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Sex-Role Identity And Perceptions Of Good Managers As A Function Of Gender And Level Of Management---Good Female Managers, An Oxymoron?

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SEX-ROLE IDENTITY AND PERCEPTIONS OF GOOD MANAGERS AS A
FUNCTION OF GENDER AND LEVEL OF MANAGEMENT—GOOD FEMALE
MANAGERS, AN OXYMORON?

BY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study is to examine the relationship between the dependent variables of perception of one's own sex-role identity and that of good managers. To do so, two research questions were developed: (a) Do women and men differ in their description of sex-role identity as a function of their level of management in a corporation? and (b) Do women and men differ in their perceptions of a good manager as a function of level of management in a corporation?

An analysis was conducted of responses from 295 managers at various levels of a major corporation. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory-Revised was utilized to measure the characteristics associated with the variables. Each participant completed the questionnaire twice, once to describe their own sex-role identity and once to describe their perceptions of a good manager.

A contrast analysis was used to specifically test the hypothesis that there is a linear relationship between one's sex-role identity and managerial level. Similarly, an analysis was used to test the hypothesis that there exists a linear relationship between managerial level and perception of a good manager. In addition, the relationship of gender to these variables was considered.

The study concludes with a discussion of the limitations to be considered in reviewing the results. In addition, implications of the results and suggestions for future research are offered.

DEDICATION

A project of this magnitude could not be accomplished in isolation, although some of the journey felt very lonely. My heart is filled with gratitude to all the people whose love, support, enthusiasm and encouragement carried me to this point in time. May each of you feel my love and thanks.

I have several groups of people to acknowledge: (a) my family of birth, (b) my family of choice, and (c) my family of learning. To my parents, Evelyn and Ben Cresci, by your lives and experiences, I have learned. You taught me well. To my sons, Ken Yokobosky and Jeffrey Cresci, I hope you know how *proud* of you I have always been, and will always be, because of the people you've become. You inspire me, and I love you. To their wives, Lori Yokobosky and Judi Cresci, who are daughters-in-law by chance, and friends by choice; you have helped me by being there, practically and emotionally, and by loving my sons the way you do. Benjamin Lewis Cresci II, is my grandson, whose beauty and innocence is the proof that life is good. He takes my breath away, and reminds me of the promise of those who are yet to come.

My family of choice is the friends who have shared my life journey and carried me when I was too weary. My love and gratitude to Nora Connors (Ms. Quigs), Maureen Duffy, Joann Accumanno, Regina Rossi, Marilyn Vassallo, Phyllis Cangialosi, Jan Rickmers, Philomena DeStefano, Joanne Golioto, and Sister Catherine Gerard. These are people I am blessed to know, to love, and be loved by. Each of them gave me a special gift, *their uniqueness* and friendship.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

In the American corporate environment managerial positions have high status and are attractive career choices for both men and women. In addition to the status, these positions generally offer high salaries and other associated financial benefits such as increased opportunities for advancement, decision-making responsibilities, and greater control over the direction of the business. Although the number of women managers is increasing, a disparity still remains in the distribution of women managers versus the number of male managers at the top ranks of these same American organizations, as well as in the compensation afforded at all levels of employment.

Background of the Problem

More than thirty years ago Holmes (1969) said, "In the present times the idea of woman and leader do not coincide, and their coalescence does not seem likely in the near future" (p.41). Although women's advancement to the upper echelons of the corporate environment has improved significantly in recent years, the disparity remains.

In a study reported in 1988 of the Fortune 500, the Fortune Service 500 and the 190 largest health care organizations in the United States only 1.7% of corporate officerships in the Fortune 500 were held by women (Von Glinow & Krzyczkowska-Mercer, 1988). The Fortune Service 500 and the health industry reported that only 4.4%

of board members were women and that 3.8% and 8% of their corporate officers, respectively, were women. The 1989 Fortune 500 list of Chief Executive Officers included only three women, and women were equally scarce on the list of the Boards of Directors of the Fortune 1000 companies (McManus, 1989). Women in management were more likely to be found in entry level or supervisory positions. In a 1992 survey of 439 Fortune 1000 companies, Korn/Ferry, an executive search firm found that nine percent of Executive Vice-Presidents were women (Dunkel, 1996). In 1996, of the Fortune 1000 companies, 27 women were Chief Financial Officers. A survey conducted by Catalyst, a nonprofit organization promoting women's business interests, reported that 81% of all Fortune 500 companies had at least one female director, 30% had two or more. Yet CEO jobs remain elusive, with only two of the Fortune 1000 being held by women and these two women owned the company (Dunkel, 1996).

In 1997, Catalyst again released its key findings regarding the advancement of women. They reported that women held 10.6% of the total board seats on Fortune 500 companies (643 of 6,081 board seats), up from 10.2% in 1996. Of Fortune 500 companies, 84% (419 companies) had one or more directors, up from 69% in 1993. Sixteen percent (81 companies) still had no women on their boards. Of the Fortune 100 companies, 96% had at least one woman on their boards. The top 100 were more than two times as likely to have multiple women directors as the bottom 100. Only one Fortune 500 company, that had a woman CEO, achieved parity on its board, with five women and five men directors.

In 1999(a), Catalyst noted some changes on the Fortune 1000 boards of directors. Women held 685 of 6,120 board seats (11.2%) in the Fortune 500 and 8.5% of total board

seats in the Fortune 501-1000. On average, women held 10% of the board seats in the Fortune 1000. Two hundred and ninety-six companies had two or more women board directors. Of Fortune 500 companies, 296 had two or more directors and 100 companies in the Fortune 501-1000 had two or more women board directors. The number of women who rank among the top five earners within their Fortune 500 companies has more than doubled since 1995. Of those holding the title chairman, vice-chairman, chief executive officer, president, chief operating officer or executive vice-president, 5.1% were women. Seventy-nine percent have at least one woman officer. Fifty-six percent have more than one female officer (1999). From these statistics, it has been demonstrated that women have made advancements in their upward mobility. However, given the number of women in the workforce, the disproportionate balance of representation at the highest levels remains disturbing, and explanations remain incomplete.

Occupational roles have often been regarded as extensions of gender and family roles (Fox & Hesse-Biber, 1984). This, in part, explains the continued popularity among women in the helping professions (e.g., teaching, social work, and nursing) that encourage the expression of stereotypical feminine traits, such as nurturing, empathy, and emotional support. Studies of gender-role stereotypes and management characteristics done in the 1980s provided evidence that management was still very much a male-oriented vocation (Bem, 1981b; Dobbins & Platz, 1986; Wong, Kettlewell, & Sproule, 1985), and the demographic statistics have provided support for this argument.

Schein, Mueller, and Jaccobson (1989) concluded that male management students viewed the management position in much the same way as do today's male managers and male managers of the 1970s. All three groups of respondents believed men were more

likely than women to possess the characteristics necessary for managerial success. The links between the masculine characteristics (Bem, 1979; 1981a) and the values that dominate many ideas about the nature of organizations, are striking. Organizations are encouraged to be rational, analytical, strategic, decision-oriented, tough and aggressive, and so are men (Rigg & Sparrow, 1994). These are the same characteristics attributed to and expected of men in our culture.

The concentration of managerial women in the lower ranks may be due to their relatively recent entrance into management positions in business and industry (Fox & Hesse-Biber, 1984). Another consideration was structural barriers constructed within organizations (Kanter, 1977a) that result in the glass ceiling effect (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1987). Personal and biographic characteristics affected how well women were able to adjust to corporate culture (Fassinger, 1990; Houser & Garvey, 1985; Sachs, Chrisler, & Devin, 1992). However, attitudes of both men and women continue to suggest that men are viewed as better suited for managerial positions than women (Bowman, Worthy, & Greyser, 1965).

Schein (1975) demonstrated a relationship between sex-role stereotyping and characteristics perceived as requisite for success as a manager. Her study showed that both men and women who were middle managers perceived successful middle managers as possessing characteristics, attitudes, and temperaments more ascribed to men in general than to women.

A "Think-Manager, Think-Male" premise was found throughout the literature on women in management or leadership positions (Powell & Butterfield, 1979). Since the early 1960s the position was maintained that women did not have the "right stuff"

(Bowman, Worthy, & Greyser, 1965). Studies in the 1970s demonstrated that traditional feminine sex-role characteristics (e.g., emotional, dependent, and passive) were incompatible with desirable characteristics for managers (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson. & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Schein, 1973).

What barriers remain today that result in a systematic exclusion of women from upper levels of large organizations? More theories explain the presence of at least two phenomena: (a) The "Glass Ceiling", and (b) The "Narrow Band". The "Glass Ceiling" is an invisible barrier that enables women to get high enough to see the top but prevents them from breaking through to positions above it (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1992). This initial concept, a product of work done at the Center for Creative Leadership, was expanded to identify a compelling phenomenon. This expanded concept suggested that women must demonstrate a "Narrow Band" of behaviors, which would be acceptable, should they aspire to break through this ceiling. These behaviors must not be perceived as "too traditionally feminine" or "too much like that of a man" (p. 55). It is a narrow passage and difficult to navigate, since perceptions and attitudes which are deeply held and often outside of a level of awareness, present stumbling blocks along the way.

Some scholars suggest that one approach women have utilized is to compensate for being women in male dominated environments. To do this they underplay feminine qualities and overemphasize masculine (Steinberg & Shapiro, 1982). The first female executives, because they were breaking new ground, adhered to many of the "rules of conduct" that spelled success for men (Rosener, 1990).

This relationship between sex-role identity and career is found in the early literature on sex-role stereotypes. Schein (1975) confirmed the hypothesis that successful

women middle managers "are perceived to possess those characteristics, attitudes and temperaments more commonly ascribed to men in general than to women in general" (p. 340). These findings suggest that women who possess more agentic/instrumental (i.e., masculine) qualities are more likely to succeed in male-dominated vocations. Fox and Hesse-Biber (1984) have described management as a male culture. Because upper management is comprised of a predominant number of males, it is critical to consider the impact of the relationship between sex-role identity and perceptions of requisite characteristics needed to be a "good manager."

It would appear that at the level of perception, at least, the ideal manager is stereotyped as having more masculine characteristics. Consequently, women learn that in order to move up in an organization they must learn both the objective information and the behavioral skills in order to be on a level playing field with their male counterparts. Despite the fact that both feminine and masculine styles can be strengths, the common perception has been that masculine characteristics have more to offer organizations.

Characteristics ascribed to men are positively valued more often than characteristics ascribed to women, especially in a corporate setting. Men with a congruent masculine sex-role identity are aligned with the socially and professionally desirable characteristics. It can be inferred then that those men would use masculine characteristics to describe a good manager as well. Women's congruent feminine sex-role identity, however, has not been aligned with what is valued in a corporate setting. Still, a proportionately small number have reached the higher levels. A review of the literature evidenced a lack of research offering information about these women. Have those who achieved the higher levels continued to use sex-congruent (feminine) terms to

describe their sex-role identity, or have they adapted their sex-role identity to align with the more desirable masculine characteristics? Have these women used more androgynous, or even masculine terms, to describe themselves? Further, how will these same women describe a good manager?

To what degree are perceptions creating a barrier to advancement? It has been reported for more than three decades that men are better suited for management because they possess the necessary characteristics. The gap in the literature does not allow for a comparison of whether women now possess those same characteristics. If perceptions remain that men only possess the requisite characteristics for good managers, the result is critical for those corporations attempting to find the most effective leaders regardless of gender. Perhaps more significantly, however, is the implication for women that perceptions are a structural barrier that impedes their advancement. To better understand the disparity in representation, the questions need to be asked of men and women within the setting of a corporation.

Statement of the Problem and Hypotheses

The purpose of the present study is to begin to fill the gap in the literature regarding perceptions of sex-role identity as a function of gender and management level within a corporation. Of interest in this research are the dependent variables of perception of one's own sex-role identity and that of good managers. In order to establish a relationship, two research questions were developed: (a) Do women and men differ in their description of sex-role identity as a function of their level of management in a corporation? and (b) Do women and men differ in their perceptions of a good

manager, as a function of level of management in a corporation? Based on the outcome of the literature review and study of previous research, the following hypotheses were developed to examine the research questions.

To research these questions four hypotheses were developed:

1. It is hypothesized that as women and men managers are studied, a trend will be found that shows an increase in the use of masculine traits to describe their sex-role identity, correspondent with their increasing level of management.

2. It is hypothesized that as men at all levels of management (A-E), are studied, a t trend will be found that shows an increase in the use of masculine traits to describe their perceptions of a good manager, correspondent with their increasing level of management.

3. It is hypothesized that as women at the low, middle, and senior (A-C) levels of management are studied, a trend will be found that shows an increase in the use of masculine traits to describe a good manager, correspondent with their increasing level of management.

4. It is hypothesized that as women at the highest levels (D-E) of management are studied, a trend will be found that shows a decrease in the use of masculine traits to describe a good manager.

Significance of the Study

A predominant dynamic has been demonstrated in corporations in our culture, in which masculinity is defined as opposite and superior to femininity. Feminine working styles have been perceived as less effective within organizations. At the same time masculine attributes tend to be regarded as normative in management. Such values can

imbue recruitment, selection, and development practices with gender bias. The links between male stereotype and the values that dominate many ideas about the nature of the organization are striking. Organizations encourage the rational, analytical, strategic, decision-oriented, tough, and aggressive style, most typically associated with men. This bias has significant implications for women who wish to succeed in such an environment. When attempting to foster these values, women are often seen as breaking the traditional female stereotype in a way that opens them to criticism, that is, for being "overly assertive" and trying to play a male role (Rigg & Sparrow, 1994).

It would appear that gender characteristics take on a pejorative stereotype when applied to women managers instead of reflecting a diversity of styles. Given the existence of gender differences at work, those differences become barriers for women. Attributes traditionally associated with women, such as using intuition rather than linear logic, preferring consensus building to competition, encouraging participation rather than given orders, have been regarded as ineffective. As Rosener (1991) comments, "when women act like women, they are often viewed as not leaderlike, not managerial and not professional" (p.147).

Establishing a relationship between how an individual describes his/her own sex-role identity and how that same individual describes characteristics requisite for good managers, has significant implications not only for women, but also for corporations that are attempting to find the most effective leaders regardless of gender. The links between the masculine characteristics (Bem, 1979; 1981b) and the values that dominate many corporations are striking. Yet, the perceptions that steadfastly hold that those characteristics are gender exclusive, present a barrier for women that has been

impenetrable. When biases become practices, the values and assumptions of those already occupying positions of power perpetuate the organizational culture and norms. The male dominance in positions of authority, coupled with those biases, puts into place a system that disadvantages women.

Cockburn (1991) states that "work is the main social arena in which men act out their needs for status, authority, power, influence and material rewards" (p. 215). Consequently, organizations are structured to protect male power and reward masculinity accordingly; for example, rewarding analytic rationality above intuition and task-orientation over people. Although it may be theoretically sound to utilize women's skills and to value a feminine style, the interests of the dominant group, men, may not be congruent with that theory.

If the assumption is that a masculine approach to performing a job is the desired one and the normative standard, women who exhibit a more feminine approach will be immediately disadvantaged. The same holds true when employees are being appraised and considered for promotion. If the masculine style is normative, then the feminine style may be viewed as deficient. In theory, if difference and diversity were truly valued, organizations would be much more effective utilizing appropriate talents, allowing women to break through the existing glass ceiling in order to achieve the highest levels of corporate leadership.

Definition of Terms

American culture has clustered heterogeneous attributes into two mutually exclusive categories, and each category considered more characteristic of and more

desirable for females or males. Cultural expectations and prescriptions become known by virtually all members of the culture (Bem, 1972; 1979). Since the data for this research has been gathered utilizing the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (1981a), the following terms, as operationalized by the BSRI, were utilized:

1. Femininity: A term that represents a complementary domain of traits and behaviors which comprise sex-role identity. A characteristic is considered feminine if it was independently judged by both females and males to be significantly more desirable for a woman than for a man. Femininity has been associated with an expressive orientation and an affective concern for the welfare of others.

2. Masculinity: A term that represents a complementary domain of traits and behaviors which comprise sex-role identity. A characteristic is considered masculine if it was independently judged by both females and males to be significantly more desirable for a man than for a woman. Masculinity is associated with an instrumental orientation, a cognitive focus on "getting the job done" (Bem, 1974).

3. Androgyny: Represents an endorsement of individuals who score high on both femininity and masculinity.

4. Undifferentiated: Conversely, individuals who score low on both femininity and masculinity.

5. Sex-role: That behavior which a society commonly understands to characterize a person of a biological sex, and those behaviors correlate with stereotyped characteristics and a particular social status (Heilbrun, 1981). Within a corporation that status is defined by the management level ascribed to the job function of the employee.

6. Stereotype: A set of attributes that are prescribed to all individuals who occupy a

particular role. Stereotypes and role perceptions contribute to the understanding

of gender-specific behavior. However, stereotypes are applied across the board to all

members of a group regardless of their individual behavior. Harriman (1985) defined

stereotypes and roles as individuals you have assigned (e.g., race, gender, age, and family

relationships) and achieved societal status (e.g., student, doctor, and worker).

7. Sex-typed or Gender-Congruent: Traditionally, a sex-typed person is someone

who is highly attuned to cultural definitions of sex-appropriate behavior and uses

such definitions as the ideal standard against which her/his own behavior is to be

evaluated. In this view, the traditionally sex-typed person is motivated to keep her/his

behavior consistent with an idealized image of femininity or masculinity. This goal

she/he accomplishes both by selecting behaviors and attributes that enhance the image,

and by avoiding behaviors and attributes that violate the image (Bem, 1974; 1981b).

8. Management Groups: Levels are represented by the letters A-E for purposes of

this study. Low level managers are reported as 'A' and middle levels as 'B-C'. The

upper level managers are 'D-E' with 'E' specific to executives.

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study should be carefully considered and examined as

opportunities for future research on the topic. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (1974;

1981a) is a self-report inventory and thereby vulnerable to personal bias, perceptions and

stereotypes. The characteristics used to define masculinity, femininity, and androgyny

are based on cultural definitions; that is, characteristics judged to be more desirable in

North American culture for a woman and a man. The population of this study included a demographic mix of ethnic and racial diversity.

This study is limited to men and women employed by a singular corporation that was not randomly chosen, but it was a culture that provided an opportunity to examine the unique variables of interest. The organizational climate, which is a male-dominated corporate culture, is structured based on the values and standards more commonly associated with masculine management styles. In addition, the hierarchical, top-down leadership is generally more consistent with dominant male structure.

Because of these delimitations, the conclusions drawn from the data may not be generalizable to an employee population in a corporation with a different climate, structure, or strategic business goal.

Summary

Since the 1990s women have been perceived as "invisible" in organizations, and certainly under-represented in leadership positions (Clark & Clark, 1990; Devilbiss, 1990). After decades of having some presence in organizational settings, women have made strides in their ability to advance to higher levels of management, with a small number achieving the highest echelons. As reported in the literature from the 1960s through the 1990s, there has been a clear bias of "think manager, think male." Despite some acknowledgement that both feminine and masculine styles have strengths, the common perception held that masculine characteristics had more to offer organizations. That perception has preserved male power and defined femininity as inferior.

For the women who break through the "glass ceiling" it is suggested that they must adapt to the rules that spell success for men; to compensate, women must underplay feminine qualities and emphasize masculine. As late as the 1980s both men and women aligned with masculine characteristics to describe good managers. This past perception has created a barrier to advancement. The compelling issue to be examined in this study is the extent to which that alignment remains, given the presence of women at the higher levels.

It is incumbent upon companies that hope to attract the most effective leaders, regardless of gender, to dispel and dispute perceptions of "think manager, think male." Since women are immediately disadvantaged by this bias, understanding which characteristics successful women possess, provides insight into the behaviors, adaptations or styles which might neutralize the disadvantaged position. This would provide an opportunity for all women to crack the glass ceiling and ensure that companies utilize the talent of the individual, regardless of gender.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

Chapter II introduces a review of the research literature from which the hypotheses for this study were derived. The foundation was based on two general bodies of knowledge that includes organizational psychology and gender-role research, forming the broad context of review, and within this, a more narrow application. The application of organizational psychology was directed to the following: (a) examination of gender-based management styles, (b) identification of perceived requisite characteristics for good managers, and (c) barriers challenging women in the advancement of careers within organizations. The gender-role literature includes studies related to sex-role identity and sex-role stereotypes. Collectively, emphasis was based on the impact of these issues on women's ability to advance within a male-dominated corporation.

Although women have made strides in advancement in organizational settings, the upper levels remain disproportionately represented by men. Many barriers suggested in Chapter I were offered as explanations, in part or in full for this phenomena, but perceptions as a structural barrier have not been considered or researched in a corporate setting. The degree to which perceptions are that men alone possess the requisite characteristics for good managers is the degree to which women are disadvantaged. The presence of women in the higher levels necessitated asking women and men whether this perception held. To establish a relationship, it was necessary to ask two questions: (a) is

there a difference, by managerial level, in the way in which women and men identify

their sex-role identity within the corporation? and (b) Is there a difference, by

managerial level, in the way in which women and men describe characteristics requisite

for a good manager in that corporation. An historical review of the literature follows

illustrating the development of these research questions and the hypotheses that

developed, becoming the foundation for this empirical study.

Organizational Psychology

Gender-Based Management Styles

Schein (1973) was one of the first authors to note the phenomenon that managers

and managerial traits and tasks were male or masculine in nature and in later research

noted that women, too, ascribed to this same belief (Schein, 1975). Throughout the

literature on women in management or women in leadership positions, a "Think

Manager—Think Male" premise was found (Powell & Butterfield, 1979). In fact,

"......until the late 1970's there was little [leadership] research that focused on women.

Models of leadership were based on studies of men" (Rosener, McAllister, & Stephens,

1990, p. 16). Gaps in gender style research in the literature were found and Korabik

(1990) noted that leadership research has been affected by a "masculinity bias" that

viewed task-related functions as more important than the "social-emotional" factors.

Studies conducted in private sector organizations documented that women do perceive a

need to change their leadership style to a more masculine one in those male-dominated

organizations which reward masculine leadership behavior (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, & Schein, 1989).

The literature suggested that women and men do lead differently (Helgesen, 1990; Loden, 1985; Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1987; Nickles & Ashcraft, 1982; Rosener, McAllister, & Stephens, 1990; Sargent, 1981). For example, men are perceived as being more analytical, rational, and quantitative, while women are characterized as intuitive, adaptable, and evaluative (Nickles & Ashcraft, 1982). Korabik (1990, 1992) noted the role of stereotyping in encouraging women to adapt to the male model of leadership and to suppress their leadership qualities/characteristics when working in mixed-gender groups. Male traits were the standard against which aspiring women managers were measured.

Certain personality traits in leaders are thought to be gender specific. Masculine traits are associated with powerful leadership positions. Differences in women and men leaders have been found in self-confidence, attributions, achievement orientation, and aggression (Bass, 1981). There also appear to be differences in traits between women leaders. High levels of self-confidence have been found among top-level female executives (Keown & Keown, 1982) and those advancing in organizations (Ritchie, 1984). Unlike female middle managers, and the female population as a whole (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989), studies on women's advancement to powerful positions of leadership are associated with these types of self-descriptions.

In the past, gender as an aspect of leadership or leadership style was rarely studied because women did not represent a significant portion of the work force. Despite the large body of research there is a wide divergence of opinion about differences in style

as a function of gender and disagreement about what causes those differences. Generally women are thought to exhibit different leadership styles than men (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). Korabik (1992) noted that the more experienced or senior women in organizations tend to be more masculine in leadership style due to the training they receive in the "values and standards of the male-dominated corporate culture."

Research on gender issues in leadership began during the 1950s (Bales, 1950; Halpin & Winer, 1957). Bales used the results of the study on gender role to distinguish task orientation and socio-emotional orientation for women and men respectively. While research on the ways women and men lead has been inconsistent in terms of sex differences, organizational and management literature argue for sex differences among leaders. Sargent (1981) suggests that women and men use stereotypical leadership styles to some extent, but each adopts the "best" of the other's sex qualities to become effective "androgynous managers."

Loden (1985) identified a masculine and feminine leadership style. Men typically possessed qualities of competition, hierarchical authority, high control, and unemotional and analytic problem solving. Women, on the other hand, lead by cooperation, collaboration, lower control, and problem solving based on intuition and empathy as well as rationality. Hennig and Jardin (1977) attribute sex difference behaviors to specific traits developed in early socialization. Conversely, many social scientists, using empirical data and scientific research methods, conclude no reliable differences have been observed in the ways that men and women lead (Bass, 1981; Kanter, 1977a; Nieva & Gutek, 1981).

One reason for the different opinion is that authors of popular writings are often consultants who use first hand experience from interviews and impressions gathered from client organizations. Social scientists have often disregarded popular research studies relying instead on formal laboratory and assessment inquiries that examine leadership styles of individuals not selected for leadership positions. Researchers use different kinds of data resulting in different outcomes. However, no empirical data in the psychological or organizational literature was found which tested these issues in a corporate setting.

Eagly and Johnson's (1990) review of research comparing leadership styles of men and women found evidence for both the presence and absence of differences between sexes, often dependent upon the setting of the studies, that is, organizational versus laboratory. Gender-specific expectations were not supported in the organizational studies, while female and male leaders did not differ in task-oriented behaviors. They attributed this to the expectation that people in organizations develop specific expectations of appropriate roles for leaders. In addition they found that men and women were more task oriented if their leadership roles were compatible with their sex. Being "out of role" in gender-relevant terms had its costs because both men and women leaders tended to organize fewer activities to accomplish tasks. In examining leadership roles for positions where males dominated numerically, "feminine" tendencies of women leaders diminished. For example, if women were in "token" leadership positions that would typically be held by men, adoption of a feminine style of leadership could be indicative of a loss of authority with subordinates.

Eagly and Johnson's (1990) research analysis also supports the concept that gender has an effect on leadership roles in organizations, because women are regarded as female leaders, as opposed to leaders without attendant expectations associated with gender. This perceptions has been attributed to "gender-role spillover." Gender-specific styles were found in other laboratory and assessment studies where students not selected for leadership roles comprised the population.

Historically the concept of "leader" referred to head of state, military commander, and the concept differentiated the ruler from the other members of society. Leadership has evolved into a more sophisticated concept explained by diverse theoretical approaches found in the literature. Stodgill (1974) chronologically summarized the meaning of leadership as: (a) the focus of group processes, (b) a matter of personality, (c) inducing compliance, (d) exercising influence, (e) a form of persuasion, (f) a set of acts or behaviors, (g) a power relationship, (h) an instrument of goal achievement, (i) an effect of interaction, and (j) a differentiated role. Leader, leadership style, and leadership are often used interchangeably, and this tends to obscure the differences. Leadership style typically refers to personal characteristics or traits that are consistent across situations.

As has been suggested, the literature supports that leadership styles are characterized as "masculine" or "feminine" in nature. Because leaders in both the public and private sector have been predominantly male, research in this area has utilized predominantly male participants. Nickles and Ashcraft (1982) report that men are perceived to be more analytical, rational, and quantitative, while women are characterized as intuitive, adaptable, and evaluative. The two most frequently studied

types of behavior are task-oriented and people-oriented. The operative style in the male model is competitive; in the female model it is cooperative. The organizational structure in the male model is vertical and hierarchical, and in the female model it is horizontal and egalitarian. The basic objective in the male model is winning and in the female model it is quality output. The problem-solving approach in the male model is rational and objective, and in the female model, intuitive, and subjective. Key characteristics of the male model are high control, strategic, unemotional and analytical. In the female model it is low control, empathic, collaborative and high performance (Loden, 1985).

Dobbins and Platz (1986) conducted a meta-analysis on research comparing male and female leaders on measures of consideration and initiation. Results suggested almost no differences, but ratings of effectiveness were higher for men. Sex differences may play a part in over-all lower ratings for women leaders from subordinates even if men and women exhibit the same leadership style (Hansen, 1974). Women in leadership positions were devalued relative to their male counterparts when leadership was carried out in stereotypically masculine styles, particularly when this style was autocratic or directive. In addition, the devaluation of women was greater when leaders occupied male-dominated roles, and when the evaluators were men (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992).

In summary, it has been suggested and men and women use stereotypical leadership styles, and adapt the best of each other's qualities to become effective androgynous managers. In addition, senior women in organizations tend to be more masculine in their leadership style, having adopted the values and standards of the male-dominated corporate culture. The degree to which traits and characteristics of managers

are a function of gender, has not been empirically examined in the current corporate setting and leaves a gap in the literature.

Perceptions of Good Managers

Research has consistently found that effective leadership is "perceived" as characterized by traits similar to those associated with masculine gender roles. These perceptions remain despite extensive research indicating that effective leadership requires consideration and structuring behaviors (i.e., behaviors that seem to represent both masculine and feminine styles; Cann & Siegfried, 1990). Schein found that men and women perceived that "successful middle managers possess characteristics, attitudes, and temperaments more commonly ascribed to men in general than to women in general" (1975, p. 340). Replication of the research fifteen years later found that women no longer considered jobs to be sex-typed, but that men still did. As a result women were still found to be "emulating the masculine model of success" (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, & Schein, 1989).

The view is so ingrained that in that replication of Schein's original studies (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, & Schein, 1989) the only noteworthy change over a 15-year interval was a change in women managers' views of "women in general," who were seen as sharing many characteristics of managers. The qualities that defined the successful manager remained the same.

Despite evidence that females are just as successful as males in most leadership situations (Brown, 1979; Dobbins & Platz, 1986; Powell, 1988; Rice, Instone, & Adams, 1984), the overlap persists between the stereotypes of a good manager and a typical male.

The overlap is curious given the consistent findings that effective leader behaviors emanate from two independent dimensions (Blake & Mouton, 1978; Fleishman, 1973) that appear to mirror gender differences in behavioral style. For example, most models of leadership assume a need for consideration, or employee-oriented behaviors, as well as a need for structuring, or directive production-oriented behaviors. Similar research on gender stereotypes consistently identifies two distinct clusters of behaviors termed agentic and communal (Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Williams & Best, 1990). The agentic qualities are associated with a masculine style and the communal qualities described as feminine. To the degree that agentic qualities imply directive or structuring behaviors and communal qualities imply consideration behaviors, it can be assumed that effective leadership should incorporate both gender clusters.

Cann and Siegfried (1990) provide an empirical comparison of the masculinity-femininity of the leadership styles of consideration and structuring. The results suggest that:

> despite stereotypic expectations that portray effective leadership as dominated by masculine qualities, the behaviors recognized as relevant to successful leadership include behaviors that are viewed as feminine. Therefore, effective leaders, those who can respond successfully to the variety of demands and situations encountered by leaders, must be behaviorally androgynous. They must have the flexibility to engage in behaviors associated with both masculine and feminine styles. (p. 416)

Historically, sex-role stereotypes have influenced individuals' standards and evaluations of behavior (Broverman et al., 1972). In particular, the notion that men and

masculine characteristics are more highly valued than women and feminine

characteristics has been pervasive. Basil (1973) reported that personal attributes rated as

highly important in upper management levels also were perceived as more likely to be

found in men than in women.

As Schein's two studies showed, both men and women who were middle

managers perceived successful middle managers as possessing characteristics, attitudes,

and temperaments more commonly ascribed to men in general than to women in general

(1973, 1975). Such sex role stereotyping of managerial work can result in the perception

that women are less qualified than men for management positions and negatively affect

women's entry into such positions.

In a meta-analysis conducted by Eagly and colleagues (1992) evaluating women

and men who occupy leadership roles, it was found that, although the research showed

only a small overall tendency for participants to evaluate female leaders less favorably

than male leaders, the tendency was more pronounced under certain circumstances.

Specifically, women in leadership positions were devalued relative to their male

counterparts when leadership was carried out in stereotypically masculine styles,

particularly when this style was autocratic or directive. In addition, the devaluation of

women was greater when leaders occupied male-dominated roles and when the

evaluators were men.

This issue is critical in cases that focus on gender discrimination, as was typified

in Hopkins vs. Price Waterhouse; Ann Hopkins was denied partnership in the firm

despite her outstanding record by objective criteria. According to the discrimination

interpretation, her apparently assertive and forceful behavior in relation to her staff and

colleagues was negatively evaluated, merely because she is female. As Fiske, Bersoff, Borgida, Deaux, and Heilman (1991) argued, gender stereotypes may have caused her behavior to be interpreted differently that that of male colleagues. The very same behavior would have been viewed as acceptable and perhaps evaluated quite favorably had she been male (Eagly et al., 1992).

Given that men are expected to be leaders, their performance is less likely to be questioned if they demonstrate at least a satisfactory level of competence. In addition, they may also have greater latitude to lead in a variety of styles. Factor analytic studies of gender stereotypes (Broverman et al., 1972; Eagly & Steffen, 1984) have shown that the majority of people's beliefs about male and female behavior can be summarized in a general way in terms of differences on two dimensions, the communal and the agentic (Bakan, 1966). Women are expected to possess high levels of communal attributes, including being friendly, unselfish, concerned with others, and emotionally expressive. Men are expected to possess high levels of agentic qualities, including being independent, masterful, assertive, and instrumentally competent. When applied to leadership, these communal and agentic stereotypes suggest that female stereotypic forms of leadership are interpersonally oriented and collaborative, whereas male-stereotypic forms of leadership are task-oriented and dominating (Cann & Siegfried, 1990; Eagly et al., 1992).

The results of the meta-analysis conducted by Eagly and colleagues (1992) substantiated their prediction that on the average, women lead in a more democratic and less autocratic style than men. The tendency to devalue female leaders was larger when leaders behaved in an autocratic manner than it was when leaders behaved in accord with

any other style. Leading in a feminine manner did not create a disadvantage for men relative to women. The data indicated that participantss evaluated women and men equivalently when they carried out leadership in more stereotypically feminine styles (i.e., democratic and interpersonally oriented leadership). These findings are thus consistent with their prediction that feminine styles ameliorate female leaders' role conflict, but they do not compromise male leaders' success. It appears that all other factors being equal, men may have greater freedom to lead in a range of styles without encountering negative reactions.

> Gender roles appear to restrict the options of female managers, in the sense that they 'pay a price' in terms of relatively negative evaluation, if they intrude on traditionally male domains by adopting male-stereotypic leaderships styles or occupying male-dominated leadership positions. (p. 18)

Barriers to Achievement for Women

Empirical studies throughout the literature have demonstrated that perceptions have been, and continue to be, that men are the standard by which a good manager is measured, and that men's career achievement generally exceeds that of women. A study investigating the relationship between sex-role identification and career achievement in working women demonstrated the importance of being masculine (Wong, Kettlewell, & Sproule, 1985). This research revealed that education level and masculinity were the only significant predictors of career achievement in women. When education was not included in the analysis, both masculinity and the absence of femininity predicted

women's achievement. The literature also described and examined both psychological and social barriers for women.

Spence and Helmreich (1978) focused on gender-related attitudes toward competence as a factor in achievement motivation. Barnett and Baruch (1978) emphasized the structural factors in the workplace, such as lack of opportunity for advancement, low power, and low status. Kaufman and Richardson (1982) demonstrated the interaction between individual attitudes and a combination of structure variables. In addition to these theoretical perspectives, the importance of sex-role identity remains as a significant contribution to the career achievement of women and men. According to the sex-typing hypothesis, women's conformity to socially ascribed sex roles and feminine traits is at least partially responsible for their lower levels of achievement relative to men.

Wong and colleagues (1985) argued that women who identify themselves with the masculine role will think and act like males in achievement-related behavior and attain a higher level of career achievement than women who endorse the feminine role. They predicted that androgynous and masculine women will have attained greater career success and attribute their career performance more internally and less externally than feminine women. It was also predicted that masculinity would be positively correlated with career achievement, while femininity would be negatively correlated with career achievement. This external bias for women, relying on external attributions for performance outcomes, has been explained in terms of sex roles. Males are socialized to show mastery and self-assurance, females are taught to be self-effacing (Frieze, Johnson, Parsons, Ruble, & Zellman, 1978; Frieze, Whitley, Hanusa, & McHugh, 1982; O'Leary, 1977).

Management has been in many respects an archetypal male occupation, both in the composition of the managerial workforce, and in the conception of the role. Organizational restructuring has resulted in a revision to many management careers. The reorientation of companies to the needs of customers may assist women in several respects. A female presence may be required to ensure management is representative of, and responsive to, the customer base. A number of related management specialties, such as customer relations, marketing, and advertising have expanded, opening opportunities for women to be better represented. A changing corporate environment has increased the demand for personnel professionals, a management area with relatively high proportions of women, allowing them to a management path.

While businesses are struggling to hold on to their best and brightest women, the persistence of the glass ceiling makes this difficult, since dismantling the ceiling requires an accurate understanding of the overt and subtle barriers to advancement faced by women (Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998). Their data was obtained from the first large-scale, national study of women executives and CEOs of Fortune 1000 companies. They report,

> ......interesting in this study is the degree of consensus among male CEOs as to the key factors preventing women from advancing to corporate leadership; 82% point to lack of general management or line experience as the most crucial barrier holding women back. A second critical barrier, according to almost two-thirds of CEOs (64%) is that women have not been in the pipeline long enough—that is, the executive talent pool has included few women until recently. (p. 39)

Not surprisingly, the women executives surveyed had a very different explanation of barriers women face in breaking through the glass ceiling. The women were more than twice as likely as the CEOs to consider inhospitable work environments as a barrier to advancement. "Male stereotyping and preconceptions of women" was cited by 52% as a top factor holding women back, compared with only 25% of male CEOs. In addition, 49% of women identified "exclusion from informal networks," as a barrier, compared with 15% of CEOs; and inhospitable corporate culture was identified by 35% of women, but only 18% of CEOs (Ragins et al., 1998).

The dramatic difference in the interpretation of the issue suggests there may exist two very separate environments, one which supports and enhances the men toward career achievement and one which challenges and limits women. The divergence of perception of the cause of the problem results in a difficult resolution as well. Having to work harder and perform better than their male counterparts in order to move ahead are frequently cited characteristics of surveys of women managers (Wirth, 1998).

In summary, it appears that in the past men had more flexibility in their style of leadership without encountering negative reactions. Women have had to find a balance of style that did not disadvantage them as a result of their leadership behaviors. Given that men are expected to lead, their performance is less likely to be questioned if they demonstrate a level of competence. Women not only need a superior level of competence, but an acceptable demonstration of both feminine and masculine behavioral traits. The additional barriers cited may be remedied with increased exposure, experience, and opportunity.

Gender Role Research

Gender-role studies began in the field of psychology and were used to explain

gender differences attributed to biological, psychological, or sociological causes.

Heilbrun (1981) defined sex role as "those behaviors commonly understood to

characterize a person of a biological sex within a particular society" (p. 76). Included are

those behaviors that are correlated with stereotyped characteristics.

Stereotypes and role perceptions play a large part in the understanding of gender-

specific behavior. Harriman (1985) defined stereotypes and roles as follows:

"Individuals have assigned (race, gender, age, family relationships) and achieved

(student, doctor, worker) societal status." A role is the "expected and actual behaviors or

characteristics that attach to a particular social 'status....'" (p. 83). A stereotype is the

"set of attributes that are attributed to all individuals who occupy a particular role" (p.

85). Since gender stereotypes dictate the "approved masculine or feminine image" (p.

44), and since they are "clearly defined and consentually endorsed" (Betz & Fitzgerald,

1987, p. 44), they are powerful in their ability to influence how people behave and what

they believe. Stereotypes are applied across the board to all members of a group

regardless of their individual behavior, and the danger lies in the pervasive acceptance of

both positive and negative stereotypes. "To the extent that the larger society believes that

women and men differ significantly, and that women's abilities and characteristics are of

less value than men's, it is as if it were true" (Harriman, 1985, p. 85).

Gender-role identity, which is used synonymously in the literature with sex-role

identity, refers to the "....degree to which a person identifies with or displays societally

defined masculine or feminine behavior" (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987, p. 44). One's

biological sex is not necessarily predictive of one's gender-role identity, since socialization and culture also affect the degree to which a person identifies with the socially determined gender identity.

Traditionally, psychologists have uncritically accepted sex roles as essential to personality development and function. Psychopathologists consider gender identity to be a crucial factor in personal adjustment; developmentalists focus on the conditions and processes which facilitate successful internalization of appropriate sex-role standards, and rarely have the positive values of sex-role standards been questioned (Broverman et al., 1972).

In the 1960s, investigators expressed concern over possible detrimental effects of sex-role standards upon the full development of capabilities of men and women (Blake, 1968; Davis, 1967; Horner, 1969; Maccoby, 1963; Rossi, 1964). During this time the traditional sex-role patterns were challenged by women as well as by psychologists who believed that sex-role standards exert pressure upon individuals to behave in prescribed ways. Since the earliest of literature indicates that men and masculine characteristics are more highly valued in our society than are women and feminine characteristics, the implications for women are profound (Dinitz, Dynes, & Clarke, 1954; Fernberger, 1948; Kitay, 1940; Lynn, 1959; Smith, 1939; White, 1950).

Brown (1958) reports that both boys and girls between 6 and 10 years express greater preference for masculine things and activities than for feminine activities. Similarly, between five to twelve times as many women than men recall having wished they were of the opposite sex (Gallup, 1955; Terman, 1938). Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) report that mothers of daughters only are happier about a new pregnancy than are

mothers of sons. Investigators have also found that the interval between the birth of the first child and conception of the second is longer when the first child is a boy than when it is a girl. The likelihood of having a third child is greater if the first two children are both girls than both boys (Pohlman, 1969, as cited in Broverman et al., 1972). The valuation of the social desirability of masculine characteristics manifests its impact very early and very clearly.

The distinctions between the male-valued and female-valued components of the sex-role stereotypes have important implications for the self-concepts of men and women. The social desirability of a concept will influence the likelihood of reporting that concept as a self-descriptor (Edwards, 1957). The tendency had been to align with the socially desirable behaviors, not only for social acceptance and approval but also to do so demonstrated a measure of good mental health.

Bem and Lenney (1976) questioned the traditional assumption that it is the masculine male and feminine female that typify mental health. Rather, it is now the "androgynous" person, capable of incorporating both masculinity and femininity into his/her personality, who is emerging as a more appropriate sex role ideal for contemporary society.

Theoretically, such a person would have no need to limit behaviors to those traditionally defined as 'sex appropriate' but would have the psychological freedom to engage in whatever behavior seemed most effective at the moment, irrespective of its stereotype as masculine or feminine (p.51).

Schein (1973) states that sex role stereotypes may impede the progress of women by creating occupational sex typing. According to Merton, "....occupations can be

described as 'sex-typed' when a large majority of those in them are of one sex and when there is an associated normative expectation that this is how it should be" (p. 95, as cited in Epstein, 1970). Also, sex role stereotypes may deter women from striving to succeed in managerial positions. In a theory of work behavior, Korman (1970) maintains that "....individuals will engage in and find satisfying those behavioral roles which will maximize their sense of cognitive balance or consistency" (p. 32). The result of this type of occupational stereotyping limits women's access to a range of behaviors.

Bem (1974, 1975) advocated the concept of androgyny, referring to a high propensity of both feminine and masculine characteristics in an individual, as representing a more flexible standard of psychological health than sex-typed behavior. She argued that: (a) Masculinity and femininity were complementary, not opposite positive domains of traits and behaviors; (b) An individual of either sex may be both masculine and feminine, or instrumental and expressive, depending on the given situation; and (c) It is each individual's sex-role identity, not sex, which magnifies the degree to which certain traits and behaviors are manifested. Until 1979, the concept of androgyny had not been applied to organizational settings, although its applicability appeared obvious. If the more effective person is androgynous, the more effective manager may be androgynous as well (Powell & Butterfield, 1979). As more women became managers several scenarios could be anticipated: the existing traditional masculine oriented standards for managerial behavior could be replaced by androgynous standards or new female managers could adopt masculine traits and behaviors typical of male managers to succeed in the masculine world.

Sachs, Chrisler, and Devlin (1992) conducted a study to measure biographic and personal characteristics of women in management positions, utilizing the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974, 1981a) and the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1974). They reported an unusually high percentage (85%) of the women in this sample were either androgynous or masculine according to the BSRI. Harragan (1977) implied that masculine women would better fit into organizations based on stereotypically masculine principles, and the male managers and management students in Schein et al.'s (1989) study agreed that management remains a masculine field. The androgynous, masculine, and undifferentiated women may process information without regard to a gender-specific schema; if so, their careers may not cause cognitive dissonance as it might for women who identify themselves as "feminine" in a traditionally "masculine" corporate environment. For the androgynous women, at least, sex-role identity is not a variable in assessing what obstacles exist to achievement, as it may for those women who report gender consistent attributes.

Long (1989) has reported that gender-typed individuals (i.e., feminine women and masculine men) avoid and are uncomfortable performing behaviors typically associated with the other gender because it is incongruent with their gender-role orientation and training. Fassinger's (1990) model suggests a self-selection process, which is the possession of agentic/masculine characteristics which appear to be related to the choice of a career in management. Although more women are in management positions in the 1990s, it may be that particular women self-select to fit the masculine characteristics associated with requisites needed for success in the job (Sachs et al., 1992).

Though the distinction of sex, that is, female and male, is biological, the gender behavior that is prescribed as "normal", that is, women expected to be feminine and men expected to be masculine, is socially constructed and often filled with stereotypes. Whether those gender characteristics are pejorative when applied to women managers is critical to the issue of advancement within those male dominated hierarchical organizations.

Bem's (1974) development of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) was an attempt to measure masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions, making it possible to characterize a person as masculine, feminine, or androgynous as a function of the difference between his or her endorsement of masculine and feminine personality characteristics. Both Kagan (1964) and Kohlberg (1966) report that a highly sex-typed individual is motivated to keep behavior consistent with internalized sex-role standards. This is accomplished by suppressing behaviors that might be considered undesirable or inappropriate for his or her sex, but in so doing finds a severely limited range of behaviors available across situations. Bem argues that the sex-role dichotomy has served to obscure the hypothesis that many individuals might be "androgynous"; that is, both masculine and feminine, both assertive and yielding, both instrumental and expressive depending upon situational dictates. The BSRI was designed to measure the extent to which a person divorces himself or herself from those characteristics that might be considered more "appropriate" for the opposite sex. Individuals differ from one another in the extent to which they utilize these cultural definitions as idealized standards. In particular, the sex-typed individual is highly attuned to these definitions and is motivated to keep behavior consistent with them. In contrast, the androgynous individual is less

attuned to these cultural definitions of femininity and masculinity and less likely to

regulate her or his behavior in accordance with them. The BSRI is based on a theory of

both cognitive processing and motivational dynamics of sex-typed and androgynous

individuals (Bem, 1979).

Baril, Elbert, Mahar-Potter, and Reavy (1989) argue that psychological

androgyny as a concept presents some measurement problems. As Spence and others

have pointed out (Locksley & Colten, 1979; Spence & Helmreich, 1978), the personality

characteristics usually measured are only a subset of the sex role identities of masculinity

and femininity. Primarily, these involve the instrumentality and competence dimensions

of our stereotypes of masculinity and the empathy, warmth, and expressiveness aspects of

femininity. Spence and Helmreich's (1978) Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ)

also measures four dimensions including negative masculinity (egotism and hostility) and

two aspects of negative femininity (subservience and neurotic complaining). Therefore,

the terms masculinity and femininity are overly inclusive and potentially misleading.

The perceptions that individuals possess about their sex-role identity affect what

they do. For example, individuals who perceive themselves to be successful act in ways

that bring them success (Deaux, 1976). It has also been suggested that individuals'

perceptions of their attributes will vary according to the position they occupy in the

organizational power hierarchy (Kanter, 1977b; Mainiero, 1986). This perspective has

been referred to as the situation-centered perspective, or the organization structure view.

According to the person- or gender-centered perspective, the attributes individuals

perceive they possess vary according to their sex (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Hennig &

Jardin, 1977; Horner, 1969; Loden, 1985; Riger & Galligan, 1980; Smircich, 1985).

1985). Men are hypothesized to perceive themselves as possessing masculine characteristics. They are aggressive, forceful, strong, rational, self-confident, competitive, and independent (Feather, 1984; Putnam & Heinen, 1976; Schein, 1973). Women are hypothesized to perceive that they possess feminine characteristics. They are warm, kind, emotional, gentle, understanding, aware of others' feelings, as well as helpful to others.

Gender-centered theorists have attributed these perceptual differences to a variety of causes including: (a) sex role socialization in childhood and adolescence (Hennig & Jardin, 1977), (b) differential gender identity formation for boys and girls (Chodrow, 1978), and (c) the distinctively unique ways boys and girls construct reality (Gilligan, 1982). The conundrum of sex-role identity in a corporate environment is underscored by this advice from an unknown sage, "Look like a lady; act like a man; work like a dog."

Bem (1993) argued that the concept of androgyny focused much more attention on the individual's being both masculine and feminine than on the culture's having created the concepts of masculinity and femininity. It can legitimately be said to reproduce precisely the gender polarization that it seeks to undercut. She moves on to the concept of gender schematicity because it argues more forcefully that masculinity and femininity are merely the constructions of a cultural schema—or lens—that polarizes gender.

Summary

This review of the literature, although comprehensive, highlights some flaws and gaps. As has been suggested, the literature supports that leadership styles are

characterized as "masculine" or "feminine" in nature. Because leaders in both the public and private sector have been predominantly male, research in this area has utilized predominantly male participants and as the norm against which comparisons are made. The current study, has utilized both male and female managers, albeit in disproportionate representation. Because of the male dominance in management, organizations studied have been vertical and hierarchical with a basic competitive model. In that regard, the environment of this study is the same.

The degree to which traits and characteristics of managers are a function of gender, was not empirically examined in a large, corporate setting. In addition, the degree to which the traits and characteristics of managers are a function of their level of management had not been researched. This study attempts to fill these gaps.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Chapter III presents in detail the methodology that was used to conduct this research study. The elements that are reported enable a critical review of the methods utilized to obtain the results, and it also provides specific detail to facilitate replication and future research. The chapter describes the procedures used to select participants, as well as the characteristics of this sample, to aid in the interpretation of the results. There are also sections on the instrument used to gather the data, the research design, explanation of the variables, and execution of the data collection process.

In Chapter II, the literature pertaining to the study was reviewed, specifically, the gender-role studies related to sex-role identity and sex-role stereotypes. In addition there was a discussion of gender based management styles, perceived requisite characteristics for good managers, and barriers challenging women in advancement of corporate careers. Based on this body of literature, the following research questions were proposed and investigated utilizing the method described in this chapter: (a) Do women and men differ in their description of sex-role identity as a function of their level of management in a corporation? and (b) Do women and men differ in their perceptions of a good manager as a function of their level of management in a corporation?

From these questions, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. It was hypothesized that as women and men managers were studied, a trend

would exist that demonstrated an increase in the use of masculine traits to describe their sex-role identity, correspondent with their increasing level of management.

2. It was hypothesized that as men, at all levels of management in the corporation (A-E) were studied, a trend would be found that demonstrated an increase in the use of masculine traits to describe their perceptions of a good manager, correspondent with their increasing level of management.

3. It was hypothesized that as women, at the low, middle and senior levels of management (A-C) were studied, a trend would be found that demonstrated an increase in the use of masculine traits to describe a good manager, correspondent with their increasing level of management.

4. It was hypothesized that as women at the higher levels (D-E) of management, were studied, a trend would be found that shows a decrease in the use of masculine traits to describe a good manager, correspondent with their increasing level of management.

Participants

The sample utilized in this research study consisted of men and women employed by a large, private-sector telecommunications corporation. The choice of this workplace was particularly relevant since it is largely male-dominated and hierarchical in structure. That environment offered the best opportunity to examine the relationship between variables in a setting in which they would likely be apparent.

The participants were recruited from the salaried employees (i.e., management) on the corporate payroll. Neither consultants nor temporary staff was recruited for this

study. All participants were informed that they would not receive remuneration and that their responses would be anonymous in order to insure privacy.

The participants represented a sample of each of the levels of management within the company, as well as a variety of occupational categories, such as research, medicine, engineering, administration, and finance. The management levels sampled, included the following categories: (a) administrative/associate manager (level A), (b) manager (level B), (c) senior manager (level C), (d) director/department head (level D), and (e) executive/officer (level E). Examples of the composition of these levels are the following:

1. Level A: Administrative staff, associate managers, and technical assistants in the laboratories.

2. Level B: Managers of work groups/functions, technical/engineering staff, and accountants/finance.

3. Level C: Senior managers of staff organization and senior technical/ researchers.

4. Level D: Department heads, directors of staff organizations, and distinguished technical staff.

5. Level E: Executives and business unit heads.

The responsibilities are diverse; some have an element of supervision attached to them and some do not. The level of the position is determined by an internal evaluation of the scope, complexities, and responsibilities of the job. In addition, the technical and educational requirements needed influence the level assigned to the position. Length of service with the company is not correlated with the level of management achieved. Each

of the levels has employees with varying service dates. Managers are not promoted based on service, as are some craft and union represented employees.

In general, the higher the level of management the more responsibility attached to it. Consequently, the higher levels have more influence over the direction of the business, and in turn, are more accountable for outcome. A correlation usually exists, however, between levels and salary, benefits, access to opportunities, and status.

Instrumentation

The Bem Sex Role Inventory-R (BSRI-R) is a self-report instrument, comprised of 30 questions and was utilized to gather the data (Bem, 1981a). Each participant was asked to complete the inventory twice. The first time was to choose the characteristics which best describe a "good manager" and the second was to choose the characteristics which best describe themselves. The instrument utilizes a seven-point Likert scale.

Scoring of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory

The original inventory was used to classify people into three types of sex role categories using a median-split: feminine (F), masculine (M), and androgynous (F-M). A sex-typed person (either feminine or masculine) was characterized as one who tends to conform to social standards. An androgynous person was scored as having both very masculine and very feminine traits without employing a gender schema; circumstances dictate which traits (feminine or masculine) are exhibited by an androgynous person (Bem, 1977). Later the category titled "undifferentiated" was added to account for persons having both low masculine and low feminine traits.

The revised system, as presented, is based on a series of median splits. Those who score above the sample median on both F and M, are classified as androgynous. Those scoring above the median on either F or M, and below the median on the other, are labeled F or M, respectively; and those who score below the median on both scales are considered undifferentiated. Androgyny is now defined as being above 50% of one's comparison group in endorsement of both feminine and masculine traits, while sex typing is defined as scoring higher than half of one's comparison group in either femininity or masculinity (Sedney, 1981).

More recently, subscale scores have served as continuous variables rather than discrete variables in many empirical studies (Choi & Fuqua, 1998; Newman, Gray, & Fuqua, 1996). The items in the masculine subscale were to measure socially desirable masculine characteristics, with the central characteristic being "cognitive focus on getting the job done" (Bem, 1974, p. 156; Choi & Fuqua, 1998). The items in the feminine subscale are intended to measure socially desirable feminine characteristics, with the central characteristic being "affective concern for the welfare of others" (Bem, 1974, p. 156)

The final form was built on a 7-point Likert scale with 1 equal to never or almost never true, through 7 equal to always or almost always true. The short form of BSRI was developed in part to respond to criticism that the original form contained items that did not load on the expected factors (Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979; Whetton & Swindells, 1977). Mathias (1981) contended that the BSRI-R is statistically purer than the BSRI, its parent instrument. The number of items on the short form was reduced to half of the original.

There are 10 items included in scoring the short form (minus omissions), and the remaining items are fillers not included in the scoring. The raw scores are obtained by dividing by ten to get the average scores. The raw scores are then converted into standard scores for masculine and feminine. The difference between the standard score and the raw score is converted to a T-score.

Because the current study is interested in group comparisons, not individual scores, the median split was not utilized. The masculine scores were assigned a minus and the feminine scores a plus. Each participant's score placed her/him along a continuum from negative to plus.

History and Development of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI)

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) was designed to assess one's gender-based personality characteristics, particularly with respect to the concept of psychological androgyny. Until the early 1970s, sex role orientation was generally measured as a bipolar construct with femininity on one end and masculinity on the other end (Gough, 1996). Sex role orientation had been considered a biological gender-based construct, with masculinity and femininity synonymous with one's biological gender.

The concept of sex role orientation was reconceptualized by Constantinople (1973) who argued that femininity and masculinity are psychological, rather than biological concepts. Further, that each one is unidimensional and orthogonal. The reconceptualization of sex role allowed researchers to consider the possibility that a person can exhibit both feminine and masculine traits. This led to the development of

new sex role measures, such as the Personal Attribute Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence,
Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974) and the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974).

Bem (1974) and Spence and Helmreich (1978) created scales that allowed
individuals to indicate whether they were high or low in both masculine, as well as
feminine attributes (Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Broverman, 1968).

Bem (1974, 1975, 1977) subsequently introduced the concept of androgyny in an
attempt to redress the traditional, simplistic view of sex-role types. She hypothesized that
individuals with a traditional sex role are deprived of a full, satisfying behavioral
repertoire. An androgynous sex role orientation would, therefore, be more flexible and
adaptive than a traditionally feminine or masculine sex role orientation (Bem, 1977;
Cook, 1985; Kelly & Worell, 1977).

The most widely used instruments to infer androgyny are the Bem Sex Role
Inventory (BSRI) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ). The BSRI and PAQ
were constructed according to different rationales, and their authors also make theoretical
distinctions. Thus, while the empirical bases and theoretical rationales for the BSRI and
PAQ differ somewhat, the two instruments apparently measure similar constructs (Marsh
& Myers, 1986). It is the theoretical basis of the BSRI that makes it a better choice for
the concepts of interest in this study.

The primary theoretical difference with the PAQ, is the fact that Spence,
Helmreich, and Stapp (1974) proposed that, although both instruments measure desirable
aspects of instrumentality and expressiveness, the PAQ does not measure broad gender
concepts such as Masculinity-Femininity, sex typing, or gender schematization. It is the
gender schema theory which is central to this research. The authors of the PAQ believe

their inventory measures only instrumentality and expressivity (Spence, 1993),

conceptually denying the validity of constructs such as sex role orientation, gender

schematization, or Masculinity-Femininity.

Although the psychometric properties of the BSRI have been the subject of

controversy (Helmreich, Spence, & Holahan, 1979; Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979), Bem

addressed the concerns about the soundness of her instrument in detail, when she

constructed a modified version of the measure.

For purposes of the current study, the researcher selected the shorter version of

the BSRI to measure the characteristics of masculinity, femininity, androgyny, and

undifferentiation. The revised version, BSRI-R, highly correlates to the original

instrument and required less time for the participants to complete.

Reliability of the BSRI

Since the BSRI was developed, there has been much interest in and attention to

the psychometric properties of the instrument. Bem (1974) examined the internal

consistency of the BSRI, using a sample of 444 male and 279 female Stanford

undergraduates. Her obtained coefficient alphas were .86, .80, and .85 for Masculinity

(M), Femininity (F), and Androgyny (difference F-M) scales respectively. A second

sample of 117 male and 77 female college students produced nearly identical coefficient

alpha results (M = .86; F = .82; F-M = .86). For a third Stanford sample of 476 males

and 340 females, internal consistency results were similar (M = .86; F = .78; and F-M =

.82; Bem, 1981a).

Yanico (1985) examined the test-retest reliability of the BSRI using 77 college women who completed the instrument as freshmen and again as seniors. In addition, she examined the temporal stability of the Bem's (1977) median split classification procedure, which has been adopted by researchers as a means of categorizing individuals into groups based on their BSRI scores. Yanico found that the BSRI scales have moderate test-retest reliability (.56 - .68) for college women over four years. The Femininity score was found somewhat more stable than the Masculinity score.

Rowland (1980) conducted a study of 226 Australian University students, yielding high test-retest reliability scores. Her results indicated that all scores were highly reliable over an eight-week period. For males: Masculinity $r = .93$; Femininity $r = .82$, and Androgyny $r = .91$. Her research supports that the BSRI is a reliable and useful instrument in the assessment of an individual's self-perception with respect to masculinity, femininity, and androgyny, and has strong reliability over time.

The population chosen for this research project has not been studied using the administration of the BSRI in this manner. To insure the reliability of the scores of this sample, the reliability of the test items were established by a coefficient alpha for internal consistency on the total sample. A minimum Chronbach reliability of .60 alpha value was recommended by Nunnally (1978).

Validity of the BSRI

Since Bem (1974) created her inventory, it has been the subject of controversy and critique regarding its validity. A number of researchers have demonstrated evidence related to validity, that is, whether the constructs it was intended to measure are indeed

measured (Edwards & Ashworth, 1977; Walkup & Abbott, 1978). Further, numerous studies on the factor structure have been reported (Feather, 1978; Gaudreau, 1977; Waters, Waters, & Pincus, 1977). Bem and her colleagues have provided validation regarding the relationship of scale scores to overt behaviors (Bem, 1975; Bem & Lenney, 1976).

In 1979, she introduced a revised, shortened version in response to criticism that the original form contained items that did not load on the expected factors (Bem, 1979; Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979; Whetton & Swindells, 1977). The items selected for the short form BSRI were based on factor loadings obtained by rescoring the original (Bem, 1981a), resulting in half of the original items.

The publication stimulated other validation studies (Damji & Lee, 1994; Lamke, 1982). Several different validation approaches have been adopted for that purpose, such as a multitrait-multimethod technique (Wong, McCreary, & Duffy, 1990), a correlational approach (Wilson & Cook, 1984), and exploratory factor analysis (Ballard-Reisch & Elton, 1992; Bledsoe, 1983; Collins, Waters, & Waters, 1979), and a confirmatory factor analysis (Blanchard-Fields, Suhrer-Roussel, & Hertzog, 1994). The BSRI, to some significant extent, defined the nature of sex-role orientation in the research literature (Choi & Fuqua, 1998).

The original constructs of masculinity/femininity (M/F) subscales were selected from an item pool of 200 personality characteristics, consisting of a content validational approach (Bem, 1974). Twenty items were selected for each of the M/F subscales based on each item's representativeness of those characteristics in the final form. The items in the social desirability subscale were also selected from an item pool of 200 personality

characteristics. The 20 items in the final form reflect both positive and negative personality characteristics, regardless of sex. The items in the masculine subscale purport to measure socially desirable masculine characteristics, with the central characteristic being "cognitive focus on getting the job done" (p. 155). The items in the feminine subscale are intended to measure socially desirable feminine characteristics, with the central characteristic being "affective concern for the welfare of others" (p. 156).

Use of the BSRI in a Corporate Setting

The concept of sex-role stereotyping, as reported in previous chapters, is a critical variable to explore in an attempt to understand why women have not yet achieved parity with men in a corporate setting. As Schein (1975) demonstrated, as early as the 1970s, there is a relationship between sex-role stereotyping and characteristics perceived as requisite for success as a manager. To the degree that women report characteristics of instrumentality is not as significant as is their gender-schematic behaviors. Women must not be perceived as "too traditionally feminine" or "too much like that of a man" (Morrison et al., 1992) in order to navigate the narrow band of behaviors acceptable to break through the glass ceiling. The BSRI examines the traditional sex-role stereotyping.

The study, as it has been designed, has not been completed in a corporate setting, as can be determined from the review of the current literature. In order to encourage participation and minimize the amount of time needed to complete the data collection, the short form, which adequately measures the variables, was utilized.

Since the 1970s researchers have been investigating the attitudes and perceptions of male versus female managers (Massengill & DiMarco, 1979; Schein, 1973, 1975).

They reported that participants who were asked to choose adjectives describing successful managers, rated men and managers as being significantly more similar than women and managers (Arkelin & Simmons, 1985). Powell and Butterfield (1979) suggested that an androgynous sex-role orientation might be preferred in a manager, since androgynous individuals show greater behavioral adaptability across situation (Bem, 1974, 1975). However, when they asked participants to describe the "good manager" on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), the good manager was still characterized in strongly masculine terms.

American corporations have been heavily influence by masculine values. Yet an effective organization, at least theoretically, should include people with both feminine and masculine characteristics (i.e., have both instrumental and interpersonal skills). Task-oriented skills needed to get the job done depend on characteristics such as independence, decisiveness, and competitiveness, which have been traditionally associated with the masculine sex-role. On the other hand, person-oriented and expressive skills such as warmth, understanding, cooperativeness, and consideration for others are more typically considered feminine characteristics.

Most research on managers has been carried out with men in the leadership positions (Stodgill, 1974). In the 1980s more attention was given to sex-role stereotyping in management as more women than ever before became managers or administrators. In fact, the total number of women in these positions rose only 20% during that same period (Powell & Butterfield, 1984).

As a result of the awareness of sex roles in the 1970s, Massengill and DiMarco (1979) thought that attitudes of men and women might have become less stereotypical

over the intervening years since Schein's studies (1973, 1975); however, they found that Schein's results were almost exactly replicated. Powell and Butterfield (1979) also thought that the social changes that had taken place would result in a change of perception as well. Instead, their participants (undergraduate business students and MBA's) saw good managers as masculine, just as Schein's participants had seen successful managers.

Procedures

The research was conducted in compliance with the ethical standards of the American Psychological Association (Principles 6.1-6.20 in "Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct"; 1992).

A telecommunications company headquartered in Northeast United States was selected for this study, as it represented the organizational climate in which relationships between the variables were likely to be demonstrated. Permission was obtained from the corporation to conduct the study in two of the buildings in the location. Each of the levels of management of interest to the study was represented in those buildings, whose population totaled 5,249.

Because the morale within the corporation was generally mistrustful and suspicious, the sampling strategy was important. In a recent survey conducted by the corporation itself, 31% of the 5,000 employees responding stated they would not participate in a survey. However, an almost equal percent said they would respond to email or "desk-drop". A "desk-drop" is a general distribution utilizing interoffice envelopes and distributed by the mail service within the location. For that reason the use

of inter-company mail was chosen, and a packet sent to the employees who were randomly selected.

To insure the anonymity of the respondents, there was no mechanism for follow-up, no distinguishing codes, or method by which to track responses. The packets contained a letter of introduction from the researcher, who is familiar to many within the population, as is the department and university associated with the project. This strategy resulted in an overall response rate of thirty percent.

The sample was randomly selected in the following manner. An employee of the personnel department provided a computer-generated report of the management employees in the two buildings. The report was sorted by level and included the name and room number of the manager. From that list, every 5th name within each of the five levels was highlighted until 50 from each level were identified. If an insufficient number of responses were received, the process was continued, choosing every 5th name.

The packet was mailed via inter-company mail and had the return address of the researcher visible. The packet included:

1. A letter of introduction from the researcher about the study, as well as a statement of implied consent.

2. An instruction page with four demographic questions.

3. Two copies of the Bem Sex-role Inventory-R. One copy was labeled "Self" and the second copy was labeled "Good Manager." The order of the two inventories was alternated to minimize order bias.

4. A return, self-addressed envelope with no identification of the respondent.

Upon receipt of the packets, the researcher sorted by level and gender to prepare for statistical analysis. Some responses were delivered after the data was entered, and these were not included in the analysis. The process of mailing 250 packets was repeated four times in an effort to obtain a sample sufficient to test for statistical significance. A total sample of 295 was achieved, and this was sufficient for levels A-C. However, the statistical power at levels D-E was extremely low due, to the small sample size.

CHAPTER IV

Analysis of the Data

Chapter IV presents the results of the data analysis used to test each of the hypotheses posed for this study. The questions investigated in this research were: (a) Do women and men differ in their description of sex-role identity as a function of their level of management in a corporation? and (b) Do women and men differ in their perceptions of a good manager as a function of their level of management in a corporation?

Based on these research questions the hypotheses were formulated:

1. It was hypothesized that as women and men managers were studied, a trend would be found that showed an increase in the use of masculine traits to describe their sex-role identity, correspondent with their increasing level of management.

2. It was hypothesized that as men, at all levels of management in the corporation (A-E) were studied, a trend would be found that showed an increase in the use of masculine traits to describe their perceptions of a good manager, correspondent with their increasing level of management.

3. It was hypothesized that as women, at the low, middle, and senior levels of management (A-C) were studied, a trend would be found that showed an increase in the use of masculine traits to describe a good manager, correspondent with their increasing level of management.

4. It was hypothesized that as women, at the highest levels (D-E) of

management were studied, a trend would be found that showed a decrease in the use of masculine traits to describe a good manager.

The instrumentation used to test the hypotheses and answer the research question was the Bem Sex-Role Inventory-R. (Bem, 1981a).

Data Analysis Strategy

The average Femininity scale and Masculinity scale were computed using the scoring directions from the Bem Inventory Scoring Key. Each participant's overall score on the BSRI Short Form was computed by subtracting the average Masculinity score from the average Femininity score. This yielded a score in which individuals with a more feminine sex-role orientation had scores that were more positive on the BSRI. Conversely, individuals scoring higher on the masculinity scale had a more negative BSRI score. Individuals who were psychologically androgynous (i.e., scored high on both the masculinity and femininity scales) had BSRI scores around zero. The BSRI score was used as the dependent measure in the testing of the hypotheses.

In the current study, the goal was to specifically test the hypothesis that there is a linear relationship between one's sex-role orientation and one's managerial level. Similarly, the goal was to test the specific hypothesis that there is a linear relationship between one's managerial level and one's perception of the sex-role orientation of a good manager. Because the interest was in making a specific, or focused, comparison of the groups means (rather than an overall, or omnibus comparison of the group means), contrast analysis was the most appropriate data analytic strategy for testing the hypotheses.

Contrast analysis is a statistical procedure for making specific comparisons of group means based on the univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA). A shortcoming of the analysis of variance is that, when there are more than two degrees of freedom in the numerator (i.e., more than two comparison groups), the ANOVA often yields overall statistical tests of effects that are either ambiguous in meaning, or not relevant to the hypothesis or hypotheses of interest (Rosenthal, Rosnow, & Rubin, 2000; Rosnow & Rosenthal, 1985).

Because contrast analysis allows one to partition the between-sum-of-squares associated with each degree of freedom in the numerator, specific questions can be asked of the data (Portney & Watkins, 1993; Rosnow & Rosenthal, 1988, 1996; Snedecor & Cochran, 1967). In the current study, using contrast analysis to specifically test for a linear relationship among the different levels of the independent variable, increased the statistical power of the tests used to measure the study's hypotheses. In addition, it allowed for the calculation of the effect sizes associated with each significance test (i.e., the magnitude of the relationship between the variables of interest) as recommended by the American Psychological Association's Task Force on Statistical Inference (Wilkinson et al., 1999). The contrast weights numerically the increasing managerial levels. Equal intervals were justified as they represented the systematic increases in management level at the corporation studied (e.g., level C was 2 grades above level A).

Because of the inequity in the number of males and females at each managerial level, separate contrasts were conducted for the male and female samples. Contrasts for unequal sample sizes in three or more groups were also utilized (Rosenthal et al., 2000).

Similarly, the effect size correlation r associated with each contrast was calculated using the procedures described in the Rosenthal and colleagues study for contrasts involving three or more groups of unequal sizes. The effect sizes for the male and female sample contrasts were then compared using the Fisher z-test, to test whether the strength of the observed linear relationship significantly differed between the two subsamples for each hypothesis tested (Rosenthal, 1984).

To insure reliability of the scores of this sample, the reliability of the test items were established by a coefficient alpha for internal consistency on the total sample. A minimum Chronbach reliability of .60 alpha value was recommended by Nunnally (1978). For this study the alphas were as follows: Males for self BSRI was .83, and for good manager BSRI was .80; Females for self BSRI was .81, and for good manager BSRI was .79.

Participants

The total management population from which the sample was drawn was 5,249. Of this number 3,739 were males and 1,510 females. There were five levels of management, entry to senior executives, levels A - E. From this population, responses were received from 295 employees who completed the BSRI to describe themselves. More specifically, the gender and level distribution is as follows: (a) Level A consisted of 27 males and 63 females; (b) Level B consisted of 62 males and 24 females; (c) Level C consisted of 40 males and 14 females; (d) Level D consisted of 35 males and 14 females; and (e) Level E consisted of 10 males and 6 females. There were 289 responses from employees asked to describe a good manager. The gender and level distribution is as

follows: (a) Level A consisted of 27 males and 63 females; (b) Level B consisted of 60 males and 23 females; (c) Level C consisted of 40 males and 14 females; (d) Level D consisted of 33 males and 13 females; and (e) Level E consisted of 10 males and 6 females (See Tables 5, 6, and 7 at the end of the chapter).

Data Analysis Results

BSRI for Self

Female and male managers were asked to describe their own sex-role identity using the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1981a).

Hypothesis 1: It was hypothesized that scores for self would be increasingly more masculine for male and female managers, correspondent with their higher levels of management (Tables 1 and 2 respectively).

Result: There was a significant linear trend for males, with contrast weights of +2, +1, 0, -1, -2 [F (1, 169) = 22.05, p = .001], effect size r = .46. That is, the BSRI scores for male managers were increasingly more masculine as one went up the managerial ranks.

This linear trend was also found among female managers, with contrast weights of +2, +1, 0, -1, -2 [F (1, 169) = 11.69, p = .001], effect size r = .39. Similar to the male managers, female managers described themselves as increasingly more masculine, correspondent with their level of management.

The meta-analytic comparison of the two effect sizes revealed that the strength of this linear trend for male and female managers was not significantly different, z = .71, p = .24 (1-tailed). That is, there was no difference in the magnitude of the relationship

between one's self-description on the BSRI and one's managerial level between male and female samples.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Male Managers BSRI Scores for "Self"

	Mean	SD	n	Contrast weights
Level A	0.73	0.90	27	+2
Level B	0.05	1.17	62	+1
Level C	-0.26	1.22	40	0
Level D	-0.34	0.84	35	-1
Level E	-1.02	0.95	10	-2

Note. The more positive the score, the more feminine the qualities that were reported; the more negative the score, the more masculine the qualities that were reported ($n =$ 174).

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Female Managers BSRI Scores for "Self"

	Mean	SD	n	Contrast weights
Level A	0.87	1.06	63	+2
Level B	0.44	1.33	24	+1
Level C	0.15	1.07	14	0
Level D	-0.64	1.02	14	-1
Level E	-0.30	0.70	6	-2

Note. The more positive the score, the more feminine the qualities that were reported;

the more negative the score, the more masculine the qualities that were reported (n =

121).

BSRI for "Good Manager"

Female and male managers were also asked to describe the characteristics of

"good managers" using the same instrument, the BSRI-R. The mean scores on this

measure for both male and female are listed in Tables 3 and 4, respectively.

Hypothesis 2: It was hypothesized that men at all levels of management would

utilize increasingly masculine traits (correspondent with the increasing level of

management) to describe their perceptions of a good manager.

Result: Similar to the self ratings, there was a statistically significant linear trend

for males across the different managerial levels, with contrast weights of +2, +1, 0, -1, -2

[F (1, 165) = 3.93, p < .05], effect size r = .21. Male managers perceived good managers as increasingly more masculine as one examines ratings across the managerial ranks.

Hypothesis 3: It was hypothesized that women, at the low, middle and senior levels of management (A-C) would use increasingly masculine traits to describe a good manager.

Hypothesis 4: It was hypothesized that women, at the higher levels (D-E) would utilize decreasingly masculine traits to describe a good manager.

Results: This linear trend was not significant for female perceptions of "good managers," with contrast weights of +2, +1, 0, -1, -2, [F (1, 114) = 1.04, p = .31], effect size r = .13. A comparison of the effect sizes suggests, however, that the failure to reject the null hypothesis for the female comparison may have been due to a lack of statistical power. The effect sizes correlations for the male and female linear contrasts were not significantly different from each other, z = .68, p = .25 (1-tailed). The power for the male linear contrast was approximately .79, while the power for the female linear contrast was approximately .29.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Male Managers BSRI Scores for "Good Manager"

	Mean	SD	n	Contrast weights
Level A	-0.47	0.81	27	+2
Level B	-0.57	1.03	60	+1
Level C	-0.58	1.18	40	0
Level D	-0.79	1.02	33	-1
Level E	-1.15	1.01	10	-2

Note. The more positive the score, the more feminine the qualities that were reported; the more negative the score, the more masculine the qualities that were reported (n = 170).

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations for Female Managers BSRI Scores for "Good Manager"

	Mean	SD	n	Contrast weights
Level A	-0.63	.93	63	+2
Level B	-0.26	.76	23	+1
Level C	-0.61	.95	14	0
Level D	-1.2	.99	13	-1
Level E	-.048	.76	6	-2

Note. The more positive the score, the more feminine the qualities that were reported; the more negative the score, the more masculine the qualities that were reported ($n =$ 119).

Additional Statistical Test of Hypotheses 3 & 4

Taken together, hypotheses 3 and 4 propose that there is a curvilinear relationship between managerial level and perceptions of a good manager for the female sample. That is, it was predicted that the female managers would perceive a good manager as increasingly more masculine as one progressed through the three lowest levels of management in the corporation studied (i.e., levels A-C). It was predicted that females who have reached the highest levels of management (i.e., levels D-E) would describe a good manager in decreasingly masculine terms (i.e., in more androgynous terms).

This proposed quadratic relationship between managerial level and BSRI score for perceptions of a good manager was again tested using a contrast. The five managerial levels were assigned the contrast weights of +2, -1, -2, -1, and +2.

This contrast was not statistically significant [F (1, 114) = .46, p = .50], effect size r = .11. The result does not support hypotheses three and four.

The probability of getting a pattern of sample means by chance was approximately 1 of 2 (i.e., p = .50). However, the statistical power (the ability to detect the relationship if it did exist) was extremely low because of the small sample sizes at the two highest levels of management.

Self BSRI Ratings vs. Good Manager BSRI ratings

Finally, Self-BSRI scores and "Good Manager" BSRI scores were correlated for both and male and female samples. This was done to assess the tendency for individuals to describe "Good Managers" on the psychological dimension of sex-role orientation in a manner similar to how they describe themselves.

The correlation between Self-BSRI scores and "Good Manager" BSRI scores was significant for the male sample, r = .47, p = .001. The correlation was also significant for the female sample, r = .40, p = .001. These two correlations were not significantly different from each other, z = .73, p = .23 (1-tailed). This means that individually, both males and females tended to rate themselves and their perceptions of a good manager in a similar manner on the BSRI.

Table 5

Population Demographics

Mgmt Level	Total	Males	%	Females	%
A	1,022	428	42	594	58
B	2,090	1,269	78	651	22
C	906	730	81	176	19
D	297	201	75	66	25
E	134	111	83	23	17
Total	5,249	3,739		1,510	

Table 6

Sample Demographics: BSRI Scores – Self

Mgmt Level	Total	Males	%	Females	%
A	90	27	30	63	70
B	86	62	72	24	28
C	54	40	74	14	26
D	49	35	71	14	29
E	16	10	63	6	37
Total	295	174		121	

Table 7

<u>Sample Demographics: BSRI Scores – Good Managers</u>

Mgmt Level	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>%</u>
A	90	27	30	63	70
B	83	60	72	23	28
C	54	40	74	14	16
D	46	33	72	13	28
E	16	10	63	6	37
Total	289	170		119	

CHAPTER V

Conclusions and Recommendations

Men's Huts

Brave women are entering the men's sacred huts
Where none have trod before.
Some will be eaten by crocodiles, a few will learn the ritual
Dances and be accepted by the tribesman.
But outside the village walls more women wait to come in.
(Josefowitz, 1986, p.86)

Discussion of Results

Although women have made advancements in corporate settings, there still exists

a disproportionate number of men occupying the highest levels of management. There

are multiple explanations for this, and among them is the contribution that perceptions

play as a structural barrier for women. The degree to which "perceptions" are that men

alone possess the requisite characteristics to be a good manager, is the degree to which

women are disadvantaged. If the "perception" of masculinity is that it is opposite and

superior to femininity, women are disadvantaged. If masculine attributes are "perceived"

as normative, these values can and will influence recruitment, selection, and the

development process with gender bias. The degree to which sex-role stereotypes,

particularly perceptions, hinder a woman's ability to advance, had not been empirically

measured in a large corporate setting. Yet, the presence of such a relationship has

significant implications for women. From this theoretical understanding, the research

questions and hypotheses were formulated.

Review of Data Analysis

Several analyses were conducted in order to test the hypotheses regarding perceptions of one's own sex-role identity and perceptions deemed requisite for a good manager. Both women and men, at each of the five levels of management, were asked to describe their own sex-role identity using the Bem Sex-Role Inventory-Revised (BSRI-R). The results of this analysis showed a significant linear trend for males and females. That is, the BSRI-R scores for male and female managers became increasingly more masculine, correspondent with the participants' managerial level. The strength of this linear trend was not significantly different between men and women. This result supported the first hypothesis that stated that male and female managers would report an increasingly masculine sex-role identity, correspondent with their managerial level.

Women and men, at each of the five levels of management, were asked to describe a good manager using the same instrument, the BSRI-R. The results showed a statistically significant linear trend for males across the management levels. Male managers perceived good managers as increasingly more masculine, correspondent with the subjects' higher managerial level. These results supported the second hypothesis that stated that men at all levels of management (A-E) would utilize increasingly masculine traits to describe their perceptions of a good manager, correspondent with their increasing level of management.

A linear trend was not significant, however, for females' perceptions of good managers. Women at each of the managerial levels used masculine terms to describe a good manager, but the scores showed no clear linear trend. This result could not support the third hypothesis that stated that women at the low, middle, and senior (A-C) levels of

management, would use increasingly masculine traits to describe a good manager. Because a linear trend was not found, the fourth hypothesis could not be supported: Women at the higher levels (D-E) would use decreasingly masculine traits to describe a good manager.

Integration of the Findings

Several theoretical concepts formed the foundation for this research study. It is important, therefore, to consider the findings as they relate to this framework. For women in the workplace, occupational roles have often been regarded as extensions of their gender roles and family roles (Fox & Hesse-Biber, 1984). This explains, in part, the popularity among women in the helping professions that encourage the expression of stereotypical feminine traits. Schein (1973) also suggested that sex-role stereotypes could impede the progress of women by creating occupational sex typing.

Throughout the literature on women in management, a "think manager-think male" premise was found (Powell & Butterfield, 1979). Schein (1975) was among the first researchers to demonstrate a relationship between sex-role stereotyping and characteristics perceived as requisite for success as a manager. Her studies, primarily with graduate school business students, reported that both women and men perceived successful managers as having the characteristics most often associated with men.

This study advances the research further. Women and men managers, at all levels in a corporate setting, were asked to describe a good manager, and the results remain similar to that of Schein's more than 25 years ago. The perception remains that good managers possess those characteristics most often associated with men.

Sargent (1981) suggested that women and men use stereotypical leadership styles to some extent, but each adopts the "best of the other's sex qualities to become effective "androgynous managers." The results contained in this study do not support that premise. Men and women consistently view good managers as masculine. Men who describe their own sex-role identity as feminine still described a good manager as masculine. Although a linear trend did not exist for women, at all levels of management ,women used masculine characteristics to describe a good manager.

Korabik (1990) noted the role of stereotyping in encouraging women to adapt to the male model of leadership and to suppress their qualities when working in mixed-gender groups. Male traits have been the standard against which women managers are measured. The current data suggests that, to some degree at least, the masculine standard remains. What cannot be concluded, and offers an opportunity for future study, is the extent to which women have suppressed the feminine characteristics in order to align more closely with that standard.

Korabik (1992) also noted that the more experienced or senior women in organizations tend to be more masculine in leadership style, due to the training they receive in the "values and standards of the male-dominated corporate culture." The current study did not include data on the employee's length of service. As a result, this premise leaves room for further study.

The perception that individuals have about their sex-role identity affects what they do. Long (1989) reported that gender-typed individuals (i.e., feminine women and masculine men) avoid and are uncomfortable performing behaviors typically associated with the other gender, because it is incongruent with their gender-role orientation. The

results of this study support that concept. Women at the higher management levels report their own sex-role identity as masculine, and they also describe a good manager as masculine. Therefore, they are in gender-congruent roles. Conversely, the women who viewed their sex-role identity as more feminine are typically found at the low to middle levels of management. Some scholars suggest that one approach women have utilized is to compensate for being women in male dominated environments. To do this, they underplay feminine qualities and overemphasize masculine (Powell & Butterfield, 1984; Steinberg & Shapiro, 1982). The first female executives, because they were breaking new ground, adhered to many of the "rules of conduct" that spelled success for men (Rosener, 1990).

It can be argued that women learn that in order to move up in an organization, they must learn the objective information and the behavioral skills to level the playing field. Despite the fact that both styles can be strengths, the perception appears to remain that the masculine style has more to offer corporations. The conundrum of sex-role identity in a corporate environment is underscored by this advice from an unknown author, "Look like a lady; act like a man; work like a dog."

Implications of the Study

It must be considered when examining the results that data alone does not define the constructs. Other variables and limitations should be viewed as parts of the whole. No single study can be used as a barometer of change in gender roles and expectations.

The data suggests that women at higher levels of management report an increasingly more masculine sex-role identity. What is not certain is whether this

androgynous style is a learned response to the cues of the environment, or a shift in sex-role identity. There have been cultural changes over the last several decades that have encouraged the development of instrumental traits in women. As such, women may be viewing themselves having incorporated these characteristics.

It appears that culturally there has not been as much success in influencing men toward a more expressive and affective concern for the welfare of others. The data produced a linear trend for males showing an increasingly more masculine sex-role identity as one went up the managerial ranks. The same trend was evident for males asked to describe a good manager.

It can be argued that since organizational power is primarily in the hands of men, the power will be protected by reinforcing the masculine characteristics. The result would be a perpetuation of the current organizational culture. Despite the literature showing that gender diversity and styles, in theory, can be strengths, masculine characteristics continue to be viewed as the norm by which everything is measured. This research suggests that stereotypes of females/males still exist, at least within this particular environment.

Ironically, women are faced with a double-bind situation. It is demonstrated that the male leadership style is preferred and valued. Yet studies have shown that when male and female leaders are compared on such attributes as consideration and initiation, there is no significant different. However, ratings of effectiveness were higher for men (Dobbins & Platz, 1986). Sex differences may play a part in the over-all lower ratings for women leaders from subordinates, even if men and women exhibit the same leadership style (Hansen, 1974). Women in positions of leadership have been devalued relative to

their male counterparts, when leadership was carried out in stereotypically masculine styles (Eagly, Makhijani & Klonsky, 1992).

Limitations of the Study

Most research on sex types had been conducted on samples of college students, not on management samples in a large corporate setting. The studies that were identified were conducted primarily using male participants, due to the preponderance of male leadership. In addition, much of the information gleaned from corporations has been anecdotal, rather than empirical. This research data offers an opportunity to examine the responses of female participants at various levels of corporate management.

When considering the results, it is important to understand some of the limitations inherent in the instrumentation selected. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory-Revised is a self-report instrument and may be subject to bias. The population from which this sample was drawn was culturally diverse. The BSRI-R may not be stable across cultural contexts, since the items for the original instrument were not developed from a broad, diverse sample. The degree to which it is considered culturally sensitive shapes the conclusions that can be drawn from these results. In addition, the characteristics that were socially acceptable at the time of Bem's research, may have changed several decades later. The current study did not require information regarding the age of the respondent. The BSRI was normed on a college sample, while the current data was obtained from a wider generational spread.

American corporations continue to be heavily influenced by masculine values. Traits typically considered masculine, such as instrumental, task-oriented skills, reflect

the socially desirable characteristics of a corporation. As a result, it is important to consider the degree to which methodology influenced responses. Since it is desirable to be masculine, did participants describe themselves and good managers in that manner? In addition, it must be considered that an inherent bias was present due to the setting, which was hierarchical and male-dominated. Results may be different if obtained from a company with a more balanced leadership, or even predominantly female leadership.

Finally, in considering the interpretation of the data, it should be noted that the results might have been of more interest and significance had more managers at the highest executive level responded to the survey. It can be noted that the gender breakdown was not balanced either; however, that serves to punctuate the existence of the problem.

Future Research

Despite the limitations of the study, many areas for continued research have been generated. Additional insight could be gained by measuring other variables that might have influenced the outcome. Demographic information, such as level of education, length of service, ethnicity, race, and age (particularly generational differences) would contribute to the data. Comparing personality types and management styles may be as significant as gender when describing a good manager. Further, a longitudinal study that reported a person's sex-role identity, and perceptions of good managers, as she/he progressed through management levels would be compelling.

Given the changing needs of business and the innovative ways of meeting business needs, it would be fascinating to measure the impact of telecommuting on

promotability. If it can be demonstrated that the majority of managers who telecommute are women trying to balance work and family life, women are again likely to be disadvantaged.

Hopefully one outcome of this study will be to raise a level of awareness to the gender gap that continues to exist. Advancements by women have been made. In order to bridge the gap, however, perceptions must continue to change. As traditional masculine/feminine gender roles are weakening, values attached to those roles also need to weaken. If so, the concept of androgyny will need not exist. In its place will be a respect for the unique differences each person brings to the workplace. People will be rewarded for contributions rather than characteristics. The theory that suggests the value of diversity will become the norm against which everything else is measured.

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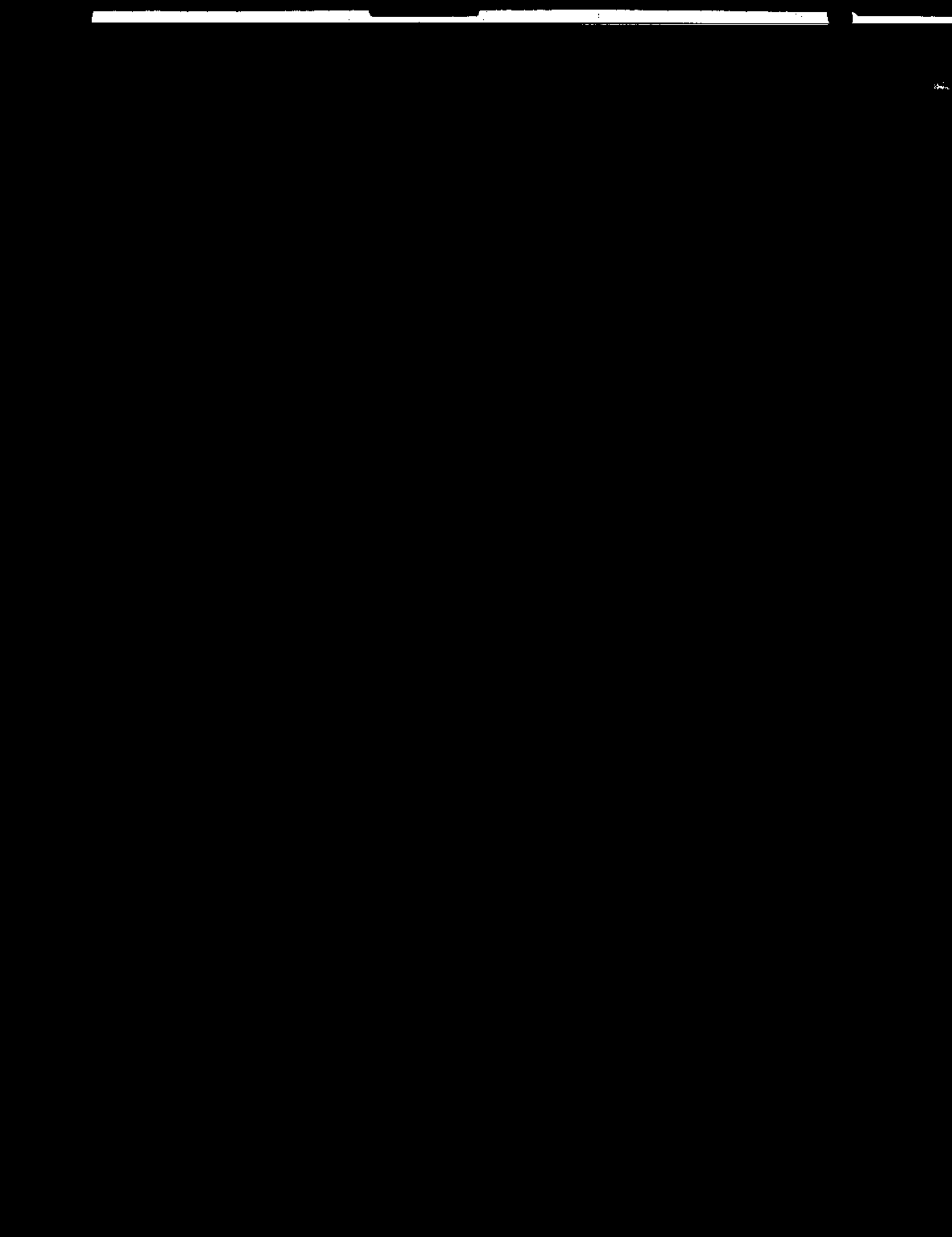
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Appendix A

Consent Form

SETON HALL UNIVERSITY.

1 8 5 6

__Please allow me about 8 minutes of your time__

I am an Employee of Lucent Technologies; however, I write to you, not in that capacity, but as a Doctoral Candidate at Seton Hall University, to enlist your help. This project is a dissertation research study, and the analysis of the data will be included within it. The purpose of the study is to learn what managers believe are the necessary characteristics to be a "good manager." The questionnaire I am using is the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Consulting Press, 1981).

From a list of employees in your location, I randomly selected a group of names from each level of management. Your privacy and anonymity are assured, since no data is requested that would identify you in any way. Your responses are not coded, nor is the return envelope. I will not follow-up, and I have no way to know who has participated.
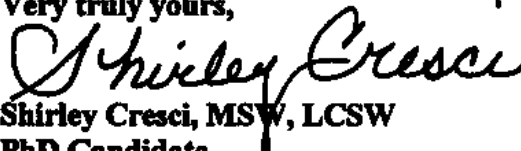
Your participation is strictly voluntary, you may decline without prejudice if you choose, and no one is being compensated for participating. The results of data analysis will be available by request, but only in aggregate and summary form.

While I appreciate the numerous demands upon everyone's schedules, *__this process will take no more than 5-8 minutes__* and I ask your generosity in completing the brief questionnaires.

In the envelope you will find the instructions, questionnaires and a return envelope. Please return the packet to me *__within 5 days.__*

If you have any questions or concerns you would like to discuss, please contact me on either 908-582-4930 or 973-386-6590.

Very truly yours,

Shirley Cresci, MSW, LCSW
PhD Candidate

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Seton Hall University Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects Research. The IRB believes that the research procedures adequately safeguard the subject's privacy, welfare, civil liberties, and rights. The Chairperson of the IRB may be reached through the Office of Grants and Research Services. The telephone number of the Office is (973) 275-2974.

ENRICHING THE MIND, THE HEART AND THE SPIRIT

Appendix B

Instructions

INSTRUCTIONS

1) **Please provide the following demographic information:**

- Female _____   Male _____

- Indicate your equivalent level of management:

- SG 1-5 _____   SG B _____   SG C _____   SG D _____   SG E _____

- MTS _____   TMGR _____   DMTS _____   Other _____

- Years of Service _____ Occupation _____

2) On the sheet marked "*Self*" you will find listed a number of personality characteristics. Please use those characteristics to describe yourself; that is, indicate on a scale from 1 to 7, how true each of these characteristics is for you. *PLEASE DO NOT LEAVE ANY CHARACTERISTIC UNMARKED.*

   Example: sly

   · Write 1 if it is *never or almost never true* that you are sly.
   Write 2 if it is *usually not true* that you are sly.
   Write 3 if it is *sometimes but infrequently true* that you are sly.
   Write 4 if it is *occasionally true* that you are sly.
   Write 5 if it is *often true that you are sly.*
   Write 6 if it is *usually true* that you are sly.
   Write 7 if it is *always or almost always true* that you are sly.

3) On the sheet marked "*Good Manager*" use the same scale to indicate the degree to which that characteristic should describe a "*Good Manager,*" and again *PLEASE DO NOT LEAVE ANY CHARACTERISTICS UNMARKED.*

4) Please put the 3 sheets (this one and the inventories marked "Self" and "Good Manager") into the enclosed addressed envelope and return within 5 days.

Thank you very much for participating.

BSRI Short Form
(Consulting Psychologists Press, 1981)

Below are listed a number of characteristics. Please use those characteristics to describe "*Yourself.*" Indicate on a scale from 1 to 7 how true each characteristic would be *of you.* PLEASE DO NOT LEAVE ANY BLANK.

1) never or almost never true
2) usually not true
3) sometime but infrequently true
4) occasionally true
5) often true
6) usually true
7) always or almost always true

"Yourself"

1. Defend their own beliefs	___	16. Have leadership abilities	___
2. Affectionate	___	17. Eager to soothe hurt feelings	___
3. Conscientious	___	18. Secretive	___
4. Independent	___	19. Willing to take risks	___
5. Sympathetic	___	20. Warm	___
6. Moody	___	21. Adaptable	___
7. Assertive	___	22. Dominant	___
8. Sensitive to needs of others	___	23. Tender	___
9. Reliable	___	24. Conceited	___
10. Strong Personality	___	25. Willing to take a stand	___
11. Understanding	___	26. Love children	___
12. Jealous	___	27. Tactful	___
13. Forceful	___	28. Aggressive	___
14. Compassionate	___	29. Gentle	___
15. Truthful	___	30. Conventional	___