate: *Not very likely - 30-40% (6.MM8, 45-49 years)*, and *At present, living in this state, very limited. There would be more opportunities if I wanted to move interstate (6.FM6, 40-44 years)*.

8.3 Summary of middle manager interviews

Overall, there was considerable agreement between the male and female middle manager responses during the interviews. Some responses, particularly from male managers, appeared to reflect a level of discomfort with women not fulfilling their domestic duties, and instead

competing with them for management roles. This was illustrated by comments that although agreeing that child-care responsibilities should be shared, suggested that ideally the responsibility often fell (or should fall) to the Mother. This suggests also that men prefer a clear division of labour within the home.

In terms of probing the existence of the stereotypical views that were elucidated in Chapter 3, there appear to be indications that some male managers continue to hold stereotypical perceptions. The following off the cuff comment illustrates this very clearly: I guess there's a perception that... you see a woman in some sort of a sexual way. Every man does that. Being attractive or whatever. I mean it's just a common denominator. I guess you always see a woman in a way that's a cross between sexuality and motherhood. Someone here wanted to be a buyer and went to see my line manager, and the first thing he said was "Oh you'll get pregnant" and she wasn't even married. She got very hot under the collar. His first comment was what was in his mind. It's an unwritten law that all women have babies and go, and then they have more babies and go, and maybe eventually they'll stop having babies and come back, whether that's one or two or whatever. There's a strong maternal streak and it's a calling, not in a derogatory sense, but it is a calling of life. Some women who have never had children are very distraught. It's always in people's minds that a woman will have children, and that's an interference with orderly management and business.

Responses by many men seem to imply a view about the way things 'should' be. With women, many comments reflect views that

suggest the way things 'could' be. There appears to be a strong surface similarity in many of the responses between the male and female managers. However, with a closer analysis, subtle differences are noted. Initially men and women mostly do not deliver prejudiced comments or claim deficiencies, as this is politically incorrect in a contemporary time frame. The respondents appear to have worked from assumptions of individual choices, without a recognition of social factors, but their following elaborations often bring out different ways of looking at things.

Both men and women seemed unaware of this deeper layer of social constraints in their initial responses, however sufficient comments and responses indicated that these existed at a deeper, possibly subconscious level. For example, in discussing views on the responsibility of dependent child, one female manager responded: "I think ultimately it's still both parent's responsibility. I have a very understanding Manager, and I'm able to work from home if there is a need for it. That makes it easier" (1b.FM10). This response indicates an initial response of 'the way things should be', followed immediately by a response that indicates 'the way things are'. That is, it was obviously her who "worked from home" when necessary, and this made it "easier" for her to fulfil both family and career commitments. These social influences were also evident in the responses of some male managers, who indicated that while both 'careers' could be achieved satisfactorily, this should not be at the cost of the family: "Both parents are responsible for dependent children. But I still like to see mother's spend prime time with the children, particularly at a young age" (1b.MM10).

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Men appear more likely to harbour beliefs about nature and instinct to women and children, and men and leadership. Male managers therefore, appeared to be wanting an existence where gender-role expectations were clearly delineated, with women fulfilling the nurturing communal roles, leaving themselves free to pursue their careers in an agentic fashion. Female managers appeared to phrase the same reality in a different way – which suggests a need for balance in their lives.

8.4 Interview responses by Senior Managers

Similar areas of managerial behaviours, skills and attitudes were explored as for the middle managers.

8.4.1 Career Commitment

Three themes emerged for both male and female senior managers responses to the question that women appeared to be choosing to remain childless in order to pursue a career in management. The following quotes are illustrative of these themes. First, one male manager summed up the majority of male responses (6/9) in this way: Yes, they probably are [remaining childless]. It's a trade-off women have to make (1.MS8). Two of the female senior managers, and three quarters of the male managers, believed that women were choosing to remain childless in order to have a successful management career: I would have to say that some managers say they [women who have children] can't do the job any longer. So I think it is right [that women are choosing to remain childless in order to have a successful management career] (1.FS1).

Another cluster of senior managers disagreed with the statement. Two male senior managers commented: I don't think so. In our organisation I would expect it to be that women leave the organisation to have children. Age or marital status may be an influence in the small number of women in management having children (1.MS6). One female manager stated: No. Having children is independent of having a career. It certainly is in my case (1.FS4). This view is in sharp contrast to the responses to the same question made by middle managers, and may reflect more economic freedom or control of choices, such as a live-in Nanny, or other domestic support.

Finally, one senior male manager commented that women may be putting off having their children until later, rather than remaining childless. These comments illustrate these views: There are more opportunities and broad thinking organisations now. We develop people internally. There is a large commitment from our girls in our stores, and this may influence them to put off having children until later on. Time is another factor: our managers don't work 9 - 5! (1.MS3). One female manager made this comment: I think they are putting it off until they are at a level where they want to be (1.FS5).

The majority of these views (8/14) expressed by both male and female senior managers state that women are either choosing to remain childless, or making decisions to put off having a family until later in their career. This is in part a move away from the communal roles women have been seen as traditionally filling. If these views are representative of the current thinking of senior managers, this suggests a change away from the

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stereotypical view that all women will leave to have a family, but it is a strong indictment of a social and institutional reality that creates barriers for shared parenting and work/family compatibility.

8.4.2 Career motivation

Once again, senior managers, like middle managers, strongly defended women in relation to motivation, but modifications and hidden assumptions are noted. The majority of the male managers (8/9) and all of the female senior managers disagreed with the statement "Do you think women's level of commitment and motivation is a problem in their management careers"? These comments illustrate the responses received: Once they have decided to choose that career, then their motivation and commitment is no problem (2.MS9) and No, women I think have to commit to a broader range of things than men. They also have to commit themselves to the traditional role of family. Men can commit themselves totally to their careers (2.FS2). This suggests an awareness that although women are committed, they have to be committed to other things as well, whereas men may single-mindedly pursue their careers.

An opposing view was expressed in one male manager's reservation. He said: I would say they are motivated, but the commitment is...a gut feeling I have. I think there is a problem. That may be unfair, but it's a gut feeling. I think that socially you'll find a young woman is more committed to the party scene than a guy who goes to the party scene, but he still works a 6 day week, 10 hour day. But that might just be physical strength, who knows? (2.MS7).

Therefore, it would appear that the vast majority of senior managers overtly agree that commitment and motivation is not a problem for women in their management careers, although the above response implies that women are not a comfortable fit in a management context.

8.4.3 Relocation

The majority of the senior managers (7/9) confirmed middle managers' perceptions on why men were asked to relocate. One main theme was observed in the answers to this question, which was "Twice as many men were asked to relocate for their career [in the survey results]. Why do you think this is?" Most of the male managers (7/9) commented that there was a perception that men were the 'breadwinners' and more mobile than women. I think it still relates to an old perception - you can ask the man to relocate and the wife and children will follow. It's more difficult to do the reverse. That's the reality, although I don't necessarily agree with it (3.MS3).

Another senior male manager commented: Traditional role view of men's roles. Men move, family follows. With a woman - she's probably got a man. "Let's think about her family situation... does she have a partner, etc." The community is gradually changing, but they're not seeing it as equal at the moment (3.MS9).

Similar observations were made by the majority of female senior managers (4/5). For example: [Management] have obviously made the assumption that the males are allowed to put their career first ahead of their family commitment (3.FSM4), and: It's the old management thinking -

the man is the head of the family, they'll move more readily. It's the only reason I can think of.

These views indicate that the majority of male and female senior managers feel that traditional type views about men's roles, and perceptions about males status as the head of the family unit and mobility account for the fact that more males are asked to be geographically mobile. Therefore, according to these responses, the stereotypic belief of male managers being more suitable and available for relocation transfers due to their primary power situation in the household, continues to exist.

8.4.4 Educational qualifications and work related experience

To explore senior manager's attitudes towards managerial women's educational qualifications and work related experience, the following question was posed: "More women are upgrading their formal qualifications, but more men are attending leadership courses. What do you make of these discrepancies?" Three themes emerged in answer to this question.

The largest proportion of the male senior managers (4/9) suggested that male managers in general viewed leadership as more important than educational qualifications. For example: [It's] a fashion issue here. Men see themselves as leaders...it's the thing! Men do it and women learn about the job. I don't think it has anything to do with lack of confidence. A woman is likely to say what courses do I have to do to get the right technical knowledge? (4.MS9). Another respondent commented as follows: People are more sceptical of the value of formal qualifications. They are not the meal ticket they used to be. It only shows that you have

some intelligence, ability to learn etc. Roles are now merging, and you can be put into a group where you have to learn skills on the job (4.MS5). This comment clearly infers that educational qualifications are no longer valued as they were in the past, and 'leadership skills', or other acquired skills are more important.

Two male managers could not offer any response to this question, and shrugged their shoulders as if the question perplexed them.

However, the vast majority of senior female managers (4/5) commented that women believed a higher qualification would benefit them in some way in their management careers. For example: Women are natural born leaders - what can I say? We have the natural born instinct, and we know how to build on people's trust. It may be a thing of confidence, perhaps we think "I have to prove I'm a more marketable commodity", so hence try to keep up with formal qualifications. These days people do these things to keep their jobs (4.FS1). This response highlights a desire by women to upgrade formal qualifications as a way of keeping a position and interestingly offers a female version of a 'natural instinct' argument about leadership.

A third of the male senior managers made similar comments. To illustrate: It's probably an opportunistic thing. Perhaps there is a greater perception that we need to have qualifications. Perhaps the Leadership thing is driven by companies. More middle and senior managers are being sent on courses; but it's a conscious decision by women to get more formal qualifications (4.MS3).

In summary, these views indicate a division between the way educational qualifications are valued. For female senior managers, there appears to be a clear belief that higher qualifications are important for advancement within the organisation. Male manager's comments seem to suggest an awareness that higher educational qualifications are not the only way to get ahead. Their comments imply that leadership skills are more valued within the organisation, and hence enhancing their own skills in this area will be more likely to advance their careers.

One further question was asked of senior managers in order to tap views relating to general attitudes toward work related experience and potential for development: "One gender in our sample believed that potential for development was an important factor in their last promotion. Which do you think this was?" The responses received were very informative. Only a third (3/9) of male senior managers answered "women" correctly. The male comments suggested that potential for development was something that women value, and believe others value also. For example: Women. Women identify males who are supportive of them; not because they're female, or it's sexual. But they've recognised that the man is trying to look hard at that person's potential, and will help remove roadblocks for them to get there (5.MS9).

In contrast, 6/9 of male senior managers answered "male" incorrectly to this question. This response is illustrative of similar comments: Males. I looked at [this question] this way – men on average look at their career and have a pathway through to managing director in their brain (5.MS8).

However, 60% of female senior managers responded "women" correctly. This comment is illustrative of the vast majority of the responses. Women. It's a confidence thing. I've come to the conclusion that women are driven by fear of failure. It's this that makes them succeed. Not their awareness of the skills and capabilities and confidence to do the job (5.FS2).

Some female senior managers (40%) answered "males" incorrectly.

For example: Males? Confidence? It probably is. You battle so hard. You are constantly watched as a female, and everything you say is questioned and requestioned, and if they don't like the answer, they'll tell you you are being negative. Maybe we're our own worst enemy, but boy it's hard sometimes to be positive (5.FS1).

In sum, male senior managers appeared to see potential for development and educational qualifications as something women valued more so than men. The majority of comments by the female senior managers referred either directly or indirectly to women lacking confidence in the role of manager. This off the cuff comment illustrates the latter: Women. I think that women won't tend to apply for something unless they think they are pretty well able to do the whole lot. They think that once they've got those skills, then they'll go for the other role. Men tend to go straight for the role they want (5.FS5).

8.5 Summary of senior management interviews

Senior managers expressed a view that women are remaining childless in order to pursue a career in management, or having children later in their careers. Both male and female senior managers agree that

commitment and motivation is not a problem for women in their management careers, although subtle qualifications are often made to the initial positive response. In addition, men are asked to relocate more because of stereotypical thinking that men as the head of the family will be more prepared, and able, to relocate. In terms of educational qualifications and work experience, male managers' views reflect an awareness that educational qualifications are not as important to career advancement as senior female managers believe them to be. More female managers remarked that confidence was a factor in women's career advancement. Male senior managers did not seem to consider that confidence was an issue for women in their management careers.

8.6 Overall summary

In summary, there was considerable agreement between the male and female senior managers' responses and between the male and female middle managers' responses. There was also agreement between the middle managers' and senior managers' responses to various questions posed in interview. For example, the majority of both middle and senior managers agreed that more women were remaining childless in order to pursue a career in management, and that women's motivation and commitment was not a problem in their careers. In terms of geographic mobility, both middle and senior managers agreed that traditional and stereotypical perceptions underpinned more men being asked to relocate than women. Both male middle and senior managers also agreed that men see leadership courses as an important aspect to their careers, while women place higher value in enhancing their

educational qualifications. These views were supported by female middle and senior managers. Both middle and senior manager's comments reflected an awareness of the informal networks within their organisations.

There were, however, some subtle differences noted. For example, the responses from the majority of female senior managers suggest that they appear to be comfortable pushing the boundaries of gender-roles for their sex. These are women who have obviously 'made it'. These managers also indicated that educational qualifications are still valued by women, whereas male managers clearly showed a preference for participating in leadership-type courses. A proportion of male middle manager's views suggested some discomfort with women pursuing management careers when the issues of marriage and children were discussed, while female middle managers seemed positive about embracing this challenge, and expressed admiration for women who managed to succeed in both areas. This suggests a difference in the perceptions of some male and female managers about what is valued from an organisational, and individual, point of view. In addition, both sexes showed an awareness of the role perceptions play in management decisions, particularly in relation to geographic mobility.

Overall, a stereotypic belief influence was noted in some of the responses given, particularly by the male senior managers. For example, to conclude the interview, senior managers were asked: "How would you describe the ideal candidate for a senior management position?" When presented with a list of qualities considered as important for middle managers to possess in order to be considered for promotion, one male

manager responded: <u>He</u> would be someone who would possess all the above qualities (MS1). (My emphasis). This response indicates that in the mind of this particular senior manager, women were not even considered as possible candidates for senior management promotion. The company from which this senior manager was drawn was a manufacturing organisation, where female middle managers were employed.

In sum, numerous comments appear to reflect an ideal or politically correct statement that is then modified to reveal hidden assumptions and social stereotypes. Very few respondents showed a conscious recognition of motivational and social constraints operating. There was a strong tendency by male managers to believe that women should give priority to filling the more traditional roles of mothering and family responsibilities. Female managers also implied that this was the reality in which they would continue to find themselves, in spite of hopes for more equality.

The following table outlines the major differences between the male and female responses in the qualitative date.

Table 8.2. Summary of qualitative responses of male and female middle managers relating to managerial competencies.

Focus of study	Male	Female
Person-centred measures		
Career commitment	Focus on the responsibility of work and marriage as creating difficulties for women and careers.	Focus on the need to share the responsibility of family with partner so that women are able to commit to careers.
	Consider that both parents should share the responsibility of children, but that mothers are best suited for this role.	Consider that women should not be seen as solely responsible.
	60% agree that women are remaining childless in order to have a successful career in management.	80% agree that women are remaining childless, in order to have a successful career in management.
	Recognise that a career in management is very demanding and believe it is difficult for women to combine a career and family.	Recognise that work is not really structured to allow for family responsibilities, hence career & family difficult.
Career motivation	Believe that lack of confidence may be an issue in women's motivation.	Focus is on overall satisfaction of the job, rather than striving for higher positions.
	Appear to view 'motivation' as the desire to go up the career ladder.	Appear to view 'motivation' as working efficiently at the level currently held.
Re!ocation	60% had left a job to improve their positions. Consider that organisations perceive that men are the head of the family and 'breadwinner' and hence are asked to relocate more frequently.	50% had left a job to improve their positions. Consider that organisations perceive that women are constrained by responsibilities for nurturing and caring for their families.

Relocation (Cont).	Believe organisations view male managers as a better 'fit' in a management role.	·
Education qualifications and work-related experience.	Believe leadership courses are more important to career prospects than furthering educational qualifications.	Believe higher educational qualifications. will help achieve career advancement.
	Consider that women feel the need to pursue higher educational qualifications.	Consider that women focus on personal development as they believe this will assist
	Consider that women believe potential for development is an important factor in promotion, but recognise that other factors are influential.	them in overall goal achievement.
	Perceive <u>external</u> factors benefit in achieving promotion, i.e. networking and 'who you know'.	Perceive internal factors benefit in achieving promotion, i.e. developing their own abilities to enhance their chances of success.

In the following chapter, the quantitative and qualitative results will be integrated, and a discussion will be made of the essential similarities and differences in the results obtained from the multi-method approach adopted in this study. In addition, because of the social indicators highlighted in this qualitative data, a theoretical framework will be proposed to account for this social influence on an individual's perceptions.

CHAPTER 9

Discussion

...It's always in peoples' minds that a woman will have children, and that's an interference with orderly management and business (General comment, Male Middle Manager interviewee, 1997).

9.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters have outlined the results in the three areas where research questions were derived from the literature. The research questions were examined through a survey, and explored through interviews with middle and senior managers. The primary aim of the research was to address the question of why so few female managers hold positions of senior management. There were three areas of foci: first to explore whether gender differences existed in the self-reported behaviour, skills and attitudes, or managerial competencies, of male and female middle managers in a contemporary Australian sample. Second, attitudes of both male and female managers were explored to ascertain if stereotypical attitudes continued to influence the way women in management are evaluated and viewed. Third, the area of male and female middle managers' self-perceptions was explored in an attempt to understand what differences, if any, existed in these perceptions. The specific proposition was that gender differences in the perceptions of

managers may play a role in the poor representation of female managers at senior levels.

In this chapter, the findings of the quantitative and qualitative data will be compared and discussed in depth, and conclusions drawn from the findings. The five managerial competencies were explored through the person-centred measures and the gender-stereotype measures, as well as through the qualitative interview data. Following this, male and female middle managers perceptions toward their work experience, organisational culture, organisational policies, and promotion requirements will be explored. In this latter analysis, particular attention was given to perceptions relating to areas of career development, factors that impinged on the last promotion, and views regarding what is required to achieve future promotion. The specific findings from these three areas of study are detailed below. Following this, a framework will be presented of influences on perception to examine how perceptual differences between male and female managers may impact on career advancement.

9.2 Analysis of the five managerial competencies

The following section will compare and contrast the results of the five managerial competencies which were introduced in Chapter 2. In order to analyse these results comprehensively, the person-centred and gender-stereotype measures will be combined.

9.2.1 Career commitment

As reported in Chapter 7, there were no differences in the selfreports of male and female middle managers in terms of their commitment toward their careers in management on the person-centred measures. No self-reports of this particular managerial competency were found in the literature, however the above results support the literature on self concepts of male and female managers in the work setting. Alban-Metcalfe (1987) found that there were similarities between these two groups, with both male and female managers perceiving themselves as equally ambitious in their work. It may be argued that ambition equates with career commitment for the purposes of this comparison.

However, significant differences were noted on the gender-stereotype measures. Here, male managers' responses indicated a belief that female managers had less commitment toward their management careers than their male colleagues. These findings support previously reported perceptions that female managers are less committed to their managerial role than their male colleagues because they will leave their careers for family commitments (Rosin & Korabik, 1992). The present study also supports research which has reported stereotypical views regarding women in management (e.g. Heilman, *et al.* 1989; Schein, 1975; 1994; Snyder, 1993), and studies and commentaries which have concluded that men and women are evaluated differently (e.g. Cahoon, 1991; Devanna, 1987; Stewart & Gudykunst, 1982; Wilson, 1995).

In addition, in the qualitative data reported in Chapter 8, subtle differences were observed in the responses given to this topic. Although both male and female managers expressed the view that commitment to a career was not a problem for female managers, and that it was possible for women to combine marriage and a career, male managers focussed

on the responsibilities that were inherent in marriage and families, and on the belief that women were best suited for taking the responsibility of children, especially while younger. On the other hand, female managers commented on the need to share the responsibility of family with their partner, believing that women should not be seen as solely responsible in this area. In addition, the majority of both male and female managers believed that women were remaining childless in order to have a successful career in management, with one female manager commenting that it may also be necessary to remain 'husbandless' in order to be successful in a management career.

From both male and female managers there was a recognition that a career in management was very demanding, with male managers intimating that it was too difficult for women to contemplate both families and careers, and there was a strong suggestion that families should take precedence. Female managers' responses showed a recognition that family responsibilities and careers were a difficult combination, and that organisations were not structured to allow real participation in both areas.

In summary, female managers report the same commitment to their careers as do male managers, however the perception of male managers is that their female colleagues are less committed. Female managers recognise that combining family and a career is difficult, and the vast majority believe that women are remaining childless in order to achieve their career goals. Male managers also recognise the difficulty of combining both roles, and indicate a clear preference for women fulfilling their family responsibilities.

These results therefore support both the existing literature that has reported that female managers do exhibit commitment toward management careers (Alban Metcalfe, 1987) and research that has explored the stereotypical belief that women lack commitment toward careers in management (e.g., Still, 1990), because family responsibilities influence career choices (Snyder, 1993). The results also support early research which found that stereotypical thinking influenced the way male managers evaluate women in the workplace (Brenner, et al. 1989) and more recent research which has reported similar findings (Schein, 1992; 1994). It is possible that women who attempt to balance careers and families by limiting their working hours may appear less committed to careers (Gallos, 1995). The results suggest therefore that the problem of women's differential career advancement may not lie in women's lack of commitment, but rather in the perceptions and evaluations of others. It may be that evaluations of female managers managerial competencies may fall into a similar category, as this quote on competence illustrates: "competent men are perceived more positively than competent females" (Gregory, 1990, p.261).

9.2.2 Career Motivation

On the measure of career motivation, no differences were found in the self-reports of male and female managers regarding their own career motivation. However, once again, male managers strongly believed that their female counterparts had less motivation toward their careers than did their male colleagues. The qualitative responses to this question also highlighted some subtle differences between the male and female managers' replies. Male managers appeared to view motivation as a desire to go up the career ladder, while female managers saw it as working efficiently at the level currently held. Therefore, it would appear that male and female managers see 'motivation' in two different ways. Male managers touched on the issue of female managers lacking confidence and believed this was related to their motivation, however female managers focused on overall satisfaction of the job, rather than striving for higher positions.

In summary, there are no differences in the self-reports of female and male managers in their career motivation, however, male managers do perceive that women have significantly less career motivation compared to their male colleagues, possibly because they define and perceive the concept differently. The qualitative data indicate that male and female managers may view motivation in two different ways, with males seeing it as a driving force to get ahead, and women viewing it as deriving satisfaction from the job already held. This finding supports the work of Gallos (1995), who proposed that women have a different perspective toward their careers which should not be equated with less career motivation.

The findings in the present study generally confirm earlier literature which has reported that male managers have considered that women lack motivation in their management positions (e.g., Marshall, 1984). In addition, the extant literature is extended by the findings that female managers themselves do not report any difference in their self-reports of

personal career motivation to their male colleagues. These results are similar to those reported by the Alban Metcalfe (1987) study which found that women perceive themselves as "equally creative, forceful, confident and ambitious" (p.213) to their male colleagues. Such qualities could be taken as indicating high levels of motivation. Given that women report similar levels of motivation to their male colleagues, and managerial career advancement is related directly to career motivation (Tharenou, 1997), this would suggest that women could be expected to be promoted similarly to men. However, if women view motivation as doing well in their present position, it is possible that such a perspective may contribute to the explanation of why so few women achieve senior management roles.

9.2.3 Relocation

Results on this measure indicate that male managers relocate, and they are offered the opportunity to relocate, more frequently than their female counterparts. The qualitative responses to this issue suggest why more frequent requests to male managers may occur. According to the male responses, there is a belief that organisations perceive men as the head of the family and breadwinner and hence are more appropriate and available for a relocation opportunity. Female managers agreed with this view, and added that organisations appear to make the assumption that women are constrained by responsibilities for nurturing and caring for their families, and hence will not be available for relocation. Fewer women, therefore, are asked to relocate with the resultant lower numbers of women who participate in this opportunity.

These findings support previous reports that conclude that women are not relocating as frequently as their male counterparts (Stroh, et al. 1992), nor are they being offered the domestic or international relocation opportunities that their male counterparts receive (Brett & Stroh, 1999). According to Chan and Smith (2000), who surveyed 686 major American and Canadian organisations, only 3% of women made up the total number of managers who were given the opportunity of foreign assignments. Australian research reports similar findings: it is estimated that only 6.4% of overseas appointments from the Australian private sector are made up of women (Still & Smith, 1998).

Organisational and cultural factors are the primary barrier to female managers taking up overseas assignments, and not deficiencies in either the qualifications or experience of female managers (Smith & Still, 1996), and 'gender' has also been reported as a major obstacle for female managers in selection for international assignments (Linehan, Scullion & Walsh, 2001). Furthermore, a study by Westwood and Leung (1994) rejects the proposition that women are reluctant to take up overseas postings, as these researchers found that half of the female expatriate managers interviewed in Hong Kong had made completely independent decisions to take up these postings, which suggests a positive attitude toward international assignments (Stroh, Varma & Valy-Durbin, 2000).

In summary, more male managers relocate for their organisations, and more male managers receive invitations to participate in this opportunity than female managers. Only 33% of female managers had been asked to relocate (compared to 62% of male managers), and 56% of

this group did relocate (compared to 76% of male managers). This indicates that when female managers are given the opportunity to relocate, over half of the group do relocate to further their careers. This suggests that the majority of female managers are willing to relocate, so their supposed lack of availability for geographic relocation, although greater than the men's, can no longer be used as a viable explanation to account for their limited career progress.

9.2.4 Educational qualifications

No difference was found between male and female managers self-reports of the highest educational qualifications they had received. However, there was a significant difference in the views of male and female managers as to their perceptions of female managers' education qualifications and suitability to fill a senior management position. A greater proportion of male managers believed that female managers were less educationally qualified than their male counterparts, while a greater proportion of female managers felt that their female colleagues were better educationally qualified than their male counterparts to fill senior management roles.

Earlier research (Still, 1988; 1990) has stated that lack of appropriate educational qualifications and experiences are the reason so few women fill senior management positions, and the findings from the present study suggest that a significant proportion of male managers still hold this view. Such a view does not reflect the contemporary reality, which is that female managers are equally as well educationally qualified as their male counterparts, and this has been widely reported in the

literature (e.g., Fagenson & Jackson, 1994). In two Australian studies, Still (1993; 1997) reported that 56% and 55% respectively of famale managers held tertiary qualifications, compared to 55.3% of male managers in the 1997 study (Still, 1997). As reported earlier, the present study sample had similar qualifications to those reported in the Still (1997) research, with slightly more female managers holding university qualifications than their male counterparts.

Similar findings are also reported in England by Davidson and Cooper (1992), and in America by Parker and Fagenson (1994). In addition, a recent Australian study has reported that 80% of female board members who participated in the study, had university qualifications, compared with 37% of the male respondents, and these qualifications were categorised as postgraduate (Sheridan, 2001).

Furthermore, it has been suggested that the type of qualification received can impact on promotion, with a Bachelor degree with majors in business related areas resulting in faster promotion (Sheridan, Slocum & Buda, 2001). It is interesting to note that the female managers in the present study had more Bachelors degrees in a business related area (31% compared to 22% for the male managers).

This is not a new phenomenon. The fact that women were graduating in higher numbers in business related areas was reported in 1994, when women made up more than 44% of commencing business students in Australian universities. Furthermore, in 1991, women in the 20-24 age group made up 52% of the graduates in business degrees other than accounting (Birrell, 1995). It would therefore be assumed that if such

qualifications ensured quicker promotion, women would be more eligible for senior promotion than their male colleagues. Therefore, it is proposed that lack of educational qualifications can be dispensed with as a possible explanation to account for women's poor representation at senior management levels.

9.2.5 Work related experience

Differences were reported in the work-related experience of male and female managers. Tharenou, et al. (1994) reported that work experience impacted more positively on male managers training, and eventual advancement, than for female managers. The results of the present study indicate that a very high proportion of male managers believe they have received the necessary work experience to achieve senior promotions (over 84%, compared to 76% for female managers).

However a significant difference was noted relating to male managers' perceptions of female managers' work-related experience. Fifty per cent of the male managers believed that women were less experienced than their male counterparts, possibly suggesting a stereotypical view. This latter result supports the literature (e.g. Still, 1992; 1993) which has proposed that female managers are believed to have less work-related experience to their male colleagues, and that this contributes to the poor career progress by women within organisational settings.

Work experience has been equated with managerial advancement (Gattiker & Larwood, 1990), and work experience, along with training and education, has been reported as a powerful influence on the managerial advancement of male managers in particular (Stroh, et al. 1992). In the

present research, over three quarters of the female managers had a similar perception to their male colleagues about receiving the type of work experience required to achieve promotions, and this finding refutes the stereotypical view that women lack this specific type of experience. Notwithstanding this, the perception of male managers is that women have significantly less work-related experience than their male colleagues. The problem therefore may not be female managers lack of specific work experience, but rather the perception of their lack of experience that contributes toward women's poor representation at senior management levels.

9.3 Overall summary of findings relating to managerial competencies

In Chapter 2, a literature review on gender differences set out the possibility that women had different managerial behaviours, skills and attributes, and that such differences, or deficits, may account for their poor representation in senior management roles. A group of five research questions tested out this possibility, and male and female middle managers were given the opportunity to report on their own behaviours, skills and attributes. The results obtained in this area suggest that female middle managers themselves do not consider that their career commitment or motivation is different to that of their male counterparts. In addition, female managers believe that their educational qualifications are also similar to that of their male colleagues.

Only in two areas, that of geographic relocation and work-related experience, was a significant difference noted between the male and

female managers' responses. In terms of relocation, one reason for this may be that more men are invited or requested to relocate by their superiors. However, it is noted that of those who were asked to relocate, male managers were more likely to do so than their female counterparts. With work related experience, although significantly more male managers reported receiving this type of experience, a high proportion of the female sample also believed they received similar types of experiences.

The qualitative data on the above areas in general supports the self-report quantitative data and indicates that the majority of the interviewees did not consider that female managers lacked commitment and motivation toward their management careers. In fact, it was noted that many women are believed to be deferring families until later in their careers, possibly in order to establish themselves at a certain career point. Women are seen as valuing educational qualifications more so than their male colleagues in order to give themselves the best chance of succeeding within the organisation. There appears to be consensus amongst the majority of the respondents that women do to not receive as many invitations to relocate as their male colleagues because of stereotypical thinking by the organisational decision makers.

quantitative results, which suggest that male middle managers do believe women tack commitment, motivation and work-related experience, and the qualitative one-on-one results obtained during interview. In this latter forum, it is possible that respondents offered a more socially acceptable response in answer to these contentious issues about women in

management. This may have been exacerbated by the sex of the researcher being female.

In relation to senior managers, their responses indicated that female managers are not deficient in motivation, commitment, or in their educational qualifications or experience. In addition, they do not perceive the fact that women are not relocating as frequently as men as a deficiency in women, but rather as a strategic decision driven by the traditional views of the organisation.

Therefore, in sum, in terms of being different, or having deficiencies in their behaviour, skills and attitudes when compared to their male colleagues, the self-reported responses to these questions, as well as the qualitative interview responses, suggest that female managers do not perceive any differences in the areas of commitment, motivation and educational qualifications. The results support the findings of Vilkinas (2000) who reported that male and female managers have similar perceptions of their behaviour and effectiveness as managers. Female managers do however report different experiences in relation to relocation, and fewer female managers report receiving the type of work experience considered necessary for senior promotions than did their male colleagues. Prior research on gender differences has been described as "inconclusive as there is no consensus about differences in styles, traits or behaviours of women and men as managers" (Hall-Taylor, 1997, p.259). It is proposed that the results from the present study add support to the view that gender differences in the behaviour of male and female managers do not offer a sufficient explanation to account for the low numbers of women who achieve senior management positions.

The results obtained in the gender-stereotype area suggest that gender-stereotypical perceptions of women in management continue to occur. Male managers expressed the belief that female managers were less committed and motivated toward their careers, and that they had less work-related experience than did their male colleagues. As referred to in the previous section, the question relating to relocation in the gender-stereotype measures highlighted the fact that fewer women were being asked to relocate. The difference between the number of male middle managers and female managers who were asked to relocate was highly significant. Albeit indirectly, this finding suggests that gender-stereotypical thinking may have occurred in the minds of the managers who choose staff to take up interstate, or international relocation assignments for their company.

As all managers in the current sample filled middle management roles, it can be assumed that they all had similar levels of experience and qualifications, to partake of such an opportunity. Notwithstanding this, twice the proportions of male managers were requested to relocate, compared to their female colleagues. This difference is clearly not warranted by the empirical reality of more than half of those women who were asked, agreeing to relocate. In relation to the educational qualifications of women in management, stereotypical thinking was again evident from the male managers who believed that women were less qualified than their male colleagues to fill a senior management role.

In addition to the middle managers' views, the senior managers' responses to this question also highlighted some stereotypical attitudes. In relation to relocation, both male and female senior managers agreed that organisational decision makers are still operating on traditional beliefs. That is, there appears to remain a strong belief that men are the heads of families, and therefore are the only appropriate choice to make when considering employees for geographic relocation to fill a company role. From the above, it is possible to deduce that stereotypical thinking still occurs in relation to women in management, and that such thinking may play some role in women's numbers remaining low in senior management positions. The above data therefore supports a gender-stereotype hypothesis as one of the significant contributing influences on the low number of women in senior management roles.

From these combined results, it may be concluded that a gender-difference (or 'deficit') hypothesis can no longer be supported as a viable explanation to account for women's low numbers in senior management position. However, gender-stereotypic attitudes toward women are still obvious in many of the responses given by male middle managers, and such attitudes must impact negatively on the career advancement of managerial women. Nevertheless, the following question needs to be considered: is this sufficient reason to account for the vast disparity between the numbers of men and women who fill senior management roles? This thesis proposes that it is not.

Therefore, further explanations are required to adequately address the phenomenon. One other avenue was introduced in Chapter 4, where

perceptual differences between male and female managers were proposed as a possible explanatory factor. It was suggested that perceptual differences in relation to various organisational dynamics, and in particular, in relation to promotional issues, may play a role in women's poor representation in senior management roles. This original contribution to the literature will be explored fully in the following section.

9.4 Perception measures

A group of eleven research questions was designed to explore this possibility and the questions were drawn from the following areas of the survey: workplace environment, organisation culture, organisation policies, advancement opportunities, career development, factors influencing previous promotion, requirements for future promotion, and perceptions of senior management requirements for promotion. Responses which indicate a significant difference in the perceptions of male and female managers will now be explored in depth.

9.4.1 Workplace environment

This study found that there were differences in the perceptions of male and female managers in relation to their workplace environment. Specifically, there were differences in perceptions of the support received from others in the workplace. In terms of clients and customers, female managers believed they received more supportive interaction than their male colleagues. One possible reason for this could be that female managers utilise their 'personal qualities' (as discussed in Chapter 7) when they interact with their clients and customers.

These findings support earlier literature which reported that male and female executives in American corporations experienced their workplace environment differently (Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990), however, the present results add to the women in management literature by highlighting the fact that perceptions of male and female managers in relation to superiors and subordinates towards themselves, and managers of the same sex are quite similar. Where significant differences were found in relation to attitudes of superiors to managers of the opposite sex, the results were in the expected direction (see Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990), with female managers believing that male managers received more support. However, in relation to attitudes of clients and customers being seen as more supportive by female managers, this is an unexpected result.

9.4.2 Organisation culture

In relation to organisational culture, perceptual differences were again noted between male and female managers on the question of opportunities to influence decisions at senior levels. Although the differences were not statistically significant, they do suggest a trend.

In two of the three areas tested, male managers recorded more positive responses in relation to opportunities to influence decisions at senior levels. For example, to the question of decision-making opportunities for managers of their own sex, male managers felt that other male managers had more opportunities, compared to female managers who felt this was true for other female managers. However, female managers believed that male managers received more opportunity to

influence decisions, than male managers felt was the case for female managers. This of course, may be more than a perception. It may be a reality that men are given this opportunity more frequently than their female colleagues.

These findings support similar work by Russell Reynolds Associates (1990) who reported that more male executives (75%) perceived that men and women were given equal opportunity to exercise authority within their organisations, compared to 49% of female executives who agreed with this question.

A further question aimed at understanding perceptions of organisational culture, examined manager's perceptions of the opportunities they received to reach their potential, a similar trend was observed. For managers of the same sex, male managers believed more strongly that other male managers had support to reach their potential than did female managers. Once again, female managers felt that male managers received more support to reach their potential. These findings support similar work of Russell Reynolds Associates (1990) who reported that 77% of male leaders in their sample perceived that their organisation actively encouraged women's career development, compared to only 33% of female leaders who believed this was the case.

Finally, respondents were asked to estimate how long it would take for fifty per cent of senior managers to be female. More female managers were more positive about the outcome of women making up 50% of senior management within a 5-10 year period (21%) compared to only 14% of their male colleagues who agreed with this possibility. Furthermore, more

female managers (8%) believed that there were already 50% of women in senior management positions, compared to 2% of male managers who concurred with this view. This suggests that despite the differences experienced in the culture of the organisation, some female managers have a positive outlook about their future. However, it must be noted that an equal number of female managers (21%) and male managers (22%) thought this eventuality would never occur.

Overall, the above findings possibly indicate an improved attitude toward the organisational culture than that reported by the Bellamy and Ramsey (1994) research, conducted over 7 years ago. In this latter study, two thirds of female corporate managers in their sample were leaving their organisations because of not fitting into the corporate culture.

9.4.3 Organisation policies

In terms of organisational policies, no differences were found in the responses of male and female managers in relation to performance appraisal systems within their organisations. However, it was of interest to note that more male than female managers appeared to be aware of the Equal Employment Opportunity operating within their workplace, as well as indicating that such policies were well known amongst the employees. Furthermore, male managers believed that such policies were actually carried out within their organisations. These results indicate that male managers are very aware of the implementation of policies into the workplace that dictate to some extent the overt behaviour and culture of the organisation.

In support of these unexpected findings, Bellamy and Ramsey (1994) reported that 12 out of 30 female managers interviewed had no knowledge of specific "issues, programs or policies which had been implemented as a direct result of Affirmative Action Legislation" (p.10), in their study into barriers women experience in corporate management. It would appear that female managers have less knowledge of EEO and Affirmative Action policies within their organisations than their male colleagues.

One explanation for male managers heightened awareness of such policies and regulations may be the formal government requirements for organisations to report to the Affirmative Action Agency. Since its inception in 1986, the Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act 1986, has required organisations to report to the Affirmative Action Agency. It is now a requirement in law that all organisations (excluding public sector organisations which are covered by specific legislation) who employ over 100 employees, develop policies and practices that will eliminate structural or historic workplace discrimination. Employers are legally bound to file an annual report with the Affirmative Action Agency (Stone, 1998).

In 1995, this resulted in 2,700 Australian organisations reporting to the Agency, with 83% of these being drawn from the private sector (Affirmative Action Agency Annual Report, 1995-96). The magnitude of such legal requirements may heighten men's awareness of such policies. However, research by Hede and Dingsdag (1994) suggests a caution in such interpretation. These researchers found that "...a large proportion of

managers who claim to be committed to EEO also misunderstand affirmative action" (p.40). Therefore, more knowledge about the extence of EEO and similar policies does not necessarily translate into a deeper understanding of what the policies stand for, nor a commitment toward the values inherent in such policies.

The present results support the findings of Still (1997) in her attitudinal survey of employees within the Australian financial industry. She found that more male managers (78%) felt that management supported Equal Employment Opportunity within their organisation, while only 58% of female respondents believed this was the case. Furthermore, there was a belief amongst female employees that few male colleagues had any knowledge of EEO policies, or a commitment toward its implementation. However, contrary perceptions were held by the male respondents, who believed that they did have a commitment toward the EEO policy (Still, 1997). Both the Still (1997) research, and the current findings illustrate a clear difference in the way male and female managers perceive the organisation's commitment to Equal **Employment** Opportunity.

9.4.4 Advancement opportunities

When opportunities for advancement were considered, the majority of both male and female managers agreed that every middle manager in their organisation did not have the same opportunity for advancement. However, when asked to elaborate on the reasons for some employees receiving these opportunities, and others not, the following differences were noted.

A greater proportion of female managers considered that 'who you know' was a significant factor in unequal advancement. This suggests that female managers are very aware of the reality of career advancement, and further suggests that the merit principle may not underpin promotion in many organisations (Burton, 1991). Female managers also reported that 'bias and discrimination', and 'political know-how' were other significant factors in some employees receiving opportunities. An awareness of the political nature of organisational dynamics was a feature in these responses.

In contrast, male managers perceived that the area of management an employee was currently working in was a significant factor in certain employees receiving opportunities for advancement. In addition, they believed that the style an employee exhibited, rather than the quality of their work was another factor in the opportunities received by some employees. Finally, male managers reported that the selection and recruitment policies adopted by the organisation were also a factor in unequal advancement. This suggests some awareness that policies operate within the workplace that may effectively disadvantage some people more than others.

These results support research which reports that advancement opportunities are not perceived as equally available to all managers. For example Russell Reynolds Associates (1990) found that only 39% of female executives felt they had equal access to all 'big breaks', compared to 53% of male executives. Still (1997) has also reported perceptual differences between male and female managers in this area, as more men

(77%) in her study felt that women had as many opportunities to advance as men in their organisation, compared with only 43% of females who concurred with this view. The present research findings add to the current knowledge of women in management literature by a recognition that male and female managers also perceive the reasons for unequal advancement quite differently.

In interpreting the responses to this open-ended question, there is a sense that female managers report issues that influence unequal advancement as happening to them, and impacting on them personally. That is, there is an awareness of events occurring that are outside their control. With the male managers, their responses suggest that almost the luck of the draw places an individual in a particular area of management, and that area may or may not be considered significant or important in the strategic planning of the organisation at a given time. Also, in stating that 'style' is important, rather than merit, this suggests an awareness that men also recognise that there is some subjective variability in evaluations that can impact negatively on an individual, and that this could influence the career advancement of some employees. It would seem that men believe that the *style* with which things get done is more important to an organisation, and not necessarily how well the task gets carried out.

9.4.5 Career Development

In relation to career development, perceptual differences were again noted. Female managers indicated that 'personal qualities', (such as integrity, doing the job well, self-confidence, communication skills, being a team player, and having the determination to succeed) were the

important factors in their career development. This appears to suggest that women focus on internal characteristics and consider that these are of value. These findings support earlier research into factors that enhance career development, for example doing the job well (for both male and female executives) (Russell Reynolds Associates, 1990); consistently exceeding performance expectations (Ragins, *et al.* 1998), and achieving results (Kakabadse & Margerison, 1987). The importance of being a teamplayer and effective communication skills (Kakabadse & Margerison, 1987) were also found to be important factors in career development, as was determination to succeed (Sinclair, 1994) and integrity (Kisch & Ryan, 1991).

On the other hand, male managers were stronger on the belief that 'gender and policies' (informal and formal organisation policies, gender and stereotyping) have been less of a hindrance in their careers than reported by female managers.

This appears to suggest that men consider that external factors influence the outcome of their career, that is, they are assisted by the formal as well as informal policies that operate throughout organisations, and are hindered less by gender and stereotyping than are their female colleagues. These findings support the work of Bellamy and Ramsey (1994) who reported that stereotyping was a factor which impinged negatively on the career advancement of female managers, and the Stewart & Gudykunst (1982) findings that female managers who perceived both formal and informal systems as important were those who advanced in their careers. Cannings and Montmarquette (1991) have also written

that men have more success in achieving promotion because of their greater use of informal networks.

The finding relating to gender is particularly interesting. Hede and Dingsdad (1994) reported that gender was an important factor in 15% of decisions relating to the staff selection practices of managers with both male and female managers indicated that gender was a factor which affected their decision making. Gender is an important issue in organisations (Acker, 1992; Alvesson & Billing, 1992; Larson & Freeman, 1997; Maddock & Parkin, 1994), as there are reported to be "...gendered social relations which are masked under the guise of a gender-neutral organizational logic and language" (Symons, 1992, p.18). Hence, gender influences interpersonal reactions within the organisational setting (Powell, 1993). Both male and female managers operate within such a milieu. In the present study, when male managers report that gender and stereotyping had not hindered their career development, this suggests that being male is seen as an asset.

The present research adds to the above findings because it differentiates what males and females see as most important in their career development. This is in contrast to earlier findings from a study by Gold and Pringle (1988), who reported that male and female managers were remarkably similar on major factors they identified as helping promotion: receiving assistance or coaching by other/s, training and experience, personal skills and attitude to work (e.g., conscientious). However, some differences were also reported in the Gold and Pringle (1988) study. Men were more likely to state that luck, opportunity, being in

the right place at the right time had been helpful, as well as being willing to relocate for their organisation. On the other hand, women felt that networks, past performance and the influence of the home background were factors that had assisted them in achieving promotion.

Nevertheless, there are similarities between these reports and the findings of the present study, particularly in regard to the male responses. For the female responses in the present study, there is a strong suggestion of the network/affiliations and relationship focus in their responses that has been reported as underpinning the communal style of women (Marshall, 1984; Eagly, 1987). The results also indicate that male managers are aware of the benefits of being male, as well as the political system inherent in the informal and formal policies of the organisation.

9.4.6 Perceptions of factors that influenced the last promotion

In considering the specific factors that had been influential in the last promotion received, further differences in perception were observed. Female managers reported that 'individual qualities' (personality, potential for development and mentoring relationships) were important contributors to their promotion. The influence of internal factors is again noted, along with the recognition of the support received through a mentoring relationship. Male managers expressed the view that 'experience' (range and years of experience) were the significant contributors to their promotion. Some degree of externalising is noted in these responses. Male managers appear to view agentic qualities of 'acting on' as important, as opposed to whatever individual qualities they may possess.

That is, the end result appears to be more important than a subjective understanding of how the work is done.

Furthermore, when managers were asked to speculate on possible reasons why a promotion may not be received in the future, differences were again noted. Most male managers (40%) tended to feel that personal inadequacy (such as being considered too old, or lacking appropriate tertiary qualifications) would be the most likely reason. A large proportion of female managers (25%) agreed with this perspective. In addition, 26% of the female managers considering that the reason they may not receive a potential promotion could be their own lack of personal interest. These results are interesting, because they show a reverse trend to those reported above. Here, male managers are exhibiting an awareness of internal factors as playing an important role in future promotions. Female managers' responses reflect the same realisation of the importance of internal factors, and also the personal awareness that they may lose interest in achieving the promotion. This suggests that some women do not want career advancement at any cost.

The responses by the female managers that individual qualities had contributed to their previous promotion, and that experience had contributed to male manager's last promotion support and extend the previous literature. Kakabadse and Margerison, (1987), and Still (1993) have both reported that a manager's range of experience is important in receiving promotions, along with years of experience gained (Stroh, et al. 1992).

Both personality and potential for development were found to be significant contributors to decision making in relation to appropriate people to select for positions within organisations in a study of corporate members of the Australian Institute of Management (Hede & Dingsdag, 1994). Therefore, these two factors were used as measures of career development for respondents in the current study, and it was of interest to note that female managers believed these were significant factors in their last promotion, but male managers did not.

In addition, a study by Pringle and Goyma (1989), reported mentoring relationships as factors which had helped in achieving present positions in the organisation by twice the number of women in the sample, compared to male managers. Furthermore, 'assistance or coaching by other/s' was also reported as the most significant factor in positively impacting on promotion by slightly more females than males in research by Gold and Pringle (1988), and Russell Reynolds Associates (1990), who found that a mentoring relationship was considered important to career advancement by both males and female executives. Finally, the research by Pringle and Goyma (1989) also found that female managers were significantly more likely to report that their own 'personal qualities' had assisted them in their current success, which supports the current study.

Therefore, the present research supports the extant literature and extends the findings by highlighting the importance placed on each of these factors by male and female managers in relation to their previous promotion. Female managers appear to recognise the importance of communal type qualities that involve relationships with others, whereas

male managers indicate that the agentic type qualities of experience are more beneficial to them in achieving promotion.

9.4.7 Requirements for future promotion

As the primary focus of this study was on the possibility that gender differences in the perceptions of middle managers may play a role in the poor representation of women in senior management positions, it was considered essential to understand how male and female managers viewed the importance of possessing various behavioural and attitudinal characteristics in order to achieve promotion to senior management. The responses were illuminating. Female managers believed that 'leadership skills' (leadership, strategic vision, communication skills, flexibility to change, motivation, ability to take risks, enthusiasm and the ability to anticipate the organisation's needs) were of the utmost importance. In addition, they believed that 'drive' (deference to superiors, ambition, endurance and discretion) were also important. On both of these factors, female managers believed these attributes to be more important than their male colleagues, and there was a significant difference between the groups.

These results generally support Tharenou's (1997) conclusions on managerial career advancement factors, which were that interpersonal, leadership, task, and personal skills are important for entry into management roles as well as for continuing advancement throughout careers. The findings also confirm earlier research by Kakabadse and Margerison (1987) and Russell Reynolds Associates (1990), who reported that both male and female leaders in their study perceived that their

leadership skills were the most significant factors contributing to their most recent promotions. In addition, the factors combined under the heading of 'drive' have also been reported as important in previous research, for example deference to superiors (Gallese, 1991); ambition (Kakabadse & Margerison, 1987); endurance and discretion (Davidson & Cooper, 1992).

The present research clearly indicates what female and male middle managers believe to be important for achieving senior promotion. What is of interest is that female managers report much more 'agentic' qualities such as leadership and strategic vision, ability to take risks, and the ability to anticipate the organisation's needs when they were asked to consider what behavioural and attitudinal characteristics they believed were required in order to achieve a future promotion to senior management. These views are in marked contrast to the comments reported by female managers in response to what factors influenced their previous promotion. This may suggest that female middle managers believe that senior management requires a different set of skills than they feel they currently possess.

9.4.8 Perceptions of senior management requirements for promotion

Finally, middle managers were also asked to speculate on what senior managers considered to be important when evaluating staff from amongst middle management ranks for senior promotions. Once again, there was a significant difference between the middle managers on this question. Female managers, believed more strongly than their male counterparts that senior managers valued 'perceived charisma'

(popularity, likeability/sociability, attractiveness, powerful allies and personality). When these views were compared with senior managers responses to the same question, one factor, 'perceived charisma' again showed significant differences between the groups. On the four factors subjected to analysis, female middle managers mean responses were significantly higher than both their male middle manager counterparts, and senior managers. However, it is noteworthy that both male and female managers ranked 'perceived charisma' the lowest of the four items, viz: Leadership skills, Application, Formal Skills followed by Charisma. This suggests that both male and female managers believed that senior managers valued the agentic qualities of 'Leadership' (ability to anticipate organisational needs, ability to take risks, ambition, communication skills, delegation skills. enthusiasm. flexibility, leadership, motivation. responsibility and strategic vision) as the most important attribute for middle managers to possess in order to achieve promotion to senior management.

9.5 Summary

The current research findings highlight some similarities and dissimilarities with previous evidence. In the first category, the results of the person centred measures from the current sample showed that there were no gender differences in the self-reported commitment, motivation, and educational qualifications of middle managers. Although self-reports may be subject to some form of bias (Stroh *et al.* 1992), it was felt that a personal measure of behaviours, skills and attitudes would add an important insight to the literature rather than relying on the reports and

evaluations of others. The findings refute the commonly held belief that women are deficient in these areas, and that this is a plausible reason for their lack of advancement in senior management roles.

Of particular interest is the finding relating to relocation. Although women did not report relocating as frequently as did their male colleagues, the present results indicate that female managers were not being asked to relocate as often as their male colleagues. This suggests that it is inaccurate to pre-judge that female managers are unavailable, or unwilling to relocate before giving them the opportunity to participate, or decline. Although female managers were less likely to have relocated, they were more available than common stereotypes might admit.

Australian research by Still and Smith (1998) has also reported that women are not asked to relocate as frequently as their male colleagues, and these researchers have further suggested that the reasons for women not having access to global careers have more to do with organisational culture than deficiencies in the qualifications and experience of women (Smith & Still, 1996).

In addition, the findings on work-related experience suggest that although a significantly greater proportion of male managers felt they had this experience, over three quarters of the female managers also felt they had received appropriate work-related experience considered to be important for achieving promotion.

In the second category, the findings on the gender-stereotype measures support earlier research which has shown that stereotypical attitudes exist toward women in management (e.g., Gregory, 1990).

Schein's (1975) early work demonstrated that the position of manager was sex-typed as a male occupation. Qualities such as leadership ability. competitiveness, confidence. objectivity, aggression. ambition. forcefulness and desiring responsibility were found to be associated with men (Schein, 1975). Replications of this earlier work found that male managers retained their stereotypical views of a successful manager fifteen years later, however female managers had ceased to do so (Brenner, Tomkiewicz & Schein, 1989). In addition, almost twenty years after initial research, stereotypical attitudes have been found to be still prevalent toward women in management in a study where both sexes "perceived that the characteristics required of a successful middle manager were viewed as more commonly held by men in general than by women in general" (Schein & Mueller, 1992; Schein, 1994).

Stereotypical thinking therefore influences decisions made in the organisation, as such attitudes induce a person to 'think manager' and automatically 'think male', according to Schein & Mueller (1992). Consideration was given to the possibility that such sex role stereotyping of the position of management may create a barrier to advancement for women (Schein, 1992). Such a possibility is borne out by research which found that of 420 companies surveyed in western Europe, less than half (49%) had ever employed a woman in a management position. Fifteen percent of the remaining 51% of the sample were emphatic that they would never promote a woman into such a role (Schein, 1994).

Therefore, as Antal and Izraeli (1993) concluded in their global comparison of women in management, "probably the single most

important hurdle for women in management in all industrialized countries is the persistent stereotype that associates management with being male" (Antal & Izraeli, 1993, p.63), which reinforces the gender difference view. The pervasiveness of stereotypes is believed to continue, with replications of early studies reporting "[M]ale management students in five different countries, and male corporate managers in the USA, view women as much less likely to have leadership ability, be competitive, ambitious, skilled in business matters, have analytical ability or desire responsibility" (Schein, 1994, p.50). It would appear that stereotypes about the maleness of the management role remain persistent and are deeply entrenched (Schein, 1994). Such gender role stereotypes play a significant role in women not being seen as fitting senior positions in management (Tharenou, 1999b), or academia (Shen, 2000).

In the third area, findings on the perceptual difference measures support earlier research by Russell Reynolds and Associates (1990) who found that men and women often perceive the organisational workplace in very different ways. Still (1997) has also reported differences in the perceptions of male and female managers in the Australian finance industry. Similar perceptual gaps between executives and senior female executives in Canada have also been reported (Davidson & Burke, 2000). The present study concurs with these general findings, and adds to them by proposing that the perceptual differences that male and female managers exhibit may be instrumental in the small numbers of women who fill senior management positions.

9.6 An alternative explanation for the low numbers of women in senior management

The theoretical analysis of the results has concluded that a gender-difference viewpoint can no longer be sustained as a viable explanation for the low numbers of women in senior management. In contrast, gender stereotypical attitudes are obviously a very significant contributing factor to the phenomenon, and their influence cannot be discounted. Nevertheless, although gender stereotypes appear to offer a valid possibility to partially account for this phenomenon, it is proposed that the existence of gender stereotypes are not sufficient to explain the huge difference in outcomes between male and female managers in obtaining senior management roles. While there are undeniably frequent examples of gender stereotypical attitudes existing toward women who fulfil a management role, as well as toward unemployed female managers (Fielden & Davidson, 2000), it is proposed that other factors may also operate to impact on the small proportion of female managers who advance to senior management positions.

The perceptual difference hypothesis suggests another possible explanation to account for the phenomenon. The results obtained highlighted many significant areas within the organisation where perceptual differences between male and female managers have been shown to occur. Such differences of perception appear to suggest that female managers may have different values about how they view motivation, future career advancement, reasons for success or failure and what is important to possess or exhibit to achieve future promotions.

If perceptions can be so different between male and female managers in so many important areas of organisational functioning, it is possible that this will impact on promotion seeking and promotion 'providing' behaviour, and hence eventual career advancement. It is reasonable, therefore, to argue that these different perceptions influence promotion seeking behaviour, particularly in relation to what is valued in order to achieve future promotion, and to therefore make some contribution to women's poor representation at senior levels of management.

The question is: why do differences in perception exist between male and female managers who fill the same formal position, hold very similar educational qualifications, perceive similar levels of work experience, and express a similar desire to fill a senior management role? One possibility is that women and men perceive their social realities in very different ways. This becomes evident through an analysis of many of the more detailed qualitative responses by women that demonstrate social implications that were not evident in initial responses.

operates on an individual's perceptions. That is, perceptions work within a social framework that is not always obvious or evident. Such social influences mould values, which in turn affect an individual's goals, interests and expectations. Ultimately these ways of thinking will influence significant decisions, and behaviour, in an individual's life.

Such a social layer of influence may help to explain the strikingly different demographic make-up of contemporary middle managers in the

present sample in terms of marital status and dependent children. Significantly less female managers were married with children than their male counterparts. In addition, female managers were significantly younger, and better qualified in appropriate business/commerce areas than male managers. Therefore, while differences are not evident in abilities, there are clear differences in the profiles of the middle managers. How can this be explained and can such an explanation provide an insight into the poor representation of women in senior management?

In Chapter 4, a model of the factors which affect perception was described. This gender-neutral model does not accommodate a reality where male and females have different perceptions to each other. However, the vast majority of responses to the perception measures in this study showed significant differences between the male and female managers' responses. It is therefore suggested that social influences impact on an individual in a way that brings about different 'figure-ground' perceptions, in the form of values, interests, goals and expectations.

To accommodate these social influences on perception, an improved framework of perception is proposed. This new framework incorporates the fact that after an analysis of the combined findings of the survey and the qualitative data, it became evident that many of the responses appeared to bring out often unexpressed values and gendered constraints, indicating that an important social influence was evident.

It is proposed that the social sphere of influence operates at a subtle, or possibly subliminal level on an individual's perceptions, decision-making, and behaviour. To illustrate, each individual may believe they

have a free choice to pursue a personal 'interest'. However, the improved framework of perception proposes that our individual 'interests', 'goals', 'past experiences', and 'expectations' do not operate in isolation, but rather are underpinned by social influences which are strongly gendered.

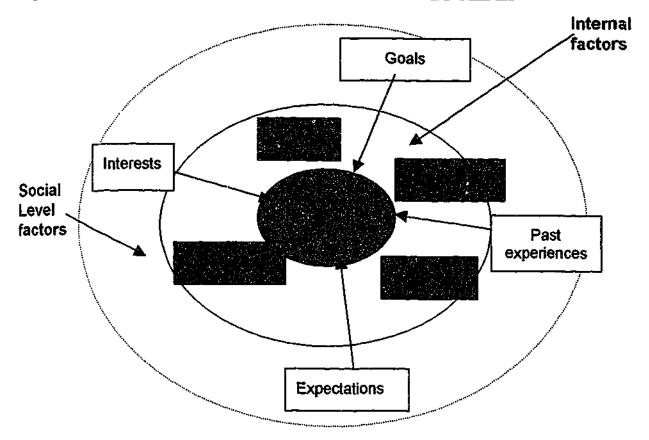
It is clear that gender impacts on men and women in different ways. As commented on in Chapter 7, significantly more female managers in this study, compared to male managers, thought that gender had 'hindered', their career development. This demonstrates that a significantly higher proportion of females acknowledge that being female is a negative factor in achieving managerial success in the organisation.

It is therefore suggested that a restructured framework of perception which recognises such gendered social influences offers a viable explanation to account for the differences in perceptions noted in this study, and by extension, may lead to an alternative explanation for the low numbers of women in senior management roles.

The diagram below describes two sets of factors that impact on an individual's perception. One is the internal sphere, and the other is the social sphere. Throughout the data analysis, it became clear that respondents were explaining their life and work history primarily in terms of the inner internal sphere. It is the intention of this thesis to link the two spheres together to clarify that a social level is in operation which is often not apparent. The following figure, (Figure 9.1) sets out a framework of perception which includes internal characteristics (ability, personality, learning and intelligence) and an external social layer of influences (goals

past experiences, expectations and interests), both of which are believed to impact on an individual's perception, or way of seeing the world.

Figure 9.1 Restructured framework of perceptual influences



There is a significant body of literature and research which reports that males and females experience socialisation differently. In addition, there is compelling evidence that social influences are powerful moderators of the way men and women behave socially. This evidence is provided by the conceptual framework of the Social-role theory (1987), which has generated a language to describe social influences in behaviour through a recognition of the gendered nature of social factors. There are direct correlations between the Social-role theory and the social sphere of influence outlined in the perceptual framework above (Figure 9.1). It is proposed that the Social-role theory (Eagly, 1987) therefore, can inform, and be informed by, the findings of the present research. The following

section will briefly describe this theory as it provides further support for a social sphere of influence (SSI) as set out above.

9.7 Social-role theory

The Social-role theory offers an appropriate conceptual framework to explain sex differences in social behaviour. According to Eagly (1987), the factors which are believed to underpin differences in social behaviour are the division of labour; gender roles and their content; shared expectations, and sex-typed skills and beliefs. As aspects of the Social-role theory conceptual framework confirm that social factors are important in an analysis of individual behaviour, a brief discussion of the basic tenets of the theory will be made, along with an analysis of how these social influences relate to the restructured model of perception presented above.

9.7.1 The division of labour

In essence, Social-role theory proposes that differences exist in the social behaviour of men and women, and are caused by diverse social influences experienced by both sexes. At the time that Eagly (1987) was developing her theory of social roles, there was a predominance of women in domestic roles, and men's specific provider roles tended to have higher status and the authority that goes with such status.

Social-role theory predicted that as women filled lower level positions, there would be differences in power and status between them and those who filled higher level positions, and this would obviously have implications for the roles fulfilled by each sex and the associated stereotypes attached to each role. Empirical research has shown that

people with higher-status are considered to be more agentic than people of lower-status (Eagly & Steffen, 1986). High status may also lead to inferences about the dimensions of dominance and submissiveness (Eagly & Wood, 1982). Thus, perceptions of others about women's general lower status and ascribed submissiveness will have obvious implications for the way people perceive the appropriateness of the power and influence that is exerted by women when they are in a management role. The division of labour, therefore, is believed to be the "underlying cause" of sex differences in social behaviour through an impact on gender roles, and the skills and beliefs acquired through engaging in prior roles (Eagly, 1987, p.31).

Eagly (1987) provides convincing evidence that past experiences, such as the roles fulfilled by a division of labour, are influential in causing differences in an individual's behaviour. This supports the proposed perceptual framework which states that 'past experiences' are derived from a social milieu which is gendered, and because of this, perceptions influenced by past experiences will be experienced differently by men and women.

9.7.2 Gender roles and sex differences

Social role theory posits that two mechanisms are believed to underpin the way social roles can elicit sex differences in behaviour (Eagly, 1987). Firstly, gender roles will be considered, followed by a brief discussion of sex-typed skills and beliefs. Prior roles, or gender roles have been defined as "...those shared expectations (about appropriate qualities and behaviors) that apply to individuals on the basis of their

socially identified gender" (Eagly, 1987, p.12). Shared expectations form the basis of gender roles in relation to preferred male and female characteristics.

Of interest in this definition of gender roles is the element of shared expectations. Empirical support regarding the expectations of others about male and female characteristics has been reported in the gender stereotype literature (e.g., Ruble, 1983), and such expectations describe desirable qualities or behaviours for each sex. The preferred characteristics for male and female managers are also reported in the management literature (e.g., Davidson & Cooper, 1992; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; and Still, 1997), and it can be assumed that such expectations may exert pressure on men and women to behave in particular ways.

Typically, individuals tend to comply with the expectations of others through receiving reinforcement when they behave in a way that others expect. This process of reinforcement is believed to influence people to conform to the stereotypic expectations of others (Eagly, 1987). According to Eagly (1987), combined shared expectations about women make up the female gender role, and those relating to men make up the male gender role. The formation of gender roles is believed to be a fundamental influence on an individual's behaviour.

In social role theory, an important mediating process is the formation of gender roles by which people of each sex are expected to have characteristics that equip them for the tasks that they typically carry out. These expectations encompass the preferred or desirable attributes of men and women as well as their typical attributes (Eagly & Wood, 1999, p.413).

In essence, men and women have different expectations placed on them: they may conform to these expectations partially or fully, and because of this, will develop different skills, attitudes and beliefs. Eagly (1987) believes that these factors lead women to interact socially in a different way to men.

The social-role interpretation of sex differences assumes that beliefs about women as "especially communal" and men as "especially agentic" originates from the family and social roles women and men occupy (Eagly, 1987, p.19). What is considered to be the appropriate and acceptable behaviour for each sex is made known to the individual through gender role pressures that are communicated through norms. That is, women are seen as filling their gender roles by manifesting "selflessness, concern with others, and a desire to be at one with others" (Eagly, 1987, p.16), particularly by playing the part of the homemaker/parent/carer. Men are seen as filling their gender roles by exhibiting agentic type behaviours, such as assertion, control, independent from other people and self confidence. These behaviours are manifested by self-assertion, self-expansion and the urge to master others (Bakan, 1966; Marshall, 1984), and are acted out in the part of the provider.

Such gender roles may exert pressure on female managers to balance career and family, or to excel through relationships and attachments to others. Men may feel pressure to excel in a career, and to have good technical skills. Possibly the differences reported between men and women in management roles in the early gender-difference literature can be explained by men and women conforming to sex-based social

roles, that is men behaved as leaders, and women behaved as their supporters.

It is possible that shared expectations about the way people should behave may also underpin the person-centred theories presented in Chapter 2, as well as the gender-stereotype theories described in Chapter 3. In addition, shared expectations of others may influence the way men and women think about their careers by influencing their own attitudes and values.

Furthermore, the gender role view of behaviour would therefore predict that women will conform to stereotypical expectations about the way they should behave, or at the very least, experience discomfort when they attempt to fill another role not ascribed to their sex. There is a parallel between the stereotypical expectations about the way people should behave, and the interests women and men may develop. This offers support to the proposed social sphere of influence framework which states that 'interests' are seen as an influence on an individual's perceptual set. In terms of the social sphere of influence, it is proposed that interests of individuals are impacted upon by social constraints, similar to those proposed by social and gender roles.

Therefore Social-role theory acknowledges that social forces, in the form of the 'shared expectations' of others, can influence the formation of gender-roles. This offers support to the social sphere of influence, which states that 'expectations' influence an individuals perceptual set. Expectations of individuals are influenced by a social reality which impacts differently on men and women. Therefore, the perceptions of men and

women are likely to differ because of the unique social expectations placed on them.

9.7.3 Skills, attitudes and beliefs acquired in social roles as determinants of sex differences

In addition to gender roles, sex-typed skills and behaviour are also believed to influence differential behaviour by men and women, and these facets of the theory will now be described. For example, paid occupations usually require some level of decision making, and an emphasis on task completion. The focus is on achieving the organisation's goals, often competing with fellow employees for recognition and rewards in the process.

In contrast, the domestic role requires completely different skills. Here, multiple goals must be achieved without guidance concerning the best way to attain these goals. There is often no feedback or rewards attached to the homemaker's performance. What is required of the homemaker is that they work cooperatively with members of their family, often to the extent that their own goals are subordinated. The development of empathy and the ability to understand and anticipate family members concerns, as well as emotional expressiveness, is highly prized in the homemaker (Eagly, 1987). Thus, to the extent that men and women will occupy either paid employment or domestic duties, different roles and skills will be acquired by each sex.

Eagly's (1987) evidence for the acquisition of skills, attitudes and behaviour again supports the proposed perceptual framework of a Social Sphere of Influence which states that goals are formed through social

experiences, such as those described by Eagly. It is reasonable to draw a parallel between skills, attitudes, beliefs and goals. The relevance of skills, attitudes and beliefs and the findings of the present study is that women may have different perspectives and attitudes to their male colleagues toward their careers. That is, they may have developed different skills and beliefs as to what is valued to achieve promotion, and their behaviour may be influenced accordingly.

Therefore, the Social-role theory convincingly demonstrates that social influences impact differentially on the behaviour of men and women. Social influences exert significant forces on an individual's life, even though they may not be obvious or evident. Such a recognition of the role of social factors on influencing behaviour confirms the adoption of a framework which integrates a social sphere of influence into an individual's way of perceiving the world. It follows, therefore, that social influences will also impact on men and women perceiving events differently.

However, as the Social-role theory was published 14 years ago and is based on a belief in the division of labour, it is necessary to consider the dramatic changes to workforce demographics over the last 20-30 years. It may be informative, therefore, to consider if any changes have occurred that could ameliorate the effects of social influences caused by a traditional division of labour on an individual's behaviour.

9.7.4 Contemporary Division of Labour

According to Social-role theory, the social arrangements which led to women's predilection to inherently lower status roles, and men's greater propensity to fill inherently higher status roles would have to change

before the content of gender roles altered. It could be argued that such changes have now occurred for many women in paid employment, and this can be expected to substantially reduce the amount of sex differences in skills, beliefs, and social behaviour of men and women. There has been a major influx of women into the paid work force in the US and Australia over the last 20 years, with women in Australia now making up 43% of the paid workforce (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1999). Women have also entered junior or middle management as a career in increasing proportions (Talmud & Izraeli, 1999), and these changes could be expected to impact on the content of gender roles.

However, although there are many more women employed in 2001, strong social influences remain, and some aspects of gender roles, such as the division of domestic duties, do not appear to have changed very For example, in spite of the changes outlined above, there is strong evidence on a number of levels to argue that gendered roles still The evidence centres on disproportional responsibilities for persist. domestic work; disproportionate numbers in lower status positions; the persistence of gendered occupational structure; the persistence of lower salaries for women, and a gendered structure of full and part-time work. To illustrate, it has been reported that women continue to take a larger share of domestic responsibilities (Burton, 1991; Davidson & Cooper, 1992; Parker & Fagenson, 1994; Pringle & Tudhope, 1996). In addition, when women are in paid employment, they tend to be placed in positions with lower power, status, and advancement opportunities (Still, 1997). With male employees, the reverse is often the case.

Furthermore, women receive lower salaries even when similarly qualified or experienced (Affirmative Action Agency, 1995-1996; Illing, 1998), and their numbers become less frequent at higher level positions, such as supervisory or administrative roles (Eagly, 1987). An example of this is provided by a study of 75 Australian financial organisations, conducted in 1994-5, where women filled 76% of clerical positions, 71% of sales and service, and 47% of plant and machinery operators/drivers and labourers. Of the women employed in these 75 organisations, a total of 85% were employed as clerks, or in sales & service. Only 12% were employed as managers/administrators or professionals (Still, 1997).

The evidence thus demonstrates that although the division of labour may have changed significantly for some women, inequalities between domestic and family responsibilities, as well as organisational status and rewards remain for many. Therefore despite the changes in traditional roles which are predicted to bring about gender similarities in behaviour as women fill similar specific social roles to men, (Eagly & Wood, 1999) social backgrounds and structural constraints are a reality that might often go unstated. Many social roles have dramatically changed for many women, and gender similarities in behaviour and skills are widely reported. However while changes in social behaviour may be accomplished, it seems obvious that social influences continue to impact differently on the lives of women and men.

Furthermore, when specific social roles are considered to be important - for example within the context of the organisation - such roles can "override gender roles" (Eagly, 1987, p.34). This suggests that

competencies can be acquired with the appropriate experience, and hence is not the issue it is made out to be. The role of manager is a 'specific social' role, and as more women fill this role, this should lead to women's behaviour in contemporary management roles showing more similarities, than differences, to men's behaviour.

This finding has been supported in the current research in relation to self-reported managerial competencies, and in many of the attitudes referring to workplace environment and organisational culture, as discussed in depth in the preceding chapter. However, although similarities have been noted, there are also significant perceptual differences between male and female middle managers that can only be understood in terms of a social sphere of influence that recognises and accommodates the power and salience of gendered realities in society.

9.8 Summary

The results of this study indicate that social influences impact on women's perceptions, and in turn, values and decision-making in relation to their attitude toward career advancement. Attitudes of female managers toward promotion, while overtly similar to those expressed by male managers in many respects, indicate that deep social influences have been instrumental in shaping a value system which is very different to that experienced by male managers. To account for these perceptual differences, a framework incorporating a 'social sphere of influence' which impacts on an individual's perceptions, was proposed.

The conceptual framework of the Social-role theory (Eagly, 1987) was utilized to illustrate the importance of social influences in behaviour

and this significantly informed the formation of the framework of perceptual influences. However, theories that consider social roles focus on social levels of influence on behaviour, and not the underlying perceptual influences. Therefore, a framework that incorporates influences on perceptions has the capacity to inform the Social-role theory by extending the theory of social roles to accommodate both role and perceptual influences. This framework was presented, and has been described as the Social sphere of influence.

The Social Sphere of Influence argues that differences in behaviour are brought about by a social milieu which is gendered, and that this environment influences women to perceive past experiences, interests and goals in a way that is not experienced by men. Therefore, women perceive and evaluate events in a different way to men, and this will impinge on the expectations they hold.

This research has attempted to merge the two conceptual frameworks into a more comprehensive framework, where social influences are seen to impact on the way an individual perceives the world. Ultimately different values become evident and these may influence people in their decision making. Such different decisions may include issues relating to goals, interests, and expectations about career options.

It is argued therefore that the perceptual differences noted in relation to career advancement, previous promotion, and the reasons given for promotion not being received reflect different values of male and female managers. Such differing values could influence a manager to

pursue what they believe to be valued behaviours in order to achieve promotion. In the case of female managers, for example, they could pursue behaviours believed to be helpful in previous promotion. However, male managers, in perceiving another set of factors as influential, may pursue these to achieve promotion. One group of factors, if supported and recognised by senior managers or executives may result in an increased likelihood of promotion. The results of the present study demonstrated that male middle managers' views were closer to those of senior managers on attributes considered to be important for senior management promotion, than were female managers' views. Therefore, it may be argued that perceptual differences and the values inherent in such differences can be seen to make some contribution to women's poor representation in senior management roles.

The following chapter will test the improved framework of perception which incorporates the perceptual differences found in this study, and the social influences that may contribute to female manager's unequal career advancement. This framework will be examined during three interviews with senior women in three contrasting fields; the private and public sector, and academia. There were four important reasons for considering this to be appropriate.

Firstly, these interviews provided a public forum to consider the proposed framework. Secondly, constructive criticisms could be considered, and modifications made accordingly. Thirdly, queries or ambiguities could be addressed. Finally, such interviews provided the opportunity to dispel any problems, and respond to them. One further

outcome was envisaged. By conducting these interviews, an opportunity was presented to see if the framework of a Social Sphere of Influence could explain the life histories and career successes of each of these women.

This framework of perception includes the recognition that social roles are still strongly gendered, and is tested in the following, concluding chapter (Chapter 10). It is 'tested' in the sense that it is offered as an abstraction for assessment in terms of the personal judgments and the interpretations made of the results reported in this study.

CHAPTER 10

Conclusion

I believe it is more differing values rather than glass ceilings. I know half a dozen women in this organisation who have got to the top and realise that it's not what it's made out to be, and not what they thought it would be. The male games that are played, the things that go on just don't align with what they consider to be work, and pleasurable work. I've seen a lot of women leave because they don't want to play that game - not because they are not good at their jobs. want to play their own game. Before there was a glass ceiling - it's less so now. It's more about different values (Sandi, Senior executive interviewee, 2001).

10.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, a restructured framework of perception was presented. It was proposed that a social sphere of influence operated, which impacted on the way men and women perceived events. Before any confidence can be placed in such a framework, testing is required. To this end, a decision was made to interview three senior women in their field to allow the model to be tested. Therefore, two senior female managers from the public and private sectors were chosen to be interviewed. In addition, a senior academic, whose area of expertise is women in management, was also interviewed. The aim was to test the Social Sphere of Influence framework of perception with experts in the field in order to validate its appropriateness as an explanatory aid to understand the differences in perception found in this study between male

and female middle managers. The following section describes the interviewees, their current roles, and the interview process.

10.2 The three senior interviewees

Three potential interviewees were contacted through associations made while the researcher was conducting this study. To ensure anonymity, the names and organisations of the first two interviewees have been withheld. (See Appendix 9 for letter of consent from Interviewee 3).

10.2.1 Sandi, Interviewee 1, Senior executive in a leading Australian financial institution

Firstly, to acquire a suitable female manager in private industry, contact was made with an individual who had worked in a senior position within the banking industry. She provided several names from amongst her former colleagues, and the first of these to be contacted agreed to partake in an interview.

Sandi is 41 years old, and has worked for the bank for over 20 years, coming to the organisation straight from school and University when jobs were plentiful. She received a BA, majoring in Psychology, and Honours in Psychology, then moved straight into the Bank on a graduate program. She was placed in a Human Resources role after 18 months, and stayed 2 years in that role. Ten years ago she completed an MBA, and believes her success has been due to luck, and to taking advantage of opportunities as they came along, rather than having a concrete career plan. She believes she has never been held back because of her gender, although acknowledges this has happened to others, and that there is a history of the Bank doing that. She comments on having seen women

reach senior levels, who say "it's not fun here because of the shenanigans and the politics".

Sandi is married, with no children. She does not feel this was a conscious decision, however in the last two years has realised that if she wants a child, it has to happen in the very near future. She believes that she would not have got as far as she has if she had had children, and is unsure how a career and children can be combined: "One suffers or the other suffers, or both suffers, and I really admire people who seem to do both well. I'm too selfish, I need to sleep occasionally!"

Sandi believes that she is atypical in achieving a senior management role because she has always had clear vision and goals. She worked hard at achieving a senior role, and let people know she was interested in senior management from early on in her career. She knew she had to "produce", and did the very best she could in each job she undertook. In the process, she has build up "a great network" and recognises that "being known doesn't hurt".

Reflecting on her working experience, Sandi commented that she has never felt bypassed, and that she has never planned her career step by step. "I didn't feel it was necessary, it kind of happened. I would look around to see what opportunities there were. I think this is better than having a 10 year plan, because sometimes this may stop you seeing other opportunities that arise, just because they don't fit into the 10 year plan that has been mapped out".

At this point in her life, Sandi feels she is not as ambitious as she was previously. Her last promotion was satisfying, but she felt she didn't

want to go any higher: " ...because what I see there is a lot of politics and a lot of people who look really stressed as though they're not having a good time. I'm content. I don't feel the need to push any further".

10.2.2 Sue, Interviewee 2, Senior executive in a leading Australian Telecommunication institution.

The second interviewee was a senior manager from the public sector. A further contact provided the name of a senior executive in a telecommunication industry, which up until recently, has been seen as a public sector organisation, and is still considered to be so because of Government ownership which currently stands at 51%.

Sue studied for her Matriculation, married at 18, and was divorced at 27. She has now remarried, and has a 5 year old daughter. After she left school, she completed a Diploma (Fashion), and various short courses. Recently, she has also commenced a marketing degree (International) and at the moment is studying Psychology.

When she began working for the company, she was involved in a project that required some degree of intellectual skill. This was for the Department of Defence in Canberra, and it was deemed a great success. After this she became a communication consultant and then left the company and went into private industry for 5/6 years. She was subsequently contacted by the organisation, which asked her to return to fill a certain role for them. She believes her success in senior management is due to the fact that she has experienced things right from the very bottom right up to the very top. Her views on education are that qualifications do not necessarily help people achieve, but that experience

and "hard knocks", which teaches perseverance and how to "move around the politics", are more valuable.

When asked how she managed to combine motherhood and a career in senior management, Sue pointed out that she did not have any children when she first joined the company, and hence established herself in that early period. Later on when she rejoined the organisation – "they knew me and seemed to value me" —Sue adopted a child, and felt the company was very supportive to her during this period. She believes she receives a lot of support from her husband who cooks meals and looks after their daughter, and that this is necessary in order for her to fulfil her job.

She further believes that a lot of her success is due to her staff: "...I've also got a lot of employees who are very close to me; I don't treat them like staff. There is interaction both ways. Without them, I'm not a success, and without me, they're not either. It works both ways".

10.2.3 Professor Leonie Still, Professorial Fellow, The University of Western Australia

The third interviewee was drawn from the academic area. This interviewee was chosen as she is one of the most significant authors in the field of women in management in Australia. Her publications were known to the researcher, and she was contacted via email to ascertain if she was interested in participating in an interview.

Professor Still has had a long career in both academia and industry.

She is unmarried, and has never married. She believes she has had very supportive parents at home, who made it possible for her to be on a plane

in the next hour if required. She considers that she has worked very long hours, often starting at 5 in the morning and finishing around midnight, with very little private life. The exception to this was that she had to attend various functions, or take on various roles, such as Chair. She believes this is how people succeed and get to the top.

Her educational achievements are impressive; she has 6 degrees and a diploma. She completed an Arts degree, and a Diploma in Education. While undertaking the latter she studied two subjects at night towards an Economics degree. Upon taking up teaching, she drove 5 nights a week into Sydney University from Blacktown to continue her studies. She later accepted a research position in the Department of Education, and was there for four years. During this time, she completed the Economics degree and a Master of Economics by thesis. While completing this Masters degree, she was offered a junior management position at Unilever, and accepted. Her boss suggested that she go off and do a Master in Commerce in Applied Psychology because she was required to do psychological testing in her Personnel role.

Professor Still completed the majority of her degrees at night over a period of approximately 24 years, although her PhD was a full time commitment. Her reflections on this period are encapsulated in the following quote:

Why did I do so many degrees? To elevate me up the ladder, which many women also do. I would say to women today, don't do it. I did it, but I did an overkill. The other reason was that a lot of the time I was doing boring work which didn't intellectually stimulate me. So I'd go off and do something at night, and find I could use it at work anyway! Let me say I don't know any other

woman who was silly enough to do what I did! Most sensible women will not give that time up; they'll have their social life, they'll have their holidays, they will do all of that, whereas I didn't.

The following section outlines the interview process.

10.3 The interview process

The objective of these interviews was to test the restructured framework of perception devised in the previous chapter. To facilitate this goal, a thematic approach was taken to analyse the comments of each interviewee, and the themes were structured around the headings of the proposed model. While a criticism of subjectivity may be made about the use of one individual to gather the data to test this framework, it is argued that any analysis requires interpretation and to achieve this, a researcher's view will of necessity be an important component (Armstrong, Gosling, Weinman & Marteau, 1997). The interviews were taped and transcribed. In addition, notes were taken of summary points throughout the interview.

A semi-structured interview format was used, and a copy of the interview questions is found in Appendix 8. A framework of twelve questions was used to achieve consistency across these three interviews. These questions focussed on three areas: firstly a background statement which included information on education, marital status, number of children, and work experience. Secondly, a synopsis of the results of the study was presented from the three areas of research explored in this study, and comments invited as to agreement or disagreement on the findings. Thirdly, the Social Sphere of Influence framework was presented, which proposed an explanation why the perceptions of female middle

managers differed so markedly from those of male middle managers in relation to work experience, organisational culture, organisational policy, opportunities for advancement, career development, previous promotion, and future promotion requirements.

10.4 The model of the Social Sphere of Influence

The main focus of the interview was to obtain the views of the participants on the proposed framework of perceptual influences, which introduced the concept of a gendered social sphere of influence as a moderating factor in an individual's behaviour. Excerpts from each of the interviewees will be included to illustrate, expand, or question the four aspects of the framework; Goals, Interests, Expectations and Past Experiences.

10.4.1 Sandi, Interviewee 1

The model nicely supports the notion that the lack of women in senior roles has less to do with the traditional glass ceiling and more to do with women not wanting to be there because of differing goals, interests, expectations and past experiences.

The model works partly because society allows women to have these differing goals, interests, expectations and past experience, and allows them to ask themselves – "do I really want to be here?" Society is less forgiving of men who ask themselves this question – therefore not many of them do.

What I like about the model is that it supports the notion that women have some control over choices they make - rather than being

perceived as being at the mercy of the organisation's decision makers about whether to promote them or not.

10.4.2 Sue, Interviewee 2.

As a general rule, women will do things to the best of their ability, and will handle every fine detail. We won't waste our time thinking how we can get ahead or how quickly we could get to the top. Men will utilise whatever resource they can to do the work for them, whereas women won't. Women want to understand everything they do. So in this sense, their goals are different to men's.

Women also exhibit different interests. I bring my daughter to work with me before I take her to school; she draws and entertains my staff. It's lovely because it makes the work environment like a family environment. Women certainly have different expectations. All the females at the top of this company leave, they don't want to be bothered with the 'boy' thing. I think at a certain stage of your life, you think 'what am I doing here?' 'Do I have to put up with this; what am I achieving?' For females, the monetary value and notoriety are not important. Our own personal self esteem is. We are stronger – our values. We will walk away.

In terms of past experiences, women are certainly different, it's our values. We will only partake in the game playing for a certain period of time. We cannot and will not, as a rule, hurt anybody when we are working. We support and nurture. That's our nature. It's the boy element that we fall away from because it's absolutely against our nature. I see all these elements everyday in my working life.

10.4.3 Professor Leonie Still, University of Western Australia

That's true, there is a social layer of influence. It's the socialization that the genders go through. Right from childhood, and the way society is set up, the way organizations have been set up. That results in gendered goals, you are socialized to believe that a woman's role and function is family. So you will expect to work for a period of time, and then if you have your family, they will have priority over personal ambition, and then others reinforce that. That is the set role for you, all the time. So every time you try to break it, you are punished by society or by others.

I think that the social layer of influence is quite good at explaining how social forces impact on the way we perceive things. Women continually talk about social contribution and social goals as opposed to purely economic goals. Other things they talk about are being a teamplayer, interpersonal skills, and being inclusive by looking after staff.

The framework connects several strands. It's dealing with the perceptions and the reasons why there are differences. I mean, other people have shown that there are differences in the perceptions in terms of careers and these sorts of things, but you've encapsulated it much more. It's interesting; a lot of it depends on what level women are at, and how old they are, and what industry and occupation they are in. You have to pull things together in this way, and that's what makes your reputation.

Overall, the three interviews reflected common themes. For example, women, on the whole, expressed different goals and values to

their male colleagues (Sandi, personal communication, 2001). They did things differently, and "brought their staff along with them" (Sue, 2001, personal communication). This reflected different interests and a desire to work in a different way. Expectations were different also, as witnessed when women expressed a belief that hard work would bring success. "...women think that if they sit in the office and work very hard they'll be rewarded. They will not be rewarded. What tends to be rewarded is this wandering around, talking, getting to know each other. The guys don't do half the work that women do. And they are also not expected to do it!" (Still, 2001).

very senior positions evaluate them differently: "...We are socialised to do what society expects of us. Men get on the treadmill of 'I've got to work, I've got to be promoted and constantly drive to get up', and I think that's what society expects of them. They don't stop to question: 'Is this what I want'? Whereas women ask themselves 'do I really want to be here'? As women in our 20s and 30s, we're a bit like men: 'I've got to do this...got to have the drive etc.'... and then something happens, it did with me – and you start to think 'Hang on a minute, is this really what I want?' No it's not, OK, what do I want' "? (Sandi, 2001).

Finally, past experiences are also a significant factor in influencing women to perceive events differently. The responses by Sue clearly indicate that the type of work experiences she had acquired equipped her to fulfil her current senior role. "What has made me come so far is that I've experienced things right from the very bottom right up to the very top.

Education doesn't necessarily help you. I have people who work for me who have had experience with the 'hard knocks' and this teaches perseverance, and how to move around the politics, and show the values you can bring without trying to appear as you have a chip on your shoulder. The experience that I had all the way up the line taught me how to avoid 'turning into a man', and how to work around this, and do it differently" (Sue, 2001). It is noted that the type of work experience Sue is referring to is not universally experienced by women in management, who more typically report filling roles of support or personnel type positions.

10.5 Does the framework fit the reality?

It is informative to consider the backgrounds of these three interviewees in relation to the Social of Sphere of Influence, as this provides an opportunity to see if the life histories and career successes of each of these women can be explained by the framework. In terms of goals, two of the three respondents had clear goals to which they were somewhat dedicated from early on in their careers. The other interviewee worked hard at every project undertaken, and therefore managed to excel in each 'goal' she was given. In relation to interests, all three interviewees expressed the desire to do well, reach their potential and achieve, or 'get to the top'. It is particularly noteworthy that none of the three interviewees had children before they achieved their senior positions, in fact two of the interviewees have never had children, and one is unmarried. Therefore, they were able to pursue their career in a single-minded fashion. Their past experience encompassed either an exceptional educational background (Still), or very adequate educational qualifications (Sandi), or

an extensive background of work-related experiences specific to the industry (Sue). Finally, their **expectations** for the future reflect, at least in two cases, clear doubts about wanting to achieve any higher promotions. The most vocal response on this issue is from Sandi, who stated: "The reason that more women are not at senior level is internal and deep values. I think that's the crux of the whole thing. Women don't want to be there. It's a conscious choice. It's been underestimated that one of the major reasons that many women are not in senior management is because they just don't want to be there. It just doesn't align with what women really want".

In summary, the three interviewees responded positively to the Social Sphere of Influence framework, and endorsed the interpretations of the results received. In Chapter 9, the reasons for testing the framework were set out, and it is believed that each of these criteria were successfully met. Firstly, a public forum was achieved to consider the proposed framework. Secondly, constructive criticisms were allowed for, but not made by the three interviewees, and therefore no modifications of this nature were necessary. Thirdly, queries or ambiguities were addressed.

On this issue, Professor Still queried the use of the term "gendered", which had been included with the labels of "past experiences" and "goals". She intimated that this was unnecessary as all of the labels placed in the outer social layer of the framework could be classified as "gendered". Therefore, this term was removed. Finally, the interviews did not highlight any problems with the framework, although Leonie Still did

point out that she felt women did not have the required experience to achieve senior management positions, and therefore lack of appropriate experience, as well as gendered influences on past experiences were significant factors in their lack of career advancement.

This qualification does not necessarily detract from the framework, because past experiences are accommodated as an influencing force on the perceptions of men and women. Lack of sufficient or adequate work-related experience may well create attitudes of self-doubt or lack of confidence in some women. This may account for some research noting that women require significant male figures to endorse their work, by letting them know they are "able to do it" (Sinclair, 1994, p.28) before they apply for higher positions. Therefore, past experiences — whether inadequate or appropriate — will have the capacity to impact on an individual's perceptions.

10.6 The Social Sphere of Influence: an original contribution to the women in management literature

Apart from the individual factors of ability, personality, learning and intelligence impacting on the way individuals perceive events (see Figure 4.1 in Chapter 4), it is suggested that there is another sphere of influence which is imbued with a social overlay. This social sphere appears to be gendered. Such a possibility has been accommodated in the Social-role theory framework (Eagly, 1987), which explains how men and women behave in different social ways because of different experiences, roles and skills and beliefs. The framework of the Social Sphere of Interest extends

the conceptual framework of Social-role theory by suggesting that a gendered social layer also heavily influences perceptions.

Differences in perception and behaviour however, do not imply a deficit in capability on behalf of women. What the differences do suggest is that different values may underpin the way women consider their options. The logical extension of this argument is that such different perspectives will influence female managers to value aspects of their working life differently to their male colleagues. In turn, this will influence the behaviour exhibited. For example, the Social Sphere of Influence may influence a male manager to have goals which include ambition, and aiming for the top: The business tells me I'm marked as a person that's going to be promoted. I'm fairly confident that I will. I'm marked to go places, I know (MM1, general comment). A woman may have goals which are fulfilled by her achieving, and doing an excellent job in the position she has obtained. [Women] recognise what they need to satisfy them as an individual, and quite often they can get stimulation from a role without requiring the status. Quite often I think men's egos make them strive for higher positions, whereas women look for overall satisfaction (3FM.1).

In terms of interests, a man may focus on working in a particular way to succeed in his goals which are quite different to the way in which women will pursue theirs. For a women, her interests may encompass working harmoniously with others. This quote illustrates these differences graphically: There is a difference between men and women's leadership style. Men are more likely to want to bust down doors and go through

brick walls; I guess the common denominator with women is that they like to get everyone involved. They use consensus (MM.1, general comment).

With past experiences, a man may continue to operate in an agentic manner, because this style of behaviour has been successful in his past exploits. For a woman however, her past experiences may influence her to act in a communal manner, which may be manifested by her desire to work well with others, to mentor and nurture protégés, and to be successful for the sake of the team, rather than for personal aggrandisement. Women's propensity to excel in the transformational style of leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1994) indicates a strong preference toward relationships with others, working in groups, supporting and achieving for the group, through the group. This may be an example of women adapting their personal communal styles to create a 'fit' in what is often experienced as an alien organisational culture (Sinclair, 1994).

Finally, expectations may also exert a different influence on perceptions. The reality of how expectations can influence perceptions relating to careers is seen clearly in this quote: Yes, women are choosing to remain childless in order to have a successful management career. Most women believe their careers are over once they leave work to have a family – many are out of the workplace for several years and may lose skills or not be up to date with the new techniques etc. (2.FM.4). This response demonstrates that expectations for success in a management career have to be dramatically modified for women who consider having a family. For male managers, the option of a family does not short-circuit their expectations of anticipated success in management careers.

In sum, the present study adds to the women in management literature through the introduction of a restructured framework of perception. The Social Sphere of Influence framework predicts that gendered social influences modify the perceptions of men and women and influence the values that men and women hold. In turn, these perceptions can impact on the attitudes and behaviour of men and women when they are seeking promotion. This interpretation offers a possible explanation for women's poor representation in senior management roles, through the following mechanism.

Within the organisational context, certain behaviours may be valued, and others not. Success in organisations is often gained through an individual's own achievement, such as a successful application for promotion. This is an illustration of the agentic principle of independent, competitive, and outcome-focussed work behaviour (Marshall, 1995), typically associated with male behaviour. In the current research this style of behaviour is reflected in male managers' attributions for the achievement of their last promotion.

Conversely, the focus of communion, typically associated with female behaviour is not on personal achievement, but on working to modify the environment through influencing and empowering others (Marshail, 1995). These communal values may influence the methods used to obtain promotion. Thus, women may seek promotion through the development of social networks, encouragement of teamwork, and an emphasis on expressing interpersonal competencies. In the current research, this style of behaviour is reflected in the attributions given by

women for their own career progress, and for the achievement of their last promotion.

Organisational practices still appear to be imbued with masculine "stereotypes, values, expectations and meaning" (More, 1998) which may explain why the agentic 'style of being' is valued, and the other, communion, is not. Because of this, "action based in communion may therefore go unrewarded by formal organizational systems" (Marshall, 1995, p. 285). The implication is that the communal values held by women may lead to promotion-seeking behaviours that are not valued by senior (usually male) decision makers in the organisation.

The findings of the current study in this area are informative. Female managers felt that individual 'communal type' qualities, (personality, potential for development and mentoring) assisted them in achieving a previous promotion. However, the qualities female managers thought were required to be promoted to senior management were purely of the agentic type (leadership skills and drive). This may suggest that female managers feel quite comfortable in the middle manager role they currently hold, but that the step up to a more senior role is something that they feel will require unfamiliar 'male' type qualities.

Therefore, in sum, this thesis has made a unique contribution to the women in management literature, by highlighting the fact that men and women in middle management positions have different perceptions about various aspects of their workplace that may impinge on their opportunities for career advancement. Such perceptions are moderated by gendered influences of which individuals are often unaware.

10.7 Practical outcomes from the research

It is obvious that organisations must utilise and develop all of their employees to allow them to reach their full potential. In an increasingly complex and changing global environment, organisations "must recruit, retain, develop and promote their most talented people – regardless of their sex" (Burke, 1997b, p.873). This is now seen as a business imperative, as well as an important ethical issue for organisations (Oakley, 2000). Therefore, any barriers that make it difficult for women to achieve their full potential in a management role should be removed.

One of the crucial questions still to be considered is: "How can we restructure work so that the work-family interface is best accommodated"? (O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992, p.16). Despite the fact that a large proportion of the current sample was single without children, this question is of great importance for those women who do have family responsibilities. Organisations need to take a realistic look at demographic data which reports that 27% of women in Australia had never married, 16% were widowed or divorced, and 14% of all families is defined as 'one parent families' (Australian Women's Year Book, 4124.0, 1997). In America, only 7% of families fill the traditional pattern of a sole male wage earner, and females who are not employed outside the home (O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992), while in Australia the figure is 34% (Australian Women's Year Book, 4124.0, 1007). It is legitimate to then question why the workplace is set up as if there were a person 'employed' on a full-time basis at home to attend to the responsibilities of a family.

Given the above, it would seem to be a logical step for organisations to set up structures that do not demand extraordinary hours in the workplace, but rather to focus "on the job to be done, rather than on face-time in the office" (Brett & Stroh, 1997, p.397). Toward this end, there are reports of a small number of organisations that are implementing women-friendly initiatives (e.g., Mattis, 1994).

In Australia, companies are reported to be expanding family-friendly policies because of changes in demographics, family values, and business needs (Spearitt & Edgar, 1994). One of the business needs may well be a financial imperative: work/family conflicts for female managers may result in costly turnover repercussions, reported to approximate \$75,000 per employee (Abbott, De Cieri & Iverson, 1998).

Overall however, it would appear that there has been little accommodation of the changes in ideals and realities of social roles, and how this impacts on the need to restructure the organisation of work. Organisations that ignore the contribution of female managers face the potential loss of good senior managers, as women are believed to bring specific skills and attributes to the role of management, such as addressing problems more proactively, and being more transformational in style (Bass & Avolio, 1994). This is important as the transactional style of leadership, more commonly associated with male managers, has recently been reported as failing organisations in America through neglecting teamwork, ignoring talent in subordinates, and creating stressful survival environments (Johnson, 2000).

In addition to making the workplace more women-friendly in general, there is a need to focus on specific issues. For example, women managers have been reported as saying that perceiving the political environment accurately is difficult for them, as is learning how to operate within the informal power structure of the organisation in which they work (Wentling, 1996). The findings of the current research support this finding as male managers but not female managers believe both formal and informal networks are important in terms of their previous promotions. Women are also focussing on individual factors they believe assisted them in previous promotion, which are very different to those nominated by men, again suggesting a lack of political awareness.

Therefore, there are implications for key Human Resource functions from the results presented above. These include the areas of recruitment and selection, training and skills development, succession planning and career management, performance management, compensation and reward systems, job design and motivation and resignation. Stereotypical attitudes must be recognised and challenged constantly to eliminate erroneous decisions. For example, a recent study reconfirmed that women managers did not resign for family reasons, but left the organisation to start their own business or work for another company (Trudgett, 2000). Therefore the implications for organisations are that to continue to "fail to hire, promote or retain women managers, based on the perception that women represent a poor investment due to their propensity to resign and have children, do so fundamentally on an inaccurate, misleading, stereotype" (Trudgett, 2000, p.80).

Based on the premise that organisations do wish to harness the full potential of their entire workforce, Human Resource Management professionals could introduce programs that focus on clear organisational guidelines with objective criteria for what is required in order to be promoted to senior positions in management. Men and women will therefore have the opportunity to focus on promotion-seeking behaviours that are valued, and hence rewarded in their organisations. In this way, it may be possible to reduce some of the perceptual and behavioural differences between male and female managers who seek promotion. Alternatively, a "...radical revision of the value systems against which we judge good performance" (Marshall, 1995, p.285) could be attempted. In this way, any gender-role differences in behaviour could be valued equally, and a more genuine embracing of diversity achieved. This is an important point, as female managers who do not feel "recognized or valued" (Jackson, 2001, p.40) perceive this as a career barrier which often leads to leaving the organisation to take up entrepreneurial ventures of their own.

These steps will allow organisations to make the best use of all resources available to them, as well as to enhance performance of all staff, both male and female in a time of global competitiveness (Westwood & Leung, 1994). This is particularly important as it has been estimated that less people will be promoted to top management in the future, thus requiring organisations to do everything possible to ensure that female managers are not disproportionately excluded (O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992). It is imperative that female managers are included in future promotions to

senior roles as their interactive style of leadership is considered to be integral to a diversified workforce operating in a future global economy (Oakley, 2000).

10.8 Limitations of this research

Research is an evolving process, and the exploratory nature of this research has opened up an area of important further research. While this research has highlighted the fact that there are significant perceptual differences between male and female managers across many aspects of promotion requirements, this does not necessarily mean that such perceptual differences can adequately explain why there are still so few women in senior management roles. However, it has shown that significant perceptual differences exist between male and female managers, and an argument was made for how these may cause different career advancement outcomes. Therefore, this study has inferred, rather than measured the effect of gender differences in perception on career outcomes. The area of perceptual differences suggests a fruitful post-doctoral area of research.

The primary limitation of this study is that the data were based on self-reports, and therefore subjective, rather than objective measures were utilised. However, the nature of the research problem dictated a strong reliance on individual attitudes and perceptions, and therefore self-reports were considered appropriate. In addition, more detailed survey and interview questions designed specifically to address predictions arising from social influences would have been informative, and may have made possible cause and effect issues to be addressed.

10.9 Implications for future research

In order to test the ramifications of social influences on individual perception and decision-making, it is suggested that further research focus on a research design which tests out predictions from the Social Sphere of Influence to career advancement outcomes. Sex differences have been reported, based on predictions from Social-role theory (Eagly, 1987) on the following factors: explanations for unequal advancement, attributions for own career progress, attributions for achievement of the last promotion received, expectations of obtaining a senior management position when age and length of time in middle management were controlled, and explanations for why a promotion may not be achieved (Wood & Lindorff, in press). These results suggest that gender-role influences appear to affect the attitudes and beliefs of managers relating to management career success. Further research is required to prove the link between perceptions and outcomes of career advancement. Possibly exit interviews with female middle managers would provide an appropriate sample to address this question.

10.10 Concluding remarks

This research has addressed whether there are real or perceived differences in the behaviours, skills, attitudes and perceptions of male and female managers, and if so, whether such differences are sufficient to explain the continuing poor representation of women in senior management roles. The findings suggest that a gender difference viewpoint, where women are seen as deficient in behaviour, skills and attitudes can not solely justify the poor representation of female managers

in senior management roles as female managers in this sample reported similar levels of commitment, motivation and educational qualifications to their male colleagues. In addition, female managers also reported reasonably high levels of relocation and work-related experience.

Certainly, there were differences in the perceptions of others in the evaluation of the behaviours, skills and attitudes of female managers. Gender stereotypical attitudes were found to exist toward women in management roles, however it was proposed that such attitudes alone were not sufficient to totally account for the phenomenon. Therefore, an alternative explanation was addressed.

Self-perceptions were explored, and the results demonstrate that male and female managers view aspects of their work, in particular in relation to perceptions of factors that have been instrumental in previous promotion, as well as perceived requirements for future promotion, quite differently. It was proposed that such gender differences in perception could contribute to the low numbers of women who fill senior management positions.

There are two arguments for suggesting that perceptual differences between male and female managers may contribute to this phenomenon. Firstly, the significantly different responses between men and women given to account for their last promotion indicate that women focus on interpersonal, or internal/subjective areas of their performance, whereas male managers concentrate on the objective aspects of their performance. This demonstrates that middle managers exhibit gender differences in their perceptions of factors that have helped them in the past.

It is reasonable, therefore to argue that middle managers will continue to apply the same behaviours that have brought them success in the past, to future situations. This is the principle of reinforcement theory, wherein behaviours are likely to be repeated if they have been positively reinforced previously. Even when male and female middle managers agree on the factors that would be seen as important by senior managers (Leadership skills and Drive), female managers believe that these factors are more significant than either male managers or senior managers. This suggests that male middle managers know that other factors operate, such as the area an individual is working in, the style they exhibit, or male social systems such as the 'old boys network' (Oakley, 2000).

While female managers indicate an acute awareness of political nuances that operate to create unequal advancement (e.g., 'who you know', 'bias and discrimination', and 'political know-how'), they fall back onto past experiences when they suggest that senior management will believe that 'charisma' (popularity, likeability/sociability, attractiveness, powerful allies and personality) is an important factor for senior management promotion. Therefore, differences in perception may be seen as a significant factor in the way female managers evaluate and interpret their working environments.

In addition, the second argument for suggesting that perceptions play a significant part in the low numbers of women in senior management positions is supported by demographic data. To illustrate, the Affirmative Action Agency (Annual Report, 1995-96) reports that women represent 28% of "Tier 3" private sector managers. These managers are those who

are "directly responsible for the work of operating employees, but are more senior than supervisors" (p.18), and as such are considered to be closest to the definition employed in this research of 'middle manager'. However, if this was the number of women in middle management six years ago, why are there currently only an estimated 3-5% in senior management roles in Australia? What has happened to the 20+% of female managers in this period? Can it be assumed that they have all left to have families, or that they have all married and hence are no longer gainfully employed to secure their financial independence? Not according to Australian Bureau of Statistics data, which reports that nearly one third of women live in a couple relationship without dependents (including those yet to have children, those who will never have children, and those who have had children who have left home) (Australian Women's Year Book, 4124.0, 1997). In addition, a recent prediction on the marital status of Australian women is that 40% will never marry (Matterson, 2001). Therefore, these statistics suggest that there are a significant proportion of female managers who will not leave their positions for either marriage or children. However, they may leave (and obviously do) for other reasons. It is the contention of this thesis that perceptual differences relating to goals and values play a role at this point of departure.

In addition to their past experience of 'being treated differently as a woman' (Bellamy & Ramsey, 1994), results from the current research demonstrate that the greatest proportion of female managers (26%) believed that lack of personal interest ('Not interested') would account for their own future promotions not being received. (In contrast, less than

10% of female managers stated that 'family reasons' would explain their lack of future promotion). It is reasonable, therefore, to argue that as the above categories were mutually exclusive (that is responses were categorised into one theme or the other), that over a quarter of the sample of female managers envisaged a possibility where they may lose interest in pursuing the goal of senior management. Therefore, personal perceptions will play a significant part in the decision made about future expectations.

In conclusion, this research has demonstrated that sex differences occur in regard to many perceptions relating to promotion. These perceptions could represent different value systems arising from gendered past experience, interests, goals and expectations. In turn, it is suggested that these perceptual differences may also lead to differences in promotion-seeking behaviour. When this occurs, the outcomes of the promotion-seeking process could reflect male managers achieving more career advancement than their female counterparts. In this way, perceptual differences relating to promotion between male and female managers may go some way toward explaining why so few equally committed, motivated and educated women, with high levels of work-related experience and a preparedness to relocate, hold senior positions in management in 2001.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Attributes considered important to achieve promotion.

Attributes considered important to achieve promotion.

Attributes included in	Previous research on attributes
present research	considered important to achieve
	promotion
Ability to anticipate	Davidson & Cooper (1992)
organisational needs	
Ability to take risks	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Baack, Carr-Ruffino & Pelletier (1993)
Ambition	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)
Communication skills	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Baack, Carr-Ruffino & Pelletier (1993)
Deference to superiors	Gallese (1991)
Discretion	Davidson & Cooper (1992)
Educational qualifications	Jaskolka, Beyer & Trice (1985); Pringle & Goyma (1989); Tharenou (1990)
Effectiveness as a	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Baack,
delegator	Carr-Ruffino & Pelletier (1993)
Endurance	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)
Enthusiasm	Pringle & Goyma (1989)
Experience	Gold & Pringle (1989); Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Tharenou (1990); Rudderman, Ohlott & Kram (1995)
Flexibility to change	Baack, Carr-Ruffino & Pelletier (1993)
Industriousness	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Gold & Pringle (198); Davidson & Cooper (1992)
Intelligence	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)
Knowledge	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)
Leadership	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)
Loyalty	Davidson & Cooper (1992)
Motivation	Davidson & Cooper (1992)
Personality	Tharenou (1995)
Popularity	Reynolds (1990); Davidson & Cooper (1992)
Powerful allies	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)
Responsibility	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Baack, Carr-Ruffino & Pelletier (1993)
Strategic Vision	Reynolds (1990)
Specific Skills	Stewart & Gudykunst (1982)

APPENDIX 2

Ethics Approval, Monash University.



MEMO

10 April, 1996

Dr M Lindorff
Business Management
CLAYTON CAMPUS

Ms G Wood P O Box 663 BALLARAT 3353

Re: Project 96/063 - Perceptual Differences as an Explanation for the Glass Ceiling

The Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans at its meeting on Tuesday 26 March considered the above project.

The Committee agreed to approve the project as conforming to NH&MRC Guidelines. This approval is of the project as submitted and if any changes are subsequently made, the Committee should be advised. Please quote the project number above in any further correspondence.

Institutional Ethics Committees are required by the NH&MRC to monitor research projects until completion to ensure that they continue to conform with approved ethics standards. The Committee undertakes this role by means of annual progress reports and termination reports. Please ensure that the Committee is provided with a brief summary of the outcomes of your project when the project has concluded.

The Chief Investigators of approved projects are responsible for the storage and retention of original data pertaining to a project, for a minimum period of five years. You are requested to comply with this requirement.

Lyn Gash
Secretary
Standing Committee on Ethics
in Research on Humans

Monash University The Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans

CHECKLIST

1.	Please RETURN THIS FORM WITH TOOK AFFEICATION.	
2.	i)	that the following documents are included with your application: Copy of proposed Consent Form
	ii)	Copy of explanatory material for participants and plain language statement
	Note:	Incomplete applications will be returned to the researcher unprocessed
	iii) iv)	Evidence of approval by another Ethics Committee - if applicable Copy of questionnaire/s to be used in the project - if applicable
3.	Applic i) ii)	ations relating to projects seeking external funding should also include: Copies of relevant sections from funding application Copy of any ethical approval form requiring signature (eg. NH&MRC Attachment 1 Certificate)
3.	<u>If appl</u> i) ii)	icable see Question 12: Evidence of clearance by the Radiation Officer Evidence of clearance by the Biosafety Officer
	Project	ts will <u>not</u> be considered without written clearance
4.	Have all signatures been obtained? (see Page 7)	
		*Please do not write below this line.
А сор	y of this	Checklist will be returned to the applicant as an acknowledgment of receipt.
Receiv	ved by S	ecretary:/
Projec	t Name	& No.:
This p	roject w	rill be considered at the next SCERH meeting on:
Please	quote ti	he above project number in any further correspondence.
Any o	locumen ary prio	ts listed above which have not been received should be forwarded to the r to the meeting to ensure that consideration of the project is not delayed.
Date:		Secretary:

MONASH UNIVERSITY

STANDING COMMITTEE ON ETHICS IN RESEARCH ON HUMANS APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL OF A PROJECT USING HUMANS

Applications may be typewritten on this form or word processed on plain paper following the same format but ensuring that this page is retained, and should be forwarded to:-

The Secretary

The Standing Committee on Ethics

in Research on Humans

Research Ethics Unit

Monash University, Clayton 3168

Project Number (Office Use Only)

Please refer to the Explanatory Notes attached when completing this form.

Short Project Title used on grant submission (see Note 1). Limit to ten words.

Perceptual Differences as an explanation for the Glass Ceiling.

Name(s), Title(s), Qualifications and Department/Location of Chief, Associate and Co-Investigators (see Note 2). Where a student is involved, indicate who is student and who is Supervisor.

Chief Investigator: Dr. M. Lindorff, BA, DipT, Grad Dip Couns Psych, Med, PhD, Senior Lecturer, Department of Business Management, Monash University, Clayton campus.

Co-Investigator: Glenice Wood, Lecturer in Management, School of Business, University of Ballarat, BBSc., M.Psych. PhD Student.

Contact Person (See Note 3)
Dept/Full Address

G. Wood,

Telephone No.

School of Business

053.419425

PO Box 663 BALLARAT,

Facsimile No.

Victoria, 3353.

053.279405

Have you applied for external funding?

XXX / NO

If YES, name granting body/ies:....

Has funding been approved?

XXX / No / XXXXXXX

Project Type - please mark appropriate box

XXXXXXXX

XXXXXXX

XXXXX

Student Research ,

XXXXXXXXXXXXX...,PhI

.PhD. __/.

If applicable please give previous Monash University project number: N/A..../.....

Proposed Commencement Date March 1996. Proposed completion date: March 1997.

12 Months

Has this project been submitted to any other Ethics Committee? (see Note 4):XXX / No

If YES, name of committee:N/A.....

Has approval been granted? Yes / No / Pending. Attach copy of the approval if available.

SECTION A - GENERAL INFORMATION

Give a succinct but comprehensive statement of the aims, hypotheses and potential significance of the project (See Note)

The 'Glass Ceiling' is the term used to describe the barrier that keeps women from reaching senior management positions in greater numbers. The literature in this area has explored various proposals to explain the existence of this phenomenon. To date, these explanations could be summarized as falling into a 'deficit' model, i.e. what women are perceived to be lacking. This research aims to explore an alternative explanation for the existence of the Glass Ceiling through developing an understanding of the way people perceive events in the organisational setting. It is proposed that differences in perception between men and women will influence attitudes and behaviours within the organisational environment, and also affect rates of promotion and career advancement between managerial men and women. Ultimately, this may play a role in maintaining the Glass Ceiling.

It is hypothesized that there will be significant differences between the perceptions of men and women middle managers regarding:

- the characteristics necessary for promotion
- the degree of support, encouragement and opportunity they receive from their organisation
- the quality and quantity of mentoring, training, work experience, and
- · training assignments they experience in their organisation.

It is also hypothesized that senior management's ideas regarding the necessary characteristics required of staff before promotion to senior management positions, will be more closely aligned with what male middle managers perceive to be the necessary characteristics, than it will for women middle managers.

Results of the research will add considerably to our knowledge of women in management.

2. Give a succinct but comprehensive statement of the academic background to the project and project plan (See Note)

To date, research into the Glass Ceiling phenomenon has focussed on 'deficit' theories to explain women's exclusion from top management positions. Much of this research has explored issues such as women lacking the numbers in organisations, lacking commitment to careers, not having sufficient motivation, not having appropriate qualifications, having different styles of leadership, lacking in confidence, being unavailable for relocation, and not being reliable as they will leave their positions to have children.

These 'deficit' theories can be comprehensively refuted, and this research examines an alternative explanation of differences in perception.

The project plan for this study is as follows:

- (l) Human Resource managers of participant organisations will be contacted, and asked to distribute surveys to 500 male and 500 female middle managers to ascertain if gender differences in perception occur in the following areas:
 - (a) attitudes toward support and encouragement from management,
 - (b) attitudes toward promotion to senior management,
 - (c) attitudes toward work experiences, training, and mentoring,
 - (d) perceptions regarding the necessary characteristics required for promotion to senior management.
- (2) Interviews will be conducted with 50 (25 female and 25 male) respondents of the above survey. The aim is to obtain qualitative data referring to the above questions.
- Interviews with senior managers of the organisations surveyed will also be conducted. The aim is to ascertain what senior managers consider to be the most important criterion before promoting employees to senior management positions. This data will be compared with the data received in (1) above. The information received will be useful in adding to the 'women in management' literature, and may be beneficial in reaching a greater understanding, communication and respect between meth and women in the workplace.

3. Is there any alternative to using humans, eg. prior computer modelling, laboratory or animal experiments?

XXX / No

4. Briefly describe all procedures to be used with humans (see Note)

In Phase 1, HR managers will be contacted in participating organisations. They will be asked to distribute a survey (copy attached) to men and women middle managers in their organisations.. Participation will be absolutely voluntary. At this stage, the names of the participants will not be known to the researchers. A final survey question will invite the respondents to fill in their name and contact numbers IF they wish to be contacted for a follow-up interview of approximately 1 hour duration. (Phase 2)
In Phase 3, interviews with Senior Managers will again be on a voluntary basis. Their names will be sought from HR Departments in the participating organisations. A covering letter will then be sent to Senior

from HR Departments in the participating organisations. A covering letter will then be sent to Senior Managers within the organisations surveyed, inviting their participation. A phone follow-up will be made within one week to ascertain those who wish to be involved in the research. Those managers who choose not to do so will be thanked for their time, and not contacted again.

4a. Will any subject's records, file information, or stored data be used in the research?

XXX / No

If no, please go to Q.5
If yes complete section C

5. Give the number, type and age range of all participants including controls (See Note)

It is proposed that 500 male and 500 female middle managers will be surveyed from both large and small, public and private sector organisations in Melbourne. The age range of these respondents is likely to be mid-20's through to 60's. No controls will be used in this study.

6. Source and means of recruitment (See Note)

Organisations with both large and small numbers of middle managers will be contacted by mail and a follow up telephone call, to see if they are willing for their staff to be involved in this study. Both public and private sector companies will be asked to participate. The interview (phase 2) will be conducted with fifty of the middle managers who chose to participate. In Phase 3, interviews with senior managers will be sought from the participating organisations.

7. Will any special relationship exist between the recruiter and the participants? (See Note)

No.

8. Criteria for exclusion (See Note)

None.

9. Details of any proposed payment (See Note)

None,

10. Where will the procedures involving humans be undertaken?

The surveys will be mailed to the place of work, and may be filled in there, or at any place chosen by the respondent.

11. What facilities are available for dealing with contingencies? (See Note).

It is not anticipated that any contingencies will arise. However, both researchers are Psychologists, and may be contacted if necessary.

12. (a) Will radioactive substances be used?

XXX/No

(b) Will the use of recombinant DNA techniques, toxins, mutagens, teratogens or carcinogens be involved? (See Note) XXX/No

INFORMED CONSENT:

13. Who will explain the project to the potential participant?

A covering letter will be sent with the survey (copy attached), which will outline the purpose, aim and significance of the study. Contact numbers (phone, email, fax.) will be included in this letter. Organisations or individuals may receive a summary of the findings when the study is completed, if they indicate this request on the survey.

Is there a special relationship between the person explaining the project, or any of the investigators, and a participant? (see Note to Question 7)

No.

15. When will the explanation be given?

In the covering letter sent out with the survey. This letter will be attached to the survey, and will be the first thing seen by the potential respondents.

16. Will the participants be capable of giving consent themselves? (see Note)
Yes. They will be adult, employed participants.

If not, why? To whom will the project be explained and whom will give consent?

17. Will written consent be obtained from all participants? (see Note) XXX/No

If not, please give reasons

No. This will not be necessary, as people will choose whether they want to fill in the survey or not themselves. By choosing to fill in the survey, this will be taken as implied consent. If people decide not to fill in the survey, they may simply ignore it, or return it to the Co-Investigator.

18. Who will act as witness?

No witness will be necessary.

SECTION B - ETHICAL QUESTIONS

19. How will information be handled to safeguard confidentiality both during and after completion of the research project (see Note)

Returned surveys will be allocated a number for identification purposes. Data from the surveys will then be stored on the personal computer of the Co-Investigator. This researcher is the only person who will be entering the data. Access to these records, which will be stored in a locked filing cabinet, will be restricted to the Chief Investigator and the Co-Investigator. Raw data will be held for 5 years in a locked filing cabinet in the Co-Investigators office.

A separate file of respondents willing to be interviewed at a later date will also be kept on the computer. After the interviews are completed, and the data analysed and stored, the interview forms will also be held for a period of 5 years in a locked filing cabinet in the Co-Investigators office.

For the third phase of the research, the interviews with Senior Managers, the same process as above will be observed.

At the completion of all of the data analyses, the complete data file will be held for a period of five years in a locked filing cabinet in the Co-Investigators office.

20. What demands, inconvenience or discomfort will be involved? Explain the possible dangers, risks or ill effects of these procedures and the precautions to be taken to prevent or minimise them. (see Note)

Approximately 45 minutes of the participants time to fill in the survey. A further 45 minutes will be involved if respondents choose to be contacted for an interview.

21. Are there any other ethical issues raised by the proposed project? What is your response to them? In many research projects involving humans there is a trade-off to be made between the cost of the interventions to those participating in them. (eg. in terms of discomfort, health risk, loss of privacy etc.) and the value to be achieved by carrying out the research. The Committee must be in a position to evaluate clearly that trade-off.

It would not appear that any ethical issues will be raised by this project. The survey will only be filled in by voluntary respondents. Copies of the results will be made available to all participants who request them. The organisations will be advised that all individual data will be mailed direct to me, and will not be available to them. HR Departments will be contacted within each participating organisation. Then surveys will be distributed by the HR personnel. It will be made very clear to the respondents of the survey that under no circumstances will their organisation have access to any individual responses. It will also be made clear that this study is being conducted under the auspices of Monash University for the purposes of post-graduate study, and not commissioned by the organisation.

SECTION C - USE OF INFORMATION FROM FILES AND RECORDS

The Privacy Act applies to all "personal information" held by a "Commonwealth Agency" (Refer to Notes to 0.22 and 23 for an explanation of these terms). Research which uses any records subject to the Privacy Act must comply with its requirements for information privacy, ie. the form of the 11 Information Privacy Principles summarised in appendix A. IPP 11 requires that information may only be disclosed by a Commonwealth Agency to a researcher with the consent of the subject of the information. The only exception to this is where the research complies with the NH&MRC Guidelines for the Protection of Privacy in the Conduct of Medical Research, which set out a list of specific issues to be considered by researchers and the Ethics Committee. The Guidelines, are available on request from the Secretary to the Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans, telephone (03)990 52076 or facsimile (03)990 53866. This applies to all research, whether or not it is medical research.

*PLEASE NOTE THAT OUESTION 24 MUST BE ANSWERED.

Researchers should refer to the explanatory notes and must have read Appendix A before completing this section.

22 Records to be Used

- (a) Describe the type(s) of information which will be collected eg. medical records.
- None
- (b) Who, or what organisation, holds the information?
- (c) Has the organisation agreed to provide the information? (Attach a copy of letter)
- (d) State any conditions imposed by the organisation on the release of information.
- (e) Is any organisation listed in (b) above a "Commonwealth Agency"? (See Note to Q.22)
- 23 Personal Information and Privacy
- (a) Does the data collection enable access to identifying information about any individual? (See Note to Q.23) No (If No go to Q.24)
- (b) If Yes will that individual's consent be sought by the researcher? If No please give reasons. (See Note to Q.17) Yes / No
- (c) List the names of people who will have access to the original research data.
- (d) Outline the arrangements for safeguarding individual privacy in accessing, collating, storing and publishing results.
- (e) Describe the arrangements for retention of data and the eventual destruction of data.

24 Does the Privacy Act Apply?

If the data used are held or to be collected by a Commonwealth agency (see Q.22(e)) and collection will or might enable identification of any individual (see Q.23(a)) then the Privacy Act 1988 applies.

(a) Does the Privacy Act apply to the proposed data collection?





Signature of Chief Investigator

19/2/26

Date

(b) If Yes to (a), please provide details for consideration by the Ethics Committee as required by Sections 3.8 and 3.9 of the NH&MRC Guidelines. Your attention is drawn to the monitoring requirements in 3.13 - 3.16 of the Guidelines.

Declaration

I/We, the undersigned, have read the current NH&MRC Statement on Human Experimentation and the relevant Supplementary Notes to this Statement and accept responsibility for the conduct of the research detailed above, in accordance with the principles contained therein and any other condition laid down by the Monash University Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans. In addition, I/we undertake to notify the Monash University Ethics Committee in writing immediately if any changes to the protocol are proposed after the approval of the Committee has been obtained. The Associate Investigator will assume responsibility for the project in the absence of the Chief Investigator.

Signature of Chief Investigator or Supervisor: M. LINDORFF Please print 19/2/96. Date Signature Glence grood 19/2/96 2. <u>Date</u> 3. Date 4. **Date** 5. <u>Date</u> Head of Department/Division I certify that I am prepared to have this project undertaken within my department. SERARD GRIFFIN Name: Please print 20/2/9/ Signature:

Department/Division: DUSINGS MANAGEMENT

APPENDIX 3

Pilot Study Survey and List of Questions combined or deleted.

May, 1996.

Dear Respondent,

The attached survey is designed to find out about attitudes of middle managers toward promotion. It will take approximately 30 minutes to complete, and all information collected will be strictly confidential. You will note that your name is not required on the survey, so your responses will be anonymous.

No individual responses will be made available to your organisation. However, general information will be made available to staff and management at the completion of the study. This will be presented in aggregate form, e.g. "30% of male managers believe that Performance Appraisals are adequate at giving constructive suggestions for performance improvement" etc.

Please feel free to contact me at any time if you have any queries. I would greatly appreciate it if you could return the completed surveys to me within one week, in the stamped addressed envelope enclosed.

Sincere thanks for participating in this research,

Yours sincerely,

Glenice J. Wood.

Phone: 053.412159 (Home)

053.279425 (Work)

email:

This survey will take approximately 30 minutes to complete. Please ignore the small numbers, they are for coding purposes only. Your co-operation is very much appreciated.

PART	TI:		
<u>Demo</u>	graphics:		
1.	Are you -		
	Male [] ¹	Female	[]²
2.	How old are you?		
	30-34 [] ²	40-44 [] ⁴ 45-49 [] ³ 50-54 [] ⁶	55-59 []' 60-64 []' 65 and over []'
3.	Educational Qualifications:		
	What is the highest level of fo	ormal education that ye	ou have obtained?
	Year 12, High School [] ¹ TAFE College Diploma[] ² College of Advanced Educ.	University Postgradua	ate Degree []'
4.	If you received a degree, wh (BA, Psych. major)	at was your degree a	nd your major? e.g.
5.	What is your current position	on (Job Title)?	
6.	Which best describes your li	iving arrangements?	
	Single (including divo Couple (married or par Other	rtnership)	[]²
7.	Do you have?		
	No children Dependent children liv Dependent children no Children not depender	ot living with you	[]; [];

8.	How many children of pre-school age do you have?
9.	Do you have children needing care during working hours?
	Yes []' No [] ²
PAR.	T 2:
<u>Care</u>	er Factors:
10.	How many organisations have you worked for in your career? [
11.	How long have you been in your present position in this organisation?
12. for y	Have you been asked to geographically relocate to another town/city our career?
	Yes [] ¹ No [] ²
13.	If yes, did you relocate as a consequence?
	Yes [] ¹ No [] ²
14.	What impact did this have on your career?
Enha	nced career [] No effect [] Damaged career [] Don't know []
	Please describe:
15.	Did a mentoring relationship play an important part in your career advancement in this organisation? (i.e. where someone with more experience assisted you to advance in your job).
	Not at all important [] ¹ Very important [] ² Quite important [] ³ Never had a mentor [] ⁴
16.	Does your organisation conduct formal Performance Appraisals?
	Yes [] ¹ No [] ²

3.

		w frequen	tty:			
	3 n 6 n	nonthly nonthly	[] ¹	Annu On ar	ally a irregular basis	[]; [];
18. Аррі	How effect				ation's Perform	iance
••			about wor	-		
	1_		2	3 Adequate	4	5
	Po	or		Adequate		Excellen
	construct	ive sugges	stions for p	erformanc	e improvement	
	1_		2	3	4	5
	Po	or		Adequate		Excellent
19.	=	_	niddle mai vancemen	_	s organisation g	gets the san
19.	=	ity for ad		_		ets the sam
19. 20.	opportun	ity for ad Yes gets the	vancemen	t? No		
	opportun If no, who	ity for ad Yes gets the	vancemen	t? No	[]²	
	opportun If no, who	ity for ad Yes gets the	vancemen	t? No	[]²	
	opportun If no, who	ity for ad Yes gets the	vancemen	t? No	[]²	
	opportun If no, who	ity for ad Yes gets the	vancemen	t? No	[]²	
	opportun If no, who	ity for ad Yes gets the	vancemen	t? No	[]²	

21.	elaborate:	is diage	ereu yo	u m your career to date	? Please
			-		
			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
22. date?	Do you feel anything har Please describe:	as parti	cularly	helped you in your car	eer to
Prome	otion:		 _	 	
23.	How many years is it si current organisation, o	-		significant promotion v	vithin the
	Less than 1 year Between 1-2 years	[];]	Between 3-5 years More than 6 years	[] ⁴
	Please describe what yo	ou defir	ne as a	significant promotion:	
	What personal charact rtant part in your last pr in order using 1 for the r	omotio	n? (Ple		e, and
	Charisma [Management skills [A visible success [Gender [Mentoring relationship[Qualifications];];];],	Ir S L S	eadership skills [] ⁷ industriousness [] ⁸ trategic vision [] ⁹ uck [] ¹ pecific training [] ¹ other (please specify) [] ¹	

Internally Other If you heard of this existence? (Tick any which app Colleague HR Personne When you applied (Tick one box only)	position in ly)	Superior	
existence? (Tick any which app Colleague HR Personne When you applied	ly) [] ¹	Superior	
HR Personne When you applied	_	Superior Other	[]:
		Outor	i
	for this pro	motion, was this j	primarily:
	ague sugges		ıld apply [] ¹ [] ¹
1 2 Not prepared	3 Adequate	d ly prepared	5 Very well prepared
		ou will be able to l	nandle a promotion to
1 2	3	4	5
Not confident	Confid	ent	Very Confident
-	l achieve a	promotion to a se	nior management
One year Five years	[]; [],	More than fiv No prospect	ve years [] [,]
-	ı is not rec	eived what are lik	ely to be the reasons?
	After a collect After your be Other If a senior manager you feel you are add 1 2 Not prepared How confident are senior management 2 Not confident Do you feel you will within: One year Five years	After a colleague sugges After your boss recomme Other If a senior management positivou feel you are adequately properties and the senior management? Adequate How confident are you that you senior management? 1 2 3 Not confident Co	After a colleague suggested you could/show After your boss recommended you apply Other If a senior management position was to be offer you feel you are adequately prepared for the property of the property

gar	_	types of work experience or task assign ious organisation, or in the current	ne
	Yes []	No [] ²	
	· -	going training is necessary for you to acl ourses, technical training, leadership ser	
	Yes [] ¹	No [] ²	
	Are you currently enrolle work?	ed in a course or training related to you	r
	Yes []'	No [] ²	
	Please specify type:		
	Do you think you have reposition?	eceived sufficient training in your curre	
		No [] ²	
	Yes []'		
	- •	tion system in your organisation	

W	ork	place	Enviro	nment:

38.	In general, is there hostility to managers of <u>your sex</u> from <u>superiors</u> in this organisation?					
	Regularly []1 Oc	ccasionally []	Rarely [], Never [].		
39. from	In general, is there be superiors in this org		agers of the o	pposite sex to you		
	Regularly [] ¹ Oc	casionally []	Rarely []	Never []		
40. suborc	In general, is there b linates in this or	nostility to man rganisation?	agers of <u>your</u>	<u>sex</u> from		
	Regularly [] ¹ Oc	casionally []2	Rarely []	Never []		
41. from	In general, is there be subordinates in this		agers of the o	pposite sex to you		
	Regularly [] Oc	casionally []	Rarely []	Never []		
42.	Personally, have you	ı felt at any sta	ge hostility to	ward yourself?		
	Yes	[] [']	No	[]2		
43.	If yes, which was the	e main source (of hostility?			
Peers [] Subordinates []	Superiors []	No experience	e of hostility []		
44. to	Do you perceive that influence decision m	-		-		
	Never Seldom Occasionally	[] ¹ [] ²	Often Very Often	[] ⁴		
45.	Do you perceive that influence decision m	_		<u>x</u> get opportunities to agement?		
	Never Seldom Occasionally	[] ¹ [] ²	Often Very Often	[],		

	16. Do you perceive that managers of <u>your sex</u> get opportunities to influence decision making at senior levels of management?				
	Never Seldom Occasions	l]; []; [];	Often Very Often	[] ⁴ [] ⁵	
47. poten		your sex given ganisation?	n adequate supp	ort to reach their	
	Yes	[] ¹	No	[]²	
48. reach	Are managers of their potential in			dequate support to	
	Yes	[]	No	[];	
49.	Are <u>you</u> given ac organisation?	lequate suppo	rt to reach your	potential in this	
	Yes	[]	No	[]2	
50.	Have you person	ally experienc	ed discriminatio	n in this organisation?	
	Overt [] Covert [] ² Never [],	
Please	elaborate:				
51.	Does your comp	any have an E	qual Employmen	nt Opportunity policy?	
	Yes []· No) [] ²	Don't know []	
52.	Has your compa organisation?	ny made its El	EO policy known	throughout the	
	Yes ſ) N	lo [] ²	Don't know [] ³	

53.	Do you think your company actually implements Equal Opportunity according to this policy?							
	Yes []'	No	[]2	Don't know [] ³				
Pleas	e elaborate:							
 54.	What percentage of senior n	na na g	ers are wo	men in this organisation?				
			%					
55.	How long do you think it wi management positions in thi			men fill 50% of senior				
	Five years []' Within 10 years []' Don't know []'		More than Never Women a 50% of se positions	nior mgt.				
Worl	kplace Participation:							
	In your opinion, what are the acteristics that should be notion to senior management (Please rank up to five, placin next to the least important iter	e take are m ig a 1 :	n into acco ade in you	unt when decisions about · organisation?				
	Ability to anticipate org. need Charisma Deference to superiors Discretion Enthusiasm Industriousness Knowledge Loyalty Popularity Qualifications Other	is	[]; []; []; []; []; []; []; [];	Ambition [] ¹² Decisiveness [] ¹³ Dependability [] ¹⁴ Endurance [] ¹⁵ Experience [] ¹⁶ Intelligence [] ¹⁷ Leadership [] ¹⁸ Motivation [] ¹⁹ Powerful allies[] ²⁰ Specific skills [] ²¹				

57.	in your organisation use when characteristics of middle mana management positions?	1 next to the most important item, and 5
	· ·	
	Ability to anticipate org. needs Charisma	[] ¹ Ambition [] ¹² [] ² Decisiveness [] ¹³
	Deference to superiors	
	Discretion	
	Enthusiasm	
	Industriousness	[]'s Experience []'s
		[]6 Intelligence []17
	Knowledge	[]' Leadership []''
	Loyalty	[]' Motivation []''
	Popularity	[]' Powerful allies[] ²⁰
	Qualifications Other	[] ¹⁰ Specific skills [] ²¹
58.	senior management positions in five, placing a 1 next to the most important item). Too few women in lower mgt[] Lacking commitment [] Inappropriate qualifications [] Lacking in confidence []	Leaving to have families []
59.		women will form a 'critical mass' (i.e. a nanagement) and be represented equally
	Yes []¹ Don't know []²	No [] ³
Please	e rank the following items on a s	cale of 1-5, on:

60.	the degree of commitment <u>you</u> have to your career in management	Low		Medium		High	
	in this organisation	1	2	3	4	5	
61.	the degree of commitment you believe managers of the same sex as you in this organisation have to their careers in management.	1	2	3	4	5	
62.	the degree of commitment you believe managers of the opposite sex to you in this organisation have to their careers in management.	1	2	3	4	5	
63.	the degree of motivation you have to succeed in this organisation.	1	2	3	4	5	
64.	the degree of motivation to succeed you believe managers of the same sex as you display in this organisation:	1	2	3	4	5	
65.	the degree of motivation to succeed you believe managers of the opposite sex to you display in this organisation:	1	2	3	4	5	
66.	In terms of qualifications to fill senior m think that women in your organisation a	_	nent p	ositions,	do yo	u	
	Better qualified than their male countries Equally qualified as their male countries. Not as well qualified as their male of Don't know	nterpart	S		[] ¹		
67.	In terms of work-related experience, do organisation are:	you thi	nk tha	at women	in yo	ur	
	More experienced than their male of Equally experienced as their male of Not as experienced as their male con't know	counterp	arts		[] ¹ [] ³ [] ⁴	i	

00.	r lease indicate the extent of your satisfaction with the following:								
Dissat		Highly satisfied							
	Your job overall1	2	3	4	5				
	Your career progress1	2	3	4	5				
	Your promotion prospects1	2	3	4	5				
	Your job security1	2	3	4	5				

THANK YOU FOR YOUR VALUABLE CO-OPERATION.

feel free to	would be most grateful of any comments you may wish to add here. Please feel free to make any criticisms or suggestions to improve the design of this survey. In particular, comments relating to the clarity of questions will be welcomed.							
		 -	······································	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				

Contact: Glenice Wood, School of Business, University of Ballarat. Phone: 279425.

Questions deleted, or combined, on the Pilot Survey.

Questions deleted from Pilot Study:

Q. 5.

Q. 9.

Q.28.

Q.37.

Q.43.

Questions combined on Pilot Study:	Revised Final Survey question		
Q.21,22	Q.20.		
Q.38,39			
40,41	Q.36.		
Q.44,45,46	Q.40.		
Q.47,48,49	Q.41.		
Q.60,61,62	Q.52.		
Q.63,64,65	Q.53.		

(NB: Some additional questions were added to the final survey after revision).

APPENDIX 4

Final survey.

ID:____

much (Pleas	urvey should take approximately 30 n appreciated. Please tick the appropria e ignore the small numbers, they are j eted questionnaire in the stamped, ad	te boxes, or circle t for coding purposes	he appropria s only.) Pleas	te numbers. se return the
				IDın
<u>PAR'i</u>	1 - DEMOGRAPHICS:			
1.	Are you -			
i	Male [] ¹ Fer	nale [] ²		
2.	How old are you?			
	£ 3	44 [] ⁴ 49 [] ⁴ 54 [] ⁶	55-59 60-64 65 and over	[] ⁷ s [] ⁸ [] ⁹
3.	Educational Qualifications:			
	What is the highest level of formal e	lucation that you ha	ave obtained?	6
		ersity Undergradua ersity Postgraduate r (Please specify)	_	[] ⁴
4.	If you have a degree, what was you (BA, Psych. major)	r degree and your	major? e.g.	7-8
5.	Which best describes your living a	rrangements?	······································	
	Single (including divorced, s Couple (married or partnersh Other	ip)	· 	[]' ' []'
6.	Do you have dependent children li	ving with you?		10
	Yes [] ¹ No	[]²		
7.	How many pre-school age children	do you have living	g with you?	.1

SURVEY ON ATTITUDES TO PROMOTION.

2.

8.	How frequently do you have to change your working arrangements because of child care responsibilities, such as a child's illness?					
	Never []¹ Seldom []² Occasionally []³	Often Very Often	[]*			
PAR	T 2 - CAREER FACTORS:					
9.	How many organisations have you w	orked for in yo	ur career? [] 13		
10.	How long have you been in your pres	sent position in	this organisation?			
	[]]years	[]]months	3	14-17		
11.	Have you ever been asked to geograptown/city for your career?	phically relocate	e to another			
	Yes [] ¹	No [] ²		aţ		
12.	If yes, did you relocate as a conseque	ence?				
	Yes [] ¹	No [] ²		19		
13.	What impact did this have on your c	areer?		10		
	Enhanced career []¹ No effect []² [Damaged career [] Don't know []			
	Please describe:			,		
• •						
14.	What effect has your most significan career advancement in this organisa	_	ationship played in yo	our "		
	Never had a mentor [] ¹ Very negative [] ² Negative [] ³	No effect Positive Very Positive	[],			
15.	Does your organisation have a Perfo	rmance Apprais	sal policy?			
	Yes I l	No []		22		

	3 monthly [] ¹ 6 monthly [] ²	Annua Other		e descrit	be)[];		:
	How effective do you think your are in general for giving staff:	r organisatio	n's Pe	rforma	псе Арр	raisals	
		Very Ineffective]	Very Effective	e
	accurate feedback about work:	1	2	3	4	5	
	constructive suggestions for performance improvement:	1	2	3	4	5	
ıse	elaborate on the effectiveness/non-	-effectiveness	of the	se Perfo	rmance	Арргаіs	als.
		·····	<u> </u>		:		
							
							
				<u> </u>			
	Do you feel every middle manago opportunity for advancement?	ger in this or	ganisa	tion get	s the sa	me	
	Yes [] ¹	No	[]				
	If no, who gets the opportunitie	s, who doesn	't, and	l why?	Please e	laborat	e.
		<u> </u>		<u>-</u>			
		_					
_				•			

20. Please indicate how important the following factors have been in developing your career to date:

		lindere a lot	eđ			Helped a lot	
20.1	Political awareness	1	2	3	4	5	29
20.2	Doing the job well	1	2	3	4	5	30
20.3	Being a 'team player'	1	2	3	4	5	31
20.4	Educational qualifications	1	2	3	4	5	32
20.5	Determination to succeed	1	2	3	4	5	33
20.6	Communication skills 1	2	3	4	5	34	
20.7	Integrity	1	2	3	4	, 5	J 5
20.8	Self confidence	1	2	3	4	5	36
20.9	Societal attitudes	1	2	3	4	5	37
20.10	Stereotyping	1	2	3	4	5	38
20.11	Colleagues	1	2	3	4	5	39
20.12	Parental role	1	2	3	4	5	40
20.13	Ability to relocate	1	2	3	4	5	41
20.14	Role models	1	2	3	4	5	42
20.15	Family support	1	2	3	4	5	43
20.16	Gender	1	2	3	4	5	44
20.17	Formal organisational policies	s 1	2	3	4	5	45
20.18	Informal organisational polici	es 1	2	3	4	5	46
20.19	Other (Please describe)	1	2	3	4	5	47

PART 3 - PROMOTION:

J	tion, or through chang						
Less than Between	n 1 year [1-2 years [`]' :];		veen 3-5 e than 6	years years	[] ³	
		_			-	[]	
Please of	escribe what you defind	e as a signino	cant pr	omotior	1:		
Compar-	ed to your colleagues, v	vould you sa	y your	promot	ions to d	— late hav	ve :
<u>1</u>	2	3		4		5	
Less freq than aver	-	Average				e freque average	
Please in	ndicate how important on:		llowing	factors	played i	-	last
		Very				Very	
		Unimport	ant]	Importa	ant
23.1 S	Success in previous project	-	ant 2	3	4	•	
	Success in previous project Educational qualifications	1		3		Importa	4
23.2 E		1	2		4	Imports 5	:
23.2 E	Educational qualifications	1	2	3	4	S 5 5	:
23.2 E 23.3 C 23.4 I	Educational qualifications	1 1	2 2 2	3	4 4 4	5 5 5 5	:
23.2 E 23.3 C 23.4 I 23.5 I	Educational qualifications Sender ndustriousness	1 1 1 1	2 2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	5 5 5 5	:
23.2 E 23.3 C 23.4 I 23.5 I 23.6 N	Educational qualifications Gender Industriousness Luck	1 1 1 1	2 2 2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4 4	5	:
23.2 E 23.3 C 23.4 I 23.5 I 23.6 N 23.7 F	Educational qualifications Gender Idustriousness Luck Mentoring relationship	1 1 1 1 1	2 2 2 2 2 2	3 3 3 3	4 4 4 4 4	5	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
23.2 E 23.3 C 23.4 I 23.5 L 23.6 M 23.7 F 23.8 F	Educational qualifications Gender Industriousness Luck Mentoring relationship Personality	1 1 1 1 1 1	2 2 2 2 2 2 2	3 3 3 3 3	4 4 4 4 4	5 5 5 5 5 5 5	
23.2 E 23.3 C 23.4 I 23.5 I 23.6 M 23.7 F 23.8 F 23.9 F	Educational qualifications Gender Industriousness Luck Mentoring relationship Personality Potential for development	1 1 1 1 1 1	2 2 2 2 2 2 2	3 3 3 3 3	4 4 4 4 4	5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5	
23.2 E 23.3 C 23.4 I 23.5 I 23.6 M 23.7 F 23.8 F 23.9 F 23.10 S	Educational qualifications Gender Idender Industriousness Luck Mentoring relationship Personality Potential for development Range of experience	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	3 3 3 3 3 3	4 4 4 4 4 4	5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5	ant
23.2 E 23.3 C 23.4 I 23.5 L 23.6 M 23.7 F 23.8 F 23.9 F 23.10 S 23.11 S	Educational qualifications Gender Industriousness Luck Mentoring relationship Personality Potential for development Range of experience Specific training	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	3 3 3 3 3 3	4 4 4 4 4 4 4	5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5	

24.	Did you apply for you	ır last p	romotion, or w	ere you appe	ointed to th	ne positi	on?
	Applied	[]	Appoi	inted []²		ધ
25.	If you applied for the existence? (Tick any			how did you	become a	ware of	its
	Colleague HR Personnel	[] ¹	Super Other	ior [———]'	ין]	65-48
26.	If you applied for this (Tick one box only)	s promo	tion, was this p	rimarily:			
	On your own was After a colleage After your boss Other (Please of	volition rue sugg s recomi lefine)_	ested you could/ mended you app	should apply	[] ¹	[]	69
27.	Do you want to obtain career?	a seni	or management	position du	ring your 1	managei	rial
	Yes	[]'	No	[];			70
28.	How confident are yo	u that t	his will happen	?			
	1	2	33	4		5	71
	Not confident		Confident		Ve	ry Confi	dent
29.	How soon do you feel	tbis wi	ll happen? Witl	hia			
	One year Between 1-2 y Between 3-5 y		[] ¹ [] ² [] ³		-10 years 10 years		72
30,	If such a promotion is Please describe:	s not re	ceived, why do	you think th	is will be?		73-14
		<u> </u>					
			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	······································	. 	····	
							

31.	Do you perceive that ongoing training is necessary for you to achieve promotion? (e.g. short courses, technical training, leadership seminars etc.)									
	Y	es .	[]	No	[]:					75
32.		_	on, what typorder to be		_			_		Record 2
33.	past, eitl	her in	eived these a previous	organisati	ion, or in			-		the
			[]'							\$
34.	•		ently enrolle			aining	related 1	to your	work?	
	3	Yes	[]'	No	[]²					6
	Please sp	ecify	type:							7-8
35.	Do you t	bink	you have re	eceived suf	fficient tr	aining	in your	curren	t positie	on?
Pleas	e elaborate:	Yes	[] ¹	No	[]:		·		_	9
			ACE ENV							
36.			iisation, tov ribe the ge			nanage	ers of yo	ur sex, !	how wo	ould you
					Very Hostile				Very upporti	ve
	36.1	Super	iors		. 1	2	3	4	5	11
	36.2	Subor	dinates		1	2	3	4	5	12

37. In your organisation, towards managers of the opposite sex, how would you typically describe the general attitude of ...?

	Very Hostije				Very Supportive			
37.1	Superiors	1	2	3	4	5	а	
37.2	Subordinates	1	2	3	4	5	н	

38. In general, how would you judge the attitudes toward you from the following...?

		Very Hostile	•			Very Supportive			
38.1	Peers	1	2	3	4	5	15		
38.2	Subordinates	1	2	3	4	5	16		
38.3	Superiors	1	2	3	4	5	17		
38.4	Clients /customers	1	2	3	4	5	1.5		

39. Do you consider that you are given opportunities in this organisation to influence major decision making in your department?

No (Opportu	ınity		tunity		
	1	2	3	4	5	19

40. In your organisation, are there opportunities to influence decision making at senior levels of management for ...?

	No	Opportu	inity		A lot of Opportunity			
40.1	You	1	2	3	4	5	20	
40.2	Managers of your sex	1	2	3	4	5	21	
40.3	Managers of the opposite s	sex 1	2	3	4	5	22	

			Very i	nadequ	nato		Vor	. ada		.4
	47		very i	-		_	Ver		qua	
41.1	You			1	2	3	4	5		23
41.2	Mana Mana	gers of your sex		I	2	3	4	5		24
41.3	Mana Mana	gers of the oppos	ite sex	1	2	3	4	5		25
Doe	s your co	mpany have an l	Equal E	mploy	ment Op	portun	ity polic	ey?		
	Yes	[],	No	[]		Don'	t know	[],	36
Has	your con	mpany made its]	ЕЕО ро	licy kn	own thro	ughou	t the org	ganis	atio	п?
	Yes	[],	No	[]		Don'	t know	[}·	27
ما ما ما م		[] ¹				Don't	t know	[_]³	29
se etano										
		tage of senior m	аваgers	are we		this org	ganisatio	 on?		30-
Wh	at percen	tage of senior m you think it will gement positions	take be		%	·			1 50	30- .9% 0 32
Wh	at percent v long do for manag Wom 50% of mana	you think it will	take be	Up to Betwe	omen in 5 years een 5-10 than 10	this or			1 50	% 0

47.	Have you personally experienced discrimination in this organisation?							
	Yes	[]	No	[]	34			
Pleaso	e elaborate:							
					35			
				 -				
		· - · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		·				

PART 5 - WORKPLACE PARTICIPATION:

48. <u>In your opinion</u>, how important should it be to possess the following behavioural and attitudinal characteristics in order to achieve promotion to senior management in your organisation?

		Very Unimportant					
48.1	Ability to anticipate org.needs	1	2	3	4	5	16
48.2	Ability to take risks	1	2	3	4	5	37
48.3	Ambition	1	2	3	4	5	34
48.4	Communication skills	1	2	3	4	5	39
48.5	Deference to superiors	1	2	3	4	5	40
48.6	Discretion	1	2	3	4	5	4)
48.7	Educational qualifications	1	2	3	4	5	47
48.8	Effectiveness as a delegator	1	2	3	4	5	43
48.9	Endurance	1	2	3	4	5	#
48.10	Enthusiasm	1	2	3	4	5	45
48.11	Experience	1	2	3	4	5	46
48.12	Flexibility to change	. 1	2	3	4	5	47
48.13	Industriousness	1	2	3	4	5	48

		Very Unimportant			Very Important			
48.14	Intelligence	1	2	3	4	5	49	
48.15	Knowledge	1	2	3	4	5	59	
48.16	Leadership	1	2	3	4	5	51	
48.17	Loyalty	1	2	3	4	5	52	
48.18	Motivation	1	2	3	4	5	53	
48.19	Personality	1	2	3	4	5	sı	
48.20	Popularity	1	2	3	4	5	53	
48.21	Powerful allies	1	2	3	4	5	54	
48.22	Responsibility	1	2	3	4	5	57	
48.23	Strategic vision	1	2	3	4	5	58	
48.24	Specific skills	1	2	3	4	5	59	
48.25	Other (Please describe)	1	2	3	4	5	60	

49. How important do you think it is to <u>senior management</u> that middle managers possess the following attributes in order to achieve promotion to senior management positions?

		Very Unimportant			Very Important		
49.1	Ability to anticipate org.needs	1	2	3	4	5	61
49.2	Ability to take risks	1	2	3	4	5	62
49.3	Ambition	1	2	3	4	5	63
49.4	Attractiveness	1	2	3	4	5	4
49.5	Communication skills	1	2	3	4	5	65
49.6	Deference to superiors	1	2	3	4	5	66

Reserved 1

		Very Unimportant			Very Important			
49.7	Discretion	1	2	3	4	5	4	
49.8	Educational qualifications	1	2	3	4	5	\$	
49.9	Effectiveness as a delegator	ī	2	3	4	5	6	
49.10	Endurance	1	2	3	4	5	7	
49.11	Enthusiasm	1	2	3	4	5		
49.12	Experience	1	2	3	4	5	9	
49.13	Flexibility to change	1	2	3	4	5	10	
49.14	Industriousness	1	2	3	4	5	‡1	
49.15	Intelligence	1	2	3	4	5	12	
49.16	Knowledge	1	2	3	4	5	13	
49.17	Leadership	1	2	3	4	5	14	
49.18	Likeability/Sociability	1	2	3	4	5	15	
49.19	Loyalty	1	2	3	4	5	16	
49.20	Motivation	1	2	3	4	5	17	
49.21	Personality	1	2	3	4	5	;8	
49.22	Popularity	1	2	3	4	5	19	
49.23	Powerful allies	1	2	3	4	5	20	
49.24	Responsibility	1	2	3	4	5	21	
49.25	Strategic vision	1	2	3	4	5	22	
49.26	Specific skills	1	2	3	4	5	23	
49.27	Other (Please describe)	1	2	3	4	5	24	

50. The following explanations have been advanced to account for women not achieving senior management positions in greater numbers in organisations generally. How strongly do you agree/disagree with these reasons?

		Strongi Disagre	-		;	Strongly Agree	y
50.1	Different leadership styles	1	2	3	4	5	25
50.2	Inadequate educational qualifications	1	2	3	4	5	26
50.3	Low commitment	1	2	3	4	5	27
50.4	Low in confidence	1	2	3	4	5	28
50.5	Low motivation	1	2	3	4	5	29
50.6	Leaving to have families	1	2	3	4	5	30
50.7	Prejudice	1	2	3	4	5	31
50.8	Too few women in management	1	2	3	4	5	32
50.9	Unavailable for relocation	i	2	3	4	5	33
50.10	Other (Please describe)	1	2	3	4	5	ы
51.	In general, do you believe that whe career, they will be represented equal Yes []' Don't know []' If no, why?	ually in	senior 1 No	nanagei			

52.	How would you describe the degree of commitment to management as a career
	in your organisation from?

		Very Uncommitted			Very Committed			
52.1	Yourself	1	2	3	4	5	37	
52.2	Managers of your sex	1	2	3	4	5	38	
52.3	Managers of the opposite ser	x 1	2	3	4	5	39	

53. How would you describe the degree of motivation to management as a career in your organisation from ...?

		Very motiv	ery notivated			Very Motivated		
53.1	Yourself	1	2	3	4	5	40	
53.2	Managers of your sex	1	2	3	4	5	41	
53.3	Managers of the opposite sex	1	2	3	4	5	42	

54. In terms of educational qualifications to fill senior management positions, do you think that in general, women in your organisation are:

Not as well qualified as their male counterparts	[]
Equally qualified as their male counterparts	[]²
Better qualified than their male counterparts	[];
Don't know	[]+

55. In terms of work-related experience, do you think that in general, women in your organisation are:

Not as experienced as their male counterparts	[Ĵ۱
Equally experienced as their male counterparts	[]²
More experienced than their male counterparts	[}3
Don't know	[]⁴

56.	Please indicate the extent of	vour satisfaction	with the following:
20.	I letter therence one extent or	Your andiamenon	MARK THE TOHOUTES

		Highly Dissatisfied								Highly Satisfied		
	56.1	Your job overall				1	2	3	4	5	45	
	56.2	Your care	er progr	ess	to date	1	2	3	4	5	46	
	56.3	Your future promotion prospects				1	2	3	4	5	47	
	56.4	Your job security				1	2	3	4	5	48	
57.	Please indicate if you would like to rewhen the study is completed. Yes []'							egate c	opy of th	te result	ts 49	
58.	Please indicate if you would be willing to be interviewed at a later stage (approximately 45 minutes). Yes [] No []							stage (í	or 50			
						·						
	Pho	one No	· · · · · ·		<u></u>		_Fax N	o				

THANK YOU FOR YOUR VALUABLE CO-OPERATION.

APPENDIX 5

Covering letter, Monash University.



FACULTY OF BUSINESS & ECONOMICS Department of Business Management

May, 1996.

We are writing to ask you to participate in a study of promotion within Australian organisations. This study is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Margaret Lindorff by Ms. Glenice Wood, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Business Management. Our aim is to develop an understanding of the way people perceive events within the workplace, and how these perceptions influence promotions and career advancement.

The first stage of the research involves surveying middle managers of both sexes to gather information on their views relating to promotion within their organisations. We would be most grateful if you could assist us by completing the accompanying questionnaire. The second stage of the research will involve conducting interviews of approximately 45 minutes with a sample of the managers involved in the first survey. If you are willing to be interviewed, please indicate this by ticking Question 68 on the last page of the survey.

It would be appreciated if you could complete the survey and return it in the stamped envelope provided. However, your participation is voluntary, and you may omit any question if you choose to do so. Results will be aggregated and analysed across groups, and will be described in a general report that does not identify organisations or individuals. Your organisation will not be provided with individual responses.

Should you have any complaint concerning the manner in which this research is conducted, please do not hesitate to contact the Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans at the following address:

The Secretary,
The Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans,
Monash University,
Wellington Road,
CLAYTON, Victoria, 3168.

Telephone: 03 990 52052 Fax: 03 990 53866.

If you have any questions about the study or the survey, please feel free to contact Glenice Wood, School of Business, University of Ballarat, PO Box 663, Ballarat, Victoria, 3353. Telephone 053 279 425; Fax 053 279 405.

Thank you for your cooperation and assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Ur. Margaret Lindorff



Glenice J. Wood.

APPENDIX 6

Middle Manager Interview Schedule.

General questions:

- 1. (Q5) What are your views on women combining marriage and a career?
- 2. (Q8) What are your views on who should be responsible for dependent children?
- 3. (Q6) Only 13% of women managers in the sample had dependent children. Do you believe women are choosing to remain childless in order to have a successful management career?

Promotion:

- 4. (Q2) Are there differences in attitudes toward promotion between women and men of different ages?
 (Ask people to indicate an 'age' category: under 30 and under 44: "What do you believe is the probability you will achieve promotion to a senior management position?")
- 5. (Q3) How have your educational qualifications assisted you in achieving promotions?
- 6. (Q50) Describe a woman's style of leadership?
- 7.(Q23) Women believed that potential for development was an important factor in their last promotion (and men did not). Do you have any comments to make on this?
- 8.(Q25) Significantly more men heard of their last promotion through a superior than did women. How can you account for this?
- 9.(Q50) Does prejudice effect women not achieving senior management positions in greater numbers?

Career Factors:

10.(Q52) Female managers in our sample felt that men were more committed and more motivated to have a career in management than women. Do you think women's level of commitment and motivation is a problem in their careers?

- 11.(Q34) More women are upgrading their formal qualifications, but more men are attending leadership courses? What do you make of these discrepancies?
- 12. (Q9) Do you feel you have to leave a job to improve your position?
- 13. (Q11) Twice as many men were asked to relocate for their career. Why do you think this is?
- 14a.(Q20) In our sample, women stated that gender, stereotyping and informal Org. policies had hindered their careers. Could you give an example of what each of these may mean?
- 14b. Men stated that stereotyping, <u>formal</u> Org. policies and education qualifications were the factors that hindered their careers. What do you think is meant by this?

Organisation culture:

- 15. (Q18) Less women felt there were equal opportunities for advancement in their Organisations, compared with men. What do you believe are the reasons for this perceived lack of equal opportunity?
- 16.(Q42) Twice as man women as men don't know if their company has an EEO policy. What does this suggest to you?
- 17.(Q47) When asked about personal experiences of discrimination, 11% of male managers and 30% of female managers stated they had experienced this. Could you give an example of discrimination you, or someone close to you, has experienced?
- 18.(Q40) In our sample, women believed they received less opportunity to influence decision making at senior management level than their male counterparts. Why do you think this is?

intervb.doc

APPENDIX 7

Senior Manager Interview Schedule.

SENIOR MANAGER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.

o.	more men are attending leadership courses? What do you make of these discrepancies?
9.	(Q11) Twice as many men were asked to relocate for their career. Why do you think this is?
10.	(Q20) In our sample, women stated that gender, stereotyping and informal Org. policies had hindered their careers. What do you think they meant?
11.	Men stated that stereotyping, <u>formal</u> Org. policies and educational qualifications were the factors that hindered their careers. What do you think they meant?
12.	(Q18) Less women felt there were equal opportunities for advancement in their organisations, compared with men. What do you believe are the reasons for this perceived lack of equal opportunity?
13.	(Q40) Do you think both male and female middle managers receive the same opportunity to influence decision making at senior management level?

14. (Q49) What do YOU believe are the most important attributes for middle managers to possess, in order to be considered for promotion to senior management positions?

impor	tant	Very Unimporta	ınt			Very
1	Ability to anticipate org.needs	1	2	3	4	5**
2	Ability to take risks	1	2	3	4	562
3	Ambition	1	2	3	4	563
4	Attractiveness	1	2	3	4	5⊶
5	Communication skills	1	2	3	4	5 ⁶⁵
6	Deference to superiors	1	2	3	4	5**
7	Discretion	1	2	3	4	5•
8	Educational qualifications	1	2	3	4	5s
9	Effectiveness as a delegator	1	2	3	4	5•
10	Endurance	1	2	3	4	57
11	Enthusiasm	1	2	3	4	5*
12	Experience	1	2	3	4	5°
13	Flexibility to change	1	2	3	4	510
14	Industriousness	1	2	3	4	511
15	Intelligence	1	2	3	4	5 ¹²
16	Knowledge	1	2	3	4	513
17	Leadership	1	2	3	4	5"
18	Likeability/Sociability	1	2	3	4	515
19	Loyalty	1	2	3	4	516
20	Motivation	1	2	3	4	517
21	Personality	1	. 2	3	4	518

4.

		ι	Very Unimportant				Very Important		
22	Popularity		1	2	3	4	5"		
23	Powerful allies		1	2	3	4	520		
24	Responsibility		1	2	3	4	521		
25	Strategic vision		1	2	3	4	522		
26	Specific skills		1	2	3	4	523		
27	Other (Please describe)		1	2	3	4	524		
15. Could you describe the ideal candidate for a senior management promotion?									
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APPENDIX 8

Final Executive Interview Schedule.

QUESTIONS FOR FINAL THREE EXECUTIVE INTERVIEWS. 2001.

- 1. Why are there so few women in senior management?
- 1a. Do you think theories of gender difference, or gender stereotyping can account for this phenomenon?
- What needs to be changed in order to have more women in senior management?

- 3. What is your background: Test out gender roles in life history.
 - Education:

Highest qualification:

When

received?

- Work experience:
- Marital status:

Children:

Number:

Ages:

(If yes to above, when did you have your children in relation to obtaining your qualifications?)

(If yes, did you have any assistance in the home from others or partners? If so, how much? Did you partner share equally in the family responsibilities?)

4. Why do you believe you are atypical (i.e. a women who is successful in a senior management role)?

5. What I found in my research:

- No gender differences in commitment, motivation, educational qualifications or work experience.
- Gender differences in the number of women who had relocated for their jobs, but more men had been asked to do so.
- Gender stereotypical attitudes by male attitudes as to their perception of women's commitment, motivation, and work experience.
- No stereotypical attitudes towards women's educ. quals.
- Perceptual differences on issues relating to the workplace environment, organisation culture and policies, advancement opportunities, career development, previous promotion, and requirements for future promotion.
- In addition, female middle managers expressed different views about what they thought senior managers would require in order to promote others to senior positions.
- 6. Do you have any thoughts on these findings? Can you relate to any of these findings/ have you experienced any of these things
 - 7. It appears that people's perceptions have this subconscious/social perspective which is not evident until the deeper, unconscious layer is tapped. For example, many questions were responded to as if women themselves had no real constraints. But some of their qualitative responses suggest that women perceive/value things in different ways to men. For example, on motivation, some women commented that many women are happy with the role they have, and see 'motivation' as wanting to do their jobs as well as possible. Many of the male comments to the question mentioned that 'motivation' to them implied getting to the top.
 - 8. Do you think such differences in perception could cause difficulties for women wanting to break through to senior positions? My research found that women thought that Charisma (attractiveness, deference to superiors, likeability, personality, popularity and powerful allies) were important to senior managers. However, senior managers thought that leadership and strategic vision (male) were most important, and female senior managers thought that leadership and communication, with the ability to get on with other people. What are your thoughts?

9.	What	are	the	barriers	that	stop	women	reachi	ng senior
	management		positions in			organisatio	ons	generally?	
									
	And in this organisation?								

Do I have your permission to use your name/organisation? Would you be prepared for me to send you a draft of this interview for your perusal?

Thankyou.

Interviewfinal.doc

APPENDIX 9

Letter of Consent from Professor Leonie Still for partaking in the Executive Interviews, 2001.



Centre for Women & Business

FACULTY OF ECONOMICS, COMMERCE, EDUCATION AND LAW, Nedlands, Western Australia 6907 Telephone: +61 8 9380 2946

Telephone: +61 8 9380 2946 Facsimile: +61 8 9380 1072Email:

4th May, 2001.

Ms Glenice Wood, Lecturer in Management, School of Business, University of Ballarat, P.O. Box 663, Ballarat, Victoria 3353.

Dear Glenice.

Igive permission for you to use my name and institution, and details of my interview, in the final chapter of your doctoral thesis.

lenjoyed participating in the research and wish your dissertation well.

Kind regards,

Professor L.V. Still, Director, Centre for Women & Business, Graduate School of Management.

PUBLICATIONS ARISING FROM THE THESIS RESEARCH

Women in Management review

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SF.PAF.DKWIMR7 10th October 2000

Dr Glenice Wood
Lecturer in Management
School of Business
University of Ballarat
PO Box 663
Ballarat Vic 3353
Australia

Dear Glenice

MS No. 00-08: Sex Differences in Explanations for Career Progress

lam extremely pleased to inform you that your paper has finally been reviewed and accepted for publication. It is a very well written article that will appeal to both an academic and practitioner audience.

I can only apologise again for the delay which was due to the unfortunate death of the first reviewer. As you will see from Issue 15, we are now beginning to include the date received, date reviewed and date accepted with each article. Due to the extremely unusual circumstances surrounding the first reviewer I have altered the dates accordingly.

Thank you for your patience and I hope that it does not put you off submitting future papers to the Journal.

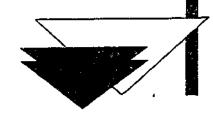
Warm wishes,

Yours sincerely

Dr Sandra Fielden

S Could you please forward a copy of your manuscript on disk. Many thanks.





SEX DIFFERENCES EXPLANATIONS FOR CAREER PROGRESS

Sex differences in explanations for career progress

Glenice J. Wood and Margaret Lindorff

Abstract

This study tested the prediction that there will be sex differences in how middle managers perceive promotion requirements, and that such differences will be influenced by societal expectations of gender appropriateness in which women are expected to display communal (nurturing, interpersonally sensitive) and men agentic (independent, assertive and ambitious) qualities and behaviour. Results from 351 male and 156 female managers indicated that sex does not strongly influence the belief that every manager receives the same opportunities for advancement. However, there were sex differences in the reasons given for unequal career advancement, personal career progress, achievement of the last promotion received, and why a future promotion may not occur. Additionally, although male and female managers have similar aspirations to obtain a senior management position, women are less likely to expect a promotion. The results partially support the predictions of Social-Role theory.

Keywords: Gender differences, promotion explanations, social-role theory

Over the last two decades, a considerable amount of research has focused on the career progress of women in organizations. It has been claimed that attitudinal, behavioural, and structural barriers that hinder career advancement for many women existed (Adler and Izraeli, 1988), and persist today (Still, 1997). Although women are now graduating in higher numbers than men from educational institutions (Fagenson and Jackson, 1994) and more women are entering the paid workforce (Hind and Baruch, 1997) and taking up managerial roles (Parker and Fagenson, 1994), the poor representation of women at senior management level continues. For example, in America women fill less than 5% of top management positions (Aguinis and Adams, 1998), in England the figure is estimated to be less than 4% (Davidson, 1996) and in Australia the figure is approximately 3% (Uren, 1999). It appears that sex differences exist in promotions to senior management, and this occurrence is noted worldwide.

Two major theoretical perspectives have been proposed to explain this phenomenon. Firstly, the gender-centered perspective postulates that intrinsic differences between men and women account for the differences in the number of men and women in senior management. For example, Morrison and van Glinow (1990) suggest "women's traits, behaviours, attitudes, and socialization are said to make them inappropriate or deficient as managers" (p.201). Alternatively, the situation or organisational structure perspective states that organisational factors, such as holding positions of limited power, affect women's behaviour. Such behavioural differences then reduce women's chances of career advancement (Parker and Fagenson, 1994). However, research has not provided categorical support for either explanation. There is little evidence of gender-based deficits in

skills, abilities and application of a magnitude that would account for women's relatively poor career progress (Hind and Baruch, 1997). Similarly, research into organisational factors such as environment and culture has not entirely supported the organisational structure perspective (Aguinis and Adams, 1998). There is thus a need for alternative explanations for the differences in the number of men and women in senior management.

One explanation is that men and women have different beliefs, attitudes and values, and that these affect their promotion-seeking behaviour. Sex differences have been reported in personality traits (Feingold, 1994), aggressive behaviour (Eagly and Karau, 1991), and cognitive abilities (Feingold, 1993). Sex differences have also been reported in perceptions of organisational opportunities (Reynolds and Associates, 1990), intraorganisational communication, organisational support (Amason and Allen, 1997), and evaluations of performance appraisal (Hind and Baruch, 1997).

There may also be sex differences in perceptions of the requirements for promotion. Such perceptual differences may influence promotion-seeking behaviour, as the behaviour of individuals seeking promotion is likely to be affected by their perceptions of promotion requirements. To illustrate, a person is unlikely to apply for promotion if she or he believes that a certain level of experience or education is required, and if she or he does not have these qualifications. Thus women and men may have different promotion-seeking behaviours if they differ in their perceptions of development issues and promotion requirements. Furthermore, their different promotion-seeking behaviour may be differentially rewarded by organisations.

In addition, women and men may differ in their perceptions of opportunities for advancement, their attributions for past career progress and the reasons for a promotion, their expectations of, and aspirations to, obtain a senior management position, and their explanations for why promotions may not be achieved.

Differences in the attributions for career progress and explanations for why a promotion may not be received may play a role in future promotion-seeking behaviour, and may go some way toward explaining sex differences in management achievement. Therefore the process of self-selection, which is in part based on the individual's perceptions of the requirements for promotion, may partly explain the different career advancement rates of men and women.

However, this area has not received research attention. This study therefore uses social-role theory to test the prediction that there are sex differences in how middle managers perceive aspects of management progression.

Social-Role theory

Social-role theory (Eagly, 1987) proposes that women and men fill certain gender and social roles, and that their beliefs and behaviour will be dictated by the stereotypes that are attached to these roles (Franke, Crown and Spake, 1997). These gender roles are formed in part through shared societal expectations about how individuals of each sex should behave, and the qualities they should possess (Eagly, 1987). Women are believed to manifest communal type beliefs and behaviours such as caring and nurturing, interpersonal sensitivity, and emotional expressiveness (Eagly and Wood, 1991). This may be manifested as concern with others' wellbeing, a selfless attitude, and enjoyment at working closely with others (Eagly, 1987). Such communal behaviours exemplify interdependence, co-

operation, an emphasis on relationships, and an acceptance of change (Marshall, 1984). On the other hand, men are believed to manifest agentic type beliefs and behaviours, such as ambition, assertion, control, and independence from other people. These behaviours may be characterised by the urge to master others, and a desire for self-expansion (Bakan, 1966). Agentic behaviours therefore exemplify independence, assertion, mastery and change-resistance (Marshall, 1984). Social-role theory suggests that the stereotypes attached to gender roles create different expectations of, and socialisation experiences for, males and females, and that these then lead to differences in attitudes and behaviour. Such differences may occur in relation to the career progress issues mentioned above.

Gender Differences in Perceptions relating to Career Progress Perceptions of Opportunities for Advancement

Social-role theory suggests that the socialisation of women may leave them with a perception that they have fewer opportunities than men for advancement to senior levels of management. Some empirical evidence supports this theory. For example, women managers report that lack of career development opportunities have created problems in their careers (Rosen, Miguel and Peirce, 1989). They also perceive that they have fewer opportunities than men for promotion to senior management (Parker and Fagenson, 1994). Additionally, two-thirds of women executives surveyed by Reynolds and Associates (1990) said they were not actively encouraged to participate in career development activities. In contrast, 75% of men in the same study believed that women executives were actively encouraged to participate in such activities. Lack of career development

opportunities has also been cited as a problem encountered by Australian managerial women (Smith, Crowley and Hutchinson, 1993). Thus it is hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 1: Fewer women than men will perceive that all middle managers get the same organisational opportunities for advancement.

<u>Hypothesis 2:</u> There will be sex differences in the explanations given for unequal advancement.

Attributions for own Career Progress

Social-role theory predicts that the communal tendencies of women will influence them to act in a nurturing, participative team style when working with others. It may be therefore that women who achieve success in their management careers attribute this to such behaviour. Conversely, it is predicted that the agentic tendencies of men will influence them to act in ambitious, assertive and independent ways, and hence men may attribute their success to these styles of behaviour. Some evidence supports these differences. For example, twice as many female managers as male colleagues report enthusiasm, mentors and luck as contributing to their present success (Pringle and Goyma, 1989). Additionally, there is evidence that women believe that career encouragement furthers their advancement, whereas men attribute it to education and work experience (Tharenou, Latimer and Conroy, 1994). In addition, it has been reported that both men and women believe that gender is a factor in decisions regarding personnel selection (Hede and Dingsdad, 1994), and that women's lack of self-confidence has held them back (Still, 1993).

Hypothesis 3: There will be sex differences in the attributions made by managers

for their own career progress.

Attributions for Achievement of Last Promotion

Social-role theory suggests that the expectations that women will exhibit communal qualities and men agentic qualities (Eagly, 1987) may influence a person's attributions relating to previous promotion success. Congruent with this, it has been found that women perceive that opportunity to act in a position (Still. 1997), hard work, industriousness, and being task-oriented (Still, 1996) are important factors in senior management promotions. Past performance and networks are also considered important (Gold and Pringle, 1988). This suggests a communal tendency for interdependence and co-operation and enjoyment at working closely with others. In contrast, male managers perceive that education is a more important factor in senior management promotion (Still, 1997). Furthermore, more men than women believe that a willingness to be mobile is an influential factor in gaining promotion (Gold and Pringle, 1988). These attributions suggest agentic tendencies, such as a desire for self-expansion and independent behaviour. In summary, there appear to be some communal and agentic gender role influences in the factors identified as facilitating promotion. Hypothesis 4: There will be sex differences in the reasons given for the last promotion achieved. Women will give communal-based attributions, and men will give agentic attributions.

Aspirations to Obtain a Senior Management Position

Social-role theory suggests women will be less likely than men to aspire to a senior management position. This is due to the gender incongruence that occurs when women depart from their normative nurturing and caring roles to take up

managerial positions. Empirical research supports this view that management roles are seen as male domains (e.g., Orser, 1994; Schein and Mueller, 1992; Schein, 1994). Research also suggests sex differences in career aspirations. Women appear to have a tendency to accept a job rather than seek a career (Still, 1993), and are more likely to enter "...service areas which 'satisfices' their career aspirations, but does not 'maximise' them" (Still, 1993, p.86). Additionally, some research indicates that female managers are less likely than their male counterparts to aspire to a position in senior management (Hede and Ralston, 1993).

Hypothesis 5: More male managers than female managers will aspire to a senior management position.

Expectations of Obtaining a Senior Management Position

According to social-role theory, people have a tendency to prefer occupations that favour qualities thought to be typical of their own gender (Cejka and Eagly, 1999). As managerial occupations may require women to exhibit male-stereotypic qualities (Cejka and Eagly, 1999) women may theoretically have less expectation than men of their ability to exhibit these qualities, and thus to obtain such positions. This explains the finding that women are less likely than their male colleagues to expect an executive position prior to retirement (Hede and Ralston, 1993).

In addition, it has been found that age has a negative influence on expectations and achievement of promotion (Fielden and Davidson, 1999; Tolbert and Moen, 1998). Similarly, it is expected that length of time in a position will be negatively associated with a belief that promotions will be achieved. As women

managers, on average, are younger and less experienced than their male colleagues (Hersch and Viscusi, 1996) tests for sex differences in expectations need to control for age and length of time in a position.

Hypothesis 6: Fewer female managers than male managers will expect to obtain a senior management position when age and length of time in middle management are controlled.

Explanations for Why a Promotion May Not be Achieved

Social-role theory predicts that gender-specific socialisation experiences may influence an individual's explanations for why she or he has not achieved a promotion. There is evidence that women feel they are often unfairly by-passed for promotions, and one reason given is that older men in the organisation would not want to report to a woman (Bellamy and Ramsay, 1994). The absence of opportunity for advancement that this creates, and a perceived male-dominated culture (Sinclair, 1994) are also given by some women as the reasons for their resignation from management roles in organisations (Marshall, 1984; Stroh and Senner, 1994). In contrast, there is evidence that male managers believe that their own attitude to work has hindered their personal success (Pringle and Goyma, 1989).

Hypothesis 7: There will be sex differences in the explanations given for why a possible future promotion may not be achieved.

Method

Sample and Procedures

Copies of the survey instrument were sent to 24 organisations in each of the 11 Australian industry classifications (ABS, 1996). These surveys were

distributed to 1150 middle managers within these organisations. Five hundred and seven middle managers (351 men and 156 women) completed and returned the questionnaires. This was a response rate of 44%. Middle managers were defined as managers who implemented senior management policies, and were responsible for the work of lower-level managers (Wentling, 1996).

Details of the sample are given in Table I. Male managers were significantly older than female managers. In addition, fewer female managers were either living in a couple relationship or supported dependent children at home.

"take in Table I".

Measures

The results of this study are taken from part of a larger survey into managers' attitudes towards promotion. Measures relating to this study are outlined below.

Perceptions of Opportunities for Advancement

Based on Reynolds and Associates (1990), respondents were asked if they felt all middle managers in their organisation had the same opportunity for advancement. Responses were categorical (Yes, $\underline{n} = 204$; or No, $\underline{n} = 282$).

Explanations for Advancement

Respondents were then asked "If no, who gets the opportunities, who doesn't, and why?" Of the 282 managers who reported that there were inequalities in advancement opportunity by sex, 211 respondents expanded on this question. Their responses were coded into seven themes. These were:

It's who you know (n = 91). For example, "Unfortunately, there seems to

be an underlying attitude of 'jobs for the boys' in my organisation. Many positions especially senior ones, are not advertised and are given to 'mates' thereby making it very difficult to achieve more senior executive positions".

Depends on the area of management you are in (or geographic location) (n = 48). For example, "Opportunities can be affected by geography - those closer to Head Office seem to have more chance to be noticed. Middle managers in bigger cities get all the opportunities," and "Not all middle manager positions give the same opportunity to demonstrate capabilities. The focus is on production managing rather than support functions".

You have to be in the right place at the right time (n = 8). For example, "There is some element of right place at the right time," and "It's a matter of timing, being at the right place at the right time".

Bias and discrimination ($\underline{n} = 18$). For example, "Specific males are chosen and subsequently trained for better positions. Generally, females don't seem to be offered same training opportunities," and "Like most large companies, men are often chosen over women of similar performance levels".

Personal style is important, not merit (n = 14). For example, "There is a preferred personal style that appears more important than performance," and "Opportunities given to those whose style fits more closely with the style of general managers...".

Political know-how (n = 17). For example, "Depends on political orientation, time in business, sex, age and how good at playing the game you are," and "Some opportunities are given to those with the strongest political links, as opposed to the appropriate skills and qualifications".

Inappropriate selection/recruitment policies (n = 15). For example, "We tend to promote those like us, i.e. male, heterosexual, married, children, white, western...".

Career Progress Attributions

Attributions for career progress were assessed by asking respondents to "Please indicate how important the following factors have been in developing your career to date". A 5-point response scale $(1 = \underline{\text{hindered a lot}})$ to $5 = \underline{\text{helped a}}$ lot) was provided. The 14 items were drawn from previous research into career development. They were political awareness (Mainiero, 1994), doing the job well (Marshall, 1984; Reynolds and Associates, 1990), being a team player (Kakabadse and Margerison, 1987), determination to succeed (Still, 1993; Sinclair, 1994), communication skills (Ruderman et al., 1995), integrity, (Kisch and Ryan, 1991), self confidence (Snyder, 1993), role models (Gold and Pringle, 1988), stereotyping (Bellamy and Ramsay, 1994), parental role, ability to relocate (Davidson and Cooper, 1992), gender (Hede and Dingsdad, 1994), formal organisational policies, and informal organisational policies (Stewart and Gunykunst, 1982). A principal factor analysis with varimax rotation was performed on the items. However, as the component transformation matrix indicated some degree of correlation between two of the factors, an oblique rotation was carried out. The four-factor solution was the most interpretable. The factors were:

<u>Personal qualities</u> (6 items). Consisted of doing the job well, being a team player, determination to succeed, communication skills, integrity and self-confidence. Cronbach alpha = .74.

<u>Gender-based policies</u> (4 items). Consisted of stereotyping, gender, formal organisational policies, and informal organisational policies. Cronbach alpha = .60.

<u>Social Network resources</u> (3 items) Consisted of parental role, ability to relocate, and role models. Cronbach alpha = .44.

Political awareness (single item).

The three multi-item career progress variables were obtained by calculating the mean of responses in the appropriate factor.

Attributions for Achievement of Last Promotion

Attributions for achievement of last promotion were assessed by asking respondents to "Please indicate how important a role the following factors played in your last promotion". A 5-point response scale was provided (1 = Very unimportant, to 5 = Very important). Items for this question were drawn from previous research into explanations for promotion achievement. They were: strategic vision (Reynolds and Associates, 1990), years of experience (Stroh et al., 1992), range of experience (Kakabadse and Margerison, 1987; Still, 1993), personality (Davidson and Cooper, 1992), potential for development (Ruderman et al., 1995), mentoring relationship (Pringle and Goyma, 1989; Reynolds and Associates, 1990), educational qualifications (Still, 1990; Vilkinas, 1995), specific training (Tharenou et al., 1994), gender (Hede and Dingsdad, 1994), luck (Pringle and Goyma, 1989), industriousness, and success in a previous project (Reynolds and Associates, 1990).

A principal component factor analysis with varimax rotation was performed on the 12 items. As the component transformation matrix indicated a relatively

high correlation between some factors, an oblique rotation was then performed.

Based on scree tests and extracting variables with loadings higher than .5, the following factors emerged.

Experience (2 items). Consisted of years of experience and range of experience. Cronbach alpha = .61.

<u>Individual qualities</u> (3 items). Consisted of potential for development, personality, and presence of a mentoring relationship. Cronbach alpha = .46.

Qualifications (2 items). Consisted of qualifications and specific training.

Cronbach alpha = .51.

The Strategic Vision, Gender, Luck, Industriousness, and Success due to previous project variables each consisted of a single item. The three multi-item variables were obtained by obtaining the mean of items in the appropriate factor.

Aspirations to Obtain a Senior Management Position

The promotion aspirations measure was a single question based on Hede and Ralston (1993). Respondents were asked: "Do you want to obtain a senior management position during your managerial career"? A categorical Yes/No answer was required. (Yes, $\underline{n} = 397$; No, $\underline{n} = 94$).

Length of time in management

Based upon Stroh et al. (1992), respondents were asked: "How long have you been in your present [management] position in this organisation?" Responses were rounded to the closest year.

Expectations of Obtaining a Senior Management Position

The promotion expectations measure was a single question based on Hede and Ralston (1993). Respondents were asked: "How confident are you that this

[promotion] will happen?" A 5-point response scale was provided (1 = Not confident), to 5 = Very Confident.

Explanations for Why a Promotion May not be Achieved

Respondents were then asked to describe "If such a promotion is not received, why do you think this will be?" Three hundred and sixty two responses were given. They were content analysed into six categories: These were:

<u>Politics</u> (n = 36). For example, "Because I'm not one of the boys. Jobs being advertised internally is a joke. In most instances people are chosen prior to job being advertised. This has happened to me several times!".

<u>Personal inadequacy</u> (n = 128). For example, "(I have) insufficient tertiary qualifications," and "Company want younger people with very high educational qualifications".

No opportunities (n = 95). For example, "Change in the structure of the organisation," and "Continual downward pressure to reduce staff numbers".

Not interested (n = 63). For example, "Personal choice not to drive for the opportunity," and "Will move into my own business".

<u>Family reasons</u> (n = 25). For example, "Currently pregnant, wanting to wait a few years," and "Because I have made a conscious decision to spend more time with my wife and children, and less time/commitment to work".

Negative Stereotyping (n = 15). For example, "Even if women still prove they want promotion after having children, employers (even with EEO policies) do not promote them," and "Part-time women are not seriously considered for promotions to senior ranks".

Results

Perceptions of Opportunities for Advancement

Hypothesis 1 predicted that fewer women than men would perceive that all middle managers get the same organisational opportunities for advancement. A chi-squared test compared the percentages of male (45%) and female (36%) managers who believed that there was equal opportunity. There was no significant difference by sex ($\chi^2 = 3.31$, p = ns). Hypothesis 1 was therefore not supported.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that there would be sex differences in the explanations given for unequal advancement. A χ^2 test compared the percentage of males and females who provided each explanation. Males and females differed on the reasons they gave for unequal opportunities ($\chi^2 = 10.18$, $\underline{df} = 4$, $\underline{p} = <.05$). Of those who responded to this question, more female managers (68%) than male managers (54%) believed who you knew was an explanation. More females (13%) than males (6%) also believed that bias and discrimination were important. In contrast, more male (26%) than female (16%) managers believed that it depends on the area of management, that style is important, not merit (9% compared to 3%), and that not being in the right place at the right time (5% compared to 1%) were the reasons for unequal advancement. Hypothesis 2 was therefore supported.

Attributions for Own Career Progress

Hypothesis 3 predicted that there would be sex differences in the attributions made by managers for their own career progress. A discriminant analysis tested for the ability of the career progress attributions to separate male and female managers (Table II). A significant sex difference was found for

personal qualities (Wilks' Lambda = .975, p < .001) and gender-based policies (Wilks' Lambda = .946, p < .001). Females were stronger on the belief that gender-based policies had hindered their careers (male \underline{M} = 3.06, female \underline{M} = 2.79), and that personal qualities had helped their careers (female \underline{M} = 4.43, male \underline{M} = 4.27). The discriminating equation was able to correctly classify 64% of the sample. Hypothesis 3 was therefore accepted.

"take in Table II".

Attributions for Achievement of Last Promotion

Hypothesis 4 proposed that there would be sex differences in the reasons given for the last promotion achieved, and that women will give communal attributions, and men will give agentic attributions. A discriminant analysis tested the ability of attributions for achievement of last promotion to separate the male and female managers (Table III). A significant difference was found between male and females on two reasons. These were experience (Wilks Lambda = .984, p < .05) and individual qualities (Wilks Lambda = .976, p < .001). The discriminating equation was able to correctly classify 59% of respondents.

"take in Table III".

Females were stronger on the belief that individual qualities played an important part in their last promotion (female $\underline{M} = 3.80$, male $\underline{M} = 3.58$). In contrast, male managers were more likely to believe that experience played an important role in their last promotion (male $\underline{M} = 3.93$, female $\underline{M} = 3.70$). The emphasis on individual qualities by women (mentoring relationship, personality and potential for development) suggests a communal tendency to enjoy working closely with others. On the other hand, the male view that range and years of

experience were important factors in achieving their last promotion reflect the agentic qualities of mastery and control. Hypothesis 4 was therefore accepted.

Aspirations to Obtain a Senior Management Position

Hypothesis 5 predicted that more male managers than female managers will aspire to a senior management position. However, there was no difference in the percentages of males (83%) and females (76%) who aspired to senior management positions ($\chi^2 = 3.107$, $\underline{df} = 1$, $\underline{p} = \underline{ns}$). Therefore, the hypothesis of a sex difference in career aspirations was not supported.

Expectations of Obtaining a Senior Management Position when Age and Length of Time in Middle Management are Controlled

Hypothesis 6 predicted that fewer female managers than male managers would expect to obtain a senior management position when age and length of time in middle management are controlled. A multiple regression tested the influence of sex on expectations controlling for age and length of time in the present position (Table IV). The addition of sex on Step 2 after controlling for age and length of time in the present position added to the prediction of promotion expectation. In particular, males are more likely to expect to be promoted. Hypothesis 6 was therefore accepted.

"take in Table IV".

Explanations for Why a Promotion May Not be Achieved

Hypothesis 7 predicted that there would be sex differences in the explanations given for why a possible future promotion may not be achieved. There was a significant difference in the percentages of males and females reporting each reason for promotion not occurring ($\chi^2 = 66.717$, df = 5, p < .001).

More women believed that lack of personal interest (26% compared to 14% male), family reasons (20% compared to 2% male) and negative stereotyping (9% compared to 2% male) may contribute to their not achieving a promotion. More men thought that politics (12% compared to 6% female), personal inadequacy (40% compared to 25% female) or lack of opportunities (31% compared to 15% female) may be the cause. The hypothesis of sex differences in explanations for promotion failure was therefore accepted.

Discussion

The results of this study partially support the predictions of social-role theory that gender-role influences appear to affect the attitudes and beliefs of managers relating to management career success. No sex differences were found in the percentages of middle managers who felt that everyone in the organisation had the same opportunities for promotion, or in the personal aspirations of middle managers to achieve senior promotions. However, sex differences were found in explanations for unequal advancement. Women were more inclined to believe that who you know and bias and discrimination influenced advancement. Male managers believed that the area of management worked in, style, and being in the right place at the right time were important factors. Sex differences were also found in the explanations given for a manager's own career progress. In particular, women were more likely to feel that factors such as gender, stereotyping, formal organizational policies, and informal organizational policies had hindered their career, whereas personal qualities such as being a team player, doing the job well, determination to succeed, communication skills, integrity and self confidence had helped their careers. Women also reported that individual

qualities such as potential for development, personality and mentoring relationships had played an important role in their last promotion, whereas men believed that years of experience and range of experience had influenced their promotion. The manager's sex also influenced expectation to achieve a senior management role when age and length of service were controlled, with males being more likely to expect to be promoted. Finally, there was a significant difference between male and female managers in terms of explanations given for why a promotion may not be achieved. More women believed that lack of personal interest, family reasons or negative stereotyping would be the reasons that future promotions may not occur, while men thought that politics, personal inadequacy or lack of opportunities would be the cause.

These results indicate some gender-based social role influence on men and women's beliefs, attitudes and values. For example, when women managers suggest that personal qualities have helped their careers, the communal qualities of interdependence, co-operation and preference for working closely with others are evident. Women also believe that their individual qualities played an important part in obtaining their last promotion. This again highlights the communal tendency to successfully interact with others. In contrast, men state that gender-based policies have not hindered their careers, and that experiences gained were important influences on promotion. This suggests that, for men, agentic type beliefs and behaviour such as ambition and independence are dominant.

The present study adds to the women in management literature through the application of social-role theory. The social-role framework suggests that gender

and social roles may influence the attitudes and behaviour of men and women when they are seeking promotion. This interpretation offers a possible explanation for women's poor representation in senior management roles. Success in organisations is often gained through an individual's own achievement. such as a successful application for promotion. This is an illustration of the agentic principle of independent, competitive, and outcome-focussed work behaviour (Marshall, 1995). This is reflected in the male managers' attributions for the achievement of their last promotion. Conversely, the focus of communion is not on personal achievement, but on working to modify the environment through influencing and empowering others (Marshall, 1995). These communal values may influence the methods used to obtain promotion. Thus, women may seek promotion through the development of social networks, encouragement of teamwork, and an emphasis on expressing interpersonal competencies. This is reflected in the attributions given by women for their own career progress, and for the achievement of their last promotion. Other research has suggested that the agentic style of being is valued, and the other, communion, is not. As Marshall (1995) argues "action based in communion may therefore go unrewarded by formal organizational systems" (p. 285). The implication is that the communal values held by women lead to behaviours that are not valued when promotion is sought.

The primary limitation of this study is that the data were based on self-reports. Additionally, the research design could have included more direct measures of agentic/communal attitudes and behaviours. This would have allowed a deeper analysis of gender and social role conflicts that may occur in

agentic and communal behaviours (see Moskowitz, Jung and Desaulniers, 1994, for a discussion of this issue).

Women managers have been reported as saying that perceiving the political environment accurately is difficult for them, as is learning how to operate within the informal power structure of the organisation in which they work (Wentling, 1996). The practical implications of this study therefore are that Human Resource management professionals could introduce programs that focus on clear organisational guidelines for what is required in order to be promoted to senior positions in management. Men and women will therefore have the opportunity to focus on promotion-seeking behaviours that are valued, and hence rewarded in their organisations. In this way, it may be possible to reduce some of the perceptual and behavioural differences between male and female managers who seek promotion. Alternatively, a "...radical revision of the value systems against which we judge good performance" (Marshall, 1995, p.285) could be attempted. In this way, any gender-role differences in behaviour could be valued equally, and a more genuine embracing of diversity achieved.

In conclusion, this research has found that sex differences occur in regard to many perceptions relating to promotion. These perceptions could represent different value systems arising from agentic and communal ways of being. These perceptual differences may also lead to differences in promotion-seeking behaviour. Thus gender roles may influence the promotion-seeking behaviour of managers, and the outcomes of the promotion-seeking process.

Table I.

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample by sex.

	Male	Female	Total	χ²
	(n = 351)	(n = 156)	(n = 507)	
Age 34 and under	25%	57%	35%	
35-49	59%	38%	53%	
50-64	16%	5%	13%	53.10*
Highest level of education:				
University degree	50%	52%	51%	ns
Living in a couple relationship	89%	66%	82%	41.19*
Dependent children at home	66%	21%	52%	85.41*

^{*}p < .001

Table II.

<u>Discriminant analysis of attributions for own career progress by sex.</u>

Attribution for career progress	Standardised discriminant co-efficient		
Gender based Policies	.869		
Personal qualities	664		
Political awareness	.026		
Social network resources	.000		

Table III.

Discriminant analysis of attributions for achievement of last promotion by sex.

Attributions for achievement of last promotion	Standardised discriminant Coefficient			
Individual qualities	763			
Experience	.423			
Strategic vision	.401			
Industriousness	390			
Gender	.361			
Luck	.120			
Qualifications	067			
Past success	019			

Sex Differences Explanations

Table IV.

Multiple Regression Analysis for predicting Manager's confidence in achieving a senior management position.

Variable	\overline{R}^2	ΔR^2	F	В	SE	Beta
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				<u>B</u>	
Step 1	.079	.079	18.86***			
Length of time in management				002	.01	12*
Age				16	.04	21***
Step 2						
Sex	.087	.008	3.85*	26	.13	09*

^{*} p < .05, ** p < .01 *** p < .001

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Pages 441-458

Wood, G.J. & Lindorff, M. (2000). Sex differences in managers' explanations for career progress: A test of Social Role theory. Working Paper Series, Department of Management, Monash University. February. Melbourne: Faculty of Business and Economics, Monash University.

Presentation of research papers at Conferences.

- 1995 The First Step: Not asking permission. 4th International Conference. *Dancing on the Glass Ceiling: New Century, New Workplace, New Leaders*. December. Edith Cowan University, Perth, Western Australia.
- 1996 Gender differences in perception: A new perspective on the Glass Ceiling? December 4-6. ANZAM Conference, Wollongong, Australia.
- 1997 Gender differences in perception of promotion requirements Alternative explanation of the Glass Ceiling? December. Mt. Eliza Doctoral Research Conference. Melbourne, Australia.
- 1997 Gender differences in perception regarding factors that have hindered organisational career development. July 6-11. Fifth European Congress of Psychology, Dublin, Ireland.
- 1998 Gender differences in perceptions of promotion requirements A Social Role theory perspective. September 12-14. British Academy of Management. Nottingham. England.
- 1999 (Lindorff, M. & Wood, G.) Gender differences in explanations for the Glass Ceiling. July 4-9. VI European Congress of Psychology, Rome, Italy.

The following paper has been accepted as a seminar presentation in the forthcoming conference.
 What does it take to achieve senior management promotion? Do middle and senior managers agree? 1-6 July. VIIth European Congress of Psychology, London, England.

MONASH UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTION OF PROMOTION REQUIREMENTS - A SOCIAL ROLE THEORY PERSPECTIVE 1

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ABSTRACT

Although increasing numbers of women are entering management positions in Australia, they are underrepresented at senior management level. This study tests the proposition that this may have occurred as a consequence of males and females holding differing perceptions of the prerequisites for promotion. If such perceptions exist, they may lead to gender-based differences in promotion-seeking and achievement. Social role theory (Eagly, 1987) suggests that such gender differences in attitudes could occur because of the different socialisation experiences of males and females. Thus, although males and females may occupy the same occupational roles, social role theory predicts that they may have different beliefs due to their gender roles.

five hundred and seven middle managers (351 males and 156 females) participated in the study. Results indicated that males and females were significantly different on the importance they placed on the requirements for promotion. In particular, women placed more importance than men on interpersonal skills. This result supports the prediction of social role theory that gender roles will influence perceptions of organisational requirements. It was also congruent with social role theory's prediction that women will be more communal than will men in their perceptions.

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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTION OF PROMOTION REQUIREMENTS - A SOCIAL ROLE THEORY PERSPECTIVE

Over the last two decades, a considerable amount of research has been focused on the career progress of women in organisations. It has been suggested that attitudinal, behavioural, and structural barriers have made progress difficult for many women within organisational settings (Still, 1997), and that women continue to have difficulties in taking an equal place in decision-making positions within industry and business (Vinnicombe & Colwill, 1995).

Although women in Australia are graduating in higher numbers than men from educational institutions (Bagwell, 1993; Vilkinas, 1995), in the decade prior to 1992 the percentage of female senior managers decreased from 2.5 per cent to 1.3 per cent (Still, Guerin & Chia, 1992). In fact, Australia is said to have the lowest proportion of women in management in the industrialised world (James, 1996).

The question is, why is this the case? Despite government legislation, legal sanctions, greater participation in education, the removal of many social and cultural barriers, control of fertility, having families later (or not having children at all), women continue to hold only a small proportion of senior management positions. One possibility is that these differences in representation may be caused by differences in the beliefs and behaviour of men and women. According to Eagly (1995), extensive research has found that there are gender differences in behaviour, 'in varying extents' (p.155). For example, gender differences have been reported in personality traits (Feingold, 1994); conformity (Eagly, Wood & Fishbaugh, 1981); aggressive behaviour (Eagly & Steffen, 1986); moral development characteristics (Thoma, 1986); helping behaviour (Eagly & Crowley, 1986); leadership (Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly & Karau, 1991); and cognitive abilities (Feingold, 1993).

Gender differences have also been reported in self-perceptions. For example, male and female managers appear to have different perceptions regarding barriers to gaining a mentor (Ragins & Cotton, 1991); leadership effectiveness (Van Velsor, Taylor & Leslie, 1993); career progression and aspirations (Hede & Ralston, 1993); causal explanations for work performance (Rosenthal, Guest & Peccei, 1996); ethical perceptions of business practices (Franke, Crown and Spake, 1997); intraorganisational communication and perceived organisational support (Amason & Allen, 1997); and evaluations of performance appraisal (Hind & Baruch, 1997).

As perceptual differences have been found in the above areas, it is possible that there may be gender differences relating to the perceived requirements for promotion. Such perceptions may play a role in the failure of women to enter senior management in greater numbers. In particular, perceptual differences may influence promotion-seeking behaviour, as the behaviour of individuals in seeking promotion is likely to be affected by their perceptions of the requirements for promotion. For example, a person who believes that a certain level of experience, or a particular educational level, is a requirement for promotion is unlikely to apply for promotions if they do not have this level of experience or education. Therefore, the finding that women and men hold different perceptions of the requirements for promotion could provide an explanation for their different promotion rates.

However, few studies have been found that have explored the role that self perceptions may play in affecting the promotion process within the organisational setting, and if gender differences exist in these perceptions. There is a consistency in the literature that thoughts, beliefs and perceptions precede and influence behaviours (see Eagly & Steffen, 1986). There is also evidence that there are gender differences in perception. Thus it is reasonable to assume that if these apply to perceptions of the requirements for promotion, then the behaviour of both men and women, when approaching an anticipated promotion, may be different. This different behaviour may then lead to different promotion achievements for men and women.

Social-Role theory (Eagly, 1987) provides an appropriate theoretical framework in which to explore such potential differences in the perceptions of men and women. The central tenet of the theory is that women and men fill certain gender and social roles, and their beliefs and behaviour will be dictated by the stereotypes that are attached to these roles (Franke, Crown & Spake, 1997). Gender roles are formed through shared societal expectations about how individuals should behave, and what qualities they should possess, on the basis of their gender (Eagly, 1987). Thus the theory suggests that gender differences are due to three factors. The first is the socialisation experiences of males and females, the second is gender roles that are influenced by societal stereotypes, and the third is the different social roles men and women take on in their working lives.

Typical male/female stereotypes hold that women and men differ on their communal and agentic personal attributes. Women are believed to manifest communal type beliefs and behaviours, such as caring and nurturing, interpersonal sensitivity, and emotional expressiveness (Eagly & Wood, 1991). These may be expressed as concern with others' wellbeing, a selfless attitude, and enjoyment at working closely with others (Bakan, 1966; Eagly, 1987). On the other hand, men are believed to manifest agentic type beliefs and behaviours, such as ambition, assertion, control, independence from other people, and self confidence. According to Bakan (1966), these behaviours are characterised by the urge to master others, and a desire for self expansion. Social role theory suggests that these stereotypes create different expectations of, and socialisation experiences for, males and females, and that these then lead to any differences found in the attitudes and behaviour of men and women. However, in addition to these gender role expectations, where males and females occupy a similar organisational role, these organisation roles will also influence the attitudes and behaviours of both sexes.

There is some support for the influence of gender roles over organisational roles in the perceptual process as itelates to promotion. For example, enthusiasm was cited as a factor that had helped in achieving personal success in a management role by twice as many female managers as male colleagues (Pringle & Goyma, 1989). It has also been found that women perceive that opportunity to act in a position, access to training and experience (Still, 1997), or hard work and industriousness (Still, 1996) are important factors in senior management promotions. In contrast it has been found that male managers perceive that education (Still, 1997), or political factors rather than the task oriented work approach (Still, 1996) are more important.

It can be seen from the above that there is the potential for males and females occupying the same organisational roles to have different perceptions on the requirement. For promotion. As stated previously, social role theory suggests that females are more communal, and males more agentic in their beliefs and behaviours (Eagly, 1987). Such communal beliefs are shown in behaviour that exemplifies interdependence, co-operation, an emphasis on relationships, and an acceptance of change. Agentic beliefs are shown in behaviour that exemplifies independence, assertion, mastery and change resistance (Marshall, 1984).

Therefore it is hypothesised that:

- a) Male perceptions of the requirements for promotion will be influenced by agentic characteristics, and
- b) Female perceptions of the requirements for promotion will be influenced by communal characteristics.

近THOD

Sample

Middle managers in Australian organisations were used in this study. Middle managers were defined as managers who reported to senior managers, and who had other people reporting to them. The sample consisted of 351 males and 165 females, drawn from each of the eleven industry division classifications of

the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1996). These industries were Manufacturing, Retail, Finance, Community Services, Agriculture, Construction, Recreation, Wholesale, Transport, Mining, and Communication.

The majority (79%) of the sample were drawn from the private sector. The age of the sample ranged from under 30 (16%), 30-34 (19%), 35-39 (21%), 40-44 (17%), 45-49 (15%), 50-54 (9%), 55-59 (4%) to 60-64 (2%). More female managers (40%) held business/management degrees than their male counterparts (30%), while the figures of respondents who held a masters degree were very similar (8% of male managers compared to 7% of female managers).

Measures

A survey consisting of 58 primary questions was administered to assess attitudes toward promotion. For the purposes of this paper, one question from the survey will be analysed in depth. The managers were asked "In your opinion, how important should it be to possess the following behavioural and attitudinal characteristics in order to achieve promotion to senior management in your organisation"? A list of 24 attributes believed to influence promotion were compiled from research reported in the existing literature (see Appendix 1) and an additional item of "Other, please describe" was given. However, this latter question was excluded from analysis because the small numbers of responses were too diffuse to be useful. Responses to each item were given on a 5 - point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = very unimportant, to 5 = very important.

Procedure

Two organisations from each of the eleven divisions of industry were included in the sample. Telephone contact was made with Human Resource personnel of each organisation, who distributed the surveys to a sample of male and female middle managers in their organisations. A reply paid envelope was attached to each survey for direct return to the researcher. In total, 1100 surveys were distributed, and 507 were returned, a response rate of 46%.

RESULTS

Means and Standard Deviations on the 24 items for the males and females in the sample are shown in Table I. Factor Analysis was first carried out on the items to identify any latent variables that may underlie responses. Three principle components with eigenvalues over 1 were extracted (Table 2). Variables with a leading of 0.6 or higher were selected. The three factors were:

- 1. <u>Interpersonal skills</u> consisted of Enthusiasm, Importance of Flexibility to Change, Leadership, Motivation, Strategic Vision, and Communication Skills (Cronbach's alpha = .81).
- 2. Qualifications consisted of Experience, Knowledge and Specific Skills (Cronbach's alpha = .65).
- 3. <u>Political behaviour</u> consisted of Popularity, Powerful Allies, and Deference to Superiors (Cronbach's alpha = .59).

Table 1: Means and Standard deviations of items.

	Mean (SD)		
Attribute	Males	Females	
Ability to anticipate org. needs	4.27 (.68)	4.37 (.68)	
Ability to take risks	3.75 (.81)	3.90 (.76)	
Ambition	4.24 (.73)	4.35 (.69)	
Communication skills	4.52 (.62)	4.70 (.51)	
Deference to superiors	3.24 (.84)	3.35 (.81)	
Discretion	3.92 (.90)	3.54 (.86)	
Educational qualifications	3.48 (.90)	3.54 (.86)	
Effectiveness as a Delegator	4.01 (.76)	4.19 (.65)	
Endurance	4.13 (.83)	4.28 (.74)	
Enthusiasm	4.48 (.62)	4.60 (.60)	
Experience	4.06 (.77)	4.18 (.77)	
Flexibility	4.50 (.65)	4.67 (.53)	
Industriousness	4.27 (.67)	4.36 (.53)	
Intelligence	4.21 (.69)	4.28 (.72)	
Knowledge	4.13 (.64)	4.26 (.70)	
Leadership	4.49 (.68)	4.67 (.58)	
Loyalty	3.98 (.91)	4.16 (.92)	
Motivation	4.46 (.64)	4.60 (.59)	
Personality	3.85 (.82)	4.05 (.76)	
Popularity	3.15 (.84)	3.24 (.77)	
Powerful Allies	3.53 (1.03)	3.42 (.94)	
Responsibility	4.19 (.67)	4.40 (.68)	
Strategic Vision	4.25 (.76)	4.47 (.66)	
Specific Skills	3.81 (.80)	3.88 (.81)	

Table 2: Factor loadings.

	Interpersonal Skills	Qualifications	Political Behaviour
Motivation	.67	.28	.02
Leadership	.67	.28	22
Communication Skills	.66	.04	.05
Flexibility	.64	.09	.01
Enthusiasm	.63	.24	.12
Strategic Vision	62	.21	13
Specific Skills	.07	.68	.06
Knowledge	.23	.67	.10
Experience	.16	.65	.11
Deference to superiors	02	.02	.70
Powerful Allies	21	.07	.64
Popularity	03	.21	.60

A new variable was created to represent each factor by multiplying each manager's response to an item by the item's loading on the appropriate factor, and then summing to obtain each manager's score for each latter. To test the hypotheses that male perceptions of the requirements for promotion would be influenced

by agentic characteristics, and female perceptions of the requirements for promotion would be influenced by communal characteristics, a discriminant analysis was then carried out on the variables derived from the factor analysis.

The final discriminant function was significant (Wilks' Lambda .961, $\chi^2 = 19.347$, df = 3, p = .<001), that indicated males and females can be separated on the importance they place on the need for interpersonal skills, qualifications and political behaviour.

The standardised canonical discriminant function coefficient represented in Table 3 shows that the factor 'Interpersonal skills' was the strongest discriminator of group membership, with females higher on the perceived need for these skills. The discriminating equation was able to correctly classify 55% of males and females.

Table 3: Standardised canonical discriminant function coefficients.

Factor	Standardised discriminant Coefficient.		
Interpersonal skills	.91		
Formal qualifications	. 19		
Political behaviour	.37		

DISCUSSION

These results suggested that there are three major areas that managers believe are important in promotion-seeking behaviour. These are interpersonal skills, formal qualifications, and political behaviour. Additionally, males and females were found to be significantly different on the importance they place on these areas when considering promotion. In particular, women believed that interpersonal skills are important prerequisites for promotion. This finding is consistent with the hypothesis that women will be more communal, and fits comfortably into the characteristics of communion and agency life strategies that were described by Marshall (1984). These findings are also consistent with the data reported in other research (for example Kakabadse & Margerison, 1987; Pringle & Goyma, 1989).

The findings of this study partially support the prediction of social role theory that gender roles influence perceptions of organisational requirements. Females are more likely than males to believe strongly that communal type behaviour, as represented by high interpersonal skills, is a prerequisite for promotion. This suggests that their organisational role perceptions, although similar in many ways to the organisational role perceptions of males, have been overlaid by the communal characteristics often associated with the female gender role.

Overall however, the predicting power of the equation suggests that there is relatively little difference between males and females on perceptions relating to the requirements for promotion. This lends support to the social role theory that when people fill the same organisational roles, this will lead to similarities, which than differences, in beliefs and behaviours. It also provides support for other empirical research that has found little difference in the perceptions of males and females relating to promotion (for example, Gold in Pringle, 1988). However, this similarity between male and female middle managers on perceptions of the requirements of promotion does not appear to have led to a greater representation of women filling senior management roles in Australian organisations.

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Appendix 1: Attributes considered important to achieve promotion.

Attributes included in present research	Previous research on attributes considered important to achieve promotion		
Ability to anticipate organisational needs	Davidson & Cooper (1992)		
Ability to take risks	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Baack, Carr-Ruffino & Pelletier (1993)		
Ambition	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)		
Communication skills	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Baack, Carr-Ruffino & Pelletier (1993)		
Deference to superiors	Gallese (1991)		
Discretion	Davidson & Cooper (1992)		
Educational qualifications	Jaskolka, Beyer & Trice (1985); Pringle & Goyma (1989); Tharenou (1990)		
Effectiveness as a delegator	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Baack, Carr-Ruffino & Pelletier (1993)		
Endurance	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)		
Enthusiasm	Pringle & Goyma (1989)		
Experience	Gold & Pringle (1989); Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Tharenou (1990); Ruderman, Ohlott & Kram (1995)		
Flexibility to change	Baack, Carr-Ruffino & Pelletier (1993)		
Industriousness	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Gold & Pringle (1988); Davidson & Cooper (1992)		
Intelligence	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)		
Knowledge	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)		
Leadership	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)		
Loyalty	Davidson & Cooper (1992)		
Motivation	Davidson & Cooper (1992)		
Personality	Tharenou (1995)		
Popularity	Reynolds (1990); Davidson & Cooper (1992)		
Powerful allies	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987)		
Responsiality	Kakabadse & Margerison (1987); Baack, Carr-Ruffino & Pelletier (1993)		
Strategic Vision	Reynolds (1990)		
Specific Skills	Stewart & Gudykunst (1982)		

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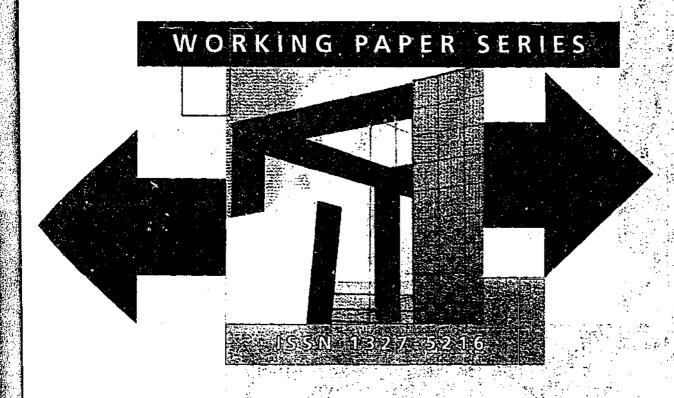
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SEX DIFFERENCES IN MANAGERS' EXPLANATIONS FOR CAREER PROGRESS: A TEST OF SOCIAL ROLE THEORY

Glenice J. Wood & Margaret Lindorff

Working Paper 10/00 February 2000



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MONASH UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF BUSINESS & ECONOMICS

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Glenice J. Wood & Margaret Lindorff

Working Paper 10/00 February 2000

Abstract

This study tested the prediction that there will be sex differences in how middle managers perceive promotion requirements, and that such differences will be influenced by societal expectations of gender appropriateness in which women are expected to display communal (nurturing, interpersonally sensitive) and men agentic (independent, assertive and ambitious) qualities and behaviour. Results from 351 male and 156 female managers indicated that sex does not strongly influence the belief that every manager receives the same opportunities for advancement. However, there were sex differences in the reasons given for unequal career advancement, personal career progress, achievement of the last promotion received, and why a future promotion may not occur. Additionally, although male and female managers have similar aspirations to obtain a senior management position, women are less likely to expect a promotion. The results partially support the predictions of Social-Role theory.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN MANAGERS' EXPLANATIONS FOR CAREER PROGRESS: A TEST OF SOCIAL ROLE THEORY

Over the last two decades, a considerable amount of research has focused on the career progress of women in organisations. It has been claimed that attitudinal, behavioural, and structural barriers that hinder career advancement for many women existed (Adler & Izraeli, 1988), and persist today (Still, 1997). Although women are now graduating in higher numbers than men from educational institutions (Fagenson & Jackson, 1994) and more women are entering the paid workforce (Hind & Baruch, 1997) and taking up managerial roles (Parker & Fagenson, 1994), the poor representation of women at senior management level continues. For example, in America women fill less than 5% of top management positions (Aguinis & Adams, 1998), in England the figure is estimated to be less than 4% (Davidson, 1996) and in Australia the figure is approximately 3% (Uren, 1999). It appears that sex differences exist in promotions to senior management, and this occurrence is noted worldwide.

Two major theoretical perspectives have been proposed to explain this phenomenon. Firstly, the gender-centered perspective postulates that intrinsic differences between men and women account for the differences in the number of men and women in senior management. For example, Morrison and van Glinow (1990) suggest "women's traits, behaviours, attitudes, and socialization are said to make them inappropriate or deficient as managers" (p.201). Alternatively, the situation or organisational structure perspective states that organisational factors, such as holding positions of limited power, affect women's behaviour. Such behavioural differences then reduce women's chances of career advancement (Parker & Fagenson, 1994). However, research has not provided categorical support for either explanation. There is little evidence of gender-based deficits in skills, abilities and application of a magnitude that would account for women's relatively poor career progress (Hind & Baruch, 1997). Similarly, research into organisational factors such as environment and culture has not entirely supported the organisational structure perspective (Aguinis & Adams, 1998). There is thus a need for alternative explanations for the differences in the number of men and women in senior management.

One explanation is that men and women have different beliefs, attitudes and values, and that these affect their promotion-seeking behaviour. Sex differences have been reported in personality traits (Feingold, 1994), aggressive behaviour (Eagly & Karau, 1991), and cognitive abilities (Feingold, 1993). Sex differences have also been reported in perceptions of organisational opportunities (Reynolds & Associates, 1990), intraorganisational communication, organisational support (Amason & Allen, 1997), and evaluations of performance appraisal (Hind & Baruch, 1997).

There may also be sex differences in perceptions of the requirements for promotion. Such perceptual differences may influence promotion-seeking behaviour, as the behaviour of individuals seeking promotion is likely to be affected by their perceptions of promotion requirements. To illustrate, a person is unlikely to apply for promotion if she or he believes that a certain level of experience or education is required, and if she or he does not have these qualifications. Thus women and men may have different promotion-seeking behaviours if they differ in their perceptions of development issues and promotion requirements. Furthermore, their different promotion-seeking behaviour may be differentially rewarded by organisations.

In addition, women and men may differ in their perceptions of opportunities for advancement, their attributions for past career progress and the reasons for a promotion, their expectations of, and aspirations to, obtain a senior management position, and their explanations for why promotions may not be achieved. Differences in the attributions for career progress and explanations for why a promotion may not be received may play a role in future promotion-seeking behaviour, and may go some way toward explaining sex differences in management achievement. Therefore the process of self-selection, which is in part based on the individual's perceptions of the requirements for promotion, may partly explain the different career advancement rates of men and women. However, this area has not received research attention. This study therefore uses social-role theory to test the prediction that there are sex differences in how middle managers perceive aspects of management progression.

SOCIAL-ROLE THEORY

Social-role theory (Eagly, 1987) proposes that women and men fill certain gender and social roles, and that their beliefs and behaviour will be dictated by the stereotypes that are attached to these roles (Franke, Crown & Spake, 1997). These gender roles are formed in part through shared societal expectations about how individuals of each sex should behave, and the qualities they should possess (Eagly, 1987). Women are believed to manifest communal type beliefs and behaviours such as caring and nurturing, interpersonal sensitivity, and emotional expressiveness (Eagly & Wood, 1991). This may be manifested as concern with others' wellbeing, a selfless attitude, and enjoyment at working closely with others (Eagly, 1987). Such communal behaviours exemplify interdependence, co-operation, an emphasis on relationships, and an acceptance of change (Marshall, 1984). On the other hand, men are believed to manifest agentic type beliefs and behaviours, such as ambition, assertion, control, and independence from other people. These behaviours may be characterised by the urge to master others, and a desire for self-expansion (Bakan, 1966). Agentic behaviours therefore exemplify independence, assertion, mastery and change-resistance (Marshall, 1984). Social-role theory suggests that the stereotypes attached to gender roles create different expectations of, and socialisation experiences for, males and females, and that these then lead to differences in attitudes and behaviour. Such differences may occur in relation to the career progress issues mentioned above. The following section examines the evidence for this.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTIONS RELATING TO CAREER PROGRESS

Perceptions of Opportunities for Advancement

Social-role theory suggests that the socialisation of women may leave them with a perception that they have fewer opportunities than men for advancement to senior levels of management. Some empirical evidence supports this theory. For example, women managers report that lack of career development opportunities have created problems in their careers (Rosen, Miguel & Peirce, 1989). They also perceive that they have fewer opportunities than men for promotion to senior management (Parker & Fagenson, 1994). Additionally, two-thirds of women executives surveyed by Reynolds and Associates (1990) said they were not actively encouraged to participate in career development activities. In contrast, 75% of men in the same study believed that women executives were actively encouraged to participate in such activities. Lack of career development opportunities has also been cited as a problem encountered by Australian managerial women (Smith, Crowley & Hutchinson, 1993). Thus it is hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 1: Fewer women than men will perceive that all middle managers get the same organisational opportunities for advancement.

Hypothesis 2: There will be sex differences in the explanations given for unequal advancement.

Attributions for own Career Progress

Social-role theory predicts that the communal tendencies of women will influence them to act in a nurturing, participative team style when working with others. It may be therefore that women who achieve success in their management careers attribute this to such behaviour. Conversely, it is predicted that the agentic tendencies of men will influence them to act in ambitious, assertive and independent ways, and hence men may attribute their success to these styles of behaviour. Some evidence supports these differences. For example, twice as many female managers as male colleagues report enthusiasm, mentors and luck as contributing to their present success (Pringle & Goyma, 1989). Additionally, there is evidence that women believe that career encouragement furthers their advancement, whereas men attribute it to education and work experience (Tharenou, Latimer & Conroy, 1994). In addition, it has been reported that both men and women believe that gender is a factor in decisions regarding personnel selection (Hede & Dingsdad, 1994), and that women's lack of self-confidence has held them back (Still, 1993).

Hypothesis 3: There will be sex differences in the attributions made by managers for their own career progress.

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Hypothesis 3: There will be sex differences in the attributions made by managers for their own career progress.

Attributions for Achievement of Last Promotion

Social-role theory suggests that the expectations that women will exhibit communal qualities and men agentic qualities (Eagly, 1987) may influence a person's attributions relating to previous promotion success. Congruent with this, it has been found that women perceive that opportunity to act in a position (Still, 1997), hard work, industriousness, and being task-oriented (Still, 1996) are important factors in senior management promotions. Past performance and networks are also considered important (Gold & Pringle, 1988). This suggests a communal tendency for interdependence and co-operation and enjoyment at working closely with others. In contrast, male managers perceive that education is a more important factor in senior management promotion (Still, 1997). Furthermore, more men than women believe that a willingness to be mobile is an influential factor in gaining promotion (Gold & Pringle, 1988). These attributions suggest agentic tendencies, such as a desire for self-expansion and independent behaviour. In summary, there appear to be some communal and agentic gender role influences in the factors identified as facilitating promotion.

Hypothesis 4: There will be sex differences in the reasons given for the last promotion achieved. Women will give communal-based attributions, and men will give agentic attributions.

Aspirations to Obtain a Senior Management Position

Social-role theory suggests women will be less likely than men to aspire to a senior management position. This is due to the gender incongruence that occurs when women depart from their normative nurturing and caring roles to take up managerial positions. Empirical research supports this view that management roles are seen as male domains (e.g., Orser, 1994; Schein & Mueller, 1992; Schein, 1994). Research also suggests sex differences in career aspirations. Women appear to have a tendency to accept a job rather than seek a career (Still, 1993), and are more likely to enter "...service areas which 'satisfices' their career aspirations, but does not 'maximise' them" (Still, 1993, p.86). Additionally, some research indicates that female managers are less likely than their male counterparts to aspire to a position in senior management (Hede & Ralston, 1993).

Hypothesis 5: More male managers than female managers will aspire to a senior management cosition.

Expectations of Obtaining a Senior Management Position

According to social-role theory, people have a tendency to prefer occupations that favour qualities thought to be typical of their own gender (Cejka & Eagly, 1999). As managerial occupations may require women to exhibit male-stereotypic qualities (Cejka & Eagly, 1999) women may theoretically have less expectation than men of their ability to exhibit these qualities, and thus to obtain such positions. This explains the finding that women are less likely than their male colleagues to expect an executive position prior to retirement (Heda & Ralston, 1993).

In addition, it has been found that age has a negative influence on expectations and achievement of promotion (Fieldern & Davidson, 1999; Tolbert & Moen, 1998). Similarly, it is expected that length of time in a position will be negatively associated with a belief that promotions will be achieved. As women managers, on average, are younger and less experienced than their male colleagues (Hersch & Viscusi, 1996) tests for sex differences in expectations need to control for age and length of time in a position.

Hypothesis 6: Fewer female managers than male managers will expect to obtain a senior management posion when age and length of time in management are controlled.

Explanations for Why a Promotion May Not be Achieved

Social-role theory predicts that gender-specific socialisation experiences may influence an individual's explanations for whe she or he has not achieved a promotion. There is evidence that women feel they are often unfairly by-pa. The for promotions, and one reason given is that older men in the organisation would not want to report to the poman (Bellamy & Ramsay, 1994). The absence of opportunity for advancement that

this creates, and a perceived male-dominated culture (Sinclair, 1994) are also given by some women as the reasons for their resignation from management roles in organisations (Marshall, 1984; Stroh & Senner, 1994). In contrast, there is evidence that male managers believe that their own attitude to work has hindered their personal success (Pringle & Goyma, 1989).

Hypothesis 7: There will be sex differences in the explanations given for why a possible future promotion may not be achieved.

METHOD

Sample and Procedures

Copies of the survey instrument were sent to 24 organisations in each of the 11 Australian industry classifications (ABS, 1996). These surveys were distributed to 1150 middle managers within these organisations. Five hundred and seven middle managers (351 men and 156 women) completed and returned the questionnaires. This was a response rate of 44%. Middle managers were defined as managers who implemented senior management policies, and were responsible for the work of lower-level managers (Wentling, 1996).

Details of the sample are given in Table I. A significant proportion of female managers (57%) were younger than the male managers (25%), whereas a greater proportion of male managers were between the ages of 50-64 (16%) compared to female managers (5%) ($\chi^2 = 53.100$, df = 2, p = <.001). In addition, fewer female managers were either living in a couple relationship or supported dependent children at home.

Table I.

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample by sex.

		Male	Female	Total	χ^2	df
		(n = 351)	(n = 156)	(n=507)		
Age:	34 and under	25%	57%	35%		
•	35-49	59%	38%	53%		
-	50-64	16%	5%	13%	53.10***	2
Highest level of Education:						
	University degree	50%	52%	51%	ns	4
Living in a couple relationship		89%	66%	82%	41.19***	2
Depen	dent children at home	66%	21%	52%	85.41***	. 1

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MEASURES.

The results of this study are taken from part of a larger survey into managers' attitudes towards promotion. Measures relating to this study are outlined below.

Perceptions of Opportunities for Advancement

Based on Reynolds and Associates (1990), respondents were asked if they felt all middle managers in their organisation had the same opportunity for advancement. Responses were categorical (Yes, $\underline{n} = 204$; or No, $\underline{n} = 282$).

Explanations for Advancement

Respondents were then asked "If no, who gets the opportunities, who doesn't, and why?" Of the 282 managers who reported that there were inequalities in advancement opportunity by sex, 211 respondents expanded on this question. Their responses were coded into seven themes. These were:

It's who you know (n = 91). For example, "Unfortunately, there seems to be an underlying attitude of 'jobs for the boys' in my organisation. Many positions especially senior ones, are not advertised and are given to 'mates' thereby making it very difficult to achieve more senior executive positions".

Depends on the area of management you are in (or geographic location) (n = 48). For example, "Opportunities can be affected by geography - those closer to Head Office seem to have more chance to be noticed. Middle managers in bigger cities get all the opportunities," and "Not all middle manager positions give the same opportunity to demonstrate capabilities. The focus is on production managing rather than support functions".

You have to be in the right place at the right time (n = 8). For example, "There is some element of right place at the right time," and "It's a matter of timing, being at the right place at the right time".

Bias and discrimination (n = 18). For example, "Specific males are chosen and subsequently trained for better positions. Generally, females don't seem to be offered same training opportunities," and "Like most large companies, men are often chosen over women of similar performance levels".

<u>Personal style is important, not merit</u> (n = 14). For example, "There is a preferred personal style that appears more important than performance," and "Opportunities given to those whose style fits more closely with the style of general managers...".

Political know-how (n = 17). For example, "Depends on political orientation, time in business, sex, age and how good at playing the game you are," and "Some opportunities are given to those with the strongest political links, as opposed to the appropriate skills and qualifications".

Inappropriate selection/recruitment policies ($\underline{n} = 15$). For example, "We tend to promote those like us, i.e. male, heterosexual, married, children, white, western...".

Career Progress Attributions

Attributions for career progress were assessed by asking respondents to "Please indicate how important the following factors have been in developing your career to date". A 5-point response scale (1 = hindered a lot to 5 = helped a lot) was provided. The 14 items were drawn from previous research into career development. They were political awareness (Mainiero, 1994), doing the job well (Marshall, 1984; Reynolds & Associates, 1990), being a team player (Kakabadse & Margerison, 1987), determination to succeed (Still, 1993; Sinclair, 1994), communication skills (Ruderman <u>st al.</u>, 1995), integrity, (Kisch & Ryan, 1991), self confidence (Snyder, 1993), role models (Gold & Pringle, 1988), stereotyping (Bellamy & Ramsay, 1994), parental role, ability to relocate (Davidson & Cooper, 1992), gender (Hede & Dingsdad, 1994), formal organisational policies, and informal organisational policies (Stewart & Gunykunst, 1982). A principal factor analysis with

varimax rotation was performed on the items. However, as the component transformation matrix indicated some degree of correlation between two of the factors, an oblique rotation was carried out. The four-factor solution was the most interpretable. The factors were:

<u>Personal qualities</u> (6 items). Consisted of doing the job well, being a team player, determination to succeed, communication skills, integrity and self confidence. Cronbach alpha = .74.

Gender-based policies (4 items). Consisted of stereotyping, gender, formal organisational policies, and informal organisational policies. Cronbach alpha = .60.

Social Network resources (3 items) Consisted of parental role, ability to relocate, and role models. Cronbach alpha = .44.

Political awareness (single item).

The three multi-item career progress variables were obtained by calculating the mean of responses in the appropriate factor.

Attributions for Achievement of Last Promotion

Attributions for achievement of last promotion were assessed by asking respondents to "Please indicate how important a role the following factors played in your last promotion". A 5-point response scale was provided (1 = Very unimportant, to 5 = Very important). Items for this question were drawn from previous research into explanations for promotion achievement. They were: strategic vision (Reynolds & Associates, 1990), years of experience (Stroh et al., 1992), range of experience (Kakabadse & Margerison, 1987; Still, 1993), personality (Davidson & Cooper, 1992), potential for development (Ruderman et al., 1995), mentoring relationship (Pringle & Goyma, 1989; Reynolds & Associates, 1990), educational qualifications (Still, 1790), specific training (Tharenou et al., 1994), gender (Hede & Dingsdad, 1994), luck (Pringle & Goyma, 1989), industriousness, and success in a previous project (Reynolds & Associates, 1990).

A principal component factor analysis with varimax rotation was performed on the 12 items. As the component transformation matrix indicated a relatively high correlation between some factors, an oblique rotation was then performed. Based on scree tests and extracting variables with loadings higher than .5, the following factors emerged.

Experience (2 items). Consisted of years of experience and range of experience. Cronbach alpha = .61.

<u>Individual qualities</u> (3 items). Consisted of potential for development, personality, and presence of a mentoring relationship. Cronbach alpha = .46. <u>Qualifications</u> (2 items). Consisted of qualifications and specific training. Cronbach alpha = .51.

The <u>Strategic Vision</u>, <u>Gender</u>, <u>Luck</u>, <u>Industriousness</u>, and <u>Success due to previous project</u> variables each consisted of a single item. The three multi-item variables were obtained by obtaining the mean of items in the appropriate factor.

Aspirations to Obtain a Senior Management Position

The promotion aspirations measure was a single question based on Hede and Ralston (1993). Respondents were asked: "Do you want to obtain a senior management position during your managerial career"? A categorical Yes/No answer was required. (Yes, $\underline{n} = 397$; No, $\underline{n} = 94$).

Length of time in management

Based upon Stroh et al. (1992), respondents were asked: "How long have you been in your present [management] position in this organisation?" Responses were rounded to the closest year.

Expectations of Obtaining a Senior Management Position

The promotion expectations measure was a single question based on Hede and Ralston (1993). Respondents were asked: "How confident are you that this [promotion] will happen?" A 5-point response scale was provided (1 = Not confident, to 5 = Very Confident).

Explanations for Why a Promotion May Not be Achieved

Respondents were then asked to describe "If such a promotion is not received, why do you think this will be?" Three hundred and sixty two responses were given. They were content analysed into six categories:

These were:

<u>Politics</u> (n = 36). For example, "Because I'm not one of the boys. Jobs being advertised internally is a joke. In most instances people are chosen prior to job being advertised. This has happened to me several times!".

<u>Personal inadequacy</u> (n = 128). For example, "(I have) insufficient tertiary qualifications," and "Company want younger people with very high educational qualifications".

No opportunities (n = 95). For example, "Change in the structure of the organisation," and "Continual downward pressure to reduce staff numbers".

Not interested (n = 63). For example, "Personal choice not to drive for the opportunity," and "Will move into my own business".

<u>Family reasons</u> (n = 25). For example, "Currently pregnant, wanting to wait a few years," and "Because I have made a conscious decision to spend more time with my wife and children, and less time/commitment to work".

<u>Negative Stereotyping</u> (n = 15). For example, "Even if women still prove they want promotion after having children, employers (even with EEO policies) do not promote them," and "Part-time women are not seriously considered for promotions to senior ranks".

RESULTS

Perceptions of Opportunities for Advancement

Hypothesis 1 predicted that fewer women than men will perceive that all middle managers get the same organisational opportunities for advancement. A chi-squared test compared the percentages of male (45%) and female (36%) managers who believed that there was equal opportunity. There was no significant difference by sex ($\chi^2 = 3.31$, p = ns). Hypothesis 1 was therefore not supported.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that there will be sex differences in the explanations given for unequal advancement. A χ^2 test compared the percentage of males and females who provided each explanation. Males and females differed on the reasons they gave for unequal opportunities ($\chi^2 = 10.18$, $\underline{df} = 4$, $\underline{p} = < .05$). Of those who responded to this question, more female managers (68%) than male managers (54%) believed who you knew was an explanation. More females (13%) than males (6%) also believed that bias and discrimination were important. In contrast, more male (26%) than female (16%) managers believed that it depends on the area of management, that style is important, not merit (9% compared to 3%), and that not being in the right place at the right time (5% compared to 1%) were the reasons for unequal advancement. Hypothesis 2 was therefore supported.

Attributions for Own Career Progress

Hypothesis 3 predicted that there would be sex differences in the attributions made by managers for their own career progress. A discriminant analysis tested for the ability of the career progress attributions to separate male and female managers (Table II). A significant sex difference was found for personal qualities (Wilks' Lambda = .975, p < .001) and gender-based policies (Wilks' Lambda = .946, p < .001). Females were stronger on the belief that gender-based policies had hindered their careers (male $\underline{M} = 3.06$, female $\underline{M} = 2.79$), and that personal qualities had helped their careers (female $\underline{M} = 4.43$, male $\underline{M} = 4.27$). The discriminating equation was able to correctly classify 64% of the sample. Hypothesis 3 was therefore accepted.

Table II.

Discriminant analysis of attributions for own career progress by sex.

Attribution for career progress	Standardised discriminant co-efficient		
Gender based Policies	.869		
Personal qualities	664		
Political awareness	.026		
Social network resources	.000		

Attributions for Achievement of Last Promotion

Hypothesis 4 proposed that there will be sex differences in the reasons given for the last promotion achieved, and that women will give communal attributions, and men will give agentic attributions. A discriminant analysis tested the ability of attributions for achievement of last promotion to separate the male and female managers (Table III). A significant difference was found between male and females on two reasons. These were experience (Wilks Lambda = .984, p < .05) and individual qualities (Wilks Lambda = .976, p < .001). The discriminating equation was able to correctly classify 59% of respondents.

Table III.

Discriminant analysis of attributions for achievement of last promotion by sex.

Attributions for achievement of last promotion	Standardized discriminant Coefficient.			
Individual qualities	.763			
Experience	.423			
Strategic vision	.401			
Industriousness	390			
Gender	.361			
Luck	.120			
Qualifications	067			
Past success	019			

Females were stronger on the belief that individual qualities played an important part in their last promotion (female $\underline{M} = 3.80$, male $\underline{M} = 3.58$). In contrast, male managers were more likely to believe that experience played an important role in their last promotion (male $\underline{M} = 3.93$, female $\underline{M} = 3.70$). The emphasis on individual qualities by women (mentoring relationship, personality and potential for development) suggests a communal tendency to enjoy working closely with others. On the other hand, the male view that range and years of experience were important factors in achieving their last promotion reflect the agentic qualities of mastery and control. Hypothesis 4 was therefore accepted.

Aspirations to Obtain a Senior Management Position

Hypothesis 5 predicted that more male managers than female managers will aspire to a senior management position. However, there was no difference in the percentages of males (83%) and females (76%) who aspired to senior management positions ($\chi^2 = 3.107$, $\underline{df} = 1$, $\underline{p} = \underline{ns}$). Therefore, the hypothesis of a sex difference in career aspirations was not supported.

Expectations of Obtaining a Senior Management Position when Age and Length of Time in Middle Management are Controlled

Hypothesis 6 predicted that fewer female managers than male managers will expect to obtain a senior management position when age and length of time in middle management are controlled. A multiple regression tested the influence of sex on expectations controlling for age and length of time in the present position (Table IV).

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Table IV.

<u>Multiple Regression Analysis for predicting Managers confidence in achieving a senior management position.</u>

Variable	R ²	ΔR^2	F	В	<u>SE B</u>	Beta
Step 1	.075	.075	18.86***			
Length of time in management				23	.01	12*
Age				16	.04	21**
Step 2						
Sex	.087	.008	3.85*	26	.13	09*

p < .05, **p < .01

The multiple regression showed that the addition of sex on Step 2 added to the prediction of obtaining a senior management position after controlling for length of time in the present position and age. These results suggest that sex affects promotion expectation. In particular, males are more likely to expect to be promoted. Hypothesis 6 was therefore accepted.

Explanations for Why a Promotion May Not be Achieved

Hypothesis 7 predicted that there will be sex differences in the explanations given for why a possible future promotion may not be achieved. There was a significant difference in the percentages of males and females reporting each reason for promotion not occurring ($\chi^2 = 66.717$, df = 5, p < .001). More women believed that lack of personal interest (26% compared to 14% male), family reasons (20% compared to 2% male) and negative stereotyping (9% compared to 2% male) may contribute to their not achieving a promotion. More men thought that politics (12% compared to 6% female), personal inadequacy (40% compared to 25% female) or lack of opportunities (31% compared to 15% female) may be the cause. The hypothesis of sex differences in explanations for promotion failure was therefore accepted.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study partially support the predictions of social-role theory that gender-role influences appear to affect the attitudes and beliefs of managers relating to management career success. No sex differences were found in the percentages of middle managers who felt that everyone in the organisation had the same opportunities for promotion, or in the personal aspirations of middle managers to achieve senior promotions. However, sex differences were found in explanations for unequal advancement. Women were more inclined to believe that who you know and bias and discrimination influenced advancement. Male managers believed that the area of management worked in, style, and being in the right place at the right time were important factors. Sex differences were also found in the explanations given for a manager's own career progress. In particular, women were more likely to feel that factors such as gender, stereotyping, formal organizational policies, and informal organizational policies had hindered their career, whereas personal qualities such as being a team player, doing the job well, determination to succeed, communication skills, integrity and self confidence had helped their careers. Women also reported that individual qualities such as potential for development, personality and mentoring relationships had played an important role in their last promotion, whereas men believed that years of experience and range of experience had influenced their promotion. The manager's sex also influenced expectation to achieve a senior management role when age and length of service were controlled, with males being more likely to expect to be promoted. Finally,

there was a significant difference between male and female managers in terms of explanations given for why a promotion may not be achieved. More women believed that lack of personal interest, family reasons or negative stereotyping would be the reasons that future promotions may not occur, but men thought that politics, personal inadequacy or lack of opportunities would be the cause.

These results indicate some gender-based social role influence on men and women's beliefs, attitudes and values. For example, when women managers suggest that personal qualities have helped their careers, the communal qualities of interdependence, co-operation and preference for working closely with others are evident. Women also believe that their individual qualities played an important part in obtaining their last promotion. This again highlights the communal tendency to successfully interact with others. In contrast, men state that gender-based policies have not hindered their careers, and that experiences gained were important influences on promotion. This suggests that, for men, agentic type beliefs and behaviour such as ambition and independence are dominant.

The present study adds to the women in management literature through the application of social-role theory. The social-role framework suggests that gender and social roles may influence the attitudes and behaviour of men and women when they are seeking promotion. This interpretation offers a possible explanation for women's poor representation in senior management roles. Success in organisations is often gained through an individual's own achievement, such as a successful application for promotion. This is an illustration of the agentic principle of independent, competitive, and outcome-focussed work behaviour (Marshall, 1995). This is reflected in the male managers' attributions for the achievement of their last promotion. Conversely, the focus of communion is not on personal achievement, but on working to modify the environment through influencing and empowering others (Marshall, 1995). These communal values may influence the methods used to obtain promotion. Thus, women may seek promotion through the development of social networks, encouragement of teamwork, and an emphasis on expressing interpersonal competencies. This is reflected in the attributions given by women for their own career progress, and for the achievement of their last promotion. Other research has suggested that the agentic style of being is valued, and the other, communion, is not. As Marshall (1995) argues "action based in communion may therefore go unrewarded by formal organizational systems" (p. 285). The implication is that the communal values held by women lead to behaviours that are not valued when promotion is sought.

The primary limitation of this study is that the data were based on self-reports. Additionally, the research design could have included more direct measures of agentic/communal attitudes and behaviours. This would have allowed a deeper analysis of gender and social role conflicts that may occur in agentic and communal behaviours (see Moskowitz, Jung & Desaulniers, 1994, for a discussion of this issue).

Women managers have been reported as saying that perceiving the political environment accurately is difficult for them, as is learning how to operate within the informal power structure of the organisation in which they work (Wentling, 1996). The practical implications of this study therefore are that Human Resource management professionals could introduce programs that focus on clear organisational guidelines for what is required in order to be promoted to senior positions in management. Men and women will therefore have the opportunity to focus on promotion-seeking behaviours that are valued, and hence rewarded in their organisations. In this way, it may be possible to reduce some of the perceptual and behavioural differences between male and female managers who seek promotion. Alternatively, a "...radical revision of the value systems against which we judge good performance" (Marshall, 1995, p.285) could be attempted. In this way, any gender-role differences in behaviour could be valued equally, and a more genuine embracing of diversity achieved.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this research has found that sex differences occur in regard to many perceptions relating to promotion. These perceptions could represent different value systems arising from agentic and communal ways of being. These perceptual differences may also lead to differences in promotion-seeking behaviour. Thus gender roles may influence the promotion-seeking behaviour of managers, and the outcomes of the promotion-seeking process.

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