Mary L. Connerley
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Handbook on Well-Being of Working Women

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Contents

Part I

Introduction

Uncovering the Complexities of the Relationship Between Women and Well-Being in the Workplace: An Introduction

Mary L. Connerley and Jiyun Wu

Part I – Introduction

The well-being of all employees has important implications for individuals, organizations and society. Individuals with a greater sense of well-being have been found to have greater success in life, better health, greater career success and better relationships with others (Robertson and Cooper 2011). Within organizations, increased well-being among employees has been associated with higher customer satisfaction (Moliner et al. 2008), greater productivity, higher profitability, lower employee turnover and decreased absence levels (Harter et al. 2003). Finally, one only needs to consider the positives resulting from increased well-being at the individual and organizational levels to understand the societal benefits from enhanced well-being.

In over 50 years of research on the quality of working life and diversity, an under-researched area deals with the well-being of women in the workplace. As labor force participation among women continues to rise, the well-being of working women is of increasing concern. The focus on women is warranted because the issues that women face at work and at home often differ from the issues faced by men based on different work and family roles. Many occupations are considered gendered, with the lower status, lower paid positions often being associated with feminine characteristics. Additionally, Employment relationships are increasingly personalized, which may disadvantage members of some demographic groups (Kulik and Olekains 2011).

The well-being of working women is of critical importance. The goal of this handbook is to provide a thorough and comprehensive review and to engage and stimulate scholars as they consider the importance and complexities associated with the well-being of working women. The philosophical underpinnings of well-being date back to ancient Greece (Ryan and Deci 2001) and typically research subscribes to either the "hedonic view" or the "eudaimonic view". The "hedonic view" focuses on maximizing pleasure as the goal of life and the source of happiness. This view is most closely associated with the modern conceptualization of subjective well-being (Sirgy et al. 2006). The "eudaimonic view" focuses on living a life of virtue (Ryan and Deci 2001) and fulfillment. This view is often concerned with self-realization, personal growth and development and is most closely associated with the term

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"psychological well-being" (Ryff and Keyes 1995). In addition to psychological and subjective well-being, additional components or categorizations have been developed such as physical well-being, social well-being (Robertson and Cooper 2011), career well-being, financial well-being, community well-being (Rath and Harter 2010), family and cultural well-being, economic and work-related well-being, residential well-being, sexual and relationship well-being, health-related well-being, and well-being related factors associated with the feminist movement (Sirgy 2012). While the majority of the chapters utilize some aspect of either the "hedonic view" or the "eudaimonic view" the authors of the chapters were encouraged to conceptualize well-being to best fit the context of their chapter. Thus, the handbook provides broad coverage across many different categorizations of well-being allowing for an enriched and insightful view of this complex topic.

The rest of this handbook is laid out in five parts and an epilogue. The chapters of this handbook were organized to provide a range of perspectives based on multiple, yet related themes. First, chapters focusing on Gender, Social Group Hierarchy, and Well-Being of Working Women are offered. Next, chapters covering Women Leaders and Well-Being are provided followed by chapters highlighting the Professional Context and the Well-Being of Working Women. Then, chapters covering Public Policy, Organizational Policy and Societal Influences on the Well-Being of Working Women are provided and finally, chapters identifying the Cross-Cultural and Country-Specific Context and the Well-Being of Working Women: A Global Perspective are offered. The grouping of chapters within each section of the handbook offers parsimony and although a few chapters could have been included in multiple sections, the dominant focus of the chapter drove the decision of placement.

Each and every woman deserves a high quality life as defined by her. This is true across all organizational contexts, levels within organizations, policy issues and cultural settings. The focus on the well-being of working women provided in this handbook is a step in that direction. And the good news is that interventions and research aimed at enhancing women's well-being can ultimately benefit, women, men, organizations and society as a whole.

Part II – Gender, Social Group Hierarchy, and Well-Being of Working Women

In an exploration of the relationship between multiple forms of discrimination and well-being, Combs and Milosevic focus particular attention on the well-being of minority women who face a dual stigmatization on both gender and race/ethnicity. The authors reveal that work disengagement is one of the most common buffers used by minority women to protect themselves from daily discrimination. By focusing on the intersectionality of race and gender, Combs and Milosevic provide insightful prescriptions to help support and fully engage all employees, and in particular, minority women who are especially vulnerable to subtle discrimination in the workplace.

Also focusing on dual stigmatization, Bartels examines weight discrimination and gender. In a review of the literature, Bartels finds that overweight females face employment and wage penalties at a higher rate compared to overweight males or normal weight females. Also, women were twice as likely to report height/weight discrimination compared to men and perceived more discrimination at lower weight levels. Given the general lack of legislative protection for overweight employees, Bartels provides several employment strategies for both employers and job candidates to help reduce weight discrimination which will help employers recruit from an applicant pool that has not been artificially limited and will help individuals increase their sense of well-being in the workplace.

Reminding us that not all lesbians share the same pressures and that there is no single notion of lesbian identity, Woodruffe-Burton explores lesbian women's work experiences focusing on issues of stereotyping and discrimination. She

discusses the complexities of seeking employment and early career development issues and the many considerations that go into the decision of whether to come out at work and face the risk of discrimination or to stay 'in the closet' with the result being that lesbian employees cannot fully be themselves at work. Woodruffe-Burton captures the constant pressures that lesbians face related to identity management in a heteronormative culture and the privileges that often are associated with heterosexuality or assumed heterosexuality.

With the assumption that intergenerational conflict exists in the workplace and that it is particularly salient for women who struggle to find work-life balance, Heath provides a discourse-based discussion on how generational differences may influence the way women (primarily professional) balance work-life issues. Heath provides evidence that suggests that the way women work in the future will be challenged by generational responses to gendered structures within the organization.

Focusing on sexual harassment in the workplace Holland and Cortina provide a thorough review of recent literature (mid 1990s to present) and deliver information on the prevalence and impact of sexual harassment in the lives of working women. The authors provide evidence and discuss how different features of context, such as organizational culture, power, training, and policies influence harassment in the workplace based on sex and gender. As their research shows, although gains have been made, sexual harassment is still a gendered form of abuse that takes place all too often in organizations and until it is stopped, it poses a serious threat to the well-being of working women.

Parks, Lundberg-Love, Luft, Stewart and Peddy focus on understanding how mental illness impacts working women and discuss how mental health professionals can better understand this important issue to limit the negative impact and enhance work-related functioning and well-being. As a large percentage of the workforce and frequently marginalized related to workplace equal treatment, women face unique challenges and deserve more attention since evidence has shown that one size fits all policies do not lead to women reaching their maximum potential in the workplace. After an in-depth review of the literature, the authors provide a comprehensive list (although as they state, no list could be all-inclusive) of individual and collective interventions that must be offered together for long-term success to even be an option related to mental illness and well-being.

Parks et al. state that stress can be a root cause of mental illness or that it can absolutely exacerbate existing mental illness to a dangerous level. They also state that pinpointing stress can be as difficult as pinpointing mental illness. Fortunately, Richardsen, Traavik, and Burke provide an in-depth review on job stress and how it impacts working women. Their review shows that women face unique stressors and that they respond differently to general stressors compared to men. The authors provide information on primary prevention efforts that focus on the stress that politics, discrimination, work overload, barriers to achievement, sexual harassment and work home conflict (Burke 1996) cause women in the workplace; secondary prevention efforts that highlight what women can do to manage their own responses to stress such as exercise or other ways to release tension; and tertiary prevention efforts that focus on addressing the stress that is associated with executive life. Both organizations and women need to play a role in recognizing stress, the special needs of women and the impact on their well-being.

In the final chapter of this section, Lips discusses the worldwide persistent problem of the gender pay gap. The widening pay gap that exists between women and men in families with at least one child reveals that women are making job-related compromises much more often than men. Lips points out that a key variable in satisfaction and perceived fairness with pay is often related to different factors for women and men. Some women feel a lower level of entitlement compared to men, which means women may be satisfied even when they are paid less. As Lips points out, the well-being of working women is negatively affected by the gender pay gap which also damages society by discouraging women, limiting their ability to express their talents and reducing their overall contributions.

Part III – Women Leaders and Well-Being

Elsesser starts out this section of the Handbook with a review of the literature addressing gender bias against female leaders. Elsesser's review reveals that that bias exhibited against female leaders in the literature is often associated with studies that used hypothetical or laboratory-created leaders. On a positive note, in most studies where actual leaders were evaluated, little or no bias was found. While this is a positive research outcome, Elsesser cautions the reader that considerable bias still exists against female leaders in general, and in situations where little information is known about a female leader, male preference may dominate impressions, seriously compromising a female leader's ability to lead and negatively influencing her well-being.

Huffman focuses his chapter on women's differential access to managerial jobs as a key factor in generating and sustaining inequality in the workplace since managers play a critical role in decisions about hiring, compensation and other important organizational policies and procedures that affect inequality. Huffman provides an examination of trends reflecting women's status in management positions and he uses EEO-1 data to address the difficult question of whether female managers really matter. Although a complicated empirical matter, evidence suggests that women's increased access to managerial positions leads to weaker gender inequality at lower levels throughout an organization, suggesting that as women move up the hierarchical ranks, women at lower levels also benefit.

In an examination of how women's well-being in the workplace is both enhanced and diminished by other women, Kulik, Metz, and Gould review several different literatures to provide a better understanding of how both social and structural factors influence this interesting outcome. A review of relational demography literature focused on sex effects in groups and sex effects in dyads suggests that women experience positive psychological outcomes as a result of working for other women. However, psychologi-

cal well-being may not be accompanied by economic well-being, forcing women to choose between the two. Reviewing relational demography literature focused on sex effects across levels, the authors found, similar to Huffman, that women in top management positions positively influenced subsequent female representation in middle management positions.

All leaders are expected to express appropriate emotions in the workplace, but as Smith, Brescoll and Thomas point out, women have a narrower range of emotions that they can display in the workplace without penalty. The authors discuss the consequences of this double standard for women's well-being in the workplace. Finally the authors discuss the interesting intersection of gender, emotion expression and race since group memberships related to race or ethnicity, in addition to gender, may influence expectations for emotional expressions and subsequent evaluations.

Ehrich and Kimber review the literature on mentoring and the influence that it can have on women in management positions. After providing evidence of the lack of women in management positions world-wide, the authors provide both theoretical and empirical research related to mentoring before delivering illustrations of current mentoring programs for women. The contribution of different types of mentoring is discussed including the relatively new e-mentoring. The authors conclude that women have much to gain from different types of mentoring and also state that ongoing research is needed to strengthen our knowledge and understanding of the antecedents and outcomes of mentoring.

In a qualitative study based on an analysis of discourse, Chasserio, Poroli and Redien-Collot interviewed six entrepreneurial women leaders in France representing high growth industry and service sectors. By focusing on entrepreneurial women, the traditional gender norms that women often have to comply with to be successful are not necessarily part of the organizational context, in fact, the entrepreneurial women leaders can establish their own norms and traditions. In addition to a review of recent theoretical developments, the authors share what was learned

from the women entrepreneurs and suggest a possible redesign of leadership with regards to well-being at work.

Part IV – Professional Context and the Well-Being of Working Women

In the first chapter related to Professional Context, LaPierre, Hill and Jones focus on the well-being of women in the field of medicine, particularly related to women who choose to become physicians. Despite a rise in the number of female physicians in the United States, gender equity has not been met since women generally concentrate in lower status health occupations and are under-represented in leadership and management positions. Research suggests that women still experience a great deal of discrimination in medical school and in practicing medicine due to existing cultural norms. The chapter includes examination of continued gender disparities in medical specialties, career advancement and compensation as well as highlighting some of the experiences of female physicians, barriers that still exist and efforts that have been made to increase the well-being of female physicians.

Complementing the previous chapter by providing an empirical study within the healthcare industry, Wang, Wagner, Boyar, Corman and McKinley examine emotional and instrumental organizational family support, core self evaluations and burnout for 364 nurses (all female). Results from this study found that both types of organizational family support and core self evaluations were negatively related to burnout. Since women are facing escalating commitment to multiple life roles and an increasing need to balance work and family life, the results of this study have important implications for the well-being of women in the workplace. The personal characteristics of female employees in the healthcare industry should be considered in the design of organizational stress-intervention policies and a one-size-fits all strategy should be avoided for optimal results.

Changing the organizational context to traditionally male-dominated information technology (IT) firms, Drury examines factors related to the under-representation of women in IT. After sharing statistics that show that even with recent programs targeted to girls and women, the percentage of females in high tech occupations remains dismally low, Drury discusses interconnected factors that influence these numbers. These factors include misperceptions related to IT jobs, a lack of role models, mentors and sponsors, occupational jurisdiction in IT, and the gendered elements inherent in organizations. Finally, acknowledging that the mental, physical and financial well-being of women is complex, Drury states that women in IT must identify their personal and professional goals and take action, understanding that sacrifices are often made. But in the end, if change occurs and established patterns, beliefs and values are reconfigured, everyone's well-being could be enhanced.

Highlighting another professional context that has been traditionally male-dominated, Okpechi and Belmasrour developed a conceptual framework and provide an analysis of the results of a questionnaire that was returned by 38 female accountants from five states in the United States. In general, the women respondents rate positively their status within an accounting firm and the investments they made and returns they receive from being practicing accountants. However, the authors also note that promotion into strategic positions within accounting firms is constrained by the firm, family and gender inequality issues and long standing traditions in the accounting field with serious implications for female accountants' well-being.

Using a theoretical framework of professional careers in general, Tremblay focuses on lawyers in particular to address the important and timely question: to what extent is one's relationship to work and family shaped by his or her profession? From a sample of 115 lawyers, 46 (17 men and 29 women) were chosen to represent a variety of law practices. Interviews averaging 1.25 h in length were conducted. The analysis confirms the great difficulty in balancing work and family for all lawyers, but especially for female lawyers. Much is gained in the excerpts included from the

interviews. For example, the strategies and/or coping mechanisms developed over time and shaped by continued subjugation of the lawyers' experience and values offers valuable insight. Tremblay concludes that it is very difficult to be both a parent and a lawyer at the same time, causing many lawyers, especially women, to opt for other career paths.

Presenting another type of professional context, Eikhof examines constraints and hidden obstacles related to two relatively recent workplace developments, namely knowledge work and flexible work arrangements. Both of these developments appear to be supportive of women's workforce participation and advancement, but as Eikhof discusses, knowledge work can require a strong professional network and geographic and temporal mobility in an often precarious employment situation. Additionally, flexible working can create the expectation of 24/7 availability and often blurs the line between work and non-work resulting in conflict in both places. Women must also guard against problematic gender implications including invisibility and undervaluation of work since both can provide serious problems for both work-life balance and professional advancement.

Providing women-owned firms as another professional context, Coleman finds that women-owned firms perform similarly to firms owned by men when factors such as industry, firm size, firm age and growth are controlled. Firm size and growth are two primary areas where performance differences persist and the majority of women launch small, lifestyle firms, unlike the high growth entrepreneurial firms highlighted by Chasserio et al. in the previous section. Coleman finds that women face a barrier to entry in high growth industries due to differential access to resources such as human, social and financial capital and factors such as possible lower levels of entrepreneurial self efficacy and higher levels of risk aversion, different goals, and life/family situations. Finally, Coleman discusses areas where gains are being made by women which will lead to a broader array of options available to suit everyone's entrepreneurial desires.

Shortland provides the oil and gas exploration industry as the final professional context. She reveals survey results from 71 female assignees working in 17 host countries and provides excerpts and analysis of interviews from 12 women expatriates to uncover the factors related to their decision to work in highly gendered geographies, far from family in remote locations that are climatically harsh and can be dangerous. Results showed that some women expatriates thrive on adventure, the challenge and self discovery that comes with working in the oil and gas exploration industry, however, the same female expats also often found the blurring of work and non-work boundaries and often had to conform with local behavioral norms for their own safety. Support systems provided by organizations were highly valued by the women and could make a big difference in their well-being at work.

Part V – Public Policy, Organizational Policy and Societal Influences on the Well-Being of Working Women

In the first chapter in this section, Sabattini and Crosby examine policies, programs, and practices that can result in more gender-inclusive work environments and help both men and women better manage work-life responsibilities. Specifically, the authors provide an examination of national and state laws related to work-family and work-life concerns. Next they detail organizational programs and practices such as access to leave policies, work-life programs and an emphasis on flexibility. Finally, suggestions are offered that could result in increased effectiveness of programs offered and they highlight the potential for broader cultural change within organizations which would benefit the well-being of working women.

Another important gap that negatively affects working women's well-being is the gender-career estimation gap. Kaiser provides a theoretical framework to help understand the self-underestimated career prospects of women and he provides examples of statistical discrimi-

nation in the labor market. Both of these realities are assessed as a self-fulfilling prophecy-phenomenon which work to women's disadvantage in the labor market. Next, Kaiser, presents the results from an empirical study that provides evidence of a gender-career estimation gap for German public sector workers that likely underestimates the career prospects of women worldwide.

Camp, Trzcinski and Resko explore the historical and cultural context of working women in Germany and discuss the reasons for recent labor market policy changes and how these changes could affect women from various socioeconomic groups differently. Next, the authors use data to explore women's satisfaction with life, work, child care and health, all which influence the well-being of working women. Finally, the well-being of women at different education levels, vulnerable women, women with disabilities and women with children is examined along with implications for part time work.

Cram, Alkadry and Tower address two inter-related questions facing women who want to achieve both a successful career and a fulfilling family life: Are there career costs for family life? Are there social costs to career success? To address these important questions, the authors explore the tradeoff between family and career for women in both public and private US companies. Then the authors trace the roots of the problem. Finally, the authors recommend organizational, policy and societal remedies to improve the employer-employee mismatch related to work-life balance or satisfaction. A key take away from this chapter is that neither women nor men can truly 'have it all' but that a balance must be found where career success is not defined by complete devotion to work, and family success is not dependent on unfair distribution of family duties.

Lyonette, Baldauf and Behle examine part-time work in the European Union and other developed countries followed by a review of qualitative data gathered from the United Kingdom government-funded Quality Part-Time Work Fund initiative which was implemented to increase the availability of better part-time job opportunities. The costs and benefits of increasing quality part-time work are discussed along with how quality part-time jobs improve the balance between work and family roles for mothers. The authors conclude with a discussion of the implications of this research on women's work-life balance and overall well-being.

In a twist to the more common decision of opting out of professional careers to become mothers, Biese and McKie present four case studies drawn from the narratives of 16 professional women living and working in the United States and Finland who have chosen to opt in. The choice of these two countries offers an interesting cultural context since the two countries are both similar and different in important ways. The authors explore how organizational culture influences individuals' identities and how they make sense of themselves and their careers, which influences the choices that they make. Next, the idea of reinvention related to opting in is discussed along with an analysis of the relevant issues affecting the decision to opt in and the implications for well-being.

Peterson provides a broad overview of the impact that the longest economic downturn since World War II (labeled the Great Recession dated 2007–2009) had on the well-being of women working in the United States. Peterson provides a feminist economist framework which offers insights for examining how women's positions changed during the recovery period. The literature review highlights the importance of recognizing the complex relationships between the well-being of working women, macroeconomic factors, labor market, family structures and gender belief systems.

Utilizing a longitudinal case study methodology, Vázquez-Carrasco, López-Pérez and Centeno interviewed six women in management positions in Spain at two different periods of their professional lives. The timing of the interviews (2008–2013) is important due to changes the women faced in both work and family settings, but another important variable is the change in economic and labor conditions in Spain due to the same global economic downfall discussed in the previous chapter. The analysis revealed five compelling themes

associated with possible gender-related discrimination, attitudes towards labor risk and financial problems, reasons why women may decide on a new business, work-family conflict and women in foreign business. The results suggest that in a short time frame, the job environment changed considerably and employment relationships took a severe downturn not experienced before, negatively impacting the well-being of working women.

Saunders provides the final chapter in this section by reviewing ways a feminist perspective can help women in the workplace by challenging traditional gender-roles, providing a context for discrimination and offering an increased sense of competency managing, which could lead to an increase in well-being. Saunders discusses the link between feminism and specific outcomes such as mental health, improved working conditions, career fulfillment, adversity in the workplace, work/life balance and inequality in the workplace. Finally, she links Feminist Identity Development with well-being in the workplace and provides recommendations for a more equitable work place.

Part VI – Cross-Cultural and Country-Specific Context and the Well-Being of Working Women: A Global Perspective

While some of the previous chapters may have included a sample from a specific country, if the focal point of the chapter was not about the geographic location, then the chapter was not included in this section. This section focusing on providing a global vision is reserved for chapters where the global context of the chapter or location of the sample provided a primary focal point of the chapter.

Punnett provides a true global perspective as she focuses on how women are faring in the workforce around the world. The evidence presented reveals that women are improving their status in the workplace, but that major challenges are still faced in all countries. Punnett reports the findings from a Gallup poll that suggest that, worldwide, men are twice as likely to

have "good jobs" compared to women which obviously could have detrimental impacts on the well-being of working women everywhere. Interestingly, Punnett's review of the literature suggests that the challenges facing women globally differ in degree, but not kind—stereotypes are common around the world and women's primary role is often seen as a caretaker for the family.

Utilizing the World Values Survey with a sample of nearly 70,000 individuals from around 50 countries, M. Salinas-Jiménez, Artés and J. Salinas-Jiménez's chapter examines the role that educational attainment and different patterns of work play in influencing the life satisfaction of men and women while also examining the social context related to gender inequality across countries. Their results suggest social roles matter in shaping perceptions of well-being for both men and women. Specifically, for many variables, such as income, health, age, religiosity, men and women's subjective well-being is affected in similar ways, but for other variables, such as education, professional status, and the role of the main wage earner in the household, well-being impacts in significantly different ways depending on gender, especially in countries where gender inequality is higher compared to countries with low gender inequality.

Bericat's chapter provides a comparative analysis of European women's socioemotional well-being across different employment situations. Data were drawn from a module of the Socioemotional Well-Being Index which is a composite indicator of subjective well-being based on sociological theories of emotion. Results reveal that European women score 12 and a half points lower than men on socioemotional well-being suggesting that there is gender inequality throughout Europe on this important measure. Bericat also discusses outcomes on the measure related to working status for women, age, education, chronic illness or disability, unemployment, job insecurity self-employment and other variables of interest. This comprehensive overview suggests that the well-being of individuals is socially conditioned and requires rigorous study.

In a review of the gender division of housework, Baxter and Tai provide primary theoretical perspectives and important empirical research. Examining data from the International Social Survey Program, Baxter and Tai find that across 29 countries, women spend, on average, 20 h per week on household chores and men spend 7–9 h per week. The findings show wide variations across countries which has implications for time pressure, work-family conflict and general happiness, all of which affect well-being.

Ngo and Liu's chapter examines the cultural and economic context in China that impacts organizational practices, conditions for employment and employees' work orientations and values. Ngo and Liu also provide a thorough review of research on the job and career satisfaction of Chinese workers while identifying important personal, family-related and work-related antecedents focusing on variables that have been found to affect gender differences in satisfaction at work.

Focusing on working women in Arab countries, Sidani provides a 'cautious optimism' perspective. He acknowledges the unique institutional factors in the Arab world that obstruct women's progress and have a negative impact on their quality of life, while also providing arguments that suggest why 'cautious optimism' is warranted.

Concentrating specifically on the experiences of educated women in Iran, Mehdizadeh discusses the challenges that working mothers face when trying to balance work and family. She reveals the high level of anxiety that Iranian mothers face related to the emotional, physiological and educational elements related to their child while they are working. Although some organizations have instituted family-friendly policies and there are well-developed government policies regarding work and care reconciliation, the sociocultural norms in Iran lead to great pressure and decreased well-being (both physical and psychological) as women balance their triple roles as employee, wife, and mother.

In another country-specific chapter, Noor and Mahudin examine work, family and women's well-being in Malaysia. Similar to Iran, the sociocultural historical context greatly influences the perceptions of the importance of the roles that men and women take. Noor and Mahudin share several recommendations to increase the well-being of Malaysian women in the workplace including, but not limited to, viewing work-family issues as social issues instead of personal problems and mandating public and private sector firms to offer family-friendly workplace policies. Finally, the authors suggest that a new 'cultural policy' is needed that creates new social norms. While this may be a daunting task, it is one that is needed.

Seeking to investigate the reality of women on the Boards of Directors in Brazilian companies, Lazzaretti and Godoi use Human Capital Theory as a framework. They utilize both theoretical and empirical research and statistical data to show the rates of female participation in the Brazilian marketplace and Boards, and they also provide insight and solutions based on a qualitative study analyzing the education and professional experiences of Brazilian female directors. Results revealed inequality of opportunities for women and a strong influence of family ties with company owners.

In the final chapter that focuses on a specific country, Karim and Law acknowledge the important influence of microcredit participation on the empowerment and well-being of women in Bangladesh. The authors conducted a study using a cross-sectional design and a sample of 342 married men from villages in northwest Bangladesh. Results showed that 52 % of married women were microcredit participants but that in 81 % of the cases, the loans were fully controlled by their husbands. The husband's gender ideology had a significant influence on both household male dominance and women's active microcredit participation. The authors suggest that future research address resource and power imbalances between a husband and wife in relationship with microcredit participation.

In a review of theoretical and empirical studies addressing how women's workforce participation in developing countries impacts the risk of spousal violence against them, Chin,

unfortunately, found consistent support for a violence-triggering effect of female employment. In fact, one study reviewed found that women in professional occupations that have the most bargaining power faced that highest risk of spousal violence. Chin suggests that a sophisticated approach is needed as policies related to women's empowerment and attainment of bargaining power are developed in patriarchal societies.

Finally, in a review of literature related to discrimination and workplace stigma against women living with immunodeficiency virus (HIV) in Sub-Saharan African countries, Icheku found overwhelming evidence for the negative impact that HIV has on the well-being of working women. In addition to the physical demands of living with HIV, the stigma and discrimination associated with the disease causes constant stress, worries and anxiety. Many workers, especially women, deal with unauthorized disclosure of the disease which often leads to stigmatizing and discriminatory behaviors. Icheku provides two workplace programs to minimize the negative impact of HIV-related stigma and discrimination on women in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Part VII – Epilogue

The final section of the handbook provides a thought-provoking discussion focusing on women's eudaemonia (well-being, happiness, fulfilled life). Based on a gap in existing happiness/well-being/quality-of-life research, the epilogue proposes feminist eudaemonia as a promising research direction to promote women's eudaemonic well-being. To help further the scholarly area of feminist eudaimonia, sixteen primary research questions are posed, many with sub-questions, offering a platform for rich investigations, analyses, and examinations to inform future theoretical frameworks, qualitative and quantitative studies, and policy generation across organizations and societies.

Conclusion

This handbook provides extensive and in-depth analyses of high quality scholarship of the important topic of the well-being of working women. Whether from an eudaimonic or hedonic view, it is our hope that it will be used to stimulate further discussion and research while also influencing decision makers in organizations and society with the practical implications suggested to enhance the well-being of working women.

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Part II

Gender, Social Group Hierarchy, and Well-Being of Working Women

Workplace Discrimination and the Wellbeing of Minority Women: Overview, Prospects, and Implications

Gwendolyn M. Combs and Ivana Milosevic

Introduction

The positive outcomes of employee wellbeing have received increased attention (Berry et al. 2010; Wright et al. 1993; Wright and Cropanzano 2000). The term wellbeing encompasses numerous concepts such as happiness, life satisfaction, quality of work or personal life; and can be general or domain specific (Anderson et al. 2011). Research demonstrates that individual wellbeing is a critical antecedent to sustainable employee performance and retention (Avey et al. 2010; Cropanzano and Wright 2001; Piccolo et al. 2012). Wellbeing is also positively associated with social relationships (Diener and Seligman 2002) and mental and physical functioning (Roysamb et al. 2003).

Although research regarding wellbeing in the workplace is strong, the connection of discrimination and workplace inequalities to the wellbeing of minority women has not gained a prominent place in this discourse (Buzzanell et al. 2007; Hughes and Dodge 1997). According to the 2010 US Census, women of color comprise 33 % of the women in the workforce (Burns et al. 2012). The sizable representation of minority women in the US workforce suggests that the voices of minority women are important to the discussion of workplace wellbeing. Additionally, the intersectionality of race and gender may result in work experiences that may be attributed to identity salient prescriptions (e.g., harassment/discrimination) that may affect interpretations of work context (Buzzanell et al. 2007; Combs 2003). Such identity salient interpretations may, in turn, influence individual determinations of wellbeing.

Workplace discrimination research suggests that stress and health related disorders are associated with perceived discrimination (Ganster and Rosen 2013). For example, Minor-Rubino and Cortina (2007) propose that whether direct, indirect or vicarious, experienced inequality and discrimination can affect the wellbeing of women. Moreover, such stressors can increase vulnerability to illness including mental and physical disorders (Ganster and Rosen 2013). In addition to access discrimination in the hiring process, minority women hold a peculiar position in gendered pay disparities and inequities in promotion and career progression (Catalyst 2013a). This irregular position in relationship to majority women may

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potentially compound a negative perception/experience of wellbeing for minority women.

Research inquiring into the effects of discrimination on individual wellbeing in the workplace is relatively new, with the majority of the research cited in this chapter conducted primarily over the last 10 years. In addition, research into the relationship between minority women wellbeing and experiences of discrimination is particularly recent and scarce (Berdahl and Moore 2006; Pascoe and Richman 2009). Therefore, in this chapter we illuminate some of the recent findings to draw attention to the wellbeing of minority women in the workplace. More specifically, this chapter will be organized as follows. We first report research findings in the area of discrimination and its negative impact on wellbeing. Next, borrowing from the literature on gender discrimination, we illuminate the disparate workplace experiences faced by women that result in and contribute to gender based inequalities and discrimination. Borrowing from the general gender discrimination literature is necessary because the disaggregation of data regarding discrimination towards minority women is not common. Then, we apply the negative health outcomes of discrimination and gendered experiences of women to actual and perceived wellbeing of minority women. Finally, we will offer suggestions for managers and researchers on how to move forward. Specifically, we will discuss two levels of action: (1) The organizational level, or how organizational process systems should be redesigned so they are more inclusive and attentive to the concerns of minority women; and (2) the individual level, or how minority women may build their psychological capacity for sustainability and minimize the impact of discrimination on their wellbeing generally and at work.

The convergence of the impact of discrimination, work experiences of women of color, and workplace wellbeing is important for two reasons. First, most research on discrimination and employee wellbeing targets either majority women (in terms of gender) or minority men (in terms of race (Combs 2003). This focus results in a fractured and incomplete understanding of wellbeing and the intersectionality of race and gender for women of color. Second, the increasing number of minority women entering the

workplace and the demonstrated connection between wellbeing and work performance makes it critically important for organizations to recognize and attend to the duality of race and gender on wellbeing.

Discrimination and Wellbeing in the Workplace

Research continues to espouse the benefits of diversity and organizations are admonished to initiate practices that encourage more inclusive work environments (Pascoe and Richman 2009; Roberson 2006; Shore et al. 2011). Although access based discrimination may have dissipated over the years, research suggests that members of stigmatized groups (e.g., women, racial and ethnic minorities, and older workers) are more likely to experience discrimination compared to members of non-stigmatized groups and are more likely to be disadvantaged (Crocker and Major 1989; Grossman 2000; John J. Heldrich Center 2002). For example, EEOC charges from 2007 to 2008 rose to a record high of 95,402 (15 % increase). Charges reached 99,947 in 2011 with 99,412 charges in 2012. Race and gender charges comprise 33.7 % and 30.5 % respectively of all charges in 2012 (EEOC 2013). These statistics suggest that instances of workplace discrimination remain an issue.

Discrimination and Health Influences

The continued prevalence of workplace discrimination is of concern due to its adverse effect on individual stress and aspects of wellbeing (Ryff et al. 2003). For example, Inzlicht et al. (2006) found that individuals whose stigma was made salient are more likely to experience discrimination and are consequently more likely to have impaired self-control compared to those whose stigma is not salient. The experience of discrimination may leave individuals with fewer resources for engaging in healthy behaviors and productive work. Studies have found that high levels of discrimination or prejudice can negatively impact the psychological and physical wellbeing of its

targets (Clark et al. 1999; Ganster and Rosen 2013; Gee et al. 2007)

The high occurrence of discrimination coupled with the covert, subtle and aversive nature of "modern racism" or "current day" discrimination may contribute to more psychological and emotional trauma associated with discriminatory acts. For example, aversive racism describes a form of implicit prejudicial behavior where discriminatory acts are committed by those who believe they hold egalitarian non-biased beliefs and values (Dovidio et al. 2002). Similarly, Brief et al. (2000) demonstrated that modern racism is a function of perceived or actual sanction of discriminatory behavior couched in the context of a legitimate business justification. Drawing from McConahay (1986), Brief and colleagues suggest that the primary tenets of modern racism include taken for truth beliefs such as: discrimination is a relic of past decades, blacks [minorities] are pushing too hard; blacks [minorities] are receiving gains, status, and attention that is undeserved; methods and demands of blacks [minorities] are unfair; and that racism is wrong (for a full description see, Brief et al. 2000). In summary, those operating under the tenets of modern racism do not see themselves as racists and work to protect a non-racist image.

Minority groups may rely more on nonverbal behavior in cross racial interactions (Dovidio et al. 2002), so reactions to aversive and modern racism may be exacerbated. For example, in a social gathering one author of this chapter directly observed a minority woman demonstrate intense psychological and emotional anguish as she attempted to explain her challenge of figuring out the meaning and motivation of cues in her work environment. She talked about cues that on the one hand praised her skills and expertise, but at the same time raised questions/doubts about her ability to be successful and productive. Not observing this dichotomy in her peers and being the only minority woman in her peer group, she questioned whether her experience was due to gender, race or both. These and other types of subtle discrimination may result in what we term "interpretational ambiguity" for targets of perceived discriminatory acts. We define interpretational ambiguity as a failure in the ability to make

sense of aversive, conflicting, and colliding circumstances. Interpretational ambiguity may be triggered as targets of discrimination attempt to identify actual discriminatory intent and develop mechanisms to buffer the emotional and psychological effects of the discriminatory experience. Although not necessarily gender specific, we contend that operating in this context of interpretational ambiguity can lead to levels of self-questioning and inauthentic behaviors at work that can negatively impact wellbeing (Erickson and Ritter 2001). We further suggest that women of color suffer doubly.

Resource Deficits and Illness Vulnerability

Harmful health effects of discrimination include depression, psychological distress and decreased levels of overall wellbeing (Kessler et al. 1999; Pascoe and Richman 2009; Williams et al. 2003) as well as physical health problems such as hypertension, and substance abuse (see Williams and Mohammed 2009, for a review). Discrimination has been represented as a particularly harmful stressor that over time depletes individual psychological and physiological resources (Ganster and Rosen 2013). This resource deficit can have a negative impact on situational and general wellbeing (Ganster and Rosen 2013; Major et al. 2002; Williams and Mohammed 2009). Our personal discussions with women of color indicate that resource depletion may lead to derailed careers, self-isolation, depression, low self-esteem and confidence, paranoia, and general lack of personal engagement. Thus, the consequences on wellbeing stemming from discrimination for women of color may be quite significant. Given this background, efforts toward increasing employee wellbeing may be fruitless without proactive and intentional action aimed at recognizing and eliminating experiences of modern racism and subtle forms of workplace discrimination.

To further understand the negative health outcomes of discrimination, it is useful to conceptualize discrimination as an uncontrollable and unpredictable stressor that increases individual

vulnerability to illness (Ganster and Rosen 2013; Major et al. 2002; Williams and Mohammed 2009). Research on the psychological implications of discrimination has utilized a stress framework to analyze the behavior of the individuals targeted by discrimination (Major et al. 2002). For example, Pascoe and Richman (2009) suggest that discrimination is a social stressor that triggers a particular physiological response (e.g., elevated blood pressure, heart rate, or cortisol secretions) which may over time have adverse effects on individual wellbeing. Similarly, Gee et al. (2007) proposed that repeated experiences with discrimination can result in chronic stressors that produce long-term negative health effects. Moreover, Jackson et al. (2010) found that individuals who are chronically confronted with stressful conditions in their lives will engage in unhealthy behavior such as smoking, alcohol abuse and overeating in order to alleviate the symptoms of stress. Although these behaviors do in fact help alleviate stress, they also contribute to the deterioration of physical wellbeing and the development of health disorders later in life.

In a recent meta-analysis of 134 samples, Pascoe and Richman (2009) found that perceived discrimination has a significant negative impact on both mental and physical wellbeing, increased feelings of stress, and is related to increased participation in unhealthy behaviors. Also, chronic discrimination contributes to overall long-term poor wellbeing (Pavalko et al. 2003; Pascoe and Richman 2009). For example, using a longitudinal design, Pavalko et al. (2003) found that women who believed they were discriminated against in the years between 1977 and 1982 were more likely to experience some type of physical illness in 1989 compared to women who did not. Similarly, Branscombe et al. (1999) found that among women, but not men, perceptions of discrimination were associated with harmful consequences. Given the considerable evidence that poor wellbeing is associated with undesirable organizational outcomes (Cooper and Payne 1988; Ellemers et al. 2012), understanding how discrimination impacts the wellbeing of minority women is of critical importance.

Minority Women and Discrimination

As members of dual stigmatized groups, minority women experience workplace discrimination based on both gender and race/ethnicity (Bell and Nkomo 2001; Combs 2003). Given the demonstrated negative psychological, emotional, and physiological effects of discriminatory treatment (Gee et al. 2007; Major et al. 2002), the workplace wellbeing of minority women can be seriously jeopardized. Our review of the literature revealed a dearth in terms of studies of the experience of minority women generally or by specific racial or ethnic group. Our discussion of minority women and discrimination will pull from the literature related to general gender discrimination, and where available discrimination regarding African American and other minority women.

Although EEOC charge statistics are not delineated for minority women, data from other sources suggest that minority women may be particularly vulnerable to even subtle and aversive discrimination that could influence their perceptions of wellbeing (Berdahl and Moore 2006). Catalyst reports that in 2012, women of color represented only 3.3 % of Fortune 500 board members; and, with some exceptions for Asian women, weekly wages of minority women continue to lag behind those of minority men, white women and white men (Catalyst 2013b). There is clear evidence that the overall representation of women in managerial and executive positions considerably lags the representation of men (Berdahl and Moore 2006; Eagly and Sczesny 2009; Ryan and Haslam 2007). These numbers become even more discouraging for minority women in management and executive positions where the participation rates remains at around 5 % (EEO-1 National Aggregate Report 2011). Such workplace experiences for minority women could result in feelings of unfairness and tokenism (Kanter 1977) with serious negative impact on perceived wellbeing.

Tokenism and Stereotypes

Specific arguments regarding differing experiences for women in the workplace is embedded within the tokenism literature (Kanter 1977; King et al. 2010; Nelson and Burke 2000). Tokenism refers to individuals who are the first or one of a kind in a particular context and who make up less than 15 % of the work group, unit, or organization (Kanter 1977; Nelson and Burke 2000). Women and minorities in managerial positions are often the only or one of few representatives of their demographic group in managerial ranks which can lead to the experience of token status. Kanter (1977) argued that because the token is different from others in a manner that is highly visible (such as race, gender, or physical disability), the token will more likely be noticed and others will tend to judge whether the token's performance compares favorably to the performance of others who traditionally occupied the position. For example, a minority woman who is an engineer or an executive may experience added scrutiny and heightened evaluation of her work compared to males occupying similar positions. Tokens may be under pressure to act as representatives for their groups, feel isolated from their networks, and particularly vulnerable to stereotypes and discrimination stemming from their visible differences (Nelson and Burke 2000).

Although empirical research on experiences of tokenism provides mixed conclusions, findings suggest that token status results in negative outcomes depending on the particularities of the contexts (King et al. 2010). For example, research found that in traditionally male dominated contexts, such as the military and engineering, women tended to feel socially isolated with limited opportunities for engagement in roles that are traditionally considered feminine (Goldenhar et al. 1998; Yoder 1983; Yoder and Schleicher 1996). King et al. (2010) recently examined organizational context in understanding token status. Study results show that women's experience of token status is related to their perceptions of inequitable gender climate in their organizations. Moreover, women's perceptions of gender climate are negatively related to job satisfaction, affective commitment, and helping behaviors, and positively related to turnover intentions and job stress. The authors suggest that token status stems from subjective perceptions and thus its negative outcomes may be avoided by nurturing an equitable gender climate and focusing on systematic inclusion (King et al. 2010).

Another area of research important to the wellbeing of minority women is the concept of stereotype threat. Stereotype threat describes a situation in which individuals suspect their actions may be judged based on negative biases and stereotypes based on identity group membership, rather than merit (Steele and Aronson 1995). The premise is that the fear of being stereotyped or having ones actions support existing negative stereotypes may negatively impact individual performance (Steele 1997). African American women are typically portrayed as strong, independent, and aggressive (Sanchez-Hucles 1997) and sometimes labeled as "angry". Wanting to avoid the negativity of the angry stereotype, African American women may lessen the expression of confidence and try to appear less self-defining. This act of adjustment could lead to performance deficits. Inzlicht and Kang (2010) found that prolonged exposure to stereotype threats may not only impact relevant performance levels, but may have multiple affects extending to more general life domains. More specifically, they found a "spillover effect" of stereotype threat extending to aggression and hostility, food intake and decision making. This spillover effect could have considerable wellbeing implications for minority women due to the stereotypes that are associated with race and gender.

Workplace Harassment

Recent research suggests that targets of discrimination and harassment often experience multiple forms of mistreatment simultaneously (Berdahl and Moore 2006). For example, Berdahl and Moore (2006) submit that gender harassment often occurs alongside racial harassment (Berdahl

and Moore 2006). The EEOC receives thousands of cases annually that fall into these categories. Gender and racial harassment can be subtle or severe and pervasive and create a hostile and intimidating work environment. Gender and race based harassment often pose a challenge in that what constitutes harassment can be subjective. However, harassment that reaches the level of hostile environment can affect targets in very negative ways. Research has established that sexual and racial harassment at work may lead to negative physical, psychological, and organizational well-being for minority women compared to their majority female counterparts (Schneider et al. 2000, 1997).

Workplace harassment research has been somewhat silent regarding the extent and particular experiences of minority women (Pascoe and Richman 2009). Yet, it is reasonable to argue that if most recipients of sexual harassment at work are women and most of the recipients of racial harassment are minorities, minority women may experience double jeopardy in their vulnerability to workplace harassment (Berdahl and Moore 2006). The double jeopardy hypothesis stems from research on the joint effects of gender and racial discrimination (Beal 1970; Berdahl and Moore 2006; Garcia 1989; Lorber 1998; Texeira 2002). Empirical analysis of the double jeopardy hypothesis has reported that African-American and Hispanic women experience more pay disparities (Browne 1999) and segregation into low end, less desirable jobs (Aldridge 1999; Spalter et al. 1999). More recently, Pascoe and Richman (2009) found that minority women were significantly more harassed compared to majority women, minority men, and majority men, thus demonstrating that minority women are particularly vulnerable to workplace harassment.

Minority Women, Discrimination and Wellbeing

Extant research often overlooks the unique position of minority women who are likely to experience the most discrimination in comparison to other commonly studied demographic groups

(Berdahl and Moore 2006). For example, the majority of research on sexual harassment and gender discrimination has focused on experiences of majority women (Cortina 2001; Mecca and Rubin 1999) and the study of race-based discrimination has predominately analyzed the experiences of minority men (Hull et al. 1982). Consequently, our understanding of discrimination experiences of minority women and consequences of that discrimination is limited. Therefore, we thought it instructive to establish a context by providing summaries of a few brief anecdotal examples from minority women (across several races) of their work experiences related to discrimination and workplace wellbeing. We used a panel of minority women with extensive experience in both the public and private sectors. All of our panelists have held leadership roles in their respective fields at either middle or executive levels. In addition, four of our panelists have experience in consulting, three panelists work in higher education, and one has extensive entrepreneurial experience across different industries. With this panel, a wide range of experiences are represented. These summaries are in no way represented here as scientific analysis, but merely for the purpose of illustration.

A relevant, yet insufficiently explored, issue is whether psychological and occupational consequences of experiencing multiple forms of harassment are qualitatively different for minority women, leaving an important opportunity for future research (Buchanan and Fitzgerald 2008). The research imperative is illustrated in a comment from one minority woman:

> I take pride in being a Black woman. Sadly others don't always understand or accept all that I bring to the workplace. I think that the lens from my view is one by which I can offer much. Unfortunately, I am treated sometimes in a manner that is inappropriate, but I am not able to pinpoint it to my gender or race. I think it is because of both.

Schmitt et al. (2002) found that perceptions of discrimination were positively related to harmful consequences among women but not among men. More specifically, research on stress and health outcomes among women managers suggests that some stressors (e.g., role conflict and

overload) were shared by women and men. However, other stressors including discrimination, negative attitudes toward women in management, sexual harassment and tokenism were found to be unique for women (Davidson and Fielden 1999; Langan-Fox 1998; Offermann and Armitage 1993).

Bell and Nkomo (2001) insightfully documented the experiences of professional African American women. Their findings indicated that African American women experienced *racialized sexism*, where gender discrimination and race/ethnic discrimination are interwoven. More specifically, women in their study reported hitting a concrete wall, actions of which are represented through discourse that included statements such as "reserved only for men" and "there certainly weren't any blacks [in this position]" (p. 139). Bell and Nkomo (2001) argue that this concrete wall experienced by professional African American women manifests itself in six ways: (1) Daily doses of racism; (2) being held to a higher standard; (3) the invisibility vise; (4) exclusion from informal networks; (5) challenges to authority; and (6) hollow company commitment to the advancement of minorities.

Although not all African American, the minority women we talked with made mention of several of the manifestations mentioned by Bell and Nkomo (2001). Experiences of token status remain a salient issue for minority women. Comment from our panel of minority women describe how being the "first or only minority woman in their work environment at the managerial/professional level" led others to question their ability and commitment to work. As a consequence, they carry the burden of maintaining a demeanor that is "relentlessly focused, all-business, socially "correct"; "get it done well, quietly and quickly." The women also spoke of discrimination in the form of "micro-inequities" of not being invited to lunches or to pertinent work discussions, comments ignored at a meeting, etc. These micro-inequities impact access to informal networks that are important for career advancement and organizational survival. Also, token status was often communicated in comments from majority colleagues like, "Who

would have thought that a person like you would be in this position." In that others in that position were white and male, the statement was perceived as a demeaning reference to both race and gender.

The notion of invisibility was also mentioned as discriminatory acts that negatively impact the wellbeing of minority women. Comments such as: "As a consequence, I move extremely well "*in the background and on the periphery*." One woman equated her visibility to being there but not there, visibility was afforded when it benefited the organization, otherwise as she states, "*I felt that I was not to have an opinion, particularly if it did not support the majority view.*" Additionally, disadvantages due to race and gender in resolving workplace conflicts were expressed. The concerns of the minority women were subjugated to the desires and in one instance protection for their male and female majority peers. The position of the minority women did not matter and they were treated in "*disrespectful" and "condescending"* ways. A Native woman describes this situation working on a project about Native women with other white project members:

> I was selected to be a part of this project because I am a Native woman. Yet my voice is often not heard… I seem to be invisible. Who I am is important to them when it helps them achieve their goal of getting the funding and opportunities for the project but not so when it comes to fully including me in the decisions made about the project.

Minority women also adjust their behaviors in order to have their voices heard without the danger of backlash that works to create or perpetuate a stressful and sometimes hostile work environment. For example, we heard of "balancing acts" where they want to make sure that they are heard but in a way that is not going to "hurt the egos" of their male colleagues. This effort adds to an already stressful environment, by requiring them to go above and beyond to deliver their opinions while still wondering whether that opinion will be heard and if so, will it result in devastating consequences for them. One woman said: "*My response is immediately seething anger and that I am feeling used and exploited. But of course I*

know that will not work to change the situation." Others chose to confront the issue directly, only to receive backlash from their male colleagues. For example, another woman stated that:

> I was not completely surprised that some of my students would attempt to approach me in such a disrespectful way. I was taken aback; nonetheless, that my white male colleagues dismissed my claims … While they also dismissed my fellow (white) female colleagues' similar complaints, the words they used to address my complaints were more loaded and condescending.

The cumulative effect of repeated occurrences of racism and sexism may be particularly critical in marginalizing and reducing workplace wellbeing of minority women (Bell and Nkomo 2001). To battle disrespect and racism they encounter on a daily bases, many of the women we talked to choose to disengage from their work to protect their wellbeing: they did not want to "*sacrifice* [their] *health or happiness*". Disengagement occurs because discrimination depletes psychological and physical resources and minority women must compensate and find ways to rejuvenate. For example, one woman explained that "*My life satisfaction and job satisfaction cannot depend on the approval and fair play of white males or dominant society.*" In addition, women also disengage from their work through decisions to find employment elsewhere. For example, faced with continued daily doses of racism, one woman found that "*this particular experience [of disrespect based on gender and race] was one of several that influenced my decision to start seeking new employment opportunities*." She saw this particular experience of subtle discrimination as a culminating event that triggered her decision to leave her job.

Building on insights from research and the above anecdotal accounts, we see that minority women have cause to ponder whether race/ethnicity, gender or both race and gender are at the root of their discriminatory experiences, associated stress and subsequent lack of wellbeing at work. The unique combination of race and gender increases the likelihood that minority women will be exposed to multiple stressors (Buchanan 2005; Defour et al. 2003; Texeira 2002). Research

indicates that exposure to multiple forms of discrimination is related to increased distress (Buchanan and Fitzgerald 2008; Green et al. 2000; Krupnick et al. 2004). For example, Yoder and Aniakudo (1997) found that African American female firefighters reported harassment on the basis of both their race and gender that had toxic effects on their lives. Buchanan and Fitzgerald (2008) conclude that minority women may be most vulnerable to the additive negative effects of multiple forms of discrimination.

Organizational and Individual Interventions for Minority Women Wellbeing

Although recent and somewhat scarce, findings with regards to experiences of minority women in contemporary organizations clearly advocate for immediate reconsiderations of managerial practice, organizational design and methods for building individual ability to cope with adverse work contexts. In other words, only by proactively addressing the issue of discrimination at multiple levels, may organizations be in a position to truly benefit from the positive effects of employee wellbeing. In the following paragraphs we describe organizational level interventions and approaches that minority women may take to enhance wellbeing.

Organizational Level

Organizations have established numerous methods to focus on diversity and inclusion, and elimination of discrimination in the workplace. Typically, the most prominent methods include education and training, mentoring programs, policy statement development, and refinement of recruitment and retention processes (Kravitz 2007; Pendry et al. 2007; Roberson 2006). Often these methods fail or are marginally effective. Many reasons have been cited for the failure of inclusionary practices (e.g., lack of top management support, flawed training designs, etc.) (Hemphil and Haines 1997; Jones et al. 2013). In

many regards addressing the wellbeing of women of color is a diversity and inclusion initiative related to organizational climate. In this section we propose two areas of focus for organizations to readjust so that the wellbeing of minority women may be addressed. These two focal areas are: (1) Promoting a proactive and strategic perspective; and, (2) disaggregating our thinking about measurement, data collection, and analysis.

Proactive Strategy

Interventions at the organizational level should be proactive in nature and aimed at reshaping the work context. Modification of the organizational context can occur through structural redesign or through extensive formal and informal training aimed at removal of barriers. Taking a proactive perspective in addressing the wellbeing of minority women requires the organization to make intentional efforts to prevent all discrimination, but more importantly for this chapter, the occurrences of discrimination experienced by women of color. The effort is to appropriately manage dimensions of difference. For example, a truly inclusive workplace may recognize that a strict focus on the business case for inclusion may sidestep the relational component that is critical for success (McDaniel and Walls 1997). Additionally, evidence of justice and fairness in the work environment is an important element for employees, leading some researchers to argue that the application of a moral framework in approaching diversity and inclusion interventions may enhance positive behaviors towards difference (Jones et. al. 2013).

Some organizations treat diversity and inclusion management as an add-on practice rather than as an organizational strategic focus (McDaniel and Walls 1997). This additive approach may lead to decision making and attention to minority/gender status that is at best ancillary. In this instance, decisions affecting and contributing to the wellbeing of minority women are tangential to main stream or core decision making processes. Thus, organizations miss opportunities to fully attend to and integrate diversity programing that accounts for the inter-sectionality or double jeopardy of race and gender for minority women. Inclusive practices that are systematically and organizationally integrated, permit awareness and action orientation towards the duality of race and gender. Such intentionality of focus disaggregates concerns and work experiences of women of color.

A strategic response removes primary attention from sporadic or episodic responses to issues of discrimination, stereotyping and tokenism in organizational culture and practices. In that women of color comprise 33 % of the women in the workforce (Burns et al. 2012), the wellbeing of minority women should be a focal point of organizational inclusion planning and human capital integration. Kaiser et al. (2013) suggests that some organizations operate under an illusion of fairness because they have established diversity policies and initiatives. Additionally, the perception of a fair climate by virtue of diversity programs lead persons who claim discrimination to be regarded unfavorably.

Efforts toward more workplace inclusion, understanding how to enable minority women to thrive is of utmost importance for both research and practice. Shore et al. (2011) define inclusion as "the degree to which an employee perceives that he or she is an esteemed member of the work group through experiencing treatment that satisfies his or her needs for belongingness and uniqueness" (p. 1265). The overarching goals of inclusion include a climate of belongingness, uniqueness, fair treatment, and increased meaningful participation for all employees across demographic spectrums (Shore et al. 2011). King et al. (2010) found a significant, large and negative relationship between experiencing workplace discrimination and job satisfaction. Individuals who lack satisfaction in their work tend to be less committed to the organization. Campione (2008) in a study of employed women found that promotional opportunities and supervisory capacity were global work variables that positively correlated with life satisfaction. Linking the findings of both studies suggests that job satisfaction and life satisfaction can be impacted by workplace experiences. Therefore, a work culture or climate that promotes the elimination of discrimination and attends to significant

variants of diversity (e.g., minority women) will have an opportunity to positively impact work related and global wellbeing that aligns with the concerns and needs of specific workforce groups.

Assessment and Measurement

Specific rather than global measures are needed to assess the impact of race and gender on the wellbeing of minority women. Phinney (1990) proposed that global measures of minority group attitudes and responses should be replaced with more individualized assessment. Examining wellbeing factors for minority women from beneath the shadow of majority women and men, and minority men can result in action planning to identify work patterns and points of discrimination that trigger stressors that negatively influence workplace wellbeing of women of color. Organizations would do well to disentangle the message of diversity and inclusion (Roberson 2006).

For some the term diversity has become so overstretched that it has lost its meaning in organizational conversation and research investigation (Konrad 2003; Linnehan and Konrad 1999). For others, diversity is an indication of the numbers hired. However, wellbeing is not a numbers game. It is a reflection of the context for productivity and thriving at work. The most proactive approach organizations can take is to change the source of stress; that is, identifying and focusing on the causes of stress for minority women at work and modify the cause. In this chapter we propose that workplace discrimination is a major course of stress and negative wellbeing for minority women. In addition to attacking the causes of stress, companies can help minority women manage their own responses to stress.

Individual Level

In addressing the wellbeing of women of color, interventions at the individual level are aimed at building up physiological and psychological resources requisite for individuals to cope with job and organizational stressors such as discrimi-

nation. More specifically, discrimination is a debilitating stressor that depletes individual resources, increases vulnerability to illness and negatively affects wellbeing. By continuously expanding personal resources, individuals may be in a better position to either block the effect of discrimination or bounce back faster when they experience discriminatory acts. We have identified two important interventions: (1) Organization and participation in employee resource groups, and (2) developing positive psychological capacities. We will address each of these points in more details below.

Organization and Participation in Employee Resource Groups

Although academic research is sparse, there is a growing interest among practitioners and popular press writers in the creation and benefits of employee resource groups (also known as Affinity Groups and Employee Resource Networks). Employee resource groups (ERGs) represent "communities within a corporation that are organized around the employees' similar circumstances and common goals" (Douglas 2008), and are in existence in many global organizations including General Motors, Cisco, Microsoft, and Dell among others. ERGs are important because they not only provide support for minority organizational members, but also serve as think-tank type groups that infuse the organization with novel thinking, innovation, and positive change (Llopis 2012). Moreover, ERGs often remove the invisible barriers in organizations and provide a novel platform for interaction in a bottom-up organic manner thus creating opportunities for greater inclusion. Although anecdotal evidence suggests that ERG's are critical for organizational performance, little theoretical development presently exists.

Findings from social identity theory (Tajfel 1978) may provide some insight into why ERG groups may be so beneficial for both the organization and individuals involved. According to social identity theory, prevalent discrimination and prejudice stemming from the majority group will result in target's stronger identification with the minority group with which they identify

(Tajfel 1978). The Rejection Identification Model builds on social identity theory and suggests that stronger identification and sense of belonging with the minority group may alleviate some of the psychological harm brought about by discrimination and prejudice (Branscombe et al. 1999; Schmitt et al. 2002). For example, Schmitt et al. (2002) suggest that when acceptance and fair treatment from majority group is not possible, investing in one's own minority group is more likely to result in positive consequences for overall wellbeing. In other words, organization and participation in employee resource groups may act as an important social buffer that prevents or at least minimizes the negative consequences of subtle discrimination in organizations. Therefore, minority women may greatly benefit from proactively seeking opportunities to join ERGs or even organize different "on the job" networks for social support and guidance.

Developing Positive Psychological Capacities

Building on the extant research in positive organizational behavior (see Luthans et al. 2007a, b; Luthans and Youssef 2007), we suggest that developing positive psychological capital (PsyCap) may enable minority women to not just bounce back from aversive events, but also build psychological capacities that will prevent further decline in their wellbeing. Luthans et al. (2007a: 3) define PsyCap as:

> an individual's positive psychological state of development and is characterized by: (1) having confidence (self-efficacy) to take on and put in the necessary effort to succeed at challenging tasks; (2) making a positive attribution (optimism) about succeeding now and in the future; (3) persevering toward goals and, when necessary, redirecting paths to goals (hope) in order to succeed; and (4) when beset by problems and adversity, sustaining and bouncing back and even beyond (resilience) to attain success.

Because PsyCap is state-like and thus malleable and open to development (Luthans et al. 2006, 2010), it may present a critical psychological resource for minority women who face stress and trauma stemming from multiple forms of discrimination. For example, Bandura (2008) argues that we face multiple stressors in our daily lives

and need to nurture a sense of efficacy, hope and optimism to sustain our wellbeing. Therefore, by developing their psychological capacities, minority women build internal resources necessary for facing the multiple stressors they encounter.

Research suggests that PsyCap is significantly and negatively related to perceived symptoms of job stress and that individuals with higher PsyCap levels may be more successful in combating dysfunctional effects of stress (Avey et al. 2009). In addition, Avey et al. (2010) found that PsyCap is positively related to individual wellbeing. More specifically, they argue that the positive relationship between PsyCap and individual wellbeing provides evidence that developing individual psychological resources may be a critical step in fostering employee wellbeing in the workplace. This finding is in line with extensive research in positive psychology that established the relationship between positivity and health outcomes (see Bandura 2008; Lyubomirsky et al. 2005).

The promise of PsyCap in promoting wellbeing is due to its state-like nature and opportunity for development. More specifically, Wright et al. (2007, p. 101) stated that "individuals have the opportunity to learn ways to enhance their [wellbeing] through any number of training-based interventions." Recent research suggests that PsyCap can likewise be developed in short training interventions (Luthans et al. 2006, 2008). Enhancing PsyCap may allow minority women to proactively enhance their wellbeing and position themselves to either block discriminatory acts or bounce back from them. In other words, by developing efficacy in their capability to perform their work, identifying multiple pathways for reaching their goals, attributing their success to their own abilities and not external factors, and bouncing back and beyond from setback, minority women may build psychological resources necessary for them to thrive in imperfect contexts and thus increase their overall wellbeing.

Conclusion

The intersectional experiences of race and gender are more than the sum of their parts. We endeavored to show that by focusing on and fully

appreciating the intersectionality of race and gender, we may be in position to build organizations that are inclusive of all. Previous literature tends to overlook the precarious position of minority women in terms of their workplace wellbeing. Yet, there is reason to believe that they may be particularly vulnerable to subtle discrimination at work that in turn impacts their wellbeing. We suggest that both the organization and minority women can take action to enhance the wellbeing of minority women at work. Finally, we also contend that if discriminatory practices are not appropriately addressed, they may lead to work disengagement of minority women. More specifically, we indicated that one way in which minority women protect their wellbeing from influences of discrimination is through work disengagement and other coping techniques. And while work disengagement allows professional minority women to at least partially buffer the effects of discrimination on their wellbeing, it also diminishes their productivity and contribution to the organization. In a context where employee engagement is an organizational imperative, employee happiness and wellbeing at work is critical. Thus, combating systematic subtle racism and sexism faced by minority women is a significant human capital engagement issue.

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Fat Women Need Not Apply: Employment Weight Discrimination Against Women

Lynn K. Bartels

Fat Women Need Not Apply: Weight Discrimination in Employment Against Women

Are overweight women doubly stigmatized in the workplace? Research suggests that women may face gender disparities in workplace outcomes (Heilman et al. 1988; Martell 1991). Additionally, individuals who are overweight also experience workplace discrimination (Puhl and Heuer 2009; Roehling 1999). With more overweight Americans (Center for Disease Control, http://www.cdc.gov/obesity/data/facts.html), the issue of weight discrimination in employment becomes increasingly important. This chapter examines the impact on women of weight discrimination in the U.S. workplace, although weight-related discrimination may be a concern in other countries also (Roehling et al. 2007b; Schallenkamp et al. 2012).

Adults who are overweight may face discrimination in many facets of their lives. Weight discrimination has been reported in healthcare, education, interpersonal relationships, entertainment media, and advertising (Puhl and Heuer 2009). Additionally, being overweight or obese may be associated with negative psychological (e.g., depression) and physical consequences (e.g., high blood pressure, Type II diabetes) (Puhl and Heuer 2009). Research suggests that the consequences for overweight women may be more detrimental than the consequences for overweight men (Fikkan and Rothblum 2012; Roehling 2012).

After defining the terminology associated with weight, the chapter discusses weight discrimination in employment and identifies gender disparities. Given the prevalence of weight discrimination, the chapter presents information on existing legal protection against weight discrimination. Next, attitudes associated with weight discrimination are described. Strategies for reducing weight discrimination in employment are suggested along with future research directions.

The term overweight can be defined using the Body Mass Index (BMI) which compares an individual's height and weight.[1] For example, people with BMIs between 25 and 29.9 are considered overweight and those with BMIs greater than 30 are considered obese (Center for Disease Control and Prevention 2011). Critics of BMI measurement contend that it doesn't take muscle into account so individuals (often males) with a lot of muscle mass may be classified as overweight unnecessarily. I will generally use the

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[1] Body Mass Index is calculated by multiplying weight in pounds by 703 and then dividing that number by height in inches squared.

terms overweight or fat interchangeably to characterize individuals with excess body weight. Note the term fat is no longer considered a pejorative term (Mason 2012). In some cases, it may be important to make finer distinctions in weight such as when talking about salary differences for men and women based on weight (Judge and Cable 2011). In this case, I will use terms such as overweight or obese as in the BMI classifications to distinguish between levels of weight above a normal or healthy weight. It is also difficult to choose the correct label for individuals who are not overweight or underweight. They have been called normal weight or average weight although these terms may fluctuate as Americans become increasingly overweight. In this paper, the group of people who are not overweight will generally be referred to as nonfat.

The causes of obesity are complex (Center for Disease Control and Prevention 2012; Maranto and Stenoien 2000). Many factors impact body weight beyond calories consumed and expended. Genes are likely to play a significant role in body weight with heritability estimates ranging from 40 to 70 % (Ramachandrappa and Sadaf Farooqi 2011). Diseases, drugs and environmental factors, such as the prevalence of high fat/low nutrient food options impact weight. Some argue that dieting is not effective in the long-term (Mann et al. 2007). Beliefs about the controllability of weight may impact prejudice (attitudes) and discrimination (treatment) against the overweight (Crandall 1994).

Research on Weight Discrimination in Employment

The prevalence of weight discrimination has increased by 66 % over the past decade (Puhl and Heuer 2011) and is comparable to racial discrimination rates, particularly for weight discrimination against women (Puhl et al. 2008) and greater than bias against Muslims or gays (Latner et al. 2008). Two main research methods have been used to examine weight bias: experimental studies that manipulate weight and self-reports of perceived weight discrimination from overweight individuals.

In a typical weight discrimination experiment, participants (often college students) are given application materials along with information about the candidates' weights and asked to rate applicant suitability. Despite equal qualifications, overweight or obese candidates are almost always rated less qualified and given lower starting salary recommendations (Bartels and Nordstrom 2013; Bartels et al. 2013b; O'Brien et al. 2008). Experimental methods may also use videotaped interviews (e.g., Finkelstein et al. 2007; Pingitore et al. 1994). In interview studies, overweight and nonfat job applicants appear in the videos and are rated on hiring characteristics. Overweight applicants were rated lower than nonfat applicants (Finkelstein et al. 2007; Pingitore et al. 1994). Overall, there is a robust difference in hiring ratings of overweight and nonfat applicants in experimental studies implying that it is much more difficult for overweight applicants to get hired.

Although several experiments have looked solely at female applicants (Bartels et al. 2013b; Finkelstein et al. 2007), some studies have compared the hiring outcomes for male and female job applicants. For example, Pingitore et al. (1994) found that women were less likely to be hired than men. Qualitative (Puhl and Brownell 2001; Puhl and Heuer 2009; Roehling 1999) and quantitative (Roehling et al. 2013a, b; Rudolph et al. 2009) reviews of the experimental research on weight-based discrimination have been conducted. Rudolph et al. (2009) conducted a meta-analysis of 25 weight bias studies and concluded that overweight applicants are evaluated more negatively in workplace decision-making such as hiring, promotions, predicted success, suitability, or performance evaluation. In his review of weight discrimination, Roehling (1999) concluded that there is inconsistent evidence of a weight by sex interaction but when it does occur, it disadvantages women. Similarly, in their meta-analysis, Roehling et al. (2013a) did not find evidence that sex was a moderator of the relationship between weight and hiring outcomes. Although it is widely believed that women generally experience more weight-based discrimination across contexts (Fikkan and Rothblum 2005), in weight-based discrimination experiments, the gender

effect is not found consistently. Roehling et al. (2013a) suggested that the variability in results could be due to the amount of information provided about the job candidate or how job applicant weight is manipulated.

Type of job has also been suggested as a possible moderator of weight discrimination meaning that the effect of weight on hiring decisions depends on the job for which the applicant is applying. At the highest levels, there is a disparity amongst the CEO ranks, only about 10 % of female CEOS are overweight while overweight males are overrepresented amongst male CEOs (Roehling et al. 2009). Individuals who are very obese were more likely to report discrimination in professional than in nonprofessional jobs (Carr and Friedman 2005). Several studies have been conducted to assess the impact of job type of weight discrimination.

To help identify the job dimensions likely to lead to weight discrimination, Popovich et al. (1997) asked participants to answer questions about 40 jobs including whether an actual personnel manager would hire an obese person for the job. Using multidimensional scaling, they identified physical activity as the dimension which impacts whether obese individuals are hired. Examining a different job dimension, Finkelstein et al. (2007) found that overweight applicants received higher ratings for private jobs (i.e., data entry) and lower ratings for public jobs (i.e., receptionist). Rudolph et al.'s (2009) meta-analysis found no significant differences in weight bias in hiring ratings for managerial jobs and sales jobs but these two jobs may not have differed from each other either on physical demands or interpersonal contact. We conducted a study that manipulated both job visibility and physical demands and found that overweight women experienced employment discrimination when applying for a job that was high in both visibility and physical demands (Bartels and Nordstrom 2013). The job that an applicant is applying for is likely to make a difference. Jobs with high levels of interpersonal contact and physical demands may be the ones where weight discrimination is most likely to occur.

To address some of the concerns about the generalizability of experimental studies of weight discrimination. Recent discrimination research (e.g., King and Ahmad 2010; Rooth 2009) has used a callback methodology where applicants apply for actual job openings and the number of requests for interviews are compared across groups. For example, Rooth (2009) conducted a study in Sweden where two applications were sent to real job openings. One application had a photo of an overweight job applicant attached and the other had a photo of a nonfat job application attached. They found that obese female applicants were 8 % less likely to get callbacks, while obese men were 6 % less likely. Other field studies have been conducted sending applicants to apply for jobs in person (King and Ahmad 2010). In these studies, in addition to callback rates, interpersonal discrimination can also be assessed. Interpersonal discrimination includes variables such as time spent talking with an applicant, amount of eye contact and positive nonverbal communication (e.g., smiling, nodding). Callback studies provide an opportunity for a more realistic assessment of employer treatment of individuals who are overweight. Future research should use the callback methodology to provide more generalizable data and assess interpersonal discrimination in addition to formal discrimination (i.e., callbacks).

Perceived Employment Discrimination

In addition to experimental research, surveys have been used to assess perceptions of weight-based discrimination experienced by overweight men and women. Perceived discrimination measures the extent to which people feel they have been mistreated due to their weight. Because this is perceptual data, perceived discrimination may not always correspond with objective discrimination. However, this research is important because perceptions of unfair treatment can have negative effects on applicant/employee psychological and physical well-being, work-related attitudes (e.g., job satisfaction), and behaviors (e.g., job performance) (Roehling et al. 2007b).

Many perceived discrimination studies have analyzed data from the nationally representative survey, National Survey of Midlife Development in the United States (MIDUS). The survey asks participants to report instances of discrimination that have occurred during their lifetime. Then they are asked about the primary reason for discrimination. Responses include "age, gender, race, height or weight…" (Puhl et al. 2008, p. 994). Although height and weight were grouped together, Puhl et al.'s (2008) analyses showed responses were primarily a reflection of weight. Puhl et al. (2008) found very different patterns of height/weight discrimination between men and women. Women were twice as likely as men to report height/weight discrimination. For women, perceived discrimination occurs at lower weight levels. Men are at risk for discrimination with BMIs (35 or greater which is classified as obese) and for women perceived discrimination is likely with much lower BMIs (27 which is classified as overweight). Gender differences disappear at high BMI levels (40 or greater). Thus, both obese males and females perceived weight discrimination but for women perceived discrimination was experienced at lower weight levels than men.

Looking at weight discrimination in the workplace, Roehling et al. (2007a, b) found women were 16 times more likely to report perceived weight discrimination than men based on survey data from the 1995 MIDUS. Roehling et al. (2007a, b) found perceived discrimination at lower weight levels, than previous research (Rothblum et al. 1990), While these estimates of weight discrimination exceed those identified in experimental research, it is important to consider that some individuals may actually underreport weight discrimination because on some level they may feel responsible for their weight condition (Roehling et al. 2007a, b). Similar gender differences are found with wage data.

Weight-Related Wage Penalty

Several studies have examined gender differences in pay based on weight (Baum and Ford 2004; Judge and Cable 2011; Maranto and Stenoien 2000; Mason 2012) using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY). Across studies, similar relationships have been identified. Roehling (2012) characterized the effect for men as a weight premium and the effect for women as a weight penalty. Judge and Cable (2011) found an inverted U pattern for men such that there was a positive relationship between weight and pay up to the point of obesity where obese men face a wage penalty. As weight increases, men tend to earn more up to the point of obesity where men begin to experience a wage penalty. On the other hand, women are punished for any weight gain above a very thin weight. Very thin women had the highest wages with steep declines following even small weight gains. Both obese men and women were penalized. Baum and Ford (2004) also reported greater wage penalties for women than for men. The wage penalty for obese men ranged from 0.7 to 3.4 % and for obese women it was 2.3 to 6.1 %. Even though men and women may experience wage penalties, the penalties for women are greater and they start at lower weight levels. Similar wage penalties were found in German (Judge and Cable 2011) and Finnish (Sarlio-Lahteenkorva and Lahelma 1999) samples.

Thus, across employment and salary studies using experimental and correlational methods to study weight discrimination, overweight women were found to be disadvantaged compared to overweight men in the workplace. According to Maranto and Stenoien (2000), "for women, thinner is always better, no matter how thin you already are" (p. 19). Given the existence of weight discrimination the question is what legal recourse is available to protect overweight individuals from workplace discrimination.

Legal Protection

Generally, there is little protection against weight discrimination. Currently there is no federal law that specifically prohibits discrimination based on weight. However, there is some limited protection under the Americans with Disabilities Act

(ADA) and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The ADA prohibits discrimination against individuals: with a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities (actual disability), with a record of impairment or individuals who are regarded as having an impairment that is not transitory or minor even if they are not actually impaired (perceived disability) (Equal Employment Opportunities Commission 1990). Coverage under the ADA is considered by the EEOC Regulators to be "a rare occurrence" (Roehling 2002, p. 180).

Proving that being overweight falls under the actual disability part of the definition is difficult. To be considered actually disabled, an overweight individual must be morbidly obese (100 % over ideal weight) or be able to prove that his/her obesity has a physiological cause, and that his/her obesity substantially limits one or more major life activities (Roehling 1999). Very few obese individuals will be protected from discrimination under this part of the definition (Maranto and Stenoien 2000; Roehling 2002). Roehling et al.'s (2007a) review of court cases showed that most overweight plaintiffs alleged perceived disability rather than actual disability and fared better in court decisions.

To be covered under perceived disability theory, according to EEOC guidelines, despite the fact that the individual does not have an actual disability, the employer believes that the person does. Maranto and Stenoien (2000) suggested that the prejudicial attitudes of physicians often provide support for the plaintiffs' claims. Medical doctors often see obesity as limiting major life activities when it does not and their misguided advice to employers has often provided evidence used against the employer during litigation.

Title VII provides protection against discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex and national origin. Weight is not a protected group. There are, however, some situations where Title VII may apply to weight discrimination. Under Title VII, there are two types of discrimination: disparate treatment and disparate impact (Equal Employment Opportunities Commission 1978). Disparate treatment is often considered intentional discrimination and it occurs when an employer applies different standards to different groups. This might occur if overweight females are treated differently than overweight males. For example, in one court case (Frank v. United Airlines 2000) stricter weight standards were used for female flight attendants than male flight attendants. Maximum weights for male flight attendants were based on weight tables for men with large frames and weight tables for women with medium frames. Disparate treatment occurs when overweight women are treated differently than overweight men.

Disparate impact occurs when an employment process has a disproportionate effect on one group. The same employment standard is applied across groups but it has a more negative impact on one of the groups. With weight, adverse impact may occur when the same weight standard (e.g., maximum weight or hip size) is applied uniformly across groups but some groups of women are more negatively affected by it because their group has higher obesity rates. Men are more likely than women to be overweight or obese and Hispanics and Blacks are more likely to be overweight or obese than Whites (Kaiser Family Foundation 2012). For women, obesity increases with age (Ogden et al. 2012) and age discrimination is prohibited under the Age Discrimination in Employment Act. Weight standards applied uniformly across groups may be more likely to screen out older women, and Hispanic and Black women. So, weight may be protected under Title VII, not on its own, but when it is linked to a protected group and when employment standards applied uniformly across groups create a disproportionately negative effect on overweight women from protected groups. In summary, federal protection against weight discrimination is limited.

However, states and municipalities can also enact legislation prohibiting weight discrimination. Currently only one state (Michigan) and a few cities (e.g., Urbana, Illinois, Santa Cruz, California and Madison, Wisconsin) have done so (Roehling 2002; Roehling et al. 2007a. In

Michigan, under the Elliot-Larsen Civil Rights Act, there have not been many reported court cases (Schallenkamp et al. 2012). This may be due to lack of awareness of the law. It may also be due to an acceptance of discrimination on the part of obese individuals. They may feel employment discrimination is a consequence of their own failure to control their weight (Schallenkamp et al. 2012).

To understand the impact of legislation that protects against weight-based discrimination, Roehling et al. (2013b) surveyed randomly selected Michigan residents. Roehling et al. (2013b) did not find significant differences in the percentages of men and women reporting perceived weight-based employment discrimination. Interestingly, they did find differences in the types of perceived employment discrimination experienced by men and women. Men were more likely to report experiencing formal discrimination such as being denied a job interview or promotion. On the other hand, women were more likely to report subtle or informal forms of weight discrimination such as being excluded from socializing or harassed by a supervisor or co-worker. Roehling et al. (2013b) speculated that overweight women may attribute formal discrimination to their sex rather than their weight and discussed the importance of future research measuring different types of discrimination rather than asking about discrimination in general.

One conclusion that can be drawn from the diminished incidence of weight discrimination in Michigan is that legislation protecting against weight discrimination may be effective in reducing some forms of weight discrimination against women. The Michigan law prohibits discrimination based on weight and does not specify a weight level (e.g., morbid obesity). A nationally representative online survey found substantial support (81 % of women and 65 % of men) for legislation prohibiting weight discrimination in hiring, termination and promotion (Puhl and Heuer 2009). Up to this point, I've been discussing the research on weight discrimination, it's also important to understand weight prejudice.

Weight Prejudice

While discrimination refers to unfair treatment, prejudice reflects negative attitudes and stereotyping. The work-related characteristics associated with weight stereotypes are summarized by Roehling (1999) and include: lacking self-discipline or control, lazy, less conscientious, less competent, sloppy, more likely to have an emotional or personal problem, more likely to have negative personality traits, less healthy, less likely to get along with others, and more likely to be absent. It's quite a list and none of the characteristics are likely to be valued by an employer. Similarly, Brochu and Morrison (2007) found that negative traits (e.g., inactive, lazy, sloppy) were more likely to be ascribed to overweight individuals. Roehling et al. (2008) examined the accuracy of weight-related personality characterizations and found little evidence to support a relationship between weight and low levels of conscientiousness, agreeableness, emotional stability or extraversion suggesting that negative personality characterizations of overweight individuals may not be accurate. Even if the stereotypes are inaccurate, they are widely held and may color employer perceptions of overweight applicants/employees.

Overweight individuals have been commonly referred to as "the last acceptable targets of discrimination" (Puhl and Brownell 2001, p. 788). Unlike other forms of discrimination, people are often willing to openly admit their biases against individuals who are overweight (Crandall 1994). Explicit antifat attitudes can be measured through trait characterizations. According to Harris et al. (1982), obese women were assigned more negative traits than obese men. Another measure of explicit attitudes are Likert-type scales such as the Antifat Attitude Scale (Morrison and O'Connor 1999) which captures explicit attitudes with statements like "It is disgusting when a fat person wears a bathing suit at the beach." In responding to these items, men showed higher levels of antifat attitudes than women (Brochu and Morrison 2007; Morrison and O'Connor 1999). Brochu and Morrison (2007) found a

relationship between explicit measures of antifat prejudice and behavioral intentions to avoid interpersonal interaction with the overweight individual.

One concern about explicit measures in general is their susceptibility to impression management. For example, many people may be unwilling to openly admit politically incorrect attitudes toward racial groups and so they distort their responses in a socially desirable way. Explicit items are often very transparent. As noted above, socially desirable responding may be less of a concern when measuring weight biases compared with biases against other groups, however, other measurement techniques that reduce the effects of social desirability have been developed to measure weight bias such as implicit association tests.

Implicit association tests were developed to assess unconscious attitudes towards groups, decreasing the impact of socially desirable responding. Implicit association tests are based on reaction time and the assumption that it will be easier and take less time to respond to characteristics that are consistent with the respondent's stereotypes. For example, when the word "overweight" is paired with stereotype-consistent words like "lazy", reactions times should be faster than when "overweight" is paired with stereotype-inconsistent words like "active." Some studies have found correlations between explicit and implicit measures (Bartels et al. 2013b; Bessenoff and Sherman 2000; Teachman and Brownell 2001) and others have not (Brochu and Morrison 2007). Similarly, not all studies have found correlations between implicit antifat attitudes and antifat employment discrimination (O'Brien et al. 2008). One study that did find significant relationships between implicit antifat attitudes and employment discrimination was conducted in Sweden. Agerstrom and Rooth (2011) sent job applications with matched credentials to job vacancies. Obese job applicants were less likely to receive interview callbacks (cf. Rooth 2009). Two months later, hiring managers were asked to take an obesity implicit association test. Hiring managers with more negative implicit associations toward obese individuals were less likely to invite obese applicants to interview for open positions. While their obesity implicit association test scores predicted callbacks their explicit measures of antifat attitudes (self-reported hiring beliefs and preferences) did not.

One of the factors that contributes to antifat attitudes is the idea that weight is controllable unlike other stigmatizing conditions (e.g., race, gender) (Crandall 1994). Overweight people are perceived as responsible for their weight condition (Crandall 1994). It is believed that overweight people could choose to exert some self-control to lose weight. Although the ease of sustained weight loss has been questioned (Mann et al. 2007), for some people, the belief that weight is controllable justifies their discriminatory attitudes (Crandall and Martinez 1996). Overweight people are blamed for their weight. In contrast, Mexican students were less likely to believe that weight was controllable than U.S. students. Mexicans also had lower antifat attitudes (Crandall and Martinez 1996). Cultural values are tied to antifat attitudes.

Cultural norms regarding weight can contribute to antifat attitudes. Beauty standards vary for men and women. For men, being larger than average is ideal. For women, being thinner than average is ideal (Chrisler 2012). "A woman's value is tied to her appearance, much more so than a man's" (Roehling 2012, p. 596). Objectification and sexualization of women contributes to antifat prejudice against women and can lead to widespread body dissatisfaction (McHugh and Kasardo 2012). Female students from the U.S. reported higher levels of fear of fat than male students and higher levels of fear of fat than Mexican females (Crandall and Martinez 1996).

Subcultures may view weight differently. Subgroups with higher obesity rates may show greater levels of acceptance. For example, Blacks may be more accepting of larger body size. In their study of weight stigma of black and white females of varying sizes, Hebl and Heatherton (1998) found that white women raters rated obese white women from photos as lower on attractiveness, intelligence, popularity, happiness, relationship success and job success than thin or

average weight women. White female raters also rated obese women from photos as less likely to hold a prestigious job. Black women raters did not show the same obesity stigma. They did not rate obese women lower and even rated them higher on popularity than thin or average photos. In a similar study using male participants as raters, Hebl and Turchin (2005) found that heavy white men were more stigmatized than heavy black men. They also found that black men were more accepting of medium weight women than white men. For overweight women, it may be important to consider who is evaluating them for employment.

Unlike other marginalized groups that show a protective ingroup bias, overweight individuals often express similar negative attitudes toward other overweight individuals. Thin and overweight people are equally likely to express antifat attitudes (Crandall 1994). Similarly, Latner et al. (2008) did not find a relationship between higher BMI scores and a decrease in weight bias. Instead of expressing support for each other and pride in their group membership, overweight individuals are likely to disavow any association with other overweight individuals. Crandall (1994) speculated that the lack of protective group bias may occur because identification with other overweight people does not improve self-image and overweight people may believe that being overweight is temporary and can be changed through diet and exercise. The stringent weight standards applied to women along with the lack of protective ingroup bias can lead to serious bias against overweight women.

Employer Justifications

Given the significant weight discrimination that occurs in the workplace and the tolerance for weight discrimination, it is important to try to understand how employers justify weight discrimination. Roehling (2002) discussed several reasons used by employers to justify weight discrimination. First, employers may believe that overweight employees would be poorer performers. Although there may be a few jobs where a job analysis might indicate that weight would prevent an overweight individual from performing the job, little research has addressed the idea that overweight employees are generally poorer performers than nonfat employees. This perception is likely to be a result of negative stereotypes (e.g., lazy) about overweight individuals. There is no research supporting the idea that overweight employees perform worse across jobs. Employment decisions should be made based on job-related information rather than stereotypes.

A second justification is a concern about higher costs to the organization. For example, it is commonly believed that overweight individuals are more likely to be absent and to have higher healthcare costs. Roehling (2002) suggested that employers should only consider costs when three conditions are met. First, the costs must be accurately identified, not based on negative stereotypes. Next, other utility considerations should be considered along with costs. The value of hiring the most qualified applicant is likely to be more significant than the additional health care costs associated with weight. Last, the employer should consider whether the additional healthcare costs would create an "undue hardship" for the employer which depends on the size and the resources of the organizations. For many organizations, the minor additional healthcare expense is not likely to be considered a significant burden.

Practical Implications

Since weight discrimination in employment is widespread and likely to increase with increasing obesity rates, it is important to consider how to promote fair treatment of individuals who are overweight. Otherwise, a large group of individuals will be disadvantaged and their workforce talents overlooked. There are several strategies that can be implemented by employers and by individuals to help minimize weight discrimination.

Ideally, people should be hired based on merit and not on factors unrelated to job performance. Employment decisions can be improved by making them more job-related. Using thorough job

analysis procedures will help employers identify knowledge, skills and abilities necessary to perform the job and reduce reliance on stereotypes. Using structured interviews in the hiring process may help identify the most qualified candidates. Kutcher and Bragger (2004) found that when employment interviews were structured, weight discrimination was reduced. Interview structure involves using standardized, job-related questions and evaluating interviewee responses using rating scales with clear criteria. Vigilance in detecting weight-biased decision-making during the initial hiring stages is especially important because stereotypes may be more influential when relatively little other information is known about the applicant (Roehling 1999).

Employers may think more carefully about their employment decisions if they are held accountable for them (Roehling 2002). Decision-maker accountability in the employment process can be increased by using panel interviews where interviewers must provide a rationale for selection decisions. Prior to making a job offer, employers can be required to seek approval providing additional oversight to the hiring decisions. Current employees can be asked to provide feedback about the perceived fairness of their treatment on workplace surveys. Organizational grievance procedures can also provide employees with a mechanism for reporting perceived discrimination.

Previous research (Crandall 1994) established the importance of perceptions of the controllability of weight. Because weight is often seen as controllable, overweight individuals may be blamed for choosing to be overweight. Following this line of reasoning, if perceptions of controllability are reduced, then antifat attitudes and weight discrimination may be reduced. Teachman et al. (2003) manipulated information provided to participants about the causes of obesity. Some of the participants read a "recently published new article" which reported the results of a research study which identified genetics as the primary cause of obesity and other participants read an article which identified the primary cause of obesity as behavioral factors such as overeating and lack of exercise. The genetics group showed

increased levels of implicit bias while there was no decrease in bias for the behavioral group. In this case, reducing controllability attributions was not effective in decreasing antifat bias. Yet, changing perceptions of controllability in other ways could potentially be effective in reducing antifat bias.

Another type of intervention focuses on increasing empathy or acceptance of overweight individuals. This approach has been successful in reducing other forms of prejudice (Danielsdottir et al. 2010). Teachman et al. (2003) tried to reduce bias by evoking empathy through reading a story about a first person account of weight discrimination. Overall, there was no reduction in bias, however, overweight participants showed less bias after they read the discrimination account. Reading a short article or story may not be sufficient to modify strong anti-fat attitudes. Danielsdottir et al. (2010) speculated that evoking empathy may not be effective because it emphasizes the negative features of being overweight and being overweight makes you an object of pity. Instead, Danielsdottir et al. (2010) suggested that it may be better to focus on treating obese people equally, respectfully and fairly.

Another method of reducing weight stigma involves social consensus and social norms. This approach is based on the idea that stereotypes are a function of one's perceptions of others' stereotypical beliefs. Puhl et al. (2005) found that providing participants with false feedback about others' views of obesity led to changes in participants' own attitudes toward obesity. For example, when participants were told that others held more positive beliefs and trait ratings of obese people than they did, their attitudes improved. Zitek and Hebl (2007) found that when a confederate in an experiment condones or condemns discrimination against a stigmatized group, other participants are likely to follow suit. Interestingly, the effects remained upon retesting 1 month later. Interventions based on social consensus and norms appear promising.

Many organizations have diversity management efforts that promote workplace inclusion (Bartels et al. 2013a). They often include a diversity policy that identifies various aspects of diver-

sity. Including weight in the diversity policy may raise awareness of differential treatment based on weight. Along with the diversity policy, many organizations also offer diversity training. Diversity training should include examples of weight-based discrimination against women.

While it should not be the responsibility of the discrimination target to reduce others' discriminatory actions, overweight individuals may benefit from identifying effective strategies for minimizing weight discrimination. One approach that worked with another discrimination target, individuals with disabilities, was not found to be effective for overweight individuals (Hebl and Kleck 2002). Acknowledgement of a stigmatizing condition is thought to convey openness and minimize interaction awkwardness. However, overweight applicants, unlike applicants with disabilities, are viewed more positively when they do not acknowledge their stigmatizing condition (i.e., weight) (Helb and Kleck 2002).

One technique that has shown promise is an application of the justification/suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice (Crandall and Eshleman 2003). According to this model, prejudice that is followed by justification factors is likely to be expressed in the form of discriminatory behavior. On the other hand, prejudice that is followed by suppression factors is not likely to be expressed. Suppression factors can be internal or external factors that motivate the person to not express his/her prejudice. In a study of the effects of customer obesity on customer service, (King et al. 2006) manipulated attributions of the controllability of obesity by having the overweight customer (confederate) carry a Diet Coke, talk about being on a diet, and mention participating in a half marathon. These statements were intended to demonstrate attempts to control weight in an effort to remove the justification for prejudice. The results showed that the suppression mechanism was successful in reducing interpersonal discrimination. Overweight applicants/employees may be able to suppress the expression of prejudice by finding ways to demonstrate that efforts are being made to control their weight.

Finally, supporting legislation to prohibit weight discrimination may lead to laws that minimize the occurrence of workplace weight discrimination. Clearly, high levels of weight discrimination, particularly for overweight women, can lead to negative individual as well as organizational outcomes. Using the state of Michigan as an example, legislation may help to limit formal discrimination against women (Roehling et al. 2013a, b).

Future Research Directions

There are many areas where additional research is needed to help understand and curb weight discrimination in the workplace. Research on gender differences in weight discrimination points to the need to be more precise in manipulating weight levels. For women, the weight level where discrimination occurs may be lower than for men. It may not be sufficient to use the simplistic categories of overweight and not overweight to describe weight levels because weight level may make a difference in whether a man or woman experiences weight discrimination.

Although some research has examined weight and race effects (Bartels et al. 2013b; Crandall and Martinez 1996; Hebl and Heatherton 1998), more research is needed in this area. Given cultural differences in attitudes toward weight, it is likely that there are differences in perceptions of weight across groups. As the workforce becomes more diverse, differences in attitudes toward overweight individuals may impact weight discrimination. Future research should examine race effects on weight discrimination in the employment process by varying applicant/employee and manager race and weight.

Additionally, weight tends to increase with age (Ogden et al. 2012). No research (to my knowledge) has examined the combined effects of weight and age on employment decisions. Perhaps older job applicants/employees may be seen as less responsible for their weight condition than younger job applicants/employees and therefore suffer less negative consequences of weight. As the workforce ages, there is a need to

examine weight discrimination against older workers.

Although job dimensions like public contact and physical demands have been associated with assumptions that overweight individuals will be less able to carry out the job duties (Bartels and Nordstrom 2013; Finkelstein et al. 2007; Popovich et al. 1997), little research has examined the validity of these assumptions. When hiring managers assume that overweight individuals are unable to perform the job duties, they run the risk of creating legal protections for the employee under the perceived disability definition of disability of the Americans with Disabilities Act. Research may show variability in the ability of overweight individuals' ability to perform various job dimensions in which case it would be wrong to automatically screen out all overweight individuals when some may be quite capable of performing the job.

Discrimination research is beginning to look at implicit attitudes that operate at lower levels of awareness but still impact discriminatory behavior (Agerstrom and Rooth 2011). Likewise, discrimination may not always be expressed in overt forms and we may need to look at more subtle forms of interpersonal discrimination. Callback methods where applicants apply for real jobs may be effective ways to assess both formal discrimination (e.g., interview and job offers) and interpersonal discrimination (e.g., eye contact, nodding, smiling, time spent talking with). Roehling et al. (2013b) suggested that an important variable to examine is the reaction of the overweight individual's co-workers. Their meta-analysis showed the largest effects were on the overweight target's desirability as a co-worker. Future research should look at implicit attitudes and move beyond looking at hiring decisions to looking at other outcomes of weight bias.

Clearly, we need more research on the development of effective bias-reduction techniques. According to Puhl and Heuer (2009), there is significantly more research demonstrating the weight stigma than research looking for ways to reduce the stigma. Danielsdottir et al. (2010) described this line of research as "urgently required" (p. 47). Puhl and Heuer (2009) sug-

gested that research on weight stigma reduction should focus on the sustainability of attitude modification over time, the impact on behavior changes, and comparisons between stigma-reduction methods. Although research has suggested that organizational training may be effective in reducing weight discrimination, there is very little research examining the effectiveness of organizational efforts to prevent weight discrimination.

Conclusion

In the U.S., there is growing concern about an obesity epidemic. Data suggest that obesity rates have doubled over the last 35 years and the average American weighs 24 pounds more today than in 1960 (http://stateofobesity.org/obesity-rates-trends-overview/). Comparisons of the percentages of individuals who are obese or overweight often show that men and women of the same race tend to have similar rates or males have slightly higher rates (http://stateofobesity.org/obesity-rates-trends-overview/). For example, the percentage of White males who are obese or overweight is 71.4 % and the percentage of White females is 63.2 %, For Latino males, it is 78.6 % and for Latino females, it is 77.2 %. The largest gender disparity is for African-Americans and in this case, the percentage of obese or overweight African-American females is 82 % which exceeds the rate of 69.2 % for African-American males. An overweight African-American female could face stigma associated with race, gender or weight.

The weight stigma has serious employment consequences, particularly for women. There is evidence of weight-based discrimination "at virtually every stage of the employment cycle" (Roehling 1999, p. 982). Compared with men, weight discrimination against women is more serious and starts at a lower weight level (Roehling et al. 2007b). Discrimination may be a result of pernicious weight stereotypes. Weight stereotypes are extremely negative and contradict the characteristics associated with a hard-working employee (Roehling 1999).

To make matters worse, people are often more open about their weight biases than they are about other forms of bias (Crandall 1994). Employers often feel justified in discriminating against individuals who are overweight. Willingness to openly acknowledge weight biases may stem from the belief that weight is more controllable than other stigmatizing characteristics (Crandall 1994). Another compounding issue is the lack of a protective ingroup bias. Even overweight individuals view other overweight individuals negatively (Crandall 1994).

Some people may mistakenly believe that weight stigmatization might motivate individuals who are overweight to lose weight. On the contrary, weight-based stigma can lead to lower levels of dieting and exercise (Puhl and Heuer 2010). Obesity is a function of complex biological, social and environmental factors, many of which are not under the individual's control. Research has shown limited success of weight loss programs and even less success for maintenance of weight loss over time (Mann et al. 2007). Public health experts recommend focusing on improving healthy habits and not on maintaining an ideal weight. Many normal weight employees also have unhealthy habits. Employers should focus their efforts on enhancing healthy behaviors (e.g., reducing soda consumption, increasing physical activity) which benefit all employees rather than focusing on weight management (Puhl and Heuer 2010).

Efforts to address weight discrimination in employment should also focus on employers. Many of the assumptions made about the performance of overweight employees are false and could potentially increase employer liability for discriminatory decision-making. Employers should endeavor to make job-related employment decisions and minimize the negative impact of stereotypes. Decision-makers should be held accountable for the decisions they make and have to provide a non-discriminatory rationale for their decisions (Roehling 2002). Research has been promising in manipulating individuals' perceptions regarding whether it is acceptable to discriminate (Puhl et al. 2005). Accountability for potentially discriminatory decisions may send a message that weight-based discrimination is not acceptable. Through these activities, employers will benefit by identifying the most qualified individuals regardless of weight.

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Countering Heteronormativity; Lesbians and Wellbeing in the Workplace

4

Helen Woodruffe-Burton

Introduction and Background

Wellbeing in the workplace has attracted increased attention in recent years and has been identified as a significant management and HR issue (e.g. Tehrani et al. 2007) and research indicates that by promoting employee wellbeing at work, organisations may foster the development of greater staff commitment, less absenteeism and reduced levels of staff turnover (Baptiste 2008). One way of viewing wellbeing at work is the physical and mental health of the workforce (Currie 2001). That is to say, employees should be working in a stress-free and physically safe environment (Baptiste 2008). However, there is significant evidence pointing to various forms of discrimination experienced by LGB people in the workplace which can lead to fear, preventing openness about sexual orientation; a homophobic culture at work restricting employment options and resulting in negative outcomes such as poor productivity and/or leaving employment (Ash and Mackareth 2010; Mackareth and Ash 2013).

It is interesting to note that Mackareth and Ash's study was carried out in the UK which has long had legislation in place to protect LGBT individuals from any form of discrimination – in the workplace and elsewhere – and yet there are still concerns about potential victimisation and perceived discrimination, impacting on wellbeing and mental health. In another UK study, reported by Stonewall (2014a), *"YouGov polling shows that in the last five years 2.4 m people of working age have witnessed verbal homophobic bullying at work. A further 800,000 people of working age have witnessed physical homophobic bullying at work. Further polling shows that over a quarter of lesbian, gay and bisexual people are not at all open to colleagues about their sexual orientation"*.

More recently, reports of a new UK study have shown that 'one in three' lesbian and bisexual women experience workplace bullying (Hoel and Lewis 2011) and that the overwhelming source of bullying and discrimination was from managers. It follows that such problems are magnified in environments where there is a lack of policy in place to safeguard LGB individuals or where legislation or policy is not upheld and maintained consistently. In 2014, being gay is illegal in 78 countries and punishable by death in five. With an ever changing legislative environment for LGB people worldwide (recent examples being the regressive bills passed in Nigeria and Russia), campaigning organisations such as Stonewall in

This chapter focuses on lesbians and therefore draws on information and research relating to lesbian, gay and bisexual people, referred to as LGB. Some sources mentioned may also refer to Transgender individuals as well, in which case this is indicated by the use of LGBT.

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the UK monitor changing laws and the implications for LGB staff.

According to Stonewall (2014b), employment protections exist for LGB people in only a quarter of the countries in the world. Outside of those regions and countries where there is some level of protection, sexual orientation can be the root of discrimination and even greater persecution, not only for individuals living and working in those regions but also for those employees increasingly expected to move overseas within multi-national and global corporations as part of their career development. Discrimination exists not only for employees but also in the hiring process, as evidenced by a study carried out by the Equal Rights Center and Freedom to Work in the USA (2014) which revealed LGBT applicants are 23 % less likely to get a job interview for jobs with eight major government contractors, such as ExxonMobil (whose shareholders have repeatedly voted **against** a resolution to protect employees from LGBT discrimination) and General Electric. President Obama responded with an announcement that he will issue an executive order banning federal contractor employment discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity which is encouraging. However, in contrast, in the same week, 14 religious leaders responded to that move by writing to Obama asking for exemption from his planned executive order barring federal contractors from discriminating against gay Americans (Juro 2014). In 2010, an American magistrate, Joe Rehyansky, reportedly argued that lesbians should be allowed to serve in the military because heterosexual male GI's could have *"a fair shot at converting lesbians and bringing them into the mainstream"* because, according to him, men by nature will search for *"as many women as possible to subdue and impregnate"* Rehyansky (2010). Perhaps not surprisingly, this led to an outcry and accusations that he was advocating corrective rape for lesbians.

These examples indicate to some extent the significant difficulties and discrimination faced by LGB individuals in the workplace; however, as this chapter will show, there are myriad minor, quotidian difficulties that lesbians are subjected to in their daily working lives which can impact on individual wellbeing. Heteronormative expectations in relation to gender which become manifest in the workplace include themes of marriage, relationships, family, children, leisure and holiday activities, for example, (Worst 2014) leading to tensions around openness, holding back and coming out for lesbians in their daily dealings with colleagues and managers in the workplace. Hiding one's sexual minority status through a variety of strategies represents extra work for a lesbian and is repressive (Gedro 2010) and may well have a negative impact on wellbeing.

Sexual Orientation and Research in the Organisational Context

The complex and myriad ways in which gender is created, negotiated and performed is receiving increasing attention in the academic literature. Research focusing on the deconstruction of binary gender categorisations (Knights and Kerfoot 2004) and work considering how gender is both 'done' and 'undone' (Forseth 2005; Hancock and Tyler 2007; Pullen and Knights 2007; Tyler and Cohen 2008; Mavin and Grandy 2012) have opened avenues for the exploration of the *complexity* of gendered experience. However, while there is an established body of literature on women in leadership, for example, and on gender and feminist issues in business (Gedro 2010), there remains a lack of research focusing on sexual orientation issues in the workplace.

Lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) identity has received little attention in the HRD leadership literature (Collins 2012) and sexual orientation has been characterised as an area of 'invisible diversity' which has been much less researched in the management area than other more visible forms, such as race and ethnicity (Colgan et al. 2009). Gedro (2010) asserts that lesbians remain hidden; 'few texts on women and work or women in management mention lesbians' (p. 557) and issues faced by lesbians are not discussed. Indeed, in the wider business and management arena, while there is some growth in the body of literature doc-

umenting research on gay men (e.g. Kates 1998, 2000; Crocco et al. 2006) and on inclusive work which focuses on gay men *and* lesbians (e.g. Penaloza 1996; Walters and Moore 2002; Rosenbaum 2005; Bairstow 2007), there is still a dearth of literature focusing more *specifically* on lesbians (e.g. Oakenfull and Greenlee 2004; Rheineck 2005). Gender research in the organisational context has failed to address this yet; as Gedro (2010) points out, while lesbians share certain pressures with their female heterosexual counterparts, they also face 'distinguishing and extending pressures' beyond those they share with straight women. Lesbian and bisexual women feel that women are not encouraged or enabled to achieve at the highest levels for example and they may also face discrimination as a result of their sexual orientation (Stonewall 2008a).

It should also be noted that not all lesbians share the same kinds of pressures; while there can be no single concept of woman, (Woodruffe 1996) for example, there is equally no single notion of lesbian identity. From the array of possible lesbian identities, Butch lesbians are generally the subject of prejudice in wider society, contravening and contradicting sexual stereotypes, expectations and assumptions about appropriate 'roles' for the sexes and perceptions of those who violate traditional patterns (Whitley 2001). Femmes, on the other hand, are largely invisible in wider society as they are generally women who can "*pass for straight*" (Walker 1993, p. 869). Butch and Femme are only two lesbian identity positions; lesbians may not dress in either a particularly masculine or feminine way; they may have short hair or long hair, wear make-up or not; hence the 'invisible' nature of LGB individuals in terms of diversity. The heteronormative nature of society and the workplace means that heterosexuality is assumed unless there is obvious evidence to the contrary and this is revealed in daily interactions with colleagues, managers, clients and all workplace-based relationships. One definition of heteronormativity is as follows: "the practices and institutions that legitimatize and privilege heterosexuality and heterosexual relationships as fundamental and 'natural' within society" (Gusmano 2010, p. 3).

Such difficulties have been well recognised and documented in work over the last twenty-plus years. For instance, according to Asquith (1999), for lesbians in the workplace, the everyday can often mean the construction of completely different life stories and daily tales as lesbians employ a variety of coping mechanisms in order to overcome or avoid discrimination, harassment or vilification and she cites Hall's work in 1986 outlining such strategies as passing, practised through neutralisation, denial, dissociation, avoidance, job tracking and token disclosure (Hall 1986, p. 135).

In this chapter we will explore tensions facing lesbians between individuals' fluid and flexible performance of self, on the one hand and the hegemonic requirements to play the role of 'organisational celibate' (Acker 1990) in the workplace on the other. As mentioned, having to find ways of hiding or disguising one's sexual minority status can be repressive (Gedro 2010) thus lesbians face a 'conundrum of identity decisions' (Gedro 2010, p. 558). Perhaps nowhere is this conundrum more evident or more pressing than at the entry point; the interview. As Buzzanell (1999) highlights, research into recruitment interviews, information offering guidance for candidates (suitable attire, standards of behaviour, creating a desirable image) and even candidate profiles all rely on characteristics of 'dominant group members' while assumptions about proper interviewing behaviour and outcomes exclude experiences of traditionally underrepresented groups and are designed to maintain management control (Buzzanell 1999, p. 134).

Drawing on previous research focusing on Butch lesbians' experiences of negotiating and performing identity in a workplace interview situation (Woodruffe-Burton and Bairstow 2013), this chapter will review wider lesbian experiences in terms of the heteronormative organisational dynamic and consider the implications for individual wellbeing. By considering and including the alternative perspectives presented here, a deeper understanding of the pressures confronting lesbians may emerge which can inform and enrich our understanding of wellbeing in the

workplace in terms of lesbian experiences within heteronormative workplace environments. This exploration also responds to calls in the literature (Collins 2012) for research which may help with developing theories or models to help explain the 'unique needs of LGB organisation members' (p. 374).

The regulations of both sexual orientation and gender within the working environment are dominated through the combination of *symbolic* power – in relation to what constitutes 'unacceptable' emotional behaviour at work – and *sexual* power, in terms of the dominance of heterosexuality (Bradley 1999). Organisations are socially situated constructions that cannot be divorced from their social, economic or cultural contexts or considered 'depersonalised systems' (Woodruffe-Burton and Bairstow 2013). Halford et al. (1997) argue that organisations have both formal and informal structures; the informal structure, crucially, relating to the ways in which the personal, the sexual and the feminine are excluded from any definition of workplace 'rationality'. Drawing on Acker's work (1990 in Ledwith and Colgan 1996) highlighting the existence of organisational 'silence on sexuality', female sexuality is viewed as the unwelcome intruder in masculine-controlled employment. In the same way, organisational 'archives of heterosexuality' (Harding 1992; Hearn et al. 1989) construct heterosexuality as the dominant frame for sexual orientation (Rich 1993; Whelehan 1995).

Sexuality and heteronormativity in the workplace are areas which are both under-researched and, it is argued, represent barriers to equality for LGBT men and women (Swan 2010). Organisations, Halford et al. (1997) have argued, are socially situated constructions that cannot be divorced from their social, economic or cultural contexts or considered 'depersonalised systems'; 'heterosexuality is reproduced institutionally' (Swan 2010, p. 668). The heterosexist assumptions that pervade organisations ensure that lesbians face the constant pressure of identity management (Gedro 2010). Acker argues that lesbians and gay men within organisations are expected to conform to this hegemonic discourse, requiring them to curtail any expression of their

'disruptive' (homo)sexuality within the organisation, leading to 'organisational celibacy' (1990). It can even be argued (Bendl et al. 2008) that diversity management discourse reproduces heteronormative essentialist notions of identity in organisations.

The 'invisibility' of lesbian and gay workers enforced by the organisational 'silence on sexuality' has clear parallels with Goffman's (1963) consideration of the 'discreditability' of non-visible identities. For Goffman, any visible signs of 'difference' automatically categorise individuals' identities as 'discredited', in societal terms, whilst for those individuals whose identities are invisible – such as lesbian, gay or bisexual workers, for example – he suggests that their identities are 'discreditable' as there is not yet stigma attached to their identity. The overriding issues for individuals with 'discreditable' identities thus become whether to disclose their identity and thus risk being 'discredited' or to attempt to pass for 'normal' and try to conceal the discreditable identity altogether (Joachim and Acorn 2000). The stresses involved in a strategy of 'passing' can be inferred when conversations with those not aware of the individual's identity are considered; Rapley et al. (1998) argue that, in actively avoiding disclosure, such conversations must be "dynamic and fluid within the course of a single interaction, being locally crafted or worked up, in an occasioned manner, to meet the moment-by-moment exigencies of conversational interaction" (1998, p. 810). It is in opposition to such pressures to invisibility and 'celibacy' that the reclaimed *queer* can clearly be located. For Hennessey (1994), promoting 'queerness' is a gesture of rebellion against heterosexuality's pressure to be heterosexual or invisible; that is, either 'normal' or to use Hennessey's words *"shamefully, quietly queer"* (1994, p. 87).

Research has confirmed that for lesbians and gay men employment continues to have the potential to be an unforgiving experience (Stonewall 1999, 2014a, b; TUC 2000). In order to protect themselves from direct discrimination and harassment, studies have shown that well over half of respondents admitted to concealing their sexual orientation from some or all of their

work colleagues (Palmer 1993; Snape et al. 1995). As one respondent in the Stonewall 2008a, b study commented:

> Is 'lesbian' the first thing I want my colleagues to think about me professionally? Probably not. It's not that I'm ashamed of it; it's just there are other things I want them to think first (p. 6)

Another made this point:

> I think it's rare to speak absolutely freely at work unless you are with other people you know are lesbian, gay or bisexual. There's always the self censoring about what you did last night, who you were with etc. It takes a lot of energy and it makes you tired. (p. 6)

Although seen by some as 'living a lie' (Taylor 1986), individuals can equally be seen as fulfilling their role as 'organisational celibates' by suppressing their sexuality within the workplace; a strategy effective only when attention is not drawn to an individual's actual – or, indeed, perceived – sexual orientation (Kronenberger 1991). The introduction of the Employment Equality (Sexuality) Regulations in 2003 (and the Civil Partnerships Act 2005) in the UK may have addressed the worst effects of such power relationships in recent years but cannot address the tensions facing individuals' identity negotiation processes in the context of questions of authenticity versus acceptance. Indeed, in a 2008 Stonewall UK study, lesbians and bisexual women expressed concern about how their sexual orientation might affect their employment opportunities. Many participants also expressed concern that their sexual orientation might affect the way that colleagues respond to them at work (Stonewall 2008a).

Gedro (2010) asserts that there is scant evidence in the literature that leadership can be the domain of those in the sexual minority (LGBT). Lesbians are in the sex and sexual orientation minority thus they are a double minority and represent a threat to the patriarchal status quo of organisational America (Gedro 2012). Both Gedro (2010) and Collins (2012) highlight the importance of recognising intersectionality which is another important perspective which will be discussed further later in this chapter. A

respondent in the 2008 Stonewall survey in the UK sums it up like this:

> I'm in a male-dominated division, a male dominated environment and a pretty tough sector of the economy. It's hard enough being a woman, let alone being a gay woman and trying not to fall into any stereotypes because people tend to judge women much more harshly. (Stonewall 2008a, p. 5)

Another respondent in the same study has this to say:

> A lot of lesbians in the workplace don't want to put their hands up twice: once for being a woman and then secondly 'by the way, I'm a lesbian'. They feel they've got hard enough work cut out as a woman without having to take on board any sort of mission or responsibility for calling out that they're a lesbian as well. (Stonewall 2008a, p. 6)

Gedro also picks up on themes of appearance and embodiment, stating that leadership is a process and a performance and noting that the literature on management and on leadership has begun to acknowledge the 'embodiment' of leadership (Gedro 2010, p. 556). For women this can take the form of implicit pressure on women to appear physically attractive through the use of cosmetics, according to Gedro – and thus providing further challenges for some lesbians.

As Collins (2012) notes, the majority of literature that looks at leadership in terms of opportunity has focused on how current leadership practices and definitions marginalise women. If this is correct, then it may be safe to assume that lesbians are further marginalised. In his review of the literature of the HRD leadership literature, Collins (2012) identifies a gap in the literature for work which addresses how certain underrepresented groups have experienced leadership differently and how these groups – women especially – should be given the opportunity to develop and grow into leadership. Again, it is possible to follow this by assuming that lesbians are also such an under-represented group and their experiences – how they have themselves experienced leadership – should be explored. However, he goes on to state that 'dominant leadership discourse may see no reason to consider alternative perspectives because they are not perceived as being valid' (Collins 2012, p. 370),

thus underlining further the need for more critical perspectives to inform gendered leadership and to consider the role of lesbians in the workplace.

Queer Performance and Lesbian Identity

In the reclamation of the word 'queer' from its history as a term of abuse, academics and activists alike have drawn heavily on the work of Foucault (1979), arguing for the 'performance of self' as the route to freedom for the expression of identity (Butler 1998; Spargo 1999). Writing specifically about gender roles, Judith Butler (1990) has become a key voice calling for a performance-driven view of personal identity, arguing that gender should be dynamic and fluid. In her own words: "There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; …identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (1990, p. 25). Jagose (1996) describes the term 'queer' as the interconnections between biological sex, gender and sexual desire while resisting the stability and dominance of both traditional gender definitions and heterosexuality. Whilst these interconnections are important, however, such a description does not explain how the queer identity is 'managed'. The question for queer theorists becomes not whether one's identity *should* be performed but what *form* the performance should and does take – a question about 'what you do' at different times, not a universal 'who you are' – that is, a place where identity becomes the *effect* of the gendered/sexualised performance, not the c*ause* of actions. How lesbians 'do' identity in the workplace is key, possibly more so for butch lesbians than those whose appearance and mannerisms are more in line with heteronormative expectations, such that they can pass for straight.

There are many definitions of butch (and probably as many of femme) and there exist numerous debates and heavily politicised critiques of the butch identity from feminists as well as negative perceptions from society as a whole. These debates lie beyond the scope of this chapter so a general description of butch identity is presented here from the literature which is not necessarily to be read as definitive. According to Crowder (2012), butch lesbians make a deliberate effort to eliminate any suggestion of 'femininity', going beyond outward signifiers such as clothing and hairstyle by developing bodily skills (strength, martial arts etc.) and effectively rebelling against the restrictions of the female body, stating their inclusion in the category of lesbians and signalling their unavailability to men. Regardless of her self definition, by refusing to be feminine a butch is, according to Crowder, seen to be masculine. Femme identity, (Crowder 2012) meanwhile, is typified by the femme look – feminine clothing and hair, jewellery etc. Butch identity forms, accompanied frequently by the femme identity, have not always found acceptance within feminist or lesbian circles. As Hiestand and Levitt (2005, p. 63) have noted: *"With the advent of the second wave of feminism, a butch–femme couple was seen as mimicking and embracing the very type of gendered relationship that proponents of the feminist movement sought to abolish. During the 1970s and much of the 1980s, butch and femme identities became all but invisible behind the androgynous aesthetic that was more coherent within the feminism of the time"*. They observe that there are still areas in contemporary feminist discourse where the complexities of butch and femme are not recognised – Jeffrey's (1989) view of these roles as simply 'erotic communication', for example, or O'Sullivan's (1999) notion of these identities as heterosexual 'role-playing' – but they do note the increasing popularity of these identities within lesbian circles and in online communities (Hiestand and Levitt 2005). Levitt et al. (2003) note that while earlier feminists accused butch women of adopting male privilege, postfeminist lesbians reclaimed butch identities and accorded them new meanings; claiming butch (or, indeed, femme) roles became purely an act of *self-definition*. Butch identity and lesbians generally are often the subject of prejudice in wider society, contravening and contradicting cultural stereotypes, expectations and assumptions about appropriate 'roles' for the sexes and perceptions of those who violate traditional patterns (Whitley 2001); butch lesbians

who dress like men but use female toilet facilities might be one example. However femmes are largely invisible in wider society as they are generally women who can pass for straight (Walker 1993, p. 869). At the same time, they are invisible in the lesbian community; overlooked and even rejected because "the question of what a lesbian looks like.......has at times been used for judging who qualifies as a 'real' lesbian and who does not" (Dean 2005, p. 94). In the words of Theresa, in Stone Butch Blues (Leslie Feinberg 1993), *"If I'm not with a butch everyone just assumes I'm straight. It's like I'm passing too, against my will."* (p. 151)

The notion of 'roleplaying', whilst not applied strictly in the sense above, offers clear potential for the performance of butch or femme identities within a queer framework. Levitt and Hiestand (2004) note that the butch women who took part in their study, whilst experiencing an 'essential' sense of gender internally, were also aware that naming this gender 'butch' was a social construction and that through this awareness they could feel at ease with shaping their own gender. As Levitt and Hiestand (2004) note, there is no single correct performance of butch identity. They suggest butch identity development is a postmodern process and this, in itself, allowed butch women to adopt a critical stance which meant they could assess which aspects of the presentation of gender felt the most comfortable (Levitt and Hiestand 2004), taking into account factors such as the supportiveness of their environments in decisions to 'tone down' or display their identity in public. It is not the intention of this article to examine in depth the development of butch (or femme) identity or trace its development in the lesbian community, however; the purpose here is to uncover how such an identity might be performed and managed in the workplace.

Experiences of Butch Lesbians in Negotiating Identity in the Interview Context

The following section highlights the findings of research undertaken by Woodruffe-Burton and Bairstow (2013) which explored the ways in which butch lesbians use clothing to shape self and identity and some of the challenges this poses in the working environment. These findings offer insights into the practicalities of negotiating identity in the workplace context and illustrate some of the issues which are significant for lesbians in terms of their day-to-day identity management and negotiation of workplace politics.

In our symbol-rich world the meaning attached to any situation or object is determined by the interpretation of these symbols and, through socialisation, we learn not only to agree on shared meanings of symbols but also to develop individual symbolic interpretations of our own (Thompson 1997). In the context of this research the symbols are clothes and style and, significantly, the gendered connotations associated with particular types of clothing being used to construct, maintain and express identities (Woodruffe-Burton 1998). According to the theory of symbolic self-completion (Wicklund and Gollwitzer 1982), the symbols associated with any given self-definition serve a communicative function. Such symbols may consist of acquiring materials or objects appropriate to the self-definition which: "signal to the community or society that one does indeed possess the self-definition: this indication of having attained a positive self-definitional status firms up one's sense of completeness." (Gollwitzer and Wicklund 1984, p. 65). It will become clear through this discussion that an important aspect of Butch-identified lesbians' sense of self-definition is their deliberate use of *masculine* clothing and accessories. However, the implications of this in terms of their experiences in the workplace can be seen often as negative and/or oppressive.

The research took the form of an online study in that data were obtained via an online discussion forum (with some subsequent follow-up data collection from individuals who had contributed to the original online discussion). Both authors were members of and regular contributors to the forum. (Full details of the methodology and ethical considerations can been seen in the original article; Woodruffe-Burton and Bairstow 2013). The research started when a

thread on an online lesbian message board entitled "My Interview Dilemma" was opened with this plea for advice:

> Basically, I've gotten to the point in my life where I just don't feel right wearing girlie girl clothes any more. I look good in them; I just don't look or feel comfortable. I've always worn women's trousers, tops and shoes and make up etc. for interviews but the thought of dressing like that makes me literally cringe […] I'm absolutely at a loss as to what to do. I feel like I'd be TOTALLY selling out to go for the girlie thing and I KNOW that I should say, "f**k it, I don't want to work for somebody who judges me on that basis" but I do really want this job and I'm not sure how comfortable I'd feel turning up wearing boyish clothes as I'd feel like they were going "Look at the dyke" and it's not something I've ever done before… (Participant 1)

This clearly resonates with Buzzanell's (1999) view that members of traditionally underrepresented groups may 'experience tensions as well as performance burdens' when attempting to meet traditional expectations for interviews. It also illustrates the way that applicants must construct an identity which will be acceptable to the employer and consistent with directives if they are to have a chance of being offered a job. Whatever tensions may present, the most significant outcome – getting the job – justifies the process (Buzzanell 1999). The responses emerging centred around the delicate balance between economic imperatives, on the one hand, and individuals' self-expression described earlier as 'organisational celibacy' (Acker 1990), on the other, which was evident within both the discussion thread and in participants' later private comments, although not always explicitly. One particular thread 'conversation' between three of the participants was a notable exception:

> Wear precisely what is required for you to get the job. Why would you deliberately scupper your chances? (Participant 6)

> Integrity, sense of self worth, honesty? (Participant 7)

> Yes, exactly […] I'm torn between starting out on the right foot for me and being unemployed and skint and really needing this job! (Participant 1)

The reinforcement of the continued importance of work in individuals' lives notwithstanding, this segment of discussion illustrates clearly the tensions Acker alluded to in her analysis of the workplace and highlights that we generally expect far more from our employment than a simple conceptualisation of the wage-work bargain would have us believe. In line with Buzzanell's (1999) work, what we see here are the interactions 'fraught with tensions, self-consciousness and identity negotiations different from the impression management tactics and job-oriented outcomes detailed in the interviewing research' (p. 135). These two interconnected themes – dealing with organisational 'celibacy' in practice and employment expectations – are crucial to understanding the context of individual actions in workplace situations. What emerges very clearly from the thread is the awareness of Butch contributors of the symbolic power dynamics in the interview process:

> I think that I'm more worried because I'm tall and very broad I do look blokey in those kind of clothes. Which doesn't bother *me* one bit but it's only going to take one judgemental person for me not to get the job… (Participant 1)

Buzzanell (1999) suggests that discomfort, self-scrutiny and tensions are likely to be experienced by non-dominant applicants in interviews and the above excerpt shows signs of anticipation of each of those even prior to the interview. The following quote reflects a similar tension:

> To put on a woman's suit, even a trouser one, for an interview would feel so wrong. And yet part of me thinks it's the only way to be sure I'm not prejudicing the interviewers before I even open my mouth! (Participant 2)

Both of the above quotes draw upon the notion of the 'first impression' and thus the underpinning feeling for many that non-conformity will be automatically penalised, in this case by the loss of an employment opportunity. One way to avoid such automatic categorisation, as has already been discussed, is to attempt to 'pass' or perform only acceptable aspects of an identity (Joachim and Acorn 2000; Rapley et al. 1998). This strategy met with both contingent support and outright rejection within the thread discussion. For some, the argument was that the interview process was stressful enough, without the complications of 'pushing boundaries':

…more important than your appearance is how confident you feel, and my concern is that if you're overly worried about what you're wearing then you won't feel as comfortable and confident…the best thing to do would be to wear something you're used to wearing and not use the interview situation to experiment with something new. If you get the job, you have the freedom to wear whatever (well, within reason, you know what I mean) for the job (Participant 5)

This idea of 'playing the game', but only for the duration of the interview, was common:

…without totally selling your soul I'd conform for 40 minutes and then see how things develop once you've got the job. And preferably passed your probation! (Participant 8)

As scary as it sounds, if I was having trouble getting a job, I would prob femme it up a little (Participant 3).

Suggestions were also made as to whether a 'middle ground' could be obtained:

I tried to go as gender neutral as possible whilst at the same time maintaining a good ol' dollop [of] who I am and how I feel inside. The result – I hope – isn't In Your Face Butch but a slightly boyish (kinda geeky) look (Participant 9)

The above excerpts also reflect Buzzanell's (1999) view that non-dominant applicants must attempt to find suitable ways of presenting themselves and of gaining information about how welcome they might be in the organisation if the interview is successful. The notion of a 'middle ground' compromise still presented practical difficulties, though if it meant buying new clothes specifically for the interview:

None of this is about skirts and dresses at all. There's no way I'd entertain wearing them in any area of my life unless I was going to be a bridesmaid or something…It's more about women's trousers and shoes versus men's. I don't really own many women's shoes, partly because it costs an arm and a leg to get them in my size, but I hate wearing heels and "girlie" tops. (Participant 1)

There was evidence of a shared understanding through the discussion that oppression towards lesbians in society may be repeated and internalised within organisations (Collins 2012) and for some this meant employing avoidance tactics or seeking to find ways to protect one's self from this oppression. For some, however, compromise represented a step too far; the sense of self created and sustained through wearing men's clothing was not something that should or would be relinquished, even if it meant not even applying for the job in question:

I may cut off the mohawk to look more professional (depending on what the role was and who the company was) and have a neat male haircut… but I wouldn't take out the piercings. They will have to take me as they find me. I wouldn't take a job that didn't allow me to wear male clothing anyway (Participant 13)

…would i compromise my Butch id for the want of a job .. i would not .. so i certainly would never consider skirts, dresses or anything ladylike .. it oppresses me and makes me feel uncomfortable .. a facade .. and an untrue image of myself. i go as i intend to be seen in the future […] If the uniform of the job required me to wear a skirt and were not understanding of my sexual identity or leaning .. then i would not go for that job (Participant 14)

These individuals' *expectations* of their employment situation add yet another dimension to the analysis, but still leave Butch lesbians having to choose between their own identity performance in the workplace and a job role they desire. There appears to be recognition here of Buzzanell's (1999) view that authenticity may be compromised over time if an individual tries to modify their identity to fit in and it is clearly seen here as being an undesirable option. This discussion has already noted that the new legislation has made way for more supportive approaches to the management of sexual orientation in the workplace but participants were still aware that such laws do not always mean that identities are any easier to negotiate in public arenas:

I guess the problem with [this] […] is that it's all well and good to say that people are not allowed to discriminate – but how do you ever prove that they *have* done if you don't get the job? (Participant 1)

I don't think I have ever worn a tie to interview, opting instead for a reasonably well fitted suit and shirt. I do have some women's shirts, but with a fairly mann-ish cut. While I am out at work, I consciously opt to present myself androgynously initially as I feel I would be giving myself something else to be conscious of at interview and think I would be disadvantaging myself by doing this.

I tend to wear a tie on my first day, get the side-long glances out of the way. (Participant 16)

These identity matters 'exist at the crucial intersection of critical perspectives and HRD's ongoing development as an ally for underrepresented groups' (Collins 2012, p. 354) and demonstrate that 'who a person is and where they come from really do matter' (p. 354). Personal expectations were also seen as important and not be compromised, which demonstrates positive self-definition (Gollwitzer and Wicklund 1984) and self-affirmation (Steele 1988):

I'd wear something as smart as possible, and not worry so much about whether it was men's or women's wear. Especially if you won't have to be formal in your day-to-day job if you get the post. If you don't make an effort, that may count against you more than if you look a bit…'dykey'. The last job interview I went to, I was concerned about wearing a full suit and tie, but did it anyway and no-one blinked. Everyone else was ultra-formal, so if I'd done the shirt and trousers 'must tone down the butch' thing, I would have just looked scruffy (Participant 12).

All of the above excerpts demonstrate concern for the conformity to gender norms in terms of how women are expected to look and behave, as highlighted by Gedro (2010). Indeed, Worst's (2014) study of lesbian and gay people's performances of gender and sexual orientation in the workplace also found appearance to be a key consideration for many lesbians with challenges not limited to those who presented with a more masculine or butch style. Lesbians are often stereotyped as being masculine (Skidmore 1999) and therefore heteronormative expectations occur in workplace discourse as this respondent in Worst's (2014) study highlighted:

there were jokes about being masculine wearing lezza shoes, lezza boots, hmm lezza shirts…just anything that is deemed to be slightly more masculine than what people think women should wear..

While such discourse posits masculine or butch identified lesbian stereotypes as a site of ridicule, it is also problematic for lesbians who do not adopt a masculine style in terms of attire, hair and accessories. Such women are placed in a position of invisibility where they 'pass' as straight and are assumed to be heterosexual, regardless as to whether they which to conceal their sexual orientation or not.

As mentioned earlier, Worst's study (2014) found a number of key themes which were predominant in the workplace and in individuals' minds as they considered whether to be 'in' or 'out' at work. These included relationships, family and leisure. These findings echo those of the Stonewall (2008b) study where respondents mentioned concerns about openness:

If I'm not out at work, I spend more time trying to conceal my home life and therefore not concentrating on my job. (p. 5)

Indeed, they noted that this could be an impediment to workplace productivity in that participants would discuss they way in which hiding their sexual orientation could impact on their ability to focus at work, potentially causing a distraction:

Certainly from my experience, I think without realising it, I spent a lot of my working day with this thing in my head. When you had a social conversation with anybody or if a client rings up and they say what did you do on the weekend? All of these things got in the way for me. (p. 5)

In Worst's (2014) study, it was found that such matters usually cropped up very early on in someone's employment in a particular organisation. One of the respondents in Worst's study made the following comment:

usually it is within the first couple of hours, something comes up, like what did you do at the weekend or where have you been or where do you go on holidays or are you married, you know that sort of thing (p. 147)

Another related issue was around personalising workspace and having to think carefully about displaying photographs or other personal memorabilia on one's desk:

they do it all the time, they put a photograph on their desk, they, you know, all those sorts of things that they do without thinking about that gay people have to really make a conscious decision about (p. 148)

Much of the research covered in this chapter which has explored lesbian women's work expe-

riences has typically focused on issues of stereo-typing (Hall 1986), discrimination (Croteau 1996), and seeking employment or early career development issues (Croteau and Thiel 1993; Croteau and von Destinon 1994) and issues around openness about sexual orientation. However many lesbians are also mothers and Tuten and August (2006) point out that they are at risk of discrimination if they come out at work but are unable to be themselves if they choose to stay 'in the closet'. If 'being oneself' means coming out not only as a lesbian, but as a lesbian mother with a non-traditional family, then this adds a further dimension to personal disclosure decisions. Their study showed that lesbian mothers struggle with work-family conflict and 'work interference in family' (WIF) in similar ways to heterosexual mothers but that being "out" at work was associated with reductions in WIF. They concluded that at least as far as managing the work-family interface, being "out" may in fact be a positive coping strategy. Further, they state that *"given the connection between WIF and other positive attitudinal and emotional experiences on the job (e.g. job satisfaction, organizational commitment, reduced stress), it may be that being 'out' at work has other positive consequences as well"* (p. 592). Griffith and Hebl (2002) also found that gay and lesbian workers who were out about their sexual orientation at work experienced higher job satisfaction and lower job anxiety. Indeed, other studies have proposed a possible 'lesbian advantage', where the view is put forward that lesbians who are out in the workplace may experience some benefits over their heterosexual female colleagues (e.g. Peplau and Fingerhut 2004).

Intersectionality

It is important to acknowledge intersectionality; there exists a wide range of factors that impact on lesbian employees; as Wright (2011) asserts, being a lesbian *"is one factor that may affect decisions about work, although clearly work options are constrained by social class, educational qualifications and many other factors that*

affect labour market participation" (p. 686). Social class can play a key role on lesbian experiences in the workplace (e.g. Taylor 2007), and this, according to Wright (2011) may undermine any proposed advantage of lesbian sexuality. As Wright suggests, this indicates that the intersections of gender, sexuality and class are complex and this underpins the case for an intersectionality perspective for studies of lesbian experience. Gates and Viggianni (2014) also state that the social class that an LGB worker belongs to (upper, lower, working, middle) defines and shapes her or his workplace experiences, yet they argue, these differences have been largely overlooked. Gates and Viggianni (2014) point to Mallon's (2001) critical assertion that LGB working-class people have been largely neglected by academic researchers and as such, the literature has a *"decidedly middle and upper class slant"* (Mallon 2001, p. 116), yet they emphasise that there appears to be at least some theoretical support for the contention that social class contributes to differences among LGB workers experiences.

Gamson and Moon (2004) press the case for moving *"beyond the acknowledgement that gender, sexuality, race and class are linked systems to the more difficult tasks of specifying how sexuality intersects and interacts with other forms of oppression"* (p. 52). They note that studies have examined how a language around sexuality is used by those in power to naturalise oppression based on race, class and gender *"such as in racist understandings of Black women as sexually voracious, Asian women as sexually exotic, Black men as sexually predatory and White women as innocent"* (p. 53) and that these assumptions, either explicit or implicit, have underpinned policies around healthcare and education as well as wider policies such as legislation and colonisation. Shields (2008) reminds us that while we may experience identity, such as social class or gender, as a feature of our own individual selves, identity *"also reflects the operation of power relations among groups that comprise that identity category"* (p. 312). Altman (2002) observes that global political-economic phenomena such as commercialisation, international trade and

labour and tourism, for example, are affected by and reflect attitudes to sexuality and understanding of sexual identities.

The impact of heteronormativity in society on our understanding of gender roles (Bruni 2006; Skidmore 2004) renders the reality of lived experience for many lesbians problematic. Experience of identity negotiation and construction (see, e.g., Woodruffe-Burton 2012) reveals tensions facing lesbians between individuals' fluid and flexible performance of self, on the one hand and the hegemonic requirements of dominant heternormative discourse in society. Walters (2003) examines lesbian and gay identity as something which is "never separate from the vicissitudes of commercialisation and heterosexual, mainstream culture" hence lesbians (and gays) are forced to "re-think and re-imagine marriage, family, partnerships, sexual and gender identity, friendships, love, relationships"(p. 24) and where queer visibility challenges heteronormative assumptions. All of these challenges form part of the daily lived experience of lesbians in the workplace, as examined in this chapter.

Visibility is not always acceptable or comfortable and some may seek to maintain closeted invisibility for personal reasons or out of social and political necessity, as has been discussed. As the existing literature shows, this is not simply a personal perspective but a defence mechanism to counter "the privileges associated with heterosexuality or *assumed* heterosexuality" (Collins 2012, p. 350). Lesbians may be disadvantaged relative to their intersectional position, firstly as women and then in terms of their sexual identity. Strategies for dealing with these tensions evident in the literature and reflected in narrative accounts, as mentioned, range from 'passing' (passing as a heterosexual) to defying expectations of heteronormativity and remaining constant to individual identity.

Within lesbian groups, there are sub-cultural hierarchies of what it means to be a lesbian. The difficulty of being recognised, 'read' as lesbian is problematic for many femmes, because they don't "look like lesbians" (Dean 2005, p. 93) and are invisible, "within the constructs of a given identity that invests certain signifiers with politi-

cal value, figures that do not present those signifiers are often neglected" (Walker 1993, p. 868). However, it is also important to acknowledge that while White lesbians may be disadvantaged as both women and lesbians, both in and out of the workplace, but they enjoy considerable racial privilege relative to other lesbians. Furthermore, the importance of intersectionality is emphasised as "an urgent issue for researchers invested in promoting positive social change" (Shields 2008, p. 301) hence it is particularly appropriate for research which aims to ensure that lesbians have equality and a fair deal in the workplace.

Conclusions and Directions for Further Research

It is clear from this exploration of the literature and also from the examples included in this chapter that identity negotiation is a key issue and lesbians face the constant pressure of identity management (Gedro 2010). As the literature shows, this is not simply a personal perspective but a defence mechanism to counter the heteronormative culture within organisations and 'the privileges associated with heterosexuality or *assumed* heterosexuality' (Collins 2012, p. 350). Strategies for dealing with these tensions evident in the literature and reflected in this study range from 'passing' (passing as a heterosexual) to defying expectations of heteronormativity and remaining constant to individual butch identity. The notion that a person can manipulate the impression s/he makes on others raises the question of authenticity (de Charms 1968). When the 'authentic self' is not being presented, it is frequently noticed by others; "people in general are quite sophisticated in their sensitivity to others and can deal meaningfully with a subtle judgement about an authentic self that might be presented by a person in playing various roles, and a self that does not ring true." (de Charms 1968, p. 280). It could therefore be true to say that deliberately hiding one's identity for the sake of an interview (or, subsequently, in the workplace) could disadvantage the candidate in terms of how they might be perceived by the interviewer/s (or

their colleagues), as well as how they might feel themselves, quite apart from the long term problems associated with working in an environment where it is necessary to hide one's sexuality due to pressures to invisibility and 'celibacy'. Long term passing brings with it a price in terms of authenticity (Buzzanell 1999) and can affect performance and development.

Another theoretical perspective which may be important in this context in terms of our understanding of *'self'* is that of *'not self'* (Turner 1987). In research which looked at individuals' descriptions of situations in which they were their true *'self'* and situations in which they were not their true selves, Turner and Gordon (1981) have been able to match up self designations of *'self'* and *'not self'* where the sense of *'not-me'* came from disruption of underlying order in relations with social structure, while the true-self experience often reflected the luxury of disregarding or even flaunting institutional order which is particularly relevant in the context of organisational culture. This seems to sum up some of the experiences contained within the examples presented here and the research that shows being out is better for the individual and for the organisation. It is clear that most conceptualisations of self and identity as discussed earlier are psychological in their ontology and individual in their methodology. A profoundly social approach to identity is taken by Wenger (1998) who conceives of identity as situated social practices, *"who we are lies in the way we live day to day, not just in what we think or say about ourselves"* (p. 151). He suggests that displays of social competence in a particular *"community of practice"* become reified into language labels we use ourselves and the experience of being labelled is the experience of being the situated self. Clearly, as our research has shown, the notion of butch identity has both psychological roots and is performed as a situated social practice but while it may be seen as social competence within a particular community of practice – the lesbian community – its management and enactment outside that community can present challenges and risks for the individual. Identity is thus not an object but a state in flux

and one which can be tempered and negotiated as butch lesbians move between a variety of social communities with multi-membership across family, work and culture.

Ideally organisations would focus on creating LGB-inclusive leadership and LGB-inclusive workplaces (Collins 2012) so individuals would not feel forced to conceal their authentic self. As Collins (2012) notes, when developing inclusive workspaces it is useful to consider 'practices, procedures, management styles and/or other factors that contribute to the inclusion or exclusion of particular identities' (p. 366). Mavin and Grandy (2012) suggest that in entrepreneur-led organizations 'leaders would have more influence to create a culture that promotes and expects unconventional displays of doing gender, thus providing space for doing gender well and differently' (p. 228). Hoel and Lewis (2011) suggest that it is important that a workplace climate is created that allows for a *"more holistic appreciation of the contribution of LGB colleagues"* (p. 395) and that organisations should recognise that sexual orientation is a significant issue and one which has increased in terms of legislation and societal awareness. Collins (2012) suggests that organisations should concentrate on developing inclusivity and enabling individuals to bring their 'full self' to the workplace. Other sources suggest organizations should make LGB issues part of their more general diversity efforts (Kaplan 2014) as diversity training is one of the basic ways in which organizations can create an inclusive environment, particularly if training is integrated as part of a larger on-going diversity training program focused on dispelling stereotypes and inclusion. Kaplan (2014) also notes that discrimination against LGB employees remains legal in the majority of the United States and that is not likely to change in the near future. He notes that *"even when the law changes, the experience of other protected groups show that legal protections do not end discrimination. The need to decide whether to be out or closeted will persist, which is both a symptom and evidence of continued stigmatization"* (p. 128).

Measures for developing more inclusive workplaces that will allow lesbians to be productive and

authentic colleagues include such dimensions as having robust anti-bullying policies in place; ensuring all line managers are trained and up-to-date with employment legislation and benefits as they apply to lesbian and gay staff; using language that explicitly communicates equality, diversity and benefit policies as inclusive of lesbian and gay staff; promoting to all staff a firm commitment to providing support when or should they experience homophobia or difficulties with clients, customers or service users; supporting and enabling lesbian and gay senior staff to be out and visibly involved in lesbian and gay awareness raising initiatives;• encouraging career development and progression; of lesbian and gay staff to be future leaders (Stonewall 2008b). These kinds of measures are echoed in other papers and reports around the world; for example, Kaplan (2014) advocates non-discrimination policy inclusive of LGB employees; health and related benefits provided to the partners of LGB employees; reimbursement for tax penalty from receiving health benefits for partners; equivalent leave policies; LGB inclusive employee surveys and LGB employee groups coupled with support of and involvement in GLB causes and events. It is clear that all of these would be of help to lesbians in the workplace in overcoming the challenges of heteronormative workplace environments.

The analysis of the literature and examples presented in this chapter highlight various aspects of lesbian identity, sexual politics and gender issues in the workplace which clearly merit further cross-disciplinary investigation. It is argued that the work presented here responds to the call for the development of research to help explain the unique needs of LGB leaders and followers (Collins 2012) and explores the continual process of balancing identity and work. Parallels with gender issues have been drawn; the tensions experienced by lesbians in conditions of heteronormativity may mirror those experienced by women leaders in the context of power relations that are permeated by gender and patriarchy (Gedro 2010).

Further potential areas for future research arising from this discussion include more examination of the experiences of lesbian mothers in the work-place, working class lesbians, lesbians working in gendered environments (e.g. nursing, construction), lesbian career development and lesbian leaders/leadership. Intersectionality has also been highlighted as an important methodological and theoretical lens for studying lesbian wellbeing at work.

Suggested Further Reading

Sexual Orientation at Work: Contemporary Issues and Perspectives (2014), Fiona Colgan and Nick Rumens (Eds), Routledge, London, UK – this book brings together contemporary international research on sexual orientation and draws out its implications for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and heterosexual employees and managers. It provides new empirical and theoretical insights into sexual orientation employment discrimination and equality work in countries such as South Africa, Turkey, Australia, Austria, Canada, US and the UK.

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"Women Like You Keep Women Like Me Down": Understanding Intergenerational Conflict and Work-Life Balance from a Discourse Perspective

Renee Guarriello Heath

Lorrie was a physician's assistant (P. A.) in her late thirties working part-time balancing her career and family. As a PA her job demands years of graduate school, extensive continuous study, and the passing and maintaining of a state board license. Married and the mother of three children, two of them school aged, her youngest daughter was not yet in school. Her fifty-something female colleague, an accomplished anesthesiologist, who chose not to have children, quite brazenly told her one day, "Women like you keep women like me down." (L. Scipione, 2013, August, Personal communication, Salisbury).

The Boomer-aged (born between 1947 and 1964) physician went on to explain that because Lorrie, born into Generation X (between 1965 and 1980), chose to have children and wanted flexible hours to accommodate her family life, women like herself would never be taken seriously in the workplace. The doctor was convinced her own career was hurt despite her decision to not have children, because people would always expect her to demand more flexibility and want to work less—a phenomenon she attributed to younger female colleagues like Lorrie. My friend shared this story with me when I told her I would be writing a chapter on generational conflict in the workplace. This anecdote contradicts some of the rhetoric claiming inter-

generational conflict in the workplace is a myth (Bell 2010). Indeed, the debate of intergenerational conflict ensues in popular organizational literature (Bujak 2009; Sandberg 2013) as well as scholarly literature (Fullerton and Dixon 2010), and this chapter proceeds with the assumption that intergenerational conflict exists, and is especially poignant for women in the workplace struggling to balance work and life. It is motivated by the question: How might generational differences influence the way women manage work-life balance in the twenty-first century?

The presence of intergenerational conflict in the workplace around work and life issues is a perplexing one as at first glance women might expect to find allies amongst each other as they navigate a workplace that has structurally favored men. This chapter explores some of the underlying tensions and differences that lie at the nexus of intergenerational conflict in the work-life context seeking to disrupt staid stereotypes and offer pathways in which women across generations may find commonality and bridge differences. It is a fairly recent phenomenon that four generations of women are now present in the workplace (Martin and Tulgan 2006; Zemke et al. 2000). While the research attending to issues of work and life, conflict and balance, is burgeoning, scant attention has been paid to intergenerational work-life conflict, especially from an organizational communication perspective. In three of the most recent reviews on work-life communication

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literature, no space was given to the idea that generational perspectives complicate the dilemmas that perplex workers surrounding work-life balance (Kirby and Buzzanell 2013; Kirby et al. 2013; Medved 2010). Hence one of the goals of this chapter is to stimulate thinking around issues related to working women and generational differences and commonalities, and stimulate further research in this area across disciplines.

Given the context of this series, this chapter examines the experiences of working, primarily professional women. There is plenty said about the problem with research that perpetuates a particular understanding of women's experiences as all women's experiences. Indeed, standpoint theory arose from the imperative to recognize that the experience of privileged, white women could not and should not stand as the generalized experience of all women (Harding 1991; hooks-bell 1981). I recognize the shortcoming of this lens but defend that the need for studies of all women's experiences does not or should not discount the study of a particular group. According to the Bureau of Labor and Statistics, women in the United States compose "51 % of all persons employed in management, professional, and related occupations, somewhat more than their share of total employment (47 %)" (BLS Report, February 2013, p. 2, para. 3). Understanding present conflicts and dilemmas in the workplace for working professional women is an important step toward solving them and paving a path for younger women joining the workforce. In addition to alleviating conflict in the workplace by increasing intergenerational insight, chapters and studies such as this inform the construction and implementation of workplace policies around work and life tensions (Medved 2010).

I begin the chapter with a discussion of what the communication perspective brings to present research and how we understand generational and gender differences discursively rather than as essentialized, determined attributes of workers. I next define work-life balance and work-life conflict developing how generational differences have traditionally been understood in this context, in particular, through two important lenses— life cycle theory and generational cohort theory.

Reflecting on a research project I conducted with my colleague Linda Williams Favero, I then introduce the generational interpretations of two prolific work-life conflicts (Favero and Heath 2012). The findings from our study are contextualized with a discussion of the gendered workplace. Linking some of the findings of our project, I discuss how present conflict in the workplace is an expected progression in response to the patriarchal structures of each generation's time. Finally, taking into account generational values, and taking a peek at workplace trends expected in the next decade, the chapter ends with some ideas for advancing knowledge on generational differences in the workplace.

A Communication Perspective

A communication perspective of intergenerational conflict around work-life balance gives primacy to discourse and how we interpret discourse to make meaning of our world. In this view discourse is conceptualized as something more than a tool or a variable; it does more than represent or reflect experience—discourse is *generative*—constituting policy, action, relationships and psychosocial responses (Kirby and Krone 2002; Medved 2010). Discourse potently takes place at multiple levels: Much recent work in communication scholarship explores the link between ideological constructs at the societal level (macro) and discourse at the level of organizational policy (meso)—oft referred to as big "D" Discourse, and (micro) discourse, understood as daily interaction and referred to as little "d" discourse (Alevesson and Karreman 2000).[1] Examining the relationships among these levels facilitates understanding of how micro, meso, and macro-level discourses intersect to constitute our world (see also Berger and Luckmann 1967). Discourse studies can explain why policies do or do not work: Why, for example, women (and men) do or do not partake in work-life benefits such as parental leave, or how manager's talk about

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[1] For simplicity of reading, I do not use the big D little d distinction in this chapter.

policies can encourage or discourage them from being utilized (e.g., Kirby and Krone 2002). Attention to these levels acknowledge how micro-level discourse reproduces the grander discourses of our society, for example, when we subtly question a man's decision to stay home with his children by responding in a surprised manner ultimately negatively sanctioning his choice and reproducing stereotypes about who should be home with children. Study in this area can also illuminate when everyday talk has disrupted staid notions of gender, work, and life, ultimately creating a discursive opening for change, be it at the organizational level, or societal level. This research usefully provides an ideological critique of societal structures such as the gendered workplace (discussed later). And it also serves a pragmatic role in *influencing* policy. For example, in their examination of work-life policies and whether or not they were actually used in workplaces offering these policies, Kirby and Krone (2002) argued:

> Although organizational policies are a form of structure, they are produced and reproduced through processes of interpretation and interaction. Consequently, interpersonal, organizational and public discourse surrounding organizational policies impact the structure of the policies and, ultimately, policy implementation in that written policies may differ from policies, "in use." (p. 51).

Their study demonstrated how interaction undermined policy and reinforced an assumption held by many scholars that micro-constructs such as interpersonal interaction influence macro-concepts such as societal and organizational discourse around work-life balance (Kirby and Krone 2002). Thus we learn from studies like this that policy is not sufficient in some cases to change organizational behavior. This example of research stands to illuminate the critical importance of studying the communicative aspects of work-life conflict.

A communication perspective also explicates how interactants utilize different *interpretive frames* choosing one particular meaning over another (Fairhurst and Starr 1996; Jorgenson 2000). Studying interpretive frames explains how power is accessed by social actors as they make

sense of their own experience (Jorgenson 2000). For example, in our study of two groups of professional working women representing different generations, we found interpretive frames helped explain how women from different generations understood and reacted to the powerful discourses of "paying one's dues" and needing "face-time" at work (Favero and Heath 2012; see these discursive themes in other work: Kirby et al. 2003; Perlow 1997). We identified that much conflict resided around these discursive themes and that across generations, different interpretive frames were utilized to understand what it meant to pay one's dues or require face-time. Conflict was embedded in the disparate *interpretation* of the discourses; a deconstruction of how these frames were arrived at helped uncover the values and assumptions that lay latent in the conflict. Later in this chapter I return to this study explaining how exposing these values initiates the opportunity for understanding.

Moreover, a communication perspective respects the dynamism of language and meaning facilitating the discussion of differences without naturalizing them. In this case to naturalize is to make something constructed appear natural, inevitable and undisputable (Deetz 1992). Accordingly, in this chapter, taking a communicative rather than attributable stance, generational differences are understood as belonging to a particular *discourse about* generational differences. This discourse, best interpreted through a postmodern Foucauldian lens (Foucault 1980), "represents 'systems of possibility' that enable and constrain what counts as 'truth,' as well as how subjects and objects of knowledge come into being" (Ashcraft and Mumby 2004, p. 33). By centralizing discourse we avoid essentializing generational, or for that matter gender differences by thinking of them as bounded, natural, and determined. Indeed "postmodernism casts doubts on the ideas of structuralism, functionalism, essentialism, and other theories that have held "truth status" in the modernist society" (Erickson 1998, p. 345). In the Foucauldian sense, generational and gender differences are understood and explained by the scientific and popular discourses anchored in a particular social

and historical time. These discourses do not bind individuals to these categories, but allow us to acknowledge that patterns of behaviors identified within these categorical labels warrant examination and as such are messy, temporal, and subject to differences, exceptions, and changes over time.

For example, communication differences between sexes can be understood as differences that are captured in the social and historical discourses about men and women, that is, how we think and talk about gender differences at distinctive points in time. By taking care to consider the discourses that generate distinctions between the sexes, we are mindful not to reify abstract differences that may or may not exist for men and women. This builds on early gender research that considers differences in light of culture and socialization processes such as distinctions identified in the way men and women care (Gilligan 1982), play, and talk (Tannen 1990). Studies have associated women's communication style as more collaborative, less direct, more polite, and likely to be filled with qualifiers and hedges that soften direct requests (Fletcher 1999; Holmes and Marra 2004). And some studies have found men interrupt more, at least in the workplace (Holmes 1995). Yet empirical research is actually mixed (James and Clark 1993); most variable analytic studies of communicative traits attributed to gender or sex are found to be context driven. Ultimately communication differences between the sexes have more to do with the communities of practice in which they take place than biology (Holmes and Stubbe 2003). For example, studies of male nurses indicate communication skills typically attributed to women such as good listening skills, and caring talk are also skills prevalent in men who work in traditionally "female" occupations (Loughrey 2008). Hence, much of the organizational communication research today is careful not to animate attributes that may have more to do with socialization processes and particular work contexts than with gender or sex.

A communication perspective is needed in the area of generational differences and work-life balance. Generational difference research contin-

ues to flourish within business and sociology literatures (Brinckernhoof 2007; Coleman Gallagher and Fiorito 2005; Cordeniz 2002; Durkin 2008; Eisner 2005; Faber 2001; Martin and Tulgan 2006; Murphy et al. 2010; Twenge 2006; Zemke et al. 2000; for exceptions see Erickson et al. 2010; Favero and Heath 2012; Myers and Sadaghiani 2010). However, much of this research around generations has taken place in the context of marketing and politics in which case researchers identify the common and distinct values of each generation for instrumental purposes. Given the absence of scholarship on intergenerational conflict around work-life balance in the major annuals and handbooks of organizational communication, a convergence of organizational studies and communication studies has much to offer in terms of knowledge generation and policy guidance.

Work-Life Balance

Though plenty of definitions and conceptions are offered regarding our understanding of work-life balance, in the organizational communication field much debate has taken place around the significance of what we call the tension between work and life. The evolvement from naming this body of literature work-*family* balance to work-life balance is significant as language does not just represent and reflect an understanding about work-life balance but it is generative in terms of what counts as work-life balance. Scholars recognizing the constitutive role of language argued a comprehensive understanding of work and life balance was not just about family (even though it is still primarily interpreted as so by workplaces and for that matter scholarship (e.g., Bo 2006). Indeed workers seek balance in their life through travel, exercise, friendship, volunteer opportunities, and countless other activities that are not spent with one's family. Accordingly the way we choose to talk about work-life balance constitutes different understandings of our dilemmas. Calling it work-life balance suggests work is in contrast to life not a part of it (Sandberg 2013). Thus the naming of the dilemma also embeds

cultural and gendered values. As a result scholars prefer various other constructs including work = life balance (Hoffman and Cowan 2010), work life synergy (Beutell 2010), work life facilitation (Wayne et al. 2004), and work life enrichment (McNall et al. 2010) as alternative conceptions for the integration of work and life (for extended discussion see Kirby et al. 2013).

Work-life conflict has been described as, "a form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family [life] domains are mutually incompatible in some respect" (Greenhaus and Beutell (1985), in Kirby et al. 2013, p. 378). Researchers have examined how different spheres have encroached on the other, for example, when does work lead to life conflict versus when does life disrupt work (e.g., Erickson et al. 2010)? Much of the present research seeks to understand how these tensions are understood, managed, and how they influence policy and practice (Bo 2006; Buzzanell and Liu 2005; Kirby and Krone 2002; Liu and Buzzanell 2004; Perlow 1997). Rather than inter-role conflict, this chapter attends to workplace conflict *between* generations of women that manifests from different interpretations of what it means to balance work and life.

Life Cycle Theory

Scholarship utilizing life cycle theory enriched knowledge of work-life balance and work-life conflict by considering "the dynamic relationships among work and family needs and resources across the life course (Moen and Sweet 2004)" in (Erickson et al. 2010, p. 956). Erickson et al. (2010) distinguished among six family life-stages in their study of work-life balance—before children, transition to parenthood, parent of pre-school child, parent of school-aged child, parent of adolescent child, and empty nest. The present thread of work-life research holds, via life cycle theory, that women will come and go from the workplace depending on their age/place in life (Erickson et al. 2010) and that internal role conflict will increase with the onset of life experiences such as marriage and children, and will

decrease as the youngest child ages (Eckman 2002). While life cycle is rich in its contribution to work-life research by complicating and acknowledging the different experiences of working women at different stages of their life, it also fosters premature assumptions. For example, scholarship within a life-cycle theory perspective postulates increased care-giving responsibilities with children coincide with increased work responsibilities, constituting particular challenges to women's careers (Moen and Roehling 2005). The assumption that follows this line of thinking is that women can be predicted to give fuller attention to their careers once the responsibilities of caregiving subside. For example, Sterns and Huyck (2001) claimed that workers in later stages of family life would fare better at managing work and family demands. This perspective is limited for its omission of other life responsibilities (read: not children) including the caring of aging parents, divorce and remarriage—all of which are most likely to take place as the youngest child leaves the home (Erickson et al. 2010). And also due to its present inability to integrate generational differences and attitudes about work that may play a greater role in influencing attention to one's career than childcare responsibilities. This chapter later suggests how generational cohort theory challenges assumptions perpetuated from a life cycle perspective proposing areas ripe for further research.

Generational Differences Around Work-Life Balance

Keeping in mind the tentative labels of difference, generational research abounds as scholars, the government, and employers try to understand the four generations presently represented in the workplace: Traditionals (also known as the Silent Generation), Baby Boomers, Generation X, and Generation Y (also known as the Millennials). Some debate notwithstanding, general agreement defines the Traditional generation as those who were born before War II; in 2011, 18 % (a shrinking presence) of this generation was present in the workforce (Pew Research Center, Interactive).

The Baby Boomer generation, composed of approximately 85 million people, 66 % of whom were part of the work force in 2011 (Pew Research Center, Interactive), was born between 1946 and 1964. Formerly the largest working generational group in the United States (Murphy et al. 2010), Baby Boomers are a powerful cohort that has garnered much research and attention. As of 2011, 75 % of persons from Generation X were present in the workforce (Pew Research Center, Interactive 2011). This is a smaller cohort of approximately 50 million people born between the years of 1965 and 1979 (Strauss and Howe 1997). The newest generation in the workforce gleans great attention, in part due to their size, 76 million (Murphy et al. 2010), and are identified as having been born between 1980 and present day (Eisner 2005). In 2011, 61 % of Millennials were reported to be in the workforce (Pew Research Center, Interactive), and more than half of the workforce is predicted to be composed of Millennials by the year 2020 (Toosi 2012).

Generational cohort theory pushes work-life balance studies beyond life-cycle explanations. This line of research is further refined by various theoretical perspectives. For example Mannheim (1953) first "defined generations as cohorts of individuals born in the same time period and raised in a similar social and historical environment" (in Murphy et al. 2010, p. 33). Fullerton and Dixon (2010) explain:

> For Mannheim (1952 [1923], 290), generations—read as cohorts today—are positioned in the social structure: "Individuals who belong to the same generation who share the same year of birth are endowed to that extent, with a common location in the historical dimension of the social process." These locations give rise to social bonds among members of the same cohort, according to Mannheim, thereby leaving a collective imprint on them and their view. (p. 645)

In other words, generational cohorts are not just defined by age, but perhaps more significantly by the social and historical events and processes that were experienced by the cohorts.

Inglehart (1977) expanded generational cohort theory explaining the differences we see across generations are grounded in theories of socialization and scarcity. Building on Inglehart, Dou et al. (2006) explain

> Generations growing up during periods of socioeconomic insecurity (e.g., social upheaval) learned survival skills (e.g., economic determinism, rationality). On the other hand, generations growing up during periods of socioeconomic security learn postmodernistic values. Consequently, a nation's history can reflect the difference in values and attitudes across its generational cohorts (Conger 1997; Rogler 2002). (p. 102)

Generational cohort theory is unique as it places significance on shared experiences around pivotal events and sequences in history rather than age alone, and that key to the socialization process is the notion of scarcity. These experiences are life-forming as they cultivate workers' values, and become embedded in their beliefs and attitudes. Dou et al. (2006) remind us "cohorts tend to place the greatest subjective value on the socioeconomic resources that were in short supply in their youth" (p. 102). This explains why my mother-in-law is a "saver" never wanting to experience again the scarcity of food or things she experienced as a child. Her cupboards are filled with cans and boxes of food she will probably never need or use. She even refers to herself as a "Depression Kid"—a child raised by parents who had experienced The Great Depression and passed on those values imprinted by scarcity to their children.

Finally, Shultz et al. (2012) argued we arrive at generational differences through *socially constructed* explanations:

> Generational cohort theory asserts that a generation is a social construction in which the effects of belonging to the same age group situates individuals in a position to experience the social and historical process in such a way that these life experiences distinguish one generational cohort from another (Jurkiewicz and Brown 1998). (p. 50)

A social construction explanation of generational cohorts reinforces the temporal and messy undertaking of defining and categorizing attitudes, values, and beliefs of people. It emphasizes that categories and explanations are rooted in social and communicative processes.

In the context of work, and work-life balance, particular values have been attributed to distinct cohorts. Socialized when work and home were divided by space and time, Traditionals tend to separate work and leisure and resent the imposition work can have on leisure time (Coleman Gallagher and Fiorito 2005). They value owning their own home, dependable employment, marriage, and family (Martin and Tulgan 2006). Boomer women lived through and initiated the changes to the family resulting from second wave feminism associated with the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Born into a world where working women had but two career choices—nursing and education (Sandberg 2013) indeed a scarcity of choice—this generation fought hard to invent the supermom role wanting to experience it all—a good career and family (Martin and Tulgan 2006). They battled for full careers in all occupations from the boardroom (Sandberg 2013) to the construction site (Zalokar 2001). Workers in this generation were often in pursuit of the "good life" including material success, at the beginning of their careers. However, as this age group matured, and experienced the harrying pace of trying to have it all, they also sought a more balanced life style (Cordeniz 2002).

Generation X perplexed the workplace leading to a common label of "slackers" or "Generation L for Lazy" by their Boomer counterparts (Eisenberg 2013). This stereotype is more likely an outcome of having formed a very different set of values around work attributed to their latch-key status as children of the first generation of working women, and the first generation of children to experience the widespread divorce of their parents (Martin and Tulgan 2006). It is no wonder this generation was the first to vocalize their desire for work-life balance from the *onset* of their careers (Martin and Tulgan 2006). Their mothers were told they could have it all; by the time this generation arrived in the workplace, they knew based on their childhood experiences that having it all was a myth (Sandberg 2013). Studies have found women in this generation value time over money reflected in their buying habits and lifestyles with an emphasis on quality of life (Martin and Tulgan 2006; Zemke et al. 2000). Accordingly, women in this generation were the first to reject the supermom role. At the peak of their careers, many Gen X women gave up high powered positions and cut back work hours in order to care for their children (Martin and Tulgan 2006; Zemke et al. 2000). This phenomenon is disproportionately representative of Gen X *women* (Bureau of Labor and Statistics, in Sandberg 2013). Faber (2001) argued Gen Xers appreciate flexibility and recreation over career success. This has led others (see for example Jayson 2006) to claim that Gen X desires for work-life balance are often opposed to what is valued in the corporate world.

As of late, much has been written about the Millennial generation, or Generation Y, and given their growing dominance in the workforce it is no wonder scholars, marketers, and employers are all eager to understand this generation's values and how they will influence our social and economic worlds. According to Myers and Sadaghiani (2010), Millennial values were formed by childhoods marked by invested and involved parents, constant feedback and affirmation—both outcomes of intense parenting and an educational system of inflated grades. Their close relationship with their parents has shaped their values around authority—they have been encouraged to not automatically respect it, and self-confidence—they tend to believe they are entitled to opportunities in the workplace. Armour (2005) argued that this generation expects the workplace to accommodate their personal lives. This type of attitude has led to labels of this group such as the "Look at Me" generation (Pew Research Center 2007). Generation Y desires work that includes job flexibility, telecommuting, part-time, and workplace sabbaticals (see also Martin and Tulgan 2006; Zemke et al. 2000). Their version of work-life balance includes time for "play" (Ott et al. 2008) and close personal relationships are important to them. This generation values social responsibility that manifests in volunteerism and the calculating selection of the organizations for which they choose to work (Martin and Tulgan 2006; Myers and Sadaghiani 2010). And of course, the Millennial generation was born into

the digital age. Their ease with technology, and its utter integration into most aspects of their lives, has influenced their expectations for how they might work differently (Myers and Sadaghiani 2010).

Deconstructing Intergenerational Discord: Preliminary Findings

Returning now to the assumption that leads this chapter, scholars acknowledge the presence of intergenerational conflict around work-life balance. Indeed, Martin and Tulgan (2006) found work-life balance differences to be one of the chief contributors to intergenerational conflict in the workplace. Rather than perceiving younger generations as having formulated a *different* and just as valid work ethic, older generations have been known to dismiss these different values as the *absence* of a work ethic. For example, Myers and Sadaghiani (2010) claimed:

> It is possible that Boomer generation workers will never completely accept new colleagues who do not share their work ethic (…) many Millennials may remain somewhat marginalized by their older and more senior coworkers. (p. 228)

This incompatibility among generations warrants further exploration.

My aforementioned research (Favero and Heath 2012) sheds some light on this conflict and also offers hopeful insights for understanding across generations of working women. Interested in the enduring discourses around work-life balance, and the conflicting interpretive frames that women use to understand these discourses, we interviewed women from four generations. We employed a feminist focus-group methodology, Interpretive Focus Groups (IFG), which invites focus group participants to collectively interpret data that were collected prior to the commencement of the focus groups (Leavy 2007). After Linda spent more than a year collecting survey and interview data on generational attitudes about work, work-life balance emerged as one of the most significant areas of difference and conflict between generations. Accordingly we brought interview transcripts and survey results to our

focus groups, inviting them to engage in making sense of the data. In this process, participants who share characteristics with the subjects of the data, play a key role in interpreting themes and making claims (Leavy 2007). We divided the participants into two groups of women—Traditionals/Boomer and Gen X/Y—given the similarity of work values these groups have been known to share. By separating the participants into more homogenous groups we created a safe space to facilitate open discussions (Leavy 2007). The women who participated in these groups were found through a snowball sampling method; we asked women we knew to recommend working women they knew for the study. The Gen X/Y group was composed of seven women—all but one had advanced degrees (one held a bachelor's degree). Eight women constituted the Traditional/Boomer group—six had bachelor degrees, one held an MBA and the other a Ph.D. Mentioned previously, we found two particularly strong discourse themes that seemed to be at the center of conflict between these groups—the discourses around paying your dues and face-time. Despite the small sample size represented in these focus groups, the dominant discourses identified by our participants are also common themes in scholarly literature about work-life balance (see Jorgenson 2000; Perlow 1997)—meaning they are discourses that take place at societal and organizational levels, *and* they are reproduced in everyday talk.

Exemplifying the discourse of paying your dues was this quote from one of Linda's previous studies and a part of the data that we shared with our focus groups:

> They [younger generations] can't expect to be paid $200,000 and not put in the hours. If they want a different lifestyle with limited hours then they can work for a government agency. If they want to know what it means to work hard, then they need to go to New York. Fifty-sixty hours a week are nothing. (Rick, Boomer). (Favero and Heath 2012, p. 343)

Interpreting this statement, women in the Traditional/Boomer focus group at first deemed the younger generations of working women to be entitled. For example, Darcy (Traditional/Boomer focus group) said:

Why do women in the generation behind us think they can [go in and out of the workplace] because I would say women in my generation didn't think they could? I paid 16 years of dues professionally before I could [choose my own hours]. (p. 344)

Darcy's statement is telling as she hints of the constraints that women of her generation felt as they managed their own work and life—"women in my generations didn't think they could." Although women in the Traditional/Boomer focus group first landed on the theme of entitlement as a way of explaining behavior, upon further reflection they later backed away from this interpretation of the younger generations' response to paying their dues, demonstrating a discomfort with entitlement as a definitive explanation.

Indeed, we found participants in the Generation X/Y focus group had their own interpretation for understanding the discord between generations around the theme of paying one's dues. Myers and Sadaghiani (2010) claimed, "The idea of paying their dues by working hard to demonstrate their worth before they are given significant tasks is likely to be resisted by Millenials" (p. 228). This rang true for us as the younger group of women in our focus groups also resisted the idea of paying one's dues. They believed the conflict around this discourse was more about the validation of their predecessors' choices than their own entitlement. Donna (Gen X/Y focus group) asked, "It must be hard to be a Boomer. None of us have had the values we were brought up with completely challenged" (Favero and Heath 2012, p. 345). She surmised that the discourse of paying your dues serves to validate Boomer's life choices. Indeed a quote from a Boomer in the data set shared with the focus groups supports this conclusion:

There is a sense of expectations being different and putting the mirror up to yourself (…) and on some level if it makes you feel bad in any way about the choices you made when you were younger, then you might lash out against the new generation that's not making the same choices you did. (Favero and Heath 2012, p. 345)

This quote is poignant and personal as it illuminates the way in which some Boomers inter-

pret their younger colleagues' demands for greater flexibility and shorter hours. These requests stimulate reflexive thinking by the older generations who did not ask for shorter hours or greater flexibility—according to Darcy, they didn't think they could. They challenge the choices of the Boomer generation by suggesting there are alternative ways to work. In a discussion later in this chapter regarding the gendered workplace, we will explore why these challenges were probably not available to older generations of workers. Never-the-less, Boomer parents may question their own choices when a younger colleague brings their different expectations to work. Another participant, Natalie, in our Traditional/Boomer IFG supported this interpretation:

I waited until my children were older. You make choices. My younger son just left home, so I can work late or go home early. I have no boundaries. You make adjustments with young children with what you're comfortable with. When I interview younger people, I ask them, "When you have kids, what is your plan?" And they answer, "whichever one of us [married couple] is further along in their career will stay home." My generation didn't talk that way. (Favero and Heath 2012, p. 346)

The discourse around the need for younger workers to pay their dues before demanding greater flexibility works to ratify the decisions made by their more senior colleagues who worked long hours, or postponed their careers until their children were older. By interpreting the younger workers as entitled, earlier generations of workers could escape the assault to their own choices around work and life (Favero and Heath).

Intergenerational difference also surfaced around the discourse associated with the idea of face-time. This conflict is exemplified in another scenario captured in the fieldnotes of Linda's first set of data. It was shared as a fieldnote excerpt open to interpretation during our focus groups:

The secretary of a young female lawyer said, "I am worried about Kristin. She is working until 2:00 and 3:00 in the morning and waking up at 5:30 to respond to e-mail. She tries to rest at home before coming into the office and then stays late." Moments later Rick, a senior partner in Kristin's firm, stepped outside his office and sarcastically complained about Kristin's lack of visibility. "It

would be nice to see her during working hours. Do we know when she plans to come in? (Favero and Heath 2012, p. 346.)

Face-time has long been a subject of interest in studies focused on work-life balance, especially as challenges have surfaced claiming face-time at work is a poor indicator of worker productivity (Kirby et al. 2006, 2013; Perlow 1997; Rapoport and Bailyn 1996). Some studies have even argued the flexibility to work at home has led to longer work hours and greater encroachment on our personal lives, suggesting workers who give less face-time to work might actually be working harder than those who go into the office to work (Edley et al. 2004). In our study, the fieldnote excerpt above resonated strongly across both IFGs. Not surprisingly younger women did not believe face-time was as important as their senior counterparts did even though both groups acknowledged its importance in particular contexts, such as working with clients.

Our study elicited three interpretive frames that women used to make sense of conflict around face-time: technological adroitness, face-time as relationship oriented, and face-time as product oriented (Favero and Heath 2012, p. 347). First, attitudes about face-time seemed to depend on the technological skill of the participant. Although comfort with technology depends on many contexts other than generational, such as industry or organizational and/or wider culture, women in our Traditional/Boomer focus group did express more discomfort with younger generations working from home epitomized in Mary's (Boomer) question, "What do they do? How do I know they are working? (p. 347). A participant, Pam, in the Gen X/Y IFG explained: "Many of us access networks remotely, but one or two Boomers in the office don't know how to do that…they don't know how to use technology such as thinking with your fingertips so they continue to use Dictaphones" (p. 347). Thus, having general knowledge and comfort with technology, how that technology is used, and how it can make work more efficient across generations can ease the tension around face-time. This will be especially

important as Millennials' presence grows in the workplace as they are the first generation to have been raised on technology and have most fully integrated technology into all aspects of their lives (Martin and Tulgan 2006).

The other two frames used by women to understand conflict around face-time issues worked in tension with one another. Women in our Traditional/Boomer group talked about face-time in relational terms: "I feel I need to be available. I do think face-time is important" (Mary, p. 348). Darcy, another Boomer in our IFG group said, "I had a reputation and I had a permanent place" (p. 348). While Bonnie said, "Work is important to me, it's difficult to cut ties" (p. 348). In contrast, the Gen X/Y group spoke of face-time primarily from a product orientation. Nan (Gen Y) said, "The work is the work. Leaving doesn't change it getting done, just when it gets done and it will get done" (p. 347). Within our IFG groups, the younger cohort at first interpreted the emphasis on face-time by their older colleagues as a lack of trust. However, their discussion throughout the focus group moved to a more nuanced understanding of the product-relation tension around face-time. Ann (Gen X) said,

> Is your identity tied to your work? I remember when I started at the firm…I didn't know where my degree was…and a partner came in and asked, "Where is your diploma? I thought you graduated top of your class? Why isn't it framed and on your wall?" (…) I realized he identified with his education and career path and it was a huge component of who he was and I was proud of what I accomplished, but it didn't define my sense of who I am. (Favero and Heath 2012, p. 348)

This focus group determined face-time was about relational and identity needs of women who had heavily invested time and energy into their careers. Our findings are consistent with others who report that women from younger generations "connect personal identity with work less closely than previous generations" (Shultz et al. 2012, p. 45). Understanding conflict around face-time as a point of distinction for how different generations of women identify with work can reframe the conflict and foster empathy for one another's preferences.

This study opens avenues for future research to take place regarding identity and generational differences. Qualitative scholarship could help identify and explicate a work ethic of the twenty-first century. Researchers should be asking what role identity plays in present attitudes and commitment to work. What strongly held identities will be at play in the future? In particular, scholars should consider at what points of distinctions do Gen X and Gen Y workers differ and converge, and how will that affect work-life policy in the workplace? Where will we find misunderstanding and conflict in the next decades and how might we understand these conflicts through a better understanding of identity? These conflicts are also better understood with an historical understanding of the gendered workplace.

Revisiting the Context for Conflict: The Gendered Workplace

To fully understand the conflicts that take place around work and life we need to unpack the way in which the workplace is historically gendered to favor men. In the United States and most of the world, work ethics, values and practices have been formed in the context of a male-dominated work environment. To teach the concept of the gendered workplace in my organizational communication courses I ask students to design and reinvent the workplace within the context of a matriarchal society—one in which the workplace was built around the skills, aptitudes, needs, and desires of women. In this exercise they consider what would the work week look like? What might the work day look like? How might policies regarding child care, breast feeding, and maternity leave differ from today? What might the workplace sound like? What kind of communication styles and structures might be dominant? The point of the exercise is to illustrate that the way we work, our expectations, and communication are socially and historically gendered as the workplace first accommodated those men who more fully participated in it. This gendering has real and material consequences for what counts as accepted practice. Indeed, a recent article in

Forbes explored the same question, "Would a workplace built on feminine norms be all that different than those built on masculine norms?" (Quast 2012). The article goes on to cite evidence, that yes, the workplace would look different. Quoting Marsha Firestone, president and founder of the Women Presidents' Organization, 100 % of the 50 fastest growing women-led companies provide health insurance compared to 62 % of companies nation-wide. She said 88 % provide 401k retirement options compared to 47 % nation-wide. Eighty percent of these women-led companies provide life-insurance compared to 59 % of private companies nation-wide. And finally 66 % of these same companies offer telecommuting for their employees in stark contrast to 5 % of private companies nation-wide (Quast 2012). These statistics suggest strongly that the workplace would indeed look different if gendered to accommodate women's lives.

Scholars remind us organizations are not "neutral systems of meaning, but rather contexts of struggle between competing interests and their respective systems of representation (Mumby 1993)" (Hoffman and Cowan 2008, p. 229). Historically women's interests in organizations have been marginalized. In our larger culture both in and outside of the United States, women do most of the care work in life such as shuttling the elderly and children to doctors and dentist appointments. Indeed, in Bo's (2006) study of work life policies, "the idea that women do most of the care work, was so 'natural' that the lack of equality it entails was not seen" (p. 132). This inequality in expectations of care has material consequences for women in the workplace. For example, family needs are not usually considered when workplace meetings are scheduled—I experienced this personally when I had a difficult time attending a recurring faculty meeting on Friday afternoons at 4:00 p.m. For some women, myself included, this creates internal conflict about life needs that pull from work (Bo 2006). Part-time work as a solution to managing work and life does not often work out very well from management viewpoints (Bo). Accordingly, some women solve the problem of not being able to work part-time or take maternity leave by

leaving the job. Contrarily, full-time employees are "invested in (employed, educated, promoted)" (p. 132). It is no wonder that the female physician quoted in the opening of this chapter felt the material consequences of the workplace; she is not wrong to think that the workplace marginalized her commitment to work given the present social and historical practices. As of 2011, "women's earning were 82 % of men's" earnings (BLS Reports 2013).[2]

Communication scholars drawing on the work of sociologist Anthony Giddens explain, that "every time we engage in a practice, we are helping to produce and reproduce the institutions that undergird it" (Pool and McPhee 2005, p. 178). Accordingly the practices around work and life—in this case providing the primary care needs in a society—reinforce care as primarily the responsibility of women and consequently the workplace as a gendered institution that rewards those who do not have the added responsibility. The gendered workplace is thus, ideological in its practice because power is present and privileges one group over another without being seen (Mumby 1998).

Given this, our intergenerational findings are better understood when we consider the context of a gendered workplace. Women in our Traditional/Boomer IFG were the first to break glass ceilings. The role models who mentored them and cultivated their work ethic were men who worked long and hard hours, often facilitated by having a wife in the home to take of family and other needs (Favero and Heath 2012). Women in previous generations did not have the luxury of questioning work hours as they were fighting to be present in the workplace. They melded into a gendered work environment by, "adopting the masculine work ethic that manifests in memes of paying your dues and putting in face-time" (p. 349). Their choices were con-

strained by the workplace structures that were available to them. Their identities were greater connected to the workplace because of the hours, sacrifice, and expectations present during their work experience (Favero and Heath 2012; Shultz et al. 2012).

In what might be conceived as a healthy progression of change in the traditionally gendered workplace, younger generations of women, who could take for granted their right to be there (thanks to battles fought and won during the feminist movements), could now challenge gendered structures and practices such as so-called work ethics that demand one pays their dues before asking for flex time or reduced hours. Given the values of these new generations, frequently formed as latchkey children of working parents (Gen X), or as the children who were the center of their family's universe (Gen Y), these women's battles are forming around altering workplace practices. This is a battle that their foremothers were not well positioned to fight, but for which they absolutely laid the groundwork. Unfortunately, as the quote leading this chapter indicates, values about work frequently manifest in conflict with each interpreting the other's generational choices as a threat to their quality of work and/or quality of life. The senior physician sees the challenge to workplace structures driven by younger women as a threat to her dedication and willingness to work in the workplace as it is presently designed. The younger PA finds her quality of life challenged by a workplace that singularly defines work ethic by generational and gender attributed values. She rejects the present design of the workplace.

Hence, intergenerational conflict around work-life balance cannot be understood outside of the gendered workplace. In our experience, these conflicts are not well-understood because a gendered workplace is a workplace embedded with an ideology that by definition is invisible, and that has benefitted and continues to benefit those who are willing to work like men did three decades ago. Intergenerational research in this area is greatly needed to disrupt the invisibility and make transparent the ideology embedded in our traditional work ethic. As such

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[2] The most recent reports on this subject show Millennial women earning 92 % of their male counterparts earnings at the beginning of their careers. However, whether they will maintain this narrowing of the wage gap throughout their careers has not yet been determined and has not panned out for previous generations of women (Pew Research Social and Demographic Trends 2013).

I suggest a research agenda that coalesces the preceding discussion:

Research is needed to understand the generational changes that have taken place in the workplace *by the workplace* in addition to the changes experienced by the people in it. How have the equality-battles changed for women as the workplace has changed? What structures, practices, attitudes, and ethic are distinctly different now than were present for previous generations? Given these changes, how might the workplace continue to change? What trends do we anticipate as a result of generational influence? Of particular importance is the role that men play in the gendered workforce. How aligned are men and women's views of work, for example, around paying one's dues and face-time. Are these generational differences consistent across sex and gender? And how might workplace and family practices (Sandberg 2013) by men be altering the gendered workplace? Only when we thoroughly understand the ways in which work is gendered and not, will we understand the shifts and possibilities around work-life balance.

Expanding the Research Agenda for Work-Life

Feminist theory has historically been adept at acknowledging and expanding our understanding of the lived experience of women across all circumstances including class and race (i.e., feminist standpoint theory; Harding 1991). This scholarship has complexified sweeping generalizations and simplified stereotypes, and challenged the privilege and prejudice embedded in our research. Studies of work-life continue this pattern by asking us to consider that a woman negotiates work and life differently depending on the stages of her life, the ages of her children, and the responsibilities she has to aging parents. Work-life balance theory that incorporates a generational cohort perspective, continues this long convention of problematizing what we think we may already know about working women. Generational cohort theory stimulates our thinking around workplace values. Within this theory

we are forced to examine when, how, and why particular values around work were formed as well as what will be the legacy of those values. Within this perspective more gracious understandings of workplace conflict are formulated. More experienced generations of women in the workplace are not workaholics who do not trust younger women. They are instead, deeply identified with their work and have gleaned great personal satisfaction and belonging from working the way in which they do/did. Younger generations of women are not easily dismissed as entitled and lazy; instead they are challenging structures that threaten living a life that draws more wholly from other experiences outside of the workplace. They have a work ethic, and it is different, not wrong. Perhaps more accurately they have developed a work-life ethic.

Work-life generational cohort theory research, in particular, challenges assumptions that flow from life cycle theory such as the notion that women will return to the workforce more fully when their children are grown because they experience less work-life conflict than younger cohorts. Instead, cohort theory suggests that women from different generations have alternative views of work and may not necessarily return to the workforce in expected ways because even though responsibilities may lessen for women as their children grow (life cycle theory), their *values about work*, imprinted generationally, are not likely to change.

Moreover a work-life generational cohort perspective departs from heteronormative assumptions about women and more fully integrates the experiences of working women who do not have children—a group typically left out of life cycle theory research (Erickson 1998; Shultz et al. 2012). Cohort theory illuminates that work-life balance is perceived and thought about differently for distinct generations of women, for example, Millennial women are asking for a more flexible workplace not just to raise children or manage a family but to travel, to volunteer, to exercise and to live more fully outside of the office. These openly expressed values (micro-level communication) have the potential to change workplace structures and policies

(meso-level) and larger discourse about work (macro-level) by asking us to consider and legitimize other reasons, besides family responsibilities, for changing the way we work. This generation's challenge of workplace values is monumental as we are now considering work-life balance outside of an interpretive framework of *responsibility*. Study after study documents the marginalization that women without children feel in the workplace as their peers with children and spouses take advantage of work-life policies such as flex-time and leaves of absence with greater support from their employers (e.g., Bo 2006; Hoffman and Cowan 2010; Kirby and Krone 2002). Those women who do not have the same responsibilities to "legitimize" their full participation of work-life policies have struggled with what seems to be an unfair system, fledgling as it may be. A work-life generational cohort perspective interrogates the assumption that work-life is about balancing responsibilities, but rather that it is also about balancing other fulfilling activities. Thus the generational cohort theory perspective of work-life balance probes our values about work as a society. It demands that we understand work-life balance in the context of a whole person, (as opposed to the fragmented identities of mother, wife, worker), and whole life (not just a segmented section of years that women may or may not work more). The theory illuminates the role our culture has played in formulating our values around work and life.

Rethinking Intergenerational Conflict as Rejection of the Gendered Workplace

A work-life generational cohort theory fosters our understanding of intergenerational conflict not as conflict among persons, but as a fundamental conflict with the gendered workplace. Values imprinted on newer generations bump up against traditional workplace values that are embedded in a sexist work ethic. Based upon this provocation and recent workplace trends I suggest several propositions that could drive research agendas in this area, as the workplace behavior of

younger generations deviates from the traditional patterns laid by Traditionals and Boomers. Each of these trends leads to propositions that suggest younger generations are rejecting the conventions and ethic of the workplace as it is. These include trends regarding self-employment, part-time work, and return to the workplace after raising a family.

Self-Employment

Based on the work-life values of younger generations of women, we might expect to see more women shunning traditional workplace structures and venturing out on their own, creating the spaces and environments that appeal to their needs and desires. Indeed, in 2011, "34 % of all self-employed persons were women, compared with 27 % in 1976" (BLS Reports 2013, p. 4, para 3.). What might be even more telling is the claim by the entrepreneur resource website, *gaebler.com*, that in the past 30 years, the self-employment rate for men has increased 2.5 % compared to 33 % for women in the same time span! (Gaebler 2013) The website goes on to explain that self-employed women enjoy a better work-life balance and have more time with their families. Given what we know about the Generations X and Y, their values about work and life, and their skill with technologies, we should expect to see more of this trend.

Proposition 1: Women from Generations X and Y will continue to compose greater and greater percentages of all self-employed persons than historically experienced.

A Partial Return to the Workforce

In an ongoing debate journalists and social scientists have argued whether or not women who have "opted out" (Belkin 2003) of the workforce to raise children want to return to their full-time careers. In a *New York Times* cover story Judith Warner (2013) argued in her headline, "The Opt Out Generation Wants Back in." Lisa Belkin (2013), author of the original *Times* story on opting out, responded in the *Huffington Post* with a column entitled, "What Mothers Really Want: To Opt in Between." Belkin referenced an unscientific but never-the-less, large survey of 2,127

women sponsored by *Hulafrog*, a network of local parenting websites, which found that given the choice, 65 % of respondents would prefer to work part-time, with only 9 % saying they wanted to work full-time. The other 26 % preferred to stay home. This survey is consistent with the latest research on social trends, "Most working mothers (62 %) say that they would prefer to work part time, and only 37 % say they prefer full-time work" (Parker 2012).

In addition to the choices preferred by working mothers, we also know that members of the Millennial generation "are about twice as likely to work part time (24 %) as are members of the Gen X (10 %) or Baby Boom (13 %) generations" and that the numbers continue trending in this direction ("Millennials. A Portrait of Generation Next," p. 45). According to the same Pew Research report, reasons for Millennials' record-setting numbers as part-time workers are multifarious and include having been affected by the recessed economy resulting in high unemployment numbers for this cohort. Yet, this information coupled with the well-documented desires of the Millennials to do more volunteer work and travel earlier than previous generational cohorts, we might expect to see women *seeking*, not just accepting part-time work as a way of managing work and life.

Proposition 2: Women from Generation X and Generation Y will participate in the workforce in part-time positions more frequently than their predecessors.

Proposition 3: Women from Generation X and Generation Y will participate in the workforce in part-time positions for a longer duration of time than their predecessors.

Rejection of Current Workplace

Life cycle theory suggests that as a woman's last child reaches the age of 18 she will more fully embrace her career because her childcare responsibilities have decreased. Yet, according to the BLS Report (2013), employment for women with no children under age 18 peaked at 54.3 % of the population in 2008. Since then it has declined from 53.8 % in 2009, to 53.5 % in 2010, and 53.0 in 2011. (p. 23)—perhaps not statistically sig-

nificant but never-the-less suggesting a direction. Given that aging Boomers are reaching retirement ages, and the present values of Generation X workers, including their early eschewing of career over family and other life experiences, it may be that women from Generation X, will not return to the workforce as life cycle theory suggests. If families have been making it on one income for several years, they might continue to try and do so, so long as returning to the workforce compromises their values around quality of life.

Proposition 4: The percentage of women in the workforce with no children under age 18 will continue to decrease as the children of Generation X workers leave their homes.

Following these propositions a discussion of work-life balance in the twenty-first century might prove to be one of the most significant conversations we can have about work. It is hard to know when the micro-discourses around work-life balance might actually constitute an ideological shift in our society around workplace values. But we can be certain that shifts will occur. Kirby and Buzzanell (2013) argued:

> Changes in workforce demography heralded a shift in organizational selection, retention, and promotion practices, as well as national laws and policies, to support women's increasing and sustained labor for participation (Cook 2004; Esping-Andersen 1999; Medved 2007; U.S. Department of Labor 2012; Work and Family Researchers Network). (p. 352)

Just as the presence of women has altered the workplace, so too will the distinct generations of workers influence how we work. If the above propositions prove true, employers, policy makers, and organizational developers will be forced to rethink how work is constituted; the consequence of not doing so is that women will reinvent the workplace to their liking by starting their own companies, not fully participating in it, or avoiding it all together. The good news is that the advent of new technologies coincides with generational rejections of the present workplace structures. Accordingly, the impetus and the tools may be in place to challenge a work ethic that is a remnant of social and historical time that no longer exists.

Conclusion

This chapter, first draws our attention to the power of discourse as it shapes how we understand ourselves (via claims about gender and generations), and second, reminds us of the generative power discourse has to constitute our understandings and beliefs about work. It illuminates the important role discourse has played in reproducing gendered and antiquated constructions of work. Feminist research in this genre has the potential to achieve its advocacy goals (Ashcraft and Mumby 2004) by identifying dominant discourses around work-life balance, and acknowledging and deconstructing the different interpretations of those discourses. Doing so may transform workplace conflicts among different generations of women into constructive conversations and policies, and ultimately, less gendered workplace structures.

This review also importantly complicates life-cycle scholarship on work-life balance by elucidating the contribution generational cohort theory makes toward understanding women's choices around work. Given the near equal sizes of the Boomer and Millennial generations, and the significance of having four generations of women in the workplace, scholarship will need to continue to include and acknowledge generational values as we seek to understand women's experiences.

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Sexual Harassment: Undermining the Wellbeing of Working Women

6

Kathryn J. Holland and Lilia M. Cortina

Workplace harassment based on sex and gender (a.k.a. "sexual harassment") was once conceptualized as a sexual problem: coercive or unwanted sexual attention from one employee to another that stems from natural and/or inevitable feelings of sexual desire. Today, this behavior is more appropriately understood as discriminatory conduct that has little to do with sexual desire and much to do with hostility. With this progress in understanding sexual harassment came evolution in the law, research, and preventive and corrective mechanisms. Our chapter discusses each of these in turn.

Before beginning, let us outline the boundary conditions and central topics of this chapter. First, our primary focus is sexual harassment *in the workplace*. Although academic sexual harassment (i.e., toward students in schools and universities) is a related phenomenon, it is beyond the scope of this article; we will only review research involving student participants when the goal of the study is to understand broader processes related to sexual harassment. Second, we primarily cover sexual harassment research conducted from the mid-1990s onward. This work has its origins in the 1980s, and several large-scale studies in that decade (Gutek 1985; USMSPB 1981) heavily

influenced the investigations that followed. Since then, however, the workforce has become more educated about sexual harassment, organizational methods of managing sexual harassment have evolved, and sexual-harassment research methodologies have become increasingly sophisticated. We therefore concentrate on the most recent, methodologically advanced work. Finally, the most extensive research on this topic has emerged from the United States (U.S.). Though we address legal frameworks and findings in other nations, the bulk of our chapter reviews studies conducted in the U.S. (many of which are highly generalizable to other national contexts).

We structure this chapter to answer the following questions: How is sexual harassment defined, legally and scientifically, both in the United States and in other nations? What is its prevalence and impact in the lives of working women? Finally, how do different features of context (e.g., power, organizational culture, policies, procedures, trainings) promote, prevent, and remedy harassment based on sex and gender?

Definitions of Sexual Harassment

United States Legal Definition

In the 1970s, feminist scholars in the U.S. argued that sexual harassment is a form of discrimination based on sex, because these behaviors create odious conditions of employment for many

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women but few men (Farley 1978; MacKinnon 1979). This inspired a major shift in U.S. legal thought, recognizing sexual harassment as a violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Plaintiffs' lawyers argued that women who lost jobs for resisting their employers' sexual demands were discriminated against based on their sex (e.g., Williams v. Saxbe 1976). They ultimately prevailed, making *quid pro quo* ("this for that") sexual harassment illegal.

The U.S. legal definition of sexual harassment expanded further in the 1980s to include *hostile environment* harassment. This refers to sexist and sexualized conduct (e.g., telling anti-female jokes, addressing colleagues in sexually objectifying terms, posting nude images of women) that is severe or pervasive enough to create a hostile work environment. Hostile environment harassment also includes unwanted sexual overtures, stroking, kissing, pressure for dates, etc., when conditions of employment are *not* contingent on compliance with sexual demands – i.e., no *quid pro quo* is involved (*Bundy V. Jackson* 1981; *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* 1986). Hostile environment harassment can include multiple perpetrators and victims (in contrast to quid pro quo situations, which are more typically one-on-one).

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) is the federal agency charged with enforcing sexual harassment law. The EEOC developed the following definition of sexual harassment in 1980, and it remains in use today:

> Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment. (p. 74677)

In the 1980s and 1990s, feminist legal reasoning surrounding sexual harassment became increasingly nuanced and "gendered" over time. For example, Vicki Schultz (1998) asserted that "much of the time, harassment assumes a form that has little or nothing to do with sexuality but everything to do with gender" (p. 1687). In support of this statement, she pointed to numer-

ous cases in which women were harassed on the job in ways that were non-sexual but discriminatory and disruptive to their work. Another feminist legal scholar, Katherine Franke (1997, p. 693) reasoned that sexual harassment is:

> a kind of sex discrimination not because the conduct would not have been undertaken if the victim had been a different sex, not because it is sexual, and not because men do it to women, but precisely because it is a technology of sexism. That is, it perpetuates, enforces, and polices a set of gender norms at work that seek to feminize women and masculinize men.

With this logic, Franke (1997) proposed that sexual harassment be reconceptualized in more gendered terms, encompassing negative treatment of men and women who violate masculine and feminine norms, respectively. In the U.S. courts, workplace sexual harassment is generally litigated as a civil rights violation, not a criminal offense. The law obligates organizations to provide safe, discrimination-free work environments for all personnel. If unlawful sexual harassment has taken place, courts hold employers liable unless they can prove that: (1) they made reasonable efforts to prevent and remediate the harassment, and (2) the victim "unreasonably" failed to avail her/himself of corrective mechanisms (e.g., failed to make use of established reporting procedures; *Burlington Industries v. Ellerth* 1998; *Faragher v. City of Boca Raton* 1998).

Legal Definitions Across National Contexts

Outside of the U.S., many other countries have laws or policies forbidding sexual harassment. Harassment definitions, laws, and enforcement vary widely across context. Not meant to be a comprehensive list, the following examples provide a small snapshot of these distinctions across nations.

In Canada, sex discrimination in employment is prohibited by all human rights statutes at both the federal and provincial level (Chotalia 2005). Moreover, since *Janzen v. Platy Enterprises Ltd.* (1989), the Supreme Court of Canada has recognized sexual harassment as sex discrimination. An

emphasis on unwanted sexual pursuit as the quintessential sexual harassment, and understanding of sexual harassment as a human rights violation, is exemplified in the following excerpt from the *Janzen* decision:

> Sexual harassment is a demeaning practice, one that constitutes a profound affront to the dignity of the employees forced to endure it. By requiring an employee to contend with unwelcome sexual actions or explicit sexual demands, sexual harassment in the workplace attacks the dignity and self-respect of the victim both as an employee and as a human being.

More recent court cases in Canada have expanded the legal definition of sexual harassment to encompass abusive conduct that is "gender-related" (in the sense of being directed disproportionately at members of one sex), even if that conduct is not overtly sexual (Chotalia 2005, p. 204).

Every country in the European Union (E.U.) has law forbidding harassment based on sex. However, the conceptualization of "sexual harassment" in the E.U. has mainly shifted from a matter of equality and discrimination (similar to the U.S.) to a matter of individual dignity. This shift has established sexual harassment as a violation of *all* individuals' right to dignity and respect, rather than maltreatment of women specifically (Whitman and Friedman 2003). The behaviors that legally constitute sexual harassment also differ between the U.S. and countries in the E.U. The sexual objectification of women is often the focus under U.S. law, but this behavior receives less attention by attorneys in France (Saguy 2004). However, there are some cross-cultural similarities; akin to the U.S., in Germany, behavior is only considered sexual harassment if women reject or object to the behavior very obviously (Baer 2004).

In China, a national law prohibiting sexual harassment of women by men was passed in 2007 as part of the Protection of Women's Rights Law (Srivastava and Gu 2009). Under this law, sexual harassment is identified as a violation of public security, and can be tried as both a criminal and civil offense. Similar to the U.S., behaviors that constitute sexual harassment under Chinese law mainly include sexualized and sexually advancing behaviors, and victims must prove that harassment has taken place and they have suffered adverse consequences. However, this law does not automatically hold employers vicariously liable for sexual harassment (Srivastava and Gu 2009).

In Japan, sexual harassment is a violation of civil code (Tsunoda 2004), but litigation is culturally discouraged (Barrett 2004). Japan's 1997 Equal Employment Opportunity Law (EEOL) required employers to prevent both quid pro quo and hostile environment sexual harassment in the workplace, but this law did not establish any legal sanctions for employers who failed to do so (Tsunoda 2004).

The constitution in India prohibits discrimination based on sex and, given the unwelcomeness of the behaviors and potential for job harms, the courts define both *quid pro quo* and *hostile environment* sexual harassment as unlawful sex discrimination (Nussbaum 2004). Cultural ideals of dignity and womanly modesty have played a role in sexual harassment cases in India, but overall, the law has done little to protect women (especially working class women) due to its limited reach and enforceability (Nussbaum 2004).

Israel has very comprehensive law against sexual harassment. The Prevention of Sexual Harassment Law (1998) prohibits sexually harassing behavior in the workplace and every other social setting (Kamir 2004). Furthermore, sexual harassment is broadly defined as violating rights to human dignity, respect, freedom and equality, and is considered both a civil and criminal offense. Other important distinctions from U.S. law are that Israeli law does not require the victim to prove that the harassing behaviors were undesirable, and includes harassment based on Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual (LGB) identities as a sexual harassment offense (Kamir 2004).

Definitions in Social Science

In social science research, sexual harassment is defined and measured by specific behaviors and the victim's subjective experience of those behaviors; however, the constructs parallel legal conceptualizations of sexual harassment. Feminist psychologist Louise Fitzgerald and her

colleagues developed widely used a classification system, referred to as the "tripartite model of sexual harassment" (Fitzgerald et al. 1988, 1995a). In this work, sexual harassment is comprised of (at least) three related dimensions of behavior. The first is *sexual coercion*, which is the most stereotypical and widely recognized form of sexual harassment, but it is also the rarest. These behaviors involve threats or bribes to make the conditions of a woman's job dependent on her compliance with the harasser's sexual demands (e.g., a manager threatens to fire an employee unless she performs sex acts). Related to sexual coercion is *unwanted sexual attention*; this entails sexual advances that are unpleasant, unwanted and unreciprocated (e.g., leering, touching or kissing that is unwanted, pressuring someone for dates or sex). The third type of sexual harassment is *gender harassment*, which is the most common but the least recognized as "sexual harassment." Unlike sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention, behaviors classified as gender harassment are not aimed at sexual cooperation; instead they express insulting, demeaning, or disdainful attitudes about members of one gender, often women (Fitzgerald et al. 1995a; Leskinen et al. 2011). Examples of gender harassment include questioning or insulting women's competence in the workplace (for example, "this isn't a job for a woman"), addressing women in terms that belittle ("honey" or "girlie") or disparage them ("whore" or "cunt"), and displaying lewd images of women (e.g., graffiti, pornographic images on calendars or computers).

Lim and Cortina (2005) helped delineate the relationships among sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention, and gender harassment, by explaining that "unwanted sexual attention, as the name suggests, represents unwelcomed, unreciprocated behaviors aimed at establishing some form of sexual relationship. One could argue that sexual coercion is a specific, severe, rare form of unwanted sexual attention, involving similar sexual advances coupled with bribery or threats to force acquiescence" (p. 484). Conversely, gender harassment expresses animosity rather than attraction. Sometimes gender harassment does involve sexually crude behavior

(for example, calling a coworker a "slut" or spreading rumors about her sex life), but the goal is to insult and humiliate, not sexually exploit. In colloquial terms, the difference between sexual coercion/unwanted sexual attention and gender harassment is comparable to the difference between an unwelcome "come on" versus a "put down" (Fitzgerald et al. 1995a; Leskinen et al. 2011).

Fitzgerald and colleagues' (1988, 1995a) tripartite structure of sexual harassment has shown stability across time, culture, and occupational sector, regardless of variations in the specific items/behaviors assessing each construct (Gelfand et al. 1995; Lee and Ormerod 2003). This system conceptualizes sexual harassment as the umbrella domain, which subsumes the three dimensions of behavior. In other words, sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention, and gender harassment are all subtypes of "sexual harassment" (despite their different manifestations). In the following sections, research on "sexual harassment" examines all three of these harassment types.

Importantly, in social science research, the victim need not label the behavior as "sexual harassment" for it to be harassing. Labeling is actually rare: over half of working women report being targeted with sexually harassing conduct at work, but less than 25 % of those harassed women actually label their experience as "sexual harassment" (Ellis et al. 1991; Ilies et al. 2003; Magley et al. 1999; Magley and Shupe 2005). Women who experience gender harassment are less likely to label these experiences as "sexual harassment," compared to those who encounter unwanted sexual advances (Magley and Shupe 2005). In fact, Holland and Cortina (2013) found that women victims of gender are over *seven times less likely* to attach the "sexual harassment" label to their experiences, compared to women victims of unwanted sexual pursuit. Dominant understandings of sexual harassment, both in the law and lay public, emphasize coercive and unwanted sexual advances (Leskinen et al. 2011; Shultz 1998). Nonetheless, sexual harassment victims who do and do not self-label experience similar negative psychological and occupational

outcomes (Magley et al. 1999; Woodzicka and LaFrance 2005).

Prevalence of Sexual Harassment

Prevalence by Nation

In the U.S., workplace sexual harassment is a common experience, particularly for women. Reported cases of sexual harassment have risen as the courts have expanded harassment definitions and protections. For instance, only one case of sexual harassment was filed with the U.S. EEOC in 1980, but by the late 1980s, almost 6,000 new cases had been filed. More recently, in 2011 the number of sexual harassment cases filed was 11,364, and 84 % percent of those were by women (http://www.eeoc.gov/stats/trarassment.html).

Social science research, which applies a broader definition, finds sexual harassment to be more prevalent than legal cases suggest. Studies consistently find that about half of working women will experience some form of sexual harassment (gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and/or sexual coercion) at some point during their working lives. Summarizing this work, one meta-analysis reported that 58 % of women reported experiencing sexually harassing conduct while at work (Ilies et al. 2003).

Examining the prevalence of sexual harassment across national contexts, many countries report sexual harassment rates less than or similar to the U.S. For instance, rates are comparable across countries in the European Union (Irish Presidency of the European Union 2004). Other research finds that men in China and India are more likely to report that they would engage in sexual harassment than men in the U.S. (Luthar and Luthar 2008). Similarly, research suggests that women in Brazil may experience more sexual harassment than women in the U.S. do (Gelfand et al. 1995). It is likely that rates of sexual harassment are higher in countries that do not outlaw these behaviors, but it is difficult to make cross-cultural comparisons due to differences in definitions, research methodologies, laws and policies (Barak 1997; Berdahl and Raver 2011).

Prevalence by Gender

When discussing the experience and prevalence of sexual harassment, gender is a crucial factor to consider. Theoretical and empirical work suggests that sexual harassment is an expression of power and dominance, and a mechanism for protecting or enhancing one's sex-based social status (e.g., Berdahl 2007a; Berdahl et al. 1996; Dall'Ara and Maass 1999; Maass et al. 2003; Pryor 1987). Therefore, it is unsurprising that men are more likely to sexually harass both women and men (Magley et al. 1999; Waldo et al. 1998). However, sexual harassment is most frequently committed by men against women (Cortina and Berdahl 2008; Gutek et al. 1990; U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board 1994). One explanation for men's greater propensity to sexually harass is that men have more to gain from protecting their sex-based status within our socially constructed gender hierarchy. Sexual harassment reinforces the existing gender hierarchy, which privileges men (Berdahl 2007a).

In support of these claims, research finds that, when men experience harassment, it often involves other men ridiculing and punishing them from deviating from traditional gender roles (Berdahl et al. 1996; *Oncale V. Sundower Offshore Services* 1998; Waldo et al. 1998). Moreover, experimental studies have found that men are more likely to sexually harass when they feel threatened by women; this is especially true when women display feminist (rather than traditional) attitudes (Dall'Ara and Maass 1999; Hitlan et al. 2009; Maass et al. 2003; Siebler et al. 2008). A recent study of working women suggests that women who engage in feminist activism are more likely to be targeted with both sexual advance harassment and gender harassment at work (Holland and Cortina 2013).

Research also suggests that women's and men's subjective experiences of sexually harassing behaviors differ. For instance, when women and men encounter the same behaviors, women find them more anxiety-provoking and threatening (Berdahl 2007a; Berdahl and Aquino 2009; Fitzgerald et al. 1995a). Men, on the other hand, are more likely to evaluate sexual harassment as fun or flattering (Berdahl 2007a). Overall, it is

clear that sexual harassment is a prevalent and significant stressor in the work lives of many women (but a minority of men).

Implications for Working Women's Wellbeing

The gravity of sexual harassment is elucidated by its numerous negative outcomes, affecting all areas of working women's lives. Two large meta-analyses found that all forms of workplace sexual harassment – gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion – are strong predictors of psychological impairments (Chan et al. 2008; Williness et al. 2007). Women who experience sexual harassment at work report symptoms of depression and anxiety (Bond et al. 2004; Lonsway et al. 2013) and general psychological distress (Bergman and Drasgow 2003; Gettmen and Gelfand 2007; Harned et al. 2002; Holland and Cortina 2013; Langhout et al. 2005; Leskinen et al. 2011). Women report more psychological distress in response to sexual harassment than men, particularly for low-level, gender harassment behaviors (Berdahl 2007a; Berdahl and Aquino 2009; Parker and Griffin 2002). Collinsworth and colleagues (2009) found that psychological harm increased with severity of experiences, and self-blame for sexual harassment increased harm. In addition, sexual harassment is associated with decreased life satisfaction and increased psychosomatic symptoms, such as feeling faint or dizzy (Cortina et al. 2002; Lonsway et al. 2013).

What is more, workplace sexual harassment can lead to mental illness. A nationally representative study of women in the U.S. found that one in five self-identified sexual harassment victims met criteria for a DSM-IV diagnosis of Major Depressive Disorder, and one in ten reported symptoms of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD; Dansky and Kilpatrick 1997). Recent research also finds that women who experience sexual harassment (self-identified or not) report PTSD symptoms (Larsen and Fitzgerald 2011). Sexual harassment has also been connected to the use and abuse of alcohol and other drugs (Richman et al. 2002; Rospenda et al. 2009). A

longitudinal study by McGinley and colleagues (2011) found that experiencing chronic sexual harassment leads to problem drinking, even after controlling for previous drinking.

Researchers have also examined the effect of sexual harassment on women's physical health. All forms of this workplace abuse are associated with decreased satisfaction with one's general health and increased somatic complaints (e.g., sleep problems, gastric problems; Barling et al. 1996; Bergman and Drasgow 2003; Fitzgerald et al. 1997; Langhout et al. 2005; Lim and Cortina 2005; Magley et al. 1999). Rospenda and her colleagues (2005) found that women who experienced sexual harassment were also more likely to report having a serious illness. Disordered eating is another negative outcome of workplace sexual harassment (Buchanan et al. 2013; Harned 2000; Harned and Fitzgerald 2002). An experimental study induced mild harassment experiences and found a causal relationship between experiencing sexual harassment and increased cardiovascular reactivity (Schneider et al. 2001).

In addition to mental and physical detriments, sexual harassment takes a toll on women's professional wellbeing. Across a wide range of industries, researchers find that experiencing sexually harassing conduct at work (i.e., sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention, and/or gender harassment) is associated with decreased job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Bergman and Drasgow 2003; Bond et al. 2004; Cortina et al. 2002; Fitzgerald et al. 1997; Harned and Fitzgerald 2002; Harned et al. 2002; Holland and Cortina 2013; Langhout et al. 2005; Lim and Cortina 2005; Lonsway et al. 2013; Magley et al. 1999, 2005; O'Connell and Korabik 2000; Schneider et al. 1997). Women experiencing sexual harassment report greater job stress (Cortina et al. 2002; Lim and Cortina 2005; Magley et al. 2005; O'Connell and Korabick 2000). Intended and actual job turnover are also reported (Lim and Cortina 2005; O'Connell and Korabik 2000; Schneider et al. 1997; Shupe et al. 2002; Sims et al. 2005). Women who experience sexual harassment at work are also more likely to engage in work withdrawal behavior (i.e., attempts to disengage from work without actually quitting, like arriving late or leaving early; Dionisi et al.

2012; Holland and Cortina 2013; Lonsway et al. 2013; Schneider et al. 1997; USMPB 1994). Sexual harassment detracts from productivity and performance as well (Barling et al. 2001; Magley et al. 1999; USMBP 1994; Woodzicka and LaFrance 2005). For example, Raver and Gelfand (2005) found that sexual harassment increased conflict and decreased cohesion in workgroups, and these team process problems impaired performance. Workplace sexual harassment has also been linked with decreased satisfaction with both supervisors and coworkers (Lonsway et al. 2013).

These negative effects on personal and professional wellbeing are also seen cross-culturally. For instance, studies of Turkish women found that experiencing sexual harassment predicted symptoms of depression and anxiety, impaired mental functioning, and decreased job satisfaction (Celik and Celik 2007; Wasti et al. 2000). Nielsen and colleagues (2010) reported that Norwegian women exhibit symptoms of depression and anxiety in response to sexual harassment. A study of women in the Swedish military found that sexual harassment predicted psychological distress and decreased mental health (Estrada and Berggren 2009). Other mental health problems, like emotional exhaustion and insomnia, were reported by Dutch police women (de Haas et al. 2009). Studies of Chinese Mainland and Hong Kong Chinese women reported that experiencing sexual harassment is associated with dissatisfaction with one's job and intention to turnover (Chan et al. 1999; Shaffer et al. 2000).

Contextual Influences on Sexual Harassment

Considerable social science research has explored the contextual factors that play a role in sexual harassment experiences and outcomes. Collectively, this work suggests that aspects of the context have important implications for the prevalence of sexual harassment and its effect on women's wellbeing. This body of research is extensive; thus, the remainder of this chapter will focus on five specific contextual factors: power, organizational culture and tolerance for sexual harassment, reporting procedures and retaliation for reporting, sexual harassment training programs, and national culture.

Power

Early research on sexual harassment focused almost exclusively on sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention from supervisors. In addition to acknowledging gender harassment as a form of "sexual harassment," researchers now recognize sexual harassment from anyone in the work environment, including coworkers, subordinates, customers, and clients (e.g., Berdahl 2003; DeSouza and Fansler 2003; Konik and Cortina 2008; Barling et al. 2001; Gettmen and Gelfand 2007). Despite the increasing recognition of sexual harassment from other sources (e.g., coworkers, subordinates, clients, etc.) and non-sexualized forms of sexual harassment, people are still more likely to identify sexually advancing behaviors from a supervisor as "true" sexual harassment (Bursik and Gefter 2011).

The "vulnerable victim" hypothesis asserts that women who are vulnerable (e.g., low status) will be targeted more frequently (McLaughlin et al. 2012). Indeed, research finds that low organizational power is associated with increased experiences of all forms of sexual harassment (e.g., Harned et al. 2002). Significant correlations have also been established between perpetrator power/status within the organization and victim perceptions that the harassment was severe, upsetting, frightening, and threatening (Cortina et al. 2002; Langhout et al. 2005; Morrow et al. 1994; O'Connell and Korabik 2000). However, the assumption that top-down harassment is the only "legitimate" form of sexual harassment is problematic, and neglects multiple sources of power. Moreover, research finds harassment from other sources is both common and harmful to working women's wellbeing (e.g., Barling 2001; Chrisler and Clapp 2008; Morrow et al. 1994; Rospenda et al. 1998).

For instance, sociocultural power (e.g., men's hegemonic position over women) and interpersonal/personal power (e.g., access to resources and alliances) both play a role in sexual harassment

(Cleveland and Kerst 1993). These forms of power are particularly important to consider in understanding sexual harassment from peers and subordinates. For example, a study by Mohipp and Senn (2008) found that graduate students who worked in an instructor role, and experienced the complicated power dynamics involved with having subordinates, were more likely to identify sexual harassment from a subordinate as "sexual harassment." While a fair amount of research now examines coworkers as perpetrators, there is less information on women who are sexually harassed by subordinates (Bursik and Gefter 2011). Benson (1984) termed this particular form of sexual harassment "contrapower harassment."

Studies suggest that contrapower sexual harassment is a common experience for working women. For example, between 26 and 53 % of female professors experience sexual harassment behaviors from their students (e.g., DeSouza 2011; Grauerholtz 1989; Lampman et al. 2009; Matchen and DeSouza 2000). In a military sample, around 1 in 12 women encountered sexual harassment from a subordinate (Firestone and Harris 1994). More than 75 % of female doctors will be sexually harassed by a patient at some point in their careers, and find these behaviors frightening (Phillips and Schneider 1993; Schneider and Phillips 1997). These studies find that subordinates commit all forms of sexual harassment, including unwanted sexual advances and gender harassment.

Similar to other forms of sexual harassment, men and women both report experiencing contrapower sexual harassment, but studies consistently find that women are more bothered by the harassment than men are, and perceive similar behaviors to be more threatening and upsetting (DeSouza and Fansler 2003; Lampman et al. 2009; Matchen and DeSouza 2000; McKinney 1990, 1992). In general, men compared to women are also more likely to commit contrapower sexual harassment (i.e., against both men and women; DeSouza and Fansler 2003; Grourholtz 1989).

Unlike other forms of sexual harassment, in contrapower sexual harassment situations, the target's formal position of power means they are often in the position to discipline or even fire the harasser, which may diminish the perceived gravity of this form of harassment. Juliano's (2007) analysis of 24 contrapower sexual harassment court cases found a woman's role as a superior, and her failure to act on that authority in these situations, called her sexual harassment claim into question. Nevertheless, female leaders experiencing contrapower harassment from a subordinate can have difficulty exerting their legitimate power against their harasser, and perceive these behaviors to be both physically and psychologically threatening (Chrisler and Clapp 2008; Rospenda et al. 1998). Research suggests that women in positions of authority often lack access to other legitimate sources of power which help in exercising the power associated with their position (Rospenda et al. 1998). Male dominated workplaces, the favoring of stereotypically masculine characteristics, and rigid gender roles are just a few of the reasons that women may lack access to interpersonal/personal power in the workplace.

Joan Acker (1990) states that workers, although seemingly gender neutral, are actually established as inherently male. Men, who were historically perceived as solely committed to paid employment, are often viewed as naturally more deserving of workplace authority. Conversely, women in heterosexual partnerships still hold primary responsibility for familial obligations (e.g., childrearing, housework). Acker argues that in the context of paid employment women are "suspect, stigmatized, and used as grounds for control and exclusion" (Acker 1990, p. 152). In short, being male translates to competence, authority, status, and significant social power, and being female implies incompetence, little authority, low status, and a lack of social power (Stewart and McDermott 2004). Patriarchy (i.e., male social power) yields paternalism, the ideological justification of male dominance, which produces and encourages the belief that men *should* have more power than women (Cikara and Fiske 2009).

Even if female leaders hold formal organizational power, all men (including subordinates) hold a sociocultural hegemonic position over

women. Because men occupy this position of social power, a man has the ability to act as a sexual agent and treat a female leader as sexual object even if he lacks organizational power over her (Cortina and Berdahl 2008). When men are faced with high-achieving women in the workplace, sexual harassment may be an attempt to re-establish a threatened social identity and punish women for challenging their subordinate position in the gender hierarchy (Maass and Cadinu 2006; McLaughlin et al. 2012). In support of these claims, a longitudinal study found that female supervisors (across a range of industries) perceived sexual harassment from a subordinate as an "equalizer" against their position of power; for example, one participant stated that a subcontractor told her "this isn't the job for a woman" (McLaughlin et al. 2012).

Organizational Culture and Tolerance for Sexual Harassment

Organizational culture is another important contextual factor. There is extensive empirical research linking male-dominated fields and workgroups to increased experiences of all forms of sexual harassment (e.g., Berdahl 2007b; Fitzgerald et al. 1997; Gruber 1998; McLaughlin et al. 2012). A large meta-analysis also supports the assertion that women in more "masculine" occupations (e.g., construction, military) encounter more sexual harassment on the job (Willness et al. 2007). For example, Wall Street firms have contended with a number of sex discrimination suits since the late 1990s, and the firms' underlying organizational practices and leaders' beliefs sustain a "macho" culture that normalizes sexual harassment (Roth 2007).

Cortina and Berdahl (2008) assert that, to combat sexual harassment, women need to be employed, promoted, and integrated into all organizational levels. Shultz (2003) argued that the goal should be a "well-integrated, structurally egalitarian workplace, in which women and men equally share power and authority" (p. 2071). While organizational "desegregation" may not eliminate sexual harassment altogether, it would

help reduce the culture of hypermasculinity that promotes objectification, devaluation, and aggression toward women and non-gender-conforming men (Cortina and Berdahl 2008).

Organizational tolerance for sexual harassment is a potent predictor of sexual harassment as well (Willness et al. 2007). The lowest rates of sexual harassment are reported in organizations that proactively develop, disseminate, and enforce anti-harassment policies and procedures (e.g., training employees, creating official complaint channels). In contrast, more harassment is reported in organizations that only distributed information about sexual harassment policies (e.g., posting policies in the workplace), and the most sexual harassment is reported in organizations with no policies against sexual harassment (Gruber 1998). Moreover, policies against sexual harassment are more effective if they have the commitment of supervisors and top management (Gruber 1998; Riger 1991; Stokes et al. 2000). Men who perceive strong sanctions against sexual harassment in their workplace report engaging in less harassment (Dekker and Barling 1998). An organizational climate that is tolerant of sexual harassment may also exacerbate negative outcomes. For instance, Miner-Rubino and Cortina (2007) found that experiencing bystander sexual harassment and perceiving the organization as tolerant of sexual harassment predicts lower wellbeing and higher work withdrawal for both women and men, even after taking direct exposure to mistreatment (i.e., having experienced some form of sexual harassment) into consideration. Glomb and colleagues (1997) also found that a tolerant organizational climate increased psychological distress.

Reporting and Retaliation

Working women's experiences of sexual harassment can also be affected by reporting procedures and retaliation for reporting. Procedures for reporting sexual harassment vary by organizations. In some workplaces, after a formal complaint is made, the organization notifies the harasser(s) and conducts an investigation. Some organizations have

specific employees whose job is to handle sexual harassment complaints and investigations, but many do not (Cortina and Berdahl 2008). There are also differences in the standard of proof, or the evidence required to determine if sexual harassment has taken place, between organizations. Some utilize the U.S. civil standard of "preponderance of evidence" and decide whether it is more likely than not that the harassment has happened (Cortina and Berdahl 2008). This is also the standard of proof used by U.S. courts in Title VII cases of sexual harassment. Other organizations use the U.S. criminal standard, which requires proof "beyond a reasonable doubt." This standard of proof seems inappropriate, as sexual harassment is not considered a criminal offense under U.S. law.

Although many organizations have established reporting procedures, formal reporting is rare. Studies suggest that less than 25 % of women who experience sexual harassment actually file formal complaints (e.g., Ilies et al. 2003; Schneider et al. 1997; USMBP 1994). Reporting may vary depending on the type of behaviors experienced. A recent study by Lonsway and colleagues (2013) found that low level, sexist behaviors (e.g., "put women down" or "dirty stories or jokes") were often never formally reported. This study also found that, when women endured unwanted physical touching, few (8 %) formally reported. Even sexually coercive behavior was reported by only 33 % of women who experienced it.

Reporting is often viewed, by both employers and the court, as a key mechanism for eliminating workplace sexual harassment (*Burlington Industries v. Ellereth* 1998; *Faragher v. City of Boca Raton* 1998). Additionally, some social scientists argue that formal reporting is the most appropriate or effective means of dealing with sexual harassment (e.g., Knapp et al. 1997; Reese and Lindenberg 1997). However, these claims are not supported by a majority of empirical research on reporting.

Many victims simply want the offensive behavior to end, and do not want to make a formal complaint or see their harasser punished (Fitzgerald et al. 1995b). Research consistently finds that employees are often reluctant to report experiences of sexual harassment out of fear:

they fear blame, disbelief, inaction, humiliation, ostracism, and damage to their careers and/or reputations (e.g., Cortina 2004; Fitzgerald et al. 1995b; Gil and Febbraro 2013; Wasti and Cortina 2002). Unfortunately, these fears are often warranted.

Reporting is commonly followed by indifference, trivialization of the complaint, and hostility towards the victim (Bergman et al. 2002; Lee et al. 2004). Cortina and Magley (2003) found that two-thirds of employees who spoke out against sexual harassment experienced some form of retaliation as a result. A recent study of women in law enforcement found that almost half of women who reported sexual harassment faced personal and professional retaliation (Lonsway et al. 2013). Bergman and colleagues (2002) found that victims faced greater retaliation and minimization of the complaint when the perpetrator held a position of power/status within the organization. Additionally, a more masculine job-gender context increased the likelihood of experiencing retaliation after reporting sexual harassment (Bergman et al. 2002). Unsurprisingly, research finds that victims feel a greater sense of organizational injustice after the reporting process (Adams-Roy and Barling 1998). Formal complaint procedures rarely protect the victim's privacy, frequently fail to end the harassment, and can even make the situation worse (Cortina and Magly 2003; Gutek 1997; Riger 1991). Bergman and her colleagues (2002) found that reporting sexual harassment was associated with adverse personal and professional outcomes (e.g., lower psychological wellbeing and work satisfaction). In some jobs, the most "reasonable" action in response to sexual harassment is to avoid reporting (Bergman et al. 2002).

Some researchers examine what factors increase/decrease the likelihood of reporting sexual harassment. This work suggests that women are more likely to report sexual harassment when they are working in a position of low status and being harassed by an authority figure (e.g., Bergman et al. 2002; Cochran et al. 1997; Cortina 2004; Malamut and Offermann 2001; Rudman et al. 1995). Non-Latina White women are more likely to report, whereas Latinas and other women from traditional collectivist cultures are less

likely to report (Malamut and Offermann 2001; Rudman et al. 1995; Watsi and Cortina 2002). Victims are also more likely to report when the behavior is happening frequently and is perceived to be more offensive (Brooks and Perot 1991). Organizational climate and responses to reporting (e.g., taking reports seriously) also affect the likelihood that a formal report will be made (Bergman et al. 2002).

Overall, research illustrates the importance of quality reporting procedures. For example, a study by Hershcovis and her colleagues (2010) found that equal opportunity support and confidence in grievance procedures helped mitigate negative workplace outcomes of experiencing sexual harassment (e.g., job dissatisfaction and intentions to quit). Another study found that proactive organizational remedies (e.g., action was taken against the perpetrator) were associated with increased satisfaction with reporting, which was then related to more satisfaction with their work (Bergman et al. 2002).

Sexual Harassment Training Programs

While quality reporting procedures are essential, it is not sufficient for organizations simply to have policies against sexual harassment; the policies must also be enforced and supported by education (Trotter and Zacur 2004). Levy and Paludi (1997) argue that policies must be designed to help prevent harassment and also remedy sexual harassment should it occur. One method organizations use to prevent sexual harassment is through training, which varies greatly from one organization to another (e.g., in format, content, length).

Experts recommend that anti-harassment training include information about (1) behaviors that constitute sexual harassment; (2) procedures for reporting the behaviors should they occur; (3) responsibilities of supervisors and managers should they receive such reports, (4) prohibitions against retaliation, and (5) the seriousness of the company's anti-harassment policy (e.g., Cortina and Berdahl 2008; EEOC 1999). According to Cortina and Berdahl (2008), sexual harassment training should also emphasize that unacceptable

conduct includes subtle devaluation and derision (i.e., gender harassment) in addition to overtly aggressive and offensive behavior (i.e., sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention). Organizational norms of civility should explicitly discuss equitable respect toward women and men, as well as other social groups (e.g., LGBT employees, white and racial/ethnic minority employees; Cortina 2008). Training that calls attention to its relevance and importance for all employees may be met with less resistance (Cortina 2008; Lim and Cortina 2005).

A large survey of U.S. employees found that only 46 % of respondents had received any training on sexual harassment. Sexual harassment training was more common in large organizations and lasted less than 2 h on average (Magley et al. 2004). Some workplaces make anti-harassment training mandatory for all employees, while others only train supervisors, individuals who handle complaints, or employees who have committed sexual harassment (Cortina and Berdahl 2008).

Regarding training effectiveness, a longitudinal study found an increase in internal sexual harassment reports following a company-wide training (Magley et al. 2013); this is seen as a positive outcome – it behooves organizational leaders to learn about sexual harassment early on so that they can intervene, before situations escalate to external agencies or courts. Other researchers find that, after sexual harassment training, individuals (especially men) report increased knowledge of organizational policies and behaviors that constitute sexual harassment (Antecol and Cobb-Clark 2003; Bingham and Scherer 2001). Sexual harassment training is also associated with greater satisfaction with the organization's harassment policies or reporting procedures (Magley et al. 2004; Reese and Lindenberg 1997). Moreover, recipients of training are less likely to blame victims or trivialize sexual harassment (Lonsway et al. 2008; Magley et al. 2004). Bingham and Scherer (2001) found that individuals who had sexual harassment training had greater beliefs that sexual behavior is inappropriate in the workplace. However, Perry and colleagues (1998) found that these attitudinal changes were only short-term, failing to persist over time.

Other research indicates that training may be effective in decreasing the incidence of all forms of sexual harassment. For example, the USMSPB (1994) found that employees working in federal agencies that provide sexual harassment training reported less unwanted sexual attention, but it is important to note that this effect was strongest for agencies that trained all employees. A recent study found that having post-training activities (e.g., rewards for applying training to the job, refresher course) after sexual harassment training was significantly related to a reduction in sexual harassment complaints (Perry et al. 2010). Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005) explain that bystander intervention training can be important for stopping sexual harassment and providing support to victims.

Conversely, research has found that some sexual harassment training programs can have no effect or adverse effects on employees (e.g., Magley et al. 2004, 2013). Some employees report less confidence in their organization's ability or commitment to prevent sexual harassment after training (Antecol and Cobb-Clark 2003; Magley et al. 2013). Bingham and Scherer (2001) also found that trained men (compared to non-trained men and all women) reported more victim-blaming attitudes and less willingness to file a complaint of sexual harassment after training. However, more research is needed to evaluate empirically the effectiveness of sexual harassment training, because most studies have evaluated programs using different methodology (Cortina and Berdahl 2008; Magley et al. 2013). It would be, for instance, important to examine how the training program structure (e.g., content, length, application) affects changes in attitudes and outcomes.

National Culture

Research suggests that national culture is also an important factor to consider in experiences of sexual harassment. Briefly, some research suggests differences between collectivist and individualist cultures. For example, the collectivist culture in Japan discourages women from reporting sexual harassment, so as to prevent the ostracism and shame that may accompany a personal lawsuit (Barrett 2004). Luthar and Luthar (2002) argued that differences in values influence men's likelihood to sexually harass across national contexts; men may be more likely to sexually harass in societies with low individualism, high power differentials, and high cultural masculinity. Shupe and colleagues (2002) examined the incidence and experience of sexual harassment among Hispanic women in the U.S., and found that risk of harassment increased with affiliation to the mainstream Anglo American culture. The value of female modesty plays an important role in sexual harassment experiences in India, but this is less true in the U.S. (Nussbaum 2004). Nussbaum (2004) explains that the value of modesty complicates sexual harassment of working-class women due to inconsistencies in the definition of modesty (e.g., is it an innate quality of all women?). The law does not establish if lower class/caste women can possess modesty or if women with "bad character" would be protected if sexual harassment were to occur; thus, working/lower-class women are less obviously protected against sexual harassment in India (Nussbaum 2004).

Cultural norms also play a role in what behaviors are considered sexual harassment and "taboo". For example, in France, policing sexual behaviors is often viewed as "Puritan" or prude; thus, sexualized behaviors and the sexual objectification of women are not seen as important issues (Saguy 2004). A study of French lawyers illustrated that many showed little appreciation for the gravity of sexism and unwanted sexual pursuit, because of the cultural perception that sexual behavior and interest should be flattering for women (Saguy 2004). In general, this work illustrates that the experience and meaning of behaviors are shaped by societal attitudes and practices.

Future Directions

There is a significant amount of research on sexual harassment in the workplace, but there is still much to be understood about this form of

mistreatment. For instance, a majority of the prominent psychological research on sexual harassment has been conducted among samples of white women (Cortina and Berdahl 2008). Therefore, much of the understanding of sexual harassment thus far has been based on the perspectives and experiences of white women. Intersectionality is an important theoretical framework, conceptualized by feminist and critical race theorists, which can help researches examine sexual harassment in more complex ways. Intersectionality considers individuals' belonging to multiple categories of social groups, and examines both the meanings and consequences of these multiple group memberships (Crenshaw 1989; Cole 2009). For example, individuals' lives are shaped and experienced simultaneously through their social locations and identities such as gender, race, class, and sexuality. According to Stewart and McDermott (2004), three central tenets of intersectionality are particularly useful when studying social-psychological phenomena; (1) no social group is homogenous, (2) people are situated in social structures which also signify power relations, and (3) there are unique, nonadditive effects of belonging to or identifying with more than one social group.

The small body of research that examines sexual harassment among women of color specifically suggests that these women may be subjected to an additional and separate form of sexual harassment, which has been termed *sexual racism* (Cortina 2001) and *racialized sexual harassment* (Buchanan and Ormerod 2002). Racialized sexual harassment combines both racism and sexism to create a simultaneous form of race and sex discrimination in the workplace (Cortina and Berdahl 2008). Historically, women of color have been the targets of combined forms of sexism and racism (Murrell 1996). These experiences are viewed as a single form of discrimination by the women who experience it (Buchanan and Ormerod 2002). Considering the intersection between race and gender is essential when examining sexual harassment experiences.

The vastly different sociohistorical stereotypes of women of color and white women may play a role in the type of sexual harassment women experience (Buchanan et al. 2008). Traditional stereotypes of "women" (e.g., communal, passive, sensitive, non-sexual) are actually stereotypes of *white women* (Eagly and Sczesny 2009). One of the prevailing (and starkly different) stereotypes of African American women in the United States is the Jezebel (Buchanan and Ormerod 2002). The Jezebel stereotype depicts African American women as insatiable, immoral, and willing to use sex to get what they want. Buchanan and colleagues (2008) assert that white women are more likely to experience gender harassment in the workplace (i.e., sanctions for violating traditional white female gender roles), and African American women are more likely to experience unwanted sexual attention (i.e., sanctions related to the Jezebel stereotype). Research suggests that the unique stereotypes of Latina and Asian American women affect their experiences of sexual harassment as well (Cortina 2001; Cho 1997). Cho (1997) noted that the combined stereotypes of the submissive Asian women and the Asian model minority can cause harassers to believe that Asian American women will be receptive to and not fight back against aggressive sexual advances. Neglecting to examine the complex intersections among systems of oppression overlooks how unique forms of sexual harassment specifically target women of color for both their status as women and as racial/ethnic minority.

Additionally, harassment based on gender and harassment based on sexuality are inextricably linked, and both types of oppression function to enforce rigid gender roles and maintain the existing gender hierarchy (Konik and Cortina 2008). Women with stigmatized sexualities, whether "out" in the workplace or not, face unique challenges when sexually harassed. For instance, Konik and Cortina (2008) assert that a lesbian woman who refuses a male subordinate's (unwanted) sexual advances is not only being sexually harassed, but is also at risk for being "outed" at work. This is a particularly serious issue given that there are no federal legal protections against harassment based on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) identities in the U.S. (Ragins 2004). It would be beneficial for

future research to explore further the links between harassment based on sex/gender and sexuality. Hopefully, this work would help support the use of anti-harassment law to protect sexual minority employees.

Conclusion

The past two decades have witnessed incredible strides in the study and understanding of workplace sexual harassment. We have learned a great deal about the different forms it takes, the contexts that promote and prevent it, and the effects it has on personal and professional wellbeing. No longer seen as a trivial "women's issue," sexual harassment is now recognized as illegal and immoral behavior, harmful to not only women victims but also their coworkers, workgroups, and entire organizations. Despite these knowledge gains, this gendered form of abuse remains all too common in organizations throughout the world. Until that changes, harassment based on sex and gender will pose a serious threat to the health and wellbeing of working women.

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Understanding Mental Disorders in Women in the Workplace to Mitigate Deleterious Effects

Wesley S. Parks, Paula K. Lundberg-Love, Cecily Luft, Aimee Stewart, and Haley Peddy

Introduction

Mental illness in the workplace is not a new problem. As long as there have been jobs and people working them, mental illness likely has crept in. Why focus on women? Women do make up a large percentage of the workforce, though admittedly the exact makeup varies from locale to locale and culture to culture. While some might dismiss mental illness as a sign of weakness in someone who they believe should not be working, or attribute it to cases of women trying to forge a path in a male dominated world who succumb to the stress and pressure. However, research shows that mental illness is common throughout the population, and given that most of any population will be employed at one time or another, dealing with mental illness in the workplace is a *de facto* requirement of showing up to work. Traditionally, medical knowledge has focused on the archetypal "70 kg man" and professionals have been taught to diagnose and construct their treatment plans for that patient

(Kulkarni 2008). Women, by virtue of being half of our population and a traditionally underserved or marginalized subset in regard to workplace equal treatment, face unique challenges that require better understanding. This chapter is focused on understanding how mental disorders impact working women, and how mental health professionals can best understand this global phenomenon in order to mitigate the deleterious effects and better assist women with occupational functioning.

Understanding the Constructs

To understand any problem, we first need an operationalized understanding of the phenomena that we are studying. With respect to mental illness, this can be a daunting challenge. Ask any six people to explain mental illness, you might get as many as seven answers and all of them could be at least partially valid. Many people believe wholeheartedly in their respective definitions of "crazy" based on having observed mental illness in their lives, and/or the lives of their friends, family or coworkers. Even mental health professionals may not always agree upon what constitutes mental illness depending on their levels of training or their occupational roles. For example, a clinical psychologist may conceptualize one person's symptoms differently from a master social worker. Perhaps, given the variability inherent in training and milieus and

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agendas, it is better to have a global understanding of mental illness, and particularly how it can manifest itself in employment.

Operationalization – Mental Illness

For the sake of this chapter, we will use the definition offered by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention: "Mental illnesses refer to disorders generally characterized by dysregulation of mood, thought and/or behavior, as recognized by the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, 4th edition, of the American Psychiatric Association (DSM-IV)" (Centers for Disease Control 2011). The obvious question is why consider any definition or symptom set from what is arguably now an outdated manual? It is the authors' collective experience so far that many clinicians have not yet switched over to the fifth edition of the DSM. Similarly, many social service agencies are still utilizing the DSM-IV for diagnostic and treatment purposes, and almost all research to date is based on the fourth edition or earlier versions of the DSM. Thus, we will refer to research that utilized those editions in this chapter.

Herrman (2001) noted that even helping the layperson understand mental illness can be a challenge because there is confusion about "mental illness, eccentricity and badness." Understandably this leads to a lack of prioritization in terms of resource allocation. The reality is, as Herrman (2001) adeptly points out, "health includes mental, physical and social functioning, which are interdependent." Kaplan and Sadock (2003) noted that classification systems which focus on biological aspects of mental illness shy away from the term psychogenic, a descriptor of physical illness originating in the psychological realm. Kaplan and Sadock (2003) wrote that despite the DSM-IV forgoing the term, the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems (ICD-10) still uses the term psychogenic to reference the fact that life events and difficulties certainly can play a role in the origin of mental illness. Thus, we cannot truly distinguish mental from physical health, or social "health" for that matter. All are incorpo-

rated into one person and a disruption in any area is likely to create ripples in the other areas.

Operationalization – Stress

Why are we concerned with "stress" in a chapter about clear and diagnosable mental illness? Stress can be a root cause of some mental illness. But more to the point, stress absolutely can exacerbate existing mental illness to the point of destabilization. Pinpointing stress is much like pinpointing mental illness. There are as many definitions of the concept as there are authors trying to describe it. Applying this to a specific arena, in this case the workplace, becomes even more difficult. We will consider Noblet and LaMontagne's (2006) explanation that stress for most individuals includes physical, social, organizational and economic conditions that are overlaid with any number of work variables (workload, decision making, community styles, interpersonal conflict, compensation).

To fully understand the effects of mental illness, it can be necessary to step outside of our usual quantitative mindset and consider qualitative observations. Mazzola et al. (2011) noted that various qualitative researchers have identified gender differences in the workplace in terms of experiencing stress. They cite greater reports of interpersonal conflict and adverse interactions with variables such as criticism. Years of research have established that reactions to stress vary by gender. There are documented strong relationships between stressful life events and depression in women (Bray et al. 1999). Mazzola and colleagues (2011) also found that women in particular tend to internalize these stressors in the workplace until they reach the point of the emergence of physiological symptoms, such as weight gain and migraines.

Who Is Affected

Gender

Why such a focus on women? Aside from basic biology and countless cultural diversity classes

teaching us that women are a specialized population, organizations such as the United States Government and the World Health Organization are noting that interventions should be gender specific (Snelgrove-Clarke and Rush 2011).

In reviewing a book about women and depression, Prathiba Nagabhushan (2011) noted that the author of that tome pontificated that we should not ask "what is wrong with women" so much as what is wrong with their *lives*. Seemingly simple, but it brought to specific light the murky problem that women need to give priority to their own mental health, and that men who support women must realize that the inherent demands placed upon our female counterparts (such as greater caregiving roles in and outside the family) take a toll. Most of all, "some women, if not all, are deprived of the basic needs of self-care for maintenance towards maintaining a sound mental health (Nagabhushan 2011)."

Culture

In a study of hospital nurses in Japan, Thailand, South Korea and the USA (Hawaii), there was definitely a cultural discrepancy when considering predictors of mental health. Nurses in the USA from Hawaii had the greatest number of negative predictors of mental health such as workplace stressors, conflicts with peers, conflict with superiors, workload, and lack of support (Lambert et al. 2004). Interestingly, of the four cultures sampled only the USA (Hawaii) nurses identified conflict with peers as a problem area. The authors suspected this was because of the Western ideology of individualization and independence over group cohesion and avoidance of conflict. Lack of support, as measured by a 66-item questionnaire assessing ways of coping in Lambert's study, was a universal predictor of negative mental health.

Socioeconomic Status

Much research focuses on what we traditionally consider to be higher SES occupations, such as "professional" women in office or other 9-to-5 jobs.

The reality is women in all levels of employment struggle to balance career with mental health stability. Gettman and Pena (1986) noted that women working in factory positions in Mexico were impacted differently in terms of pay scales, treatment by male managers and exposure to health hazards, "all of which may create mental problems for women workers." They cite a study of U.S. textile workers in a Mexican border town who fared no better unless the women dated their supervisors. In the electronics industry in California, the authors note that production work is typically performed by women, and thus women have greater exposure to electronic toxins. Psychopharmacological research has long spoken to the effects of toxins on neurocognitive functions. Worse still is the magnitude of the effects on the exposed fetus, as poor pregnant women typically work until or just before the time of birth. This practice can give rise to the next generation of disenfranchised women at risk for systemic failure.

Despite the fact that mental health problems can manifest in the workplace, research has long documented the link between employment and improved mental health. Additional research by Zabkiewicz (2010) applied this observation to poor single mothers who qualified for federal assistance. In her paper, she noted that within that specific population, the odds of developing depression were 27 % lower among employed women. She found that the given economic status of an individual generally does not change dramatically when transitioning from public assistance to competitive employment. Thus, her finding suggests that the effect of employment on mental stability "may not operate via income" (Zabkiewicz 2010) and the likely positive impact of employment on mental health is the employment itself and not the earnings.

Occupation

The military is certainly not immune to this issue. A study of war veterans (Haskell et al. 2010) found that female veterans were more likely to screen positive for depression than their male counterparts (48 versus 39 %, respectively). The

women were less likely than men to screen positive for PTSD, but were 13 % more likely to report military sexual trauma. While this is important knowledge for the Department of Defense, it is also critical for private sector employers who will hire veterans, as it speaks to the possibility that their new hires could present with a preexisting mental illness that could impact employability.

How Does It Happen

Mental disorders can have multiple etiologies. Short of a documented organic cause, such as a trauma or a tumor, there is often no certainty as to the exact cause of a diagnosable mental illness. There are times when it is clear that a woman had a mental illness when hired at a job, such as someone with a preexisting schizophrenic illness who accepts a new position or first enters the workforce. Other times, it is conceivable that the workplace could be the trigger, especially when there is a poor job-person-fit, sexual harassment or bullying. Also, it is likely a combination of factors, perhaps aligned with the diathesis-stressor model for many women, that ultimately results in mentally ill women in the workplace. When reviewing the literature for this chapter, we find many confounding effects associated with mental illness in the workplace, such as job insecurity, physical exertion, age, marital status, income, work hours, and children. To that end, worker's mental health is not only related to work environment, but also to the family unit and social network (Wang et al. 2008). It is cyclical and reinforcing across domains. Clearly there might be a central component insomuch as we can spend as much as one-third of our waking hours at work, but it would be an overstatement to say work alone is the cause of mental illness in women.

Kelloway and Day (2005) detailed six broad categories of stressors to consider when the workplace itself might be the cause of mental health woes, as detailed below. Their categories appear to capture well the experience except for one missing category – gender inequality – which

has been included below as a supplement based on the research of Elwer and colleagues (2013). Thus, these now seven categories appear to convey accurately the nexus between mental illness and women and employment.

Workload and Work Pace

Couples are working 700 h a year more over the past two decades, which means women are working more hours for pay and/or working harder at home to play "catch up" (Elwer et al. 2013). The more people work, the less satisfied they are with work-life balance and time dedicated to work rather than other life-fulfilling activities (Valcour 2007). Those with greater overload were less satisfied with their lives and reported more psychosomatic symptoms and emotional exhaustion (Burke and McKeen 1995). In addition, women who held their first degrees the longest, and presumably had been working the longest, reported more psychosomatic symptoms via the Hopkins Symptom Checklist. The Hopkins is a 58-item checklist with targets such as pains in the heart or chest, itching, sweating, trembling, headaches, poor appetite, constipation, racing heart, soreness of muscles, heaviness in the arms and legs, etc. (Derogatis et al. 1974). A quick Google search revealed the Hopkins to be included on private practice websites as a download for counseling clients to complete prior to their intake session. Park and Elacqua (2013) wisely noted that even if supervisors wanted to reduce workloads, it may be "easier said than done" because of competition in the global marketplace and ever-increasing demands of customers who understand the benefits of globalized labor. Thus, we may see less of a reduction and possibly longer hours in U.S. workers trying to remain competitive.

Role Stressors

Role stressors stem from our inability to resolve actual performance with occupational expectations. Examples could include ambiguity about the expectations themselves, conflict with super-

visors or coworkers, or conflict with other roles such as wife or parent or child (Elwer et al. 2013). In fact, Wang et al. (2008) found that "imbalance between work and family/personal life was the strongest factor" associated with mental illness such as depression and anxiety, and that women do tend to retain primary responsibility for the majority of housework and childrearing. In a Ghanaian study where women are considered to have two "full time" jobs because of cultural expectations of home life plus working a "real" job, mental health was significantly related to stress (Sackey and Sanda 2009). Specifically, the more stress a woman manager perceived, the more likely she was to endorse mental health symptoms. The study found significant correlations with stress and anxiety, depression, and somatic complaints. There were 28 individual stressors measured in this study, including such things as work overload, isolation, pay rates, job insecurity, responsibility, etc., as well as some daily concerns such as attending too many meetings and individual work schedules. To be clear, that is 28 specific job-related stressors for professional women on top of marriage, children, and running a home. This was a Ghanaian study, but surely the results are generalizable to any culture where women are working for pay and then working again at home as part of their partnership or motherly duties.

Career Concerns

Career concerns can run the gamut from job safety to obsolescence to promotion to pay scales. Basically any aspect of a job or career can become a career concern when the focus is on opportunity and performance (Elwer et al. 2013). Few people begin a career path without some hope of advancement, either in terms of job title/function or simply making more money as their loyalty to a company or industry grows over time. Certainly when considering a lifetime of work, and even more so when the job-person-fit is lacking, concerns about longevity and satisfaction may take on special significance in relation to depression, anxiety and substance abuse. This is to say noth-

ing of the fact that having a mental illness could derail career paths.

Work Scheduling

Irregular work schedules, split shifts, rotating shifts or night shifts tend to disrupt social and family activities. This in turn leads to stress, and possibly feelings of guilt or inadequacy (Elwer et al. 2013). Imagine being a working mother in a professional role working 50–70-h work weeks, with little or no time for children or partners. Or being a single mom working the lunch and dinner shifts at a diner trying to make ends meet, who is contemplating a second overnight job while her children sleep just to make sure there is enough to eat. While these two examples of how work scheduling can impact overall quality of life may seem extreme, perhaps they are not as extreme as we would like to believe given the uncertainty of the current global economic climate.

Interpersonal Relationships

Difficulty getting along with or relating to coworkers has long been a source of stress in the workplace. The same is true for supervisory relationships, either as the superior or the subordinate (Elwer et al. 2013). Looking at stress in Japanese working women, interpersonal conflict in the workplace was a main stress factor related to depression (Ogiwara et al. 2008). Conversely, these researchers found that social support from supervisors, peers and spouses was negatively correlated with depression, indicating that healthy relationships foster healthy mental states. Burke and McKeen (1995) found that those with greater conflict in the workplace were less satisfied with their lives and reported more psychosomatic symptoms and emotional exhaustion.

There is a social component to mental illness, such as depression, because employees do not exist or work in a vacuum. Social factors affecting depression specifically include the influence of peers on behavior; the influence of management on behavior; the influence of society on

working conditions; attitudes society has regarding mental health and work, and the interplay between the two; and tensions within the peer group and among peer groups within the organizational structure (Chima 2004).

Social isolation and individualization were identified in a Dutch study (Verdonk et al. 2008) as early career problems that were later exacerbated by mental illness. Generally it is related to overload and the erosion of social support. Treatment that focused on the person herself rather than the larger culture that led to the isolation and individualization, only led to a negative spiral.

Bullying

A subset of interpersonal dysfunction, workplace bullying can be defined as a persistent and repeated offense, unsafe, unwanted or intimidating behaviors or harassment to abuse power or exert control in the workplace (MacIntosh 2012). This can include physical, psychological or sexual behaviors. MacIntosh (2012) noted that there are costs and benefits to victims of bullying both should they stay and should they leave their job. Many women in her study used sick days or vacation time to avoid bullying before deciding if they should stay or leave the workplace. In terms of psychopathology, the women reported sleep disturbances, fatigue, concentration problems, appetite and weight fluctuations, emotional lability, panic attacks, depression, posttraumatic stress symptoms and even suicidal ideation.

Job Content and Control

Lack of stimulating work may be associated with feelings of job strain, dissatisfaction or avolition (Elwer et al. 2013). In fact, one study suggests that the cause and the factors involved are not at all clear cut (Wang et al. 2008). Those authors found higher rates of mental illness among workers who worked in jobs that are coded as high demand-low control. No examples of these coded positions were provided, but surely it would not be hard to visualize jobs that are demanding yet have a low level of autonomy. Nor would it be a

stretch to envision that many women's jobs would fall into this category.

Gender Inequality

Women in a Swedish study were found to have more psychological distress in traditionally gender unequal workplaces (Elwer et al. 2013). These were described as workplaces where men outnumber women, earn higher salaries, have less education for the same job, and receive less paternal leave. The psychological distress detailed by Elwer et al. (2013) included the six factors of restlessness, concentration problems, worries/nervousness, palpitations, anxiety, and "other" nervous distress. These factors overlay with traditional symptoms of anxiety and affective disorders, as well as some personality pathology.

Another study posited that the reason women in the Canadian military demonstrated greater prevalence of mental disorders might be because women are treated as "others" and given "stereotyped traits" that contributed to greater work stresses in general. Put another way, it is entirely possible that women breaking into the boy's club, which reportedly has an 85:15 ratio in Canada (Mota et al. 2011), experience greater stress due to covert or overt discrimination by men and that this stress is a precursor or trigger to diagnosable mental illness.

Prevalence of Workplace Mental Illness

Diagnostic specificity was lacking in many of the studies reviewed for this work. As is often the case with mental illness, there was a focus on reported symptoms versus actual diagnostic categorizations. Additionally, there has always been much overlap between symptoms of affective and anxiety disorders, and to a certain extent, substance abuse. Likewise, much personality pathology can be confused by symptoms that appear pathological in nature versus characterlogical. For example, in a Danish study (Nielson et al.

2012) detailed some personality traits endorsed as mental health problems, such as being too contentious or being a perfectionist, as an artifact of gender roles both as women and as good workers, rather than their potential to represent personality pathology. Even without diagnostic specificity, the data are telling. In a Danish study by Nielson et al. (2012), a full 51 % of disability pensions were related to mental health problems in Denmark and other European nations. In the U.K., a study of cases seen by occupational physicians for a 6-year period ending in 2001 revealed that more than one-third of the cases of occupational disease in the U.K. were work-related mental illness (Cherry et al. 2006). Hence mental illness does have some impact on employability or productivity and it is a global epidemic.

With respect to the United States, there are numerous studies that attempt to quantify mental illness with multiple variables, such as age, gender, specific illness, location, etc. Not accounting specifically for employment, it is useful first to look at prevalence rates of mental illness in women in this country. According to the National Comorbidity Survey (NCS), the lifetime prevalence of any DSM-IV diagnosable condition in women is 56.5 % (Harvard Medical School 2007). According to a fact sheet prepared by a state agency in Texas (Mental Health Connection 2007), one in four adults suffers from a diagnosable mental illness in any given year. Furthermore, one in ten suffers from mental illness while employed.

Affective Disorders

Affective disorders, more commonly referred to as mood disorders, are characterized primarily by a disturbance in mood as the predominant feature (American Psychiatric Association 2000). The DSM-IV-TR lists prevalence rates for various affective labels, such as 6 % for Dysthymic Disorder and up to 1.6 % for Bipolar I Disorder. The DSM does specify these rates by gender. Prevalence of affective disorders is thought to be higher in women than men, and even more so for women who are in their childbearing years (Kulkarni 2008). This is, not coincidentally, also during the prime working years of most women. Chima (2004) cited statistics that 20 % of women will experience at least one major depressive episode in their lives.

In the United States, the NCS prevalence rates for affective disorders in women were 24.9 % (Harvard 2007). The highest prevalence rate was in the age range of 30–44, which is in the prime working years of a woman's life in terms of upward career mobility. Also, it is well within the time of childbearing years, and many years of research has long backed the common sense notion that being a working mother is stressful and can impact mood. Of the affective disorders, Major Depressive Disorder had the highest occurrence in the NCS data set, accounting for just over 20 % of the prevalence. Mental Health Connection (2007) cites a previously published statistic that 70 % of those diagnosed with depression are employed. Thus, we can extrapolate that if the majority of those with depression are employed, and prevalence rates are higher in women than men, then clearly we can see that depression is present in the workplace for women in significant numbers.

In looking at population-based studies, a Harvard study by Harlow et al. (2002) that focused on depression in employed women found no significant impact by longest held occupation itself (broadly categorized as science or law, education or language arts, fine arts, administrative or managerial, sales, and trade professions). However, when compared to women who held the same job classification in the same occupation for the entirety of their adult lives, those who changed jobs within an occupational category (such as a promotion, demotion or department change) or changed job categories completely reported 50 % more past or current depressive symptomology. The authors' findings that changing the work environment led to depression in these women regardless of the field they were in suggests that all women are susceptible to work-related depression. Harlow et al. (2002) found that those who experienced marital disruption had greater rates of depression. This is telling

for women whose marriages are at risk due to lack of marital access while "climbing the corporate ladder," as well as those whose marriages ended for other reasons. No matter the exact cause, marital disruption is likely to lead to depression. Mota and colleagues' study (2011) found that women in the Canadian armed forces were more likely than their male counterparts to have recently experienced major depression or other mood disorders.

Anxiety Disorders

Anxiety has many manifestations, and the DMS-IV-TR details thirteen discrete anxiety-related diagnoses. Prevalence rates can vary, with some anxiety conditions reportedly affecting up to 33 % of the population (APA 2000). NCS prevalence rates for anxiety disorders in women were 36.4 % (Harvard 2007). The highest prevalence was in the age range of 30–44, just as with affective disorders. The most common diagnoses by psychiatrists and occupational physicians in the U.K. were anxiety and/or depression (Cherry et al. 2006). This accounted for 72 % of psychiatrists' and 60 % of occupational physicians' diagnoses. More to the point, a full 40 % of those cases included the less-specific work-related stress label in additional to anxiety/depression. A study of Canadian regular and reserve personnel, women were found to experience higher rates of PTSD than their male counterparts (Mota et al. 2011). The authors noted this result was consistent with those of many prior studies. Based upon all of the data cited above anxiety disorders are the most diagnosed of the DSM-IV conditions.

Psychotic Disorders

Psychotic disorders generally include the presence of certain symptoms (positive symptoms such as hallucinations or delusions), absence of purposeful behaviors (avolition, alogia, or affective flattening) and disorganized speech or behavior (APA 2000). According to the American Psychiatric Association (2000), prevalence rates

for schizophrenia range from 0.5 to 1.5 %. The DSM-IV notes that other psychotic disorders are thought to have lower prevalence rates than schizophrenia, though admittedly data are lacking. The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) published rates are consistent with the APA (National Institutes of Mental Health n.d.). There was no readily available data set identifying women's rates of psychotic disorders, though the NIMH noted schizophrenia specifically to affect men and women equally. Mueser et al. (2001) notes that rates of competitive employment in those diagnosed with schizophrenia tend to be low, citing prior estimates in the 10–20 % range. Thus, if it is a rare condition and the rates of employment of those affected are low, this is not going to be a focus of great attention in the workplace. Rare though it might be, Krupa (2004) notes that there are special challenges inherent to schizophrenia in the workplace including intense affective responses, dissociating states, hallucinations, delusions, and paranoid ideation in dealing with coworkers and others. Even more telling, Krupa (2004) noted that because of the special stigma attached to psychosis, employees would be less willing to disclose their condition or seek assistance.

Substance Abuse

Tracking substance abuse can be a bit trickier than some of the other mental health labels because how many gainfully employed people are likely to raise their hand when questioned about potentially illegal activity? And we can imagine that women using any substance to mitigate stress might be even less likely to disclose such information. NCS data (Harvard 2007) indicates lifetime prevalence rates of 7.5 % for alcohol abuse/dependence, and 4.8 % for drug use/dependence in women. The larger statistic was for nicotine use, which was 26.5 % in women. Since nicotine use has many deleterious health consequences as well, these data are even more problematic.

For women in the military, those who perceived high stress of simply being a woman in a

male-dominated field were 2.5 times more likely to use illicit drugs (Bray et al. 1999). They were also 1.5 times more likely to smoke cigarettes. Both illicit substance use and nicotine use can lead to diagnostic labels for intoxication or withdrawal depending upon the severity of use. Though Bray and colleagues' 1999 findings were specific to women in the military, it is not a stretch to consider that the same issues could be applicable to female CEO's, police officers, firefighters, or other traditionally male-dominated career paths.

A clear confound with respect to the consideration of substance abuse is comorbidity. In the authors' collective experience, substance abuse is frequently used by women to self-medicate any number of clinically significant symptoms that warrant diagnosis (such as depression, anxiety, PTSD, sexual abuse, personality dysfunction, psychosis, etc.). According to the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH) (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration 2013), nearly 21 % of women with what is termed serious mental illness also qualify for a substance use disorder. Examples of serious mental illness include the specific disorders listed in this chapter. The NSDUH further noted a 13.2 % comorbidity with substance abuse disorder and *any* mental illness in women.

Personality Disorders

The authors are hesitant to engage in a discussion of personality disorders affecting women in the workplace. There are several reasons for this. First, personality disorders by definition in the DSM-IV represent "an enduring pattern of inner experience and behavior that deviates markedly from the expectations of the culture of the individual who exhibits it" (APA 2000). Clearly there is going to be some bias by the majority who do not experience what we are labeling as a disorder of the minority. Second, the DSM-IV clearly notes that there are gender differences in some but not all personality disorders, which can lead to diagnostic confusion if we do not consider gender roles and stereotypes. This is clearly a

confounding factor in the workplace, where gender inequality is frequently a topic of discussion from the dinner table to the corporate boardroom. Third, the authors want to tread lightly on any implication that women are hindered by the statistical realities of personality pathology diagnosis. Lastly, we believe of all the disorders in the psychiatric realm, the personality disorders have the most complex interplay with many employment dynamics, to the degree that a mere portion of a book chapter alone could not adequately begin to overview this phenomenon.

Having said that, in fairness to other disorders, we must include some prevalence data. The DSM-IV (APA 2000) details prevalence rates for personality disorders ranging from 0.5 to 10 % in the general population, depending on the specific disorder. The rates are higher for inpatient and specific clinical populations, but these are not likely to be women working at that time period. Also, this could be a function of exacerbation of personality symptoms necessitating more intense treatment perhaps as we might see with workplace stress worsening any mental illness. The NIMH (NIMH n.d.) estimates 12-month prevalence rates for personality disorders of up to 9.1 % of the U.S. population. This was noted to be based on data from the NCS, though we were unable to download the specific data sets in question and believe this falls in the restricted data sets available to current research projects. As you can see, getting specific data on personality disorders for women in the workplace is not as easily accessed as in the case of other diagnosable conditions. We will work from the assumption that there are employed women with personality disorders, but not to the same degree that we see with respect to affective or anxiety disorders.

Other Conditions of Interest

Not every symptom or cluster of symptoms rises to a diagnosable level. And other times there are interesting conditions that are not seen across large portions of the population but still warrant attention. Though not conclusive, an interesting Brazilian study of women with anorexia nervosa

(both restrictive and bulimic subtypes) found that women with anorexia reported reduced performance in occupational roles (Quiles-Cestari and Riberio 2012). Their conditions were considered "chronic and severe," with median durations of 10 years and treatment times of 6 years. What makes this particular study unclear, while suggesting that future research is required, is the absence of a performance measure prior to their illness. Given that anorexia tends not to be a "sudden" onset condition, in that there is usually a period of body dysmorphia leading up to the actual avoidance of food or binge/purge cycle, those with an anorexia diagnosis likely had symptoms that could have impacted their work for some time. The DSM-IV-TR (2000) notes that most people with food issues do not meet the diagnostic criteria for anorexia, but rather would qualify for an Eating Disorder Not Otherwise Specified label, which was not included in the aforementioned study. Another possible confound for this study could be lack of honesty about having an eating disorder, as we have long known people are hesitant to admit to any mental disorder due to possible stigmatization.

Burnout, though not a diagnostic category per se, is clearly problematic. The Maslach Burnout Inventory was employed with a group of professional women in a study (Burke and McKeen 1995). It was found that overload and potential burnout were significantly related to the predictors of emotional well-being including life satisfaction, psychosomatic symptoms (such as trouble sleeping) and emotional exhaustion. Parks et al. (2013) reviewed the onset of employee burnout subsequent to recurrent stress in the workplace. It was noted that stress impacts mental illness, which in turn impacts stress. The authors noted that prevalence rates for burnout were hard to derive due to confounds in the current research and the potential for missed data. Still, their conclusion was that burnout a significant had a psychological toll on workers, and a financial toll on the economy.

Economic Cost of Workplace Mental Illness

No look at the impact of mental illness on the workplace would be complete without considering the economic realities. Citing prior studies, and a survey of nearly 500 corporate executives, mental illness and substance abuse cost employers between $80 and $100 billion dollars annually. With respect to these data mental health issues came in well ahead of other health issues in terms of costs to employers (MHC 2007). Another study cited a cost of $44 billion annually for depression alone (Chima 2004). Depression can cost up to $3,000 per affected employee, and that cost can double without treatment.

The costs of mentally ill female employees can include absenteeism, excessive sick leaves, FMLA leave, slow production and somatic complaints that can be a drain to the company-provided insurance system. Marcotte and Wilcox-Gok (2001) cited prior work based on the National Comorbidity Study that estimated that having a mental illness reduces the likelihood a woman will be employed by 11 %. Furthermore, mental illness reduces her annual income anywhere from 20 to 50 %. Extrapolating those numbers further, Marcotte and Wilcox-Gok (2001) estimated mental illness reduces yearly income between $3,500 and $6,000, for a total of up to $170 billion a year.

The cost to businesses can impact the bottom line in many ways (Dewa et al. 2007):

1. Unemployment – Those with mental illness are less likely to be working due to inability to obtain a job or be retained in their job. When chronic absenteeism or reduced productivity is a factor in determining continued employment, it would not be surprising to see women lose jobs due to the chronic effects of mental illness.
2. Early retirement – Workers with mental illness are more likely to exit the workforce

early. This could be due to unemployment, burnout, chronic absenteeism or basic psychology of being a "broken person." Early retirement is a drain on pension plans and government supported programs. It also can be a drain on workforce readiness and leave unfilled vacancies, both of which impact a business' overall gross productivity.

3. Absenteeism – Simply put, most absenteeism related to mental illness is in the form of sick days. When the absence is prolonged, it may manifest in short-term disability or even long-term disability. Absent workers simply are not productive workers, and their missed work/revenue must be accounted for by others or lost entirely. For those workers who do not receive the benefit of sick leave, they may be more likely to leave one job for another with such a benefit.

4. Presenteeism – This is a newer term to describe working with impaired functioning to avoid absenteeism. One estimate for US workers cited by Dewa and colleagues (2007) reported that 4 h of depression-related presenteeism in a 2-week period could result in a total of $36 billion to the US economy. Presenteeism actually cost more than the estimated $8.3 billion in absenteeism.

5. Spillover – Because we rarely work in isolation, there is bound to be some tainting of the well water. Often there tends to be conflict in a workplace where mental illness is present, perhaps due to the additional workload for others resulting from presenteeism, or perhaps due to bitterness about absenteeism. If personality pathology is part of the mental illness, interpersonal conflict is a key component of personality dysfunction and there may be no reasonable way to prevent that from manifesting in the workplace.

It is easy to focus on the economics of depression and other types of mental illness. In fact, there is no way to approach this topic within a business model without considering economics.

But we, as mental health professionals, would be remiss not to focus the cost of mental illness in terms of human capital and psychic damage. People with mental illness are often the most disadvantaged and disenfranchised members of any community. Herrman (2001) notes that the consequences of mental illness impact functioning in family, social and vocational domains. Discrimination is commonplace. Consequences can include family dysfunction, substance abuse, suicide, physical illness, premature death from other medical causes, unemployment, poverty, homelessness, social isolation, divorce, and even criminality in times of utter despair and hopelessness. While we must balance the needs of the organizations we serve when consulting about mental illness, we also must remember the mentally ill woman before us.

Intervention

Building a healthy workplace was the focus of the work by Kelloway and Day (2005). Their review included antecedents of healthy workplaces, all of which have a clear impact on workers' psychology including safety, work-life balance, culture of support, respect and fairness, employee development, work contentment, and effective interpersonal work relationships. Per Parks et al. (2013), workplaces are littered with pamphlets and memorandums about the warning signs of burnout, depression, or anxiety. Career-oriented journals and magazines, and even mainstream magazines and e-zines, routinely run articles with checklists of warning signs for stress, depression and burnout, and helpful suggestions upon ways to be more productive. It was argued by Maslach et al. (2001) that people who were psychologically healthier at the outset of employment were better able to cope with job stress and showed greater levels of job satisfaction. Hence, interventions aimed at maintaining psychological health are easily justified. But in

considering what constitutes appropriate and effective interventions, the problem often remains a function of where to target limited financial resources.

Individual Approach

Many career-minded mental health professionals (Maslach et al. 2001; French et al. 1974) believe we should employ a person-environment fit model. Helping a person develop coping strategies can be somewhat effective using educational interventions (Maslach et al. 2001). Research shows that people can learn new ways to cope with stress. Unfortunately, as previously noted by this author (Parks et al. 2013) they cannot always apply it to the workplace because work behaviors are stipulated by employers. After all, Parks and colleagues (2013) suggested that people are hired for job function, not personality.

In reviewing numerous prior studies of the effectiveness of workplace counseling, McLeod (2010) found that counseling interventions targeting stress, anxiety and depression reduced sick time by up to 60 % and had a "moderate" impact on job commitment, functioning and satisfaction. Vlăduţ and Kállay (2010) also found that individual-oriented interventions can be effective. They reviewed 25 studies for their work-related burnout research using individual interventions such as cognitive-behavioral training, counseling, psychosocial skills and communication training, and anxiety management techniques such as relaxation and autogenic training. Their review of these studies suggests that individual intervention is effective, in that 80 % of the studies reviewed showed positive effects. However, they caution that as a whole the effect sizes were small. Still, if generalized to the larger workforce, the authors believe individual-based techniques can be quite effective (Vlăduţ and Kállay 2010).

Collective Approach

There can be no discussion of women's mental health in the workplace without considering the workplace itself. Emotional support and trusting relationships are keys to successful treatment (Nielson et al. 2012). Coworkers and supervisors typically mean well when they try to be supportive, but often have little understanding of how to help those in pain or crisis. For example, Nakayama and Amagasa (2004) found that three-quarters of respondents would offer some form of support, though many stated that support would come in the form of trying to cheer them up, or even leaving them alone, which were undesirable responses toward someone suffering from depression. Indeed, they correctly noted that for cohorts to be useful, it is necessary that all affected employees receive some level of knowledge and coping skills. Taking that observation one step further, what was most surprising was that the absence of positive work experiences, such as training development, was not significantly related to emotional well-being (Burke and McKeen 1995). This would suggest that offering positive enhancement while failing to address the underlying negative workplace experiences such as conflict and overload may prove ineffective.

Given that one of the costs of mental illness in the workplace is absenteeism or even extended use of sick days, it is not uncommon for those suffering from severe mental impairment to require an extended leave of absence for stabilization of symptoms. Returning to work can involve numerous challenges. Nielson et al. (2012) highlights a few such as understanding the etiology of their illness and its relationship to work, whether colleagues would be supportive upon a return to work, if work conditions that fostered or exacerbated mental illness had changed, perception of work ability, possibilities for alternate employment in potentially volatile work markets, conflict with supervisors, and even a general desire to return to work. There is always the possibility that women will return to work feeling disabled or handicapped after prolonged distress with subsequent reduction in functioning and work ability. Indeed, it can become a central part of their self-concept and daily lives (Nielson et al. 2012), and then restricted performance can become a self-fulfilling prophecy. As any behaviorist can attest, this is the hallmark of cognitive distortions that are both inherent in some mental illness as a symptom and as a relapse trigger.

In a Dutch study of educated women who took time off from work to address mental health, all of whom had at least a bachelor's degree and worked in non-labor professional positions, they initially viewed the withdrawal from work as important for their recovery. However, when it came time to return to work after spending time in therapy addressing goals and values associated with a "good working life," the new values did not match the reality of the job to which they returned. This was due, in large part, to a failure in maintenance of their jobs in their absence (Verdonk et al. 2008). According to the authors, the failure stemmed specifically from a lack of synchrony between the women's learned new values and the steadfast requirements of the job to which they returned. Thus, the women changed but the environment did not, and relapse to the previous mental health symptoms was quick. What we learned from the Nielson et al. (2012) study in Denmark is that employees on long-term disability for psychological reasons are less likely to return to the same job. Possibly this is because of the stigma long attached to psychological problems. What is the take away message? If it is the company culture or the job itself, changing the "person" does little to ensure a woman will successfully recover and return to work.

Freeman et al. (2004) expressed a need for a greater understanding of mental health issues by all members of the workforce. They correctly note that unlike physical illness or disabilities, mental illness carries its own special stigma and the underlying perception that mentally ill people can be dangerous or incapable of pulling their weight (Freeman et al. 2004). Freeman's participants suggested a coordinated approach for returning to work that involved the individual, the coworkers and supervisors; as well as organizational management, therapeutic providers and liaisons, and human resources or union reps (Freeman et al. 2004).

Michael et al. (2009) examined the role of age, education and marital status as correlates to gender differences in experiencing occupational stress. The authors noted that their work produced contradictory results as to whether or not these three variables increased or decreased stress levels (Michael et al. 2009). However, there was a greater implication from this study if we look at what the word "failure" means. In this particular study, there was some correlation among the variables but not enough to support clear linear relationships. Looking at it from the opposite perspective, the correlations produced still suggested that supportive relationships among those with whom women share similar stresses and strains were beneficial. We can still learn from this study in that it teaches us one of the positive support structures women need, namely others in similar situations with whom they can commiserate and gain support.

Application

Readers of most chapters or manuals frequently search the chapter looking for a list of specific interventions and strategies. Bearing that in mind, we do offer a list of possible interventions with the caveat that no book chapter could provide an all-inclusive, detailed or manualized list similar to specific treatment guides. This is a brief list of suggested interventions based on the collective review of the research for this chapter (Freeman et al. 2004; Ivancevich et al. 1990; Nielson et al. 2012; Parks et al. 2013; Sackey and Sanda 2009; Verdonk et al. 2008; Nakayama and Amagasa 2004):

Individual Intervention:
- Psychotherapy with trained mental health professionals. This can be initiated through many Employee Assistance Programs (EAP's) and later transitioned to insurance-based or private pay therapy. In order for this to be successful, the therapy needs to target not just generalized symptoms, but also how these symptoms manifest in the workplace.
  - Therapy should target symptoms of diagnosable mental illness, such as disturbance in mood, anxiety, substance abuse, and noncompliance with treatment.
  - Focus on discovering the authentic self. To take any action, women need a genuine understanding of their circumstance. They need to correctly interpret symptoms for

what they are. They need to focus on exercises regarding "who am I?" and "what do I want out of life?" exercises.

- Therapy and coaching should also be used to adjust values and perceptions. Mental health professionals are mediators in the discovery of one's authentic self, as well as providing context about mental illness.
- Physical exercise several times per week, as supervised by medical professionals as necessary.
- Journaling.
- Meditation and other relaxation activities, which can include yoga, diaphragmatic breathing, progressive muscle relaxation, body scanning, etc.
- Medications are a first line treatment for affective, anxiety and psychotic disorders. As a general rule, psychotropic medications are best prescribed and monitored by psychiatrists based on their expertise and training, although many primary care physicians are able to prescribe such medications and monitor their patients. Regardless of the identity of the prescriber, it is best practice for the therapist or counselor to partner with the prescribing physician to monitor treatment compliance and efficacy.
- Women should actively seek out support from colleagues and supervisors. Outside of the workplace, women should receive support from partners, family and friends.

Systemic Intervention:
- Women should be encouraged to assert themselves. They need to make a point of influencing their working conditions.
- Seek feedback of women employees to stay abreast of their changing needs. Implement organizational designs to enhance information flow and feedback loops between female workers and supervisors (male or female).
- In the absence of reducing workload, employers can increase employees' perceived control over their schedule and be more supportive about work-life balance concerns even if there is no actual change forthcoming.
- Enhance social relations/support by including structures and mechanisms (like coffee breaks) that encourage interaction and support among positive human resources.
- Provide knowledge and training to supervisors regarding mental illness and realistic expectations, while respecting the need for confidentiality.
- Include supervisors in the decision making and planning process, allowing them to be proactive rather than reactive.
- Provide explicit expectations and regular review of performance.

Regardless of what specific strategies are employed, be it stress management, individual therapy, wellness initiatives, support groups, or organizational reviews, there are specific factors to consider for successful intervention (Adams 2009; Flaxman and Bond 2010; Freeman et al. 2004; Ivancevich et al. 1990; Nielson et al. 2012; Parks et al. 2013; Sackey and Sanda 2009; Verdonk et al. 2008; Jimmieson et al. 2010; Murphy 1995; Nakayama and Amagasa 2004; Noblet and LaMontagne 2006; Parks et al. 2013):

- Use of health care professionals, and specifically mental health professionals, to legitimize diagnosable mental illness as needing treatment.
- Programs should be multi-faceted, with a wide variety of solutions for the wide variety of problems facing individual workers.
- Interventions should be based on the idea that fostering a psychologically healthy workplace requires changing the habits of the woman and the company.
- Employee involvement should be as extensive as possible, so that lasting change will involve individuals at many levels within the organization.
- Employee involvement should not necessarily be limited to the affected woman. Indeed, workplaces are social environments almost as much as they are task-oriented ones. For coworkers to be successfully supportive in a successful manner, which is often a goal, they need to be included in the psychoeducational efforts.
- Individual-level interventions should focus on the provision of knowledge, skills and resources for employees regarding how to cope with stress. The goal would be to implement these

resources prior to the destabilization or requirement for leave of absence of the employees.

- Interface-level (direct employee-employer interaction) interventions should target the connection between employee and employer in terms of role ambiguity, work relationships, person-environment fit, decision-making, role clarification and support groups. Communication between the employee and the employer, be it a direct supervisor or even a human resources staffer, should be clear and purposeful regarding the employee's role and expectations.
- Effective evaluation of return on investment must be evaluated in order to monitor the cost effectiveness of the program.

In conclusion, in order for such programs to be effective, both individual and collective areas must be addressed, or long-term success will not be achieved. Addressing either of the two areas may show a short term gain, and even a significant one, but not one with enduring effects.

Cost-Benefit Analysis

As noted by Parks et al. (2013), estimating the cost of mental illness to the economy can be tricky and estimating the savings of investing in mentally ill workers is even more difficult to assess. Zabkiewicz (2010) found that poor women who lose their jobs are at increased risk for depression, whereas depression appeared to diminish over time as the women remained employed. According to Zabkiewicz (2010), employment may contribute to a decline in mental health problems. Mental health professionals have frequently noted that employment in and of itself can be a stabilizing factor for the mentally ill, and thus, addressing how we take care of these women in terms of long-term employability and contribution to society over the course of their working careers, is important. Ultimately, we all must face the reality that interventions targeting mental health require the commitment and support of top management (Ivancevich et al. 1990). This is more likely to happen if practical outcomes are considered in addition to the humanistic goals of therapists. Difficult questions regarding program costs, outcome expectations and their measurement must be asked.

Baicker et al. (2010) suggested that it has been difficult to estimate the long-term savings of employee wellness plans because there has been no standardized nomenclature in the field or systematic data collection. Her meta-analysis demonstrated an average savings of $3.27 for every dollar spent in wellness care. Admittedly, this total is for general medical expenses and not psychological expenses, but given the number of physiological symptoms that present with psychological conditions, it is conceivable that there was some overlap in the conditions studied. At the very least, addressing medical concerns can allay anxiety and depression in some workers whose symptoms are, indeed, tied to medical conditions.

Return on investment (ROI) is a formal business term for the more simplified concept of a cost-benefit analysis. Within any workplace, the ROI is a critical measure of the benefit of any program or wellness benefit. In considering absenteeism, Baicker et al. (2010) found an ROI of $2.73 for every dollar spent in wellness care. All but one of the 22 studies analyzed showed a reduction in absentee days. Adams (2009) believes these costs of what he termed "invisible overhead" due to job stress are recoverable through the promotion of organizationally supported work/life balance programs. He cites several corporate examples where the ROI was quite high for such programs. As previously noted, stress can exacerbate diagnosable mental illness as well as lead to undiagnosable burnout. Recovering any costs attributable to stress is money well invested.

Future Research Considerations

The reality is no one book, much less one book chapter, can adequately address the mental illness concerns and needs of women in the workplace. It would be foolhardy to believe we could reduce such a broad and troubling experience to brief snippets or cookie-cutter wisdom. What is needed desperately is far more research that focuses on current and future trends in society, which ultimately are reflected in a workplace microcosm. Future researchers would do well to focus on some of these key concepts:

- Eliminating, or at least better accounting for, common confounds is key to good research. Much of the research includes confounds such as job security, age, marital status, income, children, occupation, education, and so on. Acknowledging that viewing women as a whole includes consideration of all these variable, better methodological planning on the front end leading to better statistical analysis on the backend may reduce the number of confounds and increase the confidence in our results.

- Lifting the veil off of mental illness may lead to more openness from the women who are suffering, as well as those trying to assist them. Certainly we can agree that so long as there is a societal or cultural disincentive to be open and honest about mental illness, women will be reticent to come forward and acknowledge problems or seek help. Moreover, coworkers and supervisors may be more likely to withhold assistance or even directly or indirectly ostracize suffering women because it is socially acceptable. If we have more research showing the positive benefits of reduced stigmatization and increased openness and awareness, it may encourage those in positions of power or authority to address rather than ignore mental illness in the workplace.

- Social media is ubiquitous. Much more research is needed to understand how social media can contribute to or exacerbate mental illness. This could be directly, such as identity disturbance related to personality disorders that could be related to constant unfair comparisons or other cognitive distortions; or perhaps even how depressed women further slide into affective instability with viewing all of the positive life moments of their friends and social network who are seemingly "normal" and "healthy." Looking at it from an employer standpoint, it would be interesting to see research about using social media to regularly educate workers and supervisors about mental illness. For example, tweeting wellness tips or blogs about self-care or supporting those in distress. Social media could very well be the next great medium to inform the populace, including those in the workplace side by side with mentally ill women.

- DSM-V is now a reality. As with other editions, we now have new diagnostic labels and some of these may be related to women's mental illness in the workplace. A reduction in the number of symptoms to quality for an anxiety disorder, for example, might lead to more women having a label that warrants treatment. New categories for substance use focusing on "use" versus "intoxication" versus "withdrawal" and eliminating prior labels such as "abuse" and "dependence" shed new light on the transient effects of drugs and alcohol. Exploring use versus intoxication could either eliminate or worsen confounds noted earlier in the chapter regarding substance use and comorbidity. Additionally, the focus on dimensional self-assessments may prove interesting if research could explore how learned human resource professionals and Employee Assistance Programs might utilize these tools proactively to identify women in distress and recommend treatment.

There is no doubt that as more research commences, future authors will highlight additional areas for future research. That is, in fact, the nature of scientific inquiry. The topics highlight above represent but a few areas of potential future research directions that could provide a wealth of valuable information.

Conclusion

To be sure, for as long as women are viewed as a subset of the population there will be some level of disenfranchisement in the workplace. Despite the progress made in equal rights, women are still not treated equally. This becomes an important distinction in addressing mental illness in the workplace, as it is an area where women legitimately do need to be treated differently in order to maximize their potential and effectiveness. If we as practitioners are to assist women directly via therapy, or indirectly via consultation to com-

panies or impacting public policy, we need to have a clear picture of how mental illness for women manifests in the workplace. Who is affected? How are they affected? What is the impact on the business climate? Is there justification for initiating change? Since we cannot prevent all mental illness, the only way truly to mitigate the deleterious effects and lessen the prevalence rates is to tie prevention and rehabilitation efforts to the workplace itself. This includes treating both the woman who is suffering and supporting those with whom she interacts who may suffer in different ways. Indeed, if we do not address the global system in which affected women work, we miss the opportunity to modify the factors that contribute to mental illness. This only perpetuates the cycle with the next woman hired who has or develops a mental illness. Change must be systemic to be lasting. From a business perspective, it will be impossible to craft any one strategy or mechanism to accommodate every conceivable stressor or trigger. However, research shows that enough is not being done, given the billions in lost revenue or direct costs facing companies as a result of mental illness, and women are a large part of that working culture. While there is no easy solution, if we invest some of those billions of dollars spent in treatment and workplace wellness initiatives, then perhaps we will see that the billions previously lost can be recouped as profits for a nation of businesses and industries as healthy women are able to contribute more.

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Women and Work Stress: More and Different?

8

Astrid M. Richardsen, Laura E.M. Traavik,
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Introduction

This chapter reviews research on job stress and how it affects working women. Stress-related illnesses are rising (International Labour Organization 2009) and costing society billions of dollars (American Psychological Association 2010). To understand wellbeing at work it is necessary to identify factors affecting job stress. Stress is a very serious issue in work life, both for the organization and the individual. Women are still at a huge disadvantage in the labour market, where they have fundamentally different experiences than men. As presented in the previous chapters of this book, pay gaps, ceilings and walls, and discrimination are unique and unfavorable conditions that women face in work life. These circumstances add to the stress women experience at work and subsequently can lead to reduced wellbeing. In this chapter we include a section focusing on female managers in order to illustrate specific stressors facing this relatively high status group.

Consensus about how to define stress has been difficult to achieve, with various conceptualizations treating it either as an independent or dependent variable, an interaction, or a transactional process (Cooper et al. 2001). Researchers from diverse disciplines focus on either biological or psychological descriptions. As Cooper et al. (2001: 4) state "…The way in which stress is defined has a fundamental impact on how research is conducted and results are explained…" In this chapter we define stress as transactional, involving the person and environment in an ongoing process, acknowledging the dynamic and complex nature of stress. The overall transactional process includes stressors, which are linked to strain: "the individual's psychological, physical and behavioral responses to stressors" and are associated with outcomes: "the consequences of strain at both the individual and organizational level" (Cooper et al. 2001: 14). The established occupational stress research framework commonly includes a number of work stressors (e.g., overload, role conflict, work-family conflict), stress responses (physiological, psychological, behavioral), moderating factors (e.g., individual variables, coping efforts), and long-term consequences for individual health and work performance.

Although stress has been difficult to define, there is general agreement within organizational research (Beehr and Newman 1978; Jex and Beehr 1991) that stressors can be defined as the "…antecedent conditions within one's job or the organization which require adaptive responses on

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the part of employees" (Jex and Beehr 1991: 312). Using the occupational stress framework we identify some of the stressors that are most relevant for women within and between occupations, discuss how women experience these stressors in comparison to men, give a review of the research specifically on female managers, and lastly we examine approaches for lessening the negative consequences of these stressors in a work life context. We begin by describing the general work environment in which women find themselves.

A Woman's World: The Pattern of Female Participation in the Workforce

Some of the environmental factors that can lead to unique stressors for women are connected to their overall participation and status in the workforce. The United Nation's report from 2010 concludes that women's participation in the labour market has remained relatively stable over the last 20 years and that the gender gap in participation remains considerable across all ages, except early adulthood (United Nations 2010). Women work primarily in the service sector, often in vulnerable employment, and earn less than men (United Nations 2010). There is some evidence that the percentage of women has increased in management over the last decade (Davidson and Burke 2004; Russell 2006; Stroh et al. 2004), however, women continue to be in the minority in these high status jobs. Occupational segregation continues with women often working in traditionally female occupations with lower status (United Nations 2010). These jobs often have higher work loads and less decision latitude.

According to Karasek's demand control model in which higher work loads and less decision latitude lead to higher stress, we might conclude that these lower positions with less decision latitude could be connected to higher levels of stress (Karasek 1979). Also, given the pattern of participation of women in the workforce, both in terms of the types of jobs they hold and their minority position in high status

positions, women could be subject to more discrimination which in turn is a strong stressor (King 2005; Thoits 2010). Thoits (2010: S45) argues that "discrimination stress adds to the disproportionate burden of stressors borne by lower status, disadvantaged group members in the United States." We will discuss discrimination and sexual harassment as specific stressors for women in more detail later in this chapter. Although in general women may be subject to more stress at work, it is important to address how different occupations and positions affect this relationship.

Occupational Stress

Stress within and across different occupations can occur because of the type of occupation, one's status and position within the occupation, gender composition within the occupation and gender differences in interpreting stressors. Due to the occupational segregation that exists between men and women (United Nations 2010) the notion that some occupations are associated with more stress or that men and women may experience different stressors within the same occupation (due to their minority or majority situation) is very relevant. Some stressors may be in all jobs, such as work overload, however stressors could also vary as a function of job type or level (Narayanan et al. 1999). Horizontal segregation refers to the unequal concentration of men and women in specific male-dominated or female-dominated jobs such as nursing or construction work, and vertical segregation describes men holding the highest status positions across occupations. As Evans and Steptoe (2002) argued, it is conceivable that sex differences in work-related stress occur because men and women have both different types of jobs and position levels. If certain jobs are male dominated the minority or token status of women brings about unique stressors. In this section we briefly review what we know about the relationship between stressors, gender, and occupations and then focus more specifically on women in management.

Stress and Different Occupations

Different occupations experience assorted stressors, both in terms of type and intensity (Johnson et al. 2005). In a recent study Chang and Lu (2009) investigated stressors across four occupational groups: high school teachers, shop clerks, factory employees, and civil servants. They found that work behaviors and stressors differed across occupations with shop clerks having the highest number of stressors (Chang and Lu 2009). Narayanan et al. (1999) found significant differences in some of the stressors reported across three occupational groups: sales associates, academics and clerical workers. The clerical group reported that the largest stressors were lack of control or autonomy and work overload whereas the academic group and sales associates responded that interpersonal conflict and wasted time or effort were considered to be the most stressful. These two stressors were also common to all three occupations. It is important to note that the stressor of low control was cited more often by workers in the lower level jobs (clerical and sales) than the higher level (academics) (Narayanan et al. 1999).

Johnson and colleagues (2005) examined 26 different occupations and concluded that stress was greater in jobs that were characterized by high emotional labour and face to face contact with clients. They also found that stress within teaching and policing was less for those who occupied more senior positions (Johnson et al. 2005). In the study by Evans and Steptoe (2002) it was found that nurses had more stress than accountants. If the amount of stress and the number and type of stressors vary across occupations then we can deduce that there will be differences between men and women as long as horizontal segregation exists. For example, if women occupy jobs that require more emotional labour or client contact, as in the service industry, then we could predict that they will have more stressors. Also, although having senior positions can help reduce stress in high stress occupations (Johnson et al. 2005), this does not benefit women who are often excluded from the top jobs (vertical segregation).

Since horizontal segregation creates occupations which are either male or female dominated, in this unbalanced context, male and female tokens and minorities become salient. Jackson et al. (1995) found that women being in the numerical minority was linked to increased anxiety at work and concluded that tokenism is related to different work stressors. Evans and Steptoe (2002) investigated the various stressors associated with men and women who are in the cultural and numerical minority and found that there may be adverse health effects that are gender-specific. Research in Sweden examined women working in jobs with varying degrees of horizontal segregation and revealed that women working in male dominated jobs had the highest rate of sick leave (Hensing and Alexanderson 2004). These findings were supported by Richard et al. (2006) who showed that women in the numerical minority experienced more health problems than other women, or men in the numerical minority.

In the study by Evans and Steptoe (2002) they did not find that women in the male dominated accounting experienced more stress. Here one could claim that impact of minority status might depend on how much of a minority a group is (token or not) and in what type of occupation. What is clear is that type and intensity of stressors can vary from job to job and that horizontal and vertical segregation in the workforce can contribute to additional stressors for women and even lead to health problems.

Sex Differences

Across occupations there is also evidence of sex differences in the stressors experienced (Narayanan et al. 1999). In this section, we review the research and then examine gender differences and similarities found with stressors and specific work situation. These include extreme work, work addictions, role conflict, work and family issues, and sexual harassment and discrimination.

Research shows that the type of stressors experienced differ between men and women. Narayanan et al. (1999) found that interpersonal conflict was a more frequently cited source of stress for women

than men, and in a large Canadian sample women reported more stressors related to social life and job strain than men, and men reported more financial stressors (McDonough and Walters 2001). A recent study of primary school teachers (Karakuş 2013) indicated that women experienced higher stress and anxiety levels than men. They concluded that women's diverse roles at work and in life could lead to different kinds of stress factors, which in turn could make them more vulnerable to these negative feelings. For male teachers the level of emotional intelligence, a personal characteristic which may enable employees to cope with negative feelings, significantly reduced the experienced stress and anxiety, which was not the case for female teachers (Karakuş 2013). McDonough and Walters (2001: 556) summarize the situation for women "… the pressures and expectations of others (social life stress) exerted effects that were stronger than all other sources of stress, including life events". In a study of university employees, Lui et al. (2008) revealed similar findings. Using qualitative data they found that men and women experienced different stressors at work due to gender specific societal expectations. Men more often reported workload and work mistakes as stressors whereas for women interpersonal conflicts and lack of job autonomy emerged as top stressors.

Extreme Jobs

Organizations often expect or require employees to work long hours and this can have a differential impact on men and women. The fact that working long hours may be a requirement for career advancement can disadvantage women who may be unwilling or unable to work as many hours as men (Hewlett and Luce 2006). This work requirement could create more stress for women.

Hewlett and Luce (2006) examined "extreme jobs", jobs in which incumbents worked 70 h a week or more, were high wage earners, and had jobs having at least five characteristics of work intensity (e.g., unpredictable flow of work, fast-paced work under tight deadlines, inordinate scope of responsibility, work-related events outside regular work hours, availability to clients 24/7, and a large amount of travel). They carried out surveys of high wage earners in the US and high earning managers and professionals working in large multinational organizations. In addition, they conducted focus groups and interviews to better understand the motivations for, and the effects of, working in these jobs. Their results showed that extreme jobs were more likely to be held by men than women (17 % versus 4 % in the US sample; 30 % versus 15 % in the global sample).

Similar findings were revealed in a Canadian study. Burke and Fiksenbaum (2009a) compared work and well-being outcomes among males and females in a sample of MBA graduates in "extreme jobs", in which they worked 56 h a week or more. A higher percentage of men than women held "extreme jobs". Men in "extreme jobs" were older, more likely married and to have children. There were relatively few differences in work outcomes, however, females did indicate more psychosomatic symptoms, and job stress. Holding extreme jobs did not seem to represent the same problem for married men with children (Burke and Fiksenbaum 2009a).

Burke and Fiksenbaum (2009b), using females from the same Canadian sample of MBA graduates, then compared work and well-being outcomes for women in "extreme jobs", working 56 h a week or more, with women working 55 or fewer hours per week. Women in "extreme jobs" were less likely to be parents, and earned higher salaries. Women in "extreme jobs" reported benefits such as higher levels of job satisfaction and future career prospects, but the costs included higher levels of job stress and psychosomatic symptoms and lower levels of family satisfaction and emotional health.

Working Intensely and Workaholism

Besides working longer hours, jobs themselves have also become more intense. Work intensity is generally conceptualized as an effort-related activity (Green 2004a, b). In this regard, it is very similar to the "work effort" concept discussed by Green (2001: 56) as: "… the rate of physical and/

or mental input to work tasks performed during the working day… in part, effort is inversely linked to the 'porosity' of the working day, meaning those gaps between tasks during which the body or mind rests."

Some employees work excessively in addition to working intensely. Oates (1971) defined a workaholic as "a person whose need for work has become so excessive that it creates noticeable disturbance or interference with his bodily health, personal happiness, and interpersonal relationships, and with his smooth social functioning" (Oates 1971). Others (see Killinger 1991; Porter 1996; Robinson 1998) also define workaholism in negative terms. Most writers use the terms excessive work, workaholism and work addiction interchangeably. Spence and Robbins (1992) proposed the notion of the workaholic triad, consisting of three concepts: work involvement, feeling driven to work because of inner pressures, and work enjoyment. Men are more likely than women to describe themselves as workaholics, often with pride.

Burke (1996), in a study of Canadian MBA graduates from a large university, found that although males and females differed on several personal demographic and work situation characteristics, men and women scored similarly on the three workaholism components (work involvement, joy in work and feeling driven to work). Women, however, reported higher levels of particular workaholic job behaviors (e.g., job stress). Aziz and Cunningham (2008) examined differences between male and female workaholics in relation to work stress and work-life imbalance. Workaholism was related to both work stress and work-life imbalance, but there were no differences between men and women in the study. Gender also did not moderate the relationships between workaholism with work stress and work-life imbalance (Aziz and Cunningham 2008).

Other studies have found gender differences. Burgess et al. (2006) compared male and female psychologists in Australia on workaholism components, workaholic behaviors, and work and psychological well-being outcomes and found

that men and women differed on personal and work situation characteristics (males were more likely to have children, to earn more income, to have fewer career interruptions, and less likely to have worked part-time), and job stress. Women worked fewer hours and fewer extra-hours, but reported higher levels of job stress. Burke et al. (2006) reported similar findings in a study of Australian female managers and professionals in early career phases. Also, Burke and Matthiesen (2009) considered gender differences among Norwegian journalists. Female journalists reported higher levels of feeling driven to work because of inner pressures, and indicated higher levels of both negative affect and exhaustion, and lower feelings of personal efficacy.

The importance of focusing on work hours and work investment is multi-faceted. First, a large number of employees are unhappy about the number of hours they work (Clarkberg and Moen 2001; Dembe 2005; Jacobs and Gerson 1998; MacInnes 2005). Second, the amount of time demanded by work is an obvious and important way in which work affects other parts of one's life (Galinsky 1999; Shields 1999). Third, the study of work hours and well-being outcomes has produced both inconsistent and complex results (Barnett and Hall 2001). Although gender differences have been noted, some research suggests that as more women enter professional and managerial positions, the role of gender and gender differences may be diminishing.

Role Conflict and Work-Family Pressures

One of the most common occupational stressors is role conflict – that is, the simultaneous occurrence of two (or more) sets of pressures, such that compliance with one would make compliance with the other more difficult (Friedman and Greenhaus 2000). For example, pressures to spend long hours at the office may conflict with demands or expectations from family members to spend time at home. Role conflict can occur at work, within the family and between work and family roles.

Greenglass et al. (1988) examined relationships between role conflict, work stress, and social support in women and men, and the psychological consequences of role conflict. Their results indicated that role conflict was higher in women than in men. Significant correlations between role conflict and work stress and social support, primarily in women, suggested a greater interdependence between work and family spheres among women.

Writing and research on work and family roles began in the early 1980s, shattering the myth that these two domains were "separate worlds". Work and family roles were first examined from the perspective of conflict (Greenhaus and Beutell 1985), then considered in terms of integration (Rapoport et al. 2002), and most recently in terms of balance (Brough and Kalliath 2009; Kalliath and Brough 2008). Work and family roles have received the most attention, however, in terms of their conflict. Two recent meta-analytic reviews of the literature (Byron 2005; Michel et al. 2011) have identified both antecedents and consequences of work-family conflict.

Work and family are the major life roles for most employed adults. Research evidence has shown that work-family conflict has negative effects on well-being in both work and family (Burke and Greenglass 1987; Michel et al. 2011). Building on their earlier work, Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1994) proposed two dominant forms of work-family conflict: *time-based conflict*, when the time devoted to one role makes it difficult to fill the requirements of the other role; and *strain-based conflict*, when the strain produced in one role spills over or intrudes into the other role. Work-family conflict is more likely to occur than family-work conflict (Greenhaus and Parasuraman 1999), perhaps because the organization's demands on an individual's time are more important since the employer provides the salary needed to provide for one's family.

Overall, recent studies suggest that gender differences on work–family pressures are lessening and that men are increasingly feeling this stressor as well (Byron 2005).

Sexual Harassment and Discrimination

Both discrimination and sexual harassment are stressors for women in the work place. Types of discrimination outlined by Russell (2006) include the following: discriminatory attitudes and sex-role stereotypes, discrimination in the work place (e.g., compensation discrimination, limited access to training and development opportunities, biased performance evaluations) social isolation (e.g., tokenism, few female role models, limited access to mentoring, limited access to informal networks and communication channels), and sexual harassment.

Pascoe and Richman (2009) conducted a meta-analysis linking perceived discrimination and stress. They claim that one way to understand the experience of discrimination is as a stressor and found support for their model: perceived discrimination is a stressor which affects both mental and physical health (Pascoe and Richman 2009). Given that women experience more discrimination at work, this is a stressor that is greater for women than men.

The specific discrimination of sexual harassment is a widespread problem in the workplace with estimates ranging from 28 to 90 % for females and 14 to 18 % for males (Fitzgerald et al. 1995; Schneider et al. 1997). Sexual harassment is "any behavior of a sexual nature that an individual perceives to be offensive and unwelcome (whether or not it is legally or conceptually defined as such)" (Bowes-Sperry and Tata 1999: 265). It has been proposed that sexual harassment has three components: gender harassment (hostile or insulting attitudes or behaviors), unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion (sexual cooperation linked to job outcomes) (Gelfand et al. 1995).

The research program headed by Gutek (1985) contributed much to our understanding of the impact of social sexual behavior and harassment on women, men and organizations. She found that women reported more sexual harassment than men. Consequences of sexual harassment

can be grouped in terms of work related outcomes- job-related and organizational, and health related outcomes- psychological/somatic. Fitzgerald and his coworkers (1997) reported a relationship between self-reported sexual harassment and, among many other health issues, increases in stress. A recent meta-analysis found that sexual harassment experiences are related to lower job satisfaction and organizational commitment, withdrawal from work, poor physical and mental health, and symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (Willness et al. 2007). It is clear that sexual harassment is a stressor, but in addition to affecting the target, sexual harassment in the workplace can increase the stress of other women too (Stockdale et al. 2009). Ambient sexual harassment is what employees in an organization experience when they observe sexual harassment of others which in turn is a stressor (Glomb et al. 1997).

Summing Up: Are Women Specifically Disadvantaged?

From the research on how women experience stress, and the stressors they are exposed to, it seems that on average they face more and different stressors than most men. Given the occupations they are in, the positions they hold, and the prevalence of discrimination, women experience additional stressors as well as experience stressors at the work place differently from men. Despite extensive research evidence on the issue of gender differences, the findings have not resulted in widespread changes in organizational practices

Women in Management and Stress

The focus on managerial women, a highly educated, motivated, and well paid group, is taken in this section because this group is growing in size and importance. Female managers also serve both as an important model for younger women and as an indicator of women's progress towards equality, and can give us insight into specific stressors for women in these high status positions

(Davidson and Burke 2004; Fielden and Davidson 2001; Lyness and Terrazas 2006).

There is considerable evidence that the experience of work stress among managers is associated with undesirable consequences (Cooper and Payne 1988; Gilboa et al. 2008), however, the majority of the original research focused on male managers since men have traditionally filled managerial roles (Burke 1988) and a recent meta analysis did not even include gender as a moderator (Gilboa et al. 2008). However, some studies did examine women and revealed that similar to other occupations, managerial women experience unique sources of stress related to their minority status and gender (Fielden and Cooper 2002; Fielden and Davidson 2001). Offerman and Armitage (1993), Davidson and Fielden (1999), and Langan-Fox (1998) reviewed the literature on stress and health outcomes among women managers. They noted that some stressors were shared by women and men (e.g., role conflict, overload, ambiguity), however, women experienced additional work stressors unique to them. Women also exhibited different ways of interpreting and coping with both the uniquely female and the common stressors. These researchers categorized stressors experienced by women managers into three groups:

(i) from society at large (e.g., work-family interface, off-the-job support, attitudes towards women in management, discrimination);

(ii) from organizations (e.g., on-the-job support, sexual harassment, tokenism, sex discrimination, old boys network), and

(iii) from women themselves (e.g., type A behavior, personal control, self-esteem).

The stress experienced by managerial women results from a combination of sources from all three groups, with health outcomes affected as a result. In addition, in keeping with previous work stress frameworks, individual differences operated at several places to influence the stress-health process.

Davidson and Cooper (1992) have contributed much to our understanding of the effects of work and extra-work stressors on managerial women. In addition, some of their research has compared

the experiences of women and men. They proposed a research framework in which demands (stressors) in three arenas (work, home and social, and the individual) serve as precursors of a wide range of stress outcomes. They reviewed differences and similarities between female and male managers in relation to work stressors in the three arenas as well as stress outcomes, and reported that female managers scored higher on both stressors and stress outcomes compared to their male counterparts.

Other studies have also found differences in the sources and amounts of stress experienced by men and women managers. Iwasaki et al. (2004) used a series of focus groups to explore the stress experiences among female and male managers and found that women managers reported more emotional stress than men related to relationships and perceived responsibilities for caretaking both at work and at home, and more stress related to the challenge of balancing home and work aspects; whereas men reported more physical health problems and stress related to technology. In the following sections we will look at some of the common stressors and special challenges at work in relation to women managers.

Workload and Senior Managers

There is evidence that managers in industrialized countries are, working more hours now than previously (Bunting 2004; Greenhouse 2001; Williams 2012). Working long hours may in fact be a prerequisite for achieving senior leadership positions (Jacobs and Gerson 1998; Wallace 1997). Long work hours and excessive work investment includes actual hours worked, overtime hours, "face" time, workload, work intensity and work addiction. Although these stressors mainly affect the individuals, effects are also present on families, workplaces, and innocent bystanders (Taylor 2003). The literature suggests, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, that long hours are associated with adverse health effects and increased safety risk, poor psychological health, excessive fatigue, burnout, more

work-family conflict, worrying and irritability (see Burke and Cooper 2008, for a review).

In a study of stress and workload among female and male managers, Lundberg and Frankenhaeuser (1999) found that both women and men reported positive attitudes toward their work situation. However, women reported significantly more stress because of lack of communication, lack of support from superiors and having to perform better than men to have the same chance of promotion. In addition, women spent twice as much time on unpaid and household work than men, despite no differences in time spent in paid work, and women managers also showed higher physiological stress responses after work than did men. Thus, despite the fact that both women and men experience their jobs as challenging and stimulating, the data indicate a more favorable situation for men than for women (Lundberg and Frankenhaeuser 1999).

Davidson et al. (1995) studied occupational stress in 126 female and 220 male undergraduate business majors. Their results indicated that female middle and junior-level managers reported being under greater pressure than their male counterparts. Women, not surprisingly, reported greater stress on gender issues, such as discrimination, prejudice and home-work conflict. Females also indicated more mental and physical ill health symptoms than men. Similarly, Hochwarter et al. (1995) found that women managers perceived more job demands and less job control than their male counterparts in both male-dominated and female-dominated occupations.

Special Challenges

There are also special challenges faced by women in management. Perhaps the most pernicious are barriers to mentoring, networking and acquiring social capital. It is also harder for women to access training and important job assignments. Powell (2011) observed that there are many qualified men for senior level positions. Moreover, men are likely to be more comfortable with other men – the "old boys network". Hiring and

promotion decisions are often unstructured and open to bias. The Harvard Business Review concluded (May 2009), based on a survey of 500 companies in 2008, that candidates for senior executive positions typically went through only one to five interviews (32 %) and half relied on the hiring managers' "gut feeling" – a feeling that the candidate had what it takes to be successful in any job. Given that the 'good' manager still is considered male, this will put women at a disadvantage.

Morrison et al. (1987) reported that women had difficulties fitting into their organization's culture, were seen by men as wanting too much for themselves or for other women, or had performance difficulties. Managerial women had to walk a fine line, they had to be tough but not too tough, they had to stand on their own two feet yet ask for help when needed, and they had to take career and job risks but still perform at a high level. Male-defined views of work and career success still represent the norm (O'Neil et al. 2008). One consequence of these barriers is a tendency for women to leave large organizations in order to pursue entrepreneurial and/or small business careers (Belkin 2003; Mattis 2004; Moore 2000; Moore and Buttner 1997).

However, recent research on women in top leadership has uncovered the phenomenon of the glass cliff. The glass cliff is a situation where women are assigned leadership positions that are more risky and precarious than their male counterparts and it has been proposed that women might accept these positions because they receive few offers for top leadership positions (Ryan et al. 2009). Glass cliff positions are considered more stressful because they often involve little support from colleagues and superiors, insufficient information and/or a lack of respect or acknowledgement (Ryan et al. 2009). In a study examining the relationships between work characteristics, job pressures, organizational support and health indicators among 191 managerial women, Richardsen et al. (1999) found that women who experienced high work conflict and work family pressures also reported poor health outcomes and little life satisfaction. Organizational initiatives

to support and develop women's careers were associated with low exhaustion and psychosomatic complaints, and high life satisfaction (Richardsen et al. 1999).

Work-family issues have been identified as potential barriers to career success of managerial and professional women (Morrison et al. 1987; Lewis et al. 2007). Work-family conflict has been shown to be associated with turnover, job immobility and guilt, among other issues (Byron 2005; McElwain et al. 2005; Michel et al. 2011). Extensive work-family conflict can also lead to dissatisfaction and distress within the work and family domains (Frone et al. 1997; Netermeyer et al. 1996; Parasuraman et al. 1996). In a cross-national study of managers from England, United States and Hong Kong, Wharton and Blair-Loy (2006) found that job and workload characteristics were related to higher worries about the effect of long hours on the family. For every additional hour worked, the odds that respondents would worry about the effect on the family increased by 7 %. In addition, in all three countries, women managers experienced higher work-family conflict than men, and women with young children were most likely to experience work-family conflict. Similar results were obtained by Blair-Loy and Wharton (2004) in a study of 500 finance managers. While mothers and fathers did not differ in terms of the average number of hours worked per week, women managers reported greater work-family conflict. Parents who experienced more scheduling flexibility and who took advantage of corporate flexibility policies, were less likely to experience work-family conflict. There is also evidence that such conflicts can have negative impacts on parenting (Stewart and Barling 1996).

Interviews with senior female international managers have revealed that women experienced extra strain and guilt feelings about balancing an international career with family responsibilities, and therefore work-family conflicts are a major threat to females partaking in international management (Linehan and Walsh 2000). The majority of female managers also perceived organizational inflexibility, gender role expectations and

ignorance of non-work arenas by the company as obstacles to their career success. These studies indicate that organizations can no longer treat the arenas of work and non-work as separate spheres (Kirchmeyer 1993) and that job stress is affected by non-work factors.

This brief review of the occupational stress literature on women managers suggests that although women and men share some common work stressors, women also experience unique sources of stress. These unique stressors are similar for women in other positions, however the extra demands of leadership roles can magnify the stressors.

Reducing Stress and Increasing Well-Being: Organizational Based Initiatives and Individual Coping Strategies

Burke (2001) reviewed factors found to have positive influences on the career development of women. These included: specific types of work experiences, developmental job experiences, developmental relationships, alternative work arrangements and organizational initiatives.

Work Experiences

McKeen and Burke (1991) investigated the relationship of four work experiences-all related to support from one's organization – and indicators of job and career satisfaction and success in a sample of Canadian managerial and professional women. These work experiences were: support and encouragement by one's organization, access to training and development opportunities, feeling accepted by your organization, and an absence of tension from overload and ambiguity from being a woman. Women reporting higher levels of each of these four work experiences indicated more favorable work and career outcomes.

Other analyses using different sub-samples of managerial and professional women who were part of a larger study of women's work and career experiences (Burke and McKeen 1992, 1994) supported the following conclusions. First, women employing more career strategies, were more career satisfied and indicated higher future career prospects. Second, women reporting higher levels of job challenge, indicated higher levels of job satisfaction and less intent to quit. Third, women undertaking a greater number of training and development activities, reported higher future career prospects, and women finding the training and development activities they undertook to be more useful, were both more job and career satisfied, and reported higher future career prospects and lower intent to quit. Fourth, women reporting more support and encouragement indicated higher levels of future career prospects, and women feeling more accepted indicated lower intentions to quit (Burke and McKeen 1992, 1994).

Workplace Flexibility

The findings related to unique workplace stressors experienced by managerial and professional women indicate that rigid work schedules and work overload interfered with women's satisfaction and family life (Burke and Greenglass 1987). As a consequence, more organizations started experimenting with a variety of programs to provide employees with greater flexibility in work schedules (Rodgers and Rodgers 1989).

Mattis (1990) investigated various types of flexible work arrangements for managers and professionals in major U.S. corporations: part-time work, job sharing and telecommuting. She reported that most employees select flexible work arrangements to balance work and family responsibilities. Although part-time work was the most common flexible work option for managers in the companies studied, both job sharing and telecommuting showed increasing acceptance. Despite these findings, the number of employees on flexible work arrangements constitutes a small percentage of the total company workforce.

MacDermid et al. (2001) studied part-time work arrangements among 78 professional and

managerial women. These women chose to work on a reduced workload basis (RWL) for family or personal reasons. Most of the sample were satisfied with this arrangement, as were their direct reports who now had their supervisors absent for one or more days per week. Most felt that the quality of their performance was maintained and their managers agreed with this assessment. Women on RWL had some concerns that this arrangement likely had some short-term career consequences; but one third of the women on RWL were promoted during this arrangement. These studies show that organizational support for balancing work and non-work can increase health and ultimately work performance.

The Importance of Role Models for Women

Sealy and Doherty (2012) interviewed 34 high level women working in six global investment banks on the contribution of female role models in their work and career experiences. Female role models served a number of functions. First they served as symbols of similarity in their sex, values, approaches to work and other non-work experiences (attended the same university, were mothers, and different from the male norm). They served as symbols of hope in providing tangible evidence that some women succeed, that women can retain their uniqueness and still be successful. They also served as symbols of meritocracy in action and organizational support for women, and some confidence that they can succeed. Sealy and Doherty (2012) suggest that women find someone in their workplace they can relate to, find someone at a higher level that seems to hold the same values as they do, and try to find models with positive attributes along with some negative attributes. Organizations need to understand the messages they are sending if there are no women at senior levels. They should also highlight the success of several high level and talented women rather than focusing on one or two potential role models.

Gender Bilingual Cultures

Despite increasing interest, progress in advancing women's careers continues to be glacially slow. There are several reasons for this. Many senior male executives still pay only lip service to this objective. In addition, companies typically introduce limited initiatives (e.g., a mentoring program, gender awareness courses) which have little impact on the existing culture. Wittenberg-Cox and Maitland (2008) argue that organizations need to become "gender bilingual". That is organizations need to learn the language and culture of their women employees. Understanding gender difference will help organizations create and manage work teams more effectively and to better relate to customers. This, however, is not a "fix the women" exercise. Company presidents and chairmen of corporate boards of directors have, over the past 30 years, explained the few women present on the boards of directors in terms of women being unqualified. This may be true in some sectors (mining) but even this is changing. Women have obtained relevant education and experiences to equip them for these roles but men still see women as being unqualified. This is ironic given the poor performance of many corporate boards over the past decade. Thus even though women have become more qualified (i.e., "fixed"), they still fall short. Perhaps men serving as company presidents or chairs of corporate boards of directors need to examine the effects of the "old boy" network, their gender biases, and the masculine corporate culture instead of trying to "fix the women".

Both Women and Men Benefit from Supportive Organizational Cultures

An important question then becomes whether women and men benefit from more supportive organizational cultures. The answer appears to be "yes" (Burke 2010). Burke et al. (2005), in a study of female and male psychologists in

Australia, reported that both women and men benefitted from organizational cultures more supportive of work-personal life integration (less job stress, more joy in work, lower intention to quit, more job and career satisfaction, fewer psychosomatic symptoms, and more positive emotional and physical well-being). There were more independent and significant correlates of organizational cultures supportive of work-personal life integration among women than men however. Organizational values more supportive of work-personal life integration were found to be associated with a greater number of favorable work and well-being outcomes among female than male psychologists (Burke et al. 2005).

Intervention and Policy Implications

It is important to target interventions relating to work stress and health since women have unique needs and experiences (Nelson and Burke 2000a, b). Because executive women have more resources at their disposal than other workers, it is tempting to argue that they should not be targets for organizational interventions. They may be healthier than women at lower levels of the organization, but it is especially important that they are healthy. As decision makers and policy setters, they hold the keys to the wellbeing of the organization. They also serve as models for the health-related behaviors of the people they lead. An awareness of the needs of different managerial groups can reshape the culture of the organization in healthy ways by broadening and enriching the majority culture. For example, changing an inflexible, long-working-hours culture benefits not only women, but men as well.

For male and female executives alike, preventive management involves enhancing strengths and managing risks. Preventive management provides a three-part framework that can be used to develop interventions to improve the health of executive women. There are three levels of interventions: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Primary preventive efforts are directed at eliminating or reducing the sources of stress or the risk

factors. Secondary preventive efforts focus on helping executive women manage their responses to the inevitable demands of work and home. Tertiary prevention involves healing executive women and organizations through appropriate professional care.

Primary prevention efforts should focus on the stressors of politics, discrimination, overload, barriers to achievement, sexual harassment and other social-sexual behaviors, and work-home conflict (Burke 1996). Research findings suggest that one of the issues that must be addressed by organizations is how to alter employment demands so that they mesh more easily with family responsibilities. Unfortunately, most employers do not consider their employees' concerns as family members to be organizational concerns (Friedman 1990). Policies and practices are designed as if responsibilities outside the job were subordinate to work demands. If, rather than ignoring these, companies were to acknowledge them and assist their employees, a great deal of employment-family conflict could be alleviated (Friedman et al. 1998). By offering flexible work schedules, alternative work arrangements like telecommuting, and company assistance with childcare and eldercare, such interventions can help women deal with overload and work/home issues (Mattis 1994).

Politics, barriers to achievement and sexual harassment can be effectively diminished by aggressive organizational efforts in terms of corporate policy, and a system of rewards that reinforces equitable treatment of all organizational members (Schwartz 1992). To address the issue of wage differential, reward systems that promote equitable pay for women are necessary (Stroh et al. 2004). Efforts to build social support, such as mentoring and networking programs, can be of special benefit to executive women (Kram 1996). In addition, audits of development programs should be conducted to see whether women are unfairly disadvantaged in terms of development opportunities. It is also important to develop zero-tolerance policies for social-sexual behaviors and sexual harassment.

Professional women also have a responsibility for preventively managing their health. At the pri-

mary level, the most important action is to identify sources of stress and work toward managing or mitigating them. Part of primary prevention is changing the stressor. Alternatively, women can develop personal resilience through changing their perceptions of stressors. All employees including executives suffer from stress of some form, and often do not take the time to do a careful self-analysis to pinpoint exactly the causes of stress. A personal stress management plan, developed through careful introspection, may be the best insurance against burnout.

Secondary prevention efforts focus on helping women manage their own responses to stress, and usually come in the form of exercise or ways to emotionally release tension. Organizations can assist women in several ways, including making exercise facilities available. Interventions that educate women about the stress management benefits of exercise and encourage them to engage in exercise are also warranted. Research has found that women are less likely to utilize exercise as a coping technique than are men. This may be so because women have less discretionary time to pursue options like health club memberships, and often must find childcare to be able to exercise. Organizations can provide convenient on-site exercise facilities with babysitting services, along with flextime, to help remedy this problem.

Companies may also encourage training in yoga and meditation, which has been found to be powerful antidotes to the stress of executive life. Secondary prevention efforts may include encouraging networking groups to facilitate emotional release. Support groups to facilitate emotional release and training in relaxation methods can help women managers deal more effectively with the transition from work to home environment with less stress spillover.

The suggestions for women to take responsibility for secondary prevention parallel those for the organization, e.g., making exercise a daily ritual, learning a meditation technique, and talking to others. It must be noted, however, that secondary prevention alone is a palliative technique. Without accompanying primary interventions

that focus on changing the stressors, little headway can be gained by women or organizations.

Tertiary prevention efforts are directed at symptom management or at healing the wounds of executive life. It is essential that employee assistance programmes recognize the special needs of women in provision of services and/or referral to appropriate professional care. Certain behavioral distress symptoms, such as eating disorders, alcohol abuse and smoking, may be more effectively treated with gender-specific interventions. Organizations have a major role to play in this level of prevention.

Women must also take responsibility for tertiary prevention. This can be accomplished by developing a network of qualified professionals to rely on. This means establishing relationships with physicians, psychologists, and other trained professionals in advance of the need so that they will be available in times of crisis.

The three-level prevention framework provides ways of understanding what both executives and organizations can do to manage risks and enhance health. Care must be taken in these efforts to recognize that women at different life stages may have different needs. Childcare assistance, for example, may not be a high priority for mid-life women. This raises the importance of dialogue between professional women and others in the organization. To develop interventions that improve the health and well-being of executive women, decision makers must listen to women's concerns and ascertain what they need. The perceptions of others concerning what might benefit women employees may not be accurate.

The health and well-being of the organization is dependent on the health and well-being of all of its members. Women at the top of the organization are no exception. In a study mentioned earlier, company initiatives in general areas likely to address some of the demands experienced by managerial and professional women, included work and family programs, flexible work arrangements, leadership and career development, mentoring programs, and total cultural change (Mattis 1994). The most proactive approach organizations can take is to change the source of stress;

that is, find out what is causing executive women's stress and modify the cause. The three-part preventive management framework proposes that interventions should mainly focus on the primary level, supplemented by secondary and tertiary prevention. This framework provides an effective means for enhancing working women's strengths and managing their health risks.

Long hours, face time, and endless meetings make it difficult for women, even elite women with lots of control and resources, to have satisfying home and family lives. Men can't have it all either. Long work hours interfere with their home and family relationships and leisure. Some women may be disadvantaged in their careers by these work demands and some men may be disadvantaged in their personal and home lives by these work demands. A worthwhile agenda would be to address these demands in ways that keep organizations productive while satisfying the needs of both women and men – a win-win all around.

Conclusion

In order to increase wellbeing for women in the workplace it is critical to understand the unique stressors women face and their unique response to general stressors. In this chapter we have reviewed women's participation in the workforce, types of jobs they have, the positions they hold, the discrimination they face, the extra demands they encounter which all lead to increased stress. It is imperative that organization recognize these unique and general stressors that women face and set up policies to reduce stress and increase wellbeing.

Future Research

Future research might usefully consider both new and old issues. For example, the former might include the role of sponsors in women's and men's career experiences and progress. A sponsor is a person in a position of power who works on a protégé's behalf to reduce obstacles, assigns high profile work assignments to the protégé, introduces the protégé to important contacts, and nominates the protégé for advancement. More men than women have had sponsors. In addition addressing the impact of quotas in the appointment of women to corporate boards of directors needs more attention. We need to know about women's contributions to board functioning and effectiveness and firm performance. The latter might include more attention to work and family. It is emerging that whatever organizations have done over the past two decades to address work-family conflict hasn't made much of a difference. In addition we are still trying to understand the gender gap in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics. These fields are becoming even more critical to economic progress yet women lag far behind. Finally, women with advanced business education (typically the MBA degree) continue to fare less well than their men counterparts. In addition, most MBA education fails to address gender issues in their course offerings and educational programs.

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The Gender Pay Gap and the Wellbeing of Working Women

9

Hilary M. Lips

A recent study by the Pew Research Center reveals that some 40 % of primary or sole breadwinners in American families with children under 18 are women (Wang et al. 2013). Almost two-thirds of these female primary breadwinners (63 %) are single mothers; the remaining 37 % are married women who earn more than their husbands. The same report notes that women form almost half of the U.S. labor force, and that the employment rate of married mothers with children has risen to 65 %. In this context, clearly, the earnings of employed women have a major impact on families and on society.

What does the report say about those earnings? It notes that the median annual family income for households headed by a single mother ($23,000) is far below that for all households ($57,100). Among dual-earner couples with children, 70 % consist of fathers who earn more than mothers. And whereas the share of families with children in which women earn more than their husbands has risen to 23 %, this situation is most common when wives are more highly educated than their spouses. These patterns reveal the pervasive and persistent effects of a gender pay gap that has many potential impacts on the wellbeing of working women.

The State of the Gender Pay Gap

In the first quarter of 2013, the usual median weekly earnings of women were 81.2 % of those for men (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013a). For the 2012 year, women's median weekly earnings were 80.9 % of men's – the lowest ratio of women's to men's earnings since 2005 (Hegewisch et al. 2013). In 2012, the American Association of University Women (AAUW) released findings showing that, among U.S. college graduates, women earn less than men (82 %) just 1 year after college graduation. Even controlling for college major, occupation, hours worked per week, months of unemployment, economic sector, GPA, and a variety of other variables, the researchers could not account for all of the gender pay gap (Corbett and Hill 2012). In an earlier report, this group had illustrated that in the years after graduation the gender pay gap had a tendency to increase, and that by 10 years later women were earning just 69 % of what men were paid (Dey and Hill 2007). A U. S. Census Bureau report (Ryan 2012) detailing earnings by college major shows men out-earning women in all degree fields among the population aged 25 and older. Among never-married childless workers, aged 22–30, with the same education, men earn more than women in every job category (Cohen 2012).

The gender pay gap appears within samples of people grouped according to a variety of characteristics, including race/ethnicity, age,

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numbers of hours worked per week, education, and occupation. In the United States, women in every major racial/ethnic group earn less than the average earnings of all men. Within-group comparisons show that Black men earn more than Black women, White men earn more than White women, and men out-earn women among Hispanics and Asian Americans (U.S. Department of Commerce 2011). Similarly, men's earnings are higher than women's in every age group (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). When the earnings of women and men who work different numbers of hours per week are compared, the gender gap favoring men increases in size with the number of hours worked: the gap is smallest among part-time workers and largest among workers who usually work 60 or more hours per week (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2010).

Education, which is often touted as a remedy for the wage gap, has been embraced by women in large numbers, but this change has shown no evidence of reducing the gap between men's and women's earnings. In the United States, more women than men have earned bachelor's degrees since 1996; by 2008, women were earning almost 58 % of bachelor's degrees (Cataldi et al. 2011). Women now surpass men in the number of individuals holding master's degrees or higher (U. S. Census Bureau 2011). In 2009–2010, a higher percentage of master's degrees (60 %) and doctoral degrees (52 %) in the United States were conferred on women than men (National Center for Education Statistics 2012). However, within each level of education, from less than ninth grade to graduate and professional degrees, women earn less than men; if anything, the gap widens with increasing levels of education (U.S. Census Bureau 2012).

Women and men cluster in different occupations; for example, nearly 20 % of U.S. women are concentrated in five traditionally female, low-paid occupations: secretary, nurse, elementary school teacher, cashier, and nursing aide (U.S. Department of Commerce 2011). However, whereas men tend to dominate in the highest-paying jobs and women are disproportionately found in the lowest paying jobs, this occupational segregation cannot explain away the wage gap.

Indeed, it is impossible to identify a broad occupational category, and almost impossible to find any specific occupations in which women earn as much as or more than men (Hegewisch et al. 2012). Of 534 occupations listed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2012), only seven can be found in which women earn more than men.

A pattern of lower female compensation appears consistently in examinations of specific occupations. Gender differences appear in the salaries of physician researchers, even after controlling for specialty, academic rank, publications, and other variables (Jagsi et al. 2012). Among the top lobbying groups in Washington D.C., women CEOs earned an average of 68 % of male CEOs' earnings (Bloomberg News 2013). Among managers in a broad range of industry categories, the General Accounting Office (2010) found women were earning 81 % as much as men. Among graduates of elite U.S. business schools, women's earnings averaged 93 % of men's in 2012—a gap that has widened from 98 % 10 years earlier (Damast 2012). Researchers examining the salaries of newly-trained physicians in New York State from 1999 to 2008 found a startling *increase* in the gender pay gap: in 1999, newly-trained male physicians earned an average of $3,600 more than their female counterparts, but by 2008 the difference had widened to $16,819 (Sasso et al. 2011). Again, the gap could not be accounted for by differences in work patterns, specialties, or other variables.

Women who work in relatively highly-paid science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) jobs earn more than their non-STEM female counterparts and experience a smaller gender wage gap than women in non-STEM fields. However, a study by the U.S. Department of Commerce indicates that women working at year-round full-time jobs in STEM fields earn, on average, 14 % less than men in similar occupations (Beede et al. 2011).

The gender pay gap is a worldwide problem. The World Economic Forum (Hausmann et al. 2012) lists no country in the world as having a ratio higher than 0.82 for female-to-male earnings for similar work. In the European Union, women's gross hourly earnings fall 16 % below

those of men (Eurostat 2013a). One examination of the situation in 43 countries around the world found an average gender pay gap of 18.4 % (Tijdens and Van Klaveren 2012). Although the gap appears to have narrowed in many countries in recent years, much of this narrowing can be attributed, not to an improvement in women's pay, but to a deterioration in the labor market circumstances of men, such as availability of fewer work hours (International Labor Organization 2013).

Official estimates of the gender pay gap tend to be conservative, as they are often based upon hourly or weekly (rather than yearly) earnings and tend to exclude factors such as availability of work hours, overtime pay, bonuses, and non-salary benefits (Lips 2013a). Given that even these conservative approaches consistently show a pay gap, we can be relatively certain that the gender pay gap is real and that it affects most women. Furthermore, we can be fairly confident that the gap derives, at least in part, from patterns of either deliberate or unintended discrimination against women. This discrimination may be structural: built into employment practices designed to fit traditional gender roles. As can be seen from the brief listing of studies above, it is clear that researchers have devoted herculean efforts to the task of rationalizing the gap as the legitimate result of differences in women's and men's choices and behavior. They have attempted this by controlling for the effects of a large array of possible confounding variables: education, occupation, specialty, hours and months worked, and so on. In general, controlling for such variables always leaves some portion of the gender wage gap unexplained.

Some may argue that the unexplained portion of the gap can, with further exploration and analysis, be linked to as yet undiscovered objective variables that differentiate women and men's occupational behavior. However, the search for appropriate control variables necessarily, in some ways, misses the point. A serious problem with this approach is that many, if not most, of the control variables are not gender-neutral and cannot necessarily be said to reflect free choices by women and men. Rather, variables such as college major, occupation, and hours worked are potentially intertwined with gender discrimination and societal pressures that are exerted differently on women and men. For example, it is well-documented by researchers that both women and men lose confidence and perform more poorly when exposed to statements that members of their group have lower abilities on a particular task (e.g., Appel et al. 2011; Beasley and Fischer 2012). Such opinions are frequently encountered by women who enter male-dominated occupations or who aspire to levels of leadership at which women are still rare (e.g., Eagly 2013). Even today, college students in the United States still hold strongly gender-stereotyped attitudes about occupations—and, among women, those stereotyped attitudes predict their real-world decisions about college majors and intended careers (DiDonato and Strough 2013). It would be disingenuous to argue that women's choices keep the gender wage gap in place when those choices are simply part of a broad context in which women and men are treated differently.

Motherhood Penalties, Maternal Walls, and Work-Life Balance

A recent report by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2012) showed that the average pay gap between women and men widened from 7 to 22 % when families had at least one child. This widening is likely related to the job-related compromises women, more often than men, must make in order to bear and care for children. Women may have to leave their jobs, take significant time off, shorten their hours, or forego opportunities for promotion or transfer—all options that result in loss of income. These compromises may begin as early as during pregnancy and are driven by a lack of flexibility that characterizes many occupational environments. A recent report indicates, for example, that employers in the United States frequently refuse temporary basic accommodations, such as the opportunity to sit down more, make small schedule adjustments, or avoid heavy lifting, to pregnant women—often forcing them out of

employment or compelling them to use up their sick leave, vacation days, or unpaid FMLA leave days during pregnancy (National Women's Law Center 2013). Women forced to leave their jobs to protect their health in the face of employer refusal to make accommodations for pregnancy often lose many months of income. Furthermore, they are often not eligible for unemployment insurance because they are deemed to have left their employment "voluntarily." These difficulties set the stage for the motherhood-related widening of the pay gap between women and men. The gap continues to widen over time, as women miss more opportunities than men because of childcare responsibilities. Women's earnings are reduced in size with each additional child—a motherhood penalty that ranges from 15 % per child for low-wage workers to 4 % per child for high-wage workers (Budig and Hodges 2010). This reduction in earnings is due in part to work-related compromises women make, such as work interruptions and reductions in hours, but one researcher has shown that a significant amount of the gap can also be attributed to employer discrimination against mothers—discrimination that shows up in callbacks for job applications, hiring, wage offers, and promotions (Budig 2010). Indeed, laboratory research shows that mothers and women employees who are not parents are viewed differently—with mothers perceived as less competent and committed to their jobs. Men, on the other hand, sometimes appear to benefit from parental status: fathers are viewed as more committed than non-fathers to their jobs, and offered higher salaries (Correll et al. 2007). These stereotyped perceptions persist, even though there is no evidence that mothers and fathers differ from each other in pro-work behaviors. One study of a nationally representative sample of full-time employed adults revealed that mothers and fathers were similar on five of seven pro-work dimensions, differing only on job engagement and work intensity—on which mothers were higher (Kmec 2011). To add insult to injury, employed mothers are apparently viewed, not only as less effective employees than their counterparts, but also as bad parents (Okimoto and Heilman 2012). Being the target of such

negative reactions may gradually undermine women's confidence, performance and commitment to their jobs, contributing indirectly to the pay gap. The gap may also be reinforced by self-fulfilling prophecies associated with women's and men's societally-conditioned expectations with respect to work and family: for women, valuing family is associated with the expectation of lower work commitment and lower anticipated career peak salaries, but for men, valuing family is associated with higher peak pay expectations (Lips and Lawson 2009).

The widening pay gap is among the many changes associated with parenthood likely to trigger processes and events that affect not only the objective, but also the subjective well-being of working women. For one thing, the presence of children intensifies pressures with respect to work-life balance, and achieving this sense of balance appears to be related to subjective well-being (Matthews et al. 2012). Finding an appropriate balance can be all the more wrenching if it involves trade-offs that result in a significant loss of income.

A second issue is that the difficulty of juggling family and work responsibilities is likely to stimulate an awareness of issues related to fairness and justice – both with respect to employee-employer relationships and with respect to couple or family relationships. The perception that one is being treated fairly is positively related to subjective well-being (e.g., Sun and Xiao 2012). Furthermore, the perception of fairness is linked, not only to tangible outcomes, but to the way such outcomes symbolize the respect (or lack of it) that is correlated with those outcomes—since prestige and status are conveyed by the resources that are distributed to people (Miller 2001). So an employed woman embarking on motherhood may find herself losing out in terms of financial outcomes and she may simultaneously become aware that, in giving up some of her opportunity to earn money, she is also giving up an important source of prestige.

The correlation between unpaid family work and low status is aptly illustrated by comments that have sometimes pervaded debates about pensions for stay-at-home mothers or wages for

domestic work (Global Women's Strike 2012; Wartman 2013). Why, this author once heard one self-righteous gentleman ask, should women homemakers be paid pensions for doing *nothing* all those years? His female dinner companions, stay-at-home wives and mothers who had never before considered that they might be entitled to a pension for their years of domestic work, suddenly became outraged to hear their work described as "nothing," rose from their chairs as one, and argued in voices quivering with rage that indeed a pension was very appropriate for so many years of long days filled with thankless tasks. However, the hapless man remained adamantly (and perhaps genuinely) baffled by the notion that housework and childcare merited any financial compensation, even though he had, of course, been the beneficiary of such work on the part of his own wife and/or mother for all of his life.

The tendency for motherhood to be associated with the necessity for women to increase their total (paid and unpaid) hours of work, while often de-emphasizing work that brings pay, status and respect, means that mothers tend to be working harder for less. Whereas they may not identify this problem as part of the gender pay gap, mothers are likely to feel overworked and underappreciated—and they are statistically likely to be earning less than they would if they were not mothers.

The Gender Pay Gap and Women's Subjective Wellbeing: Are Women Less Happy Because They Are Paid Less?

On April 9, 2013, marked as Equal Pay Day (the date that represents how far into 2013 women must continue to work to catch up with men's 2012 earnings), women all over the United States held *Unhappy Hour* events, at which participants dressed in red to call attention to how far "in the red" women are in comparison to men due to the persistent gap between women's and men's pay (Hoye 2013). On the *My Wage Gap* page of the National Women's Law Center web site, women

wistfully or angrily list the things they could do with the extra $11,000 per year that represents the typical amount the Law Center says women lose because of the pay gap: pay off debts, fund retirement plans, buy clothes for their children, give to charity (mywagegap.org 2013). Clearly the gender pay gap makes quite a few women unhappy when they focus on it. But research suggests that the trick to keeping something from making one unhappy is simply *not* to focus on it.

The nineteenth century American feminist, Lucy Stone, famously declared that "In education, in marriage, in religion, in everything disappointment is the lot of women. It shall be the business of my life to deepen that disappointment in every woman's heart until she bows down to it no longer." (quoted in Lewis 2013). Stone was on the right track when she realized she would have to work at trying to deepen women's disappointment. There is consistent evidence to suggest that people are resistant to information that suggests they are being treated unfairly (Lips 2013b). Years ago, Crosby (1984) coined the term "denial of personal discrimination" to label a situation in which she found that women who were demonstrably being paid less than men refused to accept that they personally were the victims of injustice—even though they readily admitted that women as a group were often targets of discrimination. Indeed, it is well-documented that, in a context of inequality, both advantaged and disadvantaged individuals endorse beliefs that justify the unequal distribution of resources (e.g., Furnham and Procter 1989; Jost and Hunyady 2002; Kleugel and Smith 1986). Such system justifying beliefs serve to rationalize and maintain inequitable systems (Jost and Banaji 1994; Jost and Hunyady 2002). Furthermore, researchers have found that people who cite injustice as the cause of their own or others' poor outcomes tend to be targets of dislike and disapproval (e.g., Eliezer and Major 2012; Kaiser and Miller 2001). To protect themselves from the knowledge that they are being treated unfairly, people are careful in comparing their outcomes with those of others. Women, for example, are more likely to compare their pay with that of other women than with that of their male colleagues (Bylsma and Major

1994), particularly when considering past compensation (Blanton et al. 2001). Justifying the system helps people to be satisfied with inequality: System-justifying beliefs are associated with feelings of higher levels of pay entitlement among men and lower levels of pay entitlement among women (O'Brien et al. 2012). Perhaps not surprisingly, then, there is little evidence that the gender pay gap correlates with a parallel gender gap in happiness for individual women or for groups of women compared by nation, community, or institution. Indeed, research suggests that the relationship between the gender pay gap and any gender gap in subjective wellbeing may be quite complex and is likely to vary according to cultural context. Complicating factors may include not only denial and the system-justifying beliefs cited above, but also shifting expectations, cultural norms about gender and about fairness, and a variety of contextual factors.

For example, in 1981, Swiss voters weighed in on an equal rights amendment to their country's constitution. In communities that voted to support equal rights for women, the gender wage gap was smaller than in communities that did not support the amendment—but the women in the equality-promoting communities were less satisfied than their counterparts in more traditional communities (Lalive and Stutzer 2010). The authors suggest the surprising finding may be traced to the impact of expectations: women in traditional communities expect less, so the gap between their expectations and reality is smaller than for women in communities that are more sensitive to or aware of equal rights for women.

Researchers have also found that, unlike changes in political rights (e.g., the right to vote, and to hold party membership and government positions), changes in economic rights over two decades (e.g., equality in hiring, pay, promotion, freedom to enter various professions, job security, protection against sexual harassment) over time do not appear to be related to women's life satisfaction (Bjørnskov et al. 2007). However, these researchers discovered that women in countries who faced less economic discrimination two decades earlier had higher current satisfaction than those in countries where levels of such

discrimination had been higher at that earlier time. They posit that current discrimination may matter less than earlier discrimination because the life choices (e.g., educational or professional paths) made under conditions of economic discrimination may take many years to have an impact.

Another surprising finding is that, whereas women are more likely than men to report and show symptoms of depression in every country, the tendency to greater female depression is relatively larger in countries where gender equity is high than in countries where it is low (Hopcroft and Bradley 2007). This finding too could be interpreted as a reflection of a smaller gap between expectations and reality for women in low equity countries. However, subsequent research suggests that the societal differences in the size of gender gap in depression can be linked, at least in part, to the different impact of children in the two types of countries. Children are associated with an increase in depression for women in high gender-equity societies, but with a decrease in depression for women in low gender equity societies, who often do not have access to paid employment (Hopcroft and McLaughlin 2012). In light of research on the motherhood penalty and on the difficulties women face in combining motherhood with demanding employment roles in higher gender equity countries, it should not be surprising that women in these countries may find their stress and depression increased by motherhood. For women in low gender equity societies, motherhood may often be the main role and may confer both status and meaning—thus perhaps reducing stress and depression.

The role cultural norms may play in moderating the impact of gender equity and women's subjective wellbeing is highlighted in the discussion sparked by de Bruin (2007), who produced the bestselling book *Dutch women don't get depressed*. The gender pay gap in the Netherlands is significant: larger, among full-time workers, than in, for instance, Sweden, Norway, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Belgium Poland, Lithuania, or Bulgaria (Eurostat 2013b). However, the Dutch rank impressively high on indexes of happiness (Helliwell et al. 2012; Pasquali and Aridas 2012)

and Dutch women have reported both higher life satisfaction and higher job satisfaction than their male counterparts (Booth and van Ours 2013). The Netherlands is ranked higher than every other country on the Gender Equality Index (United Nations Human Development Program 2013) and eleventh in the world in the Global Gender Gap Index (Hausmann et al. 2012). De Bruin notes that there is a strong sense of both freedom in general and gender equality in the Netherlands, with women feeling free to make choices about work and family and to be equally engaged in decision-making with their partners. Women's family work is culturally valued, and a social safety net makes it realistic for women to devote most of their energy to family responsibilities if they so choose. Perhaps in consequences, more than two-thirds of Dutch women work part-time and are apparently content with that arrangement (Booth and van Ours 2013). Indeed, incentives to entice Dutch women into full-time work have failed (Bosch et al. 2009). As one bewildered U.S. journalist living in the Netherlands noted, while she herself is worrying obsessively about her career, the Dutch women around her are working half days, meeting their friends for coffee in the afternoon, and feeling sorry for their male colleagues who are office-bound for full days (Olien 2010). The large proportion of part-time workers among women contributes to the gender pay gap, as may a tendency for many women to feel they do not have to find fulfillment and/or status via career advancement. However, these factors are apparently not associated with a gender gap in contentment.

In the Unites States, by contrast, the subjective importance of being successful in a high-paying career has apparently increased for women over the years. In fact, a recent survey by the Pew Research Center revealed that more young women (66 %) than young men (59 %) report that being successful in a high-paying career is either "one of the most important things" or "very important" in their lives, and that, among middle-aged and older workers, women and men are about equally likely to rate career success as an important outcome for them (Patten and Parker 2012). These findings represent a significant shift from 15 years ago, when more men in both age groups reported placing a high value on success in a high-paying career.

On an individual level, there is evidence that both women and men are more satisfied with their pay when they earn more (Tang et al. 2006). Furthermore, if people are aware that they are being undercompensated in relation to comparable others, they are likely to demonstrate lower work motivation, organizational support, satisfaction and perceived fairness (Shore et al. 2006). Both women and men report more satisfaction with their jobs when they perceive their pay and promotion opportunities as fair (Witt and Nye 1992). The key, however, lies in what is perceived as fair—and some research suggests that fairness perceptions are affected by different factors for women and men. Under some conditions, women tend to show lower levels of entitlement with respect to compensation, and even to pay themselves less, than men do—suggesting that they may be satisfied with their pay even if they are paid less (e.g., Jost 1997; Major et al. 1984). Researchers have shown that women's sense of entitlement is mediated by how well they think they have performed, whereas men's is related to their global feelings of self-worth rather than to self-evaluation of their performance (Pelham and Hetts 2001). Furthermore, men tend to overestimate the quality of their performance in comparison to women (e.g., Cross 2001; Mengelkamp and Jäger 2007; Pelham and Hetts 2001) – contributing, perhaps, to feelings of elevated entitlement. Further evidence for gender differences in entitlement can be found in studies that show women, but not men, devaluing their own performance when told they have been preferentially selected for leadership positions on the basis of gender, rather than chosen on the basis of merit (Heilman et al. 1987, 1990). Apparently, men's self-confidence in their abilities tends to be sufficiently strong and not to be shaken by the belief that they were selected for a position on the basis of something other than those abilities—and being selected, regardless of the reason, confirms their notion that they are entitled to the position.

These processes may tend to keep men feeling over-entitled and women under-entitled, thus undercutting any dissatisfaction associated with gender differences in pay. And perhaps such processes are circular. Expecting and receiving less pay contributes to resignation that one deserves less; expecting and receiving more pay contributes to a stronger sense of entitlement—and then these gender differences in entitlement may encourage behavior that reinforces and widens the gender pay gap. Armed by a stronger sense of entitlement and a cultural context that supports that entitlement, men may be more likely than women to seek challenging positions, promotions, and pay raises (e.g., Babcock et al. 2006; Crothers et al. 2010). There is indeed evidence that women are less likely than men to initiate negotiations and that they often negotiate less desirable employment terms than men do (Bear and Babcock 2012). However, even this finding is complicated by external gender role expectations, and cannot be attributed in any direct way to the idea that women are more content or more easily satisfied than men. Because such behaviors are gender-counternormative, women who negotiate too assertively trigger resistance and backlash—and their outcomes are often negatively affected (Kulik and Olekalns 2012).

Clearly, then, the relationship of the gender pay gap to working women's subjective well-being is context-bound, linked to cultural values, and subject to social psychological processes of social comparison and conformity to social norms. Where pay is heavily weighted as an indicator of status and success, where women's traditional domestic roles are undervalued and under-rewarded, awareness of a gender pay gap appears likely to dampen women's contentment with their situation. Where women's family roles are linked to high status and are supported, the same pay gap may not make women so unhappy. Furthermore, as long as women can protect themselves from the knowledge that their work is undercompensated in comparison to men's, or as long as they can be firmly resigned to being undercompensated and not prey to rising expectations about equality, the gender pay gap may not be associated with discontent. People resist the awareness that they are being treated unfairly; however, once inescapably confronted by an injustice directed toward them, they are likely to experience resentment, anger, and unhappiness (Miller 2001). Indeed, as illustrated by Lucy Stone's early comments, cited above, there is a long tradition in social activism of raising consciousness among victims of injustice expressly in order to provoke the feelings of discontent that will result in collective efforts to change the situation. In the absence of such efforts, or of a triggering event, the mere existence of an inequitable distribution of resources is not necessarily linked to subjective unhappiness among those who are shortchanged by the arrangement. However, the link between the gender pay gap on the objective well-being of working women is far more clear.

The Gender Pay Gap and Women's Objective Wellbeing

Economic Security

In terms of economic wellbeing, there are a variety of ways—aside from simply having less discretionary income to spend every month—in which the gender pay gap impacts women. The AAUW report (Corbett and Hill 2012) cited above highlights one important consequence of the gender pay gap: at a time of mounting concern about the heavy burden of educational loans faced by graduating college students, the burden on young women is disproportionately higher than on young men. More women (47 %) than men (39 %) find themselves paying more than 8 % of their earnings toward student loan debt.

More women than men also report that they are economically vulnerable—that they do not have enough savings to support themselves for 2 months, should they lose their income (Hayes and Hartmann 2011). Women are more likely than men to report having trouble paying monthly utility bills, rent, or mortgage payments, and not having enough money for food or transportation costs (Hayes and Hartmann 2011). Only one in three women, as compared to four in ten men, say they have at least $20,000 in stocks, bonds, and

mutual funds, and fewer than half of women report having at least $20,000 in a retirement savings account (Hess 2012). Women are more likely than men to report that they are finding it difficult to save for retirement of for their children's education; more women than men say they have taken money out of savings or retirement funds or reduced their contributions to retirement savings to cover other expenses. In terms of future expectation, more women than men say they expect to withdraw money from or reduce contributions to retirement savings and to have trouble saving money for the future. Among older Americans, recent college graduates, and young married couples, women report lower levels of economic security than men do (Hayes and Hartmann 2011).

Older Age

Economic vulnerability is most stark for women in old age—and because women live longer than men, there are a lot more older women than older men in the populations of almost every country. Globally, there are only 84 men for every 100 women aged 60 or over—and just 61 men for every 100 women aged 80 or over (United Nations Population Fund 2012). Calculations using the Elder Economic Security Standard Index (Wider Opportunities for Women 2012a), which examines income adequacy in the context of geographically-linked cost of living, show that most U.S. women aged 65 and older have household incomes below the security standard defined by that index. The standard defines the income level at which a household can meet basic economic needs without subsidies such as Food Stamps or Medicaid. Among U.S. women, White women are the most likely (51 %) to have incomes above the standard, whereas Asian (39 %), African American (26 %) and Hispanic (25 %) women are far less likely to have incomes at or above the standard (Wider Opportunities for Women 2012b).

The roots of gender differences in economic security in older age lie in the gender wage gap, which increases with age among U.S. women

aged 16–64. In terms of median weekly earnings, women aged 16–24 earned 92.5 % of similar-aged men's earnings in 2011. For women aged 45–54, the percentage of men's earnings was only 76, and women in the 55–64 age group earned only 75.1 % of what similar-aged men earned (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). The cumulative impact of the gender wage gap over many years of work is an important contributing factor to the tendency for women to have insufficient resources when they approach retirement. In the United States, retired women are significantly more likely than men to depend on Social Security payments as their only source of income (U.S. Government Accountability Office 2012) and almost twice as many women as men live in poverty after retirement (OWL 2012). Partly to forestall such consequences, women are increasingly likely to stay in the labor market past traditional retirement age. The rate at which women are continuing in the labor force at age 65 and over has risen more steeply than the comparable rate for men in recent years. In 2012, 22.1 % of men and 13.5 % of women aged 65 and over were employed (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013b). Unfortunately, older women are more likely than men to face underemployment, working in jobs that underutilize their qualifications and underpay them (OWL 2012). Both unemployment and underemployment have the potential to affect social security earnings—the very earnings on which so many women depend in retirement. Older women typically receive lower social security payments than older men; the median difference is $4,500 per year (Wider Opportunities for Women 2012b). Furthermore, women are more likely than men to outlive their spouses, resulting in a situation where they have no ongoing financial support from a partner. In the United States, widowhood decreases a woman's household income by 37 %, but decreases a man's by only 22 % (U.S. Government Accountability Office 2012). When the lower availability of financial resources for retirement is combined with women's tendency to live significantly longer than men and their greater likelihood of being widowed in old age, the resulting impact on women's economic wellbeing in older age is dire. The

poverty rate for older women is significantly higher (10.7 %) than for men (6.7 %) in the United States (Administration on Aging 2012), and international data indicates that older women are at a higher risk of poverty than older men in 27 out of 30 countries (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development 2011).

Health

A shortage of financial resources has implications for women's health, not just in older age, but throughout their lives. One study shows that more than one-third of mothers reported having difficulty paying for medical care for themselves or their children in the previous year, and that women are more likely than men to report that they have not gone to the doctor, not taken a child to the doctor, or not filled a prescription because of the cost (Hayes and Hartmann 2011). The same study indicates that women report more worry than men do about paying out-of-pocket healthcare expenses, losing their health care coverage, paying their health insurance premiums, and being able to afford prescription drugs or a major hospital stay.

Health insecurity entails more than missing doctor visits and prescriptions and the consequent possibility of more serious illness. Anxiety about one's health and about access to the financial resources to deal with health issues can have a significant negative impact on women's quality of life and ability to cope with severe health problems. For example, low income women diagnosed with cancer report high rates of wage concerns and financial stress, and the level of such economic stress is predictive of poorer functional, emotional and affective wellbeing (Ell et al. 2008). Furthermore, insufficient financial resources may actually lead to health problems. Whereas socioeconomic position is positively related to women's health (McDonough et al. 2002), poverty and stress related to economic issues are antecedents of a variety of common health problems among women, including depression (McGrath et al. 1990), and obesity (Rehkopf et al. 2011). Both economic stress and

perceived economic strain have been found to predict mortality among the oldest old (Yeung and Xu 2012). Women's greater vulnerability to the insufficiency of financial resources that leads to both economic stress and perceived economic strain is rooted, at least in part, in the gender wage gap.

Job Stability

One aspect of working women's wellbeing may be the opportunity to stay in a position that feels appropriately welcoming and rewarding. There are two issues to consider here: changing jobs in search of better compensation, and leaving the workforce entirely. With respect to the first issue, employee turnover is frequently related to low salary and opportunities for advancement (e.g., Cramer 1993; DePanfilis and Zlotnik 2008), and this may often be true among women. One study of medical school faculty found women and minority faculty most often left their positions because of advancement and salary issues; women were making significantly lower salaries than men when they opted to leave (Cropsey et al. 2008). There is also evidence that women are moving out of waged work and into self-employment in significant numbers (Terjesen 2005); the growth rate in the number of women-owned businesses in the United States is significantly higher than the growth rate in the number of male-owned businesses (American Express OPEN 2012). Some of this movement may be accounted for by women's dissatisfaction with their compensation (and the status, respect, and opportunities for advancement implied by such compensation) in waged work (e.g., Marlow and Carter 2004). One study of midlife women who transitioned from organizations to self-employment revealed that almost half the women interviewed cited the perception that they were not valued or provided with opportunities for advancement as reasons for their decision (Hodges 2012). It must be noted, however, that the gender gap in earnings actually tends to be larger for self-employment than for waged work (see, for example, Lechmann and Schnabel

2012), so, although women making this transition may gain significantly in terms of control over their working lives, it is not a solution to the problem of the gender pay gap.

With respect to the second issue, "opting out" of the labor force, a great deal of discussion has been generated by recent findings that, even though discrimination against women has decreased and opportunities improved during the intervening years, women's labor force participation has declined slightly from a high of 60 % in 1999 to 58.6 % in 2010 (and projected to drop to 57.1 % by 2020) (Toossi 2012). Men's participation has also declined, and is expected to continue declining, but, at 71.2 % in 2010, remains higher than women's. Even among well-educated women (women who are presumably earning good salaries), analysts have noted a tendency to leave the workforce when they have children. In fact, it appears that mothers who have graduated from elite universities—and thus have higher expected earnings—are actually less likely than mothers who are graduates of less selective colleges to be in the labor market. One researcher, using data from the 2003 National Survey of College Graduates, reports that 80.9 % of female bachelor's degree graduates of Tier One institutions, as compared to 86.2 % of female graduates from Tier Four institutions, are participants in the labor force (Hersch 2013). Among mothers, labor force participation rates drop and the gap between graduates of higher- and lower-status institutions is wider: mothers who are graduates of Tier One institutions participate at a rate of 69.9 %, whereas mothers who are graduates of Tier Four institutions participate at a rate of 78.6 %. The impact of motherhood is particularly striking in the realm of business: Among women in this sample who held MBAs and were *not* mothers, 96.5 % of those from top-tier institutions and 95.8 % of those from Tier Four institutions were employed,. However, among those who were mothers, 59.3 % of those from Tier One and 80.6 % of those from Tier Four institutions were employed.

The extent to which the gender pay gap can be blamed for women "opting out" of the labor force is difficult to pin down, but it is arguably a factor.

Clearly, for women who are not earning good salaries, the costs of childcare may well undermine the financial advantages of employment. This may be particularly true in cases where a mother has a spouse who is earning more than she is—and the gender pay gap makes this a likely scenario. In such cases, it may make financial sense for one spouse (the one who is earning less) to take time away from employment in order to care for children. Indeed, some low- and middle-income mothers report that, given the costs of childcare, commuting, and other expenses associated with employment they simply cannot afford to work (e.g., Covert 2012; Dickler 2012). These mothers, faced with the reality of low pay and expensive childcare, are not "opting" out – which implies a real choice – but following the only possible path, economically.

When one spouse's income is so high that it dwarfs that of the other spouse, there may be more choice involved. It may seem pointless to manage the stress of two demanding careers if one salary is enough—and salaries for highly educated men have increased so much that this is exactly what has happened in some cases. Economists note that the earnings ratio of men to women is greater among college graduates and has risen in recent years (Albanesi and Prados 2012). Women married to highly educated men are less likely to be in the labor force. Indeed, in the decade from 1995 to 2005, labor force participation by married women fell by 19 % for women whose husbands were in the top 10 % of the earnings distribution (Albanesi and Prados 2012). Highly educated men's very high salaries may help explain the tendency noted above for women from elite educational institutions to leave the workforce when they have children— since the women who attend such institutions are especially likely to marry men from similar institutions who end up in positions that are very well-paid.

The above scenario may be experienced as benign by many women. After all, is it so terrible to be "excused" from working for pay because one's family simply does not need the money? Yet the equation of monetary compensation with worth may still send a dispiriting message to

women. How does it feel to know, as reported to one journalist by a woman who left her job, that one's spouse has just been given a raise that is the equivalent of one's own entire salary? Or that one's salary is unimportant enough to one's family to be categorized as "pocket money" (Barghini 2012)? Indeed, as one researcher who studied women in Wall Street occupations discovered, women sometimes walked away from well-paid jobs in frustration when confronted with the knowledge that male colleagues, sometimes their own spouses, were reaping far higher financial rewards for their work than they themselves were (Roth 2006). Even highly accomplished women who are earning high salaries may be discouraged by finding their efforts undercompensated in relation to their male colleagues, friends, or husbands. And when, for whatever reason, a woman steps out of the workforce, the long term consequences in terms of her career and her compensation are potentially harmful. One study of highly-qualified professional women revealed that these women sacrifice an average of 18 % of their earning power when they take time away from work, and that the earnings penalties are particularly high (28 %) in the business sector (Hewlett and Luce 2005). The damage to earning power increases with the amount of time a woman stays out of the workforce—rising to an average of 37 % after 3 years. When women want to return to employment after a hiatus, these researchers found they faced barriers: only 74 % of these women were able to rejoin the workforce, and only 40 % of those who did so were able to return to full-time, professional jobs. Thus, even for women who are well-paid, the effects of the gender pay gap may have a deleterious effect.

Conclusion

It is a truism that money cannot buy happiness. However, anxiety about or dissatisfaction with one's financial situation can certainly interfere with happiness. Indeed, one of the driving forces in an overall decline in women's happiness in recent years appears to be a decline in financial satisfaction (Stevenson and Wolfers 2009). We have

seen that, objectively, women are disadvantaged by having fewer financial resources than men, and that, in many cases, this shortfall in resources handicaps them in providing for their families and for themselves. Yet, simply experiencing a shortage of resources is not the only potential source of discontent for women. After all, there are certainly many women whose earnings are strong enough to afford good lives.

Given the research showing that people tend to interpret their tangible rewards as signs of respect and status, it is not at all surprising that financial compensation—and perceived unfairness in such compensation—should be a source of dissatisfaction. It has been argued that appropriate recognition for one's achievements is a necessary fuel for the nurturing and maintenance of ambition (Fels 2004). If women see that they are underpaid relative to their efforts and in comparison to their colleagues, they may well become disappointed, cut back on their career ambitions, lower their sights. If they do this, they are likely to experience further disadvantages as they overlook (and are overlooked for) opportunities for advancement. A cyclical process gradually chips away at their ambitions and their outcomes, stalling their careers and precluding many contributions they might have made to their organizations and their culture.

The well-being of working women is clearly affected by the gender pay gap. Perhaps just as importantly, the gap damages society by discouraging women, limiting the expression of their talents, and dampening their contributions.

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Part III

Women Leaders and Well-Being

Kim M. Elsesser

One need only look at the 500 highest revenue generating companies in the United States, known as the Fortune 500, to witness the disparity between men and women at the top levels of management. Although women represent 46.6 % of the general labor force, they represent only 8.1 % of the top earners in the Fortune 500 and a mere 3.8 % of the CEO's of these institutions (Catalyst 2012a, b). Ten percent of the Fortune 500 companies' boards have no women at all, and more than one-quarter of them have no female executive officers. A look inside a few industries reveals more bias. Within law, women represent 45 % of associates at law firms, but only 5 % of managing partners and only 15 % of equity partners (Catalyst 2012c). In finance and insurance, women make up 57.6 % of the industry labor force, but only 2.6 % of the CEO's, 18.3 % of board positions, and 18.4 % of executive officers. Governmental leaders do not fare much better. In the United States, only seven women presently hold state governor positions, women make up a mere 18 % of the U.S. Congress (Parker 2013), and the United States has yet to elect a female president.

Women who are not reaching the top levels of leadership have been said to be stuck metaphorically in the marzipan layer (just below the top executive positions – or icing – portions of the corporation) or beneath a glass ceiling which keeps them from attaining the highest leadership positions. What keeps women from attaining the highest levels? One of the most frequent arguments as to why there are so few women at the top levels of corporations is women's comparatively recent entrance into the workforce. Over time, it is argued, women will work their way to the top levels of corporations. The passing of time, however, has not brought the changes that were anticipated. The last 15 years have only resulted in a 3.7 % increase in female CEO's of Fortune 500 companies and a 6.0 % increase in female board members, suggesting something else is afoot (Catalyst 1997, 2012b).

One more argument for women's lack of advancement suggests that women choose different occupations than men. Women are not reaching the top levels of Fortune 500 companies or the highest governmental ranks because they choose not to work in these environments. If this is the case, then women should at least be achieving the highest levels of female-dominated professions. However, just the opposite is occurring. Often labeled the "glass escalator," men, not women, have been found to be on a fast-track to promotion to the top levels of female-dominated professions (Williams 1992). One study found that the greater the number of women in the

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occupation, the more likely that a man would be promoted (rather than a woman) to a managerial level (Maume 1999).

Bias Against Female Leaders

Yet another explanation suggests that women's lack of promotion into leadership roles stems from a lingering bias against female leaders. Bias against female leaders is well-documented in the literature, and there is evidence that female leaders are evaluated less favorably than their male counterparts, are liked less than their male counterparts, and are penalized for adopting masculine leadership styles (e.g. Eagly et al. 1992; Elsesser and Lever 2011; Heilman et al. 2004; Johnson et al. 2008).

Why all this bias against female leaders? Primarily, the bias against female leaders is thought to stem from the discrepancy between the traditional female gender stereotypes and the characteristics of a leader (Eagly and Karau 2002; Schein 1975). According to Eagly's (1987) social role theory, gender stereotypes tend to emerge from observing people in sex-typical roles. Since women in our society were long cast as homemakers, child care providers and caretakers, gender stereotypes of women tend to be more communal. Stereotypically, women are described as nurturing, caring and sensitive. Consistent with the traditional male role of breadwinner, men are stereotypically perceived as more agentic. As a result, male stereotypes include being aggressive, ambitious, assertive and direct.

So pervasive are these gender stereotypes, that they are easily activated, and often come to mind automatically without conscious awareness (Banaji and Hardin 1996). Gender stereotypes are used to fill in missing pieces or to interpret behavior of others, and individuals are more likely to remember behavior that is consistent with gender stereotypes (Dunning and Sherman 1997). Perhaps surprisingly, use of gender stereotypes is not related to sexism, as those scoring low on sexism scales are just as likely to make inferences based on gender stereotypes as those scoring high on sexism

(Dunning and Sherman 1997). However, the use of stereotypes does diminish as exposure to an individual increases (Fiske 1998). In other words, the better you know someone, the less likely you are to enact stereotypes.

Role congruity theory asserts that problems arise for individuals who behave in ways that are inconsistent with their gender stereotypes (Eagly and Karau 2002). In the workplace, individuals who act in ways that are incongruent with their sex role tend to be evaluated negatively. Female managers suffer from the consequences of incongruity, because characteristics necessary to be a successful leader are more frequently associated with the male gender role (Schein 1975). Therefore, in order to be perceived as a valuable leader, women often adopt more stereotypically male characteristics.

This association between the characteristics of the male gender role and the successful leader was first illustrated in a classic study by Schein (1975). In this study, male and female managers in insurance companies in the United States were given the Schein Descriptive Index (SDI) comprised of 92 adjectives. Participants were asked whether each adjective described women in general, men in general, or successful middle managers. Results indicated the successful middle managers were associated with predominantly agentic characteristics (e.g. being competitive, self-confident, aggressive, and ambitious). These same characteristics were used to describe men in the study. A few stereotypically female attributes were considered valuable for managers (e.g. helpfulness and awareness of others' feelings), but predominantly the stereotypically male characteristics were associated with successful leadership. Often referred to as the "think manager – think male" effect, it has been widely replicated, and similar results have emerged from the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, China, and Singapore (Lee and Hoon 1993; Schein 2001). Recent replications of Schein's research in the United States found that although men still sex-type the management role, women are less likely to do so (Deal and Stevenson 1998; Jackson et al. 2007; Schein and Mueller 1992; Schein et al. 1996).

As a result of this conflict between the feminine social role and the leadership role, women find themselves in a double bind. If female leaders conform to their traditional gender role, they may be perceived as having less potential for leadership. However, if they adopt the agentic characteristics of successful leaders, they may be evaluated negatively for not behaving in a more feminine manner. The case of *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins* (1989) in which Ann Hopkins sued her employer, Price Waterhouse, illustrates how this double bind can play out in the workplace. Hopkins was well-qualified for partnership at Price Waterhouse, yet was not offered promotion. Despite her stellar work performance and multi-million dollar business contracts, male colleagues felt she was unfit for partnership because she did not behave in a feminine manner. In order to increase her chances for promotion, Hopkins was advised to "walk more femininely, talk more femininely, dress more femininely, wear make-up, have her hair styled, and wear jewelry," (Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins 1989). In other words, Hopkins had adopted the agentic characteristics necessary to be successful at Price Waterhouse, but was penalized for not behaving in a feminine manner. The United States Supreme Court ruled in Hopkins favor citing sex discrimination on the part of Price Waterhouse.

As a result of this conflict between the gender role and the management role, role congruity theory predicts female leaders suffer two types of prejudice: descriptive and prescriptive (Eagly and Karau 2002; Johnson et al. 2008). Descriptive norms refer to stereotypes, or consensus about how a particular group behaves. With regard to female leaders, descriptive bias emerges because women are generally perceived as possessing less potential for leadership than men. Prescriptive norms, by contrast, address consensual expectations regarding what a particular group ideally should do. Prescriptive bias would occur when actual female leaders are evaluated less favorably because leadership is not consistent with the manner in which women should ideally behave.

Empirical evidence of bias against female leaders is mixed, and typically depends upon study methodology. Studying gender and leader-

ship in the laboratory seems ideal because it allows researchers to vary only the sex of the leader, while holding all other characteristics of the leader constant. For example, in one common methodology, researchers provide vignettes about leaders (e.g. Johnson et al. 2008). The vignettes typically describe a male or female manager responding to a problem using one of several management styles. After reading the vignette, the participants are asked to evaluate the manager in the vignette. Another common methodology involves male and female confederates trained to lead in particular styles (e.g. Carli et al. 1995). Subjects are required to complete a task led by the confederate, and then rate the confederate leader upon completion of the task.

While these laboratory studies allow researchers to isolate the gender element in leader evaluations, their generalizability to real-world scenarios is questionable. Studies that create leaders in the laboratory or offer vignettes of hypothetical bosses tend to report the greatest gender bias, while those that study actual bosses in the workplace typically reveal little or no bias. For example, one meta-analysis of studies of hypothetical managers of laboratory-created leaders found that male leaders received higher evaluations than female leaders (Eagly et al. 1992). However, another meta-analysis of studies in actual organizations found that male and female leaders were rated equally effective (Eagly et al. 1995). Still another meta-analysis found far fewer perceived differences in management style with studies in actual organizations compared to those in laboratory studies (Eagly and Johnson 1990).

Why this discrepancy between bias against actual leaders and more abstract leaders? Research has repeatedly shown that stereotype use is more likely when less information about an individual is available (Fiske 1998). Therefore, individuals are less likely to stereotype managers who they know well, and more likely to stereotype hypothetical leaders when less individuating information is available. Evidence of this effect comes from a study where participants were asked to read a vignette about hypothetical male and female leaders (Martell 1991). The less time

they were given to read the vignette, the more bias they exhibited in their performance ratings of the female leaders. That is, the more they became familiar with the leader in the vignette, the less bias they exhibited.

In addition to having the opportunity to get to know actual leaders better than fictional laboratory-created leaders, bias exhibited against leaders in actual organizations may be minimized because actual organizational leaders must exhibit the characteristics necessary to be a successful leader *prior* to their promotion. That is, the fact the organization selected them to lead implies that they already have leadership skills. Furthermore, organizations typically train potential managers for their leadership roles and provide clear guidelines for their expectations of manager behavior in their organization (Eagly and Johnson 1990). Therefore, male and female leaders who occupy the same organizational role often exhibit similar characteristics. By contrast, in the laboratory where "leaders" are not selected for their leadership ability or trained for leadership, they may be more likely to adopt stereotypic leadership behavior.

Consistent with this discrepancy between attitudes regarding actual and hypothetical leaders, a recent study of over 60,000 employees found no difference in competence ratings of participant's male bosses versus female bosses (Elsesser and Lever 2011). However, when asked more abstractly about their preference for male or female managers, male bosses were preferred 2:1 over female bosses. When participants were asked to justify their preference for male or female bosses, their responses revealed substantial negative sentiment toward female bosses, in general. Although the most common reasons for preferring female bosses included positive attributes about female leaders including their supportive and nurturing natures, the most common justification for preferring male leaders was a profound dislike of female leaders. Indeed, the adjectives most frequently used to describe female leaders included: "emotional," "moody," "catty," "gossipy," "bitchy," "backstabbing," "dramatic," "jealous," and "petty." None of these adjectives were used to describe the male leaders.

A much smaller percentage of respondents expressed negative sentiments regarding male leaders. However, the most frequently stated objection to male leaders involved male leaders' competitiveness and self-centeredness.

The fact that participants were less likely to exhibit gender bias when evaluating their own boss indicates minimal prescriptive bias against actual female leaders (that is, bias against women for violating gender norms and assuming a leadership position). However, a high level of descriptive bias (where women are perceived as having less management potential) still dominates when one imagines an ideal manager.

Bias Against Leadership Style

Some have suggested that women who lead in a masculine style may suffer more bias than others (e.g. Eagly et al. 1992). It is important to note that there is very little evidence that men and women actually differ in their leadership style (Eagly and Johnson 1990). One exception is that women tend to lead with a more democratic style, including their subordinates in decision-making processes, while men tend to lead in a more autocratic or directive style (Eagly and Johnson 1990). However, according to role congruity theory, bias may exist against women who lead in stereotypically inconsistent ways. As a result, research has focused on the repercussions for female leaders who adopt more masculine styles of leadership. Once again, results are dependent upon whether one examines actual leaders or not. For example, one meta-analysis of studies using vignettes and lab experiments (not actual leaders) found female leaders were evaluated more negatively than male leaders, particularly when the female leaders adopted a masculine management style (Eagly et al. 1992). Another meta-analysis which examined counter-stereotypic behavior of hypothetical leaders found strong female leaders were rated as less effective than strong male leaders (Eagly et al. 1995). A more recent study using hypothetical leaders found that women need to be both sensitive and strong to be considered effective, but men only need to demonstrate strength

to be considered effective (Johnson et al. 2008). That is, the absence of communal attributes impacted the evaluations of the female leaders, but not the male leaders.

Despite repercussions for adopting a counter-stereotypic management style for hypothetical leaders, studies of actual leaders tell a different story. A meta-analysis of actual leaders found that effectiveness was correlated with strength for both male and female leaders, indicating women were not penalized for exhibiting strength (Eagly et al. 1995). A more recent study of over 60,000 actual bosses found that female managers who adopted a counter-stereotypic direct management style were rated just as competent as female leaders who adopted a more feminine, sensitive management style (Elsesser and Lever 2011). Most likely, individuals who do not possess the traits desirable for leadership in a particular organization will simply not be promoted to the leadership level, and individuals chosen to manage will typically reflect the norms and expectations of their organization. Organizations where more stereotypically masculine leadership styles are favored will promote male and female leaders with these characteristics. Those that favor more interpersonal styles, will promote leaders with more communal traits. While leaders may not be penalized for adopting a counter-stereotypic style, those who adopt a style that is counter to the organizations norms may never reach the leadership level.

Bias Associated with Competence and Likeability

Typically, if a female leader exhibits unambiguously competent behavior, gender-based expectations are overridden and her competence is acknowledged (Heilman et al. 2004). However, some argue that in these situations the competent leader may still be penalized for her agentic behavior, not in evaluations of her competence as a leader, but in assessments of her likeability. Thirty percent of senior executives in one survey perceived that some women must choose between being considered competent and being liked (Catalyst 2007).

Once again, women find themselves in a double bind. If women exhibit competency in their leadership role, they are not liked. If they are liked, they are perceived as less competent.

Empirical evidence of this competence-likeability dichotomy is once again divided down methodological lines, with hypothetical leaders eliciting different results from actual leaders. In one study of university undergraduates evaluating hypothetical leaders, Heilman and colleagues (2004) found that female leaders whose performance was irrefutably excellent were evaluated equally as competent as their male counterparts. However, these highly-rated women were viewed as less likeable and more interpersonally hostile than men with identical credentials. Even the hypothetical male and female managers who were not described as competent were more well-liked than the competent female managers.

However, when evaluating actual managers this competence – likeability dichotomy seems to disappear. Elsesser and Lever (2011) found competent male managers and competent female managers had equally positive relationships with their subordinates, suggesting they are equally likeable. Although leaders who adopted a counter-stereotypic style (sensitive for men or direct for women) suffered no penalty in competence ratings, female leaders in this study who adopted a direct management style did have lower quality relationships with their subordinates. This indicates that women who adopt a more direct style may be penalized by being liked less by their subordinates. By contrast, men who adopted a counter-stereotypic sensitive style were not penalized with regard to their relationship with their subordinates.

Bias in Male Dominated Environments

If women in leadership are penalized for behaving counter to feminine stereotypes, then women adopting leadership positions in male-dominated professions may suffer double the burden. These women are behaving counter-stereotypically both as a leader and as an employee in a male-

dominated industry. Once again, the empirical evidence of bias against female leaders in male-dominated industries breaks down according to methodology. One meta-analysis examining evaluations of hypothetical leaders found the greatest gender difference in favor of men when the hypothetical management position was described in masculine versus feminine terms (Eagly et al. 1992). By contrast, a meta-analysis of studies of actual leaders in organizations found women and men were rated equally effective in all types of organizations (except the military) (Eagly et al. 1995). Although these meta-analyses represent research that is approximately two decades old, current research continues to replicate their results for both hypothetical and actual leaders. In one recent study of hypothetical leaders, participants read vignettes about male and female leaders in the auto industry (male-dominated), the clothing industry (female-dominated), and an unspecified industry (gender-neutral) (Garcia-Retamero and López-Zafra 2006). Participants had higher performance expectations for the hypothetical male candidate in the auto or unspecified industry. In the clothing industry, no gender differences in performance expectations were found.

By contrast, a recent study examined actual leaders in the field of architecture and engineering (Elsesser and Lever 2011), the most male-dominated occupation in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau 2003). This study revealed that male and female managers were regarded as equally competent in this male-dominated field. In addition, subordinates reported equally positive relationships with male and female managers in this occupation. While attaining a management position in a male-dominated environment may still pose challenges for women, those who become managers in these environments seem to earn the respect of their subordinates.

Bias Associated with Queen Bee Syndrome

Although both men and women exhibit bias against female leaders, there is substantial evidence that women are more likely than men to disparage female leaders. Women are not only more likely than men to prefer male management, but are also more likely to evaluate female leaders more negatively than men (Elsesser and Lever 2011). Furthermore, this female preference for female leadership increases with time in the work force, with those having the longest work histories indicating the strongest preference for male leadership (Warning and Buchanan 2009). Even women who are female managers themselves tend to indicate a general preference for male bosses over female bosses (Elsesser and Lever 2011). Women who report to female managers also experience more distress and negative health symptoms than women with male management (Schieman and McMullen 2008). By contrast, men have the same physical symptoms regardless of whether they report to male or female managers.

One potential explanation given for this female bias against other females is competitiveness between women. The term "queen bee syndrome" was coined to describe successful women, often in male-dominated positions, who, as a result of their competitiveness with other women, undermine the success of other women (Staines et al. 1974). Intra-gender competition between women has been well-established in the research literature (Cooper 1997; Ellemers et al. 2004; Elsesser and Lever 2011). For example, one set of studies examined male and female professors' evaluations of male and female Ph.D. students' commitment to their careers (Ellemers et al. 2004). The students' self-ratings indicated no gender differences in commitment. The male faculty concurred and rated the male and female students as equally committed to their careers. However, consistent with the "queen bee syndrome" the female professors rated the female Ph.D. students as less committed to their careers than the male students. Yet another example of the queen bee syndrome comes from a study of women who hold one of the top two positions in their company (Cech and Blair-Loy 2010). These high-level women were found to be more likely than others to attribute gender inequality in professional advancement to female lack of motivation and experience.

Why would women want to discredit other women in this way? One potential explanation stems from these women's desire to downplay their gender identity (Ellemers et al. 2012). In order to escape bias against female leaders, women in high places may distance themselves from women as a group as a strategy for their own advancement. Instead of challenging the biased practices in their organization, these women typically emphasize the ways in which they differ from other women in their organization. Unfortunately, through this process they may unwittingly malign other women. Others suggest that women discredit other female employees in order to boost their own self-worth. Empirical evidence supports this suggestion, and in one study, when female participants were able to penalize successful female leaders in a scenario, ratings of their own competence increased (Parks-Stamm et al. 2008).

In order to further distance themselves from stereotypes of female leaders the queen bees may go out of their way to exhibit stereotypically masculine leadership traits. Empirical evidence of this phenomenon comes from a study of female professors who described themselves as reluctant to work with other women at the university and reported that women at the university did not support one another. Furthermore, these female professors described themselves as more masculine (more dominant, aggressive, ambitious and competitive) than their male counterparts (Ellemers 1993).

In summary, research supporting the queen bee phenomenon suggests that it is not only men, but also women who limit the advancement of other women in the workplace. In order to distance themselves from other women in the organization, some female leaders may hesitate to promote junior women or to support policies that help women advance. Whether becoming a queen bee actually helps one's own career remains to be seen, but it can certainly be detrimental to more junior women striving to achieve success in their own careers.

Bias Associated with Glass Cliff

Despite the biases that women face in the workplace, some women are still able to reach the top levels of management. However, research indicates that the top levels of management may be a more precarious spot for women than for men. After breaking through the glass ceiling women may find themselves perched on a glass cliff, more likely than men to fall from this position (Ryan and Haslam 2005). Women find themselves on this metaphorical precipice because women tend to be promoted to more precarious positions than do men. One study of the FTSE 100 (the 100 highest market capitalization companies on the London Stock Exchange), found that women were more likely to be promoted to board positions in companies which had consistently poor performance the preceding 5 months (Ryan and Haslam 2005). By contrast, companies that appointed men to the boards typically had relatively stable performance leading up to the appointment. Because the women were appointed during problematic organizational circumstances, their positions carried a greater chance of failure than the men who were appointed during stable times. A similar study of political candidates found men were more likely to be chosen to contest a safe seat, but women were the more likely candidate when a particular seat was described as hard to win (Ryan et al. 2010).

While bias against female leaders may play a part in promoting women to risky positions, multiple factors are thought to contribute to the glass cliff (Bruckmüller and Branscombe 2010; Ryan and Haslam 2007). While some of these women may be promoted to these precarious positions to be set up to fail, others may be chosen for their ability to lead in a crisis. Individuals may "think manager – think male" in typical situations, but in crisis situations, they may instead "think crisis – think female," (Ryan and Haslam 2007). Appointing a woman to a position traditionally held by a man not only signals change, but the more feminine characteristics associated with

female managers (being understanding, intuitive, and creative) may be more desirable in crisis situations.

Evidence of "think crisis – think female" comes from a study where participants were given 50 attributes of leaders, and were asked to determine whether they described attributes needed by a leader in a thriving company or by a leader in a company in crisis (Bruckmüller and Branscombe 2010). Participants also rated the attributes as to whether they were more characteristic of a typical male or a typical female leader. For a thriving company, the characteristics that were associated with a good leader were also predominantly associated with male leaders. These included independence, competition, dynamic, and striving for power. Indeed only one characteristic typically associated with female leaders, fairness, was considered valuable for a thriving company. However, with regard to companies in crisis, the characteristics desired in a leader were more likely to be those associated with female leaders *(*ability to build confidence in others*,* cooperation*,* communication skills*,* ability to encourage others*,* ability to work in teams).

Placing women in these risky positions may not only be motivated by what's best for the organization. Ryan and Haslam (2007) have suggested promoting a woman into a risky management situation may be a win-win strategy for those who desire to preserve the male control of upper level management. If the woman succeeds, then the organization is better off, and if the woman fails then she can be blamed for the organization's failure and replaced by a man. In addition, the organization can point to the promotion of the woman as evidence that it adheres to equal opportunity policies.

Other researchers have suggested yet another path to the glass cliff. They argue that women promoted to any high-status leadership role (particularly in male-dominated fields) may find themselves on a glass cliff after making only one mistake on the job (Brescoll et al. 2010). For a leader in a position that is consistent with their gender stereotype, competence is assumed. For these leaders, one mistake does not necessarily undermine their success. However, for those that occupy leadership roles inconsistent with their gender, mistakes can create an ambiguity which calls into question the leader's competence. To study this phenomenon, researchers varied the gender of the leader in studies where vignettes of a leader erring were presented to subjects (Brescoll et al. 2010). After just one mistake, those leaders in role incongruent positions (e.g. female police chiefs or male women's college presidents) were viewed as less competent and less high-status than their gender-congruent counterparts. Future research will be needed to establish if this effect generalizes to real-world scenarios.

Regardless of the rationales for promoting women to these precarious positions, occupying management positions in crisis situations may take a toll on the female leaders in these roles. Selection to leadership positions that carry high probability of failure can play havoc on a career and may reduce the desire to lead in the future (Ryan and Haslam 2007). Future research will be needed to determine the outcomes of glass cliff management roles.

Kernel of Truth?

Some have argued that stereotypes and bias often result from some underlying validity or "kernel of truth" (Prothro and Melikian 1955). However, it is important to note that, despite the existence of bias, studies examining the efficacy of female leaders do not indicate any deficiencies in the leadership capabilities of women. A meta-analysis of 75 studies of leader effectiveness revealed no differences between the effectiveness of male and female leaders (Eagly et al. 1995).

Recent emphasis has been placed on the value of transformational leaders who focus on innovation and future goals and inspire employees to achieve goals. By contrast, transactional leaders are more conventional in their approach and focus on the present, establishing traditional rewards and punishments to motivate employees. Least desirable, laissez-faire leaders fail to take proper responsibility for management.

Results of a meta-analysis of gender and leadership style found that female leaders were more transformational than male leaders, and male leaders were more likely than female leaders to exhibit laissez-faire leadership traits (Eagly et al. 2003). Women were also more prone than men to reward their subordinates for their performance. These findings, based on 45 studies, suggest that women were more likely to exhibit the management styles that are considered the most effective, while the less effective leadership styles tended to be utilized more by men.

Consistent with gender stereotypes, one might expect that women would lead in a more interpersonal style (tending to the morale and welfare of others), and men would lead in a more task-oriented style (focusing on organizing activities to complete assigned tasks). However, yet another meta-analysis revealed no gender differences in the use of interpersonal or task-oriented styles (Eagly and Johnson 1990).

In summary, there seems to be no "kernel of truth" to the bias exhibited against female leaders. Women who break through the glass ceiling and are able to achieve leadership roles are equally effective as their male counterparts.

Reducing Bias

Judging from the research evidence, bias is greatest when individuals think abstractly about female leaders and is minimized in evaluations of actual female leaders. So, what can be done to alleviate the bias that endures when one imagines a female leader? There is evidence that exposure to female leaders can aid in reducing bias. Elsesser and Lever (2011) found respondents who had experience with a female boss were more likely to prefer female management than those who had never reported to a woman.

In the laboratory, exposure to female leaders has also been effective in reducing bias. For example, female college students who were exposed to women famous for their contributions in science, law and politics were more likely to exhibit counterstereotypic beliefs about women (Dasgupta and Asgari 2004). This finding was then replicated with female college students outside the laboratory. The more female course instructors a student encountered, the less likely the student was to express gender stereotypes. By contrast, female students who encountered mostly male faculty were much more likely to express gender stereotypes about women.

In order to increase exposure to female leaders, quota systems are becoming more widely implemented. In addition to helping women overcome discrimination, these systems aim to increase the number of female role models and change attitudes regarding female leaders through greater exposure to women in leadership roles (Pande and Ford 2011). However, some have argued that quotas may encourage promotion of inexperienced women, and if experience and performance are related, then these programs may have negative outcomes. That is, the promotion of women who are not yet ready for leadership positions may reinforce stereotypes of women as ineffectual leaders. Women selected by quota programs may also be stereotyped as less qualified because they received their position as a result of a quota, and self-perceptions of competence may also suffer as a result of preferential selection (Heilman et al. 1987). Finally, backlash against women may result if individuals feel that their choices are being restricted in order to promote women (Pande and Ford 2011).

One study examined leaders across village councils in the Indian state of West Bengal where certain leader positions have recently be reserved exclusively for women (Beaman et al. 2009). Unfortunately, exposure to these mandated leaders did not reduce the preference for male leaders in these villages. However, exposure to these female leaders did improve male perceptions of the efficacy of female leaders.

Gender quotas can also increase the chances that women can be elected in free elections, as evidenced by certain municipalities in Italy which were impacted by a short-lived gender quota from 1993 to 1995 (De Paola et al. 2010). Those municipalities that were impacted by the quota were more likely to have greater female representation after the program ended in 1995 than those which were not impacted by the quota.

Another benefit resulting from quotas was the increase in the numbers of female leaders helped boost the career aspirations of women and girls (Beaman et al. 2012).

These results show promising effects for quotas in the political realm, but within the corporate sphere outcomes associated with quotas are less convincing. In 2003, legislation in Norway required a minimum of 40 % women on all corporate boards. Prior to this legislation, women represented only 9 % of directors in Norway (Ahern and Dittmar 2012). Post-legislation, 44.2 % of corporate boards were represented by females. Although quotas increased the women's representation on corporate boards, further-reaching effects are harder to discern. In the unlegislated area of CEO's, Norway is similar to other European countries with only 5 % female CEO's, a number that has not increased in the last 10 years (Clark 2010). Others have pointed out that the drastic changes required to meet the new quotas forced boards to recruit women with less experience, resulting in significantly reduced profits for these companies (Ahern and Dittmar 2012). Perhaps more time is needed to fully analyze the impact of quota systems on the promotion of women.

Feminization of the Management Role

Some have recently suggested a feminization of the leadership and management roles may facilitate the reduction of bias against female leaders (Eagly and Karau 2002; Fondas 1997; Helgesen 1990; Rosener 1995). Communal attributes are becoming more desirable in leaders, while the agentic characteristics traditionally associated with leaders in the "think manager – think male" experiments are becoming less desirable. Organizations are promoting leaders who can encourage, nurture and support their subordinates, and, therefore, leaders who encourage teamwork and collaboration are preferred over more traditional authoritative leaders. Describing managerial work in a manner that emphasizes qualities that are traditionally feminine will help

put an end to the "think manager – think male" paradigm. As the characteristics of the ideal manager become more communal, the female gender role and the management role will no longer be at odds, and female leaders may experience greater acceptance and reduced prejudice.

Summary and Directions for Future Research

Acceptance of female leaders has come a long way in the last half-century. Fifty years ago, women were prohibited from attending the most prestigious Ivy League Schools (Harvard Business School did not admit women until 1963, and Yale and Princeton kept women out until 1969). So rare were female leaders a half-century ago, that a 1965 *Harvard Business Review* article entitled "Are Women Executives People?" questioned "Do women execs act like people, think of themselves as people, and does the business community treat them as people?" (Bowman et al. 1965).

This *HBR* article, which included a survey of male and female executives, reported that only 27 % of executives were comfortable working for a female manager, and 41 % admitted to having negative attitudes toward female executives. In a 1985 follow-up study, 47 % were comfortable working for a female boss, and only 5 % admitted harboring negative attitudes toward female executives (Sutton and Moore 1985). By 2005, 71 % of male executives were comfortable working for a female boss, and 88 % reported favorable attitudes toward women in management (Carlson et al. 2006). Although bias towards female leaders persists, there is a promising historical trend suggesting a reduction in this bias.

Fortunately, the greatest gender bias against female leaders is exhibited in the studies of hypothetical leaders, abstract leaders or other laboratory-created leaders, and little or no gender bias is found in studies of actual bosses. While it is promising that actual leaders are subjected to little bias, there is still cause for concern. Considerable bias still exists against female leaders, in general. That is, although less bias is

exhibited against leaders we know well (our own manager or boss), the idea of female leaders is still troubling to many. Therefore, in situations where decisions are made without significant personal knowledge of a candidate (e.g. voting for a new Congressional representative or hiring a new manager), a male preference may still prevail. Bias against female leaders that we do not know well also helps explain why women are more likely to be promoted into management roles than to be hired into them (Lyness and Judiesch 1999). That is, organizations are comfortable promoting women with whom they are familiar, but are more cautious about hiring women from outside.

In the future, researchers must get out of the laboratory and into organizational settings in order to address the many unanswered questions about bias against female leadership. For example, more research needs to examine exactly how top level management positions are filled. Are women considered for these positions in equal numbers as men, but passed over in favor of male candidates? Or are women not even considered as candidates for these top-level positions? Only through examining these processes within actual organizations can we understand the role (if any) that bias plays in these decisions.

Examining female leaders in organizations can also shed more light on the queen bee syndrome. Are female leaders truly tougher on other women as suggested by the queen bee syndrome? If so, what circumstances lead women to adopt this queen bee attitude? Male leaders should also be examined to determine if they exhibit any of the queen bee behaviors and attitudes towards their same-sex coworkers (particularly in female-dominated environments).

The glass cliff phenomenon also leaves unanswered questions that can only be tackled by examining the decision-making process within the organization. For example, it is essential to understand corporate motivations for selecting women for these precarious cliff positions. Is it bias against women that serves as the incentive, or is it the other extreme, a confidence in the abilities of female leaders that motivates the selection of women to these roles (Ryan and Haslam 2005)?

More research also needs to examine how filling these unstable roles impacts the careers of women.

Tackling this research in non-university settings is non-trivial, as organizations do not necessarily have an incentive to participate in such research. If an organization is found to exhibit gender bias in the promotion of women, and reports of gender bias become public, the organization could face damaging press and lawsuits from female employees. Nonetheless, researchers have attacked questions surrounding bias against female leaders from every other angle, and now must dive into the organization to retrieve still unanswered questions about how employees are promoted to top management. Only through examining these real-life situations can we get a handle on the extent of bias toward female leaders and potentially discover means to diminish this bias.

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Does the Presence of Women in Management Impact Gender Inequality?

Matt L. Huffman

Introduction

When it comes to the importance of management in generating and sustaining inequality in the labor market, few scholars need convincing. Indeed, differences in access to managerial jobs serves as a key underpinning of group differences across a host of outcomes, as these positions provide a host of well-documented advantages to those who hold them. For example, managers' earnings typically exceed non-managers' (Reskin and McBrier 2000). Managers also enjoy greater autonomy and authority at work, which is consequential both for workers' prestige, psychological commitment and attachment to work, and overall employment experience (Choi et al. 2008; Dahrendorf 1957; Kanter 1977; Reskin and Ross 1992).

Differences in material and other advantages between management and non-management jobs raises obvious questions regarding access; for example, what are the factors that account for groups' differential representation in coveted jobs, such as those in management? Besides generating an expansive academic literature, the question of access to managerial jobs for protected groups has also been the focus of count-

less gender and race discrimination lawsuits and has generated numerous government reports (e.g., United States Government Accountability Office 2010). This sustained attention, present in numerous contexts, has made gender differences in access to management a particularly visible aspect of gender inequality. And, it has made the *glass ceiling* a household term. Although few would disagree that the question of gender differences in access to managerial positions is fundamental to understanding larger patterns of labor market inequality, access is only part of the reason why management matters for inequality. Managers, by definition, exercise authority in the workplace and are at the center of decisions about a company's hiring, compensation, and other policies and practices that shape inequality (Blum et al. 1994; Pfeffer 1983; Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). Therefore, women's representation in management, as well as their relative status in those jobs, has potential long- and short-term implications for all workers (Cohen and Huffman 2007; Wright 1997). This question has been subject to growing, but still incomplete, empirical scrutiny.

I have two goals in this chapter. The first is to briefly review recent trends in women's access to managerial jobs and occupations, highlighting shortcomings in the literature, and suggesting potentially fruitful avenues for further work. The second goal, which will receive more attention, is to critically review what we know about the link between women's representation in powerful

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positions in managerial hierarchies and gender inequality. The review will center on the empirical findings, paying special attention to the empirical difficulties embedded in this question, and the kinds of data that have been used to address it.

Women's Status in Management: The Glass Ceiling and Beyond

An examination of trends in women's status in management reveals a mixed bag of progress and stagnation. On the one hand, the pronounced increase in women's representation in managerial positions in the second half of the twentieth century is undeniable. In the last 20 years, women's representation in managerial occupations rose substantially. However, progress toward managerial integration slowed substantially in the 1990s (Cohen et al. 2009), mirroring stalling progress toward gender equality on other key indicators, such as labor force participation, occupational segregation, and earnings, as noted by others (e.g., Cotter et al. 2004; England 2010). As of 2011, women accounted for nearly half (47 %) of the labor force in the United States, and 38 % of managerial positions (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2011).

Slowing progress in women's representation in management can also be seen by looking at establishment-level data that describe actual workplaces over time. Using data from the EEO-1 reports from the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which describe the gender composition of managers in medium- and large-sized private-sector establishments, Huffman et al. (2010) report that nearly two-thirds of workers in 1975 were employed in workplaces with less than 10 % female in management. As of 2005, that percentage was less than 15 %. Staggeringly, the less than 10 % female in management persisted until the early 2000s as the most prevalent experience for workers in medium- and large-sized private sector workplaces, at which point the most common level of representation of women in management became 20–29 % female. Although these workplace-level data show a steady increase in

women's share of management over time, the years 1975–1986 saw the most pronounced improvement. The overall progress toward managerial integration notwithstanding, Huffman et al. (2010) report that as of around 2005, about 45 % of private sector workers are employed in workplaces with less than 30 % female in management. So, although there has been a clear pattern of improvement over time, women remain underrepresented in managerial positions (Reskin and Bielby 2005), and progress toward integration has slowed. And, of course, the higher up organizational hierarchies one goes, the more pronounced women's underrepresentation becomes. For example, in 2012 women occupied only 4 % of the Fortune 1000 CEO positions, and only 3.8 % of the Fortune 500 CEO positions (Catalyst 2012; Kroska 2014).

Examining changes in women's representation in management is a crude, although convenient, measure of women's progress in that realm. However, it tells an incomplete story, as it is possible that women's representation may increase, but not their power, autonomy, wages, or other rewards. To offer a more detailed account of women's status in management, Cohen et al. (2009) examined other indicators of women's progress and status in management. Specifically, they estimated the level of gender segregation among managers, the gender wage gap among managers, and the earnings penalty for working in a managerial occupation with a large proportion of women. The motivation for their analysis was the important questions first posed by Jacobs (1992) about trends in women's status in management. Jacobs's (1992) questions, which surprisingly had not been systematically revisited since the Cohen et al. (2009) study, suggested several skeptical interpretations of the surge in women's representation in management. For example, data suggesting women's marked inroads into management could reflect an artificial reclassification of women into management to avoid or minimize scrutiny by the EEOC, a "papering over" of a resegregation process, whereby a small number of managerial roles become female-dominated, while most remain male dominated, or a general inflation of organi-

zational titles. Jacobs (1992: 283) referred to these as the glorified secretary, resegregation, and title-inflation hypotheses. Cohen et al.'s (2009) findings are mixed with regard to gender equality among managers. Less ambiguous is their finding that progress toward equality stalled (and even reversed on some measures) during the 1990s.

Even considering the approach taken by Cohen et al. (2009), there remains a great deal of room for upgrading our analyses of women's status in management. These efforts, which take us beyond examining simple representation in managerial jobs or occupations, are important because they provide a lens for interpreting the pronounced demographic change in management roles that has occurred over the past several decades. One particularly interesting possibility on this front would be to document trends in the tendency for individuals to manage workers of their own sex, and specifically, whether women's likelihood of managing men has changed over time. And, does this trend follow the gender composition of management, generally? The tendency for managers and subordinates to be matched by sex or other characteristics has been referred to as "bottom-up" ascription in the literature (Elliott and Smith 2001; Smith and Elliott 2002). Tracking this tendency among managers and subordinates would give us additional insight into women's progress in management, beyond studying their representation. To clarify, consider two labor markets. In each equal percentages of managerial positions are held by women. Also, the managerial positions in each labor market are gender integrated – the distribution of women across managerial positions mirrors that of men. Moreover, the two labor markets exhibit no gender wage inequality: women and men earn the same within each managerial job, and the gender composition of jobs is uncorrelated with jobs' average pay. Now, consider one difference: In the first labor market, the women managers are more likely to manage male subordinates than in the second, where female managers tend to manage other women. Clearly the first labor market – where women are more likely to manage men – exemplifies greater progress toward gender

equity. The data requirements are taxing for this kind of analysis, especially if one wants to generalize to the entire labor force. However, it would provide much needed insights into women's progress and status in management.

Female Managers and Gender Inequality

Understanding the factors that shape protected groups' access to managerial positions is essential to explaining inequality in organizations and the labor market. This question has spawned a large body of research on the glass ceiling (e.g., Cotter et al. 2001; Maume 2004; Wright and Baxter 2000), defined by the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission as unseen barriers to the advancement of women and minorities stemming from discrimination (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission 1995). Relatedly, a well-developed research tradition has focused on women's access to workplace authority more generally (e.g., Blum et al. 1994; Huffman and Cohen 2004; Reskin and McBrier 2000; Smith 2002; Tomaskovic-Devey 1993; Wright et al. 1995). However, flipping the access question around to consider the *consequences* of changing managerial demographics raises a larger sociological question: Does the status of a subordinate group improve when its representation in powerful positions such as management increases? Clearly, the actions of managers may affect those working below them (Wright 1997), as managers are involved in decisions surrounding hiring, pay, promotion, termination, training opportunities, and the creation and implementation of key policies and procedures (Briscoe and Kellogg 2011; Reskin 2000).

Given the importance of managers in the stratification system combined with changing managerial demographics, we can conclude that female managers are poised to make a difference, but do they? Or are female managers simply "cogs in the machine," reproducing existing patterns of inequality (Cohen and Huffman 2007)? In this section, I outline the theoretical basis for why we might expect women's increased repre-

sentation in positions of power in organizations to be associated with less severe gender inequality. I then turn to why we might make an opposing prediction – that the gender composition of managerial positions does not matter for understanding workplace inequality. Finally, I provide a brief review of the empirical evidence, concentrating on recent studies.

How Might Female Managers Matter?

In discussing potential mechanisms for the potential positive effect of female leaders on workplace gender inequality, I will follow Kurtulus and Tomaskovic-Devey's (2012) useful distinction between mechanisms that operate directly, as a result of the actions and behaviors of female managers, and those that operate indirectly, through less proximate avenues. In other words, some actions taken by female managers may have a direct impact on inequality. Additionally, the presence of female managers alters the demographic mix in organizational settings, which can influence beliefs and perceptions that, in turn, affect inequality. That said, some potential avenues for female managers' influence are not easily classified as direct or indirect.

Why might we expect women's increased representation in management positions to shape patterns of gender inequality on other measures? One of the earliest statements linking the demographic composition of workplaces to inequality comes from Kanter's (1977) classic work, perhaps best known for its description of the varied penalties associated with women's token status in organizations. To Kanter (1977), the presence of top-level female managers weakens the negative effects of tokenism, thereby facilitating workplace equality. Kanter's work underscores the role of homophily (or, in Kanter's terminology "homosocial reproduction"), through which individuals tend to prefer similar individuals as coworkers and colleagues (Elliott and Smith 2004; Ibarra 1992). Research on in-group preferences demonstrates the role of homophily in creating inequality in both resource distribution and evaluations (see Allport 1954; Roth 2004; Tajfel et al.

1971). Homophily, it should be noted, has wide-ranging effects, not only shaping decision-making but also the formation of social networks in the workplace (McPherson et al. 2001), which may increase one's access to scarce organizational resources (Hultin and Szulkin 2003). Homophily has also been shown to affect the performance evaluations of subordinates (Castilla 2011). Thus, to the extent that homophily helps sustain unequal outcomes in the workplace, then increasing women's representation in powerful positions would be followed by a reduction in inequality.

Organizational demographers also link the representation of various groups in organizations with processes that generate or undercut inequality (e.g., Pfeffer 1983; Shenhav and Haberfeld 1992; Stewman 1988). This line of research centers on groups' interest in reducing discrimination based on ascriptive characteristics (Baron 1991). Kanter (1977) also links the representation of women in powerful positions with inequality through the "strength-in-numbers" view, which posits that increasing women's representation in these positions raises their organizational standing relative to men. A similar perspective was offered by Tienda and Lii (1987) who argued that women are better positioned to challenge superordinate groups' control over jobs and opportunities when their representation in a labor market is high. Finally, as many have argued (see Baron et al. 1991; Hirsh 2009; Huffman et al. 2010; Hultin and Szulkin 1999) organizational leaders are a marked source of internal pressure, and as such, their characteristics influence organizational adaptation and, consequently, workplace inequality.

As Kurtulus and Tomaskovic-Devey (2012) note, there are other mechanisms which involve the direct actions of female managers that could account for an equalizing effect of female managers. For example, female managers may be more effective at, and interested in, recruiting other both managerial (see Cohen et al. 1998) and non-managerial women from other firms (Carrington and Troske 1995, 1998). Although the latter mechanism would not directly increase women's representation in management, as

would recruiting other female managers, it would increase women's representation in the pipeline of potential managers, improving the odds of internal recruitment into management (Kurtulus and Tomaskovic-Devey 2012). Additionally, female managers may act as mentors to other women, facilitating their accumulation of firm-specific human capital and thereby helping boost them into management roles (Athey et al. 2000; Kurtulus and Tomaskovic-Devey 2012).

Moreover, women managers may simply be more supportive of the kinds of employer policies and practices that seek to reduce gender inequality. Cohen and Huffman (2007) reported evidence that suggests such a difference. Specifically, they found that in the 1996 General Social Survey, female managers were 32 % more likely than male managers to agree with the statement, "Because of past discrimination, employers should make special efforts to hire and promote qualified women." Combining managerial and non-managerial workers, the gender difference was small, but still statistically significant. Of course, one should interpret this judiciously, with an abundance of caution about overinterpretation. We need much more evidence before we can conclude that attitudes toward gender inequality and its possible remedies differ by gender among managers. That said, this does suggest that women may be stronger supporters of efforts toward workplace equality than men. This implies that female managers could be agents of change and promote gender equality.

Finally, female managers may also shape inequality in organizations indirectly. The indirect effects function through processes rooted in social cognition. For example, visible women leaders may subvert stereotypes that women managers are less effective than male managers (Kurtulus and Tomaskovic-Devey 2012), resulting in less gender-biased leader subschemas (Perry et al. 1994). Women's presence in management may decrease the salience of sex as a relevant category (Ely 1995), thereby shaping all workers' beliefs about women leaders. As Kurtulus and Tomaskovic-Devey (2012) have noted, when stereotypes about the leadership-relevant competencies are undermined, both

taste-based (see Becker 1957) and statistical discrimination (see Aigner and Cain 1977; Bielby and Baron 1986) become more difficult to implement in organizations. In these ways, the presence of women in high status positions in organizations may weaken men's advantage by changing the structural context of work settings (Lucas 2003; Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999).

Why Female Managers Might Not Matter

Although the question of whether female managers reduce inequality is ultimately an empirical question, there are sound reasons for asserting that it is not the case. A basic explanation hinges on the poor structural positions that female managers may occupy. That is, if "title inflation," (Jacobs 1992) or other processes that preserves (or even widens) the gender gap in workplace authority among managers are salient, then female managers may not have the organizational power to act upon, their managerial titles notwithstanding. If female managers tend to cluster in low-power managerial ghettos, they may be unable to bolster the careers of other women (Cohen and Huffman 2007; Denmark 1993). Also, as Charles and Grusky (2004) point out, the desegregation of management occurring after the 1970s was accompanied by increasing organizational bureaucratization. This could suggest bounds on the power of lower-level managers to enact change in organizations. Additionally, a process of selection into management could operate that works against the female managers as agents of change perspective. Specifically, if only those women that are sympathetic to the status quo are promoted into management positions where they potentially could make a difference, then integrating management would have little effect on patterns of inequality (Cohen and Huffman 2007). Although Cohen and Huffman (2007) reported more support among female managers than their male counterparts for employer policies aimed at reducing discrimination (as reported in the previous section), this remains a viable hypothesis, especially

at upper-levels of management. This explanation aligns somewhat with the "queen bee" perspective (Staines et al. 1974), which asserts that successful women do not assist other women, and are instead co-opted by the male-dominated system and champion the same norms as men who hold powerful positions. Thus, even if female managers occupy positions that potentially enable them to act on behalf of their female subordinates, they may be unwilling to do so.

Finally, according to status characteristics theory (Berger et al. 1977; Lucas 2003; Ridgeway 2011), both women and men harbor biases that translate into gender inequality. Following this theory, beliefs regarding status characteristics such as age, race, and gender shape evaluations of an individual's prestige and competence (Berger et al. 1972; Correll et al. 2007; Ridgeway 2011). The general view that women are lower status than men shapes individuals' expectations about women's competence, which, in turn, leads to biased judgments and valuations of their actions (Ridgeway 1997). This leads to a systematic devaluation of work performed by groups judged to be low status, such as women. Importantly, because status beliefs are held by both men and women, we would expect both male and female managers to both hold lower expectations of women's work and to deem it of lower value than similar work performed by men (see Ridgeway and Correll 2004, 2006). Therefore, it follows that the gender of managers should be predictive of the severity of inequality in work organizations or labor markets.

Some research suggests that women and men harbor similar biases that may translate into gender bias and unequal outcomes. For example, Mobley (1982) reported that performance evaluations of workers at a large distribution center were similar when supervisors and workers were the same versus different genders. In addition, in an audit study of the evaluation of curriculum vitae, Steinpreis et al. (1999) found that gender biases were held by both male and female faculty members. Finally, some experimental research also supports this perspective. In one example, Heilman and Haynes's (2005) experimental study demonstrates that both women and men view women as less influential and competent. In contrast, it should be noted that some work in relational demography (e.g., Tsui and O'Reilly 1989) does demonstrate that supervisors' ratings are higher when supervisors and subordinates are of the same sex. Thus, although there is no clear answer about how similarity among supervisors and subordinates affects performance ratings and other outcomes that are associated with workplace inequality, certainly an argument could be made, based on status characteristics theory and related work, that the degree of inequality is unrelated to the gender of managers.

The Empirical Evidence

Empirically, the question of whether female managers matter for gender inequality is harder to answer than it might appear. At the individual level, managers differ on a number of dimensions besides gender, as do the workers they supervise. Managers make their decisions in workplaces that also differ in ways that may affect gender inequality. And, furthermore, those workplaces are themselves nested in local labor markets and legal and institutional environments that have been shown to affect gender inequality. Therefore, there is variability at many interrelated levels. The many moving parts for researchers to contend with sets an extremely high bar for establishing causality; for example, is it really female managers that make a difference in reducing the wage gap, or do workplaces that employ many female managers have smaller wage gaps because they systematically differ in other ways? The ability to tell a causal story is compounded by the kinds of data that are currently available to researchers interested in this question, and the associated compromises that must be made as a result.

That said, although the question is not settled, a burgeoning body of empirical research establishes that the gender composition of managers is indeed an important part of the story of gender inequality in work organizations. One notable challenge has been the lack of workplace-level data to test this and related ques-

tions. This is important because if managers do in fact matter, their influence is most likely seen in actual workplaces, the most proximate site of their influence. Ideally, we would like to be able to confidently match workers to their managers. Of course, that is not always possible, and, when it is, the data analyzed are often employment records from a single firm or agency, which limits generalizability.

Recently, however, scholars began addressing the question of whether women's representation in management shapes gender inequality by analyzing longitudinal data from the annual EEO-1 reports, which are collected by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as mandated by Title VII of the 1964 U.S. Civil Rights Act.[1] These data describe medium and large private sector workplaces – those that are required to file a yearly EEO-1 report. The EEO-1 includes information on the gender composition of managers at each workplace, and workplaces are followed over time, facilitating longitudinal analyses. Another strength is their size – they include a very large number of workplaces. However, because they were collected primarily to monitor protected groups' representation in U.S. workplaces, and not to test the kinds of theory-driven hypotheses that are the foundation of much academic research, the EEO-1 data are extremely limited in many ways. For example, they do not include information on workplace policies and procedures, or any employee-level information (such as wages or tenure). The structure of the EEO-1 data also limit researchers to a small number of inequality-related outcomes for analysis. For example, the counts by job title allow one to compute the level of gender segregation in each workplace, or examine the level of representation of women (and other groups) in each job category. A detailed discussion of the strengths of the EEO-1 data can be found in Robinson et al. (2005).

In my view, analyses of the EEO-1 data provide some of the strongest evidence supporting the view that female managers are associated with lower levels of gender inequality. Two studies have analyzed the influence of women's representation in management to women's advancement and workplace gender segregation, two important markers of gender inequality. Kurtulus and Tomaskovic-Devey (2012) asked whether female managers facilitate women's advancement in U.S. workplaces. Their longitudinal analysis (spanning 1990–2003) tested whether women's representation among mid-level managers was increased by the presence of female top managers. Their findings suggest that in fact women's presence among top managers was positively related to their share of lower-level managerial positions. Several features of Kurtulus and Tomaskovic-Devey's (2012) analysis buttress the causal story. First, by exploiting the longitudinal structure of the EEO-1 data, they estimated a series of fixed effects models, which greatly reduces concerns about endogeneity because these models control for all stable, unmeasured attributes of the workplaces they analyzed. Our confidence that the effect of female managers was isolated is heightened by their diverse set of controls, which included firm size, workforce composition, industry-specific time trends, federal contractor status, and year fixed effects. Using a different set of models, Kalev et al. (2006) also examined the organizational factors which might promote managerial diversity in private-sector establishments. They also found that workplace with a greater proportion of women among top managers who are women also had higher percentages of women at lower managerial levels.

Another longitudinal analysis (spanning 1975–2005) of the EEO-1 data was provided by Huffman et al. (2010). They tested whether increases in women's share of managerial positions in the U.S. explained subsequent changes in the degree of gender segregation among non-managerial workers. Their analysis also relied on fixed effects regression models, and demonstrated that increases in women's representation in management significantly affected the rate at which

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[1] The EEO-1 data are not publicly available. Matt L. Huffman obtained the data for analysis from the EEOC through an Intergovernmental Personnel Act (IPA) agreement.

workplaces integrated their non-managerial workforces. Importantly, as gender segregation undergirds wage inequality, the findings of Huffman et al. (2010), by implication, suggest that the presence of female managers is also linked to the gender pay gap. Finally, although analyses based on the EEO-1 reports provide a compelling story about the overall effect of female managers on inequality, It is important to note that those data do not help us understand or test the mechanisms through which female managers exert their influence.

Other analyses based on establishment-level data support the idea that female managers are agents of change. Perhaps most notably, Hultin and Szulkin (2003) analyzed linked employer-employee data from Swedish private-sector workplaces, offering a direct test of the effect of female managers on wages. Controlling for industry and differences across both individuals and work establishments, they find a negative relationship between the proportion of women in managerial positions and gender wage gap among non-managerial workers (for both white- and blue-collar workers). Similarly, Hultin and Szulkin (1999) analyzed the 1991 Swedish Level of Living Survey, which also links respondents to their places of employment. They concluded that the gender composition of organizational power structures is a strong predictor of gender wage inequality.

Other analyses of the effect of female managers have relied on labor force data to approximate jobs. For example, Cohen and Huffman (2007) modeled variation in the adjusted gender wage gap across local labor markets in the United States. In the absence of workplace level data with information about jobs, they used U.S. Census data to simulate jobs. These constructed jobs, in which individual workers were nested, were in turn nested in local industries. Local industries were defined as the intersection of a 3-digit industry category and a U.S. metropolitan area, for example, the restaurant industry in Los Angeles. Cohen and Huffman (2007) reported a large equalizing effect of women's representation in managerial jobs on gender earnings inequality. Unlike analyses based on the EEO-1 data, Cohen and Huffman (2007) were able to test whether the effect depended on the status of the female managers. They found a stronger effect for high-status managers, who presumably are better positioned to take actions to promote wage equality. Cohen and Huffman's (2007) study stands out for its sophisticated data construction which, in some ways, allows a very stringent test of the female manager effect. However, the cross-sectional nature of the data potentially weakens the causal argument. As Maume (2011) has correctly asserted, endogeneity would undermine the results if unmeasured variables are associated with both the gender composition of management and the gender wage gap. Another potential weakness is the inability to clearly and unambiguously match employees to their managers. Although steps were taken to address this, as well as the endogeneity issue, these concerns indirectly illustrate the strengths of longitudinal analyses based on establishment-level data.

Space limitations preclude a detailed discussion of a large number of studies that support the contention that female managers influence gender inequality. I have focused on a somewhat small set of relatively recent studies that capture some of the different types of data and approaches that have been used. Other important studies that support the female managers as agents of change include Baron et al.'s (1991) longitudinal study of California state agencies, Bell's (2005) study of women-led firms, Carrington and Troske's (1995) study of the link between the gender of business owners and the gender composition of businesses' workforce, Cardoso and Winter-Ebmer's (2010) examination of gender inequality in Portugal, Cohen et al.'s (1998) analysis of savings and loans, Cotter, et al.'s (1997) multilevel analysis of occupational gender segregation and the wage gap, Gorman's (2005) analysis of U.S. law firms, Skaggs et al.'s (2012) multilevel analysis of workplaces nested in firms, and Stainback and Kwon's (2012) analysis of both public and private sector workplaces from the 2005 Korean Workplace Panel Survey.

It should also be noted that the effect of female leaders has also been shown to extend to other

contexts, such as education and politics. For example, in a study of a sample of law schools, Chused (1988) found that the odds that a female law professor would be tenured was higher when she was part of a faculty with a higher proportion of already-tenured women. Research has also shown that universities with a larger proportion of female administrators (or a female president) are more gender integrated than other universities (see Kulis 1997; Pfeffer et al. 1995). And, there is some evidence that responsiveness to constituents' concerns is increased when they share ascriptive characteristics with their female and minority political leaders (Bratton and Haynie 1999; Mansbridge 1999).

To be sure, there is mounting evidence – both based on data from the U.S. and other countries – supporting the contention that their presence in powerful positions in organizational hierarchies is associated with lower levels of various forms of gender-based inequality. Some of the empirical evidence is gleaned from research employing large data sets describing U.S. workplaces, with a subset of this work exploiting panel data which permits rigorous tests. Some comes from analyses of specific industries and government agencies. That said, the case is far from closed. Indeed, some recent research suggests that in some industries and for particular outcomes, patterns of inequality may not be associated with women's presence in management. One study (Penner et al. 2012), notable for its use of employment records from a single employer (a grocery retailer). The longitudinal, multi-establishment data they analyzed covered a 9-year span and focused on whether the gender of store managers affected the gender wage gap. Their data allowed them to look at within-establishment inequality, which is an important feature of their research design. By showing that the gender gap in pay was largely invariant across establishments that varied according to the gender of the store manager, their results contradict the female managers as agents of change perspective.

In a similar vein, Maume (2011) analyzed data from the 2002 National Study of the Changing Workforce, asking whether supervisors' gender affected subordinates' ratings of (a) the job-related support they are provided by their supervisors, and (b) a single-item measure of subordinates' ratings of their likelihood of promotion. By finding supervisors' gender to be unrelated to both outcomes, Maume's (2011) findings appear to be at odds with the agents of change perspective. However, it should be noted that his outcome variables (based on workers' perceptions of support and likelihood of promotion) markedly differ from the more traditional stratification variables (such as segregation and wage inequality) used in related research on the effect of female managers. Clearly, these differences in the outcome measures could account for the lack of support for the agents of change perspective. Maume's (2011) study underscores the need to reconcile why there is increasingly strong evidence for the agents of change perspective when outcomes such as wages and job segregation are considered, much weaker evidence when workers' perceptions of their career prospects are under investigation. Maume (2011: 296) suggests one way these sets of results can be squared; unfortunately, the data he analyzes does not permit the adjudicating test. Taken together, these studies imply that the equalizing effect of female leaders may vary across outcomes as well as organizational and industrial contexts. As part of their analysis of U.S. workplaces, Huffman et al. (2010) found the effect of female leaders to be stronger in larger and growing workplaces.

Subjecting these kinds of questions to empirical scrutiny is extremely difficult given the kinds of data sets that are available to researchers. Some of the key questions and theoretical debates regarding the effect of subordinate groups' representation in managerial roles have in some ways outstripped what the data allow. This problem applies to the study of race and gender inequality within and across work organizations, more generally, where data describing workplaces are frustratingly rare. That said, future research would benefit immeasurably the payoff from testing the interactions between the demographic mix in powerful positions and various organizational and industrial characteristics, as this approach would provide newfound leverage on the question of why female leaders might matter

(see Huffman et al. 2010 for a related discussion). This will require renewed energies focused on data collection efforts. Specifically, a central goal should be data collection focused on collecting data that links managers directly to their subordinates. This would allow us to more confidently link the actions and decisions of those in managerial positions to patterns of inequality among their supervisees. Of course, the ideal data collection effort would also target the characteristics of both workers and their supervisors as well as the characteristics of the work organization in which they are embedded. And, as argued earlier, longitudinal data would provide the most stringent tests of causality, allowing researchers to better address issues of unobserved heterogeneity.

Conclusion

Undeniably, management is a crucial site of gender inequality. Managerial jobs are highly coveted and for good reason. They bestow both pecuniary and non-pecuniary benefits on their incumbents. It follows that differential access to these jobs for women is foundational for gender inequality on a host of measures. There is no doubt progress toward equal access to managerial jobs and occupations has been made – taking even a medium-length look back reveals a dramatic rise in women's representation in these positions. That said, progress has slowed, and we should add trends in women's representation in management to the list of indicators showing stalling progress. And, we need a better understanding of patterns of inequality among managers. This will aid us greatly in answering the crucial question of whether women's progress in management is real or simply an artifact of, for example, bureaucratization and reclassification. Clearly, if increases in women's representation occurs concomitantly with increases in other forms of inequality, our conclusions about progress toward gender equality will be less upbeat. Thus, to assess women's progress in management, we need to know much more than the share of high-status jobs that they hold.

Management is also critical for understanding gender inequality not only because of what managers get for being managers, but because of what managers actually do. The decisions they make and the policies they enact have profound consequences for individuals' careers, and, by extension, work-based inequality. A growing body of research shows that the gender of managers matters – but this work is far from complete and would also benefit greatly from ambitious theorizing and data collection efforts. Of course, To the extent that the gender make-up of managers is predictive of other important inequality related outcomes, the question of what affects gender diversity at the top of organizational hierarchies becomes increasingly important. The factors that affect women's access to powerful managerial positions are likely to have ripple effects that extend well beyond that outcome, as their effects work indirectly through increasing managerial diversity. Clearly, we need more research on both fronts to uncover the mechanisms that lead to increased diversity in top management positions and to understanding how managerial diversity shapes the opportunities and attainments of those working below management. Of course, the promise of this work pivots on new and ambitious data collection efforts that allow us to more rigorously test how specific organizational policies and practices and other factors shape access to top management positions for members of protected groups.

Finally, empirical findings regarding the study of the effects of changing demographic composition atop organizational hierarchies have clear policy implications. The mounting evidence that women's increased access to managerial positions weakens gender inequality at lower levels should renew interest in the policies and practices associated with weaker barriers into management for protected groups. Some evidence suggests that organizational practices promoting equal employment opportunity and anti-discrimination policies are associated with greater workplace opportunities, generally, as well as increased access to management (Donohue and Siegelman 1991; Kalev and Dobbin 2006; Skaggs 2008). It follows that stronger enforcement could be effec-

tive in reversing the trend toward stalling progress toward gender equality discussed previously. That said, simply increasing women's representation in management may not be enough, as some findings (e.g., Cohen and Huffman 2007) suggest that positive managerial effects on inequality may be most pronounced at higher levels of management. Thus, gender integration at the lower levels of management may not produce the ripple effects that may come with gender integration of positions with real, substantive power and authority. Change that is merely symbolic, or occurring only at the lower levels of management are likely to be ineffectual. For larger patterns of inequality to improve with women's (and, by extension, other protected groups') representation, interventions may be needed at multiple levels to produce organizational leaders that are more than simply "glorified secretaries" (Jacobs 1992).

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In the Company of Women: The Well-Being Consequences of Working with (and for) Other Women

12

Carol T. Kulik, Isabel Metz, and Jill A. Gould

"Mean girls at work" (Rezvani 2012). "The tyranny of the Queen Bee" (Drexler 2013). "Female enemy number one – other women" (Adonis 2013). "Backlash: Women bullying women at work" (Meece 2009). These sensationalist headlines, printed in major newspapers, are seen by millions of readers around the world. "Sexy news anchor Nicole Brewer bitches out weather lady on live TV" (YouTube 2013). This video, showing two female coworkers fighting on television, went viral with over three million views. The media regularly presents claims that women cannot work effectively with other women – and the public eat them up.

These media portrayals of women's workplace relationships are particularly confronting for academic researchers studying gender issues in organizations because they fly in the face of two longstanding robust literatures. First, the stereotype literature demonstrates that gender stereotypes usually portray women as warm (Fiske et al. 2002), communal (Heilman 2001), and sensitive to relationships (Kray and Thompson

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2005). Stereotypes are both prescriptive and descriptive (Kulik and Olekalns 2012), so even women who might not "naturally" act warm and communal are likely to find themselves compelled to act that way in many contexts. Second, the social categorization literature suggests that these warm, communal, relationship-sensitive behaviors ought to be compounded when women get together in the workplace. Several psychological theories (Byrne 1961; Tajfel and Turner 1986; Turner et al. 1987) predict that similar others will feel attracted to one another and work well together.

Our purpose in writing this chapter is to review the evidence about whether working with, and for, women is good (or bad) for female employees' well-being. Where there is conflicting evidence, we try and find a way to reconcile the differences. Employee well-being encompasses the psychological, physical and social consequences of work (Grant et al. 2007) and is reflected in employee behavior, including productivity and turnover (Danna and Griffin 1999; Page and Vella-Brodrick 2009). Therefore, we examine the consequences of working in the company of women for women's psychological and social well-being (e.g., job satisfaction and organizational commitment) as well as their career and financial well-being (e.g., advancement and pay).

Positive social relationships play an important role in cultivating individual well-being at work

(Simon et al. 2010). Relationships affect both subjective outcomes (e.g., organizational commitment) and objective outcomes (e.g., career advancement) because pay and promotion decisions, especially about female employees, reflect evaluators' assessments of an employee's performance *and* likeability (Kulik and Olekalns 2012). In our review we consider relationships with peers (coworkers and employees at one's own organizational level) and with organizational mentors and supervisors (colleagues at higher organizational levels). Peers, mentors and supervisors are all potential sources of social support and career counseling. However, these three roles involve different levels of responsibility for employee well-being. Peer interactions are more informal but more frequent than interactions with mentors or supervisors (Chiaburu and Harrison 2008). Mentors usually focus on an employee's longer-term career growth while supervisors are more focused on short-term progress and productivity (Raabe and Beehr 2003).

Relational Demography: Sex Effects in Groups

Relational demography research focuses on the relationship between an individual's characteristics (e.g., sex, race or age) and the distribution of those same characteristics in an organizational unit (e.g., a workgroup, a department or a dyadic relationship) (Riordan 2000; Tsui and Gutek 1999). Relational demography predictions generally draw upon social categorization theory (Turner et al. 1987), social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986), and status characteristics theory (Berger et al. 1977; Foschi 1989; Wagner and Berger 1993). Social categorization theory suggests that people use observable differences (including sex) to differentiate themselves from other people. Gender is one of the most visible and salient demographic dimensions, and it prompts immediate and largely automatic categorization processes (Kulik and Bainbridge 2006). People who are similar (e.g., same-sex)

are categorized as in-group members; people who are different (e.g., opposite-sex) are categorized as out-group members.

Categorizations are not evaluatively neutral (Kulik and Bainbridge 2006). First, people favor their own categories. People are motivated to enhance and maintain a positive social identity and so, according to social identity theory, they may exaggerate between-group differences so that their own in-group is consistently viewed more positively than the out-group. People perceive in-group members as more trustworthy, honest, and cooperative than out-group members (Turner et al. 1987). Second, society attaches value to categories. Demographic factors (including sex) acquire status value as people within a society come to agree that membership in one demographic group is somehow better than membership in another (Ridgeway 1991; Ridgeway and Erickson 2000). These characteristics then in turn become associated with cultural beliefs that members of the more valued group are also more competent. For example, research suggests that it is perceived as more worthy or valuable to be male than female (e.g., Broverman et al. 1972; Eagly and Wood 1982) and men are widely judged to be more competent than women (Eagly 1987; Fiske et al. 2002; Wood and Karten 1986).

Social categorization/social identity theories predict that people who work in workgroups or organizations with large numbers of same-sex coworkers (a high degree of sex similarity) will experience psychological benefits. Perceived similarity among in-group members eases interpersonal interactions, facilitates communication, and builds friendships (Guillaume et al. 2012); these processes make it easier for same-sex coworkers to find common topics of conversation and generate pleasant interactions (Konrad et al. 2010). Employees who have a high level of sex similarity with their coworkers are expected to identify more with the unit, to feel more included, and to experience less interpersonal conflict with their coworkers (Avery et al. 2013).

Social categorization/social identity processes suggest that high levels of sex similarity generate

psychological benefits for any employee, but working women may particularly benefit from high levels of sex similarity in their workgroups. Traditional organizations are male-dominated, and so women are likely to constitute a numerical minority in their workgroup or unit, and in the organization as a whole (Chattopadhyay et al. 2008). People who are in a numeric minority have a heightened awareness of demographic differences (Chatman et al. 1998; McGuire and McGuire 1981) and they are more visible among their peers (Fiske and Taylor 1991). Further, status characteristics theory suggests that women are viewed as a lower status group than men (Ridgeway 1991). Therefore, their numeric distinctiveness is more likely to generate negative social consequences (e.g., social exclusion) in male-dominated environments (Konrad et al. 2010). As a result, working in female-dominated units might deliver especially high psychological benefits to women. We'll see if they do.

I Like Working with People Like Me

In general, the research does suggest that working in units with high percentages of women generates psychological benefits for women. Female-dominated units seem to create particularly positive and supportive environments. For example, women who work in units with a larger percentage of women report less gender harassment (Konrad et al. 2010; Rosen and Martin 1997) and sex-based discrimination (Avery et al. 2008; Stainback et al. 2011). They experience higher levels of group cohesiveness (Goldberg et al. 2010) and less conflict with their coworkers (Chattopadhyay et al. 2008). They are more willing to share new ideas (LePine and Van Dyne 2001) and are more creative in the workplace (Choi 2007). Their performance is highly rated by their peers, suggesting that they are highly valued by their coworkers (Elfenbein and O'Reilly 2007). They report the highest levels of organizational commitment, overall positive affect and within-group cooperation (Chatman and O'Reilly 2004).

So, at the workgroup level, the research supports social categorization/social identity predictions. Women who are surrounded by other women at work report supportive group processes and more positive attitudes. What's not to like?

Show Me the Money

The problem is that these positive psychological outcomes may be experienced at a cost. Economic outcomes may be lower for women working in groups with a high percentage of women. This effect is explained by status characteristics theory: high status identity groups enjoy relatively munificent and rewarding work environments (Konrad et al. 2010), and men constitute a high status identity group in society (Ridgeway 1991). Women, therefore, may reap economic benefits as a result of associating themselves with the high-status work units populated by men. An early body of research demonstrated that, at the organizational and occupational levels, average wages decreased with greater female representation (Baron and Bielby 1980; Pfeffer and Davis-Blake 1987; Reilly and Wirjanto 1999). Importantly, an increase in female representation lowers wages for everyone, both men and women, suggesting that the organization or the occupation itself becomes devalued as a consequence of a greater concentration of female workers (Bird 1990).

More recently, researchers have demonstrated a similar effect at the workgroup level. Ostroff and Atwater (2003) found that an individual manager's pay was significantly lower when his or her peers, subordinates, or supervisors were largely female. For each referent group, there was a critical "tipping point": At 40–50 % female representation, the manager's pay level took a particularly big hit. These effects were additive, and so female managers experienced the most dramatic effects: female managers were most likely to work with, supervise, and be supervised by, other women.

Trading the Old Shoe for a New Manolo?

The evidence that groups with a high percentage of women generate psychological benefits, but not economic benefits, for women may explain a paradox. Social categorization/social identity theories suggest that sex similarity should generate high levels of attachment, and usually attachment is displayed in both affective commitment to the unit and a greater intention to remain in the unit. Some researchers (e.g., Elvira and Cohen 2001) demonstrated that female workers are less likely to leave when they have more female peers. But other researchers have found the opposite effect: female workers are more likely to leave when more women are employed at their job level (e.g., McGinn and Milkman 2012) or in their organizational units (e.g., Bygren 2010; Tolbert et al. 1995). There may, in fact, be contradictions between affective and behavioral reactions to sex-similarity among peers. Chatman and O'Reilly (2004), for example, found that women reported high levels of organizational commitment when they worked in sex-homogenous workgroups – but were nonetheless more likely than men to *leave* sex-homogenous workgroups. Women may feel very comfortable in workgroups with high levels of sex similarity. But if women recognize that their female-dominant workgroups have less power and influence, and receive lower compensation, they seem to be willing to move out of them.

Relational Demography: Sex Effects in Dyads

Relational demography is not just relevant to understanding women's relationships with groups. In fact, the relational processes predicted by social categorization/social identity theories may be even more powerful within dyads, affecting the quality of mentoring and supervisory relationships (Schaffer and Riordan 2013). Perceived similarity facilitates communication and builds relationships (Guillaume et al. 2012), so

members of same sex mentoring and supervisory dyads should experience high levels of confidence, trust and comfort. Same sex mentors and supervisors should be better positioned than opposite gender mentors and supervisors to empathize with a female employee's problems and provide gender-appropriate advice. For example, they may be more helpful to a female employee trying to resolve incongruities between a gender role and an organizational one (Eagly and Karau 2002) or balance work-family demands (Parker and Kram 1993). As a result, same sex mentors and supervisors should be able to deliver more support to female employees. And since organizational support is associated with employee well-being (Babin and Boles 1996; Baruch-Feldman et al. 2002), female employees should experience greater benefits from their associations with female mentors and supervisors. Thus, social categorization/social identity theories predict that female-female mentoring and supervisory relationships should be particularly effective in delivering psychological (e.g., high job satisfaction) and instrumental (e.g., career advancement) benefits to female employees. We'll see if they do.

Will You Mentor Me?

Mentors are experienced and influential senior organizational members who provide psychological support and career development to less experienced and more junior employees (Kram 1983). In a compelling meta-analysis of the sprawling mentoring literature, Allen et al. (2004) demonstrated that employees with mentors report greater job and career satisfaction, higher organizational and career commitment, higher compensation, and more promotions than employees without mentors. These subjective (e.g., satisfaction and commitment) and objective (e.g., salary and promotions) outcomes derive from two distinct mentoring functions (Allen et al. 2004; Kram 1983). "Psychosocial functions are those aspects of the relationship that primarily enhance sense of competence, clarity of identity, and effectiveness in the managerial role" (Kram 1983: 614).

Career functions include "those aspects of the relationship that primarily enhance career advancement" (Kram 1983: 614). Psychosocial functions have a greater impact on affective outcomes, especially the mentee's satisfaction with the mentoring relationship; career functions have a stronger impact on objective career success indicators, such as pay and promotions (Allen et al. 2004).

The research literature clearly demonstrates that female employees benefit from mentoring. Having a mentor increases women's job satisfaction and career optimism (Burke et al. 2006) and their advancement within management levels (Metz and Tharenou 2001). Because mentoring has such clear benefits for women's career success, the management literature has long recommended that women seek mentors and urged organizations to find mentors for women (e.g., Burke and McKeen 1990; Burt 1998; Ibarra 1997; Linehan 2001).

But is it better for female employees to have a female mentor than a male mentor? It depends on whether you focus on the psychosocial or career functions of the mentoring relationship. Demographic similarity is believed to facilitate mentor-mentee identification and liking (Lankau et al. 2005; Ragins 1997). Female mentors, therefore, should deliver the greatest psychosocial benefits to female mentees – and they frequently do. For example, Wallace (2001) found that female lawyers with female mentors reported more career satisfaction and a greater intention to continue working in the legal profession than female lawyers with male mentors. Ragins and Cotton (1999) found that female mentees with female mentors were more likely to engage in social activities with their mentors than mentees in any other demographic composition. Settles et al. (2007) found that mentoring by other women, but not by men, enhanced a sense of voice for female scientists. These psychosocial benefits of same-sex mentoring are important for employee well-being, and they may be difficult to achieve in cross-sex mentoring relationships where intimacy is hindered by concerns of sexual innuendo (Allen and Eby 2004). However, they may also be short-lived.

Researchers suggest that the advantages of same-sex mentoring may be most visible in the early stages of the relationship (Avery et al. 2008; Lankau et al. 2005; Turban et al. 2002). Demographic differences may impede relationships in the early stages, but these differences are overcome as mentors and mentees learn more about one another and identify deeper levels of commonality (Lankau et al. 2005).

In contrast to the positive psychosocial functions observed within female-female mentoring relationships, these relationships are disadvantaged with respect to career functions; both male and female mentees experience career benefits as a result of having male mentors. Dreher and Cox (1996) found that only MBA graduates (regardless of their own sex or race) who established mentoring relationships with White men displayed a compensation advantage, earning 22,454 USD more than graduates without mentors. Similarly, Ragins and Cotton (1999) demonstrated that both male and female mentees with a history of male mentors reported significantly higher compensation than mentees with a history of female mentors.

What drives these career advantages? First, male mentors may simply pay more attention to career functions than female mentors. In line with the gender role congruency hypothesis, whereby male managers are expected to be agentic (e.g., instrumental and self-sufficient) while women managers are expected to be communal (e.g., helpful and sympathetic) (Eagly and Karau 2002), a recent meta-analysis found that male mentors report giving more career development support to their mentees than female mentors while female mentors report giving more psychosocial support (O'Brien et al. 2010). But only career functions impact women's advancement (Metz 2009; Tharenou 2005) and earnings (Johnson and Scandura 1994). Psychosocial functions enhance women's job satisfaction (Burke et al. 2006) but are unrelated or even negatively related to career advancement (Metz 2009; Tharenou 2005).

Second, career functions performed by male mentors may have more impact on a mentee's outcomes than the same functions performed by

female mentors. Status characteristics theory (Ridgeway 1991) suggests that the benefit of a male mentor derive from the higher status that members of this demographic group enjoy in organizations (Ragins and Sundstrom 1989). Even women with high organizational status may be handicapped by the low status associated with their gender, excluded from male-dominated informal networks, and be less able to influence selection or promotion decisions (Murray and Syed 2010; Parker and Kram 1993).

Overall, then, the research suggests a tension in mentoring relationships that parallels the tension we discussed earlier in the group literature. Women may receive significant psychosocial support from female mentors, but they will experience career disadvantages without a male mentor. In fact, while both male and female mentees experience career benefits from male mentors (Avery et al. 2008; Dreher and Cox 1996), the benefits of a male mentor for female employees may be particularly potent. Dougherty et al. (2013) found that the effect of a senior male mentor (i.e. a high status mentor) on mentee compensation was stronger for female mentees than it was for male mentees, especially for female mentees working in male-gendered occupations. Dougherty et al. (2013: 11) suggest that in a male-dominated environment, a senior male mentor sends a strong signal (Spence 1973) to senior decision makers that a female employee is a "legitimate contender for upward career mobility".

Unfortunately, while women might be particularly likely to benefit from a male mentor, they are simultaneously less likely to find one. The likelihood of same-sex mentoring relationships is greater than that expected by chance (Turban et al. 2002). Most mentoring relationships are informal, and spontaneously develop from shared experiences between the mentor and mentee. Gender is likely to be a source of shared experience, so that men are more likely to be mentored by other men (Dreher and Cox 1996; Ragins 1989). This leaves women to be mentored by women, creating a new set of challenges. In most organizations, senior women are in scarce supply and experience high demand for their mentoring attention (Ely et al. 2011). Further, senior women

may be unwilling to mentor junior women because it places their status at risk (Kanter 1977; Parker and Kram 1993; Ragins 1999). Research suggests that women in lower- and mid-level management roles are less willing to mentor than their male counterparts (Ragins and Cotton 1993) although there are no gender differences among executives (Ragins and Scandura 1994). The reluctance of a senior female manager to mentor may be especially off-putting to a female subordinate, who might expect senior women to display more communal behavior (including a willingness to mentor) than senior men (Parker and Kram 1993).

Supervisors often serve as mentors to their direct reports (Burke 1984), so the reluctance of lower- and mid-level female managers to serve as mentors may be a particular disadvantage for women, who are more likely than men to rely on their supervisors for mentoring (Ragins and McFarlin 1990). This suggests that we need to also examine supervisory relationships: How does relational demography within a supervisory relationship affect women's well-being?

When the Boss Is a Woman

The supervisory relationship is particularly important for employee well-being because it contains frequent, possibly intense, interactions with long-term implications (Duffy and Ferrier 2003). A "good" boss is empathetic and treats his or her employees with consideration; a "bad" boss can be difficult, abrasive and even abusive (Frost 2007). These supervisory behaviors can impact both psychological and physical well-being. Gilbreath and Benson (2004), for example, found that a supervisor's behavior influenced an employee's psychological well-being even after controlling for the effects of relationships with family, friends, and coworkers. Kivimäki et al. (2000) found that exposure to workplace bullying increased an employee's absenteeism due to sickness.

A study of 550 managers found that both male and female employees experienced higher levels of social support, lower levels of depression, and

less work-family conflict when they were supervised by a woman (Moore et al. 2005). But is it better for female employees, in particular, to have a female supervisor rather than a male one? A few studies support predictions from social identify/social categorization theories and suggest that same-sex supervisors are a good thing. Employees sometimes report higher levels of trust and relationship quality in same-sex supervisory relationships than in cross-sex ones (Pelled and Xin 2000). In particular, research suggests that female employees enjoy higher levels of family support (Foley et al. 2006) and higher levels of organizational support (Konrad et al. 2010) from female supervisors than from male supervisors.

However, the results are far from consistent. Several studies suggest that female and male supervisors are equally good for women. For example, Schaffer and Riordan (2013) found that gender similarity/dissimilarity within the supervisory dyad had no discernible effects on employee ratings of supervisory support, discrimination, or relationship quality. Grissom et al. (2012) found that female teachers were equally satisfied, and equally likely to be retained, whether they reported to a female principal or a male one. Male teachers, in contrast, were less satisfied and more likely to leave when they were supervised by a female principal.

Further, an accumulating body of literature documents negative outcomes generated within the female-female supervisory dyad. Female subordinates report less trust (Jeanquart-Barone and Sekaran 1994) and lower relationship quality (Adebayo and Udegbe 2004; Elsesser and Lever 2011) when they report to female supervisors than to male ones. In one study, female-female supervisory relationships generated the lowest quality ratings of the four possible demographic combinations (Adebayo and Udegbe 2004). Female subordinates reporting to female supervisors report less job satisfaction and lower group morale than female subordinates reporting to male supervisors (South et al. 1982). They rate their female supervisors as less competent (Elsesser and Lever 2011) and more controlling (South et al. 1982). They experience more psychological distress (e.g., felt anxious, tense or worried) and more negative physical symptoms (e.g., headaches, stomach pain, fatigue) (Schieman and McMullen 2008).

What do female supervisors do to inspire these negative outcomes? Drawing on a cross-sectional sample of 839 men and 670 women, Maume (2011) provided initial evidence that female supervisors disadvantage their female subordinates by providing more support and promotion opportunities to their male subordinates. As a result of these career support advantages, male subordinates are significantly more optimistic about their advancement chances when the boss is female. These negative behaviors by female supervisors are not necessarily the norm – in a large Australian study of the barriers to, and facilitators of, women's advancement, female respondents rarely cited female superiors as barriers (Metz and Tharenou 2001). But negative behaviors by female supervisors appear with sufficient frequency to inspire a distrust of female supervisors. Most men and women express no preference for their boss's gender, but among employees who do have a preference, a male boss is preferred (Elsesser and Lever 2011). Female employees, in particular, learn to avoid senior women as a source of career support. They network with women for psychosocial support but network with high ranking men for instrumental career advice and opportunities (Chow and Ng 2007).

Why Women Don't Support Women

Our review to this point suggests that women do experience positive psychological outcomes as a result of working with women, both as peers and as mentors. Unfortunately, these psychological outcomes are not necessarily accompanied by economic ones, so women may be forced to make tradeoffs between their psychological and economic well-being (Kulik and Olekalns 2012). Increasing economic outcomes might require, for example, avoiding female-dominated workgroups or units and cultivating male mentors rather than female ones. But something seems to

go awry when a woman directly works for another woman – female-female supervisory relationships can generate low trust (Jeanquart-Barone and Sekaran 1994), low morale (South et al. 1982) and psychological and physical distress (Schieman and McMullen 2008). These results are surprising because supervisors usually set the tone for a workplace (Ambrose et al. 2013; Mawritz et al. 2012). If more female peers make a workplace more positive and supportive, one might expect that a female supervisor, with her greater access to resources, would have an even more potent and positive effect. We expect women in leadership positions to mentor women in lower-level jobs, act as role models, and remove barriers to women's advancement (Kurtulus and Tomaskovic-Devey 2012). However, women in these senior roles frequently fail to meet expectations that they will make organizations a better place for working women. For example, media observers (Applebaum 2013) have noted that Sheryl Sandberg, who has held senior executive roles at Google and Facebook, failed to alter the corporate culture of either company to the benefit of working women.

What goes wrong? The same theoretical perspectives – social categorization, social identity and status characteristics theories – that explain female-female benefits can explain female-female costs. On the one hand, social identity dynamics make junior women more expectant that senior women will engage with gender issues. And on the other hand, social identity dynamics can make senior women particularly reluctant to engage with such issues. This combination inevitably generates disappointment within a female-female supervisory dyad, as female subordinates raise the bar ever higher and female supervisors determinedly avoid clearing it.

Why Can't You Be More Like a Woman?

Successful managers are expected to have agentic qualities including being ambitious, assertive, decisive and self-reliant (Genat et al. 2012; Rudman and Phelan 2008); both male and female leaders display these behaviors (Eagly and Johnson 1990; Eagly et al. 1995). But there is a fundamental incongruity between these characteristics and those associated with the female gender stereotype (warm, nurturing, supportive; Fiske et al. 2002; Heilman 2001; Kray and Thompson 2005). These two stereotypes (managerial and gender) are applied simultaneously to female supervisors despite their contradictions. Female subordinates may not be surprised when male supervisors only display competence and emphasize performance but they expect their female supervisors to *also* display warmth and emphasize interpersonal relations (Bass and Avolio 1990; Williams and Best 1990). Further, while self-promotion and negotiation are generally viewed as female gender violations (Kulik and Olekalns 2012), advocating on behalf of other people aligns with gender stereotypes prescribing that women should help others (Amanatullah and Tinsley 2013; Bowles et al. 2005). All in all, female supervisors are *expected* to help their female subordinates in a way that male supervisors are not.

When female supervisors fail to display the supportive, helpful, or advocacy behavior dictated by gender stereotypes, female subordinates feel disappointed and reduce their commitment to working with the female supervisor (Rink and Ellemers 2006). Female subordinates may view competent female supervisors as *particularly* hostile and unfriendly (Derks et al. 2011). Both men and women endorse prescriptive gender stereotypes, but women exhibit more resistance to, and greater derogation of, "black sheep" colleagues who violate gender norms (e.g., Kulik and Holbrook 2000; Parks-Stamm et al. 2008; Rudman 1998). Upward ingroup (female subordinate-female supervisor) comparisons can be experienced as a threat to one's own ego (Brickman and Bulman 1977), so denigrating a competent successful female supervisor by describing her as unfriendly or unlikeable can be an effective self-defense strategy (Parks-Stamm et al. 2008). So, social comparison and social identity theories suggest that female subordinates may have unrealistic, inflated expectations of female supervisors. But what do the theories say about the female supervisors' behavior?

I'm Here in the Spotlight

The conflicting content of managerial and gender stereotypes may inevitably lead to female supervisors being construed as more agentic and less communal than other women even when they engage in communal behaviors (Conway et al. 1996). Therefore, even a warm, friendly and supportive female supervisor may be given less credit by a female subordinate for her gender role-congruent behavior than she deserves. But faced with these conflicting behavioral expectations, status characteristics theory suggests that some female supervisors may elect to emphasize their "masculine" managerial competencies rather than their "feminine" warmth (Schieman and McMullen 2008), deliberately distancing themselves from traditional gender stereotypes and aligning with managerial/male expectations. When people are aware that their *social* identity group (in this case, women) is negatively valued, one strategy to protect their *personal* identity is to behaviorally distance themselves from the social identity group and focus exclusively on their individual/personal outcomes. For example, Derks et al. (2011) found that women who started their careers with a weak gender identity, but who experienced gender discrimination as their careers advanced, were most likely to describe themselves in terms of masculine traits (e.g., independent, dominant, adventurous, courageous) and to stereotype female employees as less career oriented than male employees. Derks et al. (2011) explain that "low identifiers" experience a conflict between their personal career ambitions and the gender stereotypes expressed around them – a tension that can be relieved by disengaging from their gender group.

Female supervisors are likely to experience the pressures of their competing identities most acutely in male-dominated workgroups or organizations, because skewed gender distributions activate gender stereotypes (Perry et al. 1994). The combination of a low-status demographic characteristic (female; Ridgeway 1991) and numerical distinctiveness (token; Kanter 1977) may generate "value threat" (Duguid et al. 2012) – concerns about being seen as a valued organizational member. In general, members possessing low-status demographic characteristics are expected to be less competent, are given fewer opportunities to perform, and frequently have their contributions ignored (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). And when these low status members are a demographic minority (e.g., women in a male-dominated workgroup, organization, or position), they are subjected to increased performance pressure and isolated from social networks (Kanter 1977). A woman in this situation experiences other women as a threat – incompetent women reflect negatively on her (Duguid et al. 2012); competent women represent competition (Duguid et al. 2012; Parks-Stamm et al. 2008). A value-threatened woman will be reluctant to advocate for other women, preferring to distance herself from the low-status identity group. For example, Duguid (2011) demonstrated that minority women in high status workgroups were less likely to recommend a female candidate for hire.

The different relationships women experience with other women as a consequence of gender composition in senior roles was beautifully documented by Ely (1994, 1995) in her research on female attorneys. In sex-integrated law firms, there was a loose differentiation between the sexes so that female attorneys had more freedom to act stereotypically and counter-stereotypically. In male-dominated law firms, female attorneys were more likely to conform to their firm's masculine norms and expectations, explicitly differentiating their behavior from that of other women. They toned down their emotions and consciously modeled themselves after men. But these behaviors had a negative effect on the relationships between female junior attorneys and female partners in the male-dominated firms. Junior women were less likely to identify with female partners as a source of validation and support. In fact, the junior women expressed disappointment and frustration with the female partners for acting too much like men, failing to be accessible to other women, and being insufficiently "nice".

In the extreme, female supervisors in male-dominated units might not only fail to advocate for female subordinates, but might actively disparage or sabotage them. Female supervisors

might, for example, describe female subordinates as less committed (Ellemers et al. 2004), be less than enthusiastic about an organization's equal opportunity initiatives (Ng and Chiu 2001), or deny the existence of gender discrimination (Derks et al. 2011). Unfortunately, this behavior can have devastating effects on the well-being of all concerned. It deprives female supervisors of the support of other women, and may undermine the career ambitions and leadership opportunities for women as a group (Ellemers et al. 2012). It also can be damaging for the organization as a whole, because gender-based criticisms voiced by female supervisors are less likely to be identified as gender bias and therefore remain unchallenged (Baron et al. 1991).

Relational Demography: Sex Effects Across Levels

If female supervisors are especially likely to exhibit negative behavior when they are in a minority, we might be able to investigate whether it is good for women to be in the company of a larger proportion of senior women. In other words, it might be *bad* for a woman's well-being to be supervised by a woman who is a "token" (there are only a few female managers), but *good* for a woman's well-being to be supervised by a woman who has other professional same-sex peers (there is a significant proportion of female managers). Ryan et al. (2012, Study 2) designed a laboratory experiment to test this idea. They asked male and female professionals to imagine that they were hiring a subordinate who would work directly for them and rate the likelihood that they would provide supervisory support (e.g., help the subordinate succeed, mentor the subordinate, and show the subordinate the "ins and outs" of the company). The professionals also reported the gender distribution of their own work environments. The fewer the women in the female professionals' environments (i.e., the greater the "token" status of the decision-maker), the more they displayed a bias – they were more likely to support a male subordinate than a female

one. But male professionals were not affected by the gender distribution in their work environments. However, finding corroborating evidence for these laboratory results in the field requires a cross-level analysis of relational demography effects – effects that we are only beginning to see investigated in the literature.

Recently researchers have demonstrated group-level relational demography effects that simultaneously consider lower (subordinate) and upper (supervisor) levels. Joshi et al. (2006) documented pay differences between male and female sales employees working in a single large organization. However, these pay differences were less in units with proportionately more female managers. Similarly, Cohen et al. (1998) found that women were more likely to be promoted into a particular job level (focal level) when there were higher proportions of women at or above that level. Both research teams explain their results as caused by the ability of these senior managers to act on inequities. However, this ability to exert influence appears only when the proportion of women is high enough (at least 23–29 % female) so that senior women can form coalitions to affect organizational decisions (Cohen et al. 1998). This ability of senior women to exert influence is critical to women's well-being in the organization. Miner-Rubino et al. (2009) found that the proportion of senior women had a moderating effect on the relationship between an organization's gender diversity climate and women's health and job satisfaction. In a negative climate with many high-ranking women, lower-level female employees reported poor health and low job satisfaction. Miner-Rubino et al. (2009) suggest that the presence of many high-ranking women in a negative climate signals that something has gone very wrong – high-status women are doing nothing to improve the gender climate, even though they should have power to do so.

Elvira and Cohen (2001) found that, for lower level female employees, more women at their job level increased retention. However, more women immediately *above* their level, and more women at the *executive* level, increased the likelihood that these lower level female employees would exit.

But McGinn and Milkman (2012) found the opposite pattern: For female junior lawyers, more female junior lawyers decreased both the women's retention and their chance of promotion. However, more female senior lawyers decreased the likelihood that female junior lawyers would exit and increased their likelihood of promotion. These conflicting results emphasize how important it is to consider both the distance between levels and the specifics of the organizational context when we reflect on the benefits of sex similarity. Elvira and Cohen (2001) suggest that women in positions immediately above low-level positions may not have sufficient power to influence a company's policies or environment in ways that improve conditions for the women below them. In contrast, the senior lawyers in McGinn and Milkman's (2012) research were in very high status positions and had the opportunity to directly affect the junior lawyers' promotion prospects. In addition, the law firm McGinn and Milkman studied was an "up or out" organization, where junior lawyers (56 % male) directly competed with one another for very few promotion opportunities (senior 79 % male). In these circumstances, same-sex peers are competition, but same-sex supervisors can offer support and sponsorship. In contrast, the low-ranking women in Elvira and Cohen's Fortune 500 financial firm might have observed that women in the positions immediately above them have less power and lower status than men in the same roles (Murray and Syed 2010), making promotions into those jobs less desirable to the low-ranking women. In this firm, the non-executive levels were dominated by women; the executive levels were dominated by men.

These results, and the Ely (1994, 1995) results we described earlier, highlight the powerful effects of women at the top as organizational signals sent to lower level women. A scarcity of women in senior positions may signal to women lower down in the organization that their gender is a liability. These views interfere in the development of constructive developmental cross-level relationships between women that could help junior women to advance. But in sex-integrated firms, women are more likely to use senior women as a source of validation and support.

Implications for Working Women and Their Organizations

Results paint a complex picture about the well-being working women experience in the company of other women. First, our review highlights the evidence that female-dominated workgroups and female-female mentoring relationships facilitate some, but not all, dimensions of well-being. There is evidence that women experience positive psychological benefits (less gender harassment, more group cohesiveness, less group conflict) when their workgroups have higher percentages of women. There is evidence that women experience positive psychological benefits (more career satisfaction, more social interaction, a greater sense of voice) when they are mentored by other women. However, there is also evidence that women's wages might be negatively affected by the sex composition of their units and the sex of their mentor. These results suggest that women need to carefully weigh the benefits of working in female-dominated workgroups, occupations, or organizations against their economic implications. Being surrounded by women might generate skewed comparisons that set artificially low standards for appropriate wage rates (Bylsma and Major 1992). Women may need to develop multiple mentoring relationships to ensure that they derive both psychosocial and economic benefits (Eby 1997). The results also emphasize how important it is that organizations maintain continued vigilance in monitoring gender equity of pay and other economic outcomes (Bailyn 2003).

Second, our review demonstrates that the well-being working women experience by working *with* other women may not extend to their experience working *for* other women. The literature suggests that the token status of female supervisors may lead them to experience value threat (Duguid et al. 2012). The challenge of "fitting in" to a male-dominated workgroup, occupation, or organization may motivate senior women to distance themselves from their low-status gender identity group. These results remind us that gender stereotypes are ubiquitous and pervasive

(Roberson and Kulik 2007). Women, as well as men, endorse gender stereotypes, and a female subordinate's behavioral expectations for a female supervisor may include inflated expectations of warmth and support (Mavin 2006; Parker and Kram 1993). The results also emphasize that organizations cannot assume that the mere presence of women in supervisory positions will eliminate overt and subtle forms of gender discrimination (Duguid et al. 2012). Female supervisors may need gender-specific leadership development to learn how to escape the double-bind imposed by gender and managerial stereotypes (Ely et al. 2011). Greater numbers of female supervisors have to be complemented by positive climates (Miner-Rubino et al. 2009). Gender-conscious practices (e.g., monitoring organizational decisions for their impact on both women and men, comparing the outcomes and experiences of female and male employees, and providing gender-appropriate career development opportunities) might be particularly useful in creating an environment where women feel valued and increasing their organizational attachment (Ali et al. 2010).

Finally, our review demonstrates that the well-being of working women is more likely to be enhanced by the presence of other women when women have access to same-sex peers across all levels of the organization. Women throughout the organization experience greater well-being when *senior* women, in particular, are supported by same-sex peers. As women appear in greater numbers in upper organizational levels, senior managers are more likely to champion gender issues, and the organization is more likely to adopt female-friendly policies and practices (e.g., Ingram and Simons 1995). Higher proportions of women in senior roles signal to female applicants and lower level employees that their organization will be free of gender discrimination, so organizations that focus on gender diversity in the most senior roles may generate trickle-down gender diversity. Gould et al. (2013) found that having women on boards of organizations with no female executives increases the odds of the appointment of the first female executive. Further, in organiza-tions that already have at least one female executive, increases in female representation at board level lead to increases in the proportion of women at executive level (Gould et al. 2013). This research is supported by similar studies that found a positive relationship between female representation at senior organizational levels and female representation at lower levels of management (Kurtulus and Tomaskovic-Devey 2012; Matsa and Miller 2011). These results highlight the value of top-down rather than bottom-up approaches, focusing on getting more women into the highest levels of organizations through quotas or other regulatory policies.

The Emerging Research Agenda

The literature we reviewed in this chapter brings to the forefront several areas that should be high priorities for future research on women's well-being. First, our review demonstrates the value of focusing on the demographic distribution of men and women in organizational contexts. We encourage researchers to re-vitalize the research stream focusing on organizational demography's direct effects on organizational level outcomes. This stream was very active in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., Baron and Bielby 1980; Pfeffer and Davis-Blake 1987; Reilly and Wirjanto 1999) but it has slowed to a trickle. However, we also encourage researchers to explicitly cross levels of analysis to investigate how organization-level demography moderates relationships at the dyad- and individual-levels of analysis. For example, research suggests that the effects of mentor sex on female mentee well-being are different depending on the gender demography of the overall organization (Dougherty et al. 2013). Gender differences in employee job satisfaction, career aspirations, performance, organizational commitment, and a host of other affective and behavioral outcomes may also be moderated by organization-level demography, because gender distributions in the organizational context make gender stereotypes more or less salient (Perry et al. 1994).

Second, our review highlights how useful it is to conduct research that crosses levels of the organizational hierarchy, so that we understand how women's well-being is affected by the demographic distributions that are above and below them, as well as the demographic distribution that directly surrounds them. Subordinates, peers, and supervisors exercise concurrent, but not identical, impact on a female employee's well-being (Chiaburu and Harrison 2008). And each of those subordinates, peers, and supervisors are themselves impacted by the demographic distribution in which they are embedded. Female executives may experience greater freedom to improve subordinates' well-being when they personally are supported by same-sex peers (Cohen et al. 1998). Same-sex support from her workgroup might protect a female employee's well-being as she faces a "Queen Bee" supervisor.

Third, our review emphasizes the importance of including both economic and social indicators in research on women's well-being. These indicators do not operate in parallel. As a general rule, working with (and for) other women boosts psychological well-being (e.g., cohesiveness – Goldberg et al. 2010) but harms economic ones (e.g., pay – Ostroff and Atwater 2003). Unfortunately, researchers usually study only one indicator (psychological well-being *or* economic well-being) even though women's behavioral choices frequently boost one outcome set at the expense of the other (Kulik and Olekalns 2012). Research is needed to identify the organizational contexts that promote and support *both* elements of women's well-being.

Fourth, our review notes the near-absence of research on women's well-being incorporating explicit tests of mediating mechanisms. Our review documents the consequences of gender demographics but we can only speculate on the processes. For example, research confirms that female mentees experience a salary boost from male mentors (Dreher and Cox 1996; Ragins and Cotton 1999). Is this because male mentors attract female mentees who place a high value on economic outcomes, because male mentors focus more on career functions within the dyadic relationship, or because male mentors send power and prestige signals to the broader organizational network? Distinguishing among these alternative mediating mechanisms would enable us to identify more focused strategies for improving women's well-being.

Conclusion

Our aim in this chapter was to review the evidence about whether working with, and for, women is good (or bad) for female employees' well-being. We were motivated by sensationalist media portrayals of catfights and woman-to-woman conflict that are hard to reconcile with the robust academic theories touting the benefits of demographic similarity. The overall picture that emerges is complex: women's well-being is both enhanced and diminished by working with other women. As predicted by social categorization and social identity theories, women working in groups and organizations with a large same-sex representation experience positive *psychological benefits*. But status characteristics theory explains that the positive psychological outcomes derived from large same-sex representations are frequently accompanied by *economic costs*. Further, the well-being effects of working with other women are different depending on whether those "other women" are subordinates, mentors, supervisors, or high-level executives. Our review suggests that female supervisors in male-dominated work environments experience identity tensions that motivate them to disengage from their gender group – with negative consequences for female subordinates' well-being. Overall, we hope that our review inspires women, managers, and researchers to pay close attention to gender proportions at all levels of the organization. Women will experience the greatest well-being benefits from working with, and for, other women only when organizations experience gender balance across all levels of the hierarchy (but especially at the top).

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Constrained by Emotion: Women, Leadership, and Expressing Emotion in the Workplace

13

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Many of my colleagues made me feel that I was overly emotional, and I worked hard to get over that. In time, I learned to keep my voice flat and unemotional when I talked about issues I considered important… In the end, I successfully changed opinions.

– Madeline Albright

Emotion is central to stereotypes of women. In traditionally feminine roles like caregiving and homemaking, women are revered for their greater emotional openness and expressiveness relative to men. However, in professional settings, women's displays of emotion are often scrutinized and exaggerated. A curt word may be construed as an outburst or as "losing her cool." Shedding a tear may invite the label "hysterical." Both may diminish perceptions of a woman's competence, ultimately undermining her authority and status. Women are stereotyped not only as more emotional than men, but also as *too* emotional (Shields 2002). What is read as passion and dedication for men is dismissed as irrational and overly emotional for women.

Both men and women are held to norms of appropriate emotional expression. Although such norms differ by context, all individuals are expected to adhere to emotional display rules and to adequately regulate their feelings. Failure to do so can result in negative social and professional consequences (Butler et al. 2003; Shields 2005; Szczurek et al. 2012). However, the range of acceptable emotional expression is significantly more restricted for women in the workplace. Many working women strive, like Albright, to manage their emotions in order to avoid having them used to undermine their professional legitimacy, a task made even more difficult by the power of stereotypes to make women feel that they actually are too emotional. In this chapter, we discuss how gender stereotypes about emotion constrain women's behavior in the workplace significantly more than men's. We argue that women have a narrower range of how much and which types of emotion they can express without penalty. We conclude by discussing how the margins of what is considered appropriate emotion expression shift with women's social status as well as race.

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Proscriptions Against Masculine Emotion

Women's expression of male-typed emotions receives particular scrutiny in the workplace. Although women are believed to experience and

express most emotions to a greater extent than men, anger and pride are stereotypically linked with men (Fabes and Martin 1991; Kring 2000; Plant et al. 2000). People not only expect men to express anger and pride more than women; it is also more desirable for men to express these emotions. The expression of pride has received less attention than anger in social psychological research, but one study showed that male faces were judged as more attractive when they displayed pride relative to happiness or no emotion, whereas pride expressions were judged as significantly less attractive than happiness on female faces (Tracy and Beall 2011). Our own research shows that expressing pride is less desirable for women than men (Smith et al. 2011).

There is stronger evidence that expressing anger is desirable for men but detrimental for women. Tiedens (2001) examined how people responded to men's expressions of negative emotion in professional contexts. Men who expressed anger were more likely to be hired and were ascribed more status, power, and independence than men who expressed sadness. Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008) replicated this finding and showed that merely recounting a previous feeling of anger was beneficial for men in a job interview compared to expressing no emotion. In contrast, women who described feeling angry were conferred less status, assigned a lower salary, and were less likely to be hired compared to both men who described anger and women who described sadness or no emotion.

Both anger and pride can convey dominance (Cheng et al. 2010; Hess et al. 2005). Anger is expressed when people are denied or threatened with losing what they believe is rightfully theirs, and expressing anger suggests feelings of entitlement (Shields 2002). Accordingly, expressing anger is congruent with how people with high status are expected to behave (Tiedens et al. 2000), and anger is judged as more appropriate when expressed by people with high status (Lewis 2000; Tiedens 2001; Tiedens et al. 2000). Because men possess higher status than women at a societal level (Eagly and Steffen 1984; Ridgeway 2001), men's expressions of anger are congruent with expectations based on both their gender and status.

In contrast, women are ascribed lower societal status (Ridgeway 2001; Rudman and Kilianski 2000); hence, expressing anger is *in*congruent with both gender and status stereotypes for women (Smith et al. 2015b). In general, gender stereotypes tend to depict not only how men and women are believed to be and not be, but also how they *should* and *should not* be (Eagly and Karau 2002; Prentice and Carranza 2002). Women are supposed to display warmth and communality but not anger and other dominant behaviors (Prentice and Carranza 2002; Rudman et al. 2012). The *status incongruity hypothesis* posits that women incur backlash for displaying dominance because it violates expectations based on women's lower social status (Rudman et al. 2012). According to this hypothesis, encountering women in high-status positions is not sufficient to elicit backlash; rather, backlash occurs in response to specific dominant emotions, traits, and behaviors. Because such behaviors are incongruent with women's lower status, women are viewed as presumptuous and overly dominant when they exhibit these behaviors, and this "dominance penalty" justifies backlash and ultimately serves to maintain gender inequality (Rudman et al. 2012). Because anger and pride convey power and dominance, women who express them are perceived as *too* angry and *too* proud. In other words, women are not afforded the right to express these emotions due to their lower status and may incur social and economic penalties for doing so.

Expressing anger can also be detrimental to perceptions of women's competence. Women were judged as less competent when they expressed anger in a job interview compared to no emotion (Brescoll and Uhlmann 2008). Similarly, when participants rated the effectiveness of leaders who expressed various emotions, male leaders were perceived to be equally effective when they expressed anger compared to no emotion, whereas female leaders who expressed anger were judged as less effective than when they expressed no emotion (Lewis 2000).

Although anger expressed by women is generally undesirable, women may be given more leeway to get angry when they are in roles that are congruent with gender stereotypes. For

example, women's angry overreactions were judged as less appropriate than the same overreactions by men when expressed in achievement (i.e., masculine) contexts, but in interpersonal (i.e., feminine) contexts, women's angry overreactions were perceived as more appropriate and more sincere than men's (Hutson-Comeaux and Kelly 2002).

Penalties for Feminine Emotion

Although disconfirming gender stereotypes generally tends to elicit negative reactions to both men and women (Heilman et al. 2004; Rudman and Fairchild 2004; Rudman and Glick 1999), men's emotional behavior in professional contexts is not constrained by gender stereotypes to the same extent as women's. Rather, women may be penalized for expressing *both* stereotype-congruent as well as incongruent emotions. For example, Kelly and Hutson-Comeaux (2000) asked participants to evaluate overreactions to emotional events. Overreactions to happy and sad events were judged as more appropriate when expressed by men than women, suggesting that even for stereotypically feminine emotions, unequivocally excessive displays of emotion are more likely to be judged as inappropriate for women than men. Because happiness and sadness are atypical emotions for men, they are likely seen as more valid and thus more appropriate when expressed by men. That is, because men are not expected to express these emotions, when they do display them, people may perceive them as particularly genuine. Consistent with this reasoning, a subsequent study showed that men's happy overreactions were perceived as both more appropriate and more sincere compared to women's (Hutson-Comeaux and Kelly 2002). There is also evidence that men are evaluated more positively than women when they express emotion through crying. Male college students were liked *more* when they cried during a sad movie, whereas women were liked more when they did not cry (Labott et al. 1991). Similarly, when no contextual information was provided, women were evaluated more negatively when crying compared to expressing no emotion, whereas

crying did not influence evaluations of men (Fischer et al. 2013).

The effects of crying on perceptions of men and women's competence are more complex. Tears can suggest weakness (Hendriks and Vingerhoets 2006), and crying in professional contexts is inappropriate in general (Fischer et al. 2013; Timmers et al. 2003; Warner and Shields 2007). Because crying is much less expected for men (e.g., Shields 2002; Vingerhoets and Scheirs 2000), men who cry in a professional setting may be seen as particularly incompetent. Indeed, crying was judged as less appropriate for men than for women in an employment context (Fischer et al. 2013). Crying men were perceived as sadder, more emotional, and less competent than crying women, and the greater emotionality ascribed to crying men mediated perceptions of their incompetence. Notably, tears were judged as less appropriate for men in response to both more and less serious events in this experiment. Thus, it is possible that, for men, crying at work is always considered an extreme reaction, regardless of the seriousness of the precipitating event. Indeed, the authors suggest that these findings reflect a shifting standard of evaluation for men. Whereas women are expected to cry and be emotional, compared to the stereotypical portrayal of men as stoic, crying men are seen as especially emotional and their tears even less appropriate than women's (Fischer et al. 2013).

Though not directly examined previously, crying in professional contexts is likely seen as less appropriate than expressing no emotion or expressing sadness without crying for both men and women. In fact, Lewis (2000) found that male and female leaders were perceived as equally ineffective when expressing sadness through tears and sniffling. Warner and Shields (2007) also found that men and women described as crying in a vignette study were evaluated equally negatively.

The public's reaction to Edmund Muskie's tearful response to an attack on his wife's character during his 1972 presidential campaign is consistent with the research above and often cited as evidence that weeping is political suicide for men. However, Lutz (1999) points out that far more examples of male politicians "shedding a

tear" at opportune moments suggest that tears may actually benefit men—so long as their crying is done in a "manly" way. Although openly crying at work is undesirable for both men and women (Timmers et al. 2003), men can get away with—and may actually be praised for—more controlled, less intense expressions of sadness. Indeed, Warner and Shields (2007) showed that men were evaluated more favorably when they were described as "tearing up" compared to women described in the same way and to both men and women described as actually crying. Tears signal intensely felt emotion (Kottler and Montgomery 2001); hence, displaying a moist eye rather than openly crying is likely an effective demonstration of the emotional control men are prescribed. Displaying tears but holding them back demonstrates genuinely felt emotion that is sufficiently restrained (Katz 1999).

Men were also evaluated less negatively when they shed tears of sadness compared to men who shed tears of anger and women who displayed either angry or sad tears (Warner and Shields 2007). Angry tears, in particular, signal powerlessness and ineffectiveness and are inappropriate in the workplace because they express frustration but do nothing else to change the situation (Crawford et al. 1990). In contrast, tears of sadness are likely perceived as expressions of genuine emotion that, when expressed by men, may indicate the significance of the precipitating event. Warner and Shields (2007) found that women who cried were perceived to be displaying more intense crying and having more control over their tears than men, a finding which the authors interpreted as an indication that women's tears were seen as less genuine than men's and potentially manipulative.

Thus for men, both tears of anger and openly crying signal ineffectiveness and, subsequently, are poorly evaluated. A moist eye, on the other hand, sufficiently demonstrates the competence prescribed of men, and tears of sadness indicate sincere emotion. For women, however, any amount or type of crying is more consistently detrimental (Warner and Shields 2007). For example, when Hillary Clinton fought back tears in an interview during the 2008 presidential pri-

mary race, the media quickly drew attention to the fact that she had gotten emotional and questioned her composure and the strength of her campaign (Friedman 2008). For women, a moist eye does not seem to demonstrate emotional control. Rather, it is interpreted as a woman being on the edge of "losing it" or even as having already lost it.

Although competence is expected of both men and women in professional settings, only men seem to be able to demonstrate their competence (or incompetence) through their emotions. In their assessment of stereotypes about men's and women's emotional behavior, Timmers and colleagues (2003) found that women were expected to express more powerless emotions (e.g., sadness, fear) and to be more dysfunctional than men when displaying emotions at work. Participants endorsed statements such as "When women become emotional easily, they are not suitable for management positions," and "Emotional women are not functional in industrial life." Men, on the other hand, were expected to express more powerful emotions (e.g., anger, pride) and were believed to have greater competence due to their sensitivity (e.g., "It is functional to have men in the board of directors, because they are sensitive to the needs of employees"). The authors concluded that, for men, emotions are associated with ability and good social skills, whereas any expression of emotion by women is linked to vulnerability and loss of control (Timmers et al. 2003).

Too Much Emotion and Too Little Control

Whether the emotion expressed is congruent or incongruent with gender stereotypes, women, on the whole, are more likely to be perceived as too emotional. Although women are believed to possess a greater capacity for emotional responsiveness than men, women are also believed to lack sufficient ability to control this greater emotionality (Citrin et al. 2004; Shields 1987). This belief has underscored ideas about men and women throughout history. Mayer (2009) traced this

belief back to the Ancient Greek conception of emotion and the dichotomization of emotion and reason. Ancient Greeks viewed male emotions as "intentional and rationally controlled feelings," whereas female emotions were not actually considered "real emotions" (p. 117). Rather, female emotions were viewed as uncontrolled feelings like pleasure and pain.

Shields (2007) described this enduring distinction in the portrayal of men's and women's emotionality in late nineteenth-century British and American psychology. Masculine emotion was portrayed as a "passionate force" (p. 97) that was used in the service of reason. What Shields describes as "manly emotion" provided men with the drive to create and succeed, making them well suited for projects requiring creative thinking and abstraction, such as scientific work. At the same time, men's capacity to regulate their passion allowed them to maintain objectivity and rationality. Women, on the other hand, were believed to lack the intellectual capacity to harness emotion in this way, and feminine emotion was viewed as inferior and ineffectual. "Women's emotion was more likely to be described as sentimentality, which was itself rendered as a degraded, pale version of normal emotional impulse that, in any event, women were not well equipped to regulate." (p. 98) Shields also notes that, although men's passionate emotion could at times override rationality, a man's emotion that was judged to be out of control was attributed to a momentary failure to use his existing capacity to self-regulate, whereas women were believed to be, in general, limited in their capacity to regulate their emotion.

Still today, women are stereotyped as unable to manage their emotions. Women's emotional expression is often described as simply "emotional," a term associated with the uncontrolled expression of emotion (usually negative emotion; Fischer 1993; Hendriks et al. 2008; Labott et al. 1991). They are perceived to *be* emotional in that they have many feelings but little control over them, whereas men *have* or *use* emotions toward their desired ends (Shields 2002). In a study of lay theories of emotions, participants were asked to predict the responses of men and women to

emotion-eliciting events (Zammuner 2000). Male protagonists were attributed more cognitive reactions, including "controlling the expression of emotion" and "intervening in the situation." Female protagonists, on the other hand, were expected to experience difficulty in facing the event—a reaction defined in the questionnaire as "feeling confused," "not being able to keep calm," "being incredulous toward the event," and being "bewildered by it."

These beliefs lead to women's emotional reactions being perceived as less controlled and attributed more to internal qualities than external circumstances. Shields (1987) had participants read scenarios in which either a man or a woman was described as "emotional" following an emotionally provocative event. Compared to male targets, female targets were more likely to be perceived as overreacting and having less control over the situation. Furthermore, female targets' emotional responses were attributed more to their personalities (i.e., "she *is* emotional"), whereas emotional responses from male targets were attributed to the situation (i.e., "he *acts* emotional"). Similarly, anger expressed by a female interviewee was attributed to her being an angry and out-of-control person, and this attribution fully explained why people were less likely to hire her than a man who expressed anger in an identical manner (Brescoll and Uhlmann 2008).

Women's presumed lack of control over their emotions is likely tightly linked to their lower status in society relative to men. Status can influence perceptions of ability, and people with lower status tend to be associated with helplessness and inability (Conway et al. 2003; Warner and Shields 2009). Although expressing anger is associated with control and taking control of a situation (Shields 2002), women are seen as more likely to experience emotions that are associated with powerlessness, such as sadness, depression, and fear (Brody and Hall 2008; Warner and Shields 2009). Shields (2002) has suggested that anger expressed by women is often reduced to ineffective emotion; hence, angry women are seen as powerless and lacking control rather than powerful and taking control. Women are also believed to engage in more maladaptive worry than men,

defined by Conway and colleagues (2003) as engaging in "a chain of thoughts and feelings, negatively affect-laden and relatively uncontrollable" (p. 2). Low-status individuals were also seen as more likely to engage in maladaptive worry than high-status individuals, suggesting that status differences may explain these perceived gender differences in amount of worry (Conway et al. 2003).

A likely result of perceiving women as lacking emotional control is perceiving women as child-like and, thus, incompetent and immature. In their assessment of the content of emotion stereotypes based on gender and age, Fabes and Martin (1991) found that male and female infants and children were believed to both experience and express emotions to the same extent. For adolescent and adult targets, however, this remained true for the experience of emotions only. Women and female adolescents were believed to *express* emotions to a greater extent than men and male adolescents (except for anger), suggesting that men are believed to continue to experience emotions to the same extent as women in adulthood but to express them less, whereas women are believed to continue expressing emotions to the same degree as younger children. This is consistent with the belief that men have more emotional control than women, in that men are believed to develop control over their emotions after childhood, whereas women are seen as exerting less control than men and perhaps even lacking the ability to control their emotions, much like children in this capacity.

Emotional Boundaries

Stereotypes about emotion constrain women's behavior in the workplace such that they are penalized for even moderate and minor displays of emotion. Expressions of dominant, masculine emotions are particularly likely to elicit negative reactions because women are proscribed from displaying dominant behaviors (Rudman et al. 2012). Thus, women may fare better to the extent that they refrain from expressing emotion at all.

Consistent with this thinking, women received the most status and were most likely to be hired when they expressed *no* emotion compared to when they expressed anger or sadness in an interview (Brescoll and Uhlmann 2008).

At the same time, expressing no emotion may result in working women being perceived as insufficiently warm. Women are expected to display communal traits such as warmth and kindness (Prentice and Carranza 2002), and failing to conform to these prescriptive gender stereotypes results in backlash and hiring discrimination for women (Rudman and Glick 1999, 2001). Accordingly, women are expected to express positive emotion, particularly through smiling (Briton and Hall 1995; Hess et al. 2005). This expectation is again tied to women's lower status, as people with low power are expected to smile regardless of how they actually feel (Hecht and LaFrance 1998). In contrast, people with high power are licensed to express positive emotion to the extent that they actually experience it (Hecht and LaFrance 1998). Because displaying communal, rather than agentic, qualities results in perceptions of lower competence and hireability (Rudman and Glick 1999), women likely face a double bind. Conforming to prescriptions for expressing positive emotion may be detrimental to perceptions of their competence, yet more extreme expressions of happiness by women than by men are still more likely to be judged as over-reactions and inappropriate when displayed in both achievement and interpersonal contexts (Kelly and Hutson-Comeaux 2000). Thus, women are supposed to smile and be friendly, but their more intense expressions of positive emotion, such as excessively celebrating their own accomplishments, are more likely to be judged as "over the top."

Shields (2005) argues that both men and women face a "double bind of emotion." Men are supposed to express "manly emotion," or genuine emotion expressed subtly and under careful control, whereas women are expected to express emotion more openly and without subtlety. Shields points out that both men and women are actually held to each of these standards, and thus

the double bind results from the difficulty of meeting both standards simultaneously.

However, context plays a significant role in the extent to which men and women are constrained by this double bind. Men's struggles to maintain an appropriate level of emotion expression may be more pronounced in relationship contexts, which demand more open expression of emotion (Robertson et al. 2001; Shields 2005). Numerous clinical psychological studies have documented men's difficulties with expressing emotions to others (e.g., Brooks and Gilbert 1995; Scher 1993; Wilcox and Forrest 1992). Women, on the other hand, are particularly constrained by this double bind in professional contexts, where their emotion comes under greater scrutiny than men's. For example, in the televised commentary following the 1984 United States vice presidential debate, commentators made significantly more references to the emotions of Geraldine Ferraro, the female candidate, than they did to those of George H. W. Bush, the male candidate, regardless of the commentators' political affiliations (Shields and MacDowell 1987).

Although both men and women are expected to adhere to norms of emotional expression in the workplace, for women, achieving a balance between expressing sufficient emotion and avoiding perceptions of their emotion as inappropriate or out of control is significantly more difficult. Any amount of emotion expressed by women may be judged as too much, and expressing no emotion leads to perceptions of insufficient warmth. Thus, the boundaries of appropriate emotional expression in the workplace are narrower for women than for men.

In general, emotion is intimately involved in how women are perceived and evaluated and is central to stereotypes about women. Timmers and colleagues (2003) found greater agreement in participants' endorsements of stereotypes concerning the emotional behavior of women. Beliefs about men's emotional behavior, on the other hand, were more diverse, with endorsement of both stereotypical and counter-stereotypical beliefs about men's emotionality. For instance, men were believed to display more powerful emotions, but they were also believed to have

better emotional sensitivity than women. Furthermore, participants expressed more negative attitudes about women's emotional behaviors compared to those of men. Thus, women are both more constrained by emotion stereotypes and more likely to be negatively evaluated when they express emotion.

Consequences of Denying Women Emotional Control and Appropriateness

People are less likely to endorse prescriptive than descriptive beliefs about men and women's emotions (Timmers et al. 2003). That is, people are less likely to explicitly say how men and women *should* and *should not* express emotion than they are to say how men and women do and do not express emotion. However, there are still strong stereotype-based *expectations* for emotional behavior, particularly for women, that influence how people perceive and respond to men and women's emotional behavior. Research on how women are evaluated when expressing emotion suggests that people hold strong prescriptive stereotypes for women, even if they do not openly express them (as suggested by Timmers et al. 2003).

The denial of women's emotional control and emotional appropriateness significantly impacts the success and well-being of working women. Women's lack of emotional control is often cited as the reason they are unfit for high-status, high-pressure jobs in traditionally masculine domains like politics and business. If a woman is perceived as unable to control her emotions, she is likely perceived as lacking in other abilities as well. Being emotionally out of control is associated with a deficit in logic and rationality (Lutz 1996). For example, Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008) found that high-status women who expressed anger were simultaneously perceived as out of control and less competent. Likewise, the capabilities of Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor were called into question during her confirmation hearings because she was seen as too emotional to serve as an impartial judge and

unable to separate her personal feelings and emotions from the law (Lithwick 2009; Rove 2009).

Women may even internalize the stereotype of their insufficient emotional control, thus perpetuating this belief. Women are more likely to believe that they have little control over important events in their lives and that negative affect is very difficult to control (Nolen-Hoeksema and Jackson 2001). When asked to describe how they would typically respond to different emotion-eliciting events, women more often mentioned having difficulty controlling their reactions to the event (e.g., "not being able to remain calm," "feeling confused"), whereas men more often described attempts to rationalize and reflect on such events (Zammuner 2000). This difference was found despite the fact that both men and women reported normative beliefs that rationalizing and controlling emotions were more appropriate ways of reacting to emotion-inducing events than being emotional or acting in an emotional way.

Perceiving a person's emotions as out of control or over the top also delegitimizes the emotion being expressed. The emotion expressions of an "emotional" person are viewed as less authentic and less sincere (Mayer 2009; Warner and Shields 2009). The result is likely that women's emotions and feelings are more readily dismissed. This may mean shrugging off a female colleague's unhappiness as her being overly sensitive or viewing her expressions of frustration as unimportant. This dismissal of emotion may extend beyond the workplace as well. For example, a study of gender differences in treatment of chronic pain found that women were more likely to receive inadequate treatment of their pain symptoms and to have their pain dismissed as "emotional" and "not real" (Hoffmann and Tarzian 2001).

Dismissing and delegitimizing women's emotions can also undermine their opinions and behaviors in the workplace. Shields (2005) reasons that perceiving an emotion as too much or too little leads to the emotion being interpreted as dispositional and the legitimacy of the underlying message being disregarded. In extreme cases, women judged to be too emotional might be silenced altogether. In 2012, Michigan state representatives Lisa Brown and Barb Byrum were both banned from speaking in the State Legislature after making angry comments on proposed abortion regulations. The reason given for their dismissal was that they "failed to maintain the decorum of the House of Representatives," according to Ari Adler, spokesman for the Speaker of the House. Although Adler asserted that "open and passionate discussion" was welcome in the House, he justified the action taken against Brown by describing her behavior not as passionate, but as a "temper tantrum" (Bassett 2012; Gray 2012).

Status, Gender, and Emotion

In general, individuals with higher status are given greater license to be more emotionally expressive than those with lower status (Hecht and LaFrance 1998; Magee and Galinsky 2008). Thus, the wider parameters of acceptable emotional expression for men are consistent with their higher ascribed status. However, this license to express emotion does not appear to extend to women in high-status roles. Due to their status incongruity (Rudman et al. 2012) and stereotypes of ineffectual feminine emotionality (Shields 2002), even high-status women's emotions are viewed as suspect and are subject to a greater degree of scrutiny than men's emotions.

In a series of experiments, Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008) had participants view videos of male and female targets in a job interview where they either expressed mild anger or no emotion at all. The researchers also explicitly manipulated whether male and female targets held a high-status job (CEO of a multinational corporation) or a low-status job (assistant trainee). Participants viewed the male CEO positively regardless of whether he expressed anger or not. However, the female CEO suffered serious penalties when she expressed anger, similar to when the low-status female target (the assistant trainee) expressed anger. Specifically, when the female CEO expressed mild anger, participants were significantly less likely to hire her compared to when she did not express any emotion and compared to the male CEO who expressed anger. Participants

also reported that they would pay the angry female CEO $12,000 per year less than the female CEO who did not express anger and $24,000 per year less than the male CEO who expressed the same amount of mild anger. In addition, the angry female CEO was judged as the least competent of all targets.

These experiments suggest that holding a high-status position does *not* protect women from the negative consequences of expressing emotion. There are countless examples from business and politics of women in high-status leadership roles who are criticized for being "too emotional," several of which have already been discussed in this chapter. After Pat Schroeder shed tears during her withdrawal speech of her candidacy for President in 1987, she was pilloried by the media and political analysts for showing that kind of emotion. Schroeder even claims that she received hate mail for years after that event and kept a file of other male politicians who cried in similar circumstances but eventually got rid of the file because it got "too big" (Benac 2007). More recently, former Yahoo CEO Carol Bartz emailed Yahoo's 13,400 employees to let them know that she had been fired. Her email was immediately labeled "too angry," and it was suggested that her words could "sink" Yahoo (Streitfeld 2011).

Having a high-status job not only fails to protect women from negative consequences when they express emotion, but we contend that holding a highly visible high-status job may even put women at further risk of incurring penalties for expressing emotion at work. This hypothesis is based on *system justification theory* (Jost and Banaji 1994), which proposes that, in addition to motives to see oneself and one's ingroups positively, people have a fundamental desire to view their social system as just, fair, and good and engage in a number of strategies to rationalize the status quo. In some instances, the status quo in social and political systems is non-hierarchical and egalitarian, but, in many instances in contemporary society, socio-political arrangements are hierarchical and even exploitative of some social groups. One germane example is that men overwhelmingly have more power and greater status

than women and also disproportionately occupy high-status leadership positions (Sidanius and Pratto 1999). Thus, the mere presence of a woman in a high-status leadership position threatens the status quo (Rudman et al. 2012). Furthermore, women in high-status leadership positions violate the strong gender-stereotyped proscription against women displaying dominance by merely occupying these positions (Brescoll et al. 2013).

In support of this idea, Rudman and colleagues (2012) found that participants who scored high on a measure of gender system justification (Jost and Kay 2005) were more likely than participants who scored low on this measure to discriminate against a female job candidate who displayed agency and dominance. In a separate study, participants who were primed with a passage that is known to induce a feeling that their system is under threat (Kay et al. 2009) were significantly more likely than those who read a neutral passage to denigrate a female job candidate who displayed agency and dominance (Rudman et al. 2012). In other words, participants who experienced system threat were more likely to exhibit backlash effects against dominant, agentic women. Thus, backlash effects against such women function, at least in part, to preserve the gender hierarchy.

This research also suggests that when a woman occupies a high-status leadership role, she may be more vulnerable to backlash effects (i.e., social and economic penalties) than women in lower-status positions because merely occupying a high-status role threatens the gender hierarchy. Thus, a female leader may actually be subject to harsher penalties when she expresses emotion at work than her low-status counterparts, not only because she is in a highly visible position, but also because she is in a high-status role that violates the gender status quo (Jost and Banaji 1994).

Recent research on backlash effects in organizations has found that women in both high- and low-status positions are acutely aware of the prescriptive and proscriptive gender stereotypes that constrain their behavior at work (Amanatullah and Morris 2010; Brescoll 2011; Moss-Racusin

and Rudman 2010). More often than not, women behave in line with these stereotypes specifically because they want to avoid being penalized for violating gender stereotypes. Using data from United States senators and from working men and women, Brescoll (2011) showed that powerful women were less voluble (i.e., talking on the Senate floor or talking in work meetings) than equally powerful men. In subsequent experiments, Brescoll (2011) found that women were less likely to dominate the floor specifically because they were concerned about the potential backlash that may result from talking too much. Thus, a fear of backlash led both high- and low-status women to avoid talking disproportionately longer than others for fear of experiencing negative consequences.

There is reason to believe that this also applies to women's expression of emotion in the workplace. Given that women are apt to encounter backlash effects for expressing emotion at work (Brescoll and Uhlmann 2008) and that they are acutely aware of the possibility that this may occur (Brescoll 2011), women may end up behaving in such a way as to reinforce certain stereotypes of gender and emotion. For example, some working women are perceived as cold and labeled an "ice queen"—typically a woman who does not express "feminine" emotions (Heilman 2001). It is possible that such women are striving to avoid negative reactions from others at work. In an effort to avoid appearing "overly emotional" and encountering backlash effects for doing so, they may nonetheless experience penalties for not being "emotional enough." Thus, gender stereotypes of emotion, like other gender stereotypes, can create a Catch-22 for working women in which they find themselves walking a very precarious line between expressing "enough" emotion but not "too much" in order to avoid social and economic penalties.

Intersections of Gender, Emotion Expression, and Race

At the same time that a woman's status may influence how her emotion expression is evaluated, other social group memberships (e.g., race,

ethnicity) may also alter expectations for emotion and subsequent evaluations. Social psychological research on gender has historically centered on White women (Reid and Comas-Diaz 1990). Consequently, instances of intersectionality, the junction of two or more identities, are understudied. In the remainder of this chapter, we discuss the emerging literature on the expression of emotion by racial and ethnic minority women in the workplace.

We have outlined how women are more readily penalized than men for expressing dominant emotions in the workplace due, in part, to the incongruity between their gender's low societal status and the markedly higher status of professional roles. Thus, one might predict that minority women experience a "double hit" of disadvantage for expressing masculine emotions in the workplace—one for each subordinate group membership they hold. As such, the *double jeopardy hypothesis* suggests that the backlash effects described previously in this chapter are amplified for minority women because they experience both sexism and racism (or a unique combination of the two), the consequences of which are perceived to be greater than any one type of discrimination alone (Beale 1970; Epstein 1973; Reid and Comas-Diaz 1990; Settles 2006).

However, several studies suggest that, despite their subordinate gender and racial statuses, Black women fare better than White women when they display dominant behaviors. For example, one experiment revealed that dominant Black career women are more likeable and more hirable than dominant White female and Black male professionals (Hall et al. 2012). In another study, Livingston et al. (2012) had participants read a scenario describing a meeting between a White or Black male or female Senior Vice President of a Fortune 500 company and a low-performing subordinate employee. The leader expressed either masculine-typed dominance (i.e., "I demand that you take steps to improve your performance;" "I am a tough, determined boss and intend to do everything in my power to ensure that your performance improves") or feminine-typed communality (i.e., "I encourage you to take steps to improve your performance;" "I am a caring, committed boss and intend to do

everything in my power to ensure that your performance improves"). As expected, White women were conferred less status (i.e., respect, admiration, effectiveness, salary) when they expressed dominance versus communality. In contrast, Black women did not suffer this dominance penalty. In short, whereas evaluations of communal White and Black female leaders did not differ, White female leaders were evaluated more negatively than Black female leaders when they expressed dominance.

This finding suggests that Black women incur *weaker* penalties than White women for expressing dominant emotions. The fact that Black women evade these social and economic sanctions suggests that they may be perceived as more consistent with professional (i.e., masculine) prototypes, that female emotion stereotypes are more weakly applied to them, or both. Indeed, several studies have suggested that Black women are perceived as more masculine than White women (Thomas and Jackson 2008; Johnson et al. 2011). Our own research shows that Black women are stereotyped as expressing stereotypically masculine emotions (i.e., anger, contempt, pride) more often than White women and as expressing stereotypically feminine emotions (i.e., happiness, sadness, fear, love, surprise, embarrassment, guilt, shame, awe, shyness, sympathy) less often (Smith et al. 2011). Another study showed that angry expressions are more slowly categorized than neutral expressions on White female faces, but this difference was not found for Black women (Smith et al. 2015a). This phenomenon suggests that anger is incongruent with stereotype-based expectations for White but not Black women. Thus, gender stereotypes about emotion are not as strongly applied to Black women and, hence, are less likely to constrain the behavior of Black women in the workplace to the same extent as for White women.

Moreover, the prescriptions for feminine behavior are also relaxed for Black women (Thomas 2013). Whereas White women are supposed to exhibit feminine communal traits (e.g., warm, friendly, cooperative), these traits are less required of Black women. Consistent with the findings of Livingston et al. (2012), our research

also shows that Black women are more weakly proscribed against possessing traditionally masculine traits (e.g., controlling, stubborn, rebellious; Thomas 2013) and against displaying masculine emotions (i.e., anger, pride; Smith et al. 2011). Taken together, this evidence supports the hypothesis that Black women experience a greater degree of emotional latitude compared to White women.

It is imperative to note, however, that this emotional latitude says nothing about Black women's likelihood of attaining high-status positions in the first place. Indeed, Black women are significantly underrepresented in organizational leadership positions (Bell and Nkomo 2001; Sanchez-Hucles and Davis 2010), and only one Black woman to date has served as CEO of a Fortune 500 company (Ursula Burns, CEO of Xerox). This latitude also has its boundaries such that Black women are evaluated more negatively than White women and Black men after making a professional mistake (Rosette and Livingston 2012), presumably because both their race and gender group memberships are incongruent with leader prototypes.

Although Black women may in some cases escape the constraints of gender-emotion stereotypes in the workplace, the emotional latitude of other racial and ethnic minority women is unclear. For example, whereas the over-perception of threat and anger from outgroup men does not appear to extend to Black women (Maner et al. 2005; Plant et al. 2011; Smith et al. 2015a; Thomas 2013), this association was found for both male and female Arab targets (Maner et al. 2005). Thus, Arab women may be just as or even more likely than White women to elicit negative reactions for expressing anger.

It is also unlikely that Asian women escape penalties for expressing dominant emotions in the workplace, and they may be penalized to an even greater extent than White women for such displays. Berdahl and Min (2012) showed that East Asians in North America are stereotyped as less dominant and less warm than Whites and are also more strongly proscribed against displaying dominance. Furthermore, both male and female Asian hypothetical colleagues were liked less when they were described as dominant compared

to dominant White colleagues and non-dominant colleagues of either race. In a subsequent study, violating proscriptions against dominance predicted workplace harassment among a predominantly-female sample of social workers: Asian employees who self-reported high dominance (i.e., "assertive," "dominant," "forceful") were subjected to more racial harassment than other employees. In contrast to Black women, Asian women are stereotyped as more *feminine* than White women (Johnson et al. 2011). Accordingly, Galinsky et al. (2013) showed that Asian women were least likely to be selected for a masculine leadership position, followed by White women, and then by Black women. Thus, expressing masculine emotions may be more strongly proscribed for Asian women. In sum, there is growing evidence to suggest that Black women are less constrained by emotion stereotypes in the workplace, but this is not necessarily the case for other minority women.

Further, there is also evidence to suggest that Black men hold less emotional and behavioral latitude than White men (Correll et al. 2002; Hall and Livingston 2012; Livingston et al. 2012), the explication of which is beyond the scope of the current chapter, but we believe is rooted in the fact that minority men are racially prototypical (Thomas et al. 2014) and are, thus, targeted as system and even physical threats (Sidanius and Pratto 1999; Sidanius and Veniegas 2000) when they express dominant emotions. More intersectionality research will contribute to our understanding of how these understudied populations fare in the boardroom.

Conclusion

The denial of women's emotional control and emotional appropriateness significantly impacts the success and well-being of working women. Although both men and women are expected to adhere to emotional display rules and to adequately regulate their feelings, the margins of appropriate and acceptable emotion are significantly narrower for women in the workplace. When working women express emotion (especially emotions that convey dominance, such as anger), they are more likely to suffer negative social and professional consequences than men expressing the same type and degree of emotion (Brescoll and Uhlmann 2008; Shields 2005; Warner and Shields 2007). Even women in prominent, high-status leadership positions suffer these consequences from emotion expression, suggesting that their high-status positions are not protective and may even be a liability.

Since gender stereotypes are responsible for narrowing the range of emotion that working women can express without penalty, the most fruitful avenue for changing biases toward women who express emotion lies in changing gender stereotypes themselves. Although this may seem like an intractable feat, gender stereotypes have indeed changed significantly over the last four decades as increasing numbers of women have moved into the working world (Wang et al. 2013).

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The Purpose and Place of Mentoring for Women Managers in Organisations: An Australian Perspective

Lisa Catherine Ehrich and Megan Kimber

Introduction

Over the last 40 years, there has been a proliferation of writing and research on mentoring. It has been identified as a key career development tool that helps an individual develop knowledge and skills necessary for a successful career (Woolnough and Davidson 2007). Both public and private organisations have used mentoring programs as a means of attracting, retaining and developing employees (Tolar 2012). Among employees who have participated in mentoring arrangements are women and men, leaders and novices, members of minority groups, youth at risk, and professionals such as surgeons, teachers, nurses, accountants, lawyers, and social workers.

Traditionally mentoring has been viewed as an informal and idiosyncratic type of process between persons—mentors and protégés (or mentees)—for the purpose of assisting the protégé develop certain types of learning needed for their development (Ehrich and Hansford 1999). Traditional (as opposed to "formal") mentors primarily use their power, knowledge, and influence to support promising protégés. While, historically, this type of mentoring was akin to a patronage system, it continues to be used today.

It was during the early 1970s that this view of mentoring broadened, with organisations implementing formal mentoring policies and programs within their human resource development departments. This shift to formalised mentoring occurred as organisations sought to replicate the success of informal mentoring arrangements (Ehrich and Hansford 1999; Woolnough and Davidson 2007). Not surprisingly, formal mentoring programs have burgeoned and are now commonplace in many public and private sector organisations across the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. While these programs can and do differ in focus, nature and purpose, they continue to be used as a means of enabling individuals (either novices or leaders) to develop and enhance their particular skills or performance.

This chapter reviews the literature on mentoring and the contribution it can make to the career development of women managers. It is divided into five main parts. Firstly, it considers the position of women's under-representation in management worldwide and argues that mentoring programs continue to be used in organisations around the world as an affirmative action strategy to redress women's almost absence from senior levels of management. Secondly, it refers to two broad theoretical categorisations of mentoring that demonstrate how mentoring can be experienced in qualitatively different ways, depending on the

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theoretical categorisation used. Thirdly, there is a review of some seminal empirical research exploring the impact of mentoring relationships on women managers' career development. Fourthly, some current illustrations of formal programs offered to women managers in the public and private sectors are provided to show the nature and focus of programs that operate to support women's development. Fifthly, the chapter discusses a set of four critical issues that continue to impact women managers in relation to mentoring relationships. The chapter concludes by making an argument for further research on gender and mentoring.

Women's Under-Representation in Management Worldwide

Based on an analysis of 20 countries from Europe, North and Central America, Australasia, Asia, South America, and Africa, Davidson and Burke (2011, pp. 8–9) have identified several broad themes regarding the position of women in management worldwide. These themes include:

- percentages of women in managerial positions vary according to the specific country;
- increasingly women have moved into small business to become entrepreneurs in most countries to earn income;
- the proportion of women in management has increased but remains low at higher levels of the organisation;
- only a small number of countries have developed initiatives to support women's career advancement in the workplace (e.g., United States, United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia).

As an illustration of women's under-representation at senior management levels, in 2012, women in Australia comprised 34.9 % of managers (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS] 2012) yet only made up 8 % of executive managerial positions (Catalyst 2012). A similar pattern can be found in other countries with small proportions of women occupying executive managerial positions: 12.2 % in the United Kingdom, 16.9 % in Canada; and 13.5 % in the United

Table 14.1 Comparison of the percentage of women holding board seats and as board chairs

Country	Board seats (%)	Board chairs (%)
Australia	8.5	2.5
Canada	10.3	3.6
New Zealand	7.3	4.0
United Kingdom	15	1.00
United States	16.1	2.6

Compiled from Catalyst (2012)

States (Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency [EOWA] 2010). In relation to the percentages of women who sit on boards and chair boards, Table 14.1 shows some international comparisons.

As can be seen from the figures in Table 14.1, women are poorly represented on boards and even more poorly represented as board chairs. While not included in Table 14.1, the highest proportion of women on boards is in Norway, with 40.1 %, and the lowest is in Saudi Arabia, with 0.1 % (Catalyst 2012).

The authors of an Australian Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency (EOWA 2010, p. 6) report sum it up well when they say:

> Women remain under-represented in the most senior corporate positions in ASX [The Australian Stock Exchange] 200 organisations. Five boards (2.5 %) have a woman as a Chair (one more than in the 2008 Census), and six (different) companies have a female CEO (3 %, the same as in 2006, two more than in 2008) … at Board Director level there are over 10 men to every woman. At CEO level the picture is even more pronounced, with approximately 32 male CEOs for every female CEO within the ASX 200.

In contrast to the aforementioned figures, women are better represented in the not-for-profit sector in Australia, where more than 75 % of boards have at least one woman director (figure as at 2004) (Australian Institute of Company Directors 2013, http://www.companydirectors. com.au/Director-Resource-Centre/governance-and-Director-Issues/Board-Diversity/Statistics). In the Australian public sector, over the last couple of decades, governments have invested in initiatives and programs to try to increase the percentage of women in senior management. For

example, in June 2011, the Queensland Public Service Commission reported that 30 % of senior executive positions were held by women (Public Service Commission n.d.). (http://www.psc.qld.gov.au/page/developing-people/professional-development/wise-images?terms-of-reference.pdf). In the Northern Territory, 43 % of senior management positions in the public sector are held by women (Office of the Commissioner for Public Employment 2011a, http://www.ocpe.nt.gov.au/building_capability/leadership/women_in_leadership).

Two further statistics illustrate the representation of women in Australia. Women constitute 17.9 % of Vice Chancellors (i.e., top position) in universities and 30.1 % of federal parliamentarians (EOWA 2010). Julia Guillard became Australia's first female Prime Minister in June, 2010, a position she held until June 2013. It is noteworthy that, despite Australia's early success in granting universal suffrage, it took more than 100 years for a woman to be elected Prime Minister.

The statistics presented above point to women's slow movement towards senior management positions. Writers (Davidson and Burke 2011; Maxwell 2009) in the field argue strongly for a reversal of women's poor representation in senior positions so that they can be afforded the opportunity to participate in decisions that affect them. Of interest here is the contribution that mentoring can make to women's career development. Early research (Byrne 1989; Hill et al. 1989; Kanter 1977; Marshall 1985) demonstrated that women had been socially excluded from informal mentoring relationships. For this reason, affirmative action strategies such formal mentoring programs were advocated for redressing this situation and helping women to break through the "glass ceiling".

In more recent times, research has been inconclusive regarding the issue of whether women continue to face difficulties when accessing informal mentors. For example, in their studies in the United States, Ragins and Cotton (1991) and Fox and Schumann (2001) found that women are as likely as men to have access to mentors, while a New Zealand study of public sector workers by Bhatta and Washington (2003) found that women

were more likely than their male counterparts to have a mentor. Bhatta and Washington (2003) put forward two possible explanations here: (1) women may have more mentors because they need them; or (2) they have made more deliberate efforts to access mentors.

Noteworthy is that writers and researchers (Bhatta and Washington 2003; Dworkin et al. 2012; Feeney 2006; Tharanou 2005) continue to argue that mentoring is a valuable and necessary career development activity for women. That there are so many formal mentoring programs available for women worldwide reinforces the view that mentoring continues to be viewed as a central strategy to support women's career mobility and growth. According to the EOWA (2010), in Australia at least, there has been an increase in the number of mentoring programs and talent identification programs available to women. Some illustrations of formal programs for women are discussed later in the chapter.

Theoretical Categorisations of Mentoring

The name, Mentor, was first mentioned in Homer's Epic "The Odyssey", where Mentor was a loyal and trusted friend of Odysseus, the King. In the story, he acted as a "father figure" to Odysseus's son, Telemachus, when Odysseus fought in the Trojan wars for a decade. In the last 40 years, the term *mentor* has been ubiquitous in the literature and its meaning has moved away from the original notion of a "father figure" who shares wisdom and provides advice to a younger person, to any person who provides career development, support and guidance to another person.

Many writers and researchers have noted that defining mentoring is problematic (Crow 2012; Gibb 1999; Jacobi 1991). Not only is there no scientific definition or any consensus about its meaning, purpose or nature (Gibb 1999; Jacobi 1991) but, as Mertz (in Crow 2012) argues, there is a lack of boundaries surrounding it. This lack of clarity has led to confusion about how mentoring differs from other supportive roles such as teaching,

coaching, and sponsorship. Not surprisingly, there are several hundred definitions in existence.

Kram's (1985) seminal work on mentoring is well-cited in the expansive literature. Based on empirical research conducted in the 1980s on mentoring dyads, she found that mentoring is an interpersonal relationship where a more senior person supports a junior colleague by attending to two broad functions: career development and psycho-social support. Career development includes functions such as sponsorship, coaching, protection, exposure, visibility and challenging work assignments, while psycho-social support includes friendship, advice, feedback, and encouragement. Kram's (1985) model of mentoring fits mainly within a traditional model of mentoring where the mentor is deemed an expert who uses their power to promote the career development and knowledge of the protégé.

This particular type of mentoring has been described as "sponsoring" mentoring since its advocates emphasise the advice, guidance, and expertise provided by the mentor to the protégé (Clutterbuck 2004a, 2007). A disadvantage associated with sponsoring mentoring is that, due to its elitism, not everyone who wishes to be mentored is chosen. For example, in her ethnographic research, Kanter (1977) used the notion of sponsoring to explain why women in large corporations were excluded from mentoring relationships with male managers. She coined the term, "homo-social reproduction" to explain the phenomenon of males choosing to sponsor other males (i.e., those in their own image), thus enabling them to access power rather than females (Kanter 1977). In contrast to sponsoring mentoring, proponents of "developmental mentoring" view mentoring as a developmental type of activity (Clutterbuck 2004a, 2007) where learning is central to the process. The stress is not so much on the power of the mentor to open doors for the protégé (as with sponsoring mentoring), but on the relational, power sharing interchange between a mentor and protégé where both parties are able to benefit. What often distinguishes the mentor from the protégé is experience rather than hierarchy. Clutterbuck (2004a) says where developmental mentoring emphasises

"empowerment and personal accountability… [sponsoring mentoring emphasises] the effective use of power and influence" (p. 19). In more recent times, writers in the field of mentoring have explored the notion of "relational mentoring" (Fletcher and Ragins 2007). These writers view mentoring as a mutual and reciprocal activity that is based on power sharing. It can be seen, therefore, that, in some respects, relational mentoring is akin to developmental mentoring (Clutterbuck 2007).

While mentoring can be understood in terms of these two broad categorisations—sponsoring and developmental, its diversity can also be construed in terms of the different types of theories that have been used to explain it and the different disciplines in which it is located. For example, three different theories that have been used to define mentoring include social exchange theory, adult developmental theory, and micropolitical theory. First, advocates of social exchange theory, coming from the discipline of organisational behaviour, maintain that individuals will develop relationships with others based on the belief that perceived benefits will outweigh the perceived costs (Gibb 1999). When this theory is applied to mentoring, it can be suggested that both parties will participate if they see they can gain from it; mentoring is a transaction. Depending on the nature of the transaction, social exchange theory could be construed as either developmental or sponsoring. For example, if the exchange is based on sharing information and learning from one another, then social exchange theory could be viewed as developmental in nature. However, if the exchange is based on the mentor providing their power or access to resources for the protégé and in return the protégé is providing allegiance and loyalty to the mentor, then social exchange theory could fit within sponsoring mentoring.

Second, there are several adult developmental theories and common to each is the importance of growth and development for both the mentor and protégé or mentee. One example here is a model posited by Daloz (2012), who sees a mentor as a teacher who provides not only support, friendship, and advice, but also challenges the mentee so that transformation of understanding can take

place. For Daloz, mentoring is a journey, with the mentor as a trusted guide who travels alongside the protégé. Learning is central to any understanding of mentoring.

The third theory that is discussed here is micropolitics, which is located within management and organisational theories. Proponents of micropolitical theory focus on power and the types of strategies that are used by individuals to influence other individuals to achieve particular goals (Blase and Anderson 1995). Within micropolitical theory, power can be used or abused; it can empower or it can disempower; or it can coerce or it can facilitate or enable. While micropolitics has been used to understand leadership behaviour (Blase and Anderson 1995), it has also been used to understand mentoring relationships, and as a means of viewing the dynamics and power plays that characterise interactions between mentors and mentees (Ehrich and Millwater 2011). While Clutterbuck (2004a) does not use the word micropolitics, he refers to power and how it is used or abused in mentoring relationships. He asks questions such as: who should control the power?; and who should set the goals? Clutterbuck's (2004a) position is that he supports a more developmental approach to mentoring where mentors and mentees share power, and both stand to benefit by and learn from the relationship. Clutterbuck's understanding contrasts with a view of mentoring that considers mentors as being directive and using their power to exert control. From the discussion of the two broad categorisations of mentoring and of the three theories that have been applied to mentoring, it is evident mentoring can be conceptualised in different ways.

To date there are few theories that explain women managers' experience of mentoring or the mentoring process. Some notable exceptions include early theories put forward to explicate why women were often unsuccessful in being selected for informal mentoring relationships. As discussed earlier, Kanter's (1977) theory of sponsorship explains why women in large corporations tended to be excluded from mentoring relationships with male managers. Similarly, studies have applied attribution theory to explain

why women as well as others from minority groups who possess certain attributes (i.e., socio-economic status, race, ethnicity) are selected for mentoring and others are not (Ehrich et al. 2001). It is likely that, in the future, further empirical research and theoretical models will be advanced to explain how gender as well as other factors such as race and ethnicity influence mentoring initiation, relationships and the mentoring process (Young et al. 2006).

Empirical Research Exploring the Impact of Mentoring on Women Manager's Career Development

Early research in the field of mentoring provided strong support for the argument that mentoring is essential for women's career development (Burke and McKeen 1990; Dodgson 1986; Missirian 1982; Ragins 1999; Ragins et al. 1998). For instance, both Collins's (1983) in-depth study of women managers and Dodgson's (1986) study of Canadian women educational administrators found that mentoring can have positive implications for women's career and progression. In a study by Ragins et al. (1998), 91 % of the women CEOs they interviewed claimed they had a mentor and 81 % indicated that mentors were critical people.

More recent writing in the field (Feeney 2006; Maxwell 2009; Ramaswami et al. 2010; Tharanou 2005; Tolar 2012) has echoed this position. For instance, in a study of public servants in the United States, Feeney (2006) found that access to a mentor increased the career outcomes for public managers of both genders. Similarly, mentoring was perceived by both mentors and mentees who participated in a United Kingdom based program for high performing women as enhancing the women's career development (Maxwell 2009).

Tharanou (2005) explored whether mentoring helped women's career advancement more than men's advancement, and whether career support and psycho-social support affected women's and men's career advancement. Based on a survey of 3,220 Australians from lower to middle levels

within the public sector, and financial and business services sector, Tharanou found that mentor career support increased women protégés' advancement in terms of promotion more so than for men. This finding is consistent with previous research that has pointed to the importance of career related assistance (such as sponsorship, challenging assignments, and more coaching) for women. Yet, when mentoring was viewed as psycho-social support only, it was found not to help women's advancement more than it does for males. In other words, while psycho-social support may help women deal with well-being issues, it does not help them climb the managerial hierarchy.

A survey of 491 graduates from a mid-western university in the United States found that in male-gendered industries characterised by competition, female managers and professionals benefited by a senior male mentor in terms of compensation and career progress. In this context, senior male mentors provided female managers and professionals with sponsorship and legitimacy (Ramaswami et al. 2010). Ramaswami et al. (2010) argue that their findings provide significant implications for women in male-dominated industries and point to the necessity for them to have access to powerful senior male mentors. A key research finding from both Tharanou and Ramaswami et al. is that the particular type of the mentoring undertaken (i.e. career or psycho-social support) will shape the type of outcomes that are achieved from the mentoring relationship.

Illustrations of Current Programs for Women in Australia

Like formal programs, informal mentoring arrangements can be developmental in focus or promote the career development of protégés as in sponsoring mentoring. Yet a point of distinction between the two arrangements is that informal mentoring relationships tend to evolve, involve a choice of partner, and are more fluid in orientation, while formal mentoring programs are part of an organisation's policies and programs. Not surprisingly, formal programs tend to have pre-determined goals and objectives, are structured according to a timeframe, and do not always pro-

vide any choice for participants regarding their partner or participation in the program (Ragins and Cotton 1999). Unlike informal arrangements, many formal programs provide training and other levels of support for participants to ensure their success (Giscombe 2007; Wanberg et al. 2003 in Giscombe 2007). Moreover, there tends to be great diversity in the types of formal programs offered. For example, some formal mentoring programs are developmental in focus since their overarching aim is to develop women's competencies and skills, while other programs are designed to fast-track women's career development. These latter programs have a strong sponsoring dimension. Formal programs are known to differ in terms of their structure, with some being very structured and others providing some flexibility and choice regarding the partner with whom to work. These latter types of programs have been described as "semi-formal" (Clutterbuck 2004b) or "professional" (Ehrich and Hansford 1999).

Today, mentoring programs are used widely in Australia (Ehrich and Hansford 2008). A variety of programs for executives, junior employees, and members of particular target groups, such as women, have been implemented not only by various government departments in Australia (Hutt 2002) but also private enterprise. After a cursory glance of some of the mentoring programs available to women in Australia, it seems that such programs fall into one of two broad categories: (i) programs provided by professional associations that tend to be not-for-profit that allow their members to participate in mentoring programs; and (ii) government departments that provide especially targeted programs for women working within those departments. Very few of the programs currently on offer cater especially for women in senior levels of management and, for this reason, the discussion that follows, refers to programs that are available to women at different levels.

Programs Provided by Professional Associations

Three current examples of programs that are provided by professional associations in Australia

are: *The Business Enterprise Centre Southern Sydney*; *The Women's Network Australia*, and the *Australian Institute of Company Directors. The Business Enterprise Centre Southern Sydney* provides a program called, "The women in business mentor program" that helps up-and-coming women business owners grow their business by linking them with experienced business mentors. In addition to 20 h of one-on-one mentoring with an experienced mentor, this 6-month program also provides business skills workshops, business forums and networking events to help women improve their business skills (Business Enterprise Centre Southern Sydney, http://www.becsmallbiz.com.au/mentoring/women-in-business.html). This program has been in operation for over 15 years. Although to date no evaluative data are available about the effectiveness of the program, the website states that "results from past programs show a significance increase in business income, business employment levels and networking opportunities" (Business Enterprise Centre Southern Sydney, http://becsmallbiz.com.au/mentoring/women-in-business.html)

An example of a women-helping-women organisation is *Women's Network Australia* which is a membership based organisation that provides a range of benefits and services for women interested in improving their career or business skills. One of the fee-paying services is that women can elect to be mentored by the founder and managing director of the organisation (Women's Network Australia, http://www.womensnetwork.com.au/page.cfm?pageCode=mentoring).

The third example, provided by the *Australian Institute for Company Directors*, targets senior women managers in Australia. The *Australian Institute of Company Directors (AICD)* is an internationally-recognized, member based not-for-profit organisation for directors in Australia. Its principal activities include professional development such as mentoring programs for its members. Among its members are ASX listed companies, private companies, government bodies, and not for profit organisations. One of the mentoring programs it offers is the Chairmen's Mentoring Program. This Program entails leading chairpersons and other experienced directors of ASX companies mentoring talented aspiring female directors on boards. The goals of the program include:

> "Develop connections with influential business leaders;
> Gain knowledge and skills that will assist the mentees in achieving director appointments … Increase their understandings of governance issues in listed companies … Gain valuable insight, advice and guidance on the process of selecting and appointing new directors …" (AICD 2011, Q & A, p. 1)
> http://www.companydirectors.com.au/Director-Resource-Centre/Governance-and-Director-Issues/Board-Diversity/Mentoring-Programs/Frequently-Asked-Questions

Women who are interested in becoming part of the year-long program, must be members of the AICD, be prepared to meet their mentor regularly, and commit to the program. Women complete an application form and CV, and a selection committee makes a decision as to who can participate in the program. Matching is undertaken by the selection committee.

This program began in 2010 with the aim of increasing the number of women directors in ASX 200 companies. According to the AICD (2013), the number of female directors grew from 8.3 % in 2010 to 15.4 % in 2013. Women comprised 28 % of all new appointments to ASX 200 boards in 2011. As at 31 March, 2013, 15.6 % of ASX 200 board members are female—representing increases over 2010, 2011, and 2012 (AICD 2013, (http://www.companydirectors.com.au/Director-Resource-Centre/Governance-and-Director-Issues/Board-Diversity/Statistics). These statistics suggest that this specially targeted mentoring program has contributed to an increase in women appointed to boards and to directorships of ASX 200 boards.

Government Departments That Provide Programs for Women Staff

For decades, government departments in Australia have provided formal mentoring programs for women at all levels of the organisation including women who are graduate recruits, new women managers, and women in non-traditional

areas of employment. The focus of these programs tends to vary from those that are developmental in nature (Bhatta and Washington 2003), to those that seek to develop specific job related skills, to those with a strong affirmative action focus (Ehrich et al. 2011). Two contrasting examples of currently available programs that have been especially targeted for women are discussed here. The first is a self-paced program for women in the Royal Australian Navy called, "My mentor" (Robinson 2010, http://www.australianwomen-online.com/australian-navy-launches-mentoring-program-for-women), and the second is a program offered by the *Office of Commissioner for Public Employment in the Northern Territory* that develops women's leadership abilities.

"My mentor" is a 12 week program that consists of DVDs and work book based activities designed to assist women in the navy in developing core personal and professional skills, peer mentoring and networking. It draws upon interviews with and insights from Australian leading business women. As a self-paced program, participants work through the materials and complete weekly activities. The program was designed by Emberin, a private company that prepares resources for private and public organisations in the pursuit of leadership and gender diversity (My mentor program, www.emberin.com). Unlike so many formal mentoring programs, "My mentor" does not involve participants working with mentors; rather they engage in self-directed learning.

The Office of the Commissioner for Public Employment in the Northern Territory (Australia), on the other hand, is a central public sector agency responsible for providing an employment framework for developing and managing the Northern Territory Public Service (NTPS) workforce and coordinates training and development. An example of a program available to women is the Discovery Women as Leaders Program. Like other leadership development programs, it has a mentoring component and other components (i.e., peer coaching, group action learning project, face-to-face facilitation, guest speaker seminar series) to support women's development.

Mentoring is provided to each of the women participants and these mentors come from the Agency or a business unit. While the program is targeted at women in managerial positions such as frontline managers and supervisors, its major aim is to "help women develop greater confidence (including confidence in valuing their own backgrounds and cultures), learn leadership skills and build valuable support and business networks" so they can work effectively in the Northern Territory Public Sector (Office of the Commissioner for Public Employment 2011b, http://www.ocpe.nt.gov.au/building_capability/leadership/women_in_leadership/development_programs/discovery). Unfortunately, no data are available regarding the efficacy of this particular leadership program for women. It is noteworthy, however, that in 2011, women in the NTPS held 43 % of senior management positions and this percentage has grown steadily over the last decade. For example, women held 26 % of senior positions in 2002 (Office of the Commissioner for Public Employment 2011c, http://www.ocpe.nt.gov.au/building_capability/equity_and_diversity). It is possible that the leadership discovery program as well as other programs that have targeted women leaders may have well contributed to the increased number of women in these positions.

Critical Issues That Impact on Women Managers in Mentoring Relationships

Writers in the field have referred to a variety of issues that are critical when thinking about formal and informal mentoring arrangements for women. Previous work by one of the authors of this chapter identified a number of key issues that are significant for women. These include the necessity for women to be aware of the nature and focus of different types of mentoring arrangements; the potential risks associated with cross sex mentoring relationships; and the use or misuse of power in mentoring relationships (Ehrich 2008, 2009). In the discussion that follows, these themes are built on and presented as competing sets of issues.

Developmental Vs Sponsorship Mentoring

It was discussed earlier in this chapter that mentoring can be experienced very differently depending on the type of mentoring that is being used. Two broad theoretical categorisations of mentoring—developmental and sponsoring mentoring—were identified and discussed. A key feature distinguishing the two forms of mentoring is the use of power. The former is more egalitarian in focus and recognises that mentoring is an empowering experience for both parties, is developmental, and mutually rewarding, while the latter tends to be about hierarchy and the ability of the mentor to use their power to open doors for the mentee. Sponsorship mentoring resonates with a number of the roles that mentors are said to play according to Kram (1985) and these include protection, visibility, and exposure. It is argued here that both types of mentoring are central for women.

Promoted by Clutterbuck (2004a) and Elmes and Smith (2006), the developmental approach is one where effective mentors allow protégés to define the parameters of the relationship and where mentors are required to exercise self-awareness and humility. This approach to mentoring resonates with the work of feminist authors (DeMarco 1993; Devos 2004; Schramm 2000) who argue for mentoring relationships to be less hierarchical and directive and more empowering for those who are mentored. For example, Schramm (2000, p. 10) argues that mentoring relationships with feminist values

> focus on the primacy of interpersonal relationships; empowerment and personal development of members; building of self-esteem; the promotion of enhanced knowledge, skills and political awareness; personal autonomy; and the politics of gender…

Some writers go as far as arguing for the importance of "peer mentoring" relationships for women as opposed to one-on-one relationships because the former are developmental, egalitarian, and involve a community of participants. Comprising of peers who are of similar status and have shared interests, peer mentoring provides mutual support, learning, and friendship (Hermsen et al. 2011; Mitchell in Ncube and Wasburn 2010). Hermsen et al. (2011) maintain that peer mentoring works particularly well for women in the faculty who may feel isolated yet desirous of establishing relationships with similarly minded others to enable connectedness. Another advantage of peer mentoring is that it may be more readily available than sponsoring mentoring.

It seems the issue of sponsorship mentoring is paradoxical. On the one hand, when it is extended to women it is viewed as perpetuating an organisation "as a patriarchal system, that both the mentor and the mentee collude in unwitting ways to reproduce the ideology of the profession and the hierarchy of gender" (Olson and Ashton-Jones 1992, p. 122). Yet, on the other hand, it can and does offer an avenue for women to enter into more powerful positions and is more likely to enhance their career development as supported by the research (see for example, Chao et al. 1992; Ragins and Cotton 1999; Ramaswami et al. 2010). As discussed earlier in the chapter, in certain male dominated industries and workplaces, female managers and professionals can benefit by a senior male mentor who plays a sponsoring type role (Ramaswami et al. 2010). In this whole argument, a vital message for women protégés in sponsorship relationships is to not become clones of their mentor and not to accept uncritically the practices and norms they observe (Hansman 2002).

Our position is that women would benefit greatly by access to multiple mentoring arrangements (i.e. developmental and sponsorship mentoring), and receive different types of support from many people and many directions. This arrangement is known as "multiple mentoring" and the rationale underpinning it is that it is unlikely that any one mentor will be able to meet both the career (i.e., sponsorship) and psycho-social needs (i.e. developmental) (de Janasz and Sullivan 2002; Kram and Isabella 1985) of a mentee. Many writers (de Janasz and Sullivan 2002; Kram and Isabella 1985; Mayer et al. 2008) have argued that multiple mentoring is an approach that is particularly advantageous

for women. For example, de Janasz and Sullivan argue that for women in academic roles in higher education institutions, multiple mentoring is critical as it would allow them to have different aspects of their career needs (i.e. teaching, research, publication) met by different individuals. We concur with the aforementioned writers, as we believe that multiple mentoring arrangements are likely to be advantageous for women working in a variety of organisational contexts such as the public, private and not-for-profit sectors.

Formal Vs Informal

According to Clutterbuck (2005), empirical research is contradictory regarding the question of whether informal mentoring is superior to formal mentoring. Some of the arguments for formal mentoring programs include social inclusion, since formal mentoring provides mentors for persons who may find it difficult to access informal mentors; formal mentoring benefits the organisation as well as the individual; formal mentoring promotes staff retention; and formal mentoring enhances performance in the workplace. Some of the arguments for informal mentoring include that there is no time limit in the relationships; informal mentors volunteer to work with protégés and are more personally committed to mentees than formal mentors; informal mentors are focused on the long-term needs of protégés; and mentors can exercise their power to promote the protégé's visibility and exposure (Clutterbuck 2005). On reflection of the merits and demerits of formal and informal mentoring, Clutterbuck (2004a, pp. 28–29) says:

> Getting the best from a mentoring scheme, then, involves building in the best aspects of both formal and informal approaches. A formal structure is essential because it provides meaning and direction for relationships and support where necessary. But individual relationships will flourish best when allowed to operate as informally as possible.

Since the research is inconclusive about which type of mentoring arrangement works most effectively, we would argue that women would benefit by access to informal mentors and also by participating in formal programs, especially those that have an informal approach as outlined by Clutterbuck (2004a). Both types of arrangements have advantages and if conducted effectively are likely to contribute to women's learning, growth and career development.

Diversity Vs Same-Group Mentoring

When examining diversity in mentoring relationships, consideration is given to mentors and protégés/mentees who differ on a number of key characteristics such as gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability, religion, and socio-economic class (Ragins 1997 in Ragins 2007, p. 282). The discussion that follows is concerned with gender rather than any of the other features of diversity. Much of the early research on cross-sex or cross-gender mentoring referred to the combination of a male mentor matched with a female mentee involving a heterosexual union (Ehrich 2008). A well-debated issue has been whether women are better off being mentored by a male or a female. Clutterbuck (2004a) summarised some of the arguments for and against same versus different mentoring dyads and arguments for same-sex dyads. Arguments for same-sex dyads include that they can often bring greater understanding and that same-sex mentors can act as role models. Arguments for cross-gender dyads include: that there may not be enough women to act as mentors for other women; a male mentor may bring a different perspective; a male mentor may be better connected and have access to a range of different people; and male mentors may be more likely to have access to power to exert influence on the mentee's behalf.

Research (Burke et al. 1990; Clawson and Kram 1984; Feeney 2006; Tharanou 2005) to date appears mixed regarding the question of whether same gender dyads have advantages over cross-gender dyads for women. Some studies have found that a mentor's gender is pertinent in relation to protégés' outcomes (Ragins 2007). For example, women who are mentored by male

mentors have been found to earn more money than those who were mentored by female mentors (Dreher and Cox 1996 in Ragins 2007; Ragins and Cotton 1999). For example, in a quantitative study of 352 female and 257 male protégés, Ragins and Cotton (1999) found that female proteges who had a history of being mentored by male mentors not only were promoted more but also earned significantly more than female proteges who had been mentored by female mentors. A study by Feeney (2006) found that same-gender mentorships compared with cross-gender mentorships did not provide career advantages to women in public organisations. A key finding of Feeney's study (2006) was that access to a mentor (of either gender) increases women's career outcomes. Yet, in a study of male and female Australian public servants, Tharanou (2005) found that the support of women mentors translated into promotion for women they mentored to a greater extent than if they had been mentored by a male.

While there is research to suggest that cross-gender relationships can be productive and rewarding (Johnson and Huwe 2003), writers in the field of cross-gender mentor dyads have drawn attention to the difficulties that can emerge from these relationships (Clawson and Kram 1984; Hansman 1998; Kram 1985; Schramm 2000). For example, based on their research of male mentors and female mentees in sponsorship type mentoring arrangements, Clawson and Kram (1984) identified three main sexual risks. These risks included when the relationship becomes sexual; when others in the organisation suspect the relationship is sexual (even if it is not); and when both parties play stereotypical roles (i.e. male as "all knowing" and powerful; female as dependent and compliant). The problem with this type of stereotypical behaviour is that it does not allow the mentoring relationship to develop independence in the female mentee. If the relationship is cross-gender then both parties need to define the boundaries in their relationship and maintain professional behaviour at all times (Clawson and Kram 1984; Morgan and Davidson 2008).

An argument often posed for eliminating potential cross-gender problems from occurring in mentoring dyads is for female mentors to work with female mentees (Schwiebert et al. 1999), since sexual risk is considered not likely to be an issue within same-gender relationships. Yet it is possible that sexual risks could emerge when either or both parties are lesbian or bisexual. As Morgan and Davidson (2008) maintain, the area of gay or lesbian and bisexual mentoring relationships is one that requires further research. A key implication of this discussion is that, in some situations, it will be advantageous to have a partner who is the same gender and in other situations it will be advantageous to have a partner who is of a different gender (Kochan and Pascarelli 2012). A great deal depends on the needs of the individuals and the expectations held by both parties.

Face-to-Face Mentoring Vs E-Mentoring

Many writers (Hermsen et al. 2011; Kram and Isabella 1985; Mayer et al. 2008; Ncube and Wasburn 2010) have argued for mentoring approaches that transcend the traditional face to face arrangement and provide different structures and models for women. Of interest to this discussion is e-mentoring, which uses electronic communication as a key mode through which mentors and protégés/mentees connect and communicate (Fagenson-Eland and Yan Lu 2004; Whiting and de Janasz 2004).

Up until recent decades, face-to-face mentoring was the dominant approach to mentoring. Today, electronic communication and e-business are pervasive in organisational life. It is not surprising, then, that web-based technology is increasingly being used to assist with mentoring and mentoring programs (Fletcher 2012). E-mentoring relies on computer mediated communication (CMC) such as e-mail and other electronic communication technologies to enable the mentoring to take place (Single et al. 2005). Ensher and Murphy (2007, p. 300) define e-mentoring as "a mutually beneficial relationship between a mentor and a protégé which provides new learning as well as career and emotional

support, primarily through email as well as other electronic means".

Ensher and colleagues (in Ensher and Murphy 2007, pp. 300–301) explain that there are three types of e-mentoring relationships, each of which is distinguished by the degree to which CMC is used. The first type, CMC only, refers to relationships in which ALL communication is electronic and this is usually via email. The second type, CMC primary, refers to relationships which are primarily mediated through CMC, but there are some face to face meetings and phone calls. Finally, CMC supplemented is where the relationship is undertaken primarily via face-to-face and some interactions are mediated by CMC.

In recent times, e-mentoring or e-mentoring programs have begun to receive prominence in the field of mentoring (Headlam-Wells et al. 2005; Ensher et al. 2003 in Woolnough and Davidson 2007) for the benefits they provide in terms of eliminating geographical distances and providing greater flexibility in scheduling (Single et al. 2005). While sharing some features with a conventional face to face mentoring relationship such as psycho-social support and the sharing of information, e-mentoring arrangements have also been identified as "boundaryless, egalitarian, and qualitatively different from traditional face to face mentoring" (Bierema and Merriam 2002, p. 214). Other advantages include greater access to mentors since geography and time are not barriers; a record of interactions; and reduced costs in administering the program (Ensher et al. 2003 in Esnher and Murphy 2007).

Some of the disadvantages that have been associated with e-mentoring include: the likelihood of misinterpretation or miscommunication due to asynchronous communication; a longer time needed to develop trust and rapport in the relationship; computer or internet malfunctions; issues of confidentiality; and different degrees of competence in writing (Ensher et al. 2003 in Ensher and Murphy 2007). It appears that the success of any type of e-mentoring program will also depend on mentors and protégés being confident when working in this type of context and if proficient in using web-based technology (Fletcher 2012).

Because e-mentoring is a relatively new area of research it is difficult to critically evaluate its contribution or success (Yaw in Fletcher 2012, p. 77). Not surprisingly, there is little research that has been carried out exploring e-mentoring relationships or e-mentoring programs for women. Of the limited research in this area, two studies pertaining to women are now discussed.

Petridou (2009) discusses an e-mentoring program designed for new women business owners and entrepreneurs located in rural areas throughout Greece. The program facilitated a number of face-to-face meetings and computer mediated communications (i.e. 35 e-contacts) between each new business owner and her mentor, an experienced woman entrepreneur. Overall the responses from both mentors and mentees pointed to a quality relationship because of the mentors' and mentees' characteristics, the frequency of contact, and e-services available. That the parties achieved their personal goals and expressed a desire to continue the e-mentoring relationship after its conclusion indicated its positive impact.

Another study on e-mentoring found that it also had many advantages for supporting women's career and management potential. Headlam-Wells et al. (2005) reported on a European Union funded program that involved 122 participants. The program was designed so that the majority of interactions would be online but complemented by telephone and face to face meetings. Support was provided via e-activities that enabled participants to access another level of support through resources and web links plus participate in group mentoring discussions. Based on questionnaires, the researchers found that e-mentoring had many advantages for the participants including: improved ICT skills; feelings of isolation being overcome; and increased networking opportunities. On the downside, some participants left the program due to personal circumstances and some participants found the site too difficult to navigate suggesting that their IT skills were not proficient enough to enable them to maximise the online communication. Without the ability to use technology competently, it is likely that e-mentoring will create barriers for those without

these skills. Overall, though, the majority of participants indicated that e-mentoring that takes a blended approach (i.e. incorporates face to face and email) does contribute to women's development. A key finding of the research was that "technology is not the central factor in e-mentoring; it is the quality of the mentoring and the mentoring relationships that are most important" (Headlam-Wells et al. 2005, p. 456). Given that over a billion people in the world access the internet (Hof in Ensher and Murphy 2007) it seems likely that e-mentoring arrangements will continue to grow.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored some of the research on mentoring and its contribution to women managers' career advancement. The different types of mentoring configurations covered in this chapter included formal and informal mentoring, developmental and sponsoring mentoring, and one-on-one and peer or group mentoring. It was concluded that women can benefit from different types of mentoring arrangements. Through mentoring, women can obtain both career benefits (e.g., promotion and salary increases) and psycho-social support (e.g., friendship and encouragement).

It is important to note that, while the research and wide writing in the field point to mentoring as a key strategy for advancing women's development, it is not a panacea. It is one of a number of strategies that have a prominent place in supporting and encouraging women in their respective professional and personal endeavours. Mentoring can be a powerful learning relationship but it can be problematic at the same time. Although not discussed in this chapter, mentoring can yield a variety of challenges. Garvey (2010) identifies these as practical or logistical issues (such as lack of time for mentoring); relationship issues (such as incompatibility between partners, dependency of one partner on the other, and the risk of intimacy as in cross-gender relationships) and organisational issues (such as a lack of understanding about the mentoring program, and uncommitted

or unwilling participants). Researchers have confirmed that these issues can pose significant challenges for the success of any mentoring arrangements (Hansford et al. 2002, 2003). For example, Hansford et al. (2002) undertook a structured review of 151 research-based papers that explored mentoring in a variety of organizational contexts. From their analysis of these papers, they found that the aforementioned issues raised by Garvey were evident in the research studies. Hansford et al. (2002) identified a lack of time to mentor as the most frequently cited difficulty mentors had with mentoring. Both mentors and mentees referred to the difficulties that emerged if there was no compatibility with their partners. Where mentoring programs existed, a lack of training and understanding about the program, as well as unwilling participants (both mentors and mentees), were identified as problematic for the success of the relationship. Hansford et al. (2002) identified different types of relationship issues. Some of these issues included a lack of trust and cooperation between the parties, mentors who exploited or blocked mentees' careers, and mentees who were ungrateful or who had unrealistic expectations. Relationship issues such as these can create a less than optimal arrangement for both parties (Hansford et al. 2002). Therefore, although there are a variety of challenges that confront mentors and mentees, it is clear that the different types of mentoring provide many benefits for women managers. It is important to note that these types of mentoring can vary greatly depending on the purpose, focus, and type of relationship that is formed. This point in itself is a key one for women who may find themselves either mentoring others or being mentored, as mentoring can be experienced differently and not every mentoring encounter will necessarily be successful.

While there has been a proliferation of writing and research on mentoring over the previous decade, gender and mentoring is still seen as an area of research where considerable work is needed (McKeen and Bujaki 2007). Missing from much of the research is longitudinal work that can trace the impact of mentoring programs or mentors on the career development of women

managers. Longitudinal studies would add richness to current work in this area. Another important area of research that is needed is an examination of the impact of e-mentoring on the career outcomes and growth of women managers. A further area for research is that on women managers published in languages other than English. As Hansford et al. (2002) concluded, the majority of the studies in their sample came from the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and other English speaking nations. Research that provided a comparative analysis of the outcomes of mentoring across different countries and cultures might yield some fascinating results. We concur with McKeen and Bujaki (2007) that ongoing research is vital as it should strengthen our knowledge and understanding of the antecedents and outcomes of mentoring for women as well as for men. This awareness is likely to lead to better mentoring programs that benefit not only the mentor and mentee but also benefit the organisation.

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French Women Entrepreneurs' Leadership Practices and Well-Being in a High-Growth Context

Stephanie Chasserio, Corinne Poroli, and Renaud Redien-Collot

Introduction

Capitalist growth has been founded for decades on masculine models of leadership (Acker 1990; Calas and Smircich 1991, 1992; Ford 2005). For 20 years, the women who have achieved leadership positions, as well as those who research this topic, have completely or partially called into doubt these models, and, more broadly, the economic models to which they are linked. Similarly, the academic field of entrepreneurship is also anchored in the masculine model. The stereotype of the entrepreneur is a man, and it is an image that sometimes approaches mythical proportions of strength, fearlessness, and invincibility (Ahl 2006; Bruni et al. 2004; Ogbor 2000). To focus on women entrepreneurs in positions of leadership is to dig around in a field that is imbued with a double dose of masculinity.

Capturing the differences made by women entrepreneurs is to try and identify new avenues for business growth; but it is also an attempt to identify new dialogues happening between the business world and society. However, gender norms in companies are often so dominant that many female leaders have to endorse traditional choices, complying in order to survive.

Entrepreneurial leaders shape their own businesses and, as such, may have more room to negotiate the gender norms and axiomatic traditions, among competing companies or in a certain sector. Our study focuses on a small sample of female leaders of high-growth businesses listed in the INDEX WE 2010 and 2011.[1] This classification identifies 50 French companies that show exceptional growth rates and are run by women.[2] Given the current recessionary economic climate, these women-run companies display amazing performance. Our work aims to understand how the leadership styles of these women entrepreneurs drive business growth.

When examining the interviews of the women entrepreneurs, we adopted a socio-constructivist approach in an attempt to identify the ways in which the women acknowledged a number of social and organizational conventions, and how, they positioned themselves in relation to the norms in place for running a business. Rather than promoting the idea of female leadership, our study aims to explore women's leadership in entrepreneurial environments in order to identify practices and postures that both call into doubt certain leadership traditions and ensure the durability of an entrepreneurial spirit that engenders business growth. We will analyze their leadership postures by mobilizing recent theoretical development, such as authentic leadership, authentic transformational

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[1] See Appendix 1.

[2] For more details, consult www.women-equity.org

leadership or shared/distributed leadership. All of these new theoretical developments have a common point: a positive conception of the leadership. Furthermore, they clearly highlight a link between the actions and attitudes of the leader and the well-being of these leaders themselves and of their followers. In this chapter we will particularly draw on authentic transformational leadership. We will conduct a review of the literature that establishes links between leadership and entrepreneurship. Then, after briefly presenting our approach, we will detail the results of our research. We will close with a discussion of what we learn from these women entrepreneurs regarding a possible redesign of leadership, particularly in the current concern regarding well-being at work.

Literature Review and Research Question

Transformational and Authentic Leadership: Refinements of the Notion of Positive Leadership

Leadership can generally be defined as "the process whereby one individual influences other group members toward the attainment of defined group and organizational goals" (Greenberg and Baron 2003: 471). Among the numerous papers on leadership in recent years, two styles of leadership are particularly well-documented (Bass and Avolio 1993): transactional leadership, which emphasizes the relationship of exchange between leaders and "followers" as based on the requirements of the task, and transformational leadership, which is more focused on the participatory process and mutual trust. This second type of leadership has garnered a lot of interest due to its being considered more suitable to the new and much more turbulent economic and social contexts, and because it requires more intellectual capital (Powell 2011: 139). As a result, due to its focus on individuals, their development, and their involvement, transformational leadership achieves better performance than the more traditional styles of leadership (Powell 2011). For

instance, Matzler et al. (2008), from a quantitative study based on 300 innovative small businesses located in Austria, show that transformational leadership has a positive impact on innovation, growth, and profitability.

However, some scholars go further and refine this concept of transformational leadership. They recognize that the notion of authentic leadership could be considered as a "root construct" of all positive and effective forms of leadership (transformational, charismatic, servant, spiritual, engaging, etc.), and as one that transcends others theories of leadership (Alimo-Metcalfe 2010; Avolio and Gardner 2005; Ilies et al. 2005; Toor and Ofori 2009). In response to criticism of their first definition of transformational leadership, Bass and Steidlmeier (1999) add some precision concerning this type of leadership, particularly making a link with authenticity. Indeed, they assert that the "real" transformational leader is obviously an authentic leader.

Work on authentic leadership has multiplied over the last few years, and Gardner et al. (2011) conducted a very detailed analysis of 91 papers on the subject that were published in recent years. For our work, we retain in particular the definition developed by Illies et al. (2005), because their work links this type of leadership and its effects on well-being, which is of great interest to us in this article. Ilies et al. (2005: 374) states that "authentic leaders are deeply aware of their values and beliefs, they are self-confident, genuine, reliable and trustworthy, and they focus on building follower's strengths, broadening their thinking and creating a positive and engaging organizational context."

Through an overview of the literature (Gardner et al. 2011; Ilies et al. 2005; Kernis and Goldman 2006; Toor and Ofori 2009), we identify four features that characterize the authentic leaders: awareness, unbiased processing, authentic behavior/acting and authentic relational orientation. We specify these features in the following:

- Awareness/self-awareness refers to "one's awareness of, and trust in, one's own personal characteristics, values, motives, feelings, and cognition." It includes "knowledge of one's inherent contradictory self-aspects and the

role of these conditions in influencing one's thoughts, feelings, actions and behaviours" and "being aware of one's strengths and weaknesses as well understanding one's emotions and personality" (Ilies et al. 2005: 378). This notion is closely linked to emotional intelligence (Yitshaki 2012).

- Unbiased processing "involves impartial self-evaluation without denying, distorting, exaggerating or ignoring private knowledge, internal experiences and externally based self-evaluative information" (Toor and Ofori 2009). For Ilies et al. (2005), unbiased processing is the heart of personal integrity and characters; both of these dimensions have direct implications on the well-being of leaders.
- Authentic behavior/acting "refers to acting in line with one's values, preferences, and needs and not conforming to social demands" (Toor and Ofori 2009). These authentic leaders behave consistently with their true selves, in accordance with their personal values without concern for social expectations.
- Authentic relational orientation "means genuineness, truthfulness and openness in relationship" (Toor and Ofori 2009). "Relational authenticity involves an active process of self-disclosure and the development of mutual intimacy and trust so that intimates will see one's true self-aspects, both good and bad" (Goldman and Kernis 2002: 19 quoted by Ilies et al. 2005).

Now we can explore the links between authentic leadership and the notion of well-being. It is true that these two concepts are very closely linked (Ilies et al. 2005).

The Effects of Positive Authentic Leadership on Well-Being

Ryan and Deci (2001) determine that the concept of well-being is complex and multidimensional. Two different views can be considered: the hedonic view and the eudaemonic view.

The hedonic view focuses on happiness and defines well-being "in terms of pleasure attainment and pain avoidance" (Ryan and Deci 2001). The eudaemonic view focuses on "meaning and self-actualization" and defines well-being in terms of "the degree to which a person is fully functioning" (Ryan and Deci 2001). The eudaemonic well-being is composed of six components: self-acceptance, environmental mastery, positive relations with others, autonomy, purpose in life and personal growth (Toor and Ofori 2009). It is remarkable to note how closely the dimensions of the eudaemonic well-being resemble the above-mentioned dimensions of authenticity (Ilies et al. 2005). Moreover, several academic studies show significant correlations between authenticity and eudaemonic well-being (Ilies et al. 2005; Toor and Ofori 2009).

More precisely, Ilies et al. (2005) mention that authenticity has positive consequences on a leader's own well-being, as well as on the well-being of his or her followers. In the same vein, several studies (Arnold et al. 2007; Nielsen et al. 2008 quoted by Toor and Ofori 2009) undertaken on authentic transformational leadership underline the positive effects of this form of leadership on the eudaemonic well-being of followers resulting from, for instance, perceptions of meaningful work. Even if the positive effects of authentic leadership on the follower's well-beings is relatively well documented, few studies focus on the well-being of the leader.

Toor and Ofori (2009) undertook a study with 90 leaders in the construction industry in Singapore. Their results underline that leaders with higher authenticity express better psychological well-being for themselves. They are also more inclined to recognize their weaknesses comfortable with their authentic self. They undertake all their actions in coherent accordance with their values without concern of external judgment. Further, there is a causal linkage between authentic leadership and eudaemonic well-being. The authors also assert that individuals with higher levels of authenticity express a higher level of self-esteem, and consequently develop positive personal outcomes such as genuine happiness, self-confidence, self-efficacy and subjective well-being – all hallmarks of a fully functioning person.

Scholars also observe that a leader's higher level of self-esteem and his/her positive attitudes have positive effects on the team's functioning and positively influence relationships, group coherence, and mutual trust, and, therefore, increase the level of group performance (Toor and Ofori 2009). In short, we can without any doubt confirm that authentic leadership as a process contributes to the well-being of the different stakeholders, the leader and the followers, while simultaneously contributing to the performance of the business.

Authentic Transformational Leadership and Women Entrepreneurs

Work regarding women and leadership presents, at the least, a contrasting landscape. Current clashes over a number of points include the weight of men and women's innate and acquired behavior, or whether or not there exists a difference between the leadership styles of men and women. Our purpose here is not to state all of the theoretical positions regarding women and leadership; for that, one can refer to the work of, among others, Alvesson and Due Billing (2009), Cornet and Bonnivert (2008), Eagly and Karau (2002), and Ritter and Yoder (2004).

In the context of this article, we will focus our discussion on the work concerned with the "real" transformational leadership style of women leaders. Indeed, as we noted earlier, it seems that the transformational style of leadership appears to be a source of growth and performance for organizations (Moore et al. 2001). Let us explore the ways in which women leaders implement this style of leadership.

Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2003) carried out a meta-analysis of 45 research projects that were conducted with the aim of understanding what the leadership styles of men and women were in reference to transactional, transformational, or *laissez-faire* typology. Their analysis shows that women more frequently adopt transformational leadership style. Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt conclude that "female managers, more than male

managers, tend to adopt a transformational style, especially in their mentoring their followers and attending to them as individuals." So, according to the authors, women are more likely to adopt attitudes of support and encouragement. However, we must take into account Alvesson and Due Billing's (2009) remark concerning behavior among women leaders. In effect, these two authors note that one must question the prescriptive force of the social environment in which these women are operating. It is indeed possible that these women leaders are adopting a transformational style of leadership because it most closely approximates so-called "feminine" qualities and attitudes that are traditionally attributed to women (Eagly 2005). Also, for Alvesson and Due Billing (2009), one should be careful not to attribute the cause of these leadership behaviors to gender differences, when perhaps they stem from the women adapting their behavior to social expectations. This point is also echoed by Eagly and Carli (2007: 122). Therefore, it would be very relevant to examine the expectations that employees have of their women leaders, and to explore the ways in which the leaders may be lacking legitimacy (in the eyes of their employees) due to the deviation of their responses and behaviors from those that are normally expected of leaders in business (Eagly 2005).

This dimension of adaptation to social norms seems to be important in connection with the question of exercise of leadership for these women leaders and entrepreneurs. Indeed, these women entrepreneurs are in a field that is considered doubly masculine, the field of entrepreneurship and leadership. We saw above that it seems these women are turning more frequently to a transformational leadership style that is less out of step with the social demands and expectations that are placed on women. However, entry into the entrepreneurship field is significantly more challenging in regards to gendered expectations (Redien-Collot 2007). Thus, to complement our theoretical framework and in order to have an understanding of the reality of these women entrepreneur leaders, it seemed interesting to add a final dimension, that of social norms and expectations, and the ways in which these women adopt, adapt, or modify these

standards and expectations. In this perspective, we consider these women to be agents acting on and contributing to the development and modification of their environments. Women and, more specifically, women entrepreneurs are under structural social pressure, but they also have some room to manoeuvre. Some of them question and redefine traditional norms and rules (Chasserio et al. 2014). In this way, the individual is not only a victim; women are also free agents for change (Alvesson et al. 2008; Diaz-Garcia and Welter 2011; Zanoni and Janssens 2007; Zanoni et al. 2010). They act "as agents who are reflexive about their situation and act upon it to make a difference" (Zanoni and Janssens 2007). In this sense, we more closely approach the position of Calás et al. (2009), which considers these women entrepreneurs to be vehicles of social change—they can change social norms.

Women Entrepreneur Leaders and Strategies with Regard to Social Norms and Expectations

Literature that deals with work standards for women in positions of leadership (surgeons, politicians, entrepreneurs) often sets an especially deterministic framework, emphasizing the importance of the sexual division of labor (Kergoat 2000). Indeed, the vast majority of sectors still establish differences between male and female work/function/tasks, by applying a hierarchical principle, namely that the work that men do is more valuable than the work that women do. Through multiple field studies, the authors point to the fact that women leaders cannot escape this double-standard-setting framework (separation principle and hierarchical principle), but the studies also reveal that, from the agentic point of view, a number of women questioned this double standard (Bargel 2005). There are indeed a great deal of both open and tacit negotiations that go on between the female leader and her surrounding sectoral and organizational gender norms, as well as with the groups of male and female employees who interpret and uphold these standards. Butler (2004) notes that the

management of gender is a performance in the sense that it advocates repetition in order to anchor norms, but that it is precisely through this repetition that these norms may be shifted, transgressed, or even freshly examined. Taking up the work of Butler (2004) and Le Feuvre (2008) emphasizes how many women, when challenged in a professional situation, may deploy three types of attitudes: an attitude of normative integration, whereby they integrate the dominant normative standards, even if it means shaping and adjusting them; an attitude of strategic transgression, whereby they modify certain rules of the game; and a more radical attitude that involves the subversion of a system of thought and results in the emergence of new socio-political paradigms and new modes of intra- and inter-organizational political relationships.

An Overview of French Women Entrepreneurs

In terms of women's socio-economic performance, France serves as an interesting paradoxical case, although fairly representative of the southern European economies (Fouquet 2005). Although female entrepreneurs are more educated than their male counterparts and increasingly present in the employment market and positions of responsibility in 2010, the growth rate of female entrepreneurs and leaders has stagnated for the last 30 years (Bel 2009).

In 2011, 170,000 businesses were created by women in France. Despite this, the growing percentage of women in France's workforce is not reflected in the population of entrepreneurs or company heads. If 47.7 % of the French workforce is female (Ministry of Women's Rights 2012), women make up only 36 % of individual business creators (and that number is, in part, due to self-employment) and around 28 % of heads of companies (Hagège and Masson 2012, Ministry of Women's Rights 2012).

In other words, despite a largely consensual public discourse supporting the idea of inequality, the numbers point to the effects of the gendered division of labor and to the gender inequalities

entrenched in the access to the creation of a business.

Data and statistics collected on women entrepreneurship are complex, and data derived from official organizations does not always take gender into account; thus, there are definite limits to the analysis of women specifically.

Nonetheless, we are able to sketch a portrait of French women entrepreneurs from information derived from different sources (Bel 2009; Hagège and Masson 2011, 2012; Kerjosse 2007, Ministry of Women's Rights 2012; OSEO 2011).

Composite Sketch of Women Entrepreneurs

With all of this in mind, it is also necessary to go beyond the numbers in order to grasp the problems that women entrepreneurs experience.

Women Entrepreneurs
- create companies at the age of approximately 38.5 (at almost the same age as do men).
- represented 36 % of French business heads in 2011, and they made up less than 8 % of the directors of CAC 40 companies.
- create mostly small businesses that have no employees (as do men). An interesting note is that over 80 % of businesses created in France have no employees.
- come from various employment situations prior to founding their businesses. In 2007, 18.2 % were unemployed just prior to creating their companies (in comparison with 8.5 % for their male counterparts), 62 % were salaried employees, 13 % were homemakers, and 10 % were heads of other businesses. It's important to note that not all women found businesses solely to create employment for themselves. (TNS Sofres/APCE 2007).
- are more highly qualified than male entrepreneurs, with 64.6 % of women entrepreneurs holding a Baccalauréat or higher in comparison with 47 % of their male counterparts (Ministry of Women's Rights 2012).
- set up business predominantly in realms of retail, education, healthcare, social work, or the provision of services to individuals or businesses (e.g., cleaners, cooks, home aids to the elderly, taxi drivers.). In 2006, women made up 59 % of entrepreneurs who created companies in the education, healthcare, or social work sectors, and women made up 51 % of services providers (Bel 2009). In contrast, women entrepreneurs are found in much smaller numbers in the industrial sector, the construction sector (fewer than 2 % are women), and the so-called "innovative" sectors. Women more often become heads of industrial enterprises by way of succession (Fouquet 2005).
- make up only 8 % of the project heads in innovative companies (OSEO 2011).
- constitute 21 % of the heads of companies that employ at least one employee. Among the companies that employ more than ten employees, only one in eight heads is a woman (Fouquet 2005).
- create businesses that experience somewhat lower survival rates than those founded by men (65.2 % of companies created by women in 2006 were still in business in 2009, as compared to 66.3 % of male-founded businesses). But we must remember that women entrepreneurs enter into sectors where the rate of failure is far higher than that of the average, and where competition is particularly fierce (specifically in the retail sector).
- have average incomes of €28,100 as compared with €38,400 for men (as of 2009). This figure refers to the incomes of non-salaried employees—which includes the self-employed and heads of companies, but equally included are independent healthcare professionals (e.g., doctors, vets, nurses, psychologists, and chiropractors). We clearly see, then, a 27 % difference in income—very similar to that which we observe in the salaried world of France.

Research Question

There is therefore, in regards to the position and function of being a leader, an apprehension that women suffer from a general lack of self-confidence; but concrete organizational experiences also indicate that a number of women find themselves in positions of failure (Fouquet 2005). In other words, neither within themselves nor in the established models of management strategy do women find support to become more engaged in the entrepreneurial adventure and the quest for growth. In France, in connection with the entrepreneurial revival of the 2000s and the Dutreil laws, many initiatives have been implemented in order to enhance the confidence of women entrepreneurs; but there has been little questioning in regards to the resistance to female leadership within young organizations (Bel 2009).

Rather than approaching this issue in a negative manner and interviewing female leaders of failed businesses and trying to identify the causes of their failures, we have chosen a proactive approach that involves trying to understand the ways in which successful female leaders are able to negotiate with rules, norms, and social expectations. Ford (2005) highlighted the persistence of stereotypes, regardless of the mode of leadership adopted by the women considered. It seems important to examine not only the attitudes but also the behavior of female leaders of growth companies, i.e., their stances that establish their leadership and produce winning strategic models with which they feel comfortable. In accordance with the advice of Van Emerick et al. (2010), we have attempted to equally take into account the gendered component (the ratio of gender norms) and the personal component when asking this question: In a society where there is an unspoken but persistent resistance to women's leadership, how do female leaders of growth companies challenge traditional (male-gendered) leadership postures and exert their leadership style?

Methodology

Our intention is to use an interactionist approach. That which is said by the individuals in our study constitutes a precious crossroads where an intersection occurs between the affirmation of individual behavior and the interpretation of organizational norms and standards (Van Dijk 2003). As a result, we have conducted six extensive interviews with women leaders, two of whom were ranked in the 2010 WE Awards, and four in the 2011 WE Awards.[3] The firms in this sample represent a balance between industry and service sectors. All of these firms have had double-digit growth in revenues during the periods considered, which have ranged from 5 to 50 million euros. Four of the firms were created by our respondents (Sophie, Marion, Monique, Marie), and the other two were acquired (Claudine, Anne). We cannot consider these women to be young leaders because, on average, they have been leaders for at least 7 years.

This is a qualitative study based on an analysis of discourse. We have conducted a critical discourse analysis that aims to look at practices (behavior), values (attitudes), and perceived norms (Van Dijk 2003). The analysis was conducted using NVivo software. Additionally, we consider that the paths of these six leaders, in the entrepreneurship domain, are extreme cases. According to Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007), the use of extreme cases is useful either when exploring a new organizational phenomenon, or when revisiting a point of view regarding a fundamental organizational question. We believe that extreme cases involving female leaders of growth allow us to revive the questioning of the low percentage of women leaders in the OCDE (Bel 2009) by identifying the postures or the practices that could renew the policies and

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[3] See Appendix 1.

educational programs that support female entrepreneurship.

Results

As we have adopted a socio-constructivist approach, we have organized the results beginning with the individual leader's report and her interactions with her employees in order to consider the impact of these interactions on management and strategy. While the leadership style that an entrepreneur adopts is a result of a reflexive individual action and of interactions with the group, it is our view that the interactions with the group shape the entrepreneur's leadership style (attitudes and behaviors) more than does the entrepreneur's reflexive work alone. Leadership, and particularly authentic leadership, needs to be considered as a relational and interactive process. Four themes emerged from the qualitative analysis of our interviews: (1) the "end" of the heroic leader in favor of a collective authentic leadership, (2) centrality of values in the leadership process, (3) absolute coherence in managerial practices and organizational structure, and (4) stakeholder management based on trust and sustainability. In accordance with these results, which underline the authentic dimensions of the leadership developed in the cases, we will discuss the effects of this type of leadership, particularly in terms of well-being.

The "End" of the Heroic Leader in Favor of a Collective Authentic Leadership

Through our results we can observe a real change of focus in women entrepreneurs' leadership. Instead of a focus on the leader, discourses of our respondents orient our attention toward leadership as a process, a dynamic which results from interactions. Two elements need to be stressed: a focus on the team and disappearance of the heroic leader.

A Focus on the Team

Firstly, it is clear from all of the interviews that all of the women leaders place a substantial focus on their organizational teams. In their discourse the respondents frequently use the pronoun "us" or "we" in place of the pronoun "I." These leaders pay constant attention to placing their team in the spotlight, which can be testified by one eloquent female entrepreneur:

> We are always in the field, in the middle of operations, and it's nice for the boss to not ask herself every morning 'am I the most beautiful, am I the best,' and to have the surprise of being rewarded; I find that very satisfying. You don't have an oversized ego, you are who you are and you became what you became because you didn't think about it every morning (Marion).

In addition, this constant concern for the team also involves a genuine desire to advance the employees. This posture is coherent with authentic and transformational leadership (Bass 1985; Bass and Steidlmeier 1999; Toor and Ofori 2009), whereby the leader encourages employees to become leaders themselves. By offering a vision for the future, these women leaders imbue collective action with meaning and encourage their employees to excel by building relationships with them that is based on trust (Alvesson and Due Billing 2009: 153). This entrepreneur says the following:

> I want to give them opportunities for development. It's what drives all of us, the ability to evolve. I put a lot of attention on the future of my team (Marion).

> I give my employees development opportunities. For example, the person who is now my number two is a former assistant who started with me twelve years ago. That also motivates the teams (Marion).

The authentic transformational leadership style of our respondents is also reflected in the fact that at certain crucial moments they put their personal interests on the back burner for the benefit of their organizations. This entrepreneur preferred to refuse a very enticing buy-out offer in order to preserve her team:

> I've already been approached about selling my business and I didn't because I was worried about

my team. I wasn't sure that they would really be happy in the new structure (Monique).

These women show transgressive and nontraditional behavior by suggesting that there is not just one leader, but that everyone is a leader and the organizational collective is more important for the company's success than is only one person, even if that person is the business owner.

The Demise of the Leader as Hero: Toward an Authentic/Positive Type of Leadership

Throughout all six interviews, each leader perceives her company to be the fruit of real teamwork and not as a mere personal success. This assertion of collective success contrasts deeply with the "hero" founder myth often mentioned in work on entrepreneurship (Ogbor 2000). Our women leaders develop a leadership style that can be also described as post-heroic (Fletcher 2002, 2003). They act also in complete accordance with the authentic leadership archetype. They insist on the importance of the collective and of human interactions in their success, as demonstrated by this entrepreneur:

I am the leader, but I include all of my team in the reasons for my success (Marion).

Similarly, the following quote illustrates well this leader's notion of ego:

Team ego drives the team, not personal egos (Anne).

Moreover, their leadership is based on a process of collaborative social relationships that contribute to the formation of relatively non-hierarchical relationships at the heart of their organizations. They prefer to develop with their employees positive social exchanges (Avolio and Gardner 2005) that create trust and positive organizational climates, but that also contribute to the development of both their self-esteem and that of their employees. This leader explains to us how she creates social relationships within the organization:

We have committees. We have teams made up of young people who are in the best labs, (…) senior consultants who oversee the subject, teachers who guide us, and our consultants. Youth increases the power. A team logic. We already did this in 2001

with topics of asset management. This gave us a tool, and we even expanded a company up until last year (Sophie).

Finally, these women leaders don't pretend to have the solutions to all of the problems that crop up in the organization; instead, they foster collective learning. This entrepreneur didn't hesitate, for example, to put all of her employees to work on the strategic fundamentals of the company:

Last week we devoted an entire day with the whole team. We closed the office and I presented the company's priorities to the team. (…) I saw that everyone was following me in regards to the business plan, that we were leading an expedition. I wanted everyone to embark on the adventure with interest. I was happy that evening. Brainstorming workshops and the quality that they produce give me a lot of drive to work on my business plan (Marion).

In fact, our study tends to reveal the demise of the heroic leader in favor of a more collective authentic leadership among women entrepreneurs.

Centrality of Values in the Leadership Process

A leader is characterized by his or her capacity to convey his or her values, and to lead others to adhere to the espoused values (Sardais and Miller 2012). Our women leaders not only ensure that their values are anchored in their businesses (employees, clients), but these women also make a number of societal contributions in the form of events, foundations, and projects that they supervise directly.

All six entrepreneurs interviewed are very comfortable identifying the values that they advocate for and practice in their management. The values that emerged from their stories are competence, quality, integrity, transparency, respect, honesty and probity. The overwhelming homogeneity of their responses is remarkable:

Respect for the work, respect for the employees, respect for management, respect in all these aspects. Valuing a job well done. Integrity and transparency. I insist on respect in all of these aspects (Marion).

We regularly discuss values—valuing work, excellence, investment, sense of service, sense of tolerance, and respect (Sophie).

Quality, commitment, participation, anticipation (Monique).

We also see a high degree of consistency across their attitudes and behavior. Indeed, they embrace these values in all aspects of their business, both in regards to their employees and their clients. First, let's look at their practices in regards to their employees. As authentic leaders, they are able to "maintain high standards of ethics and morality" (May et al. 2003), and "possess the highest level of integrity, a deep sense of purpose, courage to move forward and passion" (Toor and Ofori 2009).

Our leaders show a genuine desire to create, at the hearts of their organizations, a group of people who share the same values. The entrepreneurs are particularly careful to ensure that new employees are in tune with the companies' values. Therefore, in their hiring practices, technical skills, while important, do not constitute a sufficient reason alone for being hired. These entrepreneurs make certain that their future employees are compatible with, and adhere to, company values.

> *The idea of value is very important. You don't hire someone based on skills* (Sophie).

> *I put a lot of importance on the person's personality and his or her proclivity to integrate into the team. The people I let go because of these criteria are not bad at their job. They just couldn't fit into our culture. It's important that people share the same standards, etiquette, and respect* (Marion).

The women leaders thus surround themselves with employees who adhere to the leaders' values and business plans. They favor collective integration over the acquisition of new skills. There is therefore a managerial choice made with the idea in mind that the human qualities of the collective are key components of the leaders' competitive advantages. We can also make the hypothesis that these leaders influence their followers as role models. They demonstrate dedication, passion and commitment in social involvement, and, as far as these factors are concerned, there is clearly an element of contagion in regards to their followers.

This emphasis on values is of equal importance in the relationships formed with clients. Beyond delivering a product or providing a service, these entrepreneurs intend on building with their clients sustainable relationships based on trust.

> *My relationships with my clients are based on trust, which is earned. It is a result of proof, and is more efficient than words. We've been working with different clients since 1996. We have a good reputation* (Marion).

> *It's the same principle, it's done on long-term relationship, confidence, transparency. All of our relationships with our clients are based on those things* (Anne).

Some of the respondents even confided in us that they would refuse collaborations or projects that would lead them to violate their values (for example, developing products that don't correspond to their professional ethics). We see, therefore, an overarching consistency between the values that these leaders nourish internally with their employees, and those they promote to their clients.

These values are the foundations for the businesses' coherence; and they're the source of effective social involvement on the part of the leaders and their employees. To illustrate this phenomenon, we put forth two situations. On the one hand, the great majority of these women entrepreneurs are significantly involved in civil society and charities, such as associations dedicated to helping sick children or developing countries. These are socially responsible women.

> *Me, I get involved. I take two weeks of my own time to help children in need. Or I will help people who have health problems. It's important to help, to give your time and money, to convey your values. Values are more important than money for me* (Sophie).

Moreover, they also encourage social involvement on the parts of their employees. In each of the companies, we observed socially conscious projects and initiatives.

> *Each half-year I highlight the projects of eight people in the company. I appreciate that my employees lead projects outside of the company, which is the case for most of the eight projects recognized! In my opinion, it serves to involve employees in your values (generosity). For example, using old stocks to make money that will go to help single mothers raise money that will be reinvested in our non-profit (a school in Madagascar…that I created). All of these experiences of selfless giving have transformed the staff. In addition, I get them to make presentations about their projects in front of all the employees in order to generate new projects* (Anne).

The business is a project. So we are very proud of the growth we've been experiencing, especially in light of the 2009 financial crisis. The EC and the company participated in the creation of a training center for troubled youth next to Dakar. We provide 36,000 euros per year. It's our fourth year and we have seventy students (Anne).

This involvement in social issues is an important aspect of these entrepreneurs' visions of what it means to be a business leader. Their conception of the role that values play in a company isn't restricted to the safeguarding of fair economic operations and financial activities. They seek to affirm these values beyond the workplace by getting involved with women at risk (Marie), with other businesses to raise their awareness of sustainable development (Monique), the educational actors in emerging countries, etc. In establishing a dialogue between what their values can provide inside of their companies and what they can offer externally, these women entrepreneurs and their teams aim to offer a degree of perpetuity and a genuine depth to the values they uphold. As one of the leaders interviewed recalls: *"Women take power by proving themselves"* (Marion). And they also have to show proof of the positive impacts engendered by the values upon which they have founded their businesses.

These women entrepreneurs show a great deal of consistency between their internal managerial practices and what they do externally; there doesn't appear to be any dissonance between the two. However, by highlighting the importance of the implementation of values in their managerial and entrepreneurial practices, they often differentiate themselves markedly from the other entrepreneurs in their industries. In a certain respect, they broaden the neoclassical definition of an entrepreneur from describing one who is focused on "business," to one who is a social actor involved in the community and who makes the business meaningful for his or her employees.

We had an item in our questionnaire relating to ethical and unethical practices in the respondents fields of activity. While it is true that it is always extremely difficult to assess the degree of honesty in response to these types of questions, all of our respondents stated very clearly that

they rejected unethical practices. However, it must be noted that some of them also pointed out that their industries are highly regulated, making it very difficult for this sort of activity to go on.

I am very happy to work with public institutions, and I know the pros and cons. The advantage is that working with these contracts gives us visibility. The disadvantage, which is also an advantage for me, is that we can't afford to slip up. We have to have full transparency and total integrity. Integrity is a very important value for me, and I convey it to my employees. We hear a lot about scandals that involve companies working with public institutions. I've already been audited by these institutions, particularly at the time of the Cresson affair because we had a contract with Cresson. We are one of the few companies that has continued to work with European public institutions (Marion).

As authentic leaders, these women reject projects which are not in accordance with their values and beliefs. They seek to protect their capital of integrity which is the basis of the legitimacy for themselves and for their followers.

Now it is important to examine how this coherence in values is reflected in management.

Absolute Coherence in Managerial Practices and Organizational Structure

As we mentioned earlier, our study identifies a strong congruence existing between what these women entrepreneurs say about their values, and the business practices that the women have implemented. However, we remain cautious in our assertions insofar as we have not as yet been able to interview the employees of these entrepreneurs. An analysis of these entrepreneurs' practices reveals that many elements that make up their leadership styles closely resemble the authentic transformational style of leadership mentioned previously.

The Valorization of Human Capital: The Importance of Helping Employees to Grow

We have shown above how these women entrepreneurs put their teams and their employees at

the forefront of their discussions. This translates equally to their practices in the field by way of significant efforts with regards to human resources management designed to attract and retain employees. Employee retention happens through, among other things, the implementation of a significant training and skill development policy.

> We are a small company, so we are close to our people. We follow their projects and we see the quality. We try to put the focus on personality. We always say that it's the individual who matters—this is relayed to the managers. …[…]…We also spend a lot of money to keep the employees up to date in their training, giving them new opportunities to perform better. It is almost an obligation that our personnel are trained in the latest techniques (Claudine).

As illustrated in the following testimony, this valorization of human capital is also manifested through a genuine consideration for the staff by way of listening practices and equal exchanges:

> I don't want a penalty-driven approach in my business. I always wanted to be a perfect woman, and to do the best I possibly could. For me, this is shown through an ideal: positive management that gets you to think outside of the box. Give everyone a chance to speak and let each employee know that they matter (Marie).

Another female entrepreneur points out the importance of regular communication:

> You have to take into account the employee's life as a whole, where learning happens both inside and outside the company (Monique).

In this effort to valorize personnel, a genuine dialogue is included to help employees who, in the face of company changes, may be experiencing a loss of bearings and feeling less motivated. We have here a good illustration of the authentic relational orientation of these leaders. As mentioned by Ilies et al. (2005), "relational authenticity on the part of leaders involves striving for achieving openness and truthfulness in their relationship with their followers." It leads to cooperative behaviors and free exchange of knowledge and information. "This social process helps to develop synergistic team relationship and lead to superior performance" (Ilies et al. 2005).

These leaders also know how to control the dialogue and manage simultaneously the interests of their companies and the individuals in question: *"We had lengthy discussions, and then, since we hadn't found any new projects, I paid what I needed to pay to let go of a technical director who hadn't wanted to participate in the management process. We've stayed on good terms"* (Monique). The integrity of both the company's project and the employee's professional project were preserved throughout the supported departure of this employee, who quickly found a position elsewhere. Another entrepreneur notes: *"When employees leave, they receive outplacement. It costs the company, but it's important that companies pursue avenues elsewhere. Also, it's a plus for my business!"* (Sophie).

These managerial practices are made entirely in line with the concept of authentic transformational leadership, whereby the leader sincerely wishes to develop and encourage her or his employees' full potential, and to push forward with them.

Sharing and Transparency with Employees Regarding Strategy

Dialogue and direct exchange with employees engages the employees in the development of the company; one could say, in fact, that there is a collective co-constructive approach to strategy.

Whenever there was a change or transition in their companies, the entrepreneurs interviewed emphasized the lengths they took in terms of leading communication with the teams: *"To coordinate the teams, we regularly have days that we spend discussing and learning about key topics. The whole team brainstorms so that we are sure to be working in the right directions and on the right deals. I like close management"* (Sophie).

This preference for a co-constructive approach shows up in the remarks of another female entrepreneur: *"the business grows through the suggestions of both me and my employees, and not by decree"* (Monique). This is reflected in the use of collaborative communication tools whereby the entrepreneur takes into consideration each proposition and then carefully assesses which answer to give: *"We have had an internal company blog for eight years. All of the employee issues are handled there (ideas, technical problems, salary*

questions, etc.). In my opinion, you should never let an employee go unanswered" (Monique).

In a certain way, this is a real challenge to traditional hierarchical norms. A female entrepreneur who acquired her business explains the change that she consciously made upon her takeover: *"When I arrived, I didn't want there to be hierarchical relationships. Each person had to recognize the technical, managerial, and creative abilities of every other person in the company"* (Monique). The woman leader doesn't consider herself to be superior to her staff; rather, she is in service to them in the development of the company. Consequently, these companies are characterized by a relatively low level of hierarchy and little compartmentalization; ideas are allowed fluidity within the company. Some leaders even oversaw the departure of employees who were finding it too difficult to work in environments where the hierarchical culture had been reduced in order to create greater proximity within the company. This fluid organizational environment with fewer hierarchical barriers enables a fluid circulation of information and ideas, allowing the leader to have easier access to all strategic information from the base up. To some extent, this type of management could be seen as the main element of the competitive advantages of these companies, a feature which is extremely complicated to imitate. One can assume that it partly explains the success and the growth of these companies.

Stakeholder Management: Relationships Based on Trust and Sustainability

A common element emerges throughout the six interviews that we conducted: the management of different stakeholders through relationships based on trust and sustainability. First, our women entrepreneurs are extremely sensitive to the quality of the relationships established with various stakeholders, whether they be employees, or equally, investors, civil society, suppliers and clients. This entrepreneur puts emphasis on the sustainability of her relationships with her clients:

> *I still have my first clients: La Société Générale. We have worked with many of their subsidiary companies, on some very nice missions. They always refer us to other clients. Together we are a very stable and good fit. We have been with them as they've developed, serving as a partner for them* (Sophie).

Moreover, the idea of building and maintaining trust is omnipresent in the discourse of these women leaders. For this entrepreneur, this trust is at the heart of her relationships with her investors:

> *We had the choice, and we chose investors for their human qualities. Our relationships with them are simple and efficient. With bankers, it's always a love-hate relationship, but the relationship itself is based on trust. We have felt an increase in the bankers' trust since I took over the company* (Anne).

The extracts below also illustrate that trust, for these entrepreneurs, is the cement of their relationships with their employees:

> *My HR management is, of course, based on performance. But it is also based on trust, autonomy, and exchange* (Marie).

> *I would like to build a business unit where there is team responsibility and an American-type of spirit where the people who head the teams are responsible, autonomous, and you can trust them—you know that they have a code of ethics, that they will uphold the company values, that they will work to expand the business, that they'll be partners in the venture. No centralization, it's impossible. I'd like to have islands of autonomy that together makeup a centralized picture, but each part is independent* (Sophie).

It is also remarkable how little turnover exits among the employees of the companies surveyed.

> *We have a very low turnover in comparison with others in our industry. Our employees are salaried. We don't work with freelancers except when we need to enhance our expertise; but we work with permanent teams that manage projects from the start to the end* (Marion).

> *We have a very low turnover now…If people leave, it's because they want to make a life change!* (Monique).

Our study tends to reveal a genuine consideration on the part of these women entrepreneurs for each person involved in their companies, whatever the form of that involvement may be. Transparency, trust, and sustainable relationships appear to be crucial for these entrepreneurs. They

consider individuals and their skills as being fundamental to the success of their businesses. They have completely integrated the belief that behind the skills, the quality of relationship, mutual respect and trust are essential to create the conditions necessary for their companies' growth.

Discussion

The results of our study allow us to measure how these women leaders of growth companies create cohesive businesses by way of their leadership. Whether they have created or acquired their businesses, they have opted quite spontaneously to engage in authentic transformational leadership. This attitude aims more to engage rather than persuade (employees, customers, stakeholders) through values, moments of genuine dialogue and collaboration, and a body of evidence generated by all those who strive to excel. This dynamic engagement promotes changes in behaviors, an adherence to values both internal and external to the company, and a co-constructive organizational approach based on consensus rather than conflict. This co-constructive approach is at the heart of the authentic leadership of our women entrepreneurs. Thus, it concerns even the formation of the corporate strategy of the company and implies a collective and cooperative management. Leadership is considered to be a dynamic process where different actors (leader and followers, if we use the traditional terms) constantly exchange and where we observe mutual influence. On one hand, leaders influences employees (some authors talk about contagion) by way of their values, actions and behaviors. On the other hand, the feedback of the employees (followers) could also impact the leader and provoke adjustments and reflective questioning (in accordance with the unbiased processing).

Authentic Leadership and Well-Being at Work

At the organizational and cultural level, we first observed among the women entrepreneurs inter-

viewed a calling into doubt of the model of imbalanced speech and attention that is based on the prioritization of men in the decision-making process (Bancel and Duval-Hamel 2008). The model of the company boss—a conductor playing nuances to assert his or her style—is abolished in favor of a decidedly polyphonic and moderate model. Through the four organizational issues on which we have focused, we first observed that respondents give equal attention to every person involved with their companies; the relaxation of the companies' hierarchical codes is reflected in the equal care accorded to each person who has the floor, by way of differentiated tactics and processes. Roussillon and Duval-Hamel (2007), who conducted a study on stress experienced by French entrepreneurs that involved a predominantly male sample (87 %), indicate that these entrepreneurs set priorities in their relationships with those involved in their companies (employees, managers, investors, stakeholders), and that they change these priorities frequently, which is a source of anxiety and feelings of guilt for them, and even causes indecision or decisions made too hastily. By way of their willingness to give equal attention to their business contacts, the women entrepreneurs who we interviewed seem confident in the relevance of the messages given to everyone, and therefore they seem to experience very little stress. Any doubt they have is focused on the quality and efficiency of their interactions, and they strive to refine their tools or to identify moments that can enable improved interaction (Marie, Anne, Monique). When there is difficulty in communication with a company participant, or among other financial players, the women entrepreneurs justify their tenacity and the certain distance that they sometimes take (a tactical letting go) in order to better reengage in the discussion (Marion, Monique). However, they point out that the moments that they take to focus on reluctant company participants do not subtract from the attention that they give to other aspects of their companies. For a number of these entrepreneurs, they have had business experiences whereby the leader couldn't maintain equal attention, and so these women feel compelled to create a new

model of interaction that involves managing a polyphony of actors rather than directing a symphony. Moreover, our respondents take care to have great coherence between their values and their ways of managing. We observe that the dimensions of their authentic leadership, similar to the features of eudaemonic well-being dimensions, generate positive organizational climates for them and for their followers (Illies et al. 2005). An additional study undertaken by our colleagues on this sample of business owners in a context of high growth also shows the large investment of these women in CSR, which seems to contribute to the well-being of these entrepreneurs and their employees.

Conclusion

Our study has made a detailed investigation of the leadership postures taken on by six women leaders of growth companies. Our results highlight how these six women consider the way that they lead their organizations. The six women entrepreneurs adopt leadership posture types that don't refer to traditional masculine stereotypes, but all the posture types do have strategic purpose and more or less directly impact company growth. Authentic transformational leadership is probably the best term to qualify their styles of leadership. But we also have to highlight that they maintain a conception of leadership as being an interactive process where actors exchange. The central focus is not the leader. On the contrary, the focus is the interactions—their quality (trust, respect, shared values) and content (information, knowledge, common concerns for the business). Therefore, our results show how important the team members are to these women leaders, not only for their technical skills but also for their competence in terms of values and concerns.

However, the authentic style of leadership discovered among our women entrepreneurs, although very attractive, still raises questions. Indeed, the characteristics of this type of leadership are traditionally considered to be part of the female personality. The interpersonal skills necessary for authentic leadership—empathy and listening to others—are typically perceived to be innate and "natural" female qualities. It might therefore seem that women have a "natural" advantage at the outset for this type of leadership. But, in reality, this idea discredits the fact that these qualities are genuine talents that require specific skills. Additionally, authentic leadership that is based on collective accomplishment and success can often be seen (by certain corporate players) as a failure of the leader to assert her legitimate power over the company. In our interviews, our entrepreneurs dare to speak openly about collective success, at the risk of minimizing their own contributions to these successes. Such courageous affirmations lead to the calling into question of traditional norms, and invite us to think of new models of leadership in a business context.

Our results also pinpoint the women leaders' goals to engage people in collective projects and collective adventures. They don't consider their companies to be personal issues; they consider them to be collective projects. Thus, the leader's task is to meet all the criteria necessary for sustaining confidence in the viability of the company, all the while maintaining the desirability of the undertaking. As emphasized by Radu and Redien-Collot (2008), the ability to maintain entrepreneurial desirability finds its source in an individual and collective subject that takes on a polymorphic identity.

In turn, by observing characteristics of their leadership, we better understand how and why the workplace could be great place to work. These women adapt their attitudes and practices in coherence with their values, behaviors and managerial practices in all dimensions of their businesses (employees, strategy, customers). The foundations for well-being are present, and even if our women leaders don't directly express their concerns for well-being, they set/put into their organizations all the elements required for the wellness of their employees and of themselves.

We are conscious that our study presents some limits. From a methodological point of view, our study is based on six cases of women entrepreneurs. It is the reason why we cannot pretend to

generalize by way of our results, but this was not our objective in this chapter. Additional studies with larger samples are necessary. In the same vein, though we have focused on women, it does not mean that there are no male authentic leaders in business. However, for us it is particularly relevant to focus on women entrepreneurs and the ways in which they challenge traditional stereotypes. Probably it could be a source of learning for leadership and entrepreneurship fields. Moreover, in this study, we only explore the perception of women entrepreneurs. Undoubtedly, to go further in the analysis, it will be relevant to also consider the employees' perceptions, and thus view the leadership dynamic with all committed stakeholders. It will be a fruitful research avenue for the future.

For new avenues of research, it will also be interesting to measure this impact in a subsequent study that will refine the relationships between the women entrepreneurs' postures (as identified in this study) and the strategic positioning, as well as the companies' performances. In a crisis context, the atypical corporate growth of these women-led companies that are characterized by authentic leadership arouses curiosity and is a point that is worth thinking about in-depth. As it turns out, highlighting these women enables us to promote models of success that are so scarce for women and that deeply contribute to eudaemonic well-being of these women.

Appendix 1: WEG Index Methodology

The WEG (Women Equity Growth) Index developed the first database statistically documenting growth companies in France run by women. From this work, an annual Index of SME growth businesses run by women in France was released in 2010, 2011 and 2012. Teams are now preparing the 2013 Index.

The database stores the data of all French companies that have existed for at least 5 years, are subject to corporate tax, have achieved a revenue of more that four million euros in the 3 years preceding the filing year, and have filed a minimum of 3 years of accounts with the Registry.

During the analysis, the subsidiary companies, listed companies, certain legal forms (cooperatives, SEM, etc.), and franchised businesses are excluded. Companies with female direction are then selected (General Director, CEO, Manager), including more than 2,500 out of a total of 30,000. Sixty percent of these 2,500 companies have had strictly growing revenue over the preceding 3 years. These 2,500 companies are then ordered by rank in reflection of the average of the following five indicators: growth of revenue in the first year, average growth of revenue over the last 3 years, growth in value of revenue in the first year, profitability in the first year and average growth of gross operating profit over the past 3 years.

Finally, the 2012 Index, for example, chose the 50 most successful companies—nearly 1 billion euros cumulative revenue, an average profit of more than 18 million euros, a sales growth of nearly 30 % in the last financial year, and average annual growth of more than 22 % over 3 years, and a more than 32 % average growth of gross operating profit over 3 years.

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Part IV

Professional Context and the Well-Being of Working Women

Women in Medicine

16

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Introduction

Gender has been, and continues to be, a central determinant of power relations in the health labor force, exerting considerable influence over structural location (e.g. the type of health occupation or area of medicine) and subjective experience (George 2007). Women are overwhelmingly concentrated in lower-status health occupations and under-represented in leadership and management positions (Schindel et al. 2006; Zurn et al. 2004). This paper examines the advances that women have made in medicine, primarily in terms of becoming physicians.[1] Despite variations in how health care is organized and delivered, in most countries physician is the highest status position in the medical field (George 2007), and thus a key indicator of progress toward gender equity in health occupations. Achieving gender equality in the health care labor force has important implications not only for the men and women who desire to work there, but also

for improvements in the functioning of health care systems (George 2007) and advances in medical knowledge that will impact the health and well-being of both men and women (Carnes et al. 2008).

Our chapter focuses mostly on the U.S., where, as in other countries, there has been a dramatic rise in the number of female physicians. Despite that trend, gender equity has not been achieved: Fewer than half of physicians in the U.S. are women and, perhaps more importantly, female physicians are still not adequately represented in some high-status medical specialties or the upper echelons of medical hierarchy. Additionally, women continue to experience considerable discrimination in medical school and the practice of medicine. We examine gender disparities in medical specialties, career advancement, and pay, as well as the experiences of female physicians, barriers to equality, and some efforts that have been made to address these issues. We conclude with a look at the global feminization of medicine and the impact of women on medicine and the health of the population, especially women's health.

Gender in the U.S. Health Care System

The modern health care system evolved in the U.S. in the mid-nineteenth century along with the transition to an industrial economy and the

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[1] While in many countries a physician is distinct from a surgeon, in the U.S. the term physician is used to describe both physicians and surgeons. For the purposes of this paper a physician is a doctor of medicine or osteopathy who is professionally trained and licensed to practice medicine, including medical doctors who complete additional training to specialize in a particular field (e.g. surgery, radiology).

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discovery of scientific medicine. Prior to this healing was done by anyone who possessed a skill or knowledge in this area, with women having a strong presence (Ehrenreich 1974). Scientific medicine focused on the germ theory of disease and the development of other technologies (e.g., stethoscopes, x-rays) which led to the dominance of the biomedical model of sickness. The rise of scientific medicine enabled allopathic physicians who were entirely male (Ehrenreich 1974) to effectively challenge most other healing modalities (e.g., herbalists, bonesetters, chiropractic medicine) that were not based on science and eventually claim a monopoly on the right to practice medicine. During the 1800s allopathic physicians formed the American Medical Association to advocate for their interests, created a code of medical ethics, and launched a journal, the *Journal of the American Medical Association*— all activities that advanced their status as medical professionals. Eliot Freidson developed the concept of professional dominance to describe the state-sanctioned autonomy and authority physicians in the U.S. gained over virtually every aspect of medicine, including medical school admissions and curricula and the licensing of physicians (Freidson 1970).

The monopoly gained by allopathic physicians over the right to practice medicine tended to displace female medical practitioners, most commonly midwives. With professionalization the role of the physician was increasingly defined in a masculinized way—e.g., as a person who was powerful, authoritative, scientific, and rational. But as Regina Morantz-Sanchez (2000) pointed out, the exclusion of American women from medicine proved difficult. During the colonial era women were vital participants in productive labor in the home-based economy, in many cases exercising considerable independence and autonomy, and they continued to work in the market economy as it evolved in the late 1700s. Their health care work was also essential; many were well-trained midwives and many others provided medical care during the American Revolution and other wars. Still, as the market economy expanded the doctrine of separate spheres—the idea that men belonged in the public arena and women in the private arena of the home—took hold. Women were increasingly excluded from employment, including health care, and several female medical schools were closed.

By the late nineteenth century most medical schools openly discriminated against women. Moreover, with no financial aid available, white men from privileged families were practically the only ones who could afford to attend medical school, and the fact that physicians were affluent white men increased their status. Still, women continued to establish their own medical schools and, by the late 1800s, some medical schools (e.g., the University of Michigan, Johns Hopkins University Medical School) had become co-educational institutions (Morantz-Sanchez 2000). Female physicians started their own medical journal and claimed preventive medicine as their province; they lectured widely on the topic, often as a way to compensate for their meager patient clientele. Morantz-Sanchez (2000) noted that in 1900 women comprised about 5 % of all physicians—a total of over 7,000 in the U.S. Interestingly, their numbers peaked at 6 % in 1910 and then did not reach that level again until 1950. The major reason for the decline was the emergence of a variety of new feminized professions, including a restructuring of the health care system that led to the profession of nursing.

The contemporary nursing system in developed nations originated in the mid-1800s and was the result of urbanization, the rise of hospitals, physicians' demand for support workers, and the need to create suitable jobs for middle-class women (Hyde 2013). But nursing as a career got a considerable boost during the World War II era, when the demand for nursing services expanded. Afterwards, nurses sought strategies similar to those used by allopathic physicians to increase their status: They formed the American Nurses Association and tried to professionalize the career by increasing its educational requirements. They experienced some success but also a great deal of resistance, much of it due to the varying levels of training associated with being a nurse. More importantly, while being a physician was equated with being scientific, rational, and objective,

nursing continued to be associated with nurturing and caring—characteristics defined as inherently female. Thus, nursing became the quintessential female occupation. The majority of women in health care became nurses and worked in strict subordination to physicians. Today, nursing is the single largest occupation in the field of health care, with nearly four million registered and licensed practical nurses in the U.S. labor market. About 92 % of nurses are women and, while nurses have made some gains in professional status (Malka 2007) their work is still largely controlled by physicians (Gordon 2005).

Other health care occupations are also gendered and exhibit gender gaps in status and pay. Physician Assistants, for example, are paramedical practitioners who are trained to provide routine medical care, but they most often work for or under the supervision of physicians. Data show that women are about 70 % of all physician assistants in the U.S. (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013). Research using the 2009 American Academy of Physician Assistants' Annual Census Survey found that practicing male physician assistants earn higher base pay and total income than practicing female physician assistants, independent of clinical experience and workload (Coplan et al. 2012).

The Current Increase in Female Physicians

Despite this pattern of gender stratification in the health care labor force, the past few decades have witnessed a remarkable increase in the number of women and racial minorities who are being accepted into medical school and becoming physicians. A significant increase in the number of women in medicine began in the U.S. in the 1970s and in the ensuring decades moved towards gender equality in the distribution of medical students. For example, in 1970 only 10.9 % of students admitted to medical schools in the U.S. were women (Jolliff et al. 2012), but over the next three decades that increased to 40.3 % and now hovers around 47 %. This has meant a dramatic increase in the number of women practic-

ing medicine: Between 1975 and 2010, the actual number of female physicians in the U.S. grew from 35,626 to 296,907, an 833 % increase (Smart 2012). A census of licensed physicians in the U.S. in 2012 puts the overall proportion of women physicians at 30.2 %, but also notes that the proportion of women is increasing, and that licensed female physicians are younger on average than their male counterparts (Young et al. 2013). In 2010, nearly one-third of all physicians in the U.S. and 45.4 % of all medical residents and fellows were women (Smart 2012). While these statistics demonstrate an increase in the absolute number of women physicians and in the number of women relative to men women still make up less than 50 % of medical school graduates and increases in the proportion of women in medical schools have plateaued in recent years. It is therefore unclear when or even if, women will reach complete parity with men in this occupation in the U.S..

A similar trend of increasing female presence among physicians is found in the United Kingdom (U.K.). In the U.K., the number of women being accepted into medical school has exceeded the number of men since 1992 (Elston 2009). The admission of women to medical schools in the U.K. peaked in 2003 at 61.6 %, and has since declined to 56 % in 2008 (BMA Equal Opportunities Committee 2009). The majority of medical school graduates in the U.K. are now women, although the impact of this on the sex-ratio of current doctors has been tempered by the recruitment of international medical graduates who are more likely to be male (Elston 2009). A little more than 1 out of every 3 (36.7 %) registered medical practitioners in the U.K. completed their medical training in other countries (General Medical Council 2014). In 2014, 43.9 % of all physicians registered to practice medicine in the U.K. were women (General Medical Council 2014). Based on current trends it is anticipated that women will achieve equal representation with men as physicians in the U.K. National Health System by the year 2022 (Elston 2009).

The reasons for the increased representation of women among physicians are similar for both the U.S. and the U.K.. Feminist ideologies have

challenged policies, laws, and traditions which supported gender-segregated work environments and women are increasingly pursuing occupations once dominated by men, especially high status positions. Laws have now banned gender and racial discrimination, and the affirmative action policies that began in the 1970s have especially affected medical school admission policies (Riska 2011). Boulis and Jacobs (2008) concur in attributing the increase in the female presence in medical schools to changing gender ideologies and greater careerism among women, and pointed out that girls in U.S. high schools are now taking more math and science classes. The entry of women into medicine must also be understood in the context of women's overall increased labor market participation: The majority of women, including mothers of young children, now work outside of the home.

Although most of the increase in female physicians is among white women, this rise has also included significant increases in the number of women of color in medicine, especially African-American women. Prior to the civil rights era, most black doctors were trained at one of two institutions—Howard or Meharry—and were most male. In 1966 all medical schools in the U.S. began to accept African American students; by 1997 they collectively graduated 1,150 black medical students—an all-time high (Journal of Blacks in Higher Education 1997). As racial and gender barriers fell, it also became more common for women of color to enter medical school: By 2008 women were 39.7 % of Hispanic physicians, 41.8 % percent of Asian physicians, 43.3 % of American Indian physicians, and 55.3 % of African-American physicians (Castillo-Page 2010).

Status of Female Physicians

Despite achieving near parity with men in the number of women entering and graduating medical school, female physicians have yet to achieve equality in medical schools or in the field of medicine. This section describes the current status of female physicians. Specifically, gains in female representation are not evenly distributed across medical specialties, and women are noticeably under-represented in leadership positions. In addition, female physicians do not receive the same compensation as male physicians with equivalent credentials and work characteristics.

Horizontal Segregation—Medical Specialties

Despite dramatic increases in the number of physicians who are women, there is still a strong pattern of horizontal segregation: Men and women tend to specialize in different medical fields. Overall, women are concentrated in the lower-paying and lower-status fields of medicine such as general practice, pediatrics and family medicine. In the U.S., women have above average representation in primary care specialties including pediatrics, internal medicine, family medicine and general practice (Center for Workforce Studies 2012). In 2014, women made up only 31.7 % of specialists registered in the U.K., but made up 48.8 % of general practitioners (General Medical Council 2014). Medical students who express a preference for general practice are often viewed by faculty and fellow students as being less ambitious; in fact, many medical students view it as a 'safety' option in case their preferred path does not work out (Elston 2009), indicating the lower status that general practice has compared to clinical or hospital specialties.

There is some evidence that women specialize in fields of medicine that are more people- than technology-oriented; for example, in the U.K. higher than average percentages of women are in one of six specialties: Clinical oncology, obstetrics/gynecology, pediatrics, pathology, psychiatry, and public health (Elston 2009). With the exception of obstetrics/gynecology, women concentrate in fields where the workload is predictable and can be planned (Elston 2009). In the U.S., women are disproportionately represented in pediatrics, psychiatry, obstetrics and gynecology, geriatric medicine, neonatal-perinatal medicine and dermatology (Center for Workforce Studies 2012). Given the current gender distribu-

tion of medical students across specialty areas, this gender imbalance will continue for the foreseeable future. For example, 2012 data from the Association of American Medical Colleges (AAMC) show that female residents and fellows comprise a significant majority (70–80 %) of those in obstetrics/gynecology and pediatrics, compared to 13.2 % of those in orthopedic surgery and 18.7 % of those in thoracic surgery (Center for Workforce Studies 2012).

Male physicians hold the highest ranks on medical school teaching faculties and thus exert considerable influence on students. Although women are more likely than men to hold a faculty position at some point after graduating medical school, they are still under-represented compared to the gender composition of medical students (Nonnemaker 2000). According to the AAMC, at the end of 2013 only 35 % of faculty (assistant, associate and full professors) in the clinical sciences at U.S. medical schools were women (AAMC 2013; Table 13). Substantial differences in the gender composition of faculty are notable across specialty areas, ranging from 13.8 % of professors in orthopedic surgery being women to 51.9 % in obstetrics and gynecology (AAMC 2013; Table 13). The good news is that the overall number of women among U.S. medical school faculties is increasing, albeit slowly (Nonnemaker 2000). Unfortunately, progress towards parity is uneven across different specialties, and as we shall discuss in the next section, female academic physicians do not advance to higher levels at the same rate as their male counterparts.

Vertical Segregation—Women (or Lack Thereof) in Leadership

The medical hierarchy also reflects an internal pattern of gender segregation, with male physicians receiving more career advancements and holding more of the higher level positions than female physicians. Thus, despite the growing number of female physicians, there is a strong pattern of vertical segregation. Heru (2005) refers to the "pink-collar" tier, where female physicians occupy a lower status in medicine somewhere between the male physicians who are the power brokers and nurses.

Numerous studies have documented gender disparities in advancement and leadership in the field of medicine. For example, female professors in academic medicine have not achieved parity with men when it comes to being tenured (Reed and Buddeberg-Fischer 2001). Although the number of female physicians in academic medicine is increasing at all levels (assistant, associate, and full professor), women are significantly less likely than their male counterparts to advance from assistant to associate professor, and from associate to full professor (Nonnemaker 2000), even after taking into account differences in productivity (Tesch et al. 1995). While some argue that it is just a matter of time for current female medical school graduates to advance to full professors, empirical data have demonstrated that the rate of increase in the proportion of female full professors has been slower than the increase in the supply of potential candidates (Sexton et al. 2012).

Even more striking is the under-representation of women at the highest academic ranks and leadership positions in medicine. While approximately 20 % of full professors in the clinical sciences at medical schools in the U.S. are women, representation varies by department with public health (38.7 %), pediatrics (30.8 %) and dermatology (30.9 %) at the high end, and surgery (6.7 %) and orthopedic surgery (9.2 %) on the low end (AAMC Faculty Roster, May 2012; Table 13). In 2012, only 11 % of the department chairs in clinical sciences departments in U.S. medical schools were women (AAMC Faculty Roster May 2012; Table 11). Only 12.8 % of medical school deans appointed between 2000 and 2006 were women, with the appointment of a woman as dean more common at lower-ranked institutions (White et al. 2012). The National Institutes of Health, going back to its beginnings as the Hygienic Laboratory in 1887, has only had one female director; Dr. Bernadine Healy was director from April 1991 to June 1993 (the second shortest tenure at director out of 16; National Institutes of Health 2014).

Within academic medicine it is research-based tenure tracks that lead to leadership positions (Carnes et al. 2008). However, women are less likely than men to be represented among faculty in tenure tracks, and are more likely to be in clinician-educator tracks that do not require research (Mayer et al. 2014). Faculty on the clinician-educator track are also less likely than those on research paths to be promoted (Beasley et al. 2006; Thomas et al. 2004). As such, female faculty are less likely than male faculty to be considered 'in the pipeline' for future leadership positions.

Gender Pay Gap

Another indicator of the status of women in medicine is whether female physicians receive comparable compensation to their male counterparts. Women in academic medicine are paid less and receive fewer rewards for their work than men of the same rank and experience (Ash et al. 2004; Carr et al. 1993; Kaplan et al. 1996). A common explanation for this pay gap is that women are more highly concentrated in lower paying specialties such as pediatrics and internal medicine, while men are more highly concentrated in higher paying specialties such as radiology (Jagsi et al. 2012, 2013; Lo Sasso et al. 2011). The pay gap has also been rationalized by focusing on gender differences in work hours and productivity, with female physicians on average working fewer hours, seeing fewer patients and publishing fewer papers (Jagsi et al. 2012, 2013; Lo Sasso et al. 2011). While these, and other measures including academic rank and leadership positions, do account for some of the observed difference in the average salaries of male and female academic physicians, a significant and substantial difference still remains unexplained (Jagsi et al. 2012, 2013). Gender also interacts with other variables in producing disparate outcomes. Among a recent cohort of accomplished academic physicians the pay gap was largest in the highest-paying specialties (Jagsi et al. 2013), and among mid-career physicians achieving higher academic rank was more financially beneficial for men than for women (Jagsi et al. 2012).

A gender pay gap is also evident among physicians outside of academia. Boulis and Jacobs (2008) report that women in the medical field earn 63 % of what men earn. Similar patterns are observed in other countries. Among doctors working in the National Health Service, the British Medical Association found that in 2009 there was a $24,000 gender gap in salaries (Carvajal 2011). Women are also more likely than men to hold salaried positions (Hoff 1998), which may explain some of the disparity.

Empirical data suggest that the situation may be worsening over time, rather than improving. Controlling for hours worked and other physician and practice characteristics, Weeks et al. (2009) found a significant and increasing gender disparity in the incomes of primary care physicians between 1997 and 2003. This disparity in compensation is evident from the beginning of physicians' careers. In a longitudinal study investigating the starting salaries of male and female physicians completing residency programs in New York State between 1999 and 2008, Lo Sasso and colleagues (2011) found that the average starting salary for men was significantly higher than for women in most specialties, and there were no specialties where women had significantly higher starting salaries than men. Even after accounting for specialty choice, practice setting, work hours and other factors the average pay gap in starting salaries between male and female physicians persisted, and grew 467 % from 1999 to 2008, increasing from $3, 600 to $16, 819.

Overall, these studies demonstrate that notable differences in financial compensation continue to exist between male and female physicians even when they are doing the same job and working the same amount of hours. These differences manifest themselves early on and compound over time, leading to substantial monetary differences in compensation over the course of a career and an accumulation of disadvantage over time. Rather than improving, recent studies suggest that the gender pay gap among physicians may be increasing over time. Another consideration is that many studies control for area of specialization and practice type when investigating

gender differences in pay, with observed differences being larger when they are not factored out of the equation. Using U.S. data from 2006 to 2010 and controlling for hours worked and experience, Seabury et al. (2013) found that the median salary of male physicians was \$56 019 (or 25.3 %) higher than female physicians. These authors argue that while examining gender differences in earnings holding factors such as specialty choice and practice type constant is important in demonstrating a pay gap for male and female physicians in the same types of jobs, it is also essential to examine unadjusted differences in earnings, as specialty choice and practice type may also reflect unequal opportunities for women. Similarly, researchers studying gender differences in the salaries of academic physicians argue that controlling for leadership positions (Ash et al. 2004), or for academic rank when examining a single cohort of researchers (Jagsi et al. 2012), legitimizes these as valid reasons for differences in pay, without taking into account the gendered processes that contribute to women progressing more slowly through the academic ranks or being less likely to be considered for leadership positions.

Barriers to Gender Equality Among Physicians

What accounts for these persistent gender disparities in specialization fields, leadership, and compensation? Multiple explanations have been advanced, from sexual harassment in medical school to gender bias and discrimination in the workplace. We discuss these barriers, along with research that highlights the impact of gender socialization and how women's choices are shaped by efforts to balance their work and family responsibilities.

Sexual and Gender Harassment

Women in medical school and medical practice encounter sexual harassment, sexism and gender discrimination that may adversely affect their careers (Park et al. 2005; Gargiulo et al. 2006; Stratton et al. 2005). A substantial majority of female residents at major medical research institutions reported experiencing either overt or subtle sexual comments (62 % and 71 % respectively), and 83 % heard jokes about women told in their presence (Hinze 2004). Female residents in this study were commonly exposed to sexualized or pornographic images of women, and nearly a quarter of them experienced uninvited sexual advances. Other studies also report frequent accounts of sexist or stereotypical comments, sexual innuendos, and the inappropriate touching and solicitation of female medical students (Babaria et al. 2012; Jones 2014; Witte et al. 2006).

Female medical students have been shown to become desensitized to these behaviors during the course of medical school, coming to accept them as part of the culture of medicine (Babaria et al. 2012; Hinze 2004; Witte et al. 2006). As such, while many of these experiences can be defined as sexual or gender harassment, many of the women experiencing them would not use these terms, or they would downplay their significance, suggesting that data collection on generic experiences of 'sexual harassment' may be failing to capture how pervasive these inappropriate encounters are (Babaria et al. 2012; Hinze 2004).

There is little evidence of a decline in such experiences; for example, a recent study of physician mothers and their physician daughters found similar rates of overall sexual harassment experience in medical school. Forty-four percent of the mothers and 51 % of the daughters experienced sexual harassment, despite the fact that their medical training and entry into practice were separated by more than three decades, and more than one-third of each group described the harassment as moderate or severe (Shrier et al. 2007). Others have also found rates of sexual harassment are higher among younger cohorts of women (Frank, Brogan, and Schiffman 1998; Shrier et al. 2007), perhaps due to resistance to the entry of large numbers of women into medical school or simply because women are more attuned to the issue.

Research by Frank et al. (1998) pointed out that female physicians who do not specifically experience explicit sexual harassment still feel a sense of gender harassment "simply because of events specific to being female in a male-dominated culture" (pg. 352). Sexist or stereotypical comments, while not necessarily sexual can also contribute to a hostile work environment for women. For example, female students have reported repeatedly being called names such as "dearie," "honey," "little girl," or "babe" by their supervisors, along with even more demeaning names that belittle them and suggest they are not as smart as the male students (Gosh 2004; Witte et al. 2006).

Professors, colleagues, and supervisors are often the source of gender and sexual harassment, but harassment from patients is also reported (Nora et al. 2002; Shrier et al. 2007). However, while female medical students report that they feel adequately trained during medical school to respond to inappropriate behavior from patients, they often feel disempowered and unable to respond to the unprofessional behavior of male superiors (Babaria et al. 2012). Incidents of sexual and gender harassment are frequently unreported, and those who do report them are often dissuaded from reporting future incidents based on the lack of institutional response (Babaria et al. 2012; Jones 2014; Witte et al. 2006).

Sexism and harassment that is experienced by women during their undergraduate education, clerkships or residency selection influences their choice of specialty (Stratton et al. 2005). Surgery is widely reported as providing the most hostile work environment for women in terms of both sexual harassment and gender discrimination (Hinze 2004; Nora et al. 2002), and contributes to the lack of women in this specialty (Park et al. 2005; Gargiulo et al. 2006). Exposure to sexual and gender harassment does not end with medical school (Frank, Brogan and Schiffman), and may also partially explain why women either leave medicine or experience less career mobility than do men.

Gender Socialization and Gender Stereotypes

Another explanation for gender disparities in the medical profession points to gender socialization and gender stereotypes which may leave women less able or willing to negotiate career advancement. Women in academic medicine are perceived as disadvantaged in matters of negotiation around salary, work resources, and schedules (Sambuco et al. 2013). In one study, the female chair of a department of medicine described women as not being tenacious enough and suggested that men were more likely to persist and succeed in academic medicine because of their willingness to pick themselves back up after failure (Yedidia and Bickel 2001). Female faculty express more discomfort than do men with the self-aggrandizing practices that are often necessary to acquire status and power in academic medicine (Pololi 2010), and this tendency towards understatement may be a barrier to career progression (Schueller-Weidekamm and Kautzky-Willer 2012). Bickel (2011) cautions of a ""personal glass ceiling"—that is, women internalizing as personal the cultural difficulties they face, hence underestimating their own abilities, acquiring passivity, and limiting their goals" (pp. 1–2).

Gender stereotypes also influence how female physicians are evaluated, and their perceived strengths and weaknesses. Implicit gender biases have been shown to manifest themselves in the performance evaluations of medical students, with women being more likely than comparable men to be described with terms such as "compassionate," "sensitive," and "enthusiastic", and men more likely to be described as "quick learners" (Axelson et al. 2010). Assumptions by supervisors and mentors about specialty preference are often based on gender, with women being seen as more appropriate for working with women and children, and men more suited for technical work like surgery (Witte et al. 2006). Gender stereotypes also inhibit the perception of women as leaders and disadvantage women in the tenure

review process, and in achieving grants and awards, especially when criteria for success explicitly include stereotypically male criteria (Burgess et al. 2012; Carnes and Bland 2007; Kaatz and Carnes 2014; Marchant et al. 2007).

Another key issue is that women are socialized to assume that they will have primary responsibility for home and family life, which leads many of them to choose specialties which enable them to balance these responsibilities with employment. Studies of medical students have found that the career choices of women are more likely than those of men to be shaped by family concerns, and that women are more likely to consider sacrificing ambition to accommodate family demands (Drinkwater et al. 2008; Sanfey et al. 2006). Female residents are less likely than male residents to plan to have children during residency because of perceived career threats (Willett et al. 2010), and a stigma against pregnancy during residency does exist and is expressed by colleagues and faculty of both genders (Turner et al. 2012). Still, more than half of all female physicians have their first child during residency, often experiencing more complications and adverse birth outcomes due to the stress of combining medical training and pregnancy (Heru 2005).

Having responsibility for the 'second shift' in the home and the time-consuming activities of child care are obstacles to career advancement for women in medicine (Pololi and Jones 2010; Schueller-Weidekamm and Kautzky-Willer 2012). A supportive partner, assistance from extended family, and the financial resources to purchase help with household work mitigates these obstacles (Pololi and Jones 2010; Schueller-Weidekamm and Kautzky-Willer 2012), and a department culture supportive of women can reduce the strain of high work demands (Westring et al. 2014). However, female physicians do not always have these resources and thus are likely to balance the demands of family and work by choosing specific medical specialties or working fewer hours than their male counterparts. One longitudinal study of physicians in Canada, where physicians have considerable discretion in setting their own hours, found no gender differences in hours worked among single, childless

physicians (Wang and Sweetman 2013). However, they found that both marriage and motherhood were associated with a decrease in the number of hours women spent practicing medicine, with the presence of children increasing the domestic work load for women twice as much as for men.

Some argue that the current distribution of women in medical specialties and the higher echelons of medicine is simply a product of their choices (Riska 2011). However, gender socialization and traditions, especially as they pertain to family responsibilities, as well as the structure and culture of medicine, which remains male-centered and male dominated, shape and constrain the choices women make during medical school and in their careers. The focus on these seemingly individual factors should not obscure they ways in which explicit and hidden aspects of the structure and culture of medicine act as barriers to women who want to practice medicine.

Gender Bias and Discrimination

Carnes and colleagues (2008) argue that it is deeply embedded gender biases and assumptions that keep women from advancing to leadership positions in academic medicine. Even gaining entry to academic medicine involves overcoming gender biases and discrimination. During the hiring process, men have been shown to have a preference for working with another man; they perceive women as less dedicated to an academic career (Van Den Brink 2011). One study found that 40 % women faculty said that gender discrimination was the biggest reason for their lack of success in their careers in academic medicine, with 35 % ranking it as the second biggest reason (Carr et al. 2003). Women were 2.5 times more likely than men to perceive the medical academic environment as discriminatory (Carr et al. 2000).

In a study of practicing physicians in Massachusetts, women were significantly more likely than men to have experienced some form of gender discrimination in the past 12 months (51.3 % versus 31.2 %) (Tolbert Coombs and King 2005). In this study, 39.8 % of the female

physicians reported their pay and/or benefits were not equal to their male peers at the same level, 29.3 % reported not being included in administrative decision-making, 28.8 % reported being treated with disrespect by nursing or other support staff, 26.2 % reported being held to a higher standard of performance than peers, and 21.5 % reported not being fairly considered for promotion or senior management. Women in medical specialties dominated by men may experience the highest levels of discrimination: in one study of female surgical leaders, 80 % of women reported that gender discrimination and prejudice was a major obstacle in their careers (Kass et al. 2006). The specialties in which women were least likely to experience gender discrimination and sexual harassment were pediatrics, family medicine, and psychiatry (Nora et al. 2002).

Structure and Culture of Medicine

Scholars have likened medical school to a boot camp, where the training is highly "patriarchal, militaristic, and designed to strip you of your individuality" (Takakuwa et al. 2004). Medical training is often organized around a tutorial model where students' work one-on-one with their faculty supervisors, and behaviors and choices consistent with gender expectations are less likely to be challenged by their superiors (Zimmerman and Hill 2006). This includes a gendering of medical specialties, where some fields are considered more appropriate for women. One study found that, compared to men, women who start careers in surgery and internal medicine were less likely to complete their specialist training (Gjerberg 2002). On the other hand, since students apply for residencies and the process is competitive, men are more likely to be chosen and mentored to be surgeons (Riska 2008).

Women are often excluded from the 'old boys network' and supportive relationships which foster their careers, leaving them feeling isolated and as 'outsiders' (Babaria et al. 2011; Fried et al. 1996; Jones 2014; Levine et al. 2011; Pololi et al. 2012; Pololi and Jones 2010). In academic medi-

cine female physicians often feel excluded from collaborative research projects because of their gender, as men seek out other men to work with, even when female colleagues have comparable or more relevant scientific expertise (Jones 2014; Fried et al. 1996). Women were also less likely than men to report that their mentors facilitated their professional development in key areas, and more likely to report that their mentor took advantage of their work (Fried et al. 1996). The institutional culture of medicine, which favors competitive individualism over more collaborative and humanistic work-styles, is also less congruent with the values of female versus male physicians (Pololi et al. 2012).

When women and other minority groups are underrepresented among faculty, the service and mentoring responsibilities can be particularly onerous as the representation of their group is needed and there are few others who can fulfill that need (Bird et al. 2004). Female faculty in academic medicine are often assigned activities that delay their advancement, such as an overload of committee work where a "token" female representative was needed and being placed in charge of overseeing problem students who require additional time and emotional energy beyond typical mentoring relationships (Pololi and Jones 2010).

The 'workcentric culture' of medicine in the U.S. is problematic for both women and men who want to invest in family life, although the greatest impact is for women (Pololi and Jones 2010). Work commitments often extend outside a typical workweek, with meetings and work hours occurring in the evenings and on weekends (Fried et al. 1996). U.S. research by Cejka Search and the American Medical Group Association (2012) has found the part-time physician workforce is growing, especially among women who want to balance work and family but also men who are easing into retirement. According to their 2011 survey, 22 % of male physicians and 44 % of female physicians worked less than full-time, up from 7 % of men and 29 % of women in their 2005 survey. There is also a gender gap in England among physicians who choose to work part-time: 8 % of men and 21 % of women who

work in hospital and community health services have part-time contracts, with general practitioners more likely to have part-time contracts (Elston 2009).

While on the surface the option of working part-time sounds like a win for female physicians who want to balance work and family, there is evidence to suggest that part-time health care workers are taken less seriously than full-time workers and may be disadvantaged in terms of opportunities for career development and promotion (Heru 2005; Whittock et al. 2002). Similarly, the utilization of policies providing leaves of absence or flexible work arrangements are often stigmatized and under-utilized as women do not want to confirm stereotypical images of women putting family before their careers (Gunn et al. 2014; Strong et al. 2013).

Initiatives for Advocacy and Change

A variety of responses to the plight of women in medicine have been identified in the literature, ranging from individual coping strategies of women to institutional interventions to facilitate the advancement of women. Some have resulted in measurable improvements; however, widespread gender inequality persists. Real change in the opportunity structures available to women will not occur without fundamental changes in the organization and culture of medicine.

Individual Responses

In response to the difficulties described earlier, such as gender discrimination, sexual harassment and juggling work and family demands, some women change specialties, or opt for working arrangements that are more accommodating to their needs such as part-time work. Others internalize the dominant group norms and deny the existence of gender discrimination (Jones 2014). While a number of studies have found that male and female physicians leave academic medicine at similar rates, their reasons for doing so are often different. For women, the chilly institutional climate is a key factor for leaving academia (Levine et al. 2011).

Women who persevere in medicine often develop coping strategies to deal with their marginal status and minimize their perceived threat to the male-dominated medical environment. Pololi and Jones (2010) found that women in academic medicine recognized that people were often penalized for expressing discontent with the status quo or disagreeing with the opinions of authoritarian leaders, and many women faculty in their study reported 'self-silencing', keeping their head down and their 'nose clean', and 'not rocking anybody's boat'. Fear of retaliation or punishment for identifying with or promoting change related to gender discrimination is a real concern of female physicians in academia (Fried et al. 1996; Jones 2014; Pololi and Jones 2010). Other strategies for success as female medical students or physicians include not letting those things bother them (Babaria et al. 2012) or being 'easy going' (Jones 2014).

Respondents in Pololi and Jones' (2010) study who were dissatisfied with the status quo noted that they needed to 'play the game' in order to gain status and power themselves before they could be in a position to help other women and facilitate change. Even then, these women described having to be "careful (or tempered) in their approach to change" (pg. 446). In a separate study, Jones (2014) had similar findings, noting that senior female faculty often downplayed their gendered differences in medical and graduate school, carefully constructing their femininity in order fit in the medical environment. They did their best to avoid any display of stereotypical feminine characteristics (e.g., emotionality) which might lead their male peers to question whether they belonged in the profession. While these types of individual responses allow women to persevere as physicians, and even enable some to achieve leadership positions, they do little to change the culture of medicine and promote an equitable work environment where men and women have equal access to opportunities and rewards.

Institutional and Organizational Responses

Medical institutions have also launched initiatives aimed at increasing leadership among women. One multi-intervention program at the John Hopkins University School of Medicine was deemed especially successful: In the first 5 years it resulted in a 550 % increase in the number of women promoted to the associate level rank, reduced pay inequities, improved faculty mentoring, reduced isolation, improved access to information for faculty development, and decreased perceptions of gender bias (Fried et al. 1996). While higher proportions of women than men reported improvements, men also benefited from these initiatives. Specific interventions included securing strong and visible support from the department chair, developing a Task Force on Women's Academic Careers in Medicine that became a standing committee, sending female faculty to faculty development conferences designed for women, educating faculty about gender-based obstacles, moving grand rounds and committee meetings to normal business hours, including at least two women on all search committees, monthly colloquiums on career development, grooming women for tenure through annual reviews, lengthening the tenure clock, and re-evaluating salaries, among others. However, even with all of these interventions and notable improvements, follow-up evaluations determined that perceptions of gender bias still persisted across the evaluated areas by some faculty (e.g. 22 % of women still felt that their department was less supportive of women than of men), suggesting that sustained efforts and more long-term strategies may need to be developed.

The importance of addressing the challenges faced by women in academic medicine and science has also been formalized by the AAMC through the creation in 2009 of the Group on Women in Medicine and Science (GWIMS). This group provides a national forum for the advancement of women and seeks to address issues of gender equity, recruitment and retention, awards and recognition and career advancement. Each medical school has been asked to provide a representative who will act as a liaison between their institution and GWIMS and be the main point of contact for the dissemination of information. These representatives are also tasked with the responsibility for helping GWIMS complete their bi-annual statistics and benchmarking survey that will help track the progress of female faculty in medical schools. Additional faculty members and administrators who are aligned with the mission of GWIMS are also invited as additional members. Many medical schools have local Women in Medicine and Science Programs (most that predate the creation of GWIMS) that meet and organize local career development events for women.

Broader Systemic Initiatives

Interventions targeted at 'fixing' women through career development and mentoring will not be enough on their own to achieve gender equity (Bickel et al. 2002). While these programs can be successful at increasing the number of women in certain areas and positions by targeting and supporting exceptional women, they fail to address deeply engrained, unconscious gender-linked biases that devalue, marginalize and constrain the contributions of women (Bickel et al. 2002; Carnes et al. 2008; George 2007). It can be argued that these programs simply train female physicians to be more like men and fit into the existing male-dominated culture, rather than challenging it and breaking down barriers for women as a group. Focusing on the advancement of individual 'exceptional' women may even be detrimental to overall gender equity, by providing the illusion that barriers to the overall advancement of women have been removed when they are in fact still operating to hold other women back.

A growing focus on the problematic nature of the organization and culture of medicine is providing a basis for broader, systemic initiatives. For example, in 2006, the National Initiative on Gender, Culture and Leadership in Medicine was founded in response to the lack of progress being made in academic medicine in increasing the

representation of women and minority faculty in senior positions and leadership roles (Powell et al. 2010). Informally this initiative is known as C-Change (emphasizing the importance of culture change). The purpose of this initiative is to critically examine the institutional culture of medicine in order to identify organizational factors that may be contributing to the underrepresentation of women and minorities, and to act as an agent of change. Through rigorous qualitative and quantitative research this initiative has identified a number of ways in which culture and organizational approach in medicine create barriers to success and advancement that disproportionately hold back women and minorities. Building on these findings the Learning Action Network was initiated to influence the values, norms, and actions of the five participating medical schools, whereby participating institutions could learn from each other's attempts to implement individualized change processes (Powell et al. 2010). C-change has also worked to develop customized workshops, keynotes, and mentoring and retreat programs to facilitate change in the culture of medicine to be more inclusive and humane. As additional institutions adopt and build on the findings from this initiative, and others like it, broader systemic changes become more attainable.

The Feminization of Medicine

The feminization of medicine has become a major topic of interest in the medical community and among medical sociologists and other scholars interested in gender equity in the workplace. Health occupations such as nursing have always been feminized, but this concept refers to the fact that women across nations are increasingly entering the field of medicine as physicians. Although this article has focused mostly on the U.S., the number of women physicians across the globe has increased dramatically in the past few decades. The most recent Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2013) data show that the majority of physicians in Spain, Finland, Portugal, and several

Eastern European nations (e.g., Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia) are women, and this will soon be the case in a number of other nations. This trend is especially apparent when one focuses on physicians who are under the age of 35. Among these younger physicians, women are the majority in an additional 17 nations (e.g., Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom) (OECD 2013). Less progress has been made in Japan and Korea, where fewer than 21 % of all physicians and 33 % of younger physicians are women (OECD 2013). Men also still dominate the profession in less affluent nations in Africa and Asia: In 2004, fewer than 25 % of physicians were women (Elston 2009).

Elianne Riska found that the feminization of medicine concept did not become prominent in literature until 1990 and that, while it is physician-focused, its meaning varies based on context (Riska 2008). Analyzing substantial literature, she identified a medical discourse and a research discourse on the feminization of medicine. In medical discourses, it was often equated with the "downfall of the rationality inherent in organizations," (Riska 2008, p. 7), and with reduced status and lower compensation for doctors, and a more flexible work environment. There was a tendency to see the structural changes in medicine as caused by the influx of women and, while acknowledging the trend could not be reversed, some expressed the view that the values of women could be good for medicine. Riska concluded that the medical discourse on the feminization of medicine fails to explore the ways medical work today requires new skills or why women are being drawn to it.

Our paper aligns with what Riska calls the research discourse on the feminization of medicine. In this paper we have examined the status of women in some detail, showing that aspects of the medical environment remain hostile to women and that gender equity has not been achieved. Women report high levels of sexual and

gender harassment in medical school and are, to some extent, channeled into lower-paying, less prestigious medical specialties. Many find it difficult to balance family responsibilities with a career in medicine, and they are more likely than men to work part-time and to retire early. Overall, they are less likely to be promoted and to be found in the higher tiers of medicine.

Other researchers have explored the impact of women on medicine, especially the extent to which they are changing the way medicine is practiced. Data are clear in showing that women are more likely to specialize in general practice or family medicine, that they work fewer hours than male physicians, and that they confront more difficulty balancing family work and medical careers. But do women practice medicine or relate to patients in different ways than men? Or does the organizational structure and culture of medicine produce similar ways of practicing medicine? The evidence so far suggests that, compared to men, women spend more time with patients, have less doctor-centered communication, engage in more health promotion, use more non-technical language in talking with patients, and differ in their attitudes toward disabled and indigent patients (Kilminster et al. 2007; Phillips and Austin 2009). There is also some evidence that female physicians treat male and female patients more equitably than do male physicians, at least in providing preventive health care information (DiMatteo et al. 2009). Some data suggest that patients with female physicians are more satisfied: The National Clinical Assessment Service, which examines patient complaints in the U.K., found that among general practitioners over a 9 year period, men were five times more likely to be suspended than women due to patient complaints (Carvajal 2011). In a U.S. study, Boulis and Jacobs (2008) concluded that female physicians treat patients in a more humane and respectful manner, but pointed out that this gender difference was very small.

Nevertheless, how gender shapes the actual practice of medicine is a complex question, starting with the fact that it rests on tacit essentialist notions about the nature of men and women. This tends to dismiss the significance of structural factors that shape the practice of medicine, from medical training that emphasizes emotional detachment to health care organizations that reward doctors for the number of patients they see. Studies of gender differences in medical practice also ignore the fluidity or changes in practice that may occur over time, or the fact that there are important cross-national differences in female attitudes about medicine. For example, Kilminster and colleagues (2007) found that in some countries female doctors agreed that they should be part of a non-hierarchical medical team in caring for their patients, but this was not the case in the U.S. or Mexico. Moreover, with more emphasis on patient centered approaches to medicine and studies of best practices, there may be a convergence in male and female approaches to patient care.

The impact of women on the profession of medicine has been the focus of both medical and research discourses on the feminization of medicine, especially the extent to which is will mean a decline in the status and prestige of doctors. Examining the impact of women on the status of physicians may prove difficult, as women began to enter medical school in the late 1960s and 1970s, when forces were already challenging the medical dominance of physicians (Timmermans and Oh 2010). The women's health care movement criticized androcentric medicine for its treatment of female patients and the exclusion of women from the practice of medicine, but their critique was also part of a growing patient rights movement that demanded more accountability from doctors. In addition, the biomedical model of illness, with its focus on discovering 'magic bullets' to heal illness, was losing some of its credibility with the rise of incurable chronic illnesses. The management of chronic illnesses demanded a different type of doctor-patient relationship, one based more on partnership. Thus, while some have argued that physicians have, at least for the most part, retained their dominance (Freidson 1994), others have advanced the notion of the proletarianization of the physician (McKinlay and Arches 1985). Disentangling the impact of the influx of women into the profession, from other changes that are occurring simultaneously may prove difficult.

Women in Medicine and Women's Health

In order to advance medicine as far and as quickly as possible it is important to retain the brightest and most talented physicians, regardless of gender. To the extent that female physicians offer a different health care experience they also make a unique contribution to population health. However, it can be argued that the most profound impact that women in medicine have is on women's health. Many of the advancements in women's health have been a result of influential women and women's health movements instigated and fueled by women (Weisman 1998). In academic settings educational opportunities surrounding women's health are organized and attended overwhelmingly by women, and women are more likely than men to conduct research on women's health issues (Carnes et al. 2008). These trends suggest that women in medicine are in a strategic position to focus attention on women's health issues, and carry out groundbreaking and transformative research in this area. Thus, increasing the representation of women in medicine, particularly in leadership positions, will have positive implications for women's health.

The strong connection between women in medicine and women's health is also evident in the mission of the Office of Research on Women's Health (ORWH), a sub-division of the National Institutes of Health mandated in the early 1990s with promoting research that affects women's health and facilitating the recruitment, retention, reentry and advancement of women in biomedical careers (ORWH 2014). A 1995 report by the Council on Graduate Medical Education (CGME) addressed both physician education about women's health and women in the physician workforce, stating that "the two subjects have been developed in tandem because they are so inextricably linked and have a profound effect on women as both providers and recipients of health care" (pg. Vii). Consistent with this premise, the Centers for Excellence on Women's Health that were funded by the National Institutes on Health in the 1990s had as part of the conditions for funding that academic health centers have a for-

malized program for developing women leaders in academic medicine (Carnes et al. 2001). Despite these and other initiatives detailed above, the advancement of women in medicine and women's health has fallen short of expectations (Carnes et al. 2008).

Directions for Future Research

Most studies of women in medicine have emphasized the persistence of the androcentric medical culture and documented gender discrimination in medical school and medical practice. However, much more research is needed to understand women's experiences in medicine. For example, researchers have yet to explore the topic from an intersectionality perspective, even though we know that class, race, and gender are important factors in the dynamics of inequality. Are women, like other physicians, disproportionately drawn from the more privileged classes? Does class background affect their choices of medical specialties? How does race interact with gender in affecting discrimination and gender gaps in equity?

The broader implications of the feminization of medicine also require more research. For example, are men, who still have higher pre-admission scores on medical exams, becoming less interested in pursuing careers as physicians (Kilminster et al. 2007)? The number of men applying to medical schools declined between 1975 and 1985, although it rose again in the 1990s, more research is needed to understand this trend (Boulis and Jacobs 2008). Are we on the horizons of gender equality in medicine? Will the profession become dominated by women, or will women continue to be 'ghettoized' in 'pink collar' and less prestigious areas of medicine? Will their greater likelihood of working part-time create a physician shortage? And how will this affect the health of populations? To what extent does having a female physician shape patient expectations and behaviors? Some research has found that while some patients, especially women, prefer female physicians, they also have different expectations for female physicians and interact

with them based on gender assumptions. Patients with female physicians speak up more, interrupt more, and are more assertive (Hall and Roter 2002). Is this to be applauded as evidence of an evolving model of physician-patient partnership, or is it a challenge to authority that undermines physicians' ability to provide effective treatment?

There is also evidence that women value the psychosocial aspects of medical care more than men do, and of greater patient satisfaction and less malpractice among female physicians (Heru 2005). Do women bring to the field of medicine aspirations and skills that are more congruent with a team model of medical care rather than one led primarily by the physician? Some suggest that women have leadership styles that are more "empowering, democratic, and transformational" (Biringer and Carroll 2012) but, if this is the case, how is it affecting the structure of medicine? We know the female physicians are still often mistaken for nurses in health care institutions by patients, but how does gender affect their status and interaction with other health care providers? Finally, more research needs to be done on how growing gender equity will affect the organization and practice of medicine. What will the future culture of medicine look like, and how will it benefit both male and female physicians, the health care system, and the experiences of patients?

Conclusion

The feminization of medicine, specifically of the occupation of physician, has generated a great deal of discussion and research. On the one hand, it represents tremendous advances by women in entering the highest paying and most prestigious profession in the field of medicine. Yet it also highlights the persistent gender inequalities that still exist in nearly every aspect of medicine, from sexual and gender harassment in medical schools to marginalization and career stagnation in medical practice. Despite decades of attention to these issues and numerous initiatives designed to improve the status of women in medicine,

deeply entrenched cultural norms that favor the work-styles of men and unconscious gender biases continue to exist, preventing women from reaching their full potential. A holistic and sustained approach at multiple levels with strong support from leaders is necessary to erode the multiple forms of gender bias that operate simultaneously and lead to an accumulation of disadvantage for female physicians. In order to successfully tackle the male-dominated culture of medicine, these efforts must be accompanied by fundamental changes in how the work of physicians is conceived of, organized, and valued. This can only be done when interventions and initiatives extend beyond supporting individual 'exceptional' women, or a group of women at a single institution, and are sustained over time. It appears that things are moving in this direction and we are hopeful that future assessments of these efforts will show greater gender equity as well as improvements for both women and men.

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The Relationship Between Organizational Family Support and Burnout Among Women in the Healthcare Industry: Core Self-Evaluation as Moderator

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The participation of women in U.S. workforce has increased significantly in the past decades. The United States Bureau Labor Statistics (2013) reveals that the labor participation rate is 70.5 % for mothers with children less than 18 years of age, 64.8 % for mothers with children under 6 years of age, and 57 % for mothers with children younger than 1 year of age. Coupled with their caregiving responsibilities, working women juggle their escalating commitments to multiple life roles and thus express a burgeoning need to balance work and home (Greenhaus and Kossek 2014). Many working women select, change, or even discontinue employment to accommodate their personal or family circumstances. In order to attract and retain high-talented women employees, organizations need to create a work environment that enables female employees to have positive career experiences and a balanced work and family life.

Understanding which and how organizational management practice can contribute to working women's well-being is especially important and urgent for the success of healthcare organizations which has a high concentration of female employees. With the retirement of baby boomers, growing healthcare needs, and the national move toward healthcare reform, the healthcare industry faces the intensified shortage of registered nurses. The 2012 Bureau of Labor Statistics report projected the number of job opening for nurse is 1.2 million by 2020 (http://www.bls.gov/news.release/ecopro.t06.htm). Based on state-by-state analysis, Buerhaus et al. (2009) forecasted a shortage of registered nurses across the country between 2009 and 2030. It thus remains questionable whether the healthcare organizations can thrive over the long term if they are not equipped with sufficient knowledge about how to enable their women employees to integrate careers with personal and family lives in a sustainable way. Indeed, in an interview with healthcare employees, Nowak and Bonner (2013) found that the majority

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indicated the family-supportive employment condition is one of the major influencer in their career choice decision.

Despite research evidences that organizational family support is related to job satisfaction, organizational commitment, stress, turnover intentions, and work-family conflict (e.g., Allen 2001; Thompson et al. 1999; Thompson and Prottas 2005; Wang et al. 2004), researchers still do not completely understand the complex relationship between organizational family support and employees' physical health and emotional well-being such as burnout (Beauregard 2011). However, the addition to our knowledge of how organizational family support contributes to employees' burnout is important for the health care organizations. A recent online poll of 24,000 healthcare professionals found that about 30 % of respondents had reported having at least one symptom of burnout (Shanafelt et al. 2012). Nurses' burnout can significantly reduce the positive patient experience (Shannon 2013) which is often ranked as a top priority for health care facilities. Therefore, the greater knowledge of the relationship between work-family organizational support and women employees' burnout is useful for medical industry.

What still remains to be explored is which organizational work-family support type, and under what conditions, can reduce female employees' burnout effectively. On one side, some scholars (e.g., Beauregard 2011; Chib et al. 2013; Tamres et al. 2002) suggest that there are gender differences in the effectiveness of organizational social support types (i.e., emotional support, or acknowledging or empathizing with an employee's need versus instrumental support, or providing actual aid and programs) on employee well-being. Some research in the field of stress found that women tend to utilize and value emotional coping resources more than men (e.g., Matud 2004; Sénécal et al. 2001; Aycan and Eskin 2005; Griffin 2006; Chib et al. 2013). However, this type of research has been scarce and mixed in the field of work and family literature (Houle et al. 2012). For example, Higgins et al. (2010) failed to support many of their hypotheses regarding gender difference associated

with the coping resources and thus stated, "the fact that many results were contrary to theory speaks to the contradictory nature of many of these theories and the fact they have received ambivalent support in the literature (p. 857)".

This research intends to challenge the perspective that the provision of emotional organizational support is a more effective coping resource for female employees to reduce burnout (Beauregard 2011; Chib et al. 2013; Tamres et al. 2002; Matud 2004; Sénécal et al. 2001; Aycan and Eskin 2005; Griffin 2006; Chib et al. 2013). Instead, our study intends to examine whether the effectiveness of the organizational work-family support (emotional and instrumental) on female employees' burnout is contingent upon their personal characteristics such as core self-evaluation. Core self-evaluations (CSE; Judge et al. 1997) represent a person's fundamental belief in his or her ability to function successfully in the world and have potential to shape appraisals and reactions to external contextual events (Best et al. 2005; Judge et al. 1997; Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2009). Perhaps, working women may seek, use, and interpret organizational support resources, both emotional and instrumental, in a way to be consistent with their CSE.

Therefore, building upon and extending previous research, the current study is intended to address two important and related questions: (1) what is the relationship between organizational family support types (emotional and instrumental support) and burnout in nursing profession? and (2) under what conditions is organizational family support effective in reducing nurses' burnout? Specially, we consider the moderating effect of CSE on the relationships between the two organizational support types and working women's burnout respectively.

Our findings have potential practical implications for human resource management to improve nursing professionals' well-being. If organizational instrumental family support effectively reduced nurses' burnout, our research would suggest that an organization should not employ only emotional support which was believed by some researchers as more effective intervention to reduce working women's stress. If CSE was

found to moderate the relationship between organizational family support and nurses' burnout, an organization should assess working women's personal characteristics and provide the emotional or instrumental social support contingent upon their core self-evaluation. Below we discuss the conceptual framework and hypotheses.

Theory and Hypothesis Development

The Conservation of Resources theory (COR; Hobfoll 2002) posits that stress occurs when individuals appraise their coping resources in one of the three conditions: threatened loss of resources, actual loss of resources, or failure to regain resources after resource investment. Individuals who perceive that they have more coping resources will be less stressed. Particularly, social support is one important coping resource available from one's social environment that can assist an individual in managing stress (McIntosh 1991; Jahn et al. 2003). Individuals cope with stressful events better and feel less stressed when social supports are available (Carlson and Perrew'e 1999; Luria and Torjman 2009).

We propose that CSE moderates the relationship between work-family-related organizational support (i.e., organizational emotional family support and organizational instrumental family support) and employee burnout. We utilize COR theory to frame these proposed relationships for the following reasons. First, because burnout is considered to be a response to chronic stress, stress theories such as the COR theory are relevant theoretical frameworks on which to base burnout research. Second, COR theory argues that personal characteristics can have both main and moderating effects on strain outcomes, as well as on the choice of coping strategy (Best et al. 2005; Judge et al. 1997; Thompson et al. 2007; Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2009). According to the COR theory, individuals will be less stressed if they can mobilize the resources to cope with stressful events (Luria and Torjman 2009; Hobfoll 2002). CSE may be a personal characteristic that can influence a person's capa-

bility of mobilizing the available coping resources in a stressful environment. As argued by Folkman and Moskowitz (2004, p. 747), "coping is a complex, multidimensional process that is sensitive both to the environment, and its demands and resources, and to personality dispositions that influence the appraisal process of stress and resources for coping." Therefore, what is an effective coping resource for an individual with one type of personality might not be effective for someone with another type of personality, specifically because personality disposition influences each person's perceived value of coping resources, their ability to mobilize these resources, and their choice of coping strategies.

Instrumental and Emotional Organizational Family Support and Employee Burnout

Social support researchers (i.e., House 1983) described two major categories of social support: instrumental social support (providing actual aid and programs) and emotional social support (acknowledging or empathizing with an employee's non-work needs). Researchers have since expanded upon this to specifically address the organization's role in the support typology. The construct of organizational family support was conceptualized to capture the employees' perceptions of how supportive the organization is of their work-life needs (Jahn et al. 2003; Thompson et al. 2004). Complementary and parallel to the existing structure of instrumental and emotional social support, scholars proposed a similar typology of organizational family support: instrumental organizational family support and emotional organizational family support (Jahn et al. 2003; Boyar et al. 2009). Instrumental organizational family support refers to family-supportive benefits, resource, policies, and practices that the organization provides to assist employees' pursuit of a viable balance between work and family life. Examples of instrumental organizational family support may include leave programs, financial assistance for childcare, and flexible scheduling (Jahn et al. 2003). Emotional organi-

zational family support includes institutional acknowledgement and acceptance of employees' family-related needs (Jahn et al. 2003). For example, through a mission statement the organization states that it is willing to support an employee experiencing work-family conflict.

Organizational family support, both emotional and instrumental, may influence burnout through effects on both the objective and perceived work environment of employees. On the objective side, organizational family support can assist employees' pursuit of work and family integration and lessen the work-family conflict. Work-family conflict, defined as "a form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressure from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some aspects" (Greenhaus and Beutell 1985, p. 77). Work-family conflict has been shown as a major category of organizational stressors (Cooper et al. 2001). However, prior research has shown that organizational family support is negatively related to work-family conflict (Allen 2001; Thompson et al. 1999; Thompson and Prottas 2005).

Research has suggested that the effects of work-family conflict on stress may be greater for women, possibly due to traditional sex role expectations (Martins et al. 2002). In the present study, our respondents are females from the nursing profession, which is characterized by heavy work duty and rigid work schedules (McGrath et al. 2003). Hence, work-family conflict may be a major source of stress and burnout among female employees in nursing professions. By providing emotional and instrumental family support, organizations may build a family-friendly work environment in which the work-family conflict stressors are largely reduced.

Second, organizational family support may influence the perceived nature of one's work environment. Individuals who receive more emotional and instrumental organizational family support may view demanding work environments as less overwhelming, which may in turn result in less burnout. This is the case because they have family supportive resources to handle imposing demands at work environment. Given the possible impact of the objective and perceived effects

together, we expect both emotional and instrumental organizational family support to be negatively related to burnout.

Hypothesis 1: Instrumental organizational family support is negatively associated with burnout.

Hypothesis 2: Emotional organizational family support is negatively associated with burnout.

Core Self-Evaluations (CSE) and Employee Burnout

Luria and Torjman (2009) suggested that personality traits related to control might aid in coping with stress. One control-based personality construct is core self-evaluations (CSE). As noted by Judge et al. (2004, pp. 326–327), "individuals with positive core self-evaluations appraise themselves in a consistently positive manner across situations; such individuals see themselves as capable, worthy, and in control of their lives." CSE is a higher-order construct consisting of four separate but related traits: self-esteem (the evaluation individuals make about their own worth), generalized self-efficacy (the extent to which people believe they can perform a behavior to produce a particular desired outcome), locus of control (the degree of control over life events that individuals believe they possess), and emotional stability (a sense of confidence and security and positive self-evaluation; Judge et al. 1997). Although these individual traits have been traditionally studied as separate variables, recent research suggests that they are not independent, but rather largely overlap as manifestations of a single higher order CSE construct (Judge et al. 1996, 2004; Alarcon et al. 2009).

As a control-related personality resource, CSE may influence burnout by altering perceived stress (Luria and Torjman 2009). Individuals with higher CSE are predisposed to evaluate their ability to interact with their environment favorably (Johnson et al. 2008). Therefore, people with higher-CSEs may see themselves as more capable of coping with external situational constraints, and thus experience positive emotions and attitudes toward a difficult work assignment. Conversely, individuals with lower CSE

may view the same assignment and situational constraints as threatening or stressful, as they are less confident about their ability to redress adverse circumstances (Judge et al. 2005). Not surprisingly, research found that CSE is negatively related to employee burnout (i.e., Best et al. 2005; Luria and Torjman 2009; Alarcon et al. 2009). Therefore, we expect CSE to be negatively related to employee burnout as well.

Hypothesis 3: CSE is negatively associated with burnout.

The Moderating Role of CSE in Organizational Family Support – Employee Burnout Relationship

COR theory recognizes that there are individual differences in the stressor appraisal and response process. In addition, it suggests that personality may serve as a potential buffering mechanism in the stressor-strain relationship. Extending COR theory, we argue that personality variables such as CSE may moderate the effect of social coping resources, including emotional and instrumental organizational family support, on burnout.

According to the differential choice hypothesis (Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2009), personality traits such as CSE can affect behavior patterns in which individuals cope with stressors. Individuals with higher CSE evaluate the choices in a consistently positive manner across situations and view themselves as capable, worthy, and in control of their lives (Judge et al. 2004). Consequently, these individuals, as compared to those with lower CSE, are more likely to actively approach and resolve problems and believe such effort will be successful. As a consequence they are more likely to engage in a greater number of problem-solving coping behaviors. In fact, researchers (i.e., Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2009; Erez and Judge 2001; Judge and Ilies 2002) have suggested that CSE represents a motivational trait that predisposes individuals to select and engage in instrumental, problem-solving coping strategies. These may include a determination of effective strategies for reducing the level of stressors

and engaging in behaviors that will help solve the problem.

Given that organizational instrumental family support structures aim to provide problem-solving support which directly reduces the work-family stressors in the workplace, individuals with higher CSE, with a preference for problem-solving coping, may view organizational instrumental family support as valuable and effective. Thus, these individuals are more likely to utilize them to combat stressors. This should translate into lower levels of burnout for those higher in CSE. Conversely, people with lower CSE have unfavorable evaluations of their ability to successfully address adverse environments and external environments (Johnson et al. 2008). Individuals with lower CSE tend to believe that their actions are futile, and thus are prone to have negative emotions and attitudes. Consequently, these individuals may have weaker belief that their problem-solving actions will be successful, thereby reducing their effort to actively cope with stressors. They may, in turn, be less likely to utilize organizational instrumental family support to cope with stressful work environment to the same extent as those with higher CSE. Therefore, we expect CSE moderates the relationship between organizational instrumental family support and burnout.

Hypothesis 4: CSE moderates the relationship between organizational instrumental family support and burnout such that the relationship is more negative when CSE is higher than when it is lower.

In addition, lower CSE individuals are more likely to form a negative appraisal of difficult situations and conclude that the problem is unmanageable and uncontrollable (Judge et al. 1998). Consequently, as compared to their higher CSE counterparts, lower CSE individuals experience greater amounts of negative emotions such as anxiety, stress, and guilt and are more influenced by those emotions (Judge et al. 2005). Judge et al. (2005) proposed and provided support for the self-concordance model in which lower-CSE individuals are more likely to pursue introjected goals aiming for the reduction of negative

emotions including shame, guilt, or anxiety. Past research (i.e., Penley and Tomaka 2002; Bolger and Eckenrode 1991) found that people with low-emotional stability, an important component of low-CSE, adopt more defensive coping and seek emotional support more frequently than those with higher emotional stability. Because of this need, individuals with lower-CSE may be more likely to seek out emotional organizational family support. Emotional organizational support provides resources that facilitate lower-CSE individuals' effort to reduce their stress levels without affecting the actual presence of stressors. People with lower CSE, with a preference for the reduction of negative emotions, may be more prone to utilize emotional organizational family support, as opposed to instrumental support, to cope with a stressful work environment, thereby resulting in lower level of burnout. Therefore, we expect CSE moderate the relationship between organizational emotional family support and burnout.

Hypothesis 5: CSE moderates the relationship between organizational emotional family support and burnout such that the relationship is more negative when CSE is lower than when it is higher.

Method

Participants and Procedures

Data was collected from a major hospital in a mid-western city. Respondents were assured anonymity in a cover letter addressed to all nursing employees. 563 hospital nurses completed and returned questionnaires online, with a response rate of approximately 23 %. Because our independent variables (i.e. organizational family support) are relevant to people with family responsibilities, we include nurses who have some level of family responsibilities, meaning that they were either married/lived with partner, had younger kids at home, or had other caregiver responsibilities. Our final sample consists of 364 nurses who were all females. The average age was 42.1 years (s.d. = 10.1), and average tenure is 10.9 years (s.d. = 9.2).

Measures

Emotional and Instrumental Organizational Family Support. We used a 4-item scale developed by Boyar et al. (2014) to assess perceived emotional organizational family support. A sample item includes, "My organization understands that I have a life outside of work". We measured perceived instrumental organizational family support using Boyar et al. (2014) 3-item scale that has already been used in prior research with acceptable reliability and validity (e.g., Boyar et al. 2014). A sample item includes, "My organization lets me leave work early to accommodate family responsibilities." Both scales were anchored on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The internal consistency reliability estimate (alpha) was .92 for emotional organizational family support and .90 for instrumental organizational family support.

Boyar et al. (2014) collected data through four studies from a variety of samples (i.e., academic staffs, retailing employees, heath care workers, and engineers) and demonstrated acceptable reliability, discriminant validity, and predictive validity of emotional organizational family support and instrumental organizational family support. We further conducted confirmatory factor analysis and results also supported for the discriminant validity of both constructs. Details of our confirmatory factor analysis results are provided in Results section.

CSE. We used a 12-item scale developed by Judge and Hurst (2007) to measure core self-evaluations. Respondents indicated the extent to which they agreed with the statement in a 5-point response format ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Sample items include, "I feel that I have a number of good qualities" and "What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me". The internal consistency estimates were .77.

Burnout. In line with previous burnout research (Ybema et al. 2010; Thomas and Lankau 2009; Chen and Cunradi 2008; Van den Broecka et al. 2008), burnout was measured using 13 items adapted from the Maslach Burnout Inventory.

Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with statements in a 5-point response format ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Sample items include, "I feel emotionally drained from my work.", and "I feel frustrated by my job." The internal consistency estimate was .77.

Control variables. Age and job tenure are controlled to reduce the potential bias on regression results.

Results

Validity Issues

Emotional organizational family support, instrumental organizational family support, CSE, and burnout were all collected from the same source (employees). Therefore, we conducted a series of confirmatory factor analyses to examine the discriminant validity of the self-reported variables. To preserve adequate statistical power we randomly formed three parcels of items for CSE and burnout, respectively. We used original items of emotional organizational family support and instrumental organizational support in our confirmatory factor analyses.

Results showed that the hypothesized 4-factor measurement model that included emotional organizational family support, instrumental organizational family support, CSE, and job burnout fit the data well (TLI = .98, CFI = .98, GFI = .95, RMSEA = .05, AIC = 179.13). Relative to the hypothesized model, an alternative model in which indicators of emotional organizational family support and instrumental organizational family support were set to load on a single construct fit

the data significantly worse (TLI = .85, CFI = .88, GFI = .85, RMSEA = .13, AIC = 504.11). In addition, a comparison of the AIC (Akaike Information Criterion) values suggested that the 4-factor model showed a better fit to the data. Taken together, these results provided support for the discriminant validity of emotional organizational family support, instrumental organizational family support, CSE, and job burnout.

Hypothesis Tests

Table 17.1 provides the means, standard deviations, and correlations among the study variables. As shown, both instrumental organizational family support and emotional organizational family support were negatively related to burnout and positively related to CSE. CSE was negatively related to burnout.

Hypothesis 1 and 2 predict that instrumental organizational family support and emotional organizational family support are each negatively associated with burnout. To test these hypotheses, we performed hierarchical regression analyses by entering control variables followed by two explanatory variables, namely, instrumental organizational family support and emotional organizational family support. Table 17.2 summarizes the results of the regression analyses. As seen in Step 2 of Table 17.2, both instrumental organizational family support and emotional organizational family support were significantly and negatively related to burnout, respectively (β = −.18, p < .05 for instrumental family support; β = −.19, p < .05 for emotional family support). Therefore, both Hypotheses 1 and 2 are supported.

Table 17.1 Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and zero-order correlations

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4
1. Instrumental organizational family support	2.65	1.14				
2. Emotional organizational family support	3.18	.96	.73**			
3. CSE	4.20	.43	.14**	.16**		
4. Burnout	2.99	.48	−.33**	−.33**	−.24**	−

Note. **p < .01

Table 17.2 Hierarchy regression results

	Burnout
Step 1	
Tenure	.15**
Age	−.17**
$\Delta R2$	.03
F	4.58*
Step 2	
Instrumental organizational family support (Instrumental)	−.18*
Emotional organizational family support (Emotional)	−.19*
$\Delta R2$	.10
F	13.28**
Step 3	
CSE	−.19**
$\Delta R2$	.04
F	14.1**
Step 4	
Instrumental×CSE	−.20**
Emotional×CSE	.16*
$\Delta R2$	.02
F	11.30**

Note. Instrumental organizational family support, emotional organizational family support, and CSE are mean-centered to reduce potential multicolleality problem. Standard regression coefficients are reported. *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Hypothesis 3 proposes that CSE is negatively related to burnout. To test this hypothesis, we regressed CSE, the two types of organizational family support, and control variables onto burnout. As seen in Step 3 of Table 17.2, CSE was significantly and negatively associated with burnout ($\beta = -.19$, $p < .01$). Thus Hypothesis 3 is supported.

Hypotheses 4 and 5 predict moderating effects of CSE in the relationships between instrumental organizational family support and burnout, and between emotional organizational family support and burnout, respectively. Moderated multiple regression (Stone and Hollenbeck 1984) was used to test these hypotheses. We first entered the control variables into the equation. Next, we entered two types of organizational family support in the second step, followed by CSE in the third step. In the fourth step we entered the two-way interaction terms for each type of organizational family support and CSE. Table 17.2

summarizes the results of the regression analyses. As can be seen in Step 4 of Table 17.2, CSE moderated the relationship between instrumental organizational family support and burnout ($\beta = -.20$, $p < .01$), as well as the relationship between emotional organizational family support and burnout ($\beta = .16$, $p < .05$). Overall, the inclusion of the interaction terms into the equation explained a significant amount of additional variance in burnout ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $p < .001$).

To further explore these moderating effects, we follow the approach recommended by Aiken and West (1991) and plotted regression lines for one standard deviation above and below the mean on CSE. Figure 17.1 shows the plotted interaction between CSE and instrumental organizational family support. The graph indicates that the increase of the instrumental organizational family support reduces the burnout to a greater extent among individuals with higher CSE than those with lower CSE. Figure 17.2 also shows that the increase of the emotional organizational family support lower the burnout to a greater extend among people with lower CSE than those with higher CSE. Taken together, both the regression results and graphing provide support for Hypothesis 4 and 5.

Discussion

The present study tested whether employees' CSE moderates the relationship between organizational family support and female nurses' burnout. Using COR theory as our theoretical basis, we found several notable findings. First, organizational family support (both emotional and instrumental support) and CSE have direct negative influence on employee burnout. Second, we found an interactive effect between organizational family support and CSE on burnout.

The finding that organizational family support (both emotional and instrumental support) directly reduces burnout is a step forward in uncovering which organizational intervention techniques are effective in reducing employee burnout. We proposed and supported that organizational interventions supporting employee
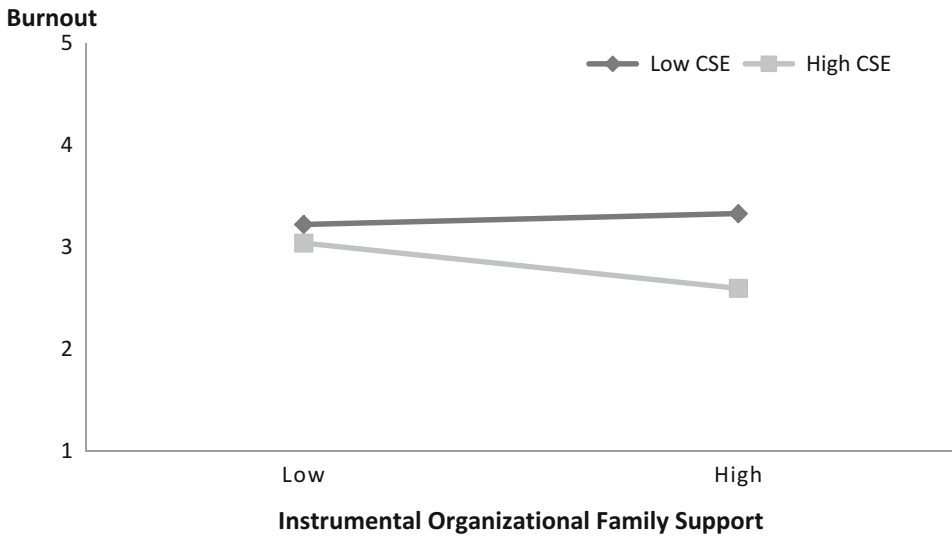
Burnout

Fig. 17.1 The interaction of instrumental organizational family support and CSE on burnout
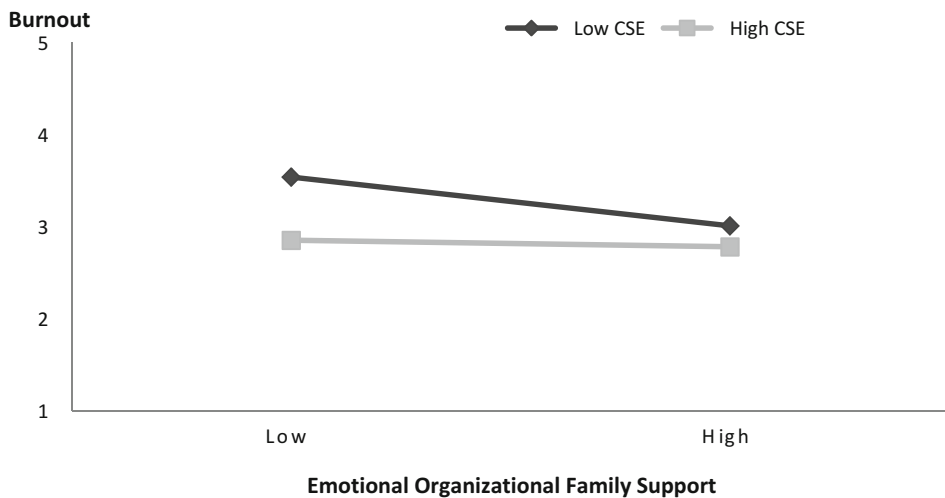
Burnout

Fig. 17.2 The interaction of emotional organizational family support and CSE on burnout

work-family balance can lower employee burnout in nursing profession. It has been well documented that work-family imbalance/conflict results in higher levels of burnout (Burke and Greenglass 2001). Yet, despite the theoretical relevance, we are unaware of any study that examines the role of the resources that facilitate work-family integration in the employee burnout process. As such, our findings contribute to both work-family support literature and burnout litera-

ture by integrating both perspectives together in a single study. Our findings also contribute to COR theory by expanding social resources to include, not only social support related to one's profession, but also social support related to one's work-family interaction.

The finding that CSE has a direct and negative influence on burnout suggests a dispositional influence on employee stress. Our finding is consistent with prior research (i.e., Best et al.

2005; Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2009) and together with past research provides support for the assertion of COR theory that one's personality resources, particularly control-based personality constructs, heighten a person's ability to resist stress (Hobfoll 2002; Luria and Torjman 2009). These findings also offers evidence to support Kammeyer-Mueller and his colleague's argument (2009) that CSE can be used as theoretical framework to consolidate and unify the wide variety of studies, specifically those studies that examined some individual CSE subtraits as predictors of employee well-being.

Finally, we found that CSE moderates the relationship between different types of organizational family support and burnout. Specifically, higher-CSEs react to organizational instrumental family support more positively and experience less burnout than lower-CSEs. Conversely, individuals in an organization in which emotional family support is available tend to report less burnout if their CSE level is lower versus those with a higher CSE. These findings provide indirect support for Kammeyer-Mueller et al. (2009)'s "different choice hypothesis," which states that people with higher CSE prefer more problem-solving (or instrumental) coping than people with lower CSE. Perhaps, the different moderating effects of CSE demonstrated in our findings result from the preference of individuals with high- versus low-CSE for different coping strategies such as problem-solving and emotion-focused. With positive beliefs about the self, control, and outcome, individuals with high CSE may prefer to engage in direct problem-solving tactics and thus may appraise instrumental organizational family support as an effective resource to cope with demanding work and family responsibilities. In contrast, with negative self-concept, individuals with low CSE may have a more positive reaction to emotional organizational family support, in line with their preference for a more passive coping strategy, such as emotion-focused coping. Our findings challenge the gender-stereotypical view of social support (e.g., Beauregard 2011; Chib et al. 2013; Tamres et al. 2002), but instead provide support for Houle et al. (2012)'s argument that individual prefer-

ences of coping resources are not gender per se, but the interaction with personal and social variables. Particularly, our findings highlight the important role of CSE in the stressor appraisal and response process, supporting the utility of CSE as a dispositional characteristic which shapes the subjective interpretation of and reactions to contextual events (Judge et al. 1997; Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2009). These results provide empirical evidence to the on-going debate about the degree to which coping is dependent on the situation versus on personality (Thompson et al. 2007). Nevertheless, we encourage future research to identify other personal characteristics and psychological processes (for instance, proactive personality, empathy, trust) that might also moderate the effect of workplace family support on burnout.

Practical Implications

As our research sample is comprised of women employees in the healthcare industry, this study provides valuable information to health care human resource managers. First, by showing the direct negative effect of CSE in the nurses' burnout process, our results suggest that healthcare industry should consider female employees' personal characteristics when designing the organizational stress-intervention policies. This research suggests high-CSE women cope more successfully with stressful work environment than low-CSE women, as reflected by their lower burnout level. Armed with an awareness of the individual differences in burnout process, managers may consider selecting and placing high-CSE employees into demanding job positions. This is particularly important for healthcare industry where the concentration of female employees is high, the work environment is highly stressful, and the burnout is a common symptom experienced by healthcare providers (Shanafelt et al. 2012). The use of core self-evaluation as a selection and job placement criteria in nursing profession can help healthcare industry to improve female employees' emotional well-being, reducing turnover, and enhancing

the quality of patient care. Secondly, by finding that organizational emotional family support and organizational instrumental family support have differential impact on burnout for women with various levels of CSE, this study suggests that simply offering family support by the organization will not always effectively reduce burnout and the impact of organizational family support on working women's burnout depends on their dispositional characteristics. Our findings challenged the perspective that women are dependent and emotional expressive (Helgeson 2005; Beauregard 2011; Houle et al. 2012) and so emotional coping resource is more powerful for women to reduce stress than instrumental coping resources (Matud 2004; Sénécal et al. 2001; Aycan and Eskin 2005; Griffin 2006; Chib et al. 2013. If this perspective were true, healthcare industry should focus on providing more organizational emotional family support rather than organizational instrumental family support in purpose to reduce women employees' burnout. As a contrast, our results suggest that organizational emotional family support is not always effective and organizational instrumental family support is not always ineffective for women employees to manage stress. Rather, the effectiveness of these emotional or instrumental coping resources is contingent upon the women employees' personal characteristics, namely, core self-evaluation. Thus, organizations should target a better fit between the stress intervention techniques and the personal characteristics of women employees. For women employees who have high-CSE, it is important to provide instrumental, problem-solving support. For women employees who are low on CSE, providing emotional support is necessary to help them deal with stress.

Limitations and Conclusions

As is the case with most studies, the present study has some limitations. First, this study relied on self-reported data, which may raise the concern of the common-method bias problem. However, the constructs in this research are perceptual in nature and can be best measured by using self-report. For example, organizational family support refers to perceptions of how supportive the organization is toward the balance of employee work and family demands, while burnout and CSE capture individuals' emotion and self concept. To address the concern of common method variance, we also conducted Harman's single-factor test using a confirmatory factor analysis wherein all variables are set to load onto a single factor. This model demonstrated very poor fit (TLI = .48, CFI = .57, GFI = .59, RMSEA = .25). So these CFA test for the common method effects produced results that were inferior to our hypothesized model. Although we cannot exclude the influence of common method variance on our results, these results add some degree of confidence in our findings. Nevertheless, future research should strive to obtain data from multiple sources. It would also be useful for future research to examine what influences perceptions of organizational family support.

The second limitation stems from the cross-sectional design of our study, which limits our ability to infer causality. Future research should employ a longitudinal or experimental research design to clarify the causal sequences in a way not possible in the cross-sectional designs. Finally, our sample consisted solely of female employees from the nursing profession. While it is important to study specific professions given the relative consistency of support levels, it does call into question the generalizability of our findings to employees in other professions. It remains a question whether the patterns of relationships we found vary greatly depending on sample profession and gender. Future research should employ sample groups from heterogeneous professions and genders to examine if the pattern we found in this study still holds.

In conclusion, despite the above limitations, this study takes an important step in examining the interactive effect of organizational family support and CSE in the formation and manifestation of the burnout of working women. We hope that results of the current study will stimulate future research to provide additional insights to

gain a richer understanding of family-supportive work environments, women's CSE and their effect on important work-related attitudes and behaviors, such as creativity, turnover, and organizational citizenship behavior.

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Still Alone at the Table? Women Working in Technology Organizations

<div style="text-align:right">**18**</div>

Marilyn Drury

Over the last several decades, many discussions and efforts have occurred that promote girls' and women's participation in computing activities. Information has been disseminated about information technology (IT) fields of study through the media, through print, and at all levels of the educational system. Careers in technology fields have been promoted to girls and women. Web sites and organizations such as GirlGeeks.org, Systers.org, and WITI.org (Women in Technology International) have been created to promote communities and networks where it is acceptable and members are encouraged to develop positive interests in using computers and other information technology tools. These and other sites, such as LeanIn.org, also provide resources for girls and women that can inspire, provide inclusive communities, educate, and help with the achieve-

ment of goals. Despite all this dissemination of information and the creation of support groups and organizations, many a woman who enters the field of IT remains "alone at the table."

Tied to achieving one's goals, is having the necessary education and knowledge. In the past several years, the number of women earning college degrees has steadily increased and currently exceeds the number of men earning degrees. Based on the latest statistics from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) in 2010–2011, women earned 57 % of Bachelor degrees, 60 % of Master degrees, and 51 % of Doctoral degrees in the United States (National Center for Education Statistics 2012). However, of those earning degrees in one of the many categories under the broad classification of Computer and Information Sciences and Support Services in 2010–2011, see Table 18.1 regarding the range of IT positions and categories, women earned only 17.6 % of the Bachelor degrees, 28.2 % of the Master degrees, and 20.2 % of the Doctoral degrees in the United States, see Chart 18.1 (National Center for Education Statistics 2012).

Information Technology Workforce

As IT services become increasingly important in order to perform daily functions in organizations, institutions, and as individuals, many needs exist and continue to grow for a variety of computer applications and support services. Also important

Over the years, women working in information technology (IT) organizations have often been "alone at the table" as a female in the IT workforce. Just within the past year, I can recall several instances in which I was in a meeting and thought to myself: "Why do I continue to be the lone woman 'at the table' after 30 years in IT? Where are the women? After all the years of the proliferation of IT in organizations and in personal use, can't we get past the obstacles that continue to prevent women from being in technical work roles or technology leadership roles that would put them 'at the table?'"

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Table 18.1 Computer and information sciences and support services (NCES 2012)

Computer and information sciences, general	Computer graphics
Artificial intelligence and robotics	Modeling, virtual environments and simulation
Information technology	Computer software and media applications, other
Informatics	Computer systems networking and telecommunications
Computer and information sciences, other	Network and system administration/administrator
Computer programming/programmer, general	System, networking, and LAN/WAN management/manager
Computer programming, specific applications	Computer and information systems security
Computer programming, other	Web/multimedia management and webmaster
Data processing and data processing technology/technician	Information technology project management
	Computer support specialist
Information science/studies	Computer/information tech, services admin, and management, other
Computer systems analysis/analyst	Computer and information sciences and support services, other
Computer science	
Web page, digital/multimedia and information resources design	
Data modeling/warehousing and database administration	
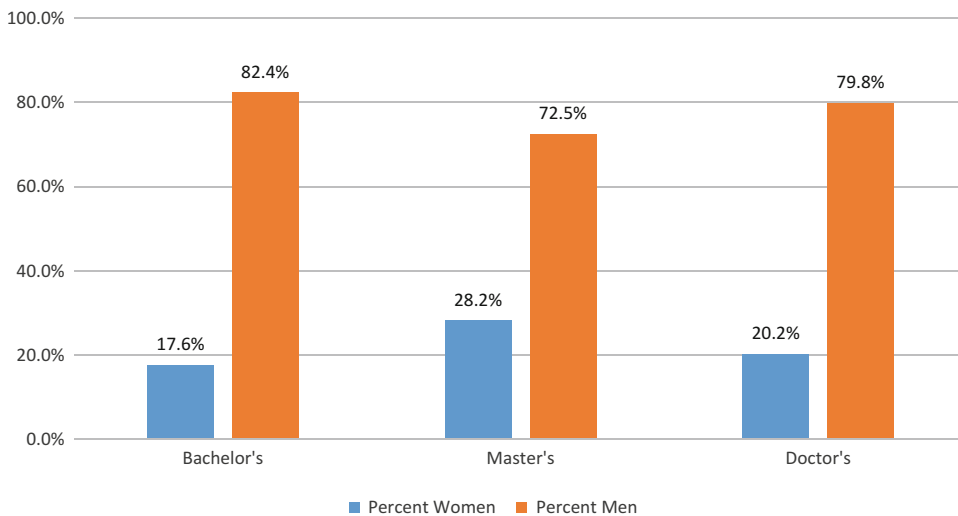
Chart 18.1 Computer and information sciences and support services degrees earned by women and men in the U.S, 2010–2011 (NCES 2012)

is the provision of a robust infrastructure capable of connecting anyone to the world at any time. Due to the growing demand, use, and need for a reliable, productive, ubiquitous service and the use of an array of applications, a wide range of employment opportunities and positions exist in IT fields.

The U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, projects in its *Occupational Outlook Handbook* that computer and information technology occupations will grow by 22 % during the 2010–2020 decade. Some technical positions will have growth increases of as much as 50 %. This translates into approximately 1.5 million new computing positions. In addition, increased openings in positions will occur due to replacement needs from retiring baby boomers (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012).
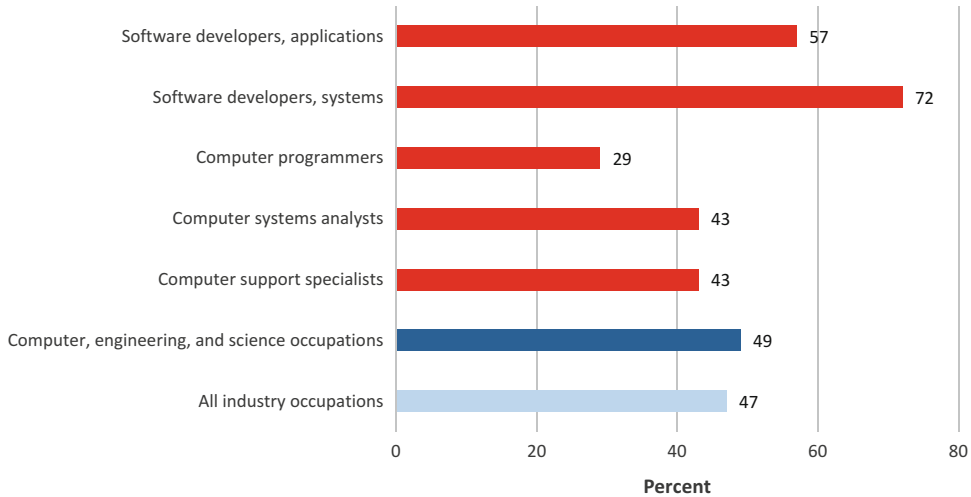
Chart 18.2 Projected percent change in employment in selected occupations in computer systems design and related services, 2010–2020 (Csorny 2013)

Chart 18.2 reflects projected employment growth rates of the most common occupations in information technology. For comparison, two broad categories are also shown: (1) computer, engineering, and science occupations within information technology; and (2) all industry occupations, which includes all occupations in the Bureau of Labor's information technology classification schema (Csorny 2013).

Computing and information technology jobs pay well and are among some of the fastest growing in number of positions. Some research, by organizations such as Catalyst, reflects a small amount of improvement in women's progress in acquiring technology positions in organizations. For example, in the past couple of years 19.2 % of the Chief Information Officers (CIOs) in the Fortune 250 companies are now women. This is up from about 10 % a few years ago (Gillenwater 2012). Several companies have funded programs and activities specifically for female employees that provide mentoring and resources to develop a more inclusive workplace.

Sadly though, female participation in information technology generally continues to be low and even on the decline, depending on the IT occupational field and type of organization. Few women are benefitting from the increased number of positions and few companies and organiza-

tions are benefitting from the talents and diversity women bring to the workplace (Ashcraft et al. 2012). Higher education continues to see a decline in the number of women CIOs. In 2008 women CIOs were at 26 %. In the most recent study in 2013, women CIOs at higher education institutions have dropped to 21 % (Brown 2013). Recent survey numbers worldwide reflect women holding only 7 % of CIO positions and very small percentages of other IT positions in the corporate world (Nash 2012). While women held 57 % of professional occupations in the 2012 U.S. workforce, they held only 26 % of professional computing occupations (NCWIT 2013). This is down from 1991, when 36 % of professional computer-related positions were held by women (2009). Catalyst, a well-known non-profit organization whose mission is to assist in creating more inclusive workplaces for women, recently published the following chart showing workforce percents, based on sex, in some specific high tech occupational areas, see Chart 18.3. Apparently, there are many "tables" at which women are alone.

Women continue to find themselves disadvantaged as they pursue technical roles in IT organizations and technical roles in other organizations (Barsh and Yee 2011; Harris et al. 2007). The traditional masculine culture of IT may explain some of the under representation of women in IT,
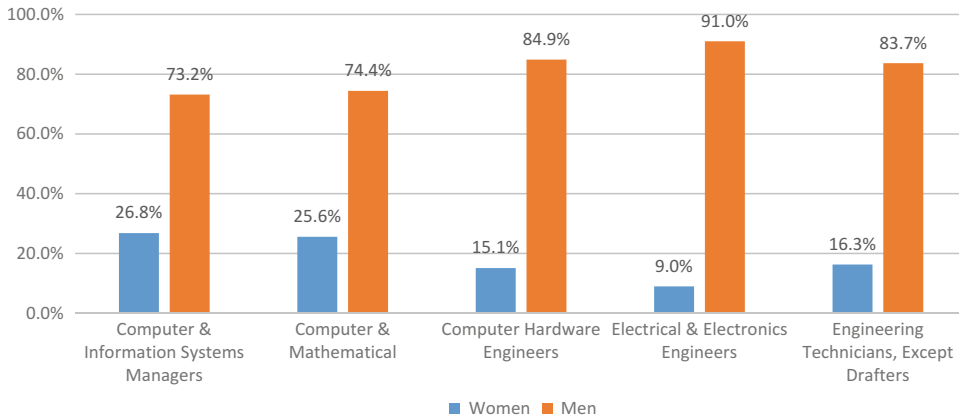
Chart 18.3 High tech employment in the U.S. women and men employed in select high tech occupations in the U.S., 2012 (Catalyst, March 8, 2013)

but there are also several other interconnected factors (Drury 2011). Among these factors are: (1) mis-perceptions related to jobs within computing fields (Aspray and Freeman 2002); (2) the lack of role models, mentors, and sponsors; (3) occupational jurisdiction dynamics (Bechky 2003); and, (4) the gendered elements inherent in organizations (Acker 1993). These factors will be discussed next.

The well-being of women related to the reality of having and holding long-term careers in IT has been and is, at least for the short term, dismal. However, as stated earlier, the field of IT offers great career opportunities and tremendous growth potential in a variety of professions. With the STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) initiatives and their associated funding and resources allocated over the last several years, greater efforts than in the past are being made to open doors for girls and women in technical and scientific fields. One can only wait to see if these efforts will be successful.

Misperceptions About Computing Jobs

A great deal of research exists regarding societal, familial, and environmental influences and factors that shape perceptions about computing careers, especially for females. Formal and informal educational opportunities that focus on a rel-

evant curriculum, active teaching and learning techniques, collaborative work, and reward risk-taking contribute toward the inclusion of more girls in computing, science, and related fields (Ashcraft et al. 2012). However, negative stereotypes often exist about "geeky" technology-related jobs. Dilbert-like cubicles with people hunched over their computers and other "geeky" images are regularly promoted by the media. Whether it is through advertisements, clip art, humor, or pictures, the mass media has been one of the most influential factors in promoting misperceptions related not only to careers in IT but also the role of women versus men in IT. Women are often represented as passive, less technical, and dumbfounded by technology.

Family, peer, and community support and influence can also affect perceptions toward computing careers. The lack of encouragement, lack of information and guidance, lack of female role models, and lack of a home environment that is just as supportive of girls as boys toward entering technical fields of study often contributes toward computing use and fields of study being uninviting and undesirable by girls (Barker and Aspray 2006; Kekelis et al. 2005).

Several positive actions and outcomes related to changing the misperceptions are beginning to occur slowly. Some of it may be due to the fact technology use is a part of everyday life. Some of it may be due to the emphasis on STEM occurring in the educational system. Many STEM outreach

programs and initiatives within the schools provide activities such as fairs and hands-on experiences with technology and scientific devices, speakers talking about their work and careers, and provide students educational experiences they would not otherwise have. Peers and adults are providing more positive influence and support for young children's involvement in technical areas. Girl friends interested in computing often serve as role models to each other and thru supportive networks girls may take courses together, reducing feelings of isolation in the classroom while helping to support each other. Adults in the home, schools, and community are providing increased support, encouragement, and more accurate information than in the past related to IT careers. These are just a few examples of efforts being taken to reduce or eliminate misperceptions about educational and career opportunities in technical fields.

Lack of Role Models, Mentors, Sponsors

Lack of role models, mentors, and sponsors are other factors that influence the under representation of women in IT. People serving as role models, mentors, and sponsors can help reduce the under representation of women in information technology by assisting with creating opportunities for women. With the reduced number of women in IT, role models of the same sex can be few and far between. However, many women in IT have role models and mentors who are males. A role model is generally defined as someone whose behavior, success, or particular role others try to emulate. A mentor is generally defined as someone who coaches, counsels, and guides another person. Women need to be aware that the more senior and influential their mentors are, the better likelihood of getting sponsorship. Men's mentors are often higher ranking in the organization than women's. It is the mentor's level of power, not gender, that most affects the mentee's potential advancement (Carter and Silva 2011).

Sponsorship involves relationships that are focused on the advancement of a person and supported through the use of the sponsor's power and authority. Sponsors usually have upper level positions of power in organizations. A sponsor generally has significant influence in decisions made by the organization and leverages their weight and reputation to protect and fight for an individual's success and career advancement (Ibarra et al. 2010). Catalyst recently interviewed 93 executives and high performers at six top global organizations to gain more insight into the effect of a sponsor. According to those they spoke with, sponsorships were very important in advancing one's career. The more senior a sponsor the more effective. Having a sponsor provided access to powerful networks, visibility of individuals, expansion of strategic skills, and provided otherwise unobtainable opportunities for those being sponsored. When women had effective sponsors, women were just as likely to reap the benefits as were men who had effective sponsors (Foust-Cummings et al. 2011).

Mentoring relationships are valuable and offer several positive benefits. However, "mentoring relationships aren't leading to nearly as many promotions for [women] as for men" (Foust-Cummings et al. 2011, p. 83). Men are more endorsed through their mentors who transition to sponsorship roles in order to help their mentee succeed, than are women (Ibarra et al. 2010).

Occupational Jurisdiction in IT

Occupational authenticity and legitimacy is measured by how others perceive the need for an individual's work and occupational role (Bechky 2003). The more legitimate and authentic a person's role is and the more important the objects they have control over, the greater the occupational jurisdiction and power associated with that role. Relationships, tasks, and work boundaries are often defined by the jurisdiction one holds due to their position. In IT, historically and currently, the more technical a role a person has, the more occupational authenticity, legitimacy, and power associated with that role and the person holding that role.

In IT, technical roles are more often held by men and service roles more often held by women. More technical roles usually require additional

certifications and specialized hardware and software training than do service roles. Along with the technical roles and their elevated legitimacy, comes more domination via power over machines, over who has access when to information and systems, and, in general, power over the person's ability to use the technology. Linked to the power a person holds is salary. Positions in IT with more power and more legitimacy pay more and are more often held by men. People have come to expect men to be the techies, to be the ones managing the servers, and speaking in acronyms and techno-ese. Women are generally expected to be in service roles such as consultants, programmers, and help desk staff. This implicit division is very much along the line of traditional gender roles where the man "plows the field" or "mows the lawn" and the woman takes care of the home, children, and the social relations of the family.

Interactions amongst and between work groups and the power one holds over objects and machines can create social categories within the organization and lead to interesting social dynamics. Maintaining an individual's or group's status, task boundaries, and power becomes important, can define one's identity, and leads to creating that jurisdictional invisible perimeter. When an "outsider", such as a woman server administrator, enters a work group composed primarily and historically of men, the gendered elements of an organization frequently rise to the top and can become very visible.

"Outsiders" Within IT Organizations

Women working in technical roles within IT organizations can often be viewed as "outsiders within" (Collins 1986, p. S14). Collins used this phrase to describe African American women's roles as nannies for white families. The African American women, the less powerful outsiders, became marginally accepted into the family as they cared for and raised the white children while living within the powerful white insider communities. Within IT organizations today, women's hard work, persistence, and abilities to overcome

barriers have permitted professional growth for many as they have eventually gained varying levels of acceptance as "outsiders within." These women are often considered "pioneers" in IT.

A key element facilitating this slow transition has been both men and women's ability to understand the nuances of the organizational culture. Becoming aware of the IT organization's historically male dominated power structure, cultural and political influences, and the "unwritten grammar of conduct" (Merton 1972, p. 15), women and men can develop a better understanding of the dynamics involved in accepting "outsiders within." And, hopefully, more efforts will occur to work from within the organization toward total acceptance, change, and creating a less gendered organization.

Gendered Organizations

The hegemonies of gendered IT organizations are entwined into the factors related to the under representation of women in IT. The gendering of organizations traditionally thrusts aside that which appears to be feminine in nature and promotes male norms and experiences to unquestioned levels of the ordinary, the customary, and the normal (Gropp 2006; Maier 1999). Acker (1993) discussed four gendering constructions in social structures and organizations that establish distinctions between female and male, feminine and masculine:

1. "the construction of divisions along lines of gender" (p. 85)—producing divisions of labor, defining appropriate behaviors, granting power, outlining physical locations, and establishing divisions within the family and state;
2. images and symbols—creation of images, signs, and codes that reinforce, explain, or can even oppose gender divisions within an organization;
3. interactions—individuals' interactions within groups or individually as well as interactions between the individual and the organization producing gendered elements in organizational structures;

4. hegemonies—the unseen, unacknowledged, but ever present socialization processes that help define a person's identity and frame of reference.

Gender's influence on a social institution sets patterns of expectations and defines social processes and power relations related to daily life (Lorber 1994; Martin 2003).

Interwoven into the well-being of women in their careers, into their lives financially, physically, and socially, and in their communities are gender constructions and distinctions. These constructions, noted above: (a) often lead to women perceiving the culture and fields within IT as foreign and unwelcoming; (b) often make women hesitant to pursue educational or professional IT disciplines or fields; and (c) often produce uncertainties from women in seeking promotions and advancements within the IT field.

There are many examples of the results of gender constructions in today's IT organizations. For example, the lack of women leaders at all levels of the IT organization; the lack of women in more technical positions; continued stereotypic beliefs held by others that certain positions and roles in IT are better suited for women, resulting in occupational segregation; stereotypes that reflect technology as masculine; and unwelcoming computer classroom environments (Ashcraft et al. 2012; Cozza 2011; Katz et al. 2004; Wasburn and Miller 2006).

Gendering of organizations leads to additional challenges and obstacles for one to reach one's career goals. This can apply to both men and women. However, some research indicates that men in occupations traditionally held by women, such as nursing, are often urged or recruited to move into administrative or higher level positions in the field more quickly and frequently than are women. Men in nontraditional occupations are more often seen as a positive difference as opposed to women in nontraditional positions being more often seen as a less positive difference (Williams 1992). Some refer to this phenomena as a "glass escalator" effect pointing to evidence that the higher the percentage of women in an occupation, the greater the likelihood that men in that occupation will move into supervisory positions as compared to women (Maume 1999).

Numerous portrayals exist describing journeys through gendered organizations that women take in order to reach career and financial well-being. Well known is the "glass ceiling" metaphor with women striving to shatter or crack the glass to be able to progress up the career ladder (Hymowitz and Schellhardt 1986). Others have depicted a woman's journey to career success as "a complex journey" (Eagly and Carli 2007, p. x) through a maze or labyrinth. And Chapple (2006) specifically discusses the journey through an IT career as not that of simple up-the-ladder linear movement but moving more horizontally—progressing within and outside of IT to other departments in order to advance, as one might in going up a lattice. Whatever the path or depiction, advancing in IT careers and organizations continues to be a struggle for women. The effect of gender constructions may not be highly visible. Valian (2006) stated: "'Even very small amounts of disadvantage accumulate over time' (p. 323) with the systemic undervaluation of women culminating in lower salaries and slower promotion rates" (Drury 2011, p. 6).

Men continue to be advantaged as a result of the socialization processes, beliefs within and functions of gendered organizations, plus historically having more legitimacy, access, and power over certain IT processes and functions. The historical account of institutionalized processes and traditions has not only been constructed by men but also largely about men, leaving women's experiences and lives largely unaccounted for in the narrative. The problem is that the male experience becomes the usual, normal, and for all practical purposes, the expected experience which leads to a lack of understanding of the diversity, talents, and divergent experiences of women (Flax 1983; Hartsock 1983; Sprague and Zimmerman 1993).

Sheryl Sandberg, Chief Operating Officer of Facebook, wrote in her recent book: "All of us—men and women alike—have to understand and acknowledge how stereotypes and biases cloud our beliefs and perpetuate the status quo"

(Sandberg 2013, p. 159). Women who are to succeed in IT professions, must be able to understand and cope with gendered organizations and the overt and covert barriers resulting from corporate traditions and practices. They must be able to address stereotypic attitudes and be strong. They must seek out opportunities that assist with overcoming barriers to career establishment and progression and allow them to utilize their knowledge, skills, and expertise in positive ways. Avenues to assist with success in IT professions for women are discussed later.

Organizations must open their eyes and stop being blind toward gender issues. "We need institutions and individuals to notice and correct for this behavior by encouraging, promoting, and championing more women. And women have to learn to keep their hands up, because when they lower them, even managers with the best intentions might not notice" (Sandberg 2013, p. 36). Keeping one's hands up means having the needed knowledge, skills, and expertise to be successful in one's position. It means not keeping quiet about it—professionally letting others in the organization know that one is skilled and talented. It means being able and wanting to progress in one's position and take on new challenges. Talented women should not need permission to be recognized or acknowledged—it should be evidenced day in and day out in the way they perform their roles. Sadly however, even though women can be the best at what they do, the recognition and rewards are often not there.

What can organizations do to create a culture that is less gendered? What are the issues with recruiting and retaining women in IT organizations? Are there strategic efforts and actions organizations can take to not only recruit and retain women but to "change the game?" And, if there are not, why not? What needs to be done? What actions can women take individually? Actions and efforts related to creating less gendered organizations and a gender friendly culture are all complex and interconnected. No one set of efforts or endeavors will resolve situations—but rather a collective, persistent set of interconnected actions is needed from both organizations and individuals. These will be addressed next.

Recruiting and Retaining Women— Getting Beyond Being Outsiders Within

The obstacles and barriers women encounter in pursuing careers and professional positions within IT organizations are many and varied. Articles, studies, books, and reports continue to document these challenges. Examples of barriers have included and continue to include: negative stereotypic behaviors and comments; lack of trust, recognition, and support; perceived notions by others of lack of credibility; marginalization; lack of pathways to professional progression; jealousy; isolationism; "good old boy" networks; salary inequities; double-binds; differential family commitments; lack of role models and mentors; and being seen as tokens in the workplace (Clark 2013; Drury 2010; Foust-Cummings et al. 2008; Hewlett and Luce 2005; Sandberg 2013; Simard et al. 2008).

Encountering such daily obstacles wears at a person over time leaving them feeling angry, isolated, and unrecognized as a worthy contributor to the organization's mission and work. This lack of legitimization has contributed to 56 % of women at the mid-level point in their careers leaving the IT organization. Mid-level is typically the point where an employee has considerable work experience but has not yet reached a senior leadership position. Such talented women are typically in their mid to late thirties at this point (Simard et al. 2008). Continually facing challenges and obstacles, they reached a point of "fight or flight" as "the hostility of the workplace culture drives them out" (Hewlett et al. 2008, p. 23).

While this sounds quite disheartening and defeating, there are several actions and efforts that can be made by individuals and organizations to positively affect the well-being of women in IT organizations. What can an individual, man or woman, do to help address this complex set of barriers? What changes can be made in organizational practices and cultures to foster fairness and create more opportunities for women, making the organization more "gender

friendly?" According to Harris et al. (2007), "getting more women into the game" (p. 1) is not necessarily the answer. Rather it is a matter of organizations and institutions "changing the game" (p. 1)—offering women more opportunities, becoming more diverse, changing work processes and dynamics—these are just a few of the elements that must begin to change.

Creating Opportunities—What Organizations Can Do

Organizations and institutions can take action in multiple ways to create opportunities for women to enter and remain in technical fields of work. By acknowledging that there is a problem and that an organized, thoughtful, structural approach is needed, organizations can put a concerted effort into implementing needed actions.

Recruitment Programs

Technology organizations should have effective recruitment programs that target a diverse work force staff. Such programs can begin early with certain pools of people, e.g., while women and other minorities are still in college. Employing networks and engaging a broader range of potential candidates early on can lead to successes down the road. Attendance at conferences and professional organizations can provide avenues for recruiting potential candidates. Internships are another means of recruiting. Providing hands-on experiences and building a person's confidence, internships are a way to build relationships between individuals and organizations. The use of social media to market your organization to others provides many avenues for recruitment opportunities. Personalized recruitment where an individual is selected as a potential candidate for a position can provide professional advancement opportunities for women and others.

Organizations should utilize open practices in recruiting and hiring. While it doesn't insure steering away from "hiring like kind" or "hiring from within", it does offer all possible candidates an opportunity to apply. "'Open practices' mean that jobs are broadly advertised and that the crite-

ria for the position are transparent" (Simard and Gammal 2012, p. 19). According to much of the research, open recruitment often leads to more women being hired in all positions throughout the organization. Some research finds that it can reduce the odds of a man being hired into a management position by as much as 13 % (Simard and Gammal 2012).

- The University of Nebraska has a fund raising campaign aimed at "doubling the number of women enrolled in information science and technology programs by the year 2015." Hoping to raise $400,000, the funds will be used for programs aimed at educating young women in middle and high schools about IT careers. The money will also be used for scholarships for women and for mentors for women enrolled (WIA*Report* 2013).

- IBM sponsors research internships for undergraduate women in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math). A rigorous selection process occurs, interns are paid, and are assigned a mentor. Many female researchers from IBM participate and serve as role models. IBM finds that one of the successes of this program is more women candidates apply for positions within the company and the number of women hired has increased.

- Annual conferences are available that focus on recruiting best practices. One example is the Recruiting Trends Conference—http://www.recruitingtrendsconference.com/ A variety of presentations and speakers provide their expertise in what works and what doesn't in recruitment.

Mentoring and Sponsorship Programs

Women generally have a difficult time progressing through the pipeline in organizations. When you put women in information technology fields and organizations the difficulty increases four-fold due to a variety of obstacles previously discussed. It is very important for women and men in technology to serve as mentors and sponsors for other women in their field. It is equally as important for women in technology to seek mentors and sponsors with whom they are comfortable. Influential and effective mentors and

sponsors can positively impact the well-being of women, increase retention in the organization, and accelerate their career progression. Organizations can provide incentives for mentors, educating them in understanding their role as an advisor and counselor. Creating highly visible mentoring programs that provide release time from normal job duties and various incentives can motivate mentors to become and stay involved in supporting their mentees.

Sponsors wield more power in an organization than do mentors. Sponsors provide access to critical networks and can assist women with acquiring new work opportunities and growing their skills. Sponsorship involves a high level of trust between the sponsor and the protégé, excellent and open communication, being able to have honest conversations that involve constructive criticism, and commitment between the two people. Sponsors receive a deep sense of satisfaction and learn from their protégés as well. Sponsors often report they build additional organizational awareness as they work with their protégés to make connections, build leadership skills, and improve the organization (Foust-Cummings et al. 2011).

Several resources and examples of effective mentoring and sponsorship programs exist. Organizations can learn from what others are doing and find effective programs and initiatives that can be implemented within one's own organization.

- The National Center for Women & Information Technology, in collaboration with the Anita Borg Institute, has developed a Mentoring-in-a-Box: Technical Women at Work resource (see http://www.ncwit.org/resources/mentoring-box-technical-women-work). Inside the box are a variety of activities, resources, and tools to be used by the mentor and mentee.
- After Citigroup learned the research showed that women are less likely to have sponsors than men, a Global Women's Initiative began in 2009. The Initiative supports sponsorship relationships pairing high-potential women with senior executive advocates.
- CH2M HILL, a worldwide organization dealing with energy, water, environmental and infrastructure design, realizes the value

women can bring to the organization. The company consciously makes an effort to give women critical experiences needed to advance and places one's skills, leadership abilities, and talent above one's seniority in awarding critical assignments and work opportunities (Foust-Cummings et al. 2011).

Educate for Diversity

Research suggests that diversity of people in work groups, whether it be age, culture, race, gender, or geography, can foster innovation and creativity if the organizational culture supports diversity and celebrates it. To foster a supportive culture and environment, several suggestions can be made. To support and encourage diversity, organizations can provide in-service programs that motivate staff to be inclusive of diverse talents, personalities, and backgrounds. Such programs should help staff reach a point where they feel comfortable expressing diverse opinions and learn to view others as individuals, recognizing a person for who he or she is. Development sessions should be offered that help staff with developing trust and support for each other, respecting others, and refraining from negative stereotypic behavior.

Effective, confidential channels for communicating to human resource or compliance inappropriate behavior by staff members should and can be provided by the organization. This type of communication process needs to focus on helping individuals that engage in stereotypic and other sorts of inappropriate behaviors become aware of their behavior or others' perceptions of their behaviors so that more appropriate behavior can occur. Professional development can be provided for supervisors, managers, and executives on the effects of marginalizing others and how to recognize when others are being marginalized. Strategies might include role playing, simulations, case studies, and discussions. These strategies help others, including those in power positions, to recognize men and women employed by the organization as human, not just cogs in the system.

Organizations can recognize and reward those who empower others rather than having power over others. Successes of both women and men

and those of diverse workgroups should be celebrated and made visible.

- Intel believes the diversity of its employees from all over the world contributes toward the company's innovation and creativity. Team-building, communication, and decision-making are topics that are part of its business-skills courses along with intercultural content and training. Other courses help new employees and managers examine the tension between Intel's values and their own individual values (Foust-Commings et al. 2008).

- Northrop Grumman, a leading global company that provides products and solutions in unmanned systems, celebrates diversity in its organization by "leveraging organizational diversity through teamwork, cross-functional collaboration and joint ventures" (http://www.northropgrumman.com/Corporate Responsibility/Diversity/Pages/default.aspx) in order to meet its goals. The company sponsors Employee Resource Groups, whose purpose is to provide opportunities for professional development, networking, outreach, and recruiting. It sponsors a Women's conference which brings together women from across the company and includes panels, speakers, and other sessions. It celebrates various heritages throughout the year, such as Black history month, Lesbian pride month, Native American month, etc. Transition support and employment programs are offered to injured military personnel pursuing careers. Many other initiatives and programs are also sponsored by the company. In 2013, it was one of the top 50 companies recognized by Diversity, Inc. for its efforts.

Promote Professional Development

Women should be encouraged to acquire new technical knowledge and skills in organizations. Many times in technology organizations the men who are in the male dominated technical roles are more frequently encouraged to expand their technical knowledge and attend training than are women. Women with good technical skills need to be recognized publicly and legitimized as technical staff who are just as knowledgeable as the men. This validates a person's credentials to them as well as others. Recognition of successes through awards, nominations, announcements, and various public relation outlets to the local and professional community further legitimizes a technical woman's role and leadership. Women should be encouraged and supported in not only attending technical training but conferences and other events where networking can occur. Funding for travel and professional membership fees should be allocated. Organizations can take several steps to formalize the professional development process if needed. For example, some develop a system of accountability in which supervisors and managers are accountable for staff having equal opportunities to attend professional development events.

- The Women's Place at The Ohio State University provides a diverse set of resources focused on expanding opportunities for the growth, leadership and power of women at the University. A variety of campus women's groups, including women students, exist in order to serve and support women in general at The University, some are for those in specific roles, and some for those in certain disciplines. Regular meetings are held of these groups and professional development occurs along with other activities. A President and Provost's Council on Women exists to advocate for the advancement of women. A *Status Report on Women at The Ohio State University* is published annually. Various leadership institutes offering professional development for women are also sponsored by The University (http://womensplace.osu.edu/).

- IBM offers a program called Taking the Stage© (registered trademark of the Humphrey Group Inc.) that can be taken individually or in a group setting. The program works with women to develop skills in having a strong leadership presence and to build confidence. Facilitators of the program are other women in IBM (Foust-Cummings et al. 2008).

Promote Networking Opportunities

Networking opportunities are very important. Formal and informal communication channels need to exist that will allow women to build rela-

tionships with others, men and women, both inside and outside the organization. Virtual networking using Internet resources can bring together people from any culture and any country, within organizations or those from other organizations. There are many professional networking organizations that women can join or participate in for free or for a membership fee. EDUCAUSE, WITI International, Women and Hi Tech are just a few examples. Many local organizations exist as well, such as Coolest Women We Know in Denver, CO; Microsoft Women Employee Group; and local and national AAUW (American Association of University Women) groups.

- The New York City Business Networking Group offers free membership for anyone wishing to join. Winner of the Top 100 Small Business Influencers Award in 2011 it provides members a variety of venues for interacting and networking with others. Both men and women have opportunities to meet others and interact with various business professionals and executives.
- EDUCAUSE, an international higher education technology organization, sponsors several constituent groups for different IT topic areas. One is the Women in IT constituent group. The group connects at conferences and via email chats on best practices in recruiting, retaining, and advancing women in higher education IT.

Flexible Work Opportunities

Flexible work programs can greatly contribute to the well-being of both men and women in organizations as well as the well-being of their families. These programs can include a reduction in work hours, working different hours than the traditional 8 to 5 h, telecommuting, and others. Everyone faces different life situations and at times may need the flexibility to move from a full-time position to a part-time position. This should not necessitate giving up all responsibilities or one's salary rate and moving to a lower ranking, lower pay scale position. Needs for reduced hours by staff should be considered in a fair and appropriate manner along with a review

of job duties. If the same level of responsibilities is to occur during the reduction, staff should be allowed to continue their job status at the same pay rate, just paid less for working less hours. Organizations must be careful not to discount or discard those who are not full-time thinking they no longer care much about the organization or their work. Most who use flexible work opportunities want to continue to excel at their profession, stay connected, and prove themselves for promotional opportunities in the future (Eagly and Carli 2007). Flexible hours, such as working noon to 8 p.m., for full-time positions can add great satisfaction to a person's job as they may have significant family responsibilities at certain points in their life. Many other flexible arrangements exist that organizations can support. It is important to remember to educate the organization's staff as to the purpose of flexible schedules or other flexible programs so as to avoid discontent and dissatisfaction from those not needing such programs.

- In a recent study by Catalyst, organizations offering flexible work arrangements are no longer considered exceptions, but are becoming the norm. Eighty-one percent of respondents to the survey by Catalyst in 2012 reported their companies offer some type of flexible work arrangements. These arrangements included: (1) flexible arrival and departure; (2) telecommuting; (3) flex time; (4) compressed work week; (5) reduced work/part time; and (6) job sharing arrangements. Both men and women at companies offering flexible work arrangements had high career aspirations whereas in those companies that did not offer such arrangements, more women than men were likely to reduce their aspirations (Beninger and Carter 2013).

Gender and Family Friendly Cultures

A major strategy to assist with reversing some of the exiting of technology organizations by women in mid-career, and thus some of the brain drain, is to build a gender friendly and family friendly organizational culture. Such an organization encourages women to stay connected to their work, to expand professionally, to develop

networks, to become mentors and sponsors, and to remain dedicated to the organization during years in which they may have major family responsibilities, such as childrearing and elder care years. Organizations can offer what Hewlett and Luce (2005) call "on-ramps" and "off-ramps" that provide flexible work schedules, childcare programs, job sharing, and leaves of absence. Off-ramps and on-ramps provide women and men with opportunities to exit their profession for varying time periods in order to deal with responsibilities and then to be able to get back onto their career path at a later time. Women especially often have nonlinear career paths and have to juggle many responsibilities. It is important for organizations to not lose their talents and to be able to retain and reattach these women to their professions in order to keep the expertise and skills within the organization. Organizations must promote a culture in which women are able to thrive, not just survive.

- Intel offers work-life programs that create a family friendly culture by addressing a broad array of needs. This focus has enhanced their retention of technical women from entry level to senior positions. Examples of the key elements of their programs include: (1) for every 7 years of service, staff working in the U.S. or Canada receive a paid 8-week sabbatical; (2) staff have options for compressed work weeks, part-time work, and telecommuting arrangements; (3) family support is offered through such options as homework assistance and tutoring for children of their staff; and (4) options are offered for parental leave when a child is born or adopted or for elder care (Intel 2010).

Integration into Non-traditional Positions

Organizations must identify effective methods of integrating qualified and interested women into the traditionally male-dominated technical positions. Recruiting women into non-traditional positions can be challenging. For women, not only is there anxiety about the position itself, but also about unsupportive attitudes and discrimination one may face from co-workers, friends, and

family. Mentors and sponsors can be a key support factor in this process and in the acceptance of women by the work group. They can also help women learn the informal culture of the work group. Working with those being placed into such groups and working with the group members to build a cohesive, well-functioning, accepting work group can lead to success. Education, team building activities, and well counseled and guided discussions can assist with the successful integration. Preparing staff for a level of readiness before beginning integration efforts and continued coaching and communication throughout the process are necessary elements. The organization also needs to make certain that the women being integrated have the needed skills and expertise to be successful. Organizational actions that create opportunities for women are not effective unless individuals work to prepare themselves to be ready for new endeavors, new responsibilities, and diverse co-workers. Not all situations will be successful, but those that are should be celebrated by the organization.

Organizations need to continually evaluate their actions and efforts put toward an inclusive environment and culture. All levels of leadership should be held accountable for setting and meeting goals for diversity and aligning them with the goals and mission of the organization. Women who are in leadership roles in technology organizations must help to build a corporate culture that values women's talent and takes actions to diversify its staff.

Creating Opportunities—What Individuals Can Do

Improving one's own well-being, whether it be a person's career, social, financial, physical, or community well-being, requires not only individual efforts, but also cultural and social capital, and the availability of opportunities a person can grab onto. Individuals, especially women in technology fields, need to have a deep understanding of the struggles they may face. As has been discussed, these challenges relate to institutional hegemonies and stereotypes related to women in

technology. While some efforts are successful in overcoming these challenges, the real change needed relates to cultural, attitudinal, and structural changes in our society.

Develop Personal Skills and Strengths

Despite all the cultural and societal challenges, women must continue to improve their ability to experience growth, promotion, and recognition in technology fields. Women should develop a wide-range of personal skills and strengths that include excellent communication and listening skills. They must continually explore new learning and leadership opportunities and take initiative. Leadership skills should be developed even though a person may not have a desire to formally serve in that role. Possessing such skills, allows a person to portray a sense of professionalism toward others and can earn a person respect from others. Taking the initiative to become involved with various projects and tasks can lead to juggling many duties at once. Done successfully, women can often demonstrate to the organization that they can be risk takers, build self-confidence, and be results-oriented.

Excellent communication skills, speaking, writing, and listening, are critical and can be vital to succeeding with professional opportunities. Being respectful and communicating in a non-threatening manner while understanding technology and having the ability and expertise to talk about it clearly and intelligently can open many doors for women.

Seek Mentors and Sponsors

Pursuing new learning experiences or skills and taking initiative as opportunities arise can open doors for women to acquire mentors and sponsors as well as serve as mentors and sponsors to others. Mentor and sponsor support, whether it be from women or men, can come from colleagues, supervisors, managers, teachers, the CIO, etc. Mentors can provide encouragement and help one confirm their competence. They can help with finding and setting career direction and career goals. Formal or informal mentoring can be just as valuable for the person doing the mentoring/sponsoring as for the person receiving it.

Programs may be offered within the organization that one can participate in. Professional organizations and networking activities may provide other avenues for acquiring or becoming a mentor or sponsor. Peers, acquaintances, and supervisors within or outside the organization may be other sources.

As discussed earlier, sponsors are usually in a more powerful, decision-making role in the organization. Sponsorship provides a more entrusted relationship that often leads to more rapid advancement and growth of the protégé. Many view mentors/sponsors as valuable transfer agents of power, roles, and positions. As Ausejo (1993) stated: "There is no substitute for having an experienced, respected individual watching over you, pushing you in the right direction, giving you advice and introducing you to the right people" (p. 84).

Have Necessary Education and Knowledge

Having an excellent educational background and good knowledge are key factors in enhancing one's well-being. For the differing positions in technology organizations a wide-range of knowledge is important. Diverse experiences and expertise lend themselves to providing flexibility and comprehensiveness in the information technology field. A strong foundation in computing and familiarity with various applications and tools can provide a background that few can challenge. It is important to remember that career progression is rarely as simple as going up the ladder in a linear fashion. More often is it that metaphor of progressing up a lattice in which one moves up at an angle as she moves to other departments and divisions. Gaining experience in different areas with different people and situations can be one of the greatest learning events. However, women must be cautious as "moves become lateral and 'fit' becomes a euphemism for bias … [being careful not to get] pigeon-holed in jobs that [have] no access to the top" (Auster 1993, p. 55).

Some organizations provide incentives for increasing one's educational level or skills. Tuition reimbursement or matching, and the

delivery of in-house for credit courses and certifications can provide many opportunities for avenues to pursue in order to gain more expertise and education.

Taking advantage of continuous professional development opportunities allows one to add new skills and make new contacts. Professional development can occur within the organization or can be an event to which one travels. There are many professional development sessions which target women in technology. Taking the time and making the effort to acquire more education, knowledge, and professional development assists with legitimizing one's authority, work, and expertise to others.

Be "Business Smart"

Women in technology need to have some level of business knowledge. This varies depending on the position one has. When one is a CIO or in a leadership role, women are often viewed as a "business executive assuming the technical post" (Brown 2006, p. 48). It is healthy for one's career to have an understanding of the concerns and challenges that the organization faces and the direction the organization is taking to grow and move forward in its mission. Good business knowledge helps a person understand budgets, planning, and decision-making processes. Women also need to be "business smart" meaning they need to have an understanding of organizations and covert practices that can occur. Women need to maintain their awareness of hidden processes, motivating factors, political channels and undertones, and those who are gatekeepers. In considering listening skills, women need to not only be good listeners to the verbal communications but also need to be listening to what is not being said. Much of this mindfulness comes from experience and alertness. Mentors, sponsors, and networking can help women develop and participate in communication channels that provide awareness and insight into the overt and covert practices and communications of the organization. Women must be ready to challenge the overt and covert obstacles while being careful not to put such obstacles in others' pathways. Those that have navigated

through past obstacles and gatekeepers can serve as mentors to others and work to remove such obstacles from future pathways.

Participate in Networking and Professional Organizations

Networking with other colleagues and joining professional organizations are important activities for women in technology organizations. These activities facilitate the building of trust, access to professional development opportunities, and the establishing of credibility with others inside and outside the organization. There are many opportunities in professional organizations to become involved on committees or in different activities. Such activities help to prevent isolationism for women and help them give-back to the profession. Networking and professional organization involvement can also lead to career development, advancing one's leadership skills, and even the potential of being recruited or recruiting others into the organization.

Achieve a Work-Life Balance

Having a good work-life balance can lead to improving one's well-being. While women often have to work harder and longer to establish themselves and earn credibility in technical fields, they must keep in mind that family life or life balance in general is very important. Having supportive friends and relatives can help one's mental well-being and they can provide a sounding board for frustrating or difficult situations. It is important to build in time for family and friends and to be able to relax.

In the past, many women defined career success by the salary earned. The higher the salary, the more successful they were. However, in a recent survey of 5,300 working women in 13 countries, the majority of women indicated that a balance between work and one's personal life was more important than salary in defining success (Gang 2013).

Differences in households lead to differing professional IT situations. However, in general, it is still the woman who faces the majority of time commitment to household duties and child care. Family responsibilities come with tradeoffs.

Many women choose not to have children or have them at a later point in one's career. Others leave positions or reduce hours during mid-career to deal with family responsibilities and the raising of children. Still others rely on child care centers and increased spousal or partner involvement in order to continue their careers. Besides child care, another growing area of concern in our society is that of elder care. As the population ages, more adult children will be faced with responsibilities related to caring for aging relatives.

Achieving an effective work-life balance varies over time. It is important to set priorities and communicate with one's family and employer regarding one's needs and how each can be supportive. Protect your private time and protect your work time. Take advantage of telecommuting or other opportunities within the organization and use technology to one's advantage.

And, perhaps, a final comment or two on achieving a work-life balance. Be strong, be committed to do one's best—at work or in life. As Sheryl Sandberg (2013) wrote: "in addition to the external barriers erected by society, women are hindered by barriers that exist within ourselves. We hold ourselves back in ways both big and small, by lacking self-confidence, by not raising our hands, and by pulling back when we should be leaning in. We internalize the negative messages we get throughout our lives—the messages that say it's wrong to be outspoken, aggressive….we lower our own expectations of what we can achieve. We continue to do the majority of the housework and child care. We compromise our career goals…. My argument is that getting rid of these internal barriers is critical to gaining power" (p. 8). She goes on to compare this to a chicken and egg metaphor—does one try to focus on the internal barriers or the external, institutional barriers? Which should be dealt with first or do we deal with both simultaneously?

Be Willing to "Pass It On"

Once women enter and achieve success in technology positions, it is important to be a role model for others as the lack of role models continues to be one of the major barriers listed by women in technology (Foust-Cummings et al.

2008). Successful women in technology must seek opportunities to transfer their knowledge and skills to others, especially the more experienced women to those just starting their journey and less experienced. Many of the more experienced women are pioneers in their fields—some of the first women in their positions—and the transfer of knowledge and guidance on overcoming obstacles and seeking opportunities that they can offer can be invaluable. These women know the ins-and-outs politically of technology organizations. They've faced stereotypic attitudes and comments and many other challenges. "Passing it on"—the guidance, mentoring, sponsoring, conversations, discussions, training—whatever actions may be taken provide invaluable knowledge and information to those just beginning their careers or those facing challenges, whether male or female.

Final Comments

If you are alone at the table, or cannot even get to the table, it's not always "because of those *XXXX* men." One has to remember that in any institution or organization in Western European society, if a person is going to engage with or be in that society and work in its institutions and organizations, they will encounter a masculine hegemony. Men who are in these institutions and organizations usually do not know any better as to how to behave. They are behaving as they always have, as societal norms and traditions have indoctrinated them; e.g., making decisions without really seeking out or valuing women's perspectives and ideas, joking with the "old boys," seeking to hire those that are "like them," and making comments that are a reaffirmation of the male hegemony of the society.

The mental, physical, and financial well-being of women is a complex concept. One's career, social life and friends, and family and community involvement and support influence the definition of "well-being" at any point in a person's lifetime. Women in IT organizations need to identify their personal and professional priorities and take actions, pursue pathways, sit at the

appropriate tables, if they can get there, while understanding any trade-offs. Many sacrifices are often made by women to fit into organizations that are not tolerant of those who do not conform to the traditional male culture. Understanding this and working toward change, i.e., the reconfiguration of established ways, patterns, beliefs, and values, leads to a road everyone should be traveling to ensure the well-being of society.

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Women Accountants in Practicing Accounting Firms: Their Status, Investments and Returns

Simeon Ogbulafor Okpechi and Rachid Belmasrour

Introduction

The economic depression that is felt all over the world is of concern to both men and women. Women, however, worry more than men according to a 2008 Gallup poll which finds that 64 % of women compared with 36 % of men worry about the economy. The poll also suggests that such concerns are expressed by women for health care, crime, the environment, drug use, hunger, unemployment and homelessness. Why is it that women worry more than men? One theory suggests that when there is an economic down turn, those that are disadvantaged suffer greater deprivation. Women in general, unfortunately, fall in this category of the disadvantaged because most of them do not hold permanent jobs; have no pensions, portfolio investments in stocks and even homes. Another theory is that women are more worried about the welfare of their spouses and children and less of themselves when the security they enjoy through marriage and paid employment is threatened. To counter some of these

negative effects, women go to work, not as a matter of choice, but of necessity. It appears that one of the professions that women prefer to work in is the accounting profession which offers good pay, is recession-proof as well as gives prestige. But, there are many daunting constraints to overcome and huge financial investments and personal sacrifices to be made in order to reap the above-mentioned benefits.

Women in Workforce

According to U.S. Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, the real value of median weekly wage of men 25 years and older fell steadily from $807 in 1979 to $797 in 2006. In response to this phenomenon, women have been massively entering the workforce. Women's contribution to family income rose from 26 to 35 % in 2007. It is estimated by the U.S. Department of Labor (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2007) that about 68 million women were in the workforce earning on the average $614 weekly. The struggling economy and the high unemployment rate that now stands at 10.2 % put undue strain on the family and the marriage institution that supports it. Given these disturbing trends, it seemed most appropriate that Oxford University in 2010 held a Round Table Conference that discussed issues concerning women in the world of work.

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Women Practicing Accountants as an Elitist Group

Women practicing accountants may be classified as elitist professionals that are expected to bring financial and emotional stability to their families. They train to become career accountants as they hope to excel and make steady progression to the highest positions of partners or managing partners. It takes an average of 10 years for a very bright accountant to become a partner (Satava 2009). But there have been problems with the retention (turnover) of women in practicing accounting firms in spite of their high technical skills and ability to work hard alongside their male counterparts. Our premise in this study is that women who remain in practice as career accountants must have favorable perception from others of their: status, investments and the returns that come to them. That they face some constraints is undeniable, but do such constraints impact their decisions to remain or quit their career objectives?

Motivation for the Study

There are several reasons for undertaking this study. The first is the privilege of participating in the Oxford Round Table Conference for the first time. The theme for the 2010 Oxford Round Table is **Women at Work: Benefits and Barriers** which seems to encompass the experience of women in practicing accounting firms. Thus, our topic, "women accountants in practicing accounting firms: their status, investments, and returns" fits well into the conversations that would ensue. Second, there is paucity of information about the expectations of women practicing accountants in the US, especially with the low rate of their retention and what needs to be done to keep them. This study helps to fill that gap, and the result should invoke considerable interest of major accounting firms. The third reason has to do with diversity of the work force in accounting firms. How seriously are major accounting firms taking the question of diversity, inclusion and flexible work schedules in trying to accommodate a multi-racial-cultural workforce? Since women are becoming a dominant force in the profession, it is important that this phenomenon be recognized and adequate leadership skills be developed to deal with it because it is only a matter of time before the demographics of the profession are considerably changed. In an attempt to place a handle on this topic as well as develop the appropriate research instrument (questionnaire), a conceptual framework was developed. See Appendix 1. In the section that follows, the conceptual framework is briefly discussed

Examining the Components of the Conceptual Framework and the Literature Review

In this Section, the conceptual framework and the review of the literature are presented. As can be expected, the topics discussed in each box and the relevant literature findings guided the development of the research questionnaire. The conceptual framework consists of eight boxes connected from left to right with directional arrows, starting from Box 19.1. A brief discussion of each of the boxes follows.

Box 19.1: Education and Training
Becoming a qualified accountant does not happen in a day or in an instant. It takes college education of about 150 credit hours, passing professional examination and completing 2 years of practical training (American Institute of Certified Public Accountants et al. 2010; Satava 2009). It takes a student with a concentration in accounting about 7 years to become professionally qualified and certified. This translates into 3 years after undergraduate education. Certification follows after being found morally fit; and having sworn to abide by the professional code of ethics in order to practice accountancy as a career (Satava 2009). The assumption in Box 19.1

Box 19.1 (continued)

is that each practicing woman accountant has met the requisite qualifications as stipulated above. Meeting these qualifications entails huge investments in time and money as well as foregoing some personal comforts while studying for the examination under articleship. What is the expectation of the prospective accountant? First, there is the expectation of having a starting salary higher than any undergraduate in most business schools. The second expectation is initiation into an exclusive professional club in the community of practicing CPAs which in itself, is a status symbol. How do the women practicing accountants view this role of their status? What happens if this expectation is not met? Some studies have shown that lack of technical skills and not meeting early expectations lead to quitting the job (Hom and Griffeth 1995; Hom and Kinicki 2001; Maertz and Campion 1998). Accountants are trained to work independently and in isolation sometimes and this may create some retention problems. For instance, Leonard and Levine (2006), argue that lack of diversity does not result in turnover, but isolation from co-workers and from clients does.

Box 19.2: Why Women Work in Practicing Accounting Firms

Women work in accounting firms for the same reasons that men do. Accounting firms provide unique opportunities to women to become well- known professional accountants, progress in rank from trainee-accountants to the highest positions such as the managing partners or chief executive officers. To become the managing partner of one of the largest six accounting firms carries with it prestige, huge financial

Box 19.2 (continued)

rewards and recognition world-wide (Satava 2009). Most importantly, since the accounting profession is recession-proof, accountants rarely suffer pay cuts or lay-offs during adverse economic conditions. In such situations, women practicing accountants are able to adequately support their families financially. The picture that is presented here is true if one is lucky to be employed by a national or international firm. Less than 25 % of qualified certified accountants get to be employed by national or international accounting firms. Local, regional and national firms have their advantages and disadvantages in terms of meeting career goals. For women practicing accountants the choice of any category has to be carefully weighed against the backdrop of family needs, career progression and personal comfort. We will now examine the typical organizational structures of Certified Public Accounting Firms and how each may help or hinder the ambition of women.

Organizational Structures of Certified Public Accounting Firms

Public accounting firms have three forms of organizational structures, namely: sole practitioners (partnerships SPs), professional corporations (limited liability partnerships, LLPs) and limited liability companies (LLCs). Sole practitioners are usually two or more practicing accountants sharing one office and its facilities. Each accountant provides her clientele with individualized services such as tax preparation, strategic planning, budgeting and business advisory. Limited audit attest functions are provided to local companies who need to secure loans from neighborhood financial institutions. In addition, local companies that need to convert from sole proprietorships to limited liability

companies find the services of local accounting firms extremely useful and affordable. These types of personalized services to members of closely-knit communities are rewarding and profitable because as the business community grows so do the local accounting firms. Thus, women practicing accountants who are not prepared to move to new towns because of family constraints can still practice and make a good living in their growing local communities. Professional recognition and status come automatically to small community practioners as long as they provide quality services and effectively serve as board members of community-based organizations. Thus, women accountants who enjoy raising their children in familiar communities as well as enjoy the local limelight might prefer to remain in closely-knit local community offices.

Regional Firms are usually started when several sole practitioners, in different locations within the region, come together under one umbrella as a partnership. What evolves is a regional firm that becomes a force to reckon with given its network of small firms and specialized pool of technical staff. Usually such arrangements create numerous openings for women to professionally advance and grow. Because this type of union results in increased audit, consultancy engagements, and other business advisory services peculiar to the region, women with the right resumes and willingness to meet some challenges are needed and paid more. Often times national accounting firms establish regional branches as an expansionist strategy. These newly created regional offices usually would source additional staff from the already existing regional firms or local firms. These kinds of opportunities present themselves for women accountants with the requisite technical skills and first class knowledge of business dynamics in the region and they are the ones invited to occupy important senior management positions. These are not the only advantages to working in regional offices. For instance, for families raising school-age children, regional offices may be nearer home, university of interest or are in close proximity to the residence of family members, boyfriends or uncles.

Problem of commuting is solved. Regional Offices offer to their staff better salaries, flexible teams structure and working environment than local accounting offices. Besides, they have more training opportunities.

National Firms are different compared with regional firms in that they have offices in almost all the regions of the country and in major cities of U.S.A. Usually, designated coordinating regional offices, serve as liaison offices for several branches within the region. Regional offices are manned by highly trained and effective professionals or partners with outstanding track records. Because of constant upward and lateral mobility in these offices, national firms are always holding professional development training programs to which regional officers are invited. As a staff in a national office one must be prepared to relocate at a short notice as well as attend industry-specific development training courses as when needed.

In addition, many small local or regional firms that are unable to afford to maintain separate training departments for their staff usually request the national offices to set up some courses for them. Women practicing accountants who are already in regional offices and who aspire to move to higher positions do seek active participation in training programs and regional conferences organized by national firms or professional bodies. There are no better places to show-case their talents than in training workshops, and national conferences organized by professional bodies and international firms.

Working in a national firm as a senior manager carries with it huge financial benefits and responsibilities that must be carefully weighed by women. A partner in a major national firm is usually in charge of many junior partners, audit seniors, and tax partners as well as directors of consultancy services. Each sectional head reports directly to him/her meaning that he/she is on the job 24 h a day and 7 days a week. Thus, any woman practicing accountant who is still raising children or nursing a chronically sick husband (child) may find it difficult to choose professional growth in place of the family unity and development.

International Firms are very much like national accounting firms in structure and in their mode of operation. They have established offices in major countries in all the continents of the world. However, in their case a regional office may be one that serves several countries within a continent. For example, an international firm may have four regional offices in the continent of Africa as follows: Nairobi, Kenya for East Africa; Lagos, Nigeria for West Africa; Alexandria, Egypt for North Africa; and, Cape Town, South Africa, for Southern Africa. International accounting firms are well–established corporations, serving exclusively trans-continental business organizations. They usually employ specialists in different disciplines who are organized into flexible teams along industry lines for cross-border international assignments. Their clients for audit and consultancy assignments include multi-national business enterprises and not-for-profit organizations. They usually handle complex mergers and acquisition, as well as, syndicated multi-national loan applications from international financial institutions. These types of assignments require the expertise of other professionals such as engineers, statisticians, insurance experts, lawyers, information technology experts and certified investment analysts, to name a few. Given the variety of assignments they face, they are constantly being professionally trained, retrained and often on the move from one country to another. The movements of professionals across countries create a lot of openings for upward movement for women who have demonstrable superior abilities to manage regional or national offices and are willing to travel on short notices. Leadership and technical skills are not the only criteria international firms look for when posting professionals to new assignments; they also look at seniority and track record of accomplishments. One of the most rewarding benefits of working in international firms is the joy of working with diverse nationalities from different countries. Another benefit is the exposure to different cultures, foods and national value systems. For women who want to settle down, raise their families and watch them grow as united entities, the career opportunities and personal adventurous

pleasures provide by international firms may not be rewarding.

An Emerging Trend That Favors Women

A new trend that seems to favor women is one in which non-accounting firms are purchasing the non-attest functions of well-established public accounting firms. For example, in the 1990s, American Express, CBIZ, Inc., and H & R Block bought several regional accounting firms in various cities. These companies were known as "consolidators" because they consolidated their purchased regional firms into Accounting Corporations. Each purchase creates immediate opportunities for women to move into higher positions as either non-attest professional directors or audit partners. Some women practicing accountants who were not sure of what to expect in the newly formed corporations opted to be seconded or leased out with the provision to return to their previous firms if things did not work out.

It can be seen that the structures of local, regional, national and international accounting firms do offer challenges, constraints, and opportunities that create hard choices for women. The constraints are not entirely overwhelming. They can easily be overcome with perseverance and proper planning (Box 19.3).

Box 19.3: Achievement of Career Goals
The achievement of the career goals outlined in Box 19.2 is contingent on the personal financial investments, time and substantial quality time reduction to their families. Important also are time and money spent by these accountants on individual and corporate professional education and training programs. These programs are required to keep accountants current. Factored also into the tight schedule is time allocated to visit with mentors and role models that may be invited by manage-

(continued)

Box 19.3 (continued)

ment, from time to time, to share their knowledge and experience. In advice given to aspiring professional accountants, Satava (2009) states "in the beginning of your career, the most important factor is technical knowledge. Take seriously every training offer that your firm provides. You will soon find out that, as public accountants move up the company hierarchy, they have to continuously increase their technical knowledge and skills to ensure that they are properly equipped to serve their firms and maintain their good clients" (p 30, New Accountant, Issue 733). This is to say, the more time and energy the practicing accountant devotes to professional development, the greater are the chances for movement up the hierarchy in the firm. The reverse is equally true.

Box 19.4: Expected Returns

It seems clear that the returns on investment of the woman accountant are not only in monetary terms, they include prestige and national recognition. Regular pay and appropriate annual salary increases and bonuses are expected and are essential to keep the working flame aglow. Women also cherish job security and entrepreneurial pride in being one of the partners of their firms. These are accompanied by industry recognition, awards, and often representation of their firms in outside engagements, conferences and appointments to the boards of regulatory professional bodies. When government establishments or not-for-profit organizations seek women professional accountants to serve on their boards, they look to practicing accounting firms for nominees. Usually, only the

(continued)

Box 19.4 (continued)

exposed and well known women professionals are appointed. Recently, women are getting more exposure as they hold important national offices in American Accounting Association and American Institute of Certified Public Accountants (Box 19.5).

Box 19.5: Comparison of Actual with Expected Returns

This box provides the first formal reality check between expected returns and the actual returns both in qualitative and quantitative terms. Naturally, if the expected returns are greater than actual returns by a large margin, doubts are created in the minds of the accountant. How long do I have to wait for the expected returns to converge with the actual? This may lead to quitting after careful analysis of the constraints that might not be readily overcome. Some of the constraints are outlined in Box 19.6. By contrast, if the actual return on each of the dimensions provided in Box 19.4 exceeds the expectations at any relevant organizational level, the impetus to make long-term career in the firm is very strong. Thus, remaining with the firm may not become an issue. However, the policies and the internal environmental conditions of some firms may dictate otherwise.

Box 19.6: Constraints

Typical constraints faced by women in their work places include but not limited to: child bearing, raising school-aged children, sex and gender discrimination, lack of sufficient number of mentors or role models to

(continued)

Box 19.6 (continued)

help them develop professionally. Other constraints include: the transfer of a spouse out of town, the nursing of a severely sick child or spouse; and, inflexible work schedules. Age-long tradition of men dominating the accounting profession and being favored in promotion into executive and partnership positions are also cited (Kessler et al. 2004). The ability of a firm to retain women accountants will most likely depend on how the firm's policies and practices try to remove some of the negative effects of these constraints.

Box 19.7: Quitting the Job or Working Without Job Satisfaction

Quitting as a result of various assaults of constraints on the career path of professionals is not usually an easy decision to make. Some women are better equipped to handle some of the constraints without jeopardizing their career goals whilst some are not able to cope. A small percentage of women accountants may continue to work for a considerable length of time without job satisfaction (presenteeism) as long as the pay is good and constraints are not career-threatening (Koopman et al. 2002). Among the two most cited factors leading to quitting are: having no one in the company that cares about them and having some "shocks" or unexpected events, in ones first assignment, that force the employee to think of quitting (Hom and Griffeth 1991). While job dissatisfaction after employment may trigger quitting, Mitchell et al. (2001) were of the opinion that quitting may be a result of accumulation of job dissatisfactions from previous jobs. The trend in retention research is to examine pre-existing employment factors,

Box 19.7 (continued)

such as, personality traits (Boudreau et al. 2001); factors existing at the time of employment (MacDaniel et al. 1994); and, factors present at the time of quitting (Wright 2000). Some of these studies, carried out in other social science disciplines, ought to be replicated in the accounting profession (Box 19.8).

Box 19.8: Organizational Performance Expectations

In Box 19.7, the impression given seems to be that the employee can quit anytime she is not satisfied or work without job satisfaction as if there are no performance expectations from the employer. Whilst the employee might have the opportunity to resign or quit if unhappy, the firm may force her to resign or quit if organizational expectations are not met. For example, if the prospect for long career service is not exhibited by employee; if employee's productivity level is less than expected; if the employee is not a senior-management caliber or cannot measure up to counterpart executives in other firms, such an employee may be required or asked to resign (Satava 2009). Thus, the problems of turnover are not limited to employees only. Some studies have shown that employers with high rates of turnover report: reduced quality of service, lower employment morale and suffer heavy financial burden. Whilst age and tenure did not correlate significantly with the intention to quit, pay and lack of promotional opportunities did correlate significantly (Purk and Lindsay 2006). By contrast, Lambert and Hogan (2009), found that age, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment directly influenced turnover; whereas, gender, job dissatisfaction, role

Box 19.8 (continued)

conflict, role ambiguity, role overload, input indirectly into the decision to leave the job. Turnover has received a lot of attention recently because of its additional costs and the hardship it causes employees and employers. Thus, the current research effort is to predict those employees that are likely to quit due to pre-employment conditions.

Research Methodology

This is a survey study that utilized a structured questionnaire consisting of 43 questions. The questions solicited information from women practicing accountants about their perceptions on their education, training, status, investments and retention.

There are also questions on work environment, family, sex and gender issues that appear to be the challenging constraints that women face when making career decisions.

The questionnaire was designed, pilot-tested and revised after comments were received from four professors at University of New Orleans and Southern University at New Orleans. A small sample of five women practicing accountants in New Orleans metropolis was requested to complete it and to provide their comments. A follow-up cognitive interview was conducted in order to learn about their thought process, appropriateness or inappropriateness of the questions. This pre-test process is critical for a judgmental sampling technique that was used. Willis (2004) used this technique to ensure that "he, the researcher and respondent share identical mental representation of the task." The comments from the pilot study resulted in the re-writing and reduction of the number of questions from 55 to 43 and the actual time for completing the questionnaire reduced from 12 to 9 min.

Sampling Technique

Purposive or judgmental sampling technique was justifiably used because not all practicing women accountants were surveyed. To be included in the sample, a respondent must be a qualified certified public accountant and working in a practicing accounting firm. Because of the special nature of the sample, a wide range of methods were used that include identification of respondents through: professors, students and individuals; and, members of Association of Women Accountants (ASWA) in New Orleans. At their continuing professional education training seminar, over 40 questionnaires were distributed to their members.

Some researchers have adopted this technique. For example, Gamson (1992) used purposive sampling to study 37 focus groups on what they think about politics in the US; while Tongco (2007) documented the various research studies that have used judgemental sampling techniques.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The following research questions guided the development of hypotheses that were tested:

1. Do the education and training that accountants receive in college adequately prepare them for a successful career in accounting?
2. How do practicing women accountants perceive their status, investment and return on their investments?
3. How do practicing women accountants perceive the role of mentors, role models and men domination in their career progression?
4. What constraints are faced by these accountants and under what circumstances will they choose to quit?

Hypothesis Generation

Relevant questionnaire sentences relative to a particular variable that is being tested is restated into Null Hypothesis (H0) and Alternative Hypothesis (H1). For example, on page 16, that tests the education variable perception by respondents

H0: Proportion of women practicing accountants that does not perceive their college accounting

education and training as having adequately prepared them for their job is less than or equal to 50 %.

H1: Not H_0.

How many represents 50 % perceive as relevant or irrelevant; important or unimportant. Binomial and Fisher exact tests were carried out the p-values and confidence interval are presented.

Data Collection and Analysis

This study relied on primary data derived from the questionnaire. The secondary data were collected from journals, magazines, internet and other publicly available sources. The survey instruments were collected over a period of 3 months, i.e. October, November and December, 2009. Table 19.1 presents the response from the five states in the sample and the average working years of the respondents.

Data Analysis

This study used Likert-type (1932), five-point scale. The categories are as follows:

Very Favorable (5 point), Favorable (4 points), Negligible (3 points), Unfavorable (2 points), and Very Unfavorable (1 point). Except for leading questions requiring "Yes" or "No" answers, all the other questions consistently followed the pattern descried above.

Tables 19.2, 19.3, 19.4 and 19.5 present the results of the data analyses. The discussion of each of tables follows**.**

Empirical Results

Status of Practicing Women Accountants

Table 19.2 reports all the descriptive statistics of the five variables used in the analysis of the status of women practicing accountants. In the Table, variables are reported in column 1, questions in column 2, the null and alternate hypotheses are shown under hypothesis in column 3; Z test and P-values of Binomial tests are presented in column 4; and confidence intervals are displayed in column 5. Testing the null hypothesis that the proportion of respondents that see special considerations in making audit and consulting assignments as having no effect on their status is less than or equal to 50 % yielded the following values: $Z = 1.5667$, $p = 0.0586$. The result suggests that there is no significant difference between those who see it as favorable and those who do not. Therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected. We are fairly confident (confidence interval column 5) that the true population proportion ratio lies between 0.5646 and 0.8639. See Graph 19.7 in Appendix 3.

Similarly, the proportion of respondents that will not perceive annual awards as recognition of status was not significantly different from those who do see it as status symbol. For that hypothesis (question 37), the Z value $= 0.9285$; p-value $= 0.1766$ and confidence interval is between 0.4070 and .7655. With p-value greater than 0.05, the null hypothesis was accepted and the alternate rejected. In contrast, the other three variables on the Table had their null hypotheses

Table 19.1 Respondents states and years in practice

States	Dispatched questionnaires	Received questionnaires	Average years in firm
California	15	2	8
Florida	10	4	8
Louisiana	80	20	8
Maryland	15	2	8
Texas	20	8	8
	140	38(27 %)	8

Source: Women in Practicing Firms Survey, 2009

Table 19.2 Status of practicing women accountants

	Question(Q)	Hypothesis	Z-test & P-value binomial test	Confidence interval
Some special concessions granted to women accountants in firms	Question 22	H_0: The proportion of respondents that see special consideration in making audit and consulting job assignments as having no effect on their status is less than or equal to 50 %	$Z = 1.5667$	[0.4722, 0.8005]
		H_1: Not H_0	$p = .0586$	
	Question 30	H_0: The proportion of respondents that does not see the support for professional development as enhancing the prospect of respondents representing their firms in outside engagements is less than or equal to 50 %	$Z = 4.4590^{**}$	[0.7741, 0.9907]
		H_1: Not H_0	$p < .0001$	
	Question 36	H_0: The proportion of respondents that perceive equal work and equal pay as no recognition of outstanding performance by women accountants in the firm is less than or equal to 50 %	$Z = 3.1236^{**}$	[0.6185, 0.8950]
		H_1: Not H_0	$P = .0009$	
Firm awards to women for outstanding performance	Question 37	H_0: The proportion of respondents that will not perceive annual awards as recognition of performance is less than or equal to 50 %	$Z = 0.9285$	[0.4070, 0.7655]
		H_1: Not H_0	$p = 0.1766$	
Status of women practicing accountants	Question 6	H_0: The proportion of respondents that does not perceive initial high salary payment as any recognition of the potential for making accounting career in practicing accounting firm is less than or equal to 50 %	$Z = 5.2400^{**}$	[0.8660, 1]
		H_1: Not H_0	$p < .0001$	

NA Not Applicable

** = Significant at the .01 level

Table 19.3 Investments of practicing women accountants

	Question(Q)	Hypothesis	Z-test & P-value binomial test	Confidence interval
Investments and their returns of women practicing accountants	Question 1	H_0: Proportion of women practicing accountants that does not perceive their college accounting education and training as having adequately prepared them for their job is less than or equal to 50 %	$Z = 5.28**$	[0.7913, 0.9838]
		H_1: Not H_0	$p < .0001$	
	Question 2	H_0: The proportion of women practicing accountants that will not see their investment in passing the CPA examination as worthwhile or favorable is less than or equal to 50 %	NA	100 % answer
				Very favorable or favorable
		H_1: Not H_0		
	Question 3	H_0: The proportion of women practicing accountants that will not see investments in money and time in passing the CPA Examination as having any effect in making accounting careers in the firm is less than or equal to 50 %	NA	100 % answer
				Very favorable or favorable
		H_1: Not H_0		
	Question 23	H_0: The proportion of respondents practicing accountants who will not see how favorably the effect of annual salary increases on their investments is less than or equal to 50 %	$Z = 5.6667**$	[0.9185,1]
		H_1: Not H_0	$p < .0001$	
	Question 24	H_0: The proportion of respondents who will not rate annual pay increases as favorable is less than or equal to 50 %	$Z = 2.87**$	[0.5674, 0.8751]
		H_1: Not H_0	$p = .002$	

NA Not Applicable

** = Significant at the .01 level

Table 19.4 Return on investment of – practicing women accountants

	Question(Q)	Hypothesis	Z-test & P-value binomial test	Confidence interval
Returns on investments	Question 4	H_0: The proportion of accounting majors that does not perceive their initial salaries as higher, when compared with other business majors, is less than or equal to 50 %	Z=2.92**	[0.5968, 0.8768]
		H_1: Not H_0	p=.0018	
	Question 23	H_0: The proportion of respondents not receiving annual pay increases since they joined their firms is less than or equal to 50 %	Z=5.6667**	[0.9185, 1]
		H_1: Not H_0	p<.0001	
	Question 25	H_0: The proportion of respondents that does not regard their annual salary increases as having any effect on their returns on investment of time and money is less than or equal to 50 %	Z=3.4524**	[0.6511, 0.9164]
		H_1: Not H_0	P=.0003	

Table 19.5 Retention of practicing women accountants

	Question(Q)	Hypothesis	(Fisher's Exact Test)	Confidence interval
Retention of women accountants in firms: some important factors	Question 15	H_0: There is no relationship between granting sabbatical and perception of favorable work environment	p=.0014	NA
	Question 16	H_1: Not H_0		
	Question 17			
	Question(Q)	Hypothesis	Z-test & P-value (Fisher's exact test)	Confidence interval
Retention of women accountants in firms: some important factors	Question 31	H_0: Women in key management positions does not have any effect in attracting and retaining them in the firms is less than or equal to 50 %	Z=3.8877	[0.6511, 0.9164]
		H_1: Not H_0	p<.0001	
	Question 31	H0: There is no relationship between women in key management positions and attracting and retaining women in the firm	p=1.85E-06	NA
	Question 32	H_1: Not H0		
	Question 33			
	Question 39	H_0: The proportion of respondents that do not see the need to have women in key positions in the firm to mentor others is less than or equal to 50 %	Z=0.7071	[0.3906, 0.7344]
		H_1: Not H0	p=.2398	

NA Not Applicable

**=Significant at the .01 level

rejected in favor of alternate hypotheses. They are professional development, equal pay and equal work, and initial high salary. The respondents see them as recognition of status. Their descriptive statistics are as follows: Question 30: $Z = 4.4590$, p-value $< .0001$, and confidence interval of 0.7741 and 0.9907; Question 36: $Z = 3.1236$, p-value .0009; Question 6: $Z = 5.2400$, p-value $< .0001$ and confidence interval of 0.8666 and 1. The Z-values for the three variables are significant at 0.01 levels suggesting that women accountants perceive their status in accounting firms as favorable.

Investments of Practicing Women Accountants

Table 19.3 provides the various data pertaining to the five variables that are used to test the null and alternate hypotheses. For questions 2 and 3 which the respondents rated hundred per cent when very favorable and favorable ratings were combined, no statistical tests were needed; thus, statistical analysis is not applicable (NA in column 4). See Graphs 19.2 and 19.3 in Appendix 3. The implication of the results is that women, without any doubts, see passing the CPA Examination as an investment worthwhile and that the annual salary increases are returns on that investment. How did the women rate the education and training they received in college in preparing them for their jobs? Forty one percent (41 %) see it as very favorable; 51 % as favorable, and 8 % as negligible. See Graph 19.1 in Appendix 3. A binomial test provides: $Z = 5.28$, p-value < 0.0001. The small p value supports the alternate hypothesis that women favorably perceive the education and training they received in college as adequately preparing them for their jobs. They also perceive favorably the annual salary increases as growth of their investment. Analysis of question 23 provides the following values: $Z = 5.6667$, p-value $< .0001$ and confidence level .9185 and 1. The Z value is significant at 0.0001 levels. See Graph 19.4 in Appendix 3. On whether the annual salary increases are seen as favorable compensation for their work, we encountered mixed results. Some see it as favorable 74 %, negligible 14 % and unfavorable 12 %. See Graph 19.5 in Appendix 3. Examining closely Graphs 19.4 and 19.5, one should observe the shift from very favorable to favorable as well as some saying not favorable. For Question 24 the data are as follows: $Z = 2.87$, p-value $= .002$ and the confidence interval is reduced to 0.5674 and 0.8751. The results suggest that most women accountants are happy with their pay raises but there are still some that are unhappy with their annual pay raises as compensation for their investment in time and money. This is understandable because there will always be individual differences in perception of value.

Returns on Investments in Time and Money

Table 19.4 displays the results of the three variables on returns on investment that were tested. In the preceding section, respondents perceived their investments in time and money as worthwhile in passing their professional examinations. They also see the high initial salaries that are greater than those of other business majors as return on their investment. In this section, Question 4 confirms that belief of higher salaries and the effect it has on the return on their investments. The results of questions 4, 23, and 25 are presented herewith. Initial high salary as return on investment Question 4: $Z = 2.87$, p-value $= .0018$ and confidence interval, .5968 and .8768; Question 23: $Z = 5.6667$, $p < .0001$, and confidence interval, .9185, and 1; Question 25: $Z = 3.4524$, p-value $= .0003$, and confidence interval, .6511 and .9164. See Graphs 19.11, 19.12 and 19.13 in Appendix 3. In all three cases, the Z –values are significant at .01 levels; thus, the null hypotheses are rejected and the alternate hypotheses are accepted. Therefore, the accountants very favorably perceive their high initial salary, their annual salary increases as returns on their investments in time and money in their respective firms.

Retention Variables

Table 19.5 presents the results of the eight variables that were used in the analysis of the retention ratings by the respondents. The results are as startling as they are informative.

Work environment that supports sabbaticals for women should be seen as important for raising families or caring for a severely sick spouse or child. Surprisingly, respondents do not see the granting of sabbaticals as an indication of a favorable work environment. See Graph 19.14 in Appendix 3. The women support the hypothesis that there is no relationship between women being given a sabbatical and a good working environment. The implication is that women are not going to be attracted to or retained by the firm because of sabbatical leave provisions or policies. Thus, questions 15, 16, and 17 could only be tested using Fisher's Exact Test that yields p=.0014 and No confidence interval. Similarly, questions 31, 32, and 33 could only be tested using Fisher's Exact Test and that yields p=1.85E-06 and No confidence interval also. The other variables such as women in key management positions and equal pay and equal work as motivators for attracting and retaining respondents were not supported.

The Z values are not significant as hereby demonstrated: Question 31: Z=3.8877, p<.0001; Question 39: Z=0.7071, p=.2398; and Question 35: Z=2.5335, p=.0056.

In conclusion, as far as attracting and retaining women accountants in the various firms, sabbaticals, having women in key management positions and as mentors, and having equal pay for equal work may not, in themselves, attract and retain women accountants. Certainly, there are many other factors that come into play in making career decisions which are not covered in this study. See Graphs 19.15, 19.16, and 19.17. Needless to say that the variables that are studied are environmental and only a few are personal ones, but leaving the profession so as to become self-employed or resigning to take a higher paying job in industry was not considered in this study. Yet, they are retention issues for firms that had spent a lot of resources in training and professional development of their accountants.

Discussion of the Results and Conclusion

In this study, the main objectives are to explore how practicing women accountants perceive their status, investments and the returns on their investments. An insight of how these three constructs impact their decision to remain and make accounting their career is important to us. By examining the constructs in a relational manner, rather than in isolation of one another, a better understanding of problems of retention is gained. For the above reasons, we developed a conceptual framework that helped us to take a holistic view of the constructs in crafting the questionnaire. A 43- question questionnaire was developed and forwarded to 140 respondents in 5 states. We received 38 usable ones giving us a response rate of 27 %. We consider 27 % rate an excellent one given that this class of respondents is special and hard to reach. Thus, judgmental sample approach was used and found extremely effective. The survey instrument is provided in Appendix 2.

Both primary and secondary data were used in this study. No statistical analysis was needed for the secondary data. However, for the primary data, we applied standard statistical tests such as: as binomial, Fisher's Exact Tests, correlation analysis and percentages.

Likert's five-factor variable scale was used that offered the respondents the following choices: very favorable; favorable; negligible; unfavorable; and very unfavorable. For the Binomial or Proportion Tests, we grouped very favorable and favorable ratings as a variable; and, unfavorable and very unfavorable ratings as another single variable. Depending on the nature of the question, negligible scores were either grouped with unfavorable or favorable variable ratings.

Since all respondents were certified public accountants and working in practicing accounting firms, the number of years that they had worked for their firms was important. The average respondent's working experience is 8 years. An average of 8 years is good because it takes about 7 years to reach, in the mid-size regional firm a senior   management   position   in   normal

progression in ranks. Five respondents had worked in firms longer than 20 years each. Nonetheless, a majority of the respondents, 65 %, were supervisors; managers 25 %; senior managers 8 %; and managing partners 3 %. We think that the composition of our sample is a fair representation of the population.

The Results

The Impact of Education and Training

One of the major areas of interest, in this study, is the perception of respondents on the overall impact of their college education and training in preparing them for their jobs in the accounting firms. An overwhelming majority 88 %, sees it as favorable and no ratings were given for the negligible, unfavorable or very unfavorable options. This is consistent with the results of similar studies on the value of education in the accounting profession (Lyons 1994). Can this impressive rating be reflected in their perception for choosing and becoming successful in accounting as a career? The result is mixed, and not straightforward. Some respondents even saw the effect of education and training as being negligible (6 %). Apparently, many different factors come into play in making career decisions.

Status of Practicing Accounting Women in Their Firms

According to the AICPA records, women in the last 10 years have been entering the accounting profession in greater numbers and are also outperforming men in the CPA Examinations. Thus, the status of women in accounting firms should be rising in tandem with their performance in the CPA Examinations and their responsibilities in their firms.

We consider the payment of high initial salary to women as a form of recognition and confirmation of their potential for making accounting their career. Do respondents see it that way? The rating suggests that 20 % of them see it as very favorable; 74 % see it as favorable; and 6 % see it as negligible. Although 6 % is not statistically significant, it does show that initial salary payment may not matter in the long run for a small percentage of women accountants.

Women are sometimes given special considerations while performing out-of-town audit or consultancy assignments in recognition of their family issues or concerns. Do they actually perceive this gesture, as a status symbol or not? Here too, there is a mixed perception in the results. Twenty four percent (24 %) see it as very favorable; 40 % see it as favorable and the combined total is 64 %. On the other hand, 30 % of respondents consider the gesture as negligible while 6 % see it as unfavorable. Combining the negligible and unfavorable, we have 36 % that sees this construct negatively. This is not surprising because there are many women who do not want favors. They expect men and women to be treated alike.

Support for Professional Development

In our view, the support by firms of professional development is a statement to women that their presence is valued and that they could be called upon to represent their firms on outside engagements. Usually, professional development courses are held in-house or outside the firm. Meeting their colleagues within and outside their firms should enhance their status. How do the respondents see the issue of professional development? Vast majority 88 % of respondents see it as favorable and as very favorable; while 6 % see it as negligible.

Another area of interest is the awards that are given for outstanding performance at the end of the year. Have women in their respective firms received any awards in the last 10 years? If Yes, how many? Such awards represent recognition and confer prestige or status to the recipients. Surprisingly, 41 % claim that awards have not been given in their firms, while 59 % acknowledged that there have been some awards. Given the inroads that have been made by women into the profession, a greater percentage was expected. Nonetheless, women accountants seem to be making steady progress. Women are having higher

profile and visibility in accounting firms as a result of professional training support, granting of awards for outstanding performance for the units they head. Sometimes, charming and highly articulate women accountants are selected to lead their firms' teams in fee negotiations with clients in industry or government. Women accountants usually bring to the negotiating table very valuable intangibles that all- men teams can never offer. This is often referred to as the "femine touch".

Perception of Investments in Time and Money

Women practicing accountants make considerable investments in time and money to ensure that they constantly develop the requisite technical skills to meet their clients' needs. Often they juggle their time between family and professional needs. Are these investments in money and time worthwhile or seen as favorable in terms of furthering their professional goals? As can be expected, 69 % consider the investments very favorable and 31 % favorable. Thus, other choices were zeroed out. What effect does the magnitude of these investments have on the choice to remain in the firm and to continue to make career of accounting? The percentages begin to drop from 69 % very favorable to 63 %; and favorable increased from 31 to 44 %. Although taken together, the percentage of those that see investments as favorable has not changed; there is a shift to favorable at the expense of very favorable. This is where the binomial data analysis fails to incorporate a shift in the display of the results.

Increases in annual salaries are usually considered by workers as rewards for their hard work which include investments in time and money. How do the respondents perceive their annual pay raises? Are they considered a part of their investments that yield returns? The result is in the affirmative. They do view them as such. For example, 87 % see their annual pay increases as return on their investments; while 13 % do not regard them as such. When we conducted binomial or proportion tests, the results prove to be significant; meaning that the respondents do see their annual pay increases as solid returns on their investments.

It was considered pertinent to find out if favorable investment returns have any impact on their decision to remain and make accounting their career. Eighty eight percent (88 %) of respondents consider favorable investment returns to be positive and 12 % of respondents reported that favorable returns did not matter. The result is understandable. For some people, pay increases are not the ultimate goal but being one of directors, partners, or the managing partner may be their primary goal.

Retention and Diversity

An attempt has been made, in this paper, to link the impact of the working environment variables with the attraction and retention of women accountants. Here, we have four more important variables to evaluate, namely: sabbatical, absence of women mentors, equal work and equal pay, and absence of women in management positions. Very critical also is the issue of diversity. U.S. has indeed become a nation loosely held together by multi-racial and multi-ethnic groups that must see their types in places where they work. If, for instance a Hispanic woman does not see her like in a large accounting firm, she may linger a little while. But, as soon as a Hispanic Accounting firm finds her, she may leave to work for her kind. Although it is a zero sum game, the former firm has lost a well-trained and valuable member of its staff. Each of the other four retention variables was perceived as having unfavorable to very unfavorable effects on the respondents remaining and making accounting their career. The percentages range from 64 to 89 % for those firms not having women mentors and women in management positions. The variable that scored the lowest negative response is "equal pay for equal work". Women accountants are known to work as hard as their male counterparts and are paid almost the same amount. However, retention is a very wide area that deals with factors exterior and personal to the employee. All factors must be taken into consideration before making the decision to stay or not to stay. Certainly, the issue of retention, especially when it deals with personal traits rather than environmental and economic situations, deserves

more attention than has been given to it in this paper. Most accountants, we hope, are expected to show interest in this topic because all join the firms with different backgrounds and are from different nationalities. Diversity, inclusion and retention are the new buzz words in the accounting firms as you will find out shortly by the efforts of the big accounting firms.

Some Limitations and Areas for Further Research Study

A few limitations are pointed out to guide the reader in making some informed judgments. First, the questionnaire did not contain a question explicitly requiring the respondents to indicate whether they were married or not. Another study should rectify that.

Second we assumed away the possibility that women stay in their positions long enough to learn what they need to know before pulling out to start their own firms.

This is not only a retention matter; it is also a return on investment issue that ought to be addressed in the next study. Third, we assumed that all women have the desire to get married and to have children while working for practicing accounting firms. Given the number of single mothers and the rush to adopt children by single women who have passed the age of child-bearing, this assumption cannot always be sustained. In the light of these observations, our results on the sabbatical question that is associated with retention could have been different. It will be interesting to know the proportion of women in practicing firms that fall into this category of staff who have no interest in having children or family of their own. Fourth, the statistical analysis we used is Bionomial analysis because each question was individually analyzed; however, multi-variate regression analyses would have provided better relationships between some of the variables under study. Nonetheless, the results of this study cannot be easily dismissed. They are worthy contributions to the literature and expansion of knowledge in the social sciences.

Conclusion

In this study, vast majority of respondents see favorably the college education and training they received as adequately preparing them for their jobs. The high initial salaries that graduating accounting students receive are perceived as rewards for hard work and returns on their investment in money and time. Such salaries are also viewed as status symbols. Passing the CPA Examination is not an end in itself but to remain as true professionals, continuous professional education and training within and outside the firm are necessary for retention and for providing sound technical services to the firm, its clients, the public and the professional accounting associations. Better still, constant exposure of women accountants in regional and national association meetings, and training professional programs enhances their status and their chances for representing their firms in outside engagements. Whilst the majority of women favor giving some women special considerations on audit and consultancy assignments to enable them to care for their families, a sizeable number of them is not in favor of giving any one any special privileges. High initial salaries and annual salary increases remain the major attractions for remaining in accounting firms but the issues of sabbatical, lack of women mentors, and lack of sufficient number of women in management positions are issues not very important to women accountants. This cannot be said of women professionals in other disciplines. Are women accountants different from professional women in other fields? A more comprehensive study covering most of the states should address these issues. Family concerns that affect women also affect men and children. Therefore a good understanding of these issues by both sexes is imperative if workable and amicable solutions are to be found.

In conclusion, the results of this study complement, extend and support previous research studies on status, investments and returns. Retention is obviously a complex issue. Unfortunately, the bulk of the studies in these areas are done in disciplines such as: criminal justice, social and

industrial psychology, human resources management and organization theory. There is paucity of such studies in the accounting profession. One would like to see national studies on the status of women in major accounting firms, the large corporations and federal and state governments. Although this is an exploratory study, the results do indicate that salary, professional recognition or status, handsome returns on investment do not make for retention. Sometimes, something as mundane as seeing someone of the same sex orientation, neighborhood, alumni from the same university, and a church member may be the deciding factor to remain in or quit from the firm. There are also some studies, such as Clarke and Hammer 1995, Hammer et al. 1998, Hodgets 1993, and Clark et al. 2000, that have shown that throwing an employee into an unstructured work environment is a recipe for her/him to quit the job. It seems to us that these kinds of results will serve as guideposts to managing partners in accounting firms, board members of professional regulatory bodies, and even governments. These bodies may be able to develop employment policies that are women-friendly, that encourage capable women to remain in their respective firms in order to achieve their career objectives.

It is important to note that most large accounting firms are now addressing the issue of retention of women practicing accountants in their various firms. For example PricewaterhouseCoopers (PWC) has established an advisory council that promotes and guides the company on issues of women, diversity and inclusion practices. The primary purpose of the council is to raise awareness around the business cases for better female retention and development across territories in which it operates. As a result of its achievements, PWC is rated the best accounting firm to work for by women (Vault 2014). Grant Thornton, Ltd., on the other hand considers itself as one of the "working mother's best company" having received the award sponsored by Vault from 2005 to 2013. Furthermore, firms like Deloitte, LLP., Ernst & Young, LLP., and BDO USA, LLP, to name a few, have impressive gender, diversity and inclusive programs that are geared towards employing, nurturing and retaining women practicing accountants.

That these national and international accounting firms are paying attention to diversity, inclusion and diversity in their workforces is significant by itself. It shows that the leadership of these accounting firms has now recognized that gender and retention matters are both operational and ethical responsibility issues that must be addressed. Some social science researchers have found that organizational leaders that take ethical responsibilities seriously do in fact create a variety of positive groups and organizational outcomes (Waddock and Graves 1997). The organizational outcomes that are referred to here are: lower stress levels, less turnover, and less absenteeism, higher employee satisfaction, commitment and willingness to give extra effort, better decision making, higher producity and positive public image (Johnson et al. 2007; Brown et al. 2005). Needless to say that major accounting firms would like to see the outcomes mentioned herewith achieved in their respective firms.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Conceptual Frame Work

Women Accountants in Practicing Accounting Firms:
Their Status, Investments and Returns
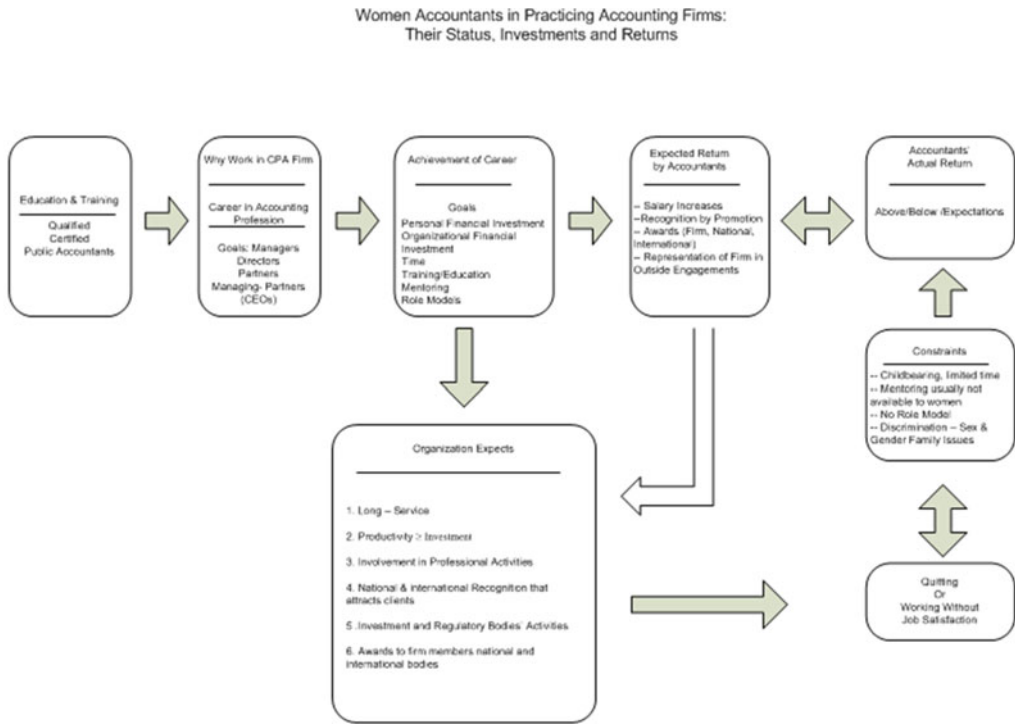
Appendix 2: Women Practicing Accountants Questionnaire

Women Practicing Accountants Questionnaire

Confidential: The responses to this questionnaire are not identifiable to individuals, and they will be used only for overall statistical analysis.

It is assumed that you are working in the firm with a long-term career objective; therefore, your candid and truthful responses will help in understanding the challenges and concerns women face, and the rewards they get in their places of work. Kindly complete the questionnaire. It is estimated to take about 10 min. Thank you.

Please Tick or Circle Your Response

1. As a woman practicing accountant in an accounting firm, how do you see your college education and training as preparing you for the job or career. Would you say:
   (a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
   (c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
   (e) Very Unfavorable
2. Having studied hard and passed the CPA examination, you would think that the investment in time and money is:

(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

3. On the investment in time and money for passing CPA examination, the effect on my making a career as a practicing accountant is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

4. Consider your initial salary and those of other business majors when you graduated, your salary was higher than the rest as an accounting major. Do you agree? Tick one.

　　　◯Yes　　◯No

5. If yes, do you think that the effect of this initial salary on your status is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

6. On the payment of high initial salary, the effect is recognition of your potential as a career practicing accountant:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

7. In the accounting firm, everyone is required to report promptly of his/her duty post and ready to work hard to meet clients' deadline. Do you agree?

　　　◯Yes　　◯No

8. If yes, do you think that the effect of this on nursing mothers or women raising school-age children is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

9. On reporting promptly on duty post and ready to work hard to meet clients' deadline, the effect on mothers caring for severely ill spouse or child is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

10. On reporting promptly on duty post and ready to work hard to meet clients' deadline the effect on men's career is:

(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

11. Does your firm have a flexible work schedule policy?

　　　◯Yes　　◯No

12. If yes, do you think the effect of such policy on your performance on the job is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

13. On your firm having a flexible work schedule, the effect on you remaining long with the firm is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

14. On your firm having a flexible work schedule, the effect on how long you are likely to stay in the firm to meet your career objective is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

15. Does your firm allow women to have time out (sabbatical 3 years) to raise their families while keeping their seniority positions in the firm?

　　　◯Yes　　◯No

16. If yes, the perception of your work environment is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

17. If No, the perception of your work environment is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

18. Does your firm consider the special family issues concerning women when making audit or consulting work assignments that require traveling for days?

　　　◯Yes　　◯No

19. If yes, the effect of this on my performance considering my family is:

(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

20. On women being given special consideration when assigning audit and consulting jobs that require traveling for days, the effect on my being able to manage my career and family responsibilities is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

21. the effect of this special consideration on how long I will stay with this same firm is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

22. the effect of this special consideration on my status with the firm is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

23. Have you been receiving annual pay increases since you joined the firm?

◯ Yes   ◯ No

24. If yes, how would you rate the raises:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

25. On annual increases in salary, do you think that the effect on your investment in time and money is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

26. on annual increases in salary, the effect on maintaining my family's financial responsibilities is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

27. Does your firm pay for your in-house and outside continuous professional development courses?

◯ Yes   ◯ No.

28. If yes, the effect on my performance is:

(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

29. On payment by the firm of professional development courses, the effect on firm's return on investment on me as an accountants is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

30. On support by the firm of my professional development, the prospect of me representing the firm on outside engagement is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

31. Does your firm have women in key management positions?

◯ Yes   ◯ No

32. If yes, what do you think the effect of this would be on attracting women and retaining them in the firm? Would you say:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

33. If No in question 10, the effect of this in attracting and retaining women is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

34. If No in question 10, the effect of absence of women in key positions in firms is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

35. How would you rate your firm's policy on equal pay for equal work in the last 10 years? Would you say it is:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

36. On equal work and equal pay, the effect on the recognition of women for outstanding performance will be:
(a) Very favorable   (b) Favorable
(c) Negligible   (d) Unfavorable
(e) Very Unfavorable

37. Have women in your firm received any firm's award for outstanding Performance in the last 10 years?

○ Yes ○ No.

If yes, could you state the number:------------------

38. Do you have women in positions to mentor other women in your firm?

○ Yes ○ No.

If yes, could you state the number:-----------------

39. What is your present position in your firm? Kindly provide it here:--------------
   (a) A Manager   (b) A Director
   (c) A Partner   (d) A Managing Partner
   (e) A CEO

40. How long have you been with the firm? Please state: ---------- years.

41. If you would like to have a summary of this Study, kindly provide your:
      E-mail:------------------------------

42. Thank you for your time and patience. May your labor of love never go without being rewarded!

Send Completed Questionnaire to: Dr. Simeon O. Okpechi, College of Business and Public Administration, SUNO, 6400 Press Drive, New Orleans, Louisiana 70126.

Appendix 3: Pie Chart Graphs (19.1, 19.2, 19.3, 19.4, 19.5, 19.6, 19.7, 19.8, 19.9, 19.10, 19.11, 19.12, 19.13, 19.14, 19.15, 19.16, 19.17, 19.18, 19.19, 19.20, and 19.21)
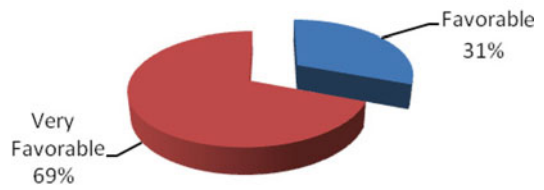
Graph 19.2 Passing CPA examination as investment in time and money (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

Graph 19.3 Passing CPA examination, investments in time and money as factors in career decisions (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

Graph 19.1 College education and training for job (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

Graph 19.4 Annual pay increases: effect on investments and returns (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)
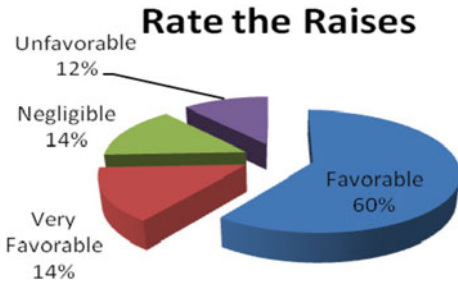
Graph 19.5 Respondents perception of annual pay raises (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)
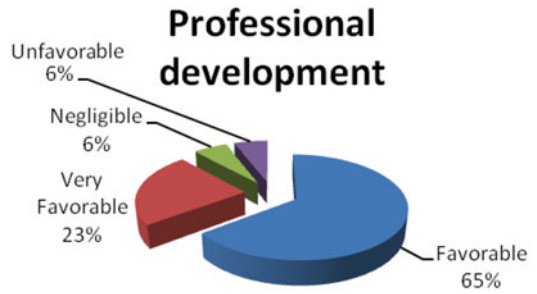
Graph 19.8 Support for professional development as enhancement for representing firm outside (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)
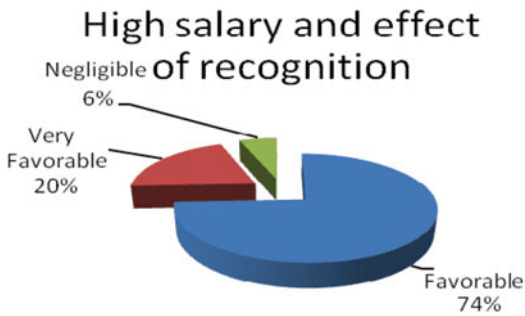
Graph 19.6 High initial salary and effect on recognition (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)
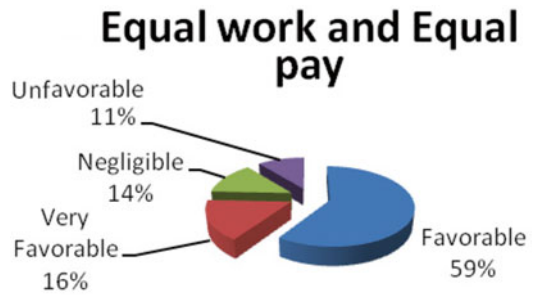
Graph 19.9 Equal pay equal work effect on recognition for performance (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)
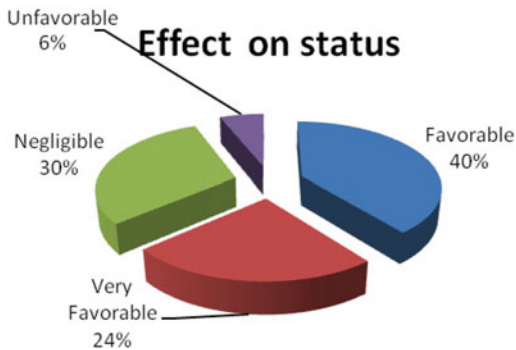
Graph 19.7 Special considerations to women and its effect on status (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

Graph 19.10 Annual pay increases: effect on investments and returns (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

Compare intial salary with other majors
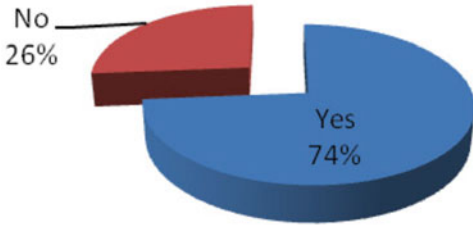
Graph 19.11 Comparison of accountant's initial salary with other business majors (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

Sabbatical and Position in the Firm
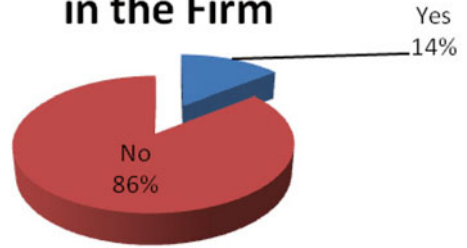
Graph 19.14 Sabbatical is granted (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

Receiving annual pay increases
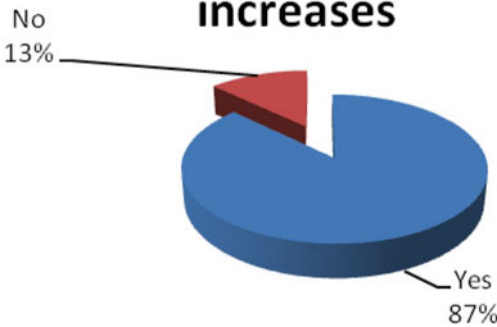
Graph 19.12 Annual pay increases as returns on investments (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

If Yes Perception of Work
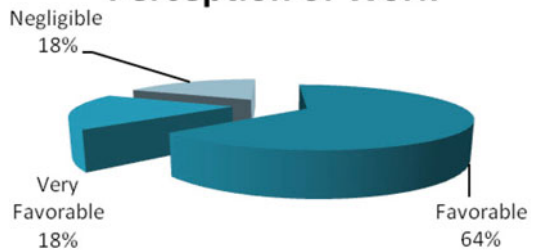
Graph 19.15 Granted sabbatical and work environment (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

Salary and effect on investment in time &money
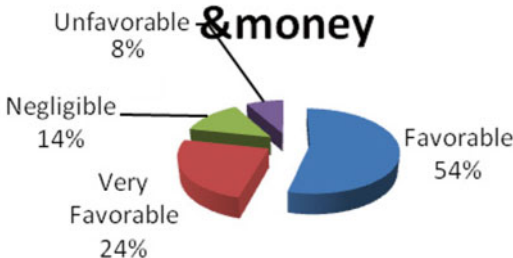
Graph 19.13 Effect of annual salary increases on investments in time and money (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

If No Perception of Work
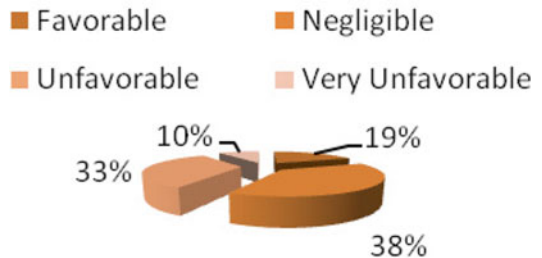
Graph 19.16 Not granted sabbatical and work environment (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

Women Key Management Position

Yes
18%

No
82%
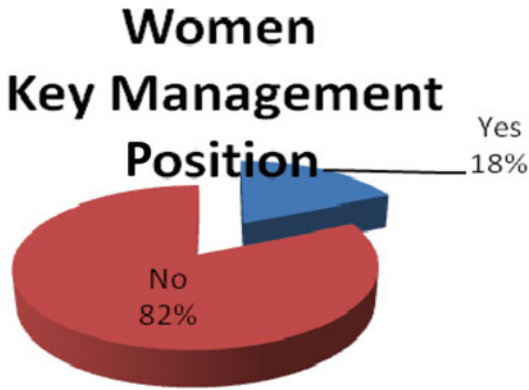
Graph 19.17 Having or not having women in key management positions (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

Women in Position to Mentor

No
44%

Yes
56%
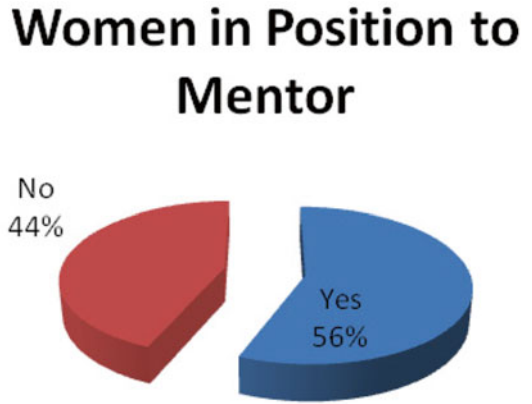
Graph 19.20 Women in key positions to mentor others (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

If Yes Attracting and Retaining Women

3% 7%

37%

53%
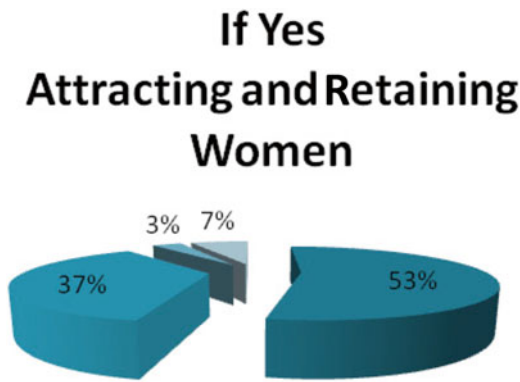
Graph 19.18 Attracting and retaining women (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

equal pay work

Unfavorable
14%

Negligible
14%

Very
Favorable
9%

Favorable
63%
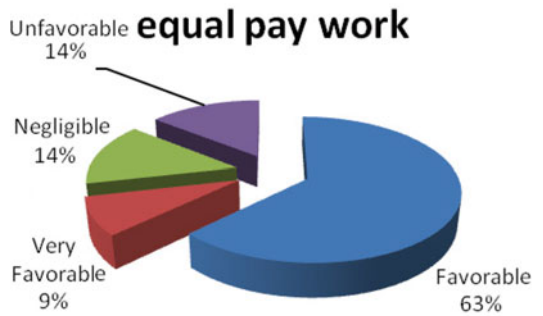
Graph 19.21 Perception of firm's policy on equal work and equal pay on retention (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

If No Attracting and Retaining Women

Negligible
17%

Favorable
83%
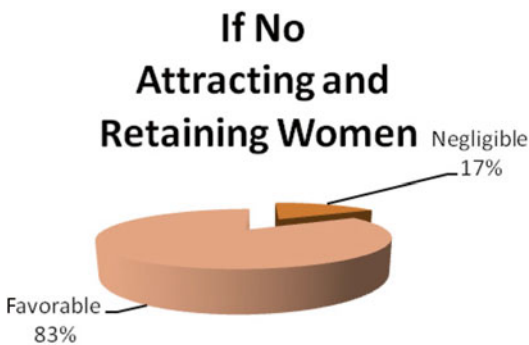
Graph 19.19 Not attracting and retaining women (Source: Women Accountants In Practicing Accounting Firms, Survey 2009)

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Work-Family Balance for Women Lawyers Today: A Reality or Still a Dream?

Diane-Gabrielle Tremblay

Introduction

Studies conducted among lawyers generally point to the difficulty of balancing work and family time, which is considered a source of stress and reduction of women's wellbeing. Some surveys reveal this conflict to be one of the main reasons why many lawyers, mainly women, are leaving their profession (Brockman 1994; Hagan and Kay 1995; Kay 2002). These same surveys moreover revealed inequalities between men and women lawyers with regard to this thorny issue of balance. For example, women declare being less satisfied than men in this matter (Kay 2002; Wallace 2006). It also appears that the successful practice of the profession and career advancement are, if not incompatible, at least more difficult for women with children. The parental status of women was moreover found to be a discriminatory factor in their career advancement (Wallace 1999, 2004, 2006).

These surveys, while shedding light on the points of tension that shape the career paths of professionals from both genders within the legal professions, raise many questions on how these tensions are handled in everyday life and how they impact the careers and well-being of the respective genders (Tremblay 2012c).

Beyond an analysis of the difficulties encountered by lawyers in managing their time outside of work, our study also examined lawyers' experiences with the view to contributing to the more comprehensive, organizational discourse of the profession, and to thereby bring about change for a better well-being of women lawyers. As a matter of fact, work-family balance is gradually ceasing to be a mere private matter and increasingly recognized as a shared stake by various professions. For lawyers, this recognition culminated in the signing by the Barreau du Québec (Quebec Bar Association) in 1995 of the *Déclaration de principe sur la conciliation travail-famille* (Declaration of principles on work-family balance), last updated in 2010.

> It constitutes a commitment to make all efforts to reach the right balance between professional responsibilities and family responsibilities (Barreau 2011; our translation).

However, what has been the actual outcome of this declaration? After presenting our theoretical framework, based on an analysis centered on the "profession", "professional ethos" and its contribution to the study of work-family balance, we will show that even if some progress has been made in other sectors, it remains difficult for both men and women lawyers to balance their profession with a family life. This appears to be largely due to explicit and implicit "norms" of the profession, and we will highlight the impact of the "profession" beyond individual and

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organizational factors that can also constrain options. Although the State of Québec is seen as supportive of family—with seven dollars a day for childcare and flexible parental leave, which differentiates it from the rest of North America–we will show that this is apparently not sufficient, particularly for women lawyers (Tremblay and Mascova 2013).

Theoretical Framework: An Analysis Based on the Notion of Profession

The societal context in which this study takes place, that is Québec (Canada), is characterized by a cumulative model of work-family balance that is not very differentiated with regard to gender, in other words, where men and women are assumed to have more or less the same capacities to balance work and family and can cumulate both without too much difficulty. To facilitate the implementation of this cumulative work-family balance model, the government provides institutional support such as low-cost daycare (Tremblay et al. 2012) and family leaves (e.g., maternity leave, paternity leave, parental leave), which allow a parent to withdraw entirely or partially from the job market without breaking all ties with their profession (Fusulier 2011; Tremblay 2010, 2012a; Tremblay and Genin 2011; Marshall 2008).

However, individuals' stances toward such measures, and the use they make of them, vary considerably not only from one society to another, but also within one and the same society, for example between professions as we want to show here. This then constitutes an elaborate space of mediation characterized by the overlapping of diverse social relations that influence the use which individuals make of the implemented measures. It can be of interest to examine the roles of the different variables that structure the individuals' relationship and usages of the different measures (Tremblay et al. 2006), in particular based on gender (Fusulier 2011), or to look at the importance of organizational culture in work-life balance (Haas et al. 2002). The societal governance of how individuals manage their profes-

sional and family responsibilities (Barrère-Maurisson and Tremblay 2009) also plays a role. However, in this study we examine work-family balance from a relatively understudied aspect, namely that of the professional group. This makes it possible to understand how the standards and ethics of a profession can have an impact on individuals' attitudes and behaviours regarding family and working time, for example.

Some authors argue that profession is a pertinent unit of analysis to the extent that it would "benchmark" a person with regard to their remunerated activity and, given the attending interrelated subjective and symbolic aspects, to their extra-professional activities (Fusulier 2011; Tremblay 2012b). Thus, individuals' experiences and relationships to work-family balance are shaped by the constraints, rules and professional cultures, which together comprise the notion of "professional culture" or "professional ethics." According to Fusulier (2011; our translation), "work-family balance is affected not only by individual, family, sociocultural, organizational or institutional characteristics, but also by the rules and ethics of a given professional group."

The sociology of professions examines the rules and set of standards, both explicit and implicit, that shape the ethics of a given profession. This, in turn, allows sociologists to understand how different occupational groups operate and how it appropriates the different measures, in particular with regard to work-family balance.

> Ethics here is understood as a mediation between the legal aspects (e.g., the right to take a parental leave) and the individual and collective attitudes with regard to those rights, as varied as these may be. [...] Ethics could then function as a social and personal driver to influence how people use various legal measures, and how they view them, be it positively or negatively. [...] This notion serves a heuristic purpose, namely of allowing to conceptualize the relation between the collective history and the rationales of action, the insertion in a social environment and the practices—all in a perspective that is more structurationist than deterministic (Fusulier 2011; our translation).

Examining work-family balance from the angle of the profession will allow us to understand how professional belonging impacts the way law-

yers experience and manage this reality on a day-to-day basis. Our study was thus guided by the question of the extent to which one's relationship to work-family balance is shaped by the profession one is in. Our inquiry is also a part of a larger research program conducted on many professional categories. Studies from that program allowed us to confirm that in one and the same institutional context, and regardless of participants' individual characteristics, the way in which work-family balance is experienced and negotiated (i.e., the way in which a relationship to institutional work-family balance measures develops) is likely to vary from one profession to the other. This supposes the existence of certain standards and approaches in a professional environment, in other words, of a "professional relationship" to work-family balance (Tremblay 2012b; Tremblay et al. 2012).

Building on these studies on diverse occupational groups, we aim to advance understanding of the professional relationship to work-family balance by focusing on the case of lawyers. Our inquiry takes place in a context of feminization of the lawyer profession (Barreau du Québec/Cirano 2009; Brockman 1992). Among the authors interested in the topic of feminization, Lapeyre sought to:

> get beyond the masculine/feminine divide […], to examine the process of feminization in the professions and its potential for transcending and transforming gender relations and for paving the way to a new understanding of feminization within the established professions (Lapeyre 2006b: 29; our translation).

The author underlines that women's place in the working world remains precarious and that this may apply even more so to the group of "professionals" (referring to professional qualification usually requiring a university degree).

In France, as elsewhere, gender-based occupational segregation appears to persist not only in the job market as a whole but also within the professions, with women occupying specific subsectors more so than their male counterparts (Lapeyre 2006a, b). We wanted to understand why this was still the case despite the increase of women's education, the official prohibition

of discrimination in the workplace, and the existence of equal access programs in many work environments. Our question was thus why, in a social context that is favourable to women's progress, do women still seem to have difficulty in carving out a place as a lawyer? (on this, see Brockman 1997, 2000, 2001, 2006; Epstein 1981; Gorman 2005, 2006; Hagan and Kay 2007, 2010; Kay 1997; Kay and Hagan 1995, 1998, 1999; Kay and Wallace 2010; Kay et al. 2004).

Our main hypothesis is that the management of personal and family time, in particular work-life balance, remains a challenge for women lawyers even some 10 years after the last study conducted on the subject in Quebec (Kay 2002) and even if Quebec offers better support in terms of childcare and parental leave than the rest of North America (Tremblay 2010, 2013). Thus, although the management of professional time and personal time seems to have improved in some professional environments, this appears not to be the case for lawyers. In fact, as we shall see, given the high demands with regard to the number of billable hours for accessing the associate status, many women have difficulties balancing the lawyer profession and parenthood (Baker 2003; Barreau du Québec 1992). Finally, it appears that work-life balance is best understood from the broader angle of the evolution of a person's career and family life, with its choices and challenges, rather than as what it may represent at a given moment. This led us to opt for a qualitative method, with in-depth interviews, to be outlined in the following section.

Methodology

To recruit participants, a call to volunteers was published on the website of the Barreau du Québec and in the newsletter the Barreau sends to its members. Additional calls were placed in 2-month intervals in order to gather a wide range of profiles.

In all, 115 lawyers volunteered to participate. Of those, we selected 46, namely 17 men and 29 women, in order to have lawyers from various types of practice. Without claiming to provide a

Table 20.1 Profiles of participants according to gender and mode of practice

Work environments	Men	Women
Public/paragovernmental sector	7	6
Businesses (litigation, etc.)	3	6
Private practice: independent	2	9
Private practice: small firms	2	3
Private practice: medium/large firms	3	5

complete representation, we succeeded in covering a wide variety of work environments (Table 20.1).

Most of the interviews were conducted by phone in 2011, although some were also done via Skype. The latter proved to be an expedient tool in that it allowed us to include lawyers from the regions and not only those working in Montreal. Of the 46 lawyers, 31 were based in Greater Montreal and 15 in outside regions and smaller cities. Almost all interviews took place during work hours, although two respondents preferred to be interviewed at home and two respondents were on parental leave, at home.

The interviews lasted one to 2.5 h, the average duration being 1.25 h. Overall, the interviewees showed themselves to be very interested in the subject—which demonstrates that work-family balance is an important issue within the profession.

Our paper will feature excerpts from these interviewees in order to better convey their feelings and the impact their work has on their work life and well-being. The respondents' first names as well as any distinctive traits and wordings were slightly modified in order to maintain their anonymity.

Being a Parent and a Lawyer—A Contradiction in Terms?

Our analysis clearly testifies to the challenges faced by lawyers, especially women lawyers, to balance professional life with family life. For example, formal work-family balance measures such as parental leaves and variable hours are increasingly in effect and in use. However, this is offset by the fact that women lawyers, as well as

male lawyers, are apprehensive as to the negative impacts these measures can have on their professional advancement, leading them, particularly male lawyers, to do little with such measures. That said, women lawyers did indicate that they felt they were getting somewhat more informal support from their professional environment, which can play a key role in their ability to manage work-life balance (Behson 2005). For example, for some women lawyers, the lack of support from colleagues turned out to significantly limit their ability to achieve work-life balance.

Production or Reproduction? Overlapping Timetables

Based on our study, lawyers reached their limits relatively soon with regard to the organization of both their professional and family projects. In fact, the entry in the job market and the first years of practice of the profession are characterized by the dual challenge of rapid accumulation of experience and professional advancement and possibly trying to establish a family. These first years are those where lawyers work the most, as testified by the survey data of the Barreau/Cirano (2009). Lawyers with less than 10 years of experience are most likely to work more than 50 h per week, which of course makes the family project difficult (Fig. 20.1).

Total number of hours worked by seniority for salaried lawyers

More than 50 h

Between 41 and 50 h

Between 36 and 40 h

Between 1 and 35 h

10 years and less of experience

Between 11 and 20 years of experience

Between 21 and 30 years of experience

More than 30 years of experience

This critical period for professional advancement coincides with the period of partner-finding and family planning among the younger lawyers, resulting in an overlap of the productive and reproductive agendas (Lapeyre 2006a, b). A good part of the lawyers, and especially the women lawyers, select their work environment

Heures totales travaillées par ancienneté pour les salariés
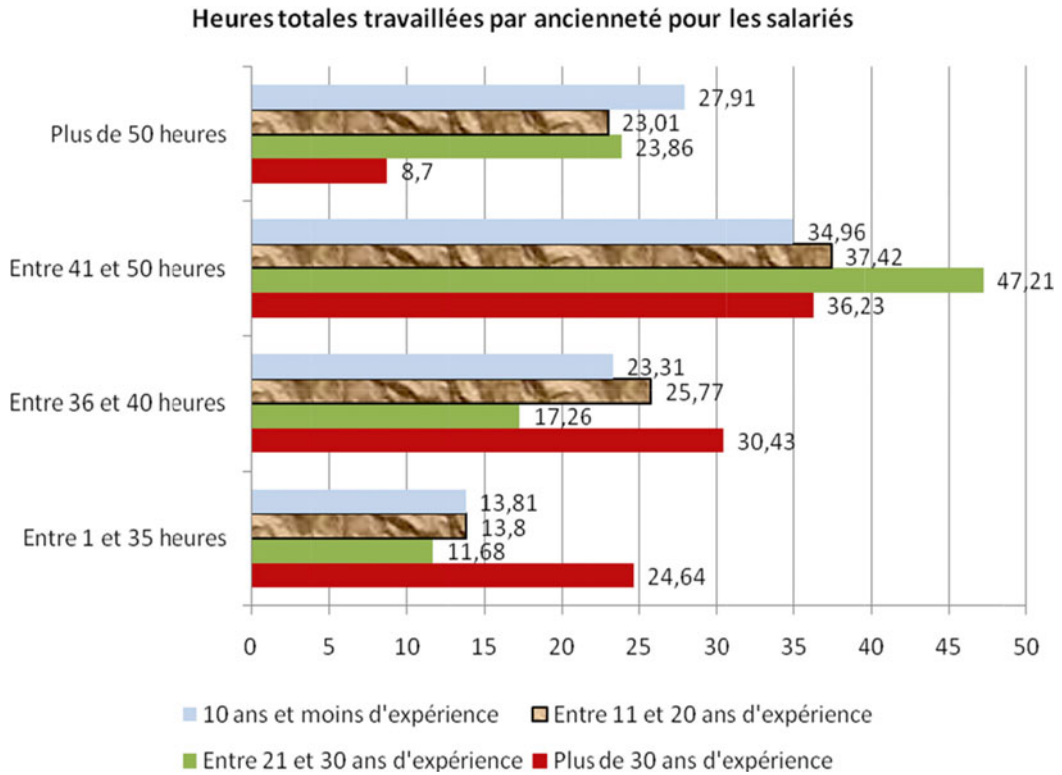
Fig. 20.1 Seniority and hours worked among salaried lawyers (Source: Barreau du Québec/Cirano 2009)

in part on the basis of how these may allow them to balance these two agendas. However, it should be noted that this concerns not only women. Some men wishing to invest in parenthood also take account of this parameter when planning their careers.

The Dilemma: To Postpone Parenthood or Not?

What are the strategies that women lawyers resort to when confronted with the conflicting demands from the two fronts of work and parenthood? And, can these really be said to be "strategies," or are they, instead, mere ways of coping that evolve over time and that are shaped by a continual evolution of the lawyers' experiences and values? Finally, do lawyers have the tendency to postpone parenthood in order to avoid being

penalized in their professional advancement, as most have put in extraordinary efforts to become lawyers, or, do some renounce having children altogether?

We argue that it is mainly women who are faced with these challenges even when they are professionals and have a career, as is the case here. Because for a woman, whatever the work environment and mode of practice, stopping work or having children at a young age can be a career-limiting factor. Men, by contrast, generally take only the non-transferable paid paternity leave (3–5 weeks), sometimes together with a portion of the parental leave (leading to an average of 7 weeks of leave). In this way, the three quarters of fathers in Quebec who make use of these leaves usually average on 7 weeks of paid absence from work, which has little impact on their career compared to mothers who take longer leaves (10–11 months often). We shall discuss

this aspect in more detail in the section dedicated to the consequences of taking maternity or parental leaves.

Most lawyers interviewed reported having made deliberate plans for parenthood at the start of their adult life. They view considerable professional investment to be a given in their work environment, thereby conforming to the commonly accepted standards in the profession. On the other hand, once women have passed the threshold of 30 years of age, they tend to reconsider their work conditions and ask themselves to what degree the conditions and demands of work are compatible with the possibility of having a family life.[1]

This was the case with Josianne, who, after having been director of legal affairs in a large firm for 6 years, a position that involved a lot of traveling, changed her employer and work environment in order to be able to realize her family project.

> I worked at that company for six years. I put in a lot of hours there, and most of it was business trips. So I didn't work that much in the office, but if you consider the trips, I was on the road for one or two days every single week. That was the pattern. But, there came a time when I also wanted to have children. In the meantime, my partner and I separated, and uhhm, I decided that it was time to end that chapter of my life at the company and told myself that if I wanted to have children, it's not there that I would succeed, because I was never there. Then someone approached me about a position at a para-governmental organization, and I decided to go there. And that too was hard work, around the clock, but nevertheless less demanding than before. But in any event, I didn't stay there for long, because I became pregnant. (Josianne, 40 years, married, 2 children, private firm, Montreal).

An investment focused exclusively on professional life thereby comes in competition with the family project. The case of this lawyer shows us that the predominant model of professional investment was put into question when it did not allow balancing work life with a life outside of work. For men, we did not really observe this kind of questioning around the compatibility of a job with the family project, and even less so with a change of commitments in the professional arena.

Other lawyers made the choice to have children very early,[2] before even beginning their professional life. The price for this was a somewhat more difficult, and later, career start. However, when these women are at the end of their 30s, and when their children are older, they can invest more in their career and catch up, while their female colleagues with young children are faced with the constraints of managing family life. This prompted Johanne, who had her first child at the age of 28, to say that "you shouldn't wait too long to have kids," because it's even worse to have children once a career has progressed and "when you already have all this professional responsibility."

> It's funny to see the paradox that ten years ago I was lagging behind everyone, due to school, the children and the maternity leaves, and that today, on the contrary, I see women lawyers who've had interesting careers and who are beginning to have children at the age of 35. So now they're with the children at daycare, and I say to myself, oh my God, how would I cope with the kids at daycare! I'm lucky, I have two teenagers, and the youngest is still in elementary school. But it's a lot easier now, and today I can give all that I have to give at the level of work, because I can manage that balance more easily (Johanne, 42 years, married, 3 children, private firm, Montreal).

However, careers that were initially postponed due to maternity do not invariably "catch up" once the children are somewhat older. For example, in some families great value is placed on extra-curricular activities, in which case the children continue to need a significant time investment during adolescence, and even further on, as is the case with Anne-Sophie.

> My youngest daughter dances and is getting excellent results at competitions. This takes up a lot of my time. I do it with all my heart and soul though,

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[1] In Quebec, the average age at the birth of their first child is lower for women (28.0 years) than for men. Due to the small size of our group of interviewees, we cannot draw definitive conclusions on the subject; however, we did observe a trend among women lawyers to postpone the moment of the arrival of their first child up to the average age of 30.4 years. (The median age is 30 years).

[2] This refers to both planned and unplanned pregnancies.

including the car rides, and sewing the competition dresses. So yes, ultimately it's very time-consuming, but I don't question it. (Anne-Sophie, 41 years, married, 3 children, self-employed, Montreal)

For the men, the decision of at what age to have children was never an issue. Among the lawyers we met, men and women put together, about one third had children before the age of 30. However, the consequences of such life choices are not the same for the two genders, both with regard to the family arrangement within the couple and professional advancement, as we shall see.

The Hard Road to Professional Advancement

The work environments, modes of practice and set of tasks in the lawyer profession are very varied, resulting in a wide range of standards governing professional advancement. Our analysis of the interviews shows a distinct difference between working conditions at private firms (whatever the size, but particularly large firms) and other types of organizations—namely the requirement that lawyers in private practice meet specific objectives in terms of billable hours and business volume. Further factors to consider are the economic context, which may add to or lessen the competitive pressure, as well as the emergence of new firms and fields of specialization. Some research has been done on the topic of career advancement in law firms, namely for large law firms, albeit without examining how the challenges of advancement can impact work-life balance. We here propose to examine the results of those studies in light of our own observations.

Any analysis of private practice should distinguish between the size of the firm as well as the location of the firm. For example, we found that the level of objectives was higher in Montreal than in the smaller cities in the regions. In the medium and big firms, the accession to the status of associate is considered a critical transition in the career (Kay and Gorman 2008). Associates

have shares in the firm, participate in its management, and enjoy greater autonomy within the organization. Apart from working on their own files, they dedicate a good portion of their time to business development. Although competition and economic pressure have pushed down profits for associates over the past decades, the associate status continues to be very coveted.

> The rapid growth of firms due to mergers and expansions also challenges the model in all its aspects, from the sharing of benefits to decision-making and the management of the firm. Faced with an increasingly larger number of salaried lawyers, firms have been extending the duration of the positions that can lead to the associate status (now 7.5 years on average in Canada) and have created new categories of associates, e.g., non-equity partner or salaried associate; permanent employee; and expert consultant). In a time of rapid change, flexibility thereby proves to be more important than tradition (Canadian Bar Association 1993).

Given the transformations facing the legal firms, the associate status is no longer invariably synonymous with "the good life" or greater well-being. Moreover, the status can no longer be expected to be as easily attainable. Instead, new forms of advancement appear, such as the status of the non-equity associate or that of the equity partner.

> At our firm there's the intern, lawyer, equity partner, senior partner, and then there's the associate. There are certain associates referred to as "special partners" who have the title of associate but who are essentially employees like me and who do not share in the profits of the firm. Those titles were issued upon special requests, which we don't do anymore, because it's not like that that the firm will grow. It's not like with X or Y where you have to become a non-shareholder before you can become a shareholder. We don't do that. (Constance, 32 years, married, 2 children, large firm, Montreal).

However, when young lawyers enter these types of organizations, they seek to climb the career ladder and attain associate status— regarded as the most prestigious professional recognition to which most aspire. From that point of view, starting in a smaller size firm can be a winning strategy for them, in that, given the lower number of staff, competition between lawyers there is lower. By contrast, in big firms, becoming

an associate is often more complicated due to mergers and acquisitions, the relatively low number of associate positions available (or the stricter criteria by which they are given) and a larger number of candidates.

The title of associate is offered on the basis of the number of years worked at the firm (seniority is one of the main factors in the speed of advancement) and the acquisition of a certain level of professional competence (evaluated in particular by the number of new clients brought in and the capacity to generate business volume).

We systematically interviewed the lawyers about their professional objectives and the performance evaluation criteria. While this revealed the existence of a large number of criteria of advancement, the main criterion was the imperative with regard to the hours billed to the clients. The threshold of fixed hours varies from one firm to the next, and can go from 1,200 h per year in a firm outside Montreal, in the regions, up to 1,800 h per year in big firms in Montreal.

> My objective in terms of hours is 1700 billable hours and 150 non-billable hours. So that's between 1600 and 1750. In small firms, that's another thing […] If you're very consistent, you might make 7 billable hours per day. That doesn't seem like much, but to be able to bill 7 hours, you have to spend about a total of 10 hours in the office. So that's a lot. If you look at the statistics of what's being invoiced, it's a lot lower than that. When we do our survey on the hours billed, it's a lot lower, but […] (Constance, 32 years, married, 2 children, large firm, Montreal)

Moreover, if we look at firms' statistics, it appears that this objective is not invariably reached and that most lawyers are below the target. Still, this objective seems to function more as a benchmark and selection criterion for determining the advancement of the luckiest and most ambitious. It is less a matter of sanctioning than of determining the criteria for an ideal lawyer. However, the benchmark is nevertheless well internalized by the lawyers.

> People say "[i]f you don't meet your objectives for several years in a row, there are bound to be consequences." But, I haven't seen cases like that. It's more like something that's just "in the head." (Fabienne, 36 years, married, 1 child, large firm, Montreal).

Hours worked, hours billed…an issue of concern for work-life balance

In other firms, even if they have objectives with regard to the number of billable hours, the pressure is lower because they are more willing to accept that, for example, the number of hours corresponds to the hours worked, a part of which is not billable. This is in particular the case in the firm where Jean works, but he considers the firm to be "atypical" precisely because the standard for billing hours is not strictly applied.

> Technically, there is an objective, but it isn't applied. In theory, it's 1800 hours, but in practice, at least at my office, 1800 hours means 8 hours per day, but the nuance is 1800 hours invoiced, that's why I tell you that the firm here is more lenient; it looks at the 1800 hours I worked and not the 1800 hours I billed (Jean, 36 years, married, 1 child, Associate, large firm, Montreal).

However, arriving at the number of hours isn't everything, as lawyers are expected to do many other tasks, such as client development, external representation and participation in diverse company activities when necessary, and those often don't count as billable hours.

> By and large, you get close to becoming an associate here after about 8 years of practice. So after about 6 to 7 years of practice under your belt, you start to feel pressure with regard to client development. But the lawyers submit themselves to that pressure, because they want to become an associate; so that means they have to work on establishing a client base that's interesting for the firm. Also, because it's not always pleasant to be dependent on others; when you're independent, they give you more interesting files I think (Karine, 38 years, married, 4 children, large law firm, Mtl).

> For sure, in the evaluation, we look at the clients […] The number of hours you do, but also the number of files that are open, so client development is important as it leads to open new files. So yes, in the pay, that's an aspect that is considered. Then they look at the number of files opened annually (Fabienne, 36 years, married, 1 child, large firm, Montreal).

These client development activities are described by the lawyers as being the most difficult, above all when it concerns attracting new clients or participating in social activities outside of office hours, such as cocktail parties or sports events.

We have to participate in client development, primarily by developing connections with clients from the firm. The development of new files, for its part, depends on contacts, and everyone tackles that with their own initiative. It could be contacts, business development opportunities, there's a wide range of things for that, but it's harder.

It's more difficult for what reasons?

It's harder because the clients are over-solicited; because, if I call a potential client and tell him that I offer legal services, as they're already using similar services, you have to find something that will attract their attention to want to switch over to you. So it's not easy, you have to be original, you have to rely on your reputation, contacts, recommendations, and it's not very easy to find a new, original approach (Constance, 32 years, married, 2 children, large firm, Montreal).

For women lawyers who are mothers, it is above all the obligation to participate in social activities outside of office hours that is considered the most penalizing. They prefer to work in client development by giving conferences or training to clients.

To get ahead within a law firm, lawyers need to have a certain visibility within the firm, which means having a greater support network and being able to work on the biggest files and the most interesting internal collaborations.

What can we conclude from this presentation of the criteria for professional advancement? In reality, advancement requires an extremely large amount of time investments. It suffices to look at the extensive amount of non-billable time to understand that a good portion of the work of lawyers is not taken into account in the evaluation. However, ultimately that time is sometimes taken into consideration, although in a more subtle way, as it serves to build the necessary social network and to develop a clientele.

The perfect employee is expected to put in eight hours per day—and that is all the time. This means being on top of things regardless of what happens, be it sickness or vacation.

And what goes in the "non-billable time" category?

The recruitment of interns, students, trainings, because you're expected to take part in 15 hours of training each year, which could also be involvement at the Young Bar Association, things like that. It could also be non-billable files. It's client

development, budgets, clients who don't want to pay, who you have to run after to get your money. And when an associate has a personal file, he has to take care of it.

What about the time required to interact with colleagues?

I won't even talk about that. There's a lot of time during the day that's not taken into account (Constance, 32 years, married, 2 children, large firm, Montreal).

Thus, lawyers who want to succeed must invest about 12 h per day, if not more, in their work. Is this feasible for anyone, during all stages of their life? Among the women lawyers who initially expressed interest in participating in the study, only two associates were interested in participating. We were able to interview one of them, who told us she integrated the firm with that status, because it was the only status that exists within the atypical structure of her firm—a firm that promotes equality among the lawyers of the firm and is one of the few that is not so centered on billable hours. Not surprisingly, this is a small firm, with a majority of women lawyers.

All studies on the careers of lawyers are unanimous on the issue that women are systematically under-represented in the associate status. Research on a random set of Toronto lawyers affiliated with the Ontario Bar Association in 1985 (Hagan and Kay 1995) and on a set of lawyers admitted to the bar in the entire province of Ontario between 1975 and 1990 showed that women associates were underrepresented in both groups. Among the lawyers in Toronto, the probability of becoming an associate was 47 % for men and 36 % for women (Hagan and Kay 1995). It seems things may not be very different today, even if family policy has developed considerably since the 1990s, especially in Quebec.

In the following we shall examine the experiences of both men and women lawyers in relation to their career vision and their choice of status, namely by considering the required time investment.[3]

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[3] On the effects of taking parental leaves on the possibilities of professional advancement see Tremblay (2010, 2013) and Tremblay and Genin (2011).

Obstacles to Professional Advancement Among Women Lawyers

Can we affirm that men and women present different career profiles in the legal professions? We suggest that it is not so much the success models that differ depending on the gender of the lawyers, but rather the probabilities of accessing the dominant career models.

It is difficult to identify precisely at what point women lawyers become aware of the difficulties they face as women in their career. The scarcity of women in the status of associate is an indicator that speaks for itself. Moreover, many women lawyers who have accessed this status have themselves become part of the system that stands in the way of the advancement of their female colleagues.

The women lawyers encountered reported having become rather bitter when they realized the obstacles they actually face after having children. It is then, and particularly upon returning from leaves, that they recognize the existence of discriminatory practices, even in firms considered "humanist" and atypical. Laure, for example, described her experience of being demoted upon returning from her maternity leave and replaced by a much younger and less experienced lawyer as follows.

> I think women continue to be disadvantaged. For one, in the current job market, we have less chances of becoming associates. Look, I'm still not an associate, although not long ago […] a man was given the associate status. So I think there' still discrimination. Uhhm, at the salary level, for sure the parental leave helps a lot, but who is going to assume the costs in the end? It's always the women who have to bear the brunt of it financially! (Laure, 33 years, in a couple, 1 child, small firm, Montreal)

The standards governing this professional universe are so entrenched that the possibility of changing them is virtually zero. As a result, many women begin to relativize their situation, or to become resigned, viewing work-family balance as a kind of insurmountable challenge where they are bound to be the loser. According to that equation, the time available in a day remains unchanged, while the portion dedicated to family

will invariably decrease the time available to work. They then resign to pay the price for their family investment, be it in terms of forgoing the types of career advancements their male colleagues enjoy, or by making other choices such as making sacrifices in their family life.

> I'm very feminist, I believe in work-family balance. On the other hand, I'm aware that there is a price to pay when taking up these options. Some people accept to have a nanny in their home from 3 to 7 pm and on top of that to have a household aid who cooks and takes care of everything for them. I know lawyers who accept that, and that's ok. They want to move up the professional ladder, and they use all the tools available for doing that. As for me, I want to be at home, so I understand at some level there's a price to pay for that. It's a question of choice. […] I don't want to be penalized because I had children, but in the end, I accept that there are consequences (Fabienne, 36 years, married, 1 child, large firm, Montreal).

For these women, believing in work-family balance simply means believing in the possibility of having children, given the demanding professional standards, and of having to forgo a "classic" advancement, even if they were capable of meeting their objectives prior to that without any noticeable difference from their male counterparts.

This raises the question of how such a context influences women's professional ambitions and models. On that subject, Constance, equity partner in a large Montreal firm and whose husband of the same age is already an associate in another firm, questions the possibility of a professional advancement comparable to that of her male colleagues, and observes that her female colleagues are increasingly drifting toward work environments considered less discriminatory.

> It's quite obvious that there are very few women who obtain the associate status, and that very few women continue beyond five years of practice. Many choose to go work for the legal department of private (non-law) firms, perhaps because the hours are more predictable and because there may be less discrimination with regard to maternity leaves, all that. In this firm, there are only two women partners who have children, the others have left. I'm not sure I know the secret, I'm following a certain direction but I'm not sure it's going to work, if there's light at the end of the tunnel. Maybe nobody will ever grant me the associate

title here (Constance, 32 years, married, 2 children, large firm, Montreal).

As Nathalie Lapeyre notes, "[t]he scenario of professional evolution can be summed up as follows: being a woman=being automatically suspected of wanting to privilege one's family life to the detriment of one's professional life and of potentially becoming pregnant" (Lapeyre 2006b: 128); our translation). Yet, does this mean that any hope is in vain and that women should throw in the towel in the professional battlefield?

Postponing the Period of Professional Investment and Advancement

In a context where men lawyers succeed to position themselves faster with regard to advancement possibilities, women put themselves on the backburner. Based on the testimonials and interviews of our study, most women lawyers have a resigned attitude and do not feel they could effectively fight against a corporate governance that is discriminatory toward women, or at least does not take into account family obligations. As a result, many women lawyers "decide" to continually postpone the period during which they can invest more time in their career. They thus put their advancement on stand-by in order to be able to balance work and family, as if having children at an early age and investing professionally were incompatible.

> As for me, I won't become an associate within the next five years […] but that doesn't bother me. If I stay in the firm, I think the next years will be a fairly stable period. It's not the period of my life where I'll be looking for more challenges than I already have. I'm satisfied with what I have presently. So for me, the next five years are not a period of professional expansion or development. I have ten years of practice under my belt, even more. During those years, I've had the possibility to get ahead and to fulfill myself. Now, I'm in a sector I know well, where I'm comfortable, and I think that for the next five years, I'll more or less just go with the flow, but I won't […] I can't have very high professional expectations, when the children aren't yet in school and still little kiddies, […] I want to maintain what I have, I want to maintain my clientele, but these aren't my big years of development

(Fabienne, 36 years, married, 1 child, large firm, Montreal).

The name of the game for women is more or less to make do with the accomplishments and salary brackets they've attained and to, while taking care to not fall behind, realize that they won't be able to keep up with their male counterparts. This lack of seamless and constant availability to work is explained and justified from many different angles. Any one of our interviewees has a story of a girlfriend who works in a large firm and who didn't see her children grow up, who left parenting up to a full-time nanny, or who wasn't able to take her maternity leave.

> I consider myself lucky […] For example, I know lawyers working in private practice, in solo practice, who I saw at court only two weeks after childbirth, or three months, one month. I think that's a nightmare. I wouldn't want to do that. But I also have a friend, also in private practice, solo, who […] closed down her firm and […] and then returned a year and half later. So, each to their own. But one thing is certain, in private practice it's difficult to take a full year off, explaining why women take only four months off and come back afterwards, even if the paid maternity leave can be longer, up to 12 months. I consider myself lucky because I was able to leave for a year. It's difficult to come back, but it's not as difficult as if I was in private solo practice. (Laure, 33 years, 1 child, married, small firm, Montreal).

It would be incorrect to attribute this strategy to women exclusively. The men who invested in family life, or who opted to give their partners the possibility to advance in their careers, also experience a delay in relation to their male colleagues. Although this type of situation is less frequent in couples where both partners have the same profession, investing in family life can also be penalizing for the man.

> It's all about making compromises. In our case, I'd say that it's because both of us […] We're aware that we have to make certain sacrifices. But there comes a time where it's a choice in life: What do you want? For example, I could easily compare myself to some of my friends and say "Wow, they've gotten a lot further ahead in their career than I have." But then when I look at them, they have only one child and are overwhelmed. They can't manage and complain all the time. So for

sure, there are those who tell me "Three kids, you're crazy!" But, that's that; it's a choice, and in any event family is more important. So I tell myself, ok, my career is a little bit on stand-by mode, and maybe further on down the road I'll work a bit more on that. But for the time being […] You know, it's when you're young that you should have children. And the career can take off later. I'd say that I'm probably behind by about four years compared to my friends. So I'm behind by four years, but I have a family. It's a choice. (Julien, 36 years, married, 3 children, public sector, Montreal)

This period of life is viewed as a kind of time-out in the usual professional commitment. Family needs go first, and the commonly acknowledged end-point of this episode is the age at which the children enter school and become more independent. Thus, the degree of professional investment is adjusted to the demands of bringing up children.

There are only a few cases of firms where the professional requirements, in terms of billable hours, might make it easier to balance work and family. While we identified a few possible solutions to a better work-family balance, such as teamwork and sharing the client base, we only found two firms that do this, and they were small firms, and not the large firms where lawyers aspire to become associate. We were told that in one large firm, lawyers work in teams and this makes it possible for parents to leave the office earlier to attend to issues with the children, but this is an exceptional case, and even in this case, the (male) lawyers who mention this case indicate that they catch up the work in the evening. Many women lawyers left large organizations to go to the public sector or to smaller firms where it is possible for them to have shorter hours, flexible schedules, telework, as well as other practices such as no imposed billable hours, which make it possible to better reconcile work and family.

Conclusion

Applying a theoretical approach centered on the professional ethos or culture, we examined the possibilities for men and women lawyers to balance their profession with a family life or, in other words, of being a lawyer and parent at the same time and having a good quality of life or well-being. We saw that the lawyer profession is governed by a set of formal rules alongside informal regulations or expectations that together constitute professional ethics. Many lawyers come to question the long hours required by this ethic when they begin to plan for children. However, the standards imposed by the professional culture and ethics are nevertheless well anchored in the profession, and the ability to meet high expectations are clearly what characterizes the image of the lawyer as well as the professional ethics more generally. We also saw that professional advancement is difficult and that for some this can mean either to scale back or postpone their professional engagement or to postpone the time when they have children. This is the case in Quebec, even with good State support for childcare and parental leave, so we can imagine the situation to be at least as worse elsewhere in North America, and rather similar in many European countries having similar family policies.

In that context, we examined whether men and women present different career models in the legal professions and we conclude that it is not so much the success models as such that distinguish men lawyers from female lawyers, but rather their probabilities of accessing the dominant career model. It seems that even when postponing births, it is difficult for women to commit sufficiently, and sufficiently soon, to be able to access the career status of associate at a large firm. We moreover had a lot of difficulty to even interview women associates, as there are fewer female than male associates. While new formulas and designations were developed in some firms, it remains difficult for women to access the upper echelons. We also found that a certain number of men who want to invest in the parental project also had difficulty to access that status, and that they sometimes forgo the status for the benefit of their family life and their own personal well-being as well as that of their partner.

Our research thus confirms that it is still difficult today to access both the status of parent and of lawyer simultaneously, and that this leads a

certain number of lawyers, especially women, to opt for other career forms. While remaining very engaged in their profession, they opt for careers that are less demanding with regard to time, for example, by going to smaller firms or by undertaking public functions in order to find the time required for work-family balance.

With regard to the limits of the research—it is limited given the number of respondents (46). However, qualitative research does contribute to a better understanding of the issues facing lawyers when trying to balance their professional life with the family project and is very useful to understand the issues at stake when discussing well-being and work-family issues.

The research also indicates the changes required in order to realize this parent-lawyer balance. Our research thereby shows that the billable hours required to become an associate are a major stake, but also that some firms are more flexible at that level. One could thereby deduce that greater flexibility concerning the objectives of billable hours could help a large number of competent women, and men for that matter, to access the higher statuses of the profession. Even though this was not expressed in the interviews, subsequent discussions at the Quebec Bar Annual Congress gave rise to the idea that the sharing of files within a team, rather than the obligation to bear sole responsibility for a file, could constitute a path favouring career advancement without sacrificing family life (see also Beaudoin 2012). It would also make things easier for women who return to the office after maternity leave, as they would not have to start all over at the bottom of the ladder to develop their clientele, as is often the case presently.

Although two options have already been identified as possible solutions, further studies are required to better determine the feasibility of these solutions and their stakes and obstacles. Preliminary exchanges indicate that this may not be applicable everywhere, and that it would require a certain change in the professional practices, but that it could nevertheless become reality in some work environments, as two firms have already adopted teamwork and individual billable hours, but it has to be recognized that these are

small firms. Thus, interesting avenues for future research would be to pursue research in these firms that have transformed their work organization and levels of billable hours to see if this has indeed given lawyers who are also mothers or fathers a better quality of life and well-being.

To conclude, we have to recognize that although work-family articulation seems to have improved in some professional environments, it is not the case for lawyers in large firms, and particularly for female lawyers. In fact, given the number of billable hours for accessing the associate status, many women still have difficulties balancing the lawyer profession and parenthood. They often leave for smaller more flexible work environments or for the public sector.

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Knowledge Work and Flexible Working: Helping or Hindering Working Women?

Doris Ruth Eikhof

Introduction

The Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg recently drew renewed attention to long-standing issues around women, work, life and well-being. In her 2013 bestseller *Lean in* Sandberg discusses why women are still less successful in rising to the top of corporations and professions than men. Drawing on anecdotes from her own life, she points towards the many ways in which corporate cultures and society constrain women's participation and advancement in the workplace. Importantly though, Sandberg places almost equal emphasis on examples of how women constrain their own career advancement through their behaviour at work and in the home and through career decisions that lead to unintended adverse consequences. It is because of societal and corporate constraints as well as individual choices, Sandberg argues, that we still see gendered patterns of workforce participation and advancement. And indeed, gender equality in work and employment is still the aspiration, not the reality. Across the United States, Japan and most EU countries, women's employment rates cluster around the 60 % mark, compared to 70–80 % for men (Eurostat 2012). In the EU,

women are four times more likely than men to work part-time, an employment form that typically impedes career progression (Eurofound 2011). Women are still over-represented in those low-pay jobs which Banyard (2010) dubs "the 5 C's: cleaning, caring, clerical work, cashiering and catering" (see also Bradley 2007). Women are also – and this is Sandberg's focus – under-represented in the upper echelons of the corporate world. In the US, only 14 % of executive officers are female (Catalyst 2012). Despite what the authors describe as a "step change" for women appointments to FTSE 100 boards, still only 15 % of FTSE 100 board directors are women and only 6.6 % of FTSE 100 companies are managed by a female CEO (Sealy and Vinnicombe 2012). Behind these statistics lie countless incidents of implicit and explicit, minor and major gender discrimination at work, from low pay for classroom assistants because they are "just mothers, really" (Warhurst et al. 2009) to the blatantly sexist culture of investment banking (S. 2009). For women business owners gender is a disadvantage on markets for (start-up) capital as well as in the general evaluation of their entrepreneurial success (Carter et al. 2007; Marlow and McAdam 2011). While women's fortunes in the workplace have undoubtedly improved in the twentieth century, the early twenty-first century still sees women at a disadvantage – including at the end of the month, when their pay-out is still significantly, often by a fifth

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or quarter, lower than that of their male colleagues (AAUW 2013; Banyard 2010; Eurostat 2013; ONS 2013). Women's slow advance in the workplace is mirrored by a persistence of divisions of labour at home: women are still more likely than men to have substantial care commitments and even when women work more hours than their domestic partner they are typically the ones who take on the "second shift" at home (Asher 2011; Broadbridge 2008; Burnett et al. 2011; Hochschild 2003).

The above evidence paints a picture of persistent and entrenched gender inequalities in workforce participation and advancement. Some of these inequalities will be rooted in deeply held beliefs about gendered capabilities and skills and about women's and men's roles in society (Banyard 2010; Bradley 2007). However, there are also, as Sandberg rightly argues, workplace-specific constraints and choices that result in gender inequalities. The aim of this chapter is to discuss these constraints and choices for two relatively recent developments, knowledge work and flexible working. At first glance, both knowledge work and flexible working look to be conducive to women's workforce participation and advancement. Firstly, knowledge work, which makes up an increasing share of economic activity in the developed economies (Newell et al. 2002), draws on knowledge, information and innovativeness as its key sources of competitive advantage. For such work, men's physical strength does not give them an advantage over women – unlike in, for instance, construction. Moreover, in knowledge work the crucial resource of production lies with the individual worker and actual work practices are (much) less dependent on the physical infrastructure of an organisation. Consequently, knowledge workers have a more powerful position in their relationship with employers and should enjoy more autonomy and control over how, when and where they work (Darr and Warhurst 2008). Secondly, the past two decades have seen a marked increase in flexible working. The need for better work-life balance has taken centre stage in the work-related public and academic debates (Fleetwood 2007; Warhurst et al. 2008), and the majority of work-life balance policies aim to give workers more

flexibility in the length and scheduling of working hours and in the location of their work. The rise of flexible working is also closely linked to the increased use of information and communication technology. Laptops, smart phones and cloud-computing allow taking work out of the office and, particularly, into the home (e.g. Duxbury and Smart 2011). Home-based telework has become widespread across the developed economies (e.g. Felstead et al. 2005; Warhurst et al. 2008). The flexibilisation of work is regarded as the central facilitator for reconciling work and non-work (read: family). As women still make up the vast majority of workers with caring responsibilities, the increase in flexible working should therefore enable better work and career prospects for women (Appelbaum et al. 2005; Hill et al. 2011).

However, as this chapter will argue, knowledge work and flexible working can also pose substantial hidden obstacles to working women. By discussing these two key developments this chapter aims to increase our understanding of the constraints and choices that influence women's participation and advancement in twenty-first century workplaces. Section "A gender perspective on knowledge work" will discuss the key characteristics of knowledge work that constrain women's workforce participation and advancement: a high share of non-standard employment, the need for knowledge workers to strategically develop and market their skills portfolios and the requirements for temporal and geographical flexibility. Section "The ambiguous blessings of flexible working" explores the gendered implications of flexible working, in particular working from home, and exposes their unintended negative consequences for women's work and career prospects. The concluding section "Concluding discussion" links the chapter's findings to general workplace trends and identifies implications for research, practice and policy.

A Gender Perspective on Knowledge Work

A central change in contemporary work and employment has been the rise of what sociologists have called knowledge work: work that has

immaterial inputs such as intelligence, creativity, innovativeness or social skills as its key resources (e.g. Darr and Warhurst 2008; Newell et al. 2002). Since companies started to offshore industrial production to developing economies in the late twentieth century, policy-makers in the developed economies have focused their economic policies on growing knowledge-intensive industries (e.g. Cable 2010; Clifton et al. 2009; European Communities 2004). Computing, engineering, media and professional services are not only expected to facilitate GDP and employment growth, they also promise attractive high wage/high skills jobs (European Commission 2012; UNCTAD 2008).

In industrial and agricultural work the physical means of production – raw materials, tools, machinery, plants – play a crucial role. By contrast, in knowledge work employers or contractors hire employees, self-employed or freelancers because they expect them to make a particular contribution based on their capacity to produce output with their brains (Darr and Warhurst 2008: Newell et al. 2002). At first glance, the fact that knowledge work focuses on individual talent and knowledge seems to offer opportunities for lessening gender inequalities in the workplace. Firstly, physical strength, which gives men a competitive advantage in industrial and agricultural production, is irrelevant to the job performance of knowledge workers. Secondly, the possession of knowledge and talent is not dependent on gender (or class or ethnicity, for that matter; Florida 2004), but is regarded as 'everyone's natural asset to exploit' (Ross 2009: 40). On the contrary, as they regularly outperform men in higher education (HEPI 2009), one could argue that women might even be better placed to acquire the crucial resources for knowledge work. From this perspective, a growing proportion of knowledge work in a society's economic activity could be expected to increase the opportunities for gender-neutral participation and advancement in the workplace.

But there are three aspects about knowledge work that require discussion with respect to gender equality: employment relationships, the necessity to develop and market one's skills portfolio and the requirement for temporal and geo-graphical flexibility. Firstly and with respect to employment relationships, many knowledge workers enjoy secure and well-paid positions. However, a growing share of knowledge work, particularly in the small, start-up businesses that governments' economic strategies are focused upon, is undertaken in the context of so-called non-standard or precarious employment relationships (e.g. Cappelli 1995; Kalleberg 2000). Knowledge-intensive businesses typically require only little investment in material infrastructure which makes it easier to start up one's own venture or to work freelance. Small businesses and freelance work, however, provide little income security for neither their owners nor employees and their provision of parental leave or work-life balance support tends to be minimal to non-existent. In addition, because knowledge work is often organised in projects, large corporations as well as SMEs have an incentive to employ for the duration of the project only, thereby reducing income security for their employees (e.g. Eikhof and Warhurst 2013). In the creative and cultural industries, for instance, it is not unusual for free-lancers to spend between 11 and 29 weeks per year looking for paid work rather than earning an income (Skillset 2008a). Lastly, entry into many knowledge-intensive professions is via unpaid or lowly paid internships (e.g. Eikhof and Warhurst 2013; Perlin 2012), which makes it difficult to pay for one's own, let alone a family's, living in the early years of a knowledge worker's career. A career in knowledge work requires substantial investment in the acquisition of skills and knowledge, but because of the type of employment it is embedded in, does not necessarily provide security of income or employment. Such lack of income security is particularly problematic for workers who have dependants or are looking to have a family – and these workers are more likely to be female than male (e.g. Dex et al. 2000; Skillset 2008b, 2009). To buffer employment insecurities, many knowledge workers strive to earn income from a variety of activities, in particular from teaching. Women tend to use this strategy more intensively than men (Gill 2002) and while earning income from other sources provides more income security, it also distracts women from developing their core careers in

knowledge work. The formal context of knowledge work – temporary employment, freelance work and self-employment – thus poses challenges that men are typically better placed to meet.

Secondly, knowledge workers need to strategically develop and market their skills portfolio. Because skills and knowledge are the key resource, only up-to-date skills and knowledge are of value to an employer or client. In order to stay employed and in business, knowledge workers thus have to constantly maintain and develop their skillset and have to market themselves as possessing these valuable resources. Keeping expertise and skills up to date requires the investment of time and, depending on the form of learning typical for the respective industry, financial resources or social capital (e.g. Gill 2010; Jones and DeFillippi 1996). In some industries formal certificates and degrees may be necessary while in others actively seeking out and making time for learning from peers may be the dominant way. But the requirement to maintain an up-to-date, marketable individual skills portfolio pertains to knowledge workers across industries and professions (e.g. Pongratz and Voß 2003). Perhaps even more importantly, knowledge workers have to continuously communicate and market their skills, knowledge and talent to potential employers or contractors, as a script supervisor interviewed by Randle and Culkin (2009: 101) explained: 'finding and negotiating work is the hardest part. Doing the work is the fun. Finding the work is the job'. Independently of whether they are employed or working as self-employed or freelancers, knowledge workers need to be individually proactive and strategic about developing their skills portfolio and selling themselves as a valuable resource (e.g. Haunschild and Eikhof 2009; Pongratz and Voß 2003). An employed business consultant or tenured academic has to constantly develop, demonstrate and self-market their professional achievements in ways not dissimilar to those used by a freelance journalist: through networking and building "brand you" (Baréz-Brown 2011).

Key to maintaining and promoting a marketable skills portfolio are the individual knowledge worker's reputation and networks (e.g. Gill 2010; Grabher 2004; Haunschild and Eikhof 2009; Pongratz and Voß 2003). Knowledge workers need to build a reputation for delivering high-quality, innovative work. More often than not, this reputation has to transcend individual organisations and stretch across the whole industry to reach potential business partners, employers and clients (Blair 2001; Eikhof 2014). Personal networks are essential for building and maintaining such reputation, but even more so for directly marketing one's labour power to potential buyers (Haunschild and Eikhof 2009; Randle and Culkin 2009). Knowledge workers have to show presence in their occupational community, attend networking events, company and industry functions and maintain good relationships with key players inside and outside their organisation. For example, in the creative media industries such as TV, film, radio, media, and publishing, 78 % of workers surveyed by Skillset (2010) were recruited into their current job through informal channels, with most contacted directly by the employer or by someone they had previously worked with. Because the crucial resources of knowledge work are invisible, "literally in [workers'] heads" (Florida 2004: 37), employers and contractors seek "someone they can trust" (Sutton Trust 2006: 10). Such trust is established through personal contacts and affirmed by reputation.

Public perception sees women as better communicators and as possessing better social skills than men (Bradley et al. 2000) – if that were true, work, employment and careers that are predicated on networking should play to women's strengths. However, empirical evidence demonstrates that the opposite is the case. As much as it is a powerful resource, social capital is also inherently intangible and obscure. Consequently, networking-based decisions about participation and advancement lack transparency, and women, along with workers from ethnic minority and working class backgrounds, find it hard to break into the elusive 'old boys

networks' in which these decisions are made (Arthur et al. 2011; Eikhof and Warhurst 2013). The gendered effects of professional activity centred on networks have been extensively demonstrated in the media industry, one of the oldest and publicly most influential areas of knowledge work, where "employers essentially employ people like themselves [white, male] … this is not necessarily just by race, but by class and gender" (respondent cited in Thanki and Jeffreys 2006–2007: 114). Thirdly, the circumstances in which networks are built and social capital is acquired disproportionately disadvantage women. A substantial share of networking is done outside the office and outside office hours, for instance at evening functions or conferences. Attending these events requires temporal and geographical flexibility and thus tends to be more difficult for women who are disproportionally more likely than men to be constrained by caring commitments. In addition, networking often takes place in informal, semi-private entertainment settings, "clubby atmospheres" (Gill 2002). As Gill (2002) points out, in such settings women are primarily perceived as females and their professional characteristics tend to be overlooked. Fourthly, deeply ingrained societal beliefs can work against women's success at networking. Promoting one's own course and trying to exert influence are socially accepted practices in men but are viewed negatively in women (Banyard 2010; Eagle and Carli 2007). Given such evidence, the centrality of networks for knowledge work means that women face a second challenge that they are disproportionally less likely to successfully overcome than men.

Thirdly, the working hours and location of knowledge work often require substantial temporal and geographical flexibility. Despite the rising use of information and communication technology, face-to-face communication, collaboration and interaction feature prominently in knowledge work and require knowledge workers to work within offices and standard working hours (Felstead et al. 2005; Mayerhofer et al. 2011). Working "out of hours" and across a wide geog-

raphy has, of course, long been the reality for workers in manufacturing or services. For the average white collar clerical and professional worker however such expectations are still relatively new (Warhurst et al. 2008). Business consultants, journalists or product developers, for example, are expected to regularly work away from their home office at clients' offices, in the field or at conferences while NGO directors, PR advisers and cultural workers need to attend functions, networking events, lunches and performances on evenings and weekends. Unsurprisingly, both geographic mobility and working evenings and weekends have proved more difficult for women with families (e.g. Dex et al. 2000; McKenna 1997; Mäkelä et al. 2011). Again, a powerful example is the media industry, where women find it particularly difficult to reconcile the long and unsocial working hours and requirements for working away from home with caring commitments (Gill 2002; Skillset 2009). Comprehensive childcare is prohibitively expensive for many, so, as one of Randle et al.'s (2007: 64) female camera crew explained: "it's an issue, the unfriendly hours, especially if you've got kids around, because we'll routinely have to get up at 4 o'clock in the morning, go out and work a 12 h day and then get back at 10 o'clock at night". Many female interviewees in this study stated that to have a successful career required putting their personal lives on hold. Apparently not all women are willing to make this sacrifice: Skillset's (2008b, 2009, 20105) research into the creative media industries exposes a marked attrition of women's workforce participation in the 30–40 years age bracket.

The above evidence exposes hidden aspects of knowledge work that prevent women from participating and advancing on par with men: precarious employment relationships, the necessity to market one's skills portfolio through networking and the need to be geographically and temporally flexible. Analysis of this evidence contradicts the idea of knowledge work being gender neutral or even particularly conducive to women's careers.

The Ambiguous Blessings of Flexible Working

Flexible working hours and locations enable better reconciliation of work and non-work, in particular caring commitments (e.g. Appelbaum et al. 2005; Hill et al. 2011). As women are still much more likely than men to have substantial caring commitments, opportunities for flexible working are regarded as key to women's workforce participation and advancement (Banyard 2010). Two recent developments have resulted in a rise of flexible working: the increased use of information and communication technology (ICT) at work and the growing recognition that workers need to be supported in achieving a balance between work and life. Laptops and smart phones, remote-access software and cloud computing have made an ever-growing share of economic activity independent from the traditional material infrastructure of production such as machines, factories or office buildings (Bergman and Gardiner 2007; Duxbury and Smart 2011). An increasing share of knowledge, clerical and service work requires only ICT hardware as material input (Felstead et al. 2005; Newell et al. 2002). Supported by ICT, work can be and is undertaken across a variety of locations, from conventional corporate offices to clients' premises, commuter trains, coffee shops and home offices. At the same time, working hours become decoupled from the twentieth century 9-to-5 office day as workers check their emails from home after dinner or skype an overseas clients at night (Besseyre des Horts et al. 2012; Warhurst et al. 2008). Workplaces have "exploded", in Felstead et al.'s (2005: 5) parlance, beyond the boundaries of traditional working hours and office, factory or retail locations.

Over roughly the same period, popular works such as Madeleine Bunting's (2004) *Willing Slaves* or Juliet Schor's (1991) *The Overworked American* and the (partly erroneous) belief in the existence of a long hours-culture (Roberts 2007) have fuelled a public debate about work-life balance or rather, the need for a "good work-life balance" (e.g. Fleetwood 2007; MacInnes 2008).

Employers' main reason for supporting employees' work-life balance struggle is the hope to retain talented workers; governments are concerned about ageing populations and unions are interested in worker well-being (Eikhof et al. 2007). However different, these interests have converged in a recognition of work-life balance as worthy of support and have led to a substantive framework of legal acts and corporate policies aimed at delivering such support. Corporate work-life balance policies can comprise a wide range of initiatives (Maybery 2006). They typically either give the employee more flexibility to reconcile work and non-work (e.g. part-time working or tele-working) or directly help organising employees' non-work lives by giving them services and facilities to access (e.g. on-site creches or laundry services). Academic, practitioner and policy-maker attention has focused on the first type, i.e. on establishing rights to flexible working and on providing policies that allow employees to exercise such rights (Appelbaum et al. 2005; contributions in Kaiser et al. 2011).

Work-life balance policies focused on flexible working and the increased use of ICT are closely linked, of course: the less dependent work practices are on location and office hours, the more opportunities open up for working flexibly and therewith better reconciling work and family commitments (Bergman and Gardiner 2007). Technology has pushed and continues to push the extent to which flexible working is not only possible, but can also be productive and efficient and therefore attractive to both employers and workers. As a consequence, working less than full-time hours, working flexible hours (where daily working times can flexibly be adjusted by the employee) and working remotely (read: from home) are increasingly available to and taken up by employees (e.g. Hill et al. 2011). But while helpful for reconciling work and non-work life, especially caring commitments, flexible working can also have important and, with respect to gender-equality, ambiguous unintended consequences.

Firstly, because ICT allows work to be undertaken outside office hours and premises, there is now an expectation that although work-

ers may not be working all the time, they will still be available to be contacted at any given moment. Responding to such expectations, as a survey by AOL and Opinion Research in the US showed, 60 % of respondents used their BlackBerry to send emails while in bed and 83 % checked their emails while on holiday (Pilkington 2007). Roberts (2007) argues that this availability is largely self-inflicted and Felstead et al. (2005: 9) point out that while "popular accounts often cite ICT as a prime mover [and] ICT opens up a range of possibilities […] it does not determine how they are realised". Nevertheless, employees, in particular those who explicitly use ICT-enabled flexible working arrangements, are not necessarily in a strong enough position to challenge and change those expectations. (Bergman and Gardiner 2007; Besseyre des Horts et al. 2012; Duxbury and Smart 2011).

Similar to the point made about geographical and temporal availability in section "A gender perspective on knowledge work", constant availability for work calls and emails is problematic for those with caring responsibilities. But more specifically in this case, work demands, facilitated by ICT, intrude into family time and space and cause conflicts described by Higgins et al. (1994) as "work to family-interference": work directly competes with family activities for attention, time and energy. Typical examples are parents checking their emails from the play park bench or taking children along to coffee shop meetings with colleagues and clients. Workers who combine professional and personal lives in one location often experience a double-bind in which they end up fulfilling neither their work nor their family roles to a satisfactory extent, leaving them with feelings of frustrations and guilt (Bøgh Fangel and Aaløkke 2008; Kylin and Karlsson 2008; McKenna 1997). Of course, these consequences of flexible working are not gender-specific in themselves. But as women are disproportionally more likely to opt for flexible working in order to juggle professional and personal commitments they are more likely to suffer from negative experiences of ICT-facilitated work to family-interference.

Secondly, opting for any form of flexible working can endanger women's advancement in the workplace (McKenna 1997; Peper et al. 2011). Women who take up work-life balance options and work shorter or flexible hours are often seen as less committed to their career and their employers' cause. Where such views prevail, women who work flexibly tend to be assigned only routine tasks and less authority and often find themselves overlooked when employers allocate prestigious prospects or important clients – all of which hampers their prospects of promotion. Women in these situations have been described as on the "mummy track" (McKenna 1997), an initially attractive alternative career path that turns out to be either frustratingly slow or a dead-end altogether. McKenna (1997) and Stone (2008) have documented how flexible working arrangements that looked like a solution in the first instance quickly resulted in disillusion and frustration, changes of career or employer, or opting out from work altogether. Notably, although the potentially detrimental consequences of taking up flexible working options are increasingly discussed in academic research, to the individual woman they typically remain invisible, discovered only in hindsight and when the damage to the career is done.

Thirdly and beyond these observations on flexible working generally, research has exposed ambiguous gender implications for one specific case of flexible working: working from home or tele-working. The appeal of working from home, for part or all of one's contracted hours, is that it enables workers to attend to both work and life/family issues in the same geographical location (Peper et al. 2011). Instead of splitting the day into two blocks of work and non-work time, each spent in separate locations, tele-working allows a "micro-management of the work-life boundary" (Warhurst et al. 2009), slotting work tasks around household chores and school runs. The mainstream image of such micro-management is one of continuous challenges to working mothers' self- and crisis-management skills, engagingly illustrated in many a novel and on screen. Nevertheless, academic research shows that tele-working arrangements can indeed provide the

autonomy and control that allow workers to adapt work and non-work activities according to their own preferences (de Man et al. 2008; Hill et al. 2011). Notwithstanding these potential benefits, however, they can also result in a range of more ambivalent outcomes with respect to gender equality. Firstly, combining work and life in the same space frequently leaves workers feeling guilty towards their family for being unavailable while physically at home and towards their employers or clients for not "getting the job done" when attending to the family (Bøgh Fangel and Aaløkke 2008; Kylin and Karlsson 2008). In those cases the work to family-interference discussed above is complemented by family to work-interference (Higgins et al. 1994): family demands spill into working time and space. Incapable of properly fulfilling neither work nor family expectations, respondents in these studies felt unable to do their career potential justice. Secondly, regardless of its actual content, women's work within the home is often perceived as not being "real" or "serious" work (Rouse and Kitching 2006; Kirkwood and Toothill 2008). Regardless of its valuation outside the house, once paid work is undertaken from home its perception is coloured by century-long images of women's domestic work as low-skilled and unpaid (cooking, cleaning, caring) or simply frivolous (decorating, entertaining) (Bradley 2007). Thirdly, while tele-working men typically do so in a dedicated study, women tend to make do with shared domestic spaces – the kitchen table or a living room corner (Musson et al. 2006; Sullivan 2000). Fourthly and unlike tele-working men, women working from home are often expected to integrate house- and care-work with their tele-work (Sullivan 2000). As Cusk (2008: 12) concludes, despite better intentions, "an unfair apportioning of domestic responsibility to the home worker is unavoidable". Fifthly and from a societal perspective, any relocation of women's work to the home runs the risk of women collectively losing their voice and influence in public places, be that corporate boardrooms, political agendas, local communities or media debates (Bradley 2007; Simpson and Lewis 2007). Despite a growing acceptance of virtual communication and collaboration, influence still remains predicated on physical presence in the public (work)space (Burnett et al. 2011; Simpson 1998). Although an individually attractive option, reducing this presence by working from home has collectively problematic consequences for gender equality. With each woman exercising this option women collectively lose voice, influence and power, thereby ceding ground to what, following Sylva Walby, has been termed "public patriarchy" (Bradley 2007: 44). Sixthly and particularly when combined with part-time work, tele-working holds the significant risk of reproducing and entrenching the prevalence of exactly that 1.5-breadwinner household model which constitutes a key obstacle to gender equality in the workplace, private and public sphere (Rouse 2011; Bradley 2007).

From a gender perspective, flexible working is thus a double-edged sword. On the one hand, whether "simply" a by-product of the use of ICT or as an explicitly devised work-life balance policy, flexible working and the decoupling of work from time and space can facilitate the reconciliation of work and life, particularly caring responsibilities. Where they do so, they can facilitate women's workforce participation and advancement. On the other hand, flexible working arrangements can have lesser discussed negative consequences: increased work-life conflicts, stigmatising of workers as less committed and, because the most prominent practice of flexible working, working from home, is itself a gendered practice, reproduction of unhelpful gender stereotypes in work. Therefore, while the use of ICT and work-life balance policies focused on flexible working may help keep women in the labour market, their effect on women's advancement in the workplace is much more controversial.

Concluding Discussion

The last decades have seen an increase in knowledge work and flexible working shaping the working lives of many professional workers.

Both developments appear, at first glance, to be conducive to women's workforce participation and advancement. Knowledge work offers careers predicated on talent, skill and innovativeness rather than physical strength. Flexibility in working hours and location is seen as key for reconciling work and life/family demands, and therefore as an enabler of women's careers and a catalyst of equality in the work place. However, this chapter has marshalled evidence from studies into knowledge work and flexible working to demonstrate that neither are unambiguously positive for women's careers and gender equality in the workplace. In knowledge work, precarious employment, the necessity to market one's skills portfolio through networking and the need to be geographically and temporally mobile pose obstacles that women find disproportionately more difficult to overcome. Firstly, non-standard forms of employment, such as temporary and freelance work, lead to precarious employment and income insecurities which are problematic for workers with caring responsibilities. Secondly, workforce participation and advancement are predicated on self-marketing and access to networks. Women typically find it harder to gain access to the relevant and male-dominated networks and are disadvantaged by the informality and intransparency of recruitment decisions. Thirdly, demands for an extended geographical and temporal availability pose further obstacles for workers with caring responsibilities. Flexible working may also have detrimental effects on women's careers. Modern ICT not only enables work to be undertaken outside traditional office hours and premises but also creates the expectation that workers are available 24/7. The ICT-facilitated blurring of boundaries between work and non-work results in conflicts from work to family-interference and family to work-interference. Women who take up work-life balance policies centred on flexible working tend to be seen as less committed to their job and find their careers diverted to the slower mummy track. In particular the popular flexible working option of working from home has problematic gender implications, ultimately resulting in the invisibil-

ity and undervaluation of women's work. Neither knowledge work nor flexible working are thus the solution to the problem of gender inequality in the workplace.

Bringing together such empirical evidence becomes even more salient in the light of recent evidence on women in professional careers, where knowledge work and flexible working feature prominently. Studies such as those by Goulding and Reed (2010), McKenna (1997), and Stone (2008) report on women who had started professional careers with a passion for their job and without concerns about gender issues, but who in their late 30s/early 40s became disillusioned and demotivated as a result of the unexpected reality of gender discrimination, work intensification and the time-pressures of modern motherhood. At that career stage, these professional women had often achieved a high enough level of financial security to consider cutting back on a career that did not deliver the opportunities and satisfaction they had expected. These professionals had been extensively exposed to, and bought into, the view that women should and do have a choice over how, when and where they work. Consequently, they exercised exactly that choice – by down-shifting or opting out. In the light of middle class fantasies of escaping the corporate rat-race of lives ruled by work, commute and ever-beeping smart phones (Bolchover 2005; Bunting 2004; Warhurst et al. 2009), such individual choices may appear logical, even liberating or empowering. But the collective effect of such opting-out though is likely to be a loss of women's representation in powerful professional positions and a perpetuation and entrenchment of current gender inequalities and occupational segregation (Bradley 2007; Eikhof et al. 2013).

Undoubtedly, the solution to these threats to gender equality in the workplace would not be to discourage women from knowledge work or from flexible forms of working. Such a U-turn would quite literally mean throwing out the baby with the bathwater. Given the evidence presented in this chapter, two things are needed: a better understanding of the complexity of issues impacting

women's careers and therefore for gender equality in the workplace, and an explicit consideration of such gendered implications at individual, corporate and institutional levels.

Firstly, a society committed to gender equality needs a public debate about the complexity of gender issues at work, a debate that informs and educates as well as challenges and changes. Whether at a dinner party or an industry-academia exchange event, speaking up for gender concerns may feel like raining on the pretty parade of the beautifully flexible new world of work that offers "full opportunity and unfettered social mobility for all" (Florida 2004: 321). But without public appreciation of the complexity and contentiousness of current workplace developments from a gender perspective, the manifold mechanisms of discrimination will remain hidden and, therefore, unchanged, as Sandberg (2013) rightly emphasises. Individual women as well as their bosses (male and female), human resource managers, union representatives and policy-makers from local to international level need to be aware of the potentially adverse consequences of their actions. If individual women are more clearly aware of the potential implications of their choices, they can prevent such adverse consequences from materialising (for instance by gender-proofing their home-working arrangements) or at the very least adjust their expectations and thus mitigate against the unexpected frustration described by Stone (2008) and MccKenna (1997).

Secondly, academics, practitioners and policy-makers still need to increase their efforts to "think and do gender" across academic disciplines, research and policy areas and corporate practice. Integrating evidence from hitherto unconnected discourses allows a much-needed better appreciation of the complexity of gender issues that can then inform industry practice and policy-making. In this regard, the requirement to consider gender implications of any public policy before its implementation, for instance, is a step in the right direction (e.g. Scottish Executive 2002). Such approaches, known as equality proofing and currently predominantly applied to service delivery (ibid.), could be rolled out into human resource practice, for instance to assess performance

review procedures (Tamkin et al. 2000). Line and human resource managers could be required to implement policies in ways that make it less likely for women to be shunted onto the mummy track. Obvious starting points would be to introduce job-share schemes that allow women with part-time contracts to hold advanced positions or to establish childcare-friendly daily core hours during which important meetings may not be held. Constraints at industry level, such as the practice of recruitment via networks, are more difficult to remove (Eikhof and Warhurst 2013). However, women-focused networks and mentoring schemes may go some way to alleviating discrimination (Randle et al. 2007).

Researchers of women's work have an important role to play in both improving our understanding, within and without academia, of the facilitators and constraints of gender equality at work and in changing practice and policy. Three types of contributions are needed:

- At a conceptual level, we need more research that is conceptually broad enough to explore workplace and career practices in their societal and socio-economic context. For instance, the flexibilization of work will affect women differently depending on their socio-economic background and in particular their ability to buy in childcare and other domestic help or their access to support from their family. Intersections of gender and class, but also race require further research and discussion in this regard (e.g. Styhre and Eriksson-Zetterquist 2008). Moreover, women's career and work practices are crucially linked to their aspirations for and expectations of work. We need to better understand how these aspirations and expectations are shaped, for instance through education and public media, and how these channels can then be used to communicate images of women's careers that are informative and conducive to women's workforce participation and advancement.

- At an applied research level, we need robust and accessible evidence that can inform policy-making and organisational practice. Evaluations of existing policies and in particular research that is comparative across indus-

tries or countries promise to be fruitful areas of enquiry in this regard. For instance, trends towards more generous paternity leave in the UK and Germany (e.g. BBC 2011; Spiess and Wrohlich 2006) may over time lead to changes in the gendered use of work-life balance policies and to changes in attitude towards flexible working. However, we need to understand how such changes in workplace regulation and equality duties intersect with national employment systems, childcare provision and workplace cultures. Research that delivers such better understanding can then inform policy making and organisational practice about how to adopt and adapt promising practice from other countries or industries.

- At a knowledge exchange and engagement level, researchers of women's work need to contribute to existing discussions and instigate new ones. Their role is to make new information and understanding accessible and to add credibility to those claims and propositions that concur with academic conclusions and evidence. For instance, two powerful misconceptions in the developed economies are that women already enjoy the same work and career opportunities as men do, and that "women can have it all". The former can easily lead into complacency and inactivity with regard to addressing gender issues at work, or worse, to active dismissal of and covert resistance to initiatives that address gender inequality. The latter claim, especially because it is unclear what "it" and "all" is meant to denote, is prone to misunderstandings and, consequently, disappointments and disillusion – not seldom on a career-damaging scale. Academic contributions to public debate have the power to address such myths and to challenge and channel public perception and, eventually, action.

This chapter has provided the basis for a better appreciation of the hidden consequences of recent workplace trends for gender equality in the workplace. It has synthesised compelling evidence from hitherto unconnected research on knowledge workers and flexible working and on their impact on women's workforce participation and advancement. In so doing it offers an improved basis for academics, practitioners and policy-makers to address issues surrounding women's participation and advancement at work and to work towards a society characterised by gender equality – or even, gender irrelevance.

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Gender, Entrepreneurship, and Firm Performance: Recent Research and Considerations of Context

Susan Coleman

Introduction

Women-owned firms represent an important segment of the small business sector. According to the latest available data from the US Census Bureau, there were 7.8 million privately-held women-owned firms in the United States in 2007 (2007 Survey of Business Owners). These firms generated an estimated $1.3 trillion in sales and employed 7.6 million people. Although women-owned firms still comprise a minority of all firms (28.7 %), the number of women-owned firms increased by 44 % from 1997 to 2007, compared with a growth rate of 30 % for US firms overall.

Firm ownership has become increasingly attractive to women, because it offers them a pathway to both personal and economic empowerment. Frequently women cite barriers in the form of a "glass ceiling" which prevents them from advancing their careers (Daniel 2004; Kephart and Schumacher 2005). Other women who struggle to balance the competing demands of work and family pursue business ownership as a way to achieve great flexibility in scheduling and control over their lives (Walker and Webster 2004; Walker et al. 2008). Still others cite a desire to "do something I love". In addition to the psychic benefits provided by business ownership, a number of women start their own firms to help support their families and to achieve economic goals (Coleman and Robb 2012a).

In spite of their impressive growth in number, women-owned firms have lagged men-owned firms in a number of traditional economic performance measures. From 1997 to 2007, revenues for women-owned firms increased by 45.7 %, compared with 62.7 % for all US firms. Similarly, employment by women-owned firms grew by only 7.2 %, compared with a growth rate of 14.8 % for US firms overall. Finally, payroll grew by 46.3 % for women-owned firms, compared with 66.4 % for all US firms. These statistics, provided by the US Census Bureau, reveal that the relative performance of women-owned firms as measured by sales, employment and payroll did not keep pace with gains made by firms overall for the 1997–2007 period. Similarly, these data show that only two percent of women-owned firms generate revenues in excess of $1 million, while 89 % of women-owned firms have no employees aside from the entrepreneur herself (2007 Survey of Business Owners).

A number of studies have examined various aspects of performance for women-owned firms, including survival, firm size, growth rates, earnings and profits. In general, these studies have had mixed results regarding performance, as well as conflicting theories for performance differences between women- and men-owned firms.

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Most studies have been consistent in finding that women-owned firms are smaller than firms owned by men (Loscocco et al. 1991; Rosa et al. 1996). A growing number of researchers attribute this size discrepancy to differences in the motivations of women entrepreneurs (Cliff 1998; Orser and Hogarth-Scott 2002; Watson 2006). These studies suggest that women entrepreneurs prefer controlled rather than rapid growth. Nevertheless, Brush et al. (2001b) challenge the 'myth' that women do not want high growth firms by focusing on growth oriented firms that participated in the Springboard forums, while Menzies et al. (2004) surveyed nascent entrepreneurs in Canada and determined there were no significant differences between men and women in terms of the desired future size of the business. Similarly, Kepler and Shane (2007) used data from the Panel Study of Entrepreneurial Dynamics to find that gender did not affect firm performance when they controlled for other factors, leading them to conclude that factors such as differing expectations and motivations as well as the type of business and industry led to different performance outcomes.

Gender differences in areas of performance aside from size and growth have also shown conflicting results. Several studies have examined firm survival to find no differences between women- and men-owned firms (Kelleberg and Leicht 1991; Cooper et al. 1994; Robb and Watson 2010), while others have found that women-owned firms are more likely to close than firms owned by men (Robb 2002; Watson 2003). In terms of profits and other measures of financial success, most studies found few differences between women- and men-owned firms when they controlled for other variables (Watson and Robinson 2003; Du Rietz and Henrekson 2000; Kepler and Shane 2007). Nevertheless, several studies have noted that women entrepreneurs were less motivated by measures of financial success (Anna et al. 1999; Carter et al. 2003).

In response to repeated references to the "underperformance" of women-owned firms, a growing number of researchers contend that the performance of women-owned firms must be viewed and evaluated within the context of wom-

en's lives (Brush et al. 2009). Specifically, women continue to play a dominant role in caring for the home, children, and elderly parents. These responsibilities can lead to alternate career paths or career interruptions. Similarly, family responsibilities may affect the goals and thus, the performance outcomes for their firms. Other researchers assert that we, as a society, have developed a "gendered" view of entrepreneurship which leads us to devalue the contributions and accomplishments of women (Ahl 2006). Thus, when we think of entrepreneurial role models we typically think of men like Steve Jobs or Bill Gates who have launched large and often technology-based firms rather than women.

The intent of this chapter is to provide a review of recent research on the topic of gender and performance. In doing so, I will address the major economic performance measures of firm survival, size, growth, employment, and profitability. As noted above, however, firm performance does not occur in a vacuum, and should be considered within the context of other factors. In light of this, I will also include a review of articles focusing on gender differences in resource endowments which may affect performance as well as a review of articles that address the role of context. Finally, I will include a review of articles that address gender differences in motivations and expectations, self efficacy, and attitudes toward risk since it stands to reason that entrepreneurs with different types of motivations and attitudes may experience different performance outcomes. This discussion will align us with the themes of well-being and quality of life for working women which are the focal point for this book. I will conclude with a summary of lessons learned from prior research and recommendations for research directions going forward.

A Contextual Perspective on Women's Entrepreneurship

In order to properly understand and evaluate the performance of women-owned firms, it is important for us to gain an appreciation for the context in which women launch and operate their firms.

By doing so, we are able to see that women make choices that often dictate when, how, and what they start. Further, their choices are shaped by their priorities at different stages of their own life cycles. In recent years, women have made tremendous gains in both education and in the workplace. Currently, female students actually outnumber males in college and are more likely to graduate (Diprete and Buckmann 2013). Similarly, a growing number of women including Hewlett Packard's Meg Whitman, IBM's Virginia Rometty, PepsiCo's Indra K. Nooya, and GM's Mary Barra have made progress in reaching the most senior ranks of corporations and thus serve as role models for the women who will follow. Thus, this generation of women is better prepared and better equipped for corporate or entrepreneurial success than ever before. In spite of the gains, however, women continue to be underrepresented in the upper echelons of major corporations and Boards of Directors. Further, although women represent approximately one-half of the population, they represent only one-third of entrepreneurs (Kelley et al. 2012).

A number of theories have been posited for this discrepancy, but they essentially break into two major categories. The first set of theories suggests that women are discriminated against either overtly or covertly (Ahl 2006; Marlow 2002). Overt discrimination could result in the denial of advancement opportunities to women or the creation of workplace environments that are hostile to them. Covert, or indirect, discrimination refers to the ways in which girls and women are socialized compared to boys and men. For example, girls are supposed to be quiet, polite, and "cute", while boys are allowed to be noisy and aggressive. These attitudes which are perpetuated in the popular media, stalk women throughout their lives, often discouraging them from taking leadership roles or standing out (Babcock et al. 2003; Bruni et al. 2004; Maccoby and Jacklin 1974; Tomlinson-Keasey 1990). Such attitudes also extend into the entrepreneurial realm by devaluing the types of businesses women launch as well as their motivations and goals for launching them.

A second set of theories suggests that women make different choices than men, and these choices are often driven by the nature of women's life cycles (Brush et al. 2009). In particular, women bear children and men don't. Although the distribution of household labor in modern households tends to be much more evenly divided than in past generations, women still bear the primary responsibility for child care and care of the home. Thus, women must divide their time, attention, and energies during the very years when most young professionals are advancing their careers, typically the years between 25 and 40. Consistent with this premise, research suggests that it is not uncommon for women to launch their firms when they are older and the children are in school. Alternatively, some women entrepreneurs start home-based businesses, which tend to be very small, for the specific purpose of being home with young children (Coleman and Robb 2012a).

This contextual framework for women's entrepreneurship is useful in helping us to understand the performance of women-owned firms. As we will see, performance differences are often driven by both environmental factors that affect women in different ways than men as well as by personal motivations. A recognition of the role played by these factors will help us gain a deeper appreciation for the role and importance of women-owned firms.

Gender and Firm Survival

Prior research reveals that new and small firms have a relatively high failure rate in general, regardless of the founding entrepreneur's gender. Approximately 25 % fail within their first 2 years and 50 % fail within the first 4 years. Research regarding gender differences in survival has been somewhat inconclusive, however. Robb (2002) used U.S. Census data on 45,000 firms to find that women-owned firms were less likely to survive than firms owned by men, even controlling for a number of firm characteristics. Similarly, Lowrey (2010) used data from the U.S. Survey of Business Owners to find that women-owned

firms had lower survival rates than firms owned by men for the 2002–2006 timeframe. In a study of Australian firms, Watson (2003) also found that women-owned firms had a higher failure rate. When he controlled for industry sector, however, the gender difference in survival rate was no longer significant. Watson's findings mirror those of an earlier study conducted by Kalleberg and Leicht (1991) who also controlled for industry differences by studying failure rates for companies in the computer sales and software, food and drink, and health industries in Indiana. Their findings revealed that women-owned firms were no more likely to go out of business than men-owned firms. They did find, however, that younger firms were more prone to failure. Similarly, Cooper et al. (1994) studied over 1,000 U.S. firms to find that women-owned firms were just as likely to survive, but less likely to grow than firms owned by men. Finally, in a study of U.S. and Australian firms, Robb and Watson (2010) found that women-owned firms did not underperform firms owned by men in terms of either survival or profitability when the authors controlled for firm size, industry, and risk. Taken together, the results of these studies on firm survival suggest that lower survival rates for women-owned firms may be driven by factors such as industry selection rather than inherent differences in the capabilities of women and men entrepreneurs. This hypothesis is consistent with prior research noting that women entrepreneurs tend to gravitate toward industries such as service and retail which are more competitive and less profitable (Hudson 2006; Loscocco et al. 1991; Wang 2013). Thus, their firms are prone to higher failure rates. We will explore this theme of "industry segregation" further as we move through this chapter.

Gender, Firm Size, and Growth

In contrast to research on firm survival, findings from prior research on the topic of gender and firm growth have been fairly consistent. Scholars have found, across a broad array of studies in the U.S. and other countries, that women-owned firms are smaller and less growth oriented than firms owned by men. Rosa et al. (1996) surveyed 600 Scottish and English small business owners to find that gender as a significant determinant of firm size as measured by both sales and number of employees. Similarly, Du Rietz and Henrekson (2000) studied 4,000 Swedish firms to determine the impact of gender on measures including sales, profitability, and employment. Their findings revealed that firms owned by women were significantly smaller and over-represented in service industries. In a study of Norwegian firms, Alsos et al. (2006) found that women-owned firms were significantly smaller and less likely to grow than firms owned by men. Sabarwal and Terrell (2008) conducted a more broad-based study of firms in 26 countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Their findings revealed large gender gaps in size, but not in profitability or efficiency Another study using a matched sample of female- and male-owned British firms conducted by Shaw et al. (2009) found that the firms owned by women had significantly lower levels of sales and employment than firms owned by men. Women entrepreneurs in this study reported a significantly higher level of time devoted to childcare responsibilities, a finding which brings us back to our theme of the context in which women entrepreneurs launch their firms. In the same study, Shaw et al. also found that their male entrepreneurs invested significantly higher amounts of capital, leading the researchers to conclude that women with children may be less willing to take financial risks by investing larger amounts of household income.

Studies of U.S. firms have yielded similar results regarding firm size and growth. Loscocco et al. (1991) studied over 500 firms in New England to find that firms owned by women had lower sales and income than men. They also found that women tended to operate in some of the less growth-oriented and profitable sectors of the service industry. Cooper et al. (1994) followed over 3,000 U.S. firms for 3 years to find that the impact of gender on firm growth was both negative and significant. In a somewhat later study, Carter and Allen (1997) found that women-owned firms lagged men-owned firms in measures of both sales and income. A recent study

conducted by Fairlie and Robb (2009) using U.S. Census data revealed that women-owned firms were substantially smaller than firms owned by men and less likely to have employees. Overall, these studies reveal a consistent pattern of gender differences in the areas of firm size and growth. Often these differences are attributed to differences in industry selection, risk aversion, and motivations on the part of the entrepreneur.

Gender and Profitability

Although prior research is fairly consistent in finding that women-owned firms underperform firms owned by men in measures of size and growth, research regarding the impact of gender on firm profitability is less conclusive. In terms of profits and other measures of financial success, Anna et al. (1999) found that women in the traditional industries of service and retail had lower expectations for financial success but higher expectations for security. Conversely, women in less traditional industries had higher expectations for financial performance and rewards. Carter et al. (2003) studied nascent entrepreneurs to find that men rated the importance of financial success more highly than women, while Kepler and Shane (2007) used the Panel Study of Entrepreneurial Dynamics to find that men were more likely to start a business with the goal of making money. The results of these studies would seem to suggest that women have different motivations and expectations for their firms which in turn reflect their attitudes toward financial versus other types of rewards. This theory is borne out by a series of interviews conducted by Coleman and Robb (2012a) revealing that women who launched lifestyle types of firms were content with a relatively modest level of revenues, profits, and growth. Conversely, women who launched growth-oriented entrepreneurial firms were more highly motivated to achieve leadership positions within their industry as well as financial and economic rewards.

Since women-owned firms tend to be smaller, they also tend to generate a lower level of profits (Fairlie and Robb 2009). Nevertheless, women-owned firms appear to be just as profitable as men-owned firms when profits are measured relative to the level or assets employed. Fischer et al. (1993) surveyed over 500 U.S. firms in three different industries to find that women-owned firms had lower levels of sales, but did not differ significantly from men-owned firms in other measures of income and profitability. Du Rietz and Henrekson (2000) had similar results using data on a large sample of Swedish firms. In a study using data on almost 5,000 firms from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Watson (2002) found no significant performance differences between women- and men-owned firms when he controlled for industry and age of the business. He concluded that, although women appear to devote fewer resources to their businesses, their profitability per dollar of assets and equity is comparable to that of men. A subsequent study comparing the performance of Australian and U.S. firms (Robb and Watson 2010) had similar results.

Taken together, the findings of these various studies suggest that the primary performance differences between women- and men-owned firms occur in the areas of firm size and growth rather than in those of profitability and efficiency. Findings regarding firm survival are somewhat less conclusive, but nevertheless suggest that women-owned firms have survival rates that are comparable to firms owned by men when we control for factors such as industry sector, firm age, and firm size. If this is the case, one might conclude that performance differences between women and men are not driven by innate gender differences in competence or ability, but rather by other factors. Two such factors, also supported by prior research, are gender differences in resource attributes and gender differences in motivations and expectations. I will explore the impact of each of these factors in the next two sections.

A Resource-Based View of Gender Differences in Performance

The Resource-based View is grounded in the earlier work of Edith Penrose (Penrose 1959), an economic theorist who established the link between resources, profitable firm growth, and competitive advantage. Penrose believed that the task of the entrepreneur was to manage the firm's resources in a way that would allow her to take advantage of opportunities in the marketplace and, thus, to achieve profitable growth. Penrose also noted that the entrepreneur must continually maintain and develop the firm's resources in order to retain a competitive advantage. The Resource-based View (RBV) which emerged from Penrose's work views the firm as a collection of tangible and intangible assets (Brush et al. 2001a; Hanlon and Saunders 2007). According to the RBV, the central role of the entrepreneur is to assemble, develop, and transform needed resources (Amit and Schoemaker 1993; Wernerfelt 1984). Those firms that do so most effectively are also the firms that will enjoy superior performance (Brush et al. 2001a; Sirmon and Hitt 2003). What resources are we talking about? The typical ones cited in prior research include financial capital, human capital (education and experience), and social capital (networks and contacts). Gender differences have been noted in each of these resource categories.

In the area of financial capital, women entrepreneurs typically start their firms with smaller amounts of capital than men (Alsos et al. 2006; Coleman and Robb 2009; Verheul and Thurik 2001). This is because women are more likely to establish sole proprietorships, so they do not have partners or investors who can provide financial capital. Similarly, women tend to have lower earnings than men and occupy lower ranks within existing companies and organizations. Thus, the accumulated earnings that they could devote to a new business are smaller. In contrast, Gundry and Welsch (2001) found that growth-oriented women entrepreneurs launched with adequate amounts of capital and drew on a broader array of financing sources than low growth firms.

Prior research has also noted that women business owners experience greater difficulties in raising capital from external sources. Fabowale et al. (1995) studied over 2,000 Canadian small businesses to find that women were no more likely to be turned down for loans, but they were more likely to express dissatisfaction with their lending relationships. Using data from the Survey of Small Business Finances, Coleman (2000, 2002) found that women business owners were just as likely to receive loans but less likely to apply. Further, her results revealed that women owners were more likely to anticipate denial. Blake (2006) concluded that, although the 5 Cs of credit[1] are supposedly gender-blind, they are not gender neutral thereby imposing additional constraints on women desiring to start businesses. Carter et al. (2007) noted that although gender is seldom mentioned as a criterion for lending, differences were found in the lending process depending on whether the loan officer was male or female. Similarly, Bruns et al. (2008) conducted a study of Swedish loan officers to find that their lending decisions were not homogeneous. Rather, the loan officers placed greater value on education and experience that was similar to their own. If the majority of loan officers are male, this could have the potential to disadvantage women borrowers.

Prior research reveals that women entrepreneurs have experienced even greater barriers in their attempts to secure external equity in the form of angel investments or venture capital. These are often essential forms of capital for growth-oriented firms. As in the case of external debt, Orser et al. (2006) studied Canadian entrepreneurs to find that women were less likely to seek equity capital, even controlling for firm size and industry sector. Based on these results, Orser et al. concluded that their results did not support a finding of discrimination in the market for financial capital, but did support prior research suggesting that

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[1] The 5 Cs of credit include (1) the character or reputation of the borrower, (2) her capacity to repay the loan, (3) her available capital, (4) collateral that can be pledged to secure the loan, and (5) the conditions of the loan including the loan amount and interest rate (http://www.investopedia.com).

women have a lower risk tolerance and were thus less likely to seek venture capital funding. The Diana Project team conducted research on growth-oriented firms to find that women entrepreneurs were largely excluded from venture capital networks (Brush et al. 2001b, 2004; Greene et al. 2001). In a study on angel investing, Becker-Blease and Sohl (2007) found some evidence of homophily on the part of entrepreneurs who preferred to seek funding from investors of the same sex. The authors noted that since there are relatively few women investors, this creates a problem for women entrepreneurs seeking external equity. Consistent with this, Harrison and Mason (2007) noted the small number and lack of visibility of women angel investors.

Human capital refers to the education and experience that entrepreneurs bring into their firms. Although women are just as likely to attend college as men, they are less likely to major in disciplines such as business, engineering, or computer science, all of which can serve as starting points for new entrepreneurs (Bobbitt-Zeher 2007; Menzies et al. 2004; Zafar 2009). As noted above, women are much more likely to start firms in low growth, highly competitive industries such as personal services and retail. Similarly, women are less likely to have senior management or prior entrepreneurial experience than men, another important predictor for entrepreneurial success (Boden and Nucci 2000; Carter et al. 1997; Nelson and Levesque 2007). These human capital differences also have an impact on the entrepreneur's ability to raise financial capital, since investors tend to weigh prior experience, and particularly, prior entrepreneurial experience, heavily (Franke et al. 2008). In a study of U.S. firms, Carter et al. (2003) found that having a graduate degree significantly increases the odds of securing outside equity. Although women are actually more likely to graduate from college than men, they are still less likely to have post-graduate degrees. In a study of firms in the service and retail industries, Brush and Chaganti (1998) found that both education and prior managerial experience had an impact on firm performance as measured by cash flows and employment growth. Similarly, Coleman (2007) used data from the

Survey of Small Business Finances to find that both education and experience had a positive impact on the profitability of women-owned firms. Social capital consists of networks and contacts, and this is also an area in which women and men entrepreneurs differ. Although prior research suggests that women devote attention to networking, they do not always network strategically in order to acquire key resources needed by their firms. Davidsson and Honig (2003) studied nascent entrepreneurs in Sweden to find that membership in a business organization had a positive impact on both first sale and profitability. In a study of growth-oriented firms Brush et al. (2001b) found that women-owned firms received only 5 % of all venture capital financing; Brush et al. (2001b, 2004) also concluded that a key factor in this funding discrepancy was that VC networks tended to be relatively closed and male-dominated with few women in investing or decision-making roles. In a study of Australian firms, Watson (2011) found that men tend to use formal networks such as banks, accountants, attorneys, industry associations, and business consultants, more than women. In contrast, women rely more heavily on informal networks. Although Watson did not find that these differences in networking strategy led to significant performance differences between women and men, he did find that networking with accountants and industry associations was associated with firm growth. This finding suggests that women entrepreneurs who want to grow their firms may need to expand their networks beyond family and friends.

The Role of Motivations and Expectations

A second explanation for performance discrepancies between women and men business owners could be differences in motivations and expectations for their firms. This distinction ties in directly with issues of wellbeing and quality of life which are central to this book. Prior research consistently reveals that women entrepreneurs are more concerned with work/life balance and

flexibility of scheduling. Boden (1999) employed a sample of over 50,000 individuals in the United States to find that the majority of self-employed women cited flexibility of scheduling, childcare issues, or other family obligations as a primary reason for becoming self employed. Consistent with this, Walker et al. (2008) studied the owners of home-based businesses in Australia to find that their primary motivations were flexibility in their lifestyle and a desire to balance work and family. Anna et al. (1999) also found that women entrepreneurs who started businesses in more traditional fields had higher expectations for work/life balance and security, while both Carter et al. (2003) and Kepler and Shane (2007) found that male entrepreneurs rated the importance of financial success more highly than women.

One of the areas where prior research has noted persistent gender differences is firm size and growth. A growing number of studies attribute gender differences in these particular performance measures to differences in motivations and attitudes. Cliff (1998) conducted interviews with over 200 Canadian entrepreneurs to find that women entrepreneurs were much more concerned than men with the risks associated with rapid growth. Orser and Hogarth-Scott (2002) also studied Canadian entrepreneurs to find that men perceived growth to be significantly more important than women. In contrast, women weighed the personal demands associated with growth including loss of family time, difficulty in maintaining balance, and added stress, much more negatively. Still and Walker (2006) conducted a study of women entrepreneurs in Australia and found that the majority were not interested in growing their firms or "creating an empire". Alternatively, they were more concerned about the stresses associated with business growth and with maintaining control. Echoing these results, Morris et al. (2006) studied women entrepreneurs in New York State to conclude that slower growth was a conscious choice on their part. Consistent with this, in a study of British firms Roomi et al. (2009) found that most women owners did not aspire to growth. Rather, the majority launched small, local firms operating in the service or retail sector.

Fairlie and Robb (2009) used U.S. Census data representing 75,000 U.S. firms to find that women selected different industries than men and worked fewer hours at their enterprises. Further, women were twice as likely to respond that they owned the business to meet family responsibilities. Coleman and Robb (2012b) used data from the Kauffman Firm Survey to find that there were no significant performance differences between women- and men-owned firms after 4 years of operation aside from firm size. Nevertheless, Coleman and Robb found that women were just as likely as men to state that their firms met their own performance expectations, leading them to conclude that women entrepreneurs are motivated by different types of firm outcomes than men.

These studies on the motivational aspects of entrepreneurship suggest that women often have different preferences and goals for their firms. Although a growing number of women are launching growth-oriented firms (Brush et al. 2001b), many still choose self employment to fulfill personal goals and to achieve the flexibility required to balance work and family. If these are the primary motivators, firm size, growth, and profits, may be less compelling. The results of these studies also give credence to the theory that the performance goals that women establish for their firms are a reflection of the stages of their life cycle as well as the priorities they have at different stages of the life cycle. This may explain why women are just as likely to have surviving and profitable firms, but less likely to have large or growth-oriented firms. As noted above, the challenges of firm growth in terms of time, attention, energy, and financial resources, may conflict with other priorities and responsibilities at particular stages of a woman's life cycle.

Are Women More Risk Averse?

One explanation that has been put forth for performance differences between women and men entrepreneurs has been differences in their attitudes toward risk. Prior research suggests that women are more risk averse which may have an

effect on their willingness to launch and grow their firms. Several of these articles focus on the investment decisions and choices of women investors. In a study of defined contribution pension plans, Bajtelsmit and VanDerhei (1997) found that women were more likely to invest in fixed income alternatives and less likely to invest in stock Similarly, Hinz et al. (1997) found that a large percentage of women invested in the minimum risk portfolio available when given a range of pension alternatives. Using the 1989 Survey of Consumer Finances, Jianakoplos and Bernasek (1998) found that single women held a lower percentage of risky assets than single men or married couples. Also using the 1989 Survey of Consumer Finances, Bajtelsmit et al. (1999) found that women demonstrated greater relative risk aversion than men in their allocation of wealth into defined contribution pension plans. Similarly, using the 1992 and 1995 Surveys of Consumer Finances, Sunden and Surett (1998) found that both gender and marital status affected the ways in which individuals allocated assets in defined contribution plans with women making more conservative choices than men. Harrihan et al. (2000) found that, even controlling for differences in risk tolerance, women were more likely to invest in risk-free securities than men.

Gender differences in attitudes forward risk have also been noted in studies of entrepreneurs. In one such study using data from the 1998 Survey of Consumer Finances, Coleman (2003) found that women reported a higher level of risk aversion than men, with almost 50 % of women stating that they were not willing to take any financial risks. In contrast, however, Schooley and Worden (1996) found that gender was not a significant factor in attitudes toward risk if life cycle stage and employment were held constant. Constantinidis et al. (2006) studied women entrepreneurs in Belgium to find that their perspectives on growth varied depending upon their level of family responsibilities. Those women entrepreneurs who had families and children had higher levels of risk aversion which led to a reluctance to invest larger amounts of capital in their firms. This finding would seem to support our

contention that women's behaviors and attitudes should be viewed in context.

Other studies on attitudes toward risk have focused more specifically on women's decision-making within corporate and entrepreneurial contexts. In a study of Spanish graduate students, Canizares and Garcia (2010) found that, when surveyed on their intention to launch an entrepreneurial firm, women exhibited a greater fear of failure than men. Alternatively, male students were more likely to express a desire for new challenges as well as a willingness to take at least moderate risks. Cliff (1998) studied a sample of Canadian firms to find that women were more concerned than men with the risks associated with rapid growth. Similarly, in a study of firms in the U.S. Kepler and Shane (2007) found that women showed a preference for launching low risk/low return companies. Several researchers have linked higher levels of risk aversion on the part of women entrepreneurs to performance measures relating to firm size and growth (Orser and Hogarth-Scott 2002; Watson and Newby 2005; Watson 2006).

Related to the issue of risk aversion, a number of studies have found that women have lower levels of self efficacy than men. Within an entrepreneurial context, entrepreneurial self efficacy (ESE) has been defined as the individual's belief that she has the necessary skills and abilities to launch a firm (Chen et al. 1998; Drnovsek et al. 2010). If women entrepreneurs have less confidence in their abilities, they may be less willing to take the types of risks that accompany launching or growing a firm. In a study of teens and MBA students, Wilson et al. (2007) found that differences in ESE emerge at an early age. Results from both samples revealed that both girls and women had lower levels of ESE and were less likely to consider entrepreneurship as a career path. Another study involving MBA students (Zhao et al. 2005), did not find gender differences in ESE, but did find gender differences in entrepreneurial intentions. These researchers found that women students perceived the task environment (launching a firm) to be more difficult and less rewarding than men. In a study using GEM data from 17 countries, Koellinger et al.

(2008) found that women were significantly less likely to believe that they had the skills necessary to launch a firm. Further, women had a significantly higher fear of failure. Similarly, Kirkwood (2009) found that women had less confidence in their entrepreneurial abilities than men, and were even reluctant to call themselves entrepreneurs.

Taken together, these studies suggest that women entrepreneurs, in general, are more reluctant to take risks, have a greater fear of failure, and have less confidence in their abilities to successfully launch an entrepreneurial venture. In turn, we might anticipate that these factors would affect the types of firms women start as well as their performance goals and expectations for these firms. As a counterpoint to these studies, however, Brush et al. (2001b) launched the Diana Project which attacked many of the "myths" associated with women's entrepreneurship. In particular, these researchers took issue with the contention that women do not want high growth businesses. They backed up their position with a study of women entrepreneurs who participated in the Springboard forums. Springboard Enterprises (http://www.springboardenterprises.org) is an organization that helps growth-oriented women entrepreneurs prepare for and connect with equity investors. This study and subsequent work associated with the Diana Project helped to document the experience of women who are, in fact, eager to accept the challenges and risks associated with growth-oriented entrepreneurship.

Women and Innovation

Although innovation is not typically grouped with measures of performance, a firm's ability to innovate has important implications for survival, profitability, and growth. In light of that, it is important to review studies that have focused on innovation in women-owned firms. Traditionally, innovation has been associated with the development of new products and services in specific industries such as manufacturing, high tech, and bioscience. These industries are important, because they tend to have more truly "entrepreneurial" firms, which are characterized by high levels of growth and job creation. Women, who are less likely to have degrees in the STEM disciplines (science, technology, engineering, and math), are under-represented in these industries and often perceive these fields as hostile and unwelcoming (Zafar 2009; Treanor et al. 2010). A number of prior studies have also confirmed that women-owned firms tend to be more heavily concentrated in the service or retail industries rather than in sectors that we would categorize as "high tech". Women are also less likely to have the types of leadership positions in innovative firms that would prepare them to launch growth-oriented firms of their own (Cross and Linehan 2006; Tai and Sims 2005).

A new and growing stream of research contends, however, that our definitions of innovation tend to be "gendered" and biased toward the types of industries that are dominated by men (Blake and Hanson 2005; Eriksson and Aromaa 2012; Ranga and Etzkowitz 2010; Sjogren and Lindberg 2012). Thus, women appear to be less innovative in comparison. They further note that we often measure innovation in terms of the creation of new products often involving some type of intellectual property. These researchers suggest that we have not focused as much on innovations in the service industry where women dominate or in process rather than product innovations. Blake and Hanson (2005), in particular, stress that we need to consider the contexts in which women operate when we evaluate the extent and nature of their innovative activities. Recent research conducted by Coleman and Robb (2014) provides support for these arguments. Coleman and Robb studied female and male entrepreneurs to find that males were more likely to associate innovation with the development of a new or improved product or service, means of production, or delivery system. In contrast, women were more likely to associate innovation with the introduction of new management or marketing practices. Both genders reported, however, that innovation was important for their firms, and they devoted resources for that purpose.

Context Revisited

The results of prior research suggest that the performance of women-owned firms needs to be viewed within the context of the goals and objectives that women establish for their firms as well as where they are in their life cycle. Recent studies cited in this article reveal that women-owned firms do not underperform firms owned by men in either survival or profitability when we control for variables such as industry, firm size, and firm age. Prior research does reveal, fairly consistently, however, that women-owned firms, on average, have lower growth trajectories than men-owned firms. Part of this difference can be explained by the different resource attributes women bring to their firms or have access to. In terms of financial capital, there is strong evidence that women have lower earnings and less accumulated wealth than men. Further, they experience barriers in their attempts to secure external capital, particularly in the form of external equity. Although women have made impressive progress in the human capital attributes of education and experience, they are still less likely to have degrees in the growth-oriented STEM fields (science, technology, engineering, and math). Similarly, few women have as yet penetrated the most senior ranks of corporations. Finally, women have different social capital in the form of networks and contacts than men. People tend to network with others who are like them. Thus, women tend to network with other women, and are correspondingly closed out of male-dominated networks that could provide valuable access to financial capital, talent, information, and opportunities. Going forward, one of our challenges is to ensure that women have the opportunity to embark on their entrepreneurial careers with the same resource endowments as men. This means creating and developing opportunities for women to acquire the financial, human, and social capital needed to launch and grow their firms.

Aside from differences in resource attributes, prior research increasingly suggests that women entrepreneurs are different from men in terms of their motivations. In particular, women appear to prefer controlled and manageable rather than rapid growth. Women are also more likely than men to cite flexibility and a desire to balance work and family as goals. In light of these motivational differences, it is not surprising that women appear to "underperform" men in the areas of firm size and growth. Some researchers contend that the myth of female underperformance has emerged because we insist on measuring the performance of women-owned firms with the same yardstick we use for men (Marlow et al. 2008). They contend that, if women have different motivations, we should perhaps be using a different yardstick.

The interviews that Alicia Robb and I conducted as a part of our research in writing our book, *A Rising Tide: Financing Strategies for Women-Owned Firms* (Coleman and Robb 2012a), suggest that successful (and happy!) women entrepreneurs find a way to pursue entrepreneurship on their own terms rather than mimicking the strategies, behaviors, and attitudes of their male peers. All of our entrepreneurs had a very clear idea of what was important to them. In some instances it was pursuing firm size, growth, and economic gain, but in others it was flexibility, spending time with family, creative freedom, or the opportunity to develop a new and as yet untested idea. Their firms were grounded in these fundamental goals as well as in the personal value systems of the entrepreneurs themselves. Thus, they were not in the position of pursuing goals or living a life that they did not really believe in or want. We found them to be remarkably happy, unconflicted, and successful as they defined success. That was probably one of our most valuable takeaways from the experience of writing the book: women can and are pursuing success on their own terms.

In this sense, our findings echo those of Brush et al. (2009) who developed a "gender-aware framework" for women's entrepreneurship. According to these researchers, the basic framework of money, markets, and management do not adequately encompass the experience of women entrepreneurs. Thus, we need to expand the normal "3M" framework (money, markets, and management) to encompass the additional dimensions

of motherhood and the effects of the meso/macro environment, thereby providing a "5M" perspective. As Brush et al. point out, the home and family have a much greater impact on the expectations, goals, and decisions of women than men. These impacts will permeate their work lives as well as their personal lives. Similarly, environment in the form of societal expectations and cultural norms affect the types of businesses women start, the resources they are able to acquire, and the goals they establish for their firms. In this sense, the performance of women-owned firms must be viewed within the context of the rich tapestry of women's lives and the social/cultural environment. Success is not necessarily a race to some hypothetical financial finish line, but rather part of a journey that allows women to satisfy multiple goals and objectives at different stages of their lives.

Lessons Learned and Directions for Future Research

In this chapter we have focused on a sampling of recent research on the performance of women-owned firms. Conventional "wisdom" asserts that women-owned firms underperform firms owned by men, yet studies we have cited reveal that women and men do not differ in measures of firm survival or profitability when we control for factors such a industry, firm size, and firm age. These findings attest to the success of women in launching and sustaining viable firms. Performance differences still persist, however, in the areas of firm size and growth, revealing that the majority of women launch small, lifestyle firms, rather than growth-oriented entrepreneurial firms capable of providing a substantial number of jobs. Why does this particular performance difference exist? Recent research reviewed in this chapter suggests a number of possible factors. The first of these is that women bring and have access to different types of resources in the form of human, social, and financial capital. These resource differences, in turn, provide a "barrier to entry" for growth-oriented entrepreneurship. Other studies suggest that women have different

motivations and goals for their firms than men. The goal of balancing work and family, for example, may make rapid growth and the challenges that go with it less attractive to women entrepreneurs. Another set of studies points to higher levels of risk aversion which may discourage women from entrepreneurship in general and from growth-oriented entrepreneurship in particular. Similarly, if women have lower levels of entrepreneurial self efficacy, they may doubt their ability to manage the challenges associated with growing and managing a large firm. These varied perspectives point to some of the weaknesses of prior research as well as opportunities for further research going forward. To date, much of the research on firm performance has been based on studies using large domestic or even global data sets such as the Survey of Small Business Finances, the Panel Study of Entrepreneurial Dynamics, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, and the Kauffman Firm Survey. An advantage of these sources is that they provide data on a large number of firms, thereby allowing us to track the performance and compare different subpopulations such as women versus men. A disadvantage, however, is that the large data sets are less effective in capturing attitudinal perspectives such as personal motivations, attitudes toward growth, and confidence in one's own abilities. Thus, "big data" have allowed us to determine that women entrepreneurs underperform men in measures of firm size and growth, but it has not allowed us to fully understand why. In contrast, studies that have incorporated personal interviews or focus groups provide a more nuanced approach. These suggest that the performance of women-owned firms must be understood within the context of the individual woman entrepreneur. Thus, some women may, in fact, aspire to growth-oriented entrepreneurship (Brush et al. 2001b; Coleman and Robb 2012a), while others prefer smaller, less growth-oriented firms that allow for a greater degree of personal balance and, in some instances, a desire to balance work and family. Going forward, there are further opportunities for research that will incorporate these attitudinal perspectives for women at different stages of their life cycles.

In terms of the resources that women bring into their firms, there are also opportunities for new research. Many of the past resource "deficiencies" that have been attributed to women in the areas of human, social, and financial capital are becoming less pronounced thanks to recent initiatives in both the public and private sectors. In the area of human capital, women are even more likely to graduate from college today than men. Further, initiatives at the local, state, and national levels have been directed toward attracting a greater number of girls and young women into the STEM disciplines. This shift will provide a new generation of women with educational backgrounds conducive to launching new growth-oriented firms. Future research could focus on this cohort's involvement in and experience with growth-oriented entrepreneurship.

Women are also making gains in the workplace, albeit too slowly. Although we have a growing number of high profile women CEOs who can serve as role models, their numbers remain small, and women continue to be underrepresented on Boards of Directors. In light of this, we need case studies that document the experience of women who have attained the types of senior level management and decision-making experience that will equip them to lead their own growth-oriented firms. In particular, we need to gain a better understanding of how these hard-charging women executives and entrepreneurs achieve balance. What types of decisions do they make about their priorities at different stages of their lives, and how do they manage their time and energy?

In the area of social capital, women are also making gains in learning how to identify and tap into the types of resources and individuals that will help their firms succeed. Organizations such as Springboard Enterprises, Astia, and Golden Seeds are working with both women entrepreneurs and women investors to provide training, strategies, and contacts that are vital for raising external equity. Closing the external equity gap between women and men will go a long way toward providing the resources women need to achieve significant size and scope for their firms. Crowdfunding for equity, authorized as a part of the 2012 JOBS Act will also open a door by providing women entrepreneurs with direct access to thousands of potential external equity investors. In fact, crowdfunding may be a game changer for women entrepreneurs who have been largely excluded from the closely-knit and male dominated markets for external equity. These changes on the horizon also provide opportunities for new research on women entrepreneurs' access to financial capital and its effect on their growth aspirations and trajectories.

Taken together, these new developments suggest that the context for women entrepreneurs is also changing, and changing in ways that will create new opportunities for women to participate in the full gamut of entrepreneurial activity ranging from small, lifestyle firms to large, growth-oriented ventures in a broad range of industries. In this broader context, however, women's decisions about their personal entrepreneurial journey will continue to be shaped not only by their resource attributes, but also by their motivations, goals, attitudes, and life/family situations. The good news is that as these changes come to pass, women will have a broader array of choices and strategies than ever before to make the choices that are right for them.

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Extreme Expatriation: The Effect of Location Factors and Masculine Environments on Women's International Assignment Participation in Oil and Gas Exploration and Production

Susan Shortland

Introduction

Oil and gas exploration and production organizations are major, and increasing, users of expatriates (Brookfield 2009a). Expatriates are defined as individuals working outside the country of their nationality and being based in another country (BP 2010); corporate expatriation is instigated by an employing organization and distinguished from self-initiated expatriation (Berry and Bell 2012; Cerdin and Le Pargneux 2010; Howe-Walsh and Schyns 2010). The terms 'international assignment' and 'expatriate' are used interchangeably within the literature (for example, Tung 2004) although the term 'international assignment' encompasses a wide variety of arrangements going beyond traditional expatriation out and back from the headquarters sending location (Banai 2004). Types of assignments used typically include long-term (usually defined as over a year in length) and short-term (generally between 3 months and 1 year long). The oil and gas industry also uses 'rotational' working (Brookfield 2011a), particularly offshore and in remote locations (Inwood 2007). This type of expatriation is defined as rotation for a set period of time into another country (BP 2010).

The expatriate workforce has been and is today predominantly male (Adler 1984; Hardill 1998; Hutchings et al. 2012); women's share of expatriation across all industries ranges between 16 and 20 % (Brookfield 2010, 2011a, 2012; Permits Foundation 2012). In oil and gas, however, women's expatriate participation is just 7 % (ORC Worldwide 2007). Expatriation provides career benefits to individuals with international assignment experience considered a prerequisite to leadership (Caligiuri and Colakoglu 2007; Mendenhall et al. 2002; Orser and Leck 2010). Expatriation therefore presents significant advantages to those individuals who engage in it. Hence, it is not surprising to find women entering in increasing numbers what was historically a masculine expatriate preserve (Adler 1984; Julius 1982) and to see them increasingly taking up gender atypical employment roles (Watts 2009). Yet, women's share of oil and gas expatriate opportunities has risen only marginally from the 5 % recorded in 1990s (ORC/CBI 1992).

In the oil and gas industry, exploration and drilling involve 'extreme' expatriation: challenging geographical conditions beyond perceptions of traditional assignee environments, often with harsh climatic conditions and in remote locations. Camp and compound living is necessary in many such locations due to access and security factors, resulting in a restrictive environment whereby work and social life are inextricably intertwined. Such settings are highly masculine;

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women expatriates are not just in the minority but are highly visible. Yet, very little is known about expatriate compound life (Lauring and Selmer 2009). Studies on women's expatriation provide only a patchwork of information by geography, having, in the main, addressed more traditional Western sending and receiving locations (Shortland and Altman 2011). There has also been little research into organizational support for expatriates (Kraimer et al. 2001) and studies of expatriate policies, terms and conditions rarely address specific concerns of women assignees based in non-Western host locations (Hutchings et al. 2008). The effect of extreme location issues on women's willingness to undertake expatriation is unknown.

To address these under-researched issues, this chapter empirically examines the extent to which – and how – geographical location factors (such as climatic extremes, remote/distant environments, poor security, and health concerns) affect women's willingness to undertake expatriation. It also examines the strategies female expatriates use to manage their home, family and social lives in the context of working alone in male-dominated environments and in extreme or remote geographical locations. This exploratory research into the intersection between gender and geography in expatriation is framed by Perceived Organizational Support; being set within the context of the international human resource interventions provided currently by employers and the actions that they might take in the future with regard to their international assignment policy design and implementation practice to increase expatriate gender diversity in remote and challenging host country environments.

Context

Organizations operating in remote or potentially unsafe locations establish expatriate compounds to provide an enclosed community for their expatriate workers and their families. Such environments offer security and facilities to enable family life to continue comfortably (Lauring and Selmer 2009). Coles and Fechter (2008) suggest

that such an expatriate community acts as a 'bubble' and this brings pressure to conform to acceptable behaviors. Indeed, Lauring and Selmer's (2009) study finds that national groups and 'in-groups' emerge in compound settings, norms of acceptable behavior are established (to which newcomers conform) and work and non-work boundaries blur. Expatriate compounds are highly gendered settings: men are the expatriates and in-compound support groups cater for wives (Coles and Fechter 2008; Lauring and Selmer 2009). Where female expatriates are employed, they lead separate lives from expatriates' wives and do not (or do not wish to) involve themselves in wives' in-compound support groups (Fechter 2008). Single expatriate women, in particular, face isolation and loneliness as social activities frequently revolve around children (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002).

Besides family-oriented compounds (typically servicing established drilling and production operations), the oil and gas industry operates camps where exploratory and early stage drilling operations take place. New discoveries are frequently in remote geographical areas or politically unstable locations. Camps are likely to differ in social ethos from established expatriate compounds as they are not usually inhabited by expatriates on accompanied long-term assignments, rather they are serviced via unaccompanied, rotational working (Inwood 2007). While camps are shut off, fenced and have a company infrastructure (Fechter 2008) and, as such, bear some similarity to compound life, the assignment pattern servicing them results in a differentiation between camp and compound social and gender structures.

Rotation patterns involve regular periods on-shift interspersed with time off-shift; for example 4 weeks on/4 weeks off, working 12 h days. Different groups of workers' shifts may overlap completely, partially or not at all, depending on business need, for example working arrangements with joint venture partners. As there are relatively few women undertaking assignments in the oil and gas industry (ORC Worldwide 2007) and, in particular, rotational working, the female population in such camp environments is

low (Inwood 2007). Long hours working also limits opportunities for building social relationships (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002).

Forster (1999) reports that women assignees have fewer options in terms of geographical destinations, with their assignments typically based in established Western destinations. Even in developed countries, where assignees are undertaking long-term expatriation, city-based office locations and organizational cultures may not be conducive to these women building friendships (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002). More junior women colleagues may be uncomfortable socializing with them, while local women occupied with family concerns may view them as a threat through their foreign and single status (Napier and Taylor 2002; Taylor and Napier 2001). As Yeoh and Willis (2005: 211) report, female assignees experience "considerable strain holding together geographically separate spheres of productive and reproductive work across the transnational terrain". Women assignees on single status would therefore be expected to be 'self-oriented' (to cope with the requirement for social adaptation) as well as 'others-oriented' (to develop strong friendships locally wherever possible) to reduce assignment stress (Mendenhall and Oddou 1985).

In some societies, where new discoveries are of major importance to oil and gas, such as Russia and the Central Asian 'Stans', men's superiority in the management hierarchy is highlighted (Harry 2006; Mellow 1998). Local culture demands that female expatriates modify their behavior and appearance to a greater extent than men (Coles and Fechter 2008) and building friendships with male host country employees may result in women assignees experiencing social stigma (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002). In contrast, Verma (2008: 184) notes that living away from home (from spouses/partners) allows men "an enormous degree of freedom", placing strain on conjugal relations and trust. She suggests that men's freedom of movement can be facilitated by host country's reputations as sex tourism destinations; expatriates can become "sexpatriates". Set against this backdrop, it might be questioned why women elect to undertake assignments in such locations. Fechter (2008) reports women go to make a positive impact on their host country, with the rewards of so-doing outweighing the difficulties. Despite the challenges of being accepted as 'one of the boys' and the high levels of confidence needed to cope in a 'macho' male culture, women report high career contribution, and the potential for friendship and camaraderie in exploration environments (Shortland 2011a). The expatriate experience potentially provides solo women with an opportunity for reflexivity, self-discovery and empowerment (Thang et al. 2002).

Given the expected difficulties faced by women on assignment in remote and gendered geographies, organizational support is likely to take on increased significance in their expatriate participation decision-making and ability to complete assignments once in post. While Perceived Organizational Support concerns "the extent to which the organization values their contribution and cares about their well-being", employers' efforts to provide fair financial rewards and a meaningful and interesting job will also affect employees' "emotional bond (affective attachment)" to their organization (Eisenberger et al. 1986: 501). Kraimer et al. (2001) note that in an expatriate context, organizational support comprises aid, affect and affirmation: aid refers to information or assistance to reduce expatriate stress; affect refers to supportive relationships; and affirmation concerns the assignees' ability to cope with stress with reaffirming relationships. Social support is therefore expected to be of particular importance to expatriates and this may be provided by the organization, managers, co-workers and family members.

Organizational support for expatriation (including aid in the form of remuneration, allowances, benefits, preparation and training; and social support in post via relationships such as mentoring, coaching and networking) is articulated within international assignment policies. Certain aid elements (for example, housing and location payments) are viewed as 'knock-out factors'; without their provision, the assignment would not be undertaken (Warneke and Schneider 2011). Cost of living payments and healthcare

are also cited as crucial (Sims and Schraeder 2005). While policy governing the provision of allowances and benefits to expatriates is typically determined by Human Resource staff (typically in the headquarters) the delivery of the benefits on assignment takes place at local level in the host country by line managers. This may create tensions where policy provision and implementation are not aligned (Perkins and Daste 2007). Notwithstanding this, the provision and delivery of expatriate allowances and benefits from the headquarters, the sending country or locally in the host country provides a supporting framework for expatriation: monetary satisfaction (Fish and Wood 1996), applicable benefits packages (Konopaske and Werner 2005), and tax, pensions and social security concerns being addressed (Suutari and Tornikoski 2001) are important to assignment take-up. If the package is inadequate or recessionary pressures have trimmed it back too far, expatriate assignments may be unacceptable (Hardill and MacDonald 1998). However, financial rewards are not a major motivator for expatriation (Pate and Scullion 2010) and are insufficient to "satisfy and commit expatriates to the organisation" (Tornikoski 2011: 61). Assignment support is generally acknowledged as more helpful to expatriates in creating a meaningful and interesting job. For instance, mentoring helps to provide career enhancement for women (Linehan and Walsh 1999); coaching provides a highly personalized form of training (Mendenhall and Stahl 2000) and networking helps to reduce women's isolation as well as providing a career development intervention (Shortland 2011b).

Yet, remote geographies impact both employer-provided aid and support as well as the relationships that can reaffirm assignees' ability to cope with working away from home. In other words, although expatriates based in remote and challenging environments may receive generous compensatory allowances, the nature of their assignment location restricts the type of benefits provided. For instance, company-provided accommodation (particularly in camps and compounds) is typically de-personalized and homogenous; everything is chosen and provided by the company (Gordon 2008). Supportive relationships may also be limited by the gendered nature of the work location, the overlap of work and social space, restrictions on family members accompanying the assignee, and cultural norms and security constraints limiting freedom of movement external to compound and camp life.

Tuan (1977: 54) suggests that as humans, we need both space and place; our lives "are a dialectical movement between shelter and venture, attachment and freedom". While place represents security – and space, freedom – camp and compound life presents inhabitants with a restricted and restrictive corporate space, "marked off and defended against intruders" (ibid: 4). Freedom is therefore limited and although such corporate environments provide shelter and security, they do not provide the intimate and sentimental attachment – a centre of "felt value" (ibid: 4) – associated with the development of a sense of place. Tuan further suggests that it usually requires a period of lengthy residence to enable the creation of place.

Women who choose to expatriate to isolated destinations by themselves or who undertake city-based assignments, far from home on their own, require strategies to build social relationships, feelings of belonging and of home; to create a sense of place – a personal connection to a building, with a sense of privacy. Although places are always in formation, constructed by replication of daily practices, and hence are never truly finished (Cresswell 2004), short or intermittent assignments restrict ability to gain attachment to the surroundings, inevitably leading to a temporary and/or disrupted sense of place. Gordon (2008) suggests that personalizing corporate space (for example, with pictures and furnishings) can help to create a sense of place from depersonalized space. When individuals surround themselves with familiar objects, they attempt to make their place feel like home (Cresswell 2004). Yet, while long-term assignees typically receive allowances to transport goods and belongings around the world, assignees undertaking short-term assignments

are limited under corporate policy as to the volume of belongings they may transport (Brookfield 2009b, 2010, 2011b). Rotational assignees based in camp locations do not receive organizational payments for shipments; suitcases only would be the norm. As a result, apart from bringing small mementos with them, personalization of corporate space requires a different approach. For example, cooking and eating away from company-provided canteen facilities helps create a sense of difference and individuality (Gordon 2008).

The research study reported below examines the effects of challenging geographical locations and male-dominated environments on women's willingness to take up expatriate roles where the conditions associated with international working are extreme, being far beyond usual perceptions of an expatriate lifestyle. The extant literature does not consider in detail women's lived reality in such environments nor the extent to which organizations attempt to support women's expatriation under such circumstances. As such, this study addresses these gaps in our knowledge. It highlights the issues that women face when undertaking international assignments to remote, unsafe, climatically extreme and masculine environments and it contributes to our understanding of how gender diversity in expatriation might be widened through organizational supporting policy and practice.

Method

This study's analysis draws upon data collected from two oil and gas exploration and production case study organizations with UK-based operations whose female expatriate populations were drawn from 16 different home countries. The organizations were identified through convenience sampling (Saunders et al. 2007). The case studies were not considered to be unique or extreme cases (Yin 2009) as they were not oil and gas 'giants', rather they were representative of medium-sized oil and gas firms, employing under 12,000 employees with exploration and production operations based in 20–30 worldwide locations on all continents.

A triangulated research approach was undertaken comprising analysis of organizational policy supporting expatriation and its implementation in practice. To carry this out, relevant international assignment policies and other Human Resource policies that supported expatriation were collected from both case study firms. The information contained within these was subjected to data reduction (Miles and Huberman 1994) to generate policy summaries from which the elements of support relating to geographical location could be analysed.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews (30–90 min' duration) were conducted with 14 Human Resource personnel who held responsibility for the design and/or implementation of company policies relevant to expatriation to establish how organizational policy, as written, was implemented in practice in the organizations' various host countries of operation. In relation to location factors, the questions addressed where female assignees worked, how these host countries were classified in policy with respect to such issues as risk/health/isolation and the relationship between assignment location and women's participation. Supporting policy in respect of preparation and training, remuneration and benefits linked to extreme geographies, and social support were also addressed.

The two firms employed a total of 93 female expatriates: 27 in Company A and 66 in Company B, representing 8 % and 11 % respectively of the total expatriate populations employed. A 'census' survey of all of these women was conducted by e-mail, 19 replied from Company A (70 %) and 52 (79 %) from Company B; making a total of 71 responses (a response rate of 76 %). The survey participants were asked to provide information on the lengths and deployment patterns of the assignments that they had undertaken and their home and host countries; they were also asked to give their views on the importance of a wide range of supporting organizational policy aspects of relevance to their assignments (including recruitment and selection, preparation and training, development, reward and assignee support).

Specifically, in relation to location, the assignees were asked whether the following host country factors acted as disincentives or deterrents to their participation in respect of current and/or any previous expatriate assignments: extreme climate (weather); limited facilities; primitive healthcare; high security; cultural restrictions (such as alcohol, dress); and any other location factors. Questions in relation to preparation and training to address geographical factors concerned the training elements offered (language; cross-cultural differences; security; driving; country briefing and pre-assignment visits), whether the respondents undertook them and their importance to assignment participation. Survey participants were also asked to report on whether they received specific remuneration elements linked to location (for instance, foreign service premiums, rest and recreation leave, housing, security guards, home leave and flights for family reunification, club membership and so on). Again the participants were asked to state the importance of these policy elements to their assignment participation. Finally, in relation to assignment support, the survey asked for assignees' views on the importance of mentors, female role models and women's networks in their assignment participation decision-making.

To complete the data triangulation, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were carried out either by telephone or face-to-face in the UK with 26 of the survey respondents, each lasting between 60 and 90 min. Stratified sampling (Collis and Hussey 2009) was used to identify these assignees to include appropriate representation by current assignment type; un/accompanied status; sending and current host locations; job roles; and previous assignments undertaken. Questions addressed how employers could better support women expatriates through policy and practice. Assignees were asked to identify elements in the assignment package that were critical to taking up expatriation and those most helpful in supporting them once on assignment. The advantages and disadvantages of undertaking particular types of assignment in different geographical locations were addressed. How location and lifestyle factors were prioritized in

the assignment participation decision was explored. Support networks, (including mentors, role models and women's groups) were also examined in terms of their contribution to facilitating women's expatriation.

The Human Resource and expatriate interviews were transcribed and the data, together with the policy document summaries and the responses to open comment survey questions, were coded and analysed using CAQDAS software NVivo 8 during 2010/2011. Data were categorized within four themes using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006): the perceived benefits of undertaking 'upstream' expatriation which could be weighed up against the disadvantages of 'extreme' geographies; and women's home, family and social life considerations which could be related to and set within the context of overlapping work and social male space.

With regard to research ethics, permission was sought and explicit agreement obtained from all parties before the interviews were taped and it was agreed that policy documentation would only be summarised briefly, not fully reproduced. All parties were guaranteed anonymity. As a result, participant numbers have been used throughout to ensure that the expatriates' names, roles and job titles cannot be identified; and locations have been generalized as far as possible to a regional level. It was also agreed that interview transcripts would not be fully reproduced; hence only short illustrative excerpts have been used.

Survey Findings

The survey results revealed that the 71 women assignees worked in 17 host countries. Although 25 women (35 %) were employed in the UK and the USA, reflecting the headquarters and main regional office locations of the two case study firms, it was notable that other expatriate destinations employed very few, sometimes only one female assignee. The majority (51 women, 72 %) were undertaking long-term assignments, defined in organizational policy as a year or longer, most typically 2–3 years. However, other assignment types were also represented. These included:

short-term assignments, undertaken by 12 women (17 %), defined as between 3 months and 1 year, although usually 6 months long; and rotational assignments, undertaken by five women (7 %) working 28 days on shift, 12 h a day, 7 days a week; followed by 28 days off shift in their home country. There were also three women (4 %) on extended international transfers in North America. Under organizational policy, provision was made for accompanied status for long-term assignments and extended international transfers; however, short-term assignments were typically undertaken on single status and rotational work was, by definition, unaccompanied. Table 23.1 lists the survey respondents' host regions and their assignment lengths and patterns.

The survey population had considerable expatriate experience: 34 women (48 %) had undertaken a previous expatriate assignment before their current expatriate role; 12 (17 %) had undertaken two previous assignments; five (7 %) said they had been on three; one woman had undertaken four. Their previous experience embraced long-term, short-term, rotational, extended international transfers as well as international com-

muter assignments (being based in the home country but flying to and from the host country to service an expatriate role). With regard to marital status, 45 women (53 %) were married or partnered and 26 (37 %) were single, divorced or widowed; 33 women (45 %) were accompanied on their assignments while 38 (54 %) were unaccompanied.

Geographical Assignment Considerations

Expatriation in the oil and gas exploration and production sector frequently involves extreme geographical considerations. Assignment locations (other than the headquarters and main regional offices) are 'upstream', typically in developing or newly industrializing countries, often with security concerns and challenging climate and health conditions. The survey participants were asked to indicate whether location factors acted as a disincentive or as a deterrent to their participation in respect of their current and any previous expatriate assignments (see Table 23.2).

Security risks are inherent in many of the countries where upstream oil and gas exploration and production take place. Yet, the survey results indicated that only eight assignees reported security as an assignment disincentive. This can be explained by the emphasis placed within organizational policy and practice on the provision of security measures (security briefings, secure housing/compounds, guards, drivers and so on), helping to alleviate concerns:

> I would be more hesitant to take up an assignment in a high security location, e.g. Nigeria, but I know the company would have adequate security arrangements in place. (6, North Africa)

The following quotations were representative of the attitudes of the female assignees who were prepared to work in potentially dangerous locations; they were aware of the threats involved but detached themselves from them on a day-to-day basis. However, once threat became reality their willingness to remain in such locations ceased:

Table 23.1 Host locations and assignment types of survey respondents

Current host region	Number	Current assignment types undertaken by numbers of female assignees
Australasia	4	Long-term (3); Short-term (1)
Caribbean	6	Long-term (5); Short-term (1)
Central Asia	6	Long-term (3); Rotational (3)
East Asia	11	Long-term (9); Short-term (2)
Middle East	1	Long-term (1)
North Africa	10	Long-term (5); Short-term (3); Rotational (2)
North America	12	Long-term (7); Short-term (2); Extended transfer (3)
West Africa	3	Long-term (3)
Western Europe	18	Long-term (15); Short-term (3)
n	*71*	*Long-term (51); Short-term (12); Rotational (5); Extended transfer (3)*

Table 23.2 Location factors as disincentives or deterrents to assignment participation

	Current assignment						Previous assignments								
		Yes[a]		No		N/A			Yes[a]		Yes[b]		No		N/A	
Location factor	n	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
An extreme climate (weather) in the assignment location	71	6	8.5	42	59.2	23	32.4	34	4	11.8	4	11.8	15	44.1	11	32.4
Limited facilities in the assignment location	71	6	8.5	33	46.5	32	45.1	34	7	20.6	2	5.9	13	38.2	12	35.3
Primitive health care in the assignment location	71	8	11.3	31	43.7	32	45.1	34	8	23.5	1	2.9	13	38.2	12	35.3
A high security assignment location	70	8	11.4	26	37.1	36	51.4	33	7	21.2	1	3.0	11	33.3	14	42.4
The cultural restrictions affecting expatriates in the assignment location (e.g. dress, alcohol)	71	3	4.2	39	54.9	29	40.8	33	5	15.2	2	6.1	13	39.4	13	39.4

[a]It was a disincentive; but assignment was accepted
[b]It was a deterrent; assignment was turned down

… you hear stories about safety and people … go 'oh my God, (it) is this horrible place', but it just might have been that they were unlucky … the week that they were there. Also … it has had bombings … and I think that people are still a little leery about traveling here… (63, East Asia)
I'm probably at just as much terrorist risk in London as here but in the time I've been here there have been four bombings at places where I go and could easily have been at the time. One of the reasons I left (Caribbean) was that I was starting to feel unsafe – I had my apartment broken into whilst I was there alone at night and there was a shooting at the local supermarket and colleagues had been subjected to armed robbery. (22, North Africa)

Yet, only one survey respondent reported turning down a previous assignment on security grounds. She had young children and was unwilling to risk taking them to Brazil.

Eight women reported primitive healthcare in their host locations acted as a disincentive to going on assignment. While their organizations had set up clinics (or ensured that their employees had access to them), emergency treatment in hospitals was often simply not accessible particularly from field locations:

Road safety is appalling … Having the 4x4 and the driver mitigates that to some degree but I still feel like I am at risk every time I get in the car … if you were in a car accident I think you'd have pretty much no chance of survival because you'd never get to hospital let alone receive any decent care once there. (22, North Africa)

Language barriers also acted as disincentives to assignment participation in respect of medical care:

… language is very much a barrier when visiting a clinic … as I always like to know what is going on … and my Russian is not that good. (14, Central Asia)

Yet, healthcare was only rarely cited as a deterrent to expatriation; only one woman turned down an assignment for this reason.

Six women noted extreme weather as a disincentive to taking up their current assignment. Four, however, refused previous assignments due to excessively hot or cold climates. Those working in extreme climates noted the limitations this had on their preferred lifestyle:

> … here the heat is such that you wouldn't go running unless you go very early in the morning or very late in the evening. (56, East Asia)
> I don't mind the summer so much, but in the winter … it is so cold, you just can't go out. (50, Central Asia)

The women reported on the generous financial assistance given by their organizations to encourage assignment participation in extreme climates:

> … had an extreme climate in winter but the uplift on the salary made up for that. It made up for a lot of things! (29, Central Asia)

Cultural restrictions were cited as disincentives by just three women in respect of their current assignments and two said that they had refused assignments for this reason. In the main though, female assignees believed that living and working within a different culture was part of the attraction of expatriation:

> Abiding by the dress code is part of the deal and helps the individual fit in with society. Respecting cultural and religious differences … is again part of the package and not a hardship. (38, North Africa)

Remote environments did affect women's assignment participation decision-making particularly if they had concerns about elderly parents in their home country or the assignment necessitated single status away from family members and the distance between the home and host locations precluded regular visits back:

> Every location where we drill … are remote, and we even consider them sometimes as hardship. I mean, I don't think we have any like in the middle of Paris or in London! … If you go on an international assignment, you go to Africa or you go to Alaska. (65, North America)

However, undertaking assignments in such distant destinations and willingness to carry out company duties in difficult and challenging locations was considered to be career enhancing and thus worthwhile:

> … because sometimes it is hard to find people who want to take on these assignments in remote areas, it is often a positive thing for your career progression … that you are willing to do that. (25, East Asia)

The opportunity to make a difference to local people was also stressed:

> … it is the kind of environment … where it is so easy to make a difference … We have villages with no running water … (26, Central Asia)

The women reported on financial assistance given by their organizations to encourage assignment participation in remote locations. They also reported on practical help providing further support to go:

> … distance from home was the main disadvantage but then I have got an agreement where I can take additional unpaid leave to spend with my parents. (20, Australasia)

Facilities such as entertainment and cultural and social events in remote and isolated upstream oil and gas drilling sites are limited and local cities (if accessible) may provide little attraction. Yet, only seven of the survey respondents reported that limited facilities in the assignment location acted as a disincentive to their expatriation and just two had turned down a previous assignment for this reason.

Going Solo: Women Expatriates' Lived Reality in Gendered Work Settings

> I lived on a construction camp before … and there were 300 men and two women, and you just can't go anywhere without being stared at … I carried my bag over my crotch, so I didn't get grabbed. It was pretty grim, and in the evening, you don't want to go in the bar in the camps because you just get hit on. (33, ex-Central Asia)

This quotation provides an example (albeit an extreme and negative one) of what life in a virtually all-male environment might be like. Once on assignment, one of the key issues faced by women assignees is how to build a home and

social life. This can be especially difficult in remote and isolated locations particularly where women have undertaken assignments on single status and there are few other women on site. The in-depth interviews with female assignees explored the problems that women undertaking unaccompanied assignments faced and how those who were single or who had left their husbands/partners/families behind while they were on assignment developed strategies to manage living alone, and to create a social life in male-dominated camps/rigs, secure compounds and in countries too far from home to enable regular and frequent face-to-face reunification with loved ones and friendship groups.

Of the 26 assignees who were interviewed, 20 were married or partnered, and six were single, divorced or widowed. Twelve of them undertook single status assignments, carrying out a range of jobs including: engineering; exploration (geology and geophysics); information technology; commercial; and Human Resource roles. Of those who were married/ partnered and undertook single status assignments, two were alone on long-term assignments; three were on rotation and one was on a short-term assignment (see Table 23.3). All left their partners in the home country as they were unable to relocate due to employment and career reasons. This section reports on the issues faced by the 12 female assignees of different marital statuses who went solo.

Table 23.3 Women assignees interviewed who were undertaking single status assignments

Married or partnered	Single, divorced or widowed
# 10, long-term, Australasia	# 56, long-term, Central Asia
# 50, long-term, Central Asia	# 65, long-term, North America
# 26, rotational, Central Asia	# 45, long-term, West Africa
# 52, rotational, Central Asia	# 62, long-term, Western Europe
# 59, rotational, North Africa	# 69, long-term, Western Europe
# 3, short-term, North America	# 25, short-term, East Asia

Managing Distant Relationships

Three of the women interviewed were undertaking assignments in North Africa and Central Asia on a rotational basis:

> … we knew that it had a beginning, a middle and an end and that was something that I could personally cope with pretty well. (52, Central Asia)

However, managing relationships required effort and periods of separation could be difficult:

> We find that it is difficult … but it is workable … He knows that when I am on shift and we can't … discuss anything of any major importance really … but when I am off shift … we can effectively, but it is not easy. (26, Central Asia)

Nonetheless current assignees, and those with previous experience of rotation in isolated and insecure locations who had left partners/family behind, reported that this assignment type was preferable to longer periods of unaccompanied mobility:

> … your life was quite disjointed but … that would … be easier to manage than a full assignment over there (North Africa). (69, Western Europe)

One woman left her partner at home while undertaking a 6-month short-term assignment. Although she considered this beneficial for her career, separation caused relationship problems:

> I found it more difficult than I thought I would in terms of returning back home, because you both change and you get used to your own ways and it takes a while to settle back into that. (3, North America)

Two married/partnered women went on long-term assignments by themselves. Their locations were far from their home countries. They reported being very lonely on assignment and on difficulties rebuilding relationships on return:

> … when you leave the office in the evening, and you come back into the office in the morning, there is damn good chance that you didn't talk to another human being … (10, Australasia)
> Every time I come back, and I've been away for eight weeks … the first two days are complete storming. It's a nightmare! And then it's okay but then I am dreading going back. (50, Central Asia)

The female assignees on single status postings placed high levels of importance on: organizational policy providing flights home (on a quarterly basis); travel days (time off extending periods of leave to compensate for time spent in transit); rest and recreation leave (time spent at home to compensate for working in challenging environments); and company provision of telephone calls/Skype facilities to maintain family relationships.

Location Challenges to Building a Social Life

Those who undertook single status assignments were based in a variety of locations: cities, onshore camps and offshore rigs. Each location presented a distinct set of challenges. For example, some cities offered very limited cultural and social activities:

> The city … is really boring. I mean, they have got beautiful old cities, but we are not there … you've got nothing to do. (50, Central Asia)
> Socially as a single woman … this is probably not the best place to be … There are not many places to go and … the bars and pubs are very smoky … I do go out a lot, but… I wouldn't say it was my perfect social life. (56, Central Asia)

World cities offered a wide range of cultural pursuits and, as such, were usually considered as attractive host destinations presenting the possibility of an active and enjoyable lifestyle. Yet, while cultural activities were taken up, these did not compensate for the loneliness experienced:

> I don't call what I have here a life because I'm by myself. So … I go home and I am alone, and I am alone at the weekends, so I travel. So I go to museums, and I see as much as I can … but … I don't have any friends here. (69, Western Europe)

Building a social life in a city-based location was considered to be more difficult than in more remote expatriate destinations for solo female assignees. City-based office staff already had their own social groupings and the female expatriates found these difficult to penetrate, especially where social activities were male-dominated:

> I feel more lonely here … than I felt … in the middle of the desert, because we … were … totally isolated and there was nothing else to do and we organized all kinds of stuff among the expats, and there was a lot more social interaction … This office is in a major city … there is no emphasis on having a social life centered around the office … it's okay for a bunch of guys to go to the pub and have a couple of pints before going home. But that is not where I am going to make friends … (69, Western Europe)

In contrast, rotational workers were all on single status potentially making it easier to build relationships:

> … we're all very close … It is such a small place, it is like a very, very small village … Really one of the big influences … is the friendship you get. It is like a family … and that is something that I would never get anywhere else. (59, North Africa)

Building friendships with local people working in the camps was also described as rewarding although this did require language competencies:

> I speak French fluently, so I had absolutely no problem working with the (North Africans) and I made very good friends. I was very inquisitive about their way of life, and I learnt so much about their culture… (69, Western Europe, previously based in North Africa)

Nonetheless, living in camps and insecure locations could present considerable challenges to women on single status assignments, restricting their ability to build social lives outside of their work environment:

> … there are … considerations about being a female … I would never go outside the camp by myself … ever, whereas if I was a man that would be quite acceptable. (26, Central Asia)
> … they provide you with a level of security and accommodation and logistics to ensure that your stay in is comfortable, and sometimes … it is restrictive. (45, West Africa)

The male-dominated nature of the oil and gas exploration and production industry, particularly in upstream drilling locations, means that there are very few women with whom to socialize. For some of the expatriates interviewed this did not present a problem as they reported preferring male company. However, for the majority, the

lack of female companionship and male social behaviors proved difficult:

> … it was probably one of my most difficult experiences … it was predominantly guys who were working on sites and locations. It was a rough area (East Asia) … you just don't get accepted because you are not the norm. (62, Western Europe)
>
> There are a lot … who lead completely parallel lives. They have a life there and they have a life at home. They have relationships there and they have marriages and relationships at home, unfortunately. And I think … there are a certain population who are probably attracted to that lifestyle. (26, Central Asia)

This sometimes resulted in the female assignees distancing themselves from what was going around them by 'retreating' into their own solo space:

> The expats … are all males, and so a lot of socializing is around men go into bars, and all that, and it doesn't bother me. I just ignore them. But … it isn't particularly female friendly. (50, Central Asia)
>
> … socially, I kept myself to myself. I recharge my batteries by retreating … (52, Central Asia)

Working on offshore rigs was reported as being particularly challenging; there was no escape from the male-dominated work and social environment:

> … when I went to the jobsite … I hardly see women. (65, North America)

Strategies to Cope with Living Alone

Working longer hours and at weekends was reported by all the single status female expatriates. Women undertaking both long-term and short-term assignments said that they had more time to devote to work because they did not have family responsibilities or many social engagements:

> … you have more time on your hands … so you can come to work on a Saturday … So you tend to work. (45, West Africa)
>
> If I was out here with a family I wouldn't work the same hours that I work out here at the moment … there isn't that much for me to do as a social life … and I will work hard… (25, East Asia)

Those on short-term assignments noted that the assignment length was too short to make developing friendships possible or worthwhile:

> … because it's such a short time, and I think they also feel the same way that you'll be gone in however many months. So there's not much point really in … striking up too much of a friendship. (3, North America)

Those undertaking unaccompanied long-term assignments identified rotational working as a means of reducing their social isolation through filling their time with work-related activities:

> … you don't ever have a day off, so you haven't got time to be melancholy … whereas … sitting here in the evenings … and I have many weekends, but I don't speak to anyone else, unless I'm on the phone. (50, Central Asia)

Women on rotation or who had experienced this assignment pattern agreed. However, long hours working was not felt to be a good strategy to cope with a poor social life, regardless of assignment type:

> I prioritize work willingly even if not necessarily pleasurably. (10, Australasia)
>
> …you have to pace yourself. You don't want to fall apart after one week because you are working 15 hour days. (69, Western Europe)

A more fulfilling strategy (more commonly used by single status female assignees than those who were accompanied on their postings) concerned undertaking further study. Five women were undertaking Masters Degrees on-line or by correspondence with periods of face-to-face tutoring while at home; one woman was also taking a language course. This meant that much of their free time was spent studying:

> I usually work in the evening after work, so at the moment it is quite a head down one … but in terms of socially I wouldn't really say that I have had my life balanced out here. (25, East Asia)

The assignees enjoyed their studies reporting that their courses were extremely valuable to their future careers and being on assignment, with little social activity beyond work, enabled them to devote time easily to their further education. Organizational support for further education

was good – the organizations met the cost of course fees for Masters Degrees and other training (language, cultural courses and so on) – and this was considered supportive and was very much welcomed by assignees.

Female expatriates also spoke about the enjoyment they gained from looking after new women arrivals who were readily taken under the wing of established assignees:

> Often … when women are coming … I have got my friends in HR, calling me and saying can you look after her please? … A few of us do try to make it easy for new women moving down. (59, North Africa)
>
> …we know who is coming … other women assignees and get to know them … (65, North America)

This provided a source of social introductions and the potential to build friendships for established assignees as well as valuable support for the newcomers, resulting in reciprocal benefits to both groups:

> I learnt a lot from … her being able to provide me with guidance and … if there were company functions … she would … invite you … so that you don't feel left out. (45, West Africa)

Two female assignees mentored and coached local female staff and/or other expatriates. This was considered to be a self-development tool, a means of helping others and a way of developing networks and friendships. The assignees requested further organizational support to assist with networking and also in pairing new expatriate arrivals with locals to help understand cultural implications.

Social activities were very limited in camp locations and typically there were few women on site to share in them:

> There's (name) and I … Now we only have two weeks together on every shift … and obviously I never see my (colleague as we work) back-to-back. She is a woman, but we are never there at the same time. (26, Central Asia)

Yet, single status expatriation, regardless of location, was frequently misconstrued:

> … there is, unfortunately, an attitude that single status assignees have a whale of a time … partying it up … and no acknowledgement … it is not. (10, Australasia)

The assignees stressed the importance of management understanding the need for lone female expatriates to balance their work and their social engagements:

> Don't … ask them to skip the social engagement … to meet a conference call, because that social engagement is disproportionately important to their state of mind. (10, Australasia)

Not surprisingly, very few assignees spoke of the social activities that they engaged in. When they did, they reported enjoying cooking for themselves rather than eating company-provided meals in the canteen's male space. While they reported that their male colleagues visited local villages for a change of fare, cooking and eating on-site with other women provided a sense of occasion for the female assignees who were unable to leave camp:

> We will do special things … we might hire one of the bungalows, as … the bungalows have kitchens … cook a meal for ourselves. And we have a Nintendo Wii and we will get together and play. We might play cards one night. (26, Central Asia)

Accommodation in camp locations was Spartan:

> … you don't take your stuff … you just live in a room, like Butlins. (50, Central Asia)

As a result of this, the women placed particular emphasis on the importance of the facilities provided by their employers (gyms, self-catering kitchens, etc.). Yet, women on assignments in city locations also valued the facilities in their accommodation and other support that they were given to help create a sense of home. For example, they preferred to cook for themselves, rather than eating out (alone):

> … they started giving us a small allowance … It is cheap to eat out, but much more expensive to cook for yourself, which I wanted to do. (3, North America)

Human Resource staff recognized the importance of such support for female assignees and did their best to negotiate with local line management to help address women's requirements to create a sense of home, even differentiating between women's and men's needs in this respect:

… (for) the single female unaccompanied expats … the home is more important. We had an … engineer … and … her therapy was cooking, and they gave her initially a little apartment with an appallingly tiny kitchen … I intervened … I think (for) women your personal space is more important. For a bloke, it's just about having a hot shower and a comfortable bed, and they're not really that bothered. (HR – International Assignments)

Given the lack of (or very few) women expatriates with whom to socialize in the remote and isolated camp environments, women assignees commented on the need to be accepted by their male colleagues if they were to build effective work and social relationships and to combat extreme loneliness. They reported that this required them to demonstrate that "you are not too sensitive" if they were to be accepted as "one of the lads". They concluded that expatriation to remote geographies with male-dominated social space may appeal to only a limited number of women:

… often it takes a special kind of character to be able to work like this … you can't be too feminine … if you like your bit of luxury, you don't get it there! (59, North Africa)

Discussion

This exploratory research provides fresh insight into the lived experiences of women expatriating to remote and challenging host country locations. It adds to the literature in finding that although geographical location factors influence women's decisions to undertake expatriation these do not, in the main, preclude women's assignment participation. The effect of the weather (too hot or too cold) was the main factor that appeared to influence their acceptance decision in so far as the female expatriates could pursue preferred leisure pursuits. It is notable that while the home normally "feels more intimate in winter than in summer", as "winter reminds us of our vulnerability and defines the home as shelter" (Tuan 1977: 137), the solo female expatriates in this study working in intensely cold winters in locations such as Central Asia lived alone in Spartan

accommodation in the cities or rotated into camps. As such they had little sense of a place that felt like home – a place where they could be themselves (Cresswell 2004).

Women undertake expatriate assignments in remote oil and gas exploration and production geographies for career growth and, for those working in functions such as corporate social responsibility and sustainability, to make a difference by helping to improve environmental conditions for local people. They work a variety of assignment lengths and patterns, yet regardless of the type of assignment undertaken (rotational, short-term or long-term), single status assignments are lonely and potentially damaging to existing personal relationships (although rotational working does provide extended periods at home enabling extended periods of home life with family). A further part of the price of expatriate existence is that mobility results in individuals suffering loss or disruption of the 'feel' of a place and its special character (Tuan 1977). Despite this some women thrive on the challenge and sense of adventure that results from going solo and the self-discovery that flows from this.

Aligned with the limited literature on expatriate compound life, this research finds that unaccompanied female assignees working in such environments experience blurring of work and non-work boundaries and requirements to conform with local behavioral norms (Coles and Fechter 2008; Lauring and Selmer 2009). While their male counterparts experience a social life that revolves around the workplace with male colleagues and also have the freedom to leave camp and compound environments to seek social links and support external to the worksite (Verma 2008), women's mobility is restricted to a greater extent by cultural and security considerations. This results in loneliness and social isolation due to lack of female friendship in these highly gendered settings. Even in city destinations (regardless of whether these are in developed countries or not) women undertaking unaccompanied mobility experience loneliness, finding it difficult to make friends, again aligning with the literature (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002). While lone female assignees in this research report all expatriate

destinations (cities, camps and rigs) challenging as relationship building is hindered by overlapping male work and social space, this research suggests that extreme expatriation in remote and isolated locations may appeal only to certain characters such as those who are particularly outgoing. Added to this, in male-dominated environments gender comes to the fore and "women must find ways of navigating this tricky terrain" (Wright 2011: 247). Women cannot be 'too feminine'; rather they have to operate as 'one of the lads' or as "a good bloke" (Watts 2007: 261) to be accepted and to be able to deal with masculine banter and social activities. It is notable that women who enjoy male company in preference to that of other women are more willing to take advantage of building social relationships within camp environments, particularly amongst expatriate employees.

In remote and insecure environments, access to a social life beyond the male-dominated workplace is difficult, sometimes impossible. This research finds that single status female assignees living alone in a male-dominated environment use four main coping strategies. As suggested by the literature, cooped up in camp, or with few city-based friends, they elect to work long hours (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002). They also work at the weekends to fill their time, and to relieve boredom and loneliness. Moreover, some lone female assignees undertake educational courses to improve their career potential, develop themselves personally and fill their spare time productively. These activities also provide positive learning and relationship outcomes (Linehan and Walsh 1999; Mendenhall and Stahl 2000). A further strategy involves catering for friends, rather than eating in the male-dominated canteen (Gordon 2008). This research suggests yet another strategy adopted by solo female expatriates: providing guidance and support to female newcomers and mentoring and coaching locals. These activities help to build social relationships and companionship, generating a sense of belonging within friendship groups.

Women's ability to create a sense of place and of home is possible through bringing personal possessions and where accommodation provides facilities (such as self-catering and dining) enabling women to entertain friends (Gordon 2008). However, such accommodation is highly restricted in camp locations; private space (a furnished room) is homogenous with limited opportunity to personalize it and company space (canteens, bars and gyms) is male-dominated. While organizational policy does provide support in the form of aid, affect and affirmation (Kraimer et al. 2001), tensions are in evidence between policy design, implementation and assignees' needs (Perkins and Daste 2007), particularly in respect of the provision of local facilities (such as accommodation, security, health and recreation) and practical support for work and non-work related relationship building. Nonetheless, women expatriates acknowledge organizational support and very much welcome what is provided.

Implications for Practice

Support systems are highlighted as being of significance to women's assignment participation. In particular, the provision of health and medical care in remote locations is of concern to assignees in their decision to take up an assignment. Employer-provided clinics and access to emergency treatment are thus important support interventions. Security briefings, secure housing/compounds, guards and drivers are necessary to provide a secure environment. Yet, provision of this support may be insufficient by itself: language and cultural training are needed to enable assignees to understand what is happening around them, so that they can manage stressful health and security issues effectively. Assignees who undertake unaccompanied expatriation place value on being reunited with family and friends. Organizational policy providing flights, time off for travel, rest and recreation and other interventions such as company-subsidized telecommunications are viewed by female assignees as critical to their assignment participation. Consideration might thus be given within policy design to include more frequent fly-outs. Single status assignees might also be allowed to extend home

leave or business trips to their home country to enable additional periods of family reunification.

While on assignment, employer support for education and further study lead to employee development. This provides an enjoyable and productive activity for expatriates; it is thus mutually beneficial for employers and assignees. Hence, education assistance is valuable as a support intervention. Employer action to assist assignees to engage in mentoring, coaching and networking arrangements also provides a mutually beneficial support mechanism; organizations, assignees and other employees all gain from such development. Female assignees entering male-dominated environments benefit from being linked to women already established in the host location, while the latter benefit from developing new friendships. Further, assistance with networking (with other expatriates and locals) helps to build familiarity and cultural understanding. Moreover, while such employer policy is gender-neutral, the provision of activities and facilities that recognize individuals' desire to retreat or escape from overlapping work and social space in restrictive camp and compound environments is particularly helpful to female expatriates in building a sense of home and non-work related social relationships. Thus, provision of sport, recreation and self-catering facilities should be included in policy. Given one problem that female expatriates can encounter is sexual harassment, company policies should also address this. Finally, selection policy should also ensure the best person for the expatriate role, and care should be taken to determine one's suitability for working in remote geographies. Assignees must be able socially to cope alone, be 'self-contained' and independent, and yet be able to develop friendships rapidly.

Directions for Future Research

This study provided a snapshot of women's non-work and social lives in remote geographies. Future research could address women's work experiences in these highly gendered settings.

Women stated that they undertook extreme expatriation to further their careers and to make a difference to the lives of local people; longitudinal research might help to establish whether women's expatriation does indeed help them to achieve these objectives. Further, this research was set within two medium-sized oil and gas exploration and production firms. Further research is needed within other industries, among organizations of different sizes, and across a wider range of potentially challenging locations to understand further female expatriates' experiences and how they are supported by their employers. Moreover, male expatriates' views on location issues could also be researched to establish differences between men's and women's experiences of extreme expatriation. Finally, further comparative research is also needed to examine how women build a sense of home and belonging in city destinations (in developed, newly industrializing and less developed countries) when undertaking expatriation on single status.

With respect to organizational support, further research is also required into that which provides the greatest benefit to women when they undertake expatriate assignments. In particular, research might examine the effects of international assignment policy and practice interventions in providing support to single status assignees, in particular to women expatriating solo. In this way, future research can help to establish whether and how organizational support through policy and practice can widen expatriate gender diversity.

Conclusions

Women comprise a relatively small proportion of the expatriate workforce. The literature has lamented this for decades and yet women's representation in the elite ranks of career-enhancing expatriate positions has changed little. The oil and gas industry is a major user of expatriates in its exploration and production functions – yet here women are even more sparsely represented in internationally mobile roles than across the

wider industry. If greater female expatriate participation could be achieved in the high expatriate usage sectors, such as oil and gas exploration and production, it would be expected that women's overall share of expatriation could potentially increase and with it their access widened to more senior positions, which frequently require such international experience. Yet, the locations in which industries such as oil and gas exploration and production operate are typically remote, male-dominated and even insecure. As such, they do not appear attractive to women assignees, particularly as the expatriate roles in such locations are frequently carried out on single status. Despite this, this study demonstrates that extreme geographical factors do not necessarily preclude women from accepting career-enhancing international assignments. It adds further to our knowledge of expatriation by revealing the lived reality of women who pursue careers in highly gendered work settings: their lives on single status assignments are, in the main, far from enjoyable; they frequently report loneliness and isolation and working long hours as a means of coping with this.

There is no doubt that women's attempts to create a sense of place, home and belonging in such gendered geographies is taxing and, as a result, their assignment participation is hindered, even with organizational support provided. Nonetheless, this does not mean that the potential for remote and isolated geographical expatriate host locations to attract women expatriates should remain unchallenged. Women who report enjoying male company say they can build fulfilling social lives in male-dominated camp environments. Those who prefer to build friendships with other women do so by supporting, guiding, mentoring and coaching new female arrivals and locals. Perceived Organizational Support is important for women's participation. Specific organizational policy and practice is required to identify and support female assignees and to assist them to develop their social relationships through provision of appropriate space and facilities. When the camaraderie of extreme expatriation is viewed as attractive to women and remote locations are not considered just to be a male pre-

serve, the potential for women to secure a greater share of expatriation becomes a real possibility.

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Part V

Public Policy, Organizational Policy and Societal Influences on the Well-Being of Working Women

Work-Life Policies, Programs, and Practices: Helping Women, Men, and Workplaces

24

Laura Sabattini and Faye J. Crosby

Introduction

Life is full of tensions and conflicts, which at times provide opportunities for change. One tension has been the focus of feminist inquiry and has been receiving increased attention among practitioners and in the media. It is the conflict between workplace demands, on the one hand, and, on the other, family and personal commitments. Ever since the industrial revolution ended the agrarian way of life, the site of productive work has, by and large, been separated from the site of family work. The types of work-life challenges workers experience have changed through the years and the 'typical' workplace has also evolved, with boundaries between work and non-work becoming increasingly blurred.

During the 1960s and 1970s, women joined the U.S. paid labor force in unprecedented numbers. The largest shift happened between 1970 and 1980, when women's participation increased by 4.6 %, from 38 to 42.6 % (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). Since then, the rate of increase has slowed down but continued to grow; in the 2010s, U.S. women's participation averaged around 47 % for the U.S. workforce, an increase of approximately one percent since the early 1990s (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013a, c; U.S. Census Bureau 2012). A similar trend emerged in Europe, where women's participation in the paid workforce has tripled since the 1970s (Statistics Netherlands 2011), today ranging between 40 and 48 %, with significant country-level variations (Catalyst 2013a; Statistics Netherlands 2011).

One reason why work-life concerns are especially relevant to women's workplace opportunities is that domestic work remains gendered. Looking across a number of regions including Australia and a few European countries, Craig and Mullan (2011) found that women were still in charge of a majority of childcare tasks, and regardless of household type (e.g., number of children, partners' employment status) or gender ideology, with some cross-national variation. The same pattern holds in the United States. Although men's participation in childcare and domestic activities has increased in the past 20 years (Coltrane et al. 2013), women in heterosexual couples remain largely responsible for housework and childcare (Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013b; Craig and Mullan 2011). A 2012 U.S. Labor Department 'American Time Use' survey found that men spend less than half of the time on routine household tasks as women; on an average day 48 % of women

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engaged in household activities such as cleaning and laundry compared to 20 % of men, and 65 % of women did food preparation compared to 39 % of men. Among heterosexual married couples with children and employed full-time, married mothers were more likely to provide childcare on an average day than fathers (71 % vs. 54 % respectively) and for longer (1.2 h vs. 49 min on an average day). Full-time employed married mothers were also twice as likely as fathers to engage in travel related to childcare (40 % vs. 23 %) (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013b).

Narratives about work-life arrangements often conceal gendered expectations about women's and men's roles, as well as old norms about what constitutes the 'ideal' worker (Coltrane et al. 2013; Williams 2000). Consider the disproportionate amount of media attention that has been given in recent years to stories about married women's decision to voluntarily leave highly-paid professional careers and stay at home to take care of their children (Stone et al. 2010). A controversial 2003 *New York Times* piece on 'opting out' implied that women's workplace barriers are self-imposed by their shifting priorities towards family and parenthood (Belkin 2003). Many have challenged this narrative and used the debate to call the attention to how 'all-or-nothing' workplaces can force people into untenable positions and constrain their options (Stone 2007; Williams 2007). Stone (2007) conducted in-depth interviews with 54 highly successful women professionals who had left the workforce. She found that the women quit after many unsuccessful attempts to find some level of flexibility to reconcile their work and family demands. Similarly, in a content analysis of 119 news stories and media interviews printed between 1980 and 2006, Williams (2007) discovered that women did not 'opt out' but were instead pushed out of paid work by lack of options, rigid schedules, ineffective family policies, and gender bias (Williams 2007). Another analysis of print media discussing women leaving the workforce between 1988 and 2003 identifies similar narratives (Kuperberg and Stone 2008).

Men can also suffer the negative consequences of all-or-nothing workplaces, especially as they become more involved parents (Coltrane et al. 2013; Vandello et al. 2013). In an analysis of data from a large longitudinal survey collected between 1984 and 2006, Coltrane and colleagues (2013) found that men who challenged gender norms by requesting flexible work options or by reducing their work hours after becoming parents had lower long-term earnings compared to other men or fathers.

This chapter looks at policies, programs, and practices that help workers manage work-life responsibilities and create more gender-inclusive work environments. Broadly speaking, the concept of 'work-life' refers to individuals' abilities to manage the demands of multiple roles, including norms, programs, and policies that influence individuals' experience (Crosby and Sabattini 2005). We take a feminist and gender-lens perspective. We assume that norms and policies that appear on their face to be neutral may impact men and women differently, and that gender equality in managing work and life responsibilities can benefit both women and men.

Our chapter falls into three uneven parts. First, we look at public policies including national and state laws that address work-family and work-life concerns. We note that the United States has only meager protections for parents in both the public and private sectors, especially in comparison with other countries. Part two shifts attention to organizational programs. In recent years, many organizations have started to move from a narrower focus on 'family-friendly' programs to a broader emphasis on flexible working conditions that may apply to all workers, not just parents. What types of work-life and family-friendly programs and practices are available? How do workers use them? What happens when men and women request flexibility? The final section of the chapter offers suggestions for increasing the effectiveness of life-work programs and notes the potential for broader cultural change in the workplace.

Public Policies

Global Comparisons

Outside of the United States, a majority of countries provide some protected family leave, which ranges between 3 months and 1 year and is often at least partly paid (Ray et al. 2008). Public support of work-family policies (e.g., government funded parental leave and childcare resources) is also more common (Craig and Mullan 2011; Kossek et al. 2010) and, in some European countries, regulations are in place to encourage women and men to share parental leave and other family benefits (Haas and Rostgaard 2011).

A few examples: in Canada, women employees receive a standard 17 weeks unpaid, job-protected maternity leave and both women and men are granted up to 37 weeks unpaid, job-protected parental leave for newborns or adoption (Catalyst 2013b). In the United Kingdom, women receive 26 weeks of Ordinary Maternity Leave and 26 weeks of Additional Maternity Leave for a total of about 1 year leave that constitutes the Statutory Maternity Leave. A recent amendment makes it mandatory for women to take a minimum of 2 weeks' maternity leave immediately after childbirth, 4 weeks' minimum for factory workers (Catalyst 2013b). Some policies also provide flexibility in how parents may take the leave; in Norway and Sweden, for example, parents can use parts of their leave in short periods after returning to work or as gradual increase back to full-time hours (Hegewisch and Gornick 2011).

Northern European countries–such as Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden–have been pioneers of progressive parental-leave and health policies, as well as for work-life regulations that support gender equality (Crosby et al. 2013; Haas and Rostgaard 2011), and many forward-thinking family policies have been in place for some time. For example, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden have been providing generous paid father's leave since the 1970s (Ray et al. 2008).

In Norway, mothers receive 9 weeks of compulsory maternity leave and 44 weeks of fully-paid leave available jointly to couples (Ray et al. 2008). Norwegian fathers also receive a minimum of 6 weeks of paid leave and can select an additional, unpaid year of leave before the child's third birthday (Catalyst 2013b). Father's leave policy includes a 'father quota' requiring that at least 4 weeks of paid parental leave can only be used by fathers or the benefit is lost ('use it or lose it') (Crosby et al. 2013). In Sweden, mothers receive 14 weeks of maternity leave, 2 weeks of which are mandatory, and fathers are eligible to 10 days of paternity leave after the birth of a child (Ray et al. 2008). Also, Swedish mothers and fathers may take up to 18 months of additional parental leave (Catalyst 2013b). These measures started in the last 1970s and were successful in increasing women's labor force participation in Sweden, first to part-time and, over time, to full-time employment (Hegewisch and Gornick 2008). Notably, Sweden also offers couples who share parental leave a 'gender equality' bonus of up to 3,000 SEK per month (Catalyst 2013b). The small country of Iceland is another example of generous parental leave policy with an egalitarian focus; families are entitled to 9 months of paid parental leave per child (at 80 % pay), 3 months for each parent, and an additional 3 months that may be divided between the parents (Hegewisch and Gornick 2011).

Family-friendly efforts involve more than parental leave time. Continued flexibility in work hours also helps workers juggle responsibilities at work and at home. Schedule-regulating statutes may comprise different types of work arrangements, including the option to change from full-time to part-time hours, either permanently or temporarily, and permanent change in work hours or arrangements (e.g., starting or finishing time; compressed work week, or teleworking). For example, Sweden gives mothers and fathers the right to reduce their daily work hours (and salary) until the youngest child reached the age of eight (Hegewisch and Gornick 2008). In Europe, a majority of the schedule-

regulating statutes apply to parents of young children and caregivers (Hegewisch and Gornick 2008, 2011), but lack regulations when it comes to extending flexibility options to workers for reason other than family care.

United States

Despite being the center of much of the research on managing work and personal demands, the United States offers few work-related protections for employees' non-work needs, especially when it comes to family leave. The United States is one of the least generous countries for parental leave allowance, ranking closer to the very few small countries in the world that to date do not offer any paid leave at all (Liberia, Suriname and Papua, and New Guinea) (Bernard 2013; Ray et al. 2008). Passed in 1993, the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) guaranteed the right of employees in companies with over 50 employees to take up to 12 weeks of leave – as well as continuation of health benefits – for the birth or adoption of a child, own illness or caregiving for a family member (Bernard 2013). The 12 weeks of guaranteed leave – often unpaid – is available only to employees who have worked at that company at least 1,250 h that year (U. S. Department of Labor 2013).

Some progress has recently occurred at the state level, where individual states such as California, Rhode Island and New Jersey have begun to pass their own family-leave laws that guarantee some paid leave (Bernard 2013; Catalyst 2013b). In 2002, California was the first state to pass a paid family leave act to allow employees to take 6 weeks leave up to 55 % of their weekly wages, and to cover all employees who contribute to the State Disability Insurance even in companies with less than 50 employees (Catalyst 2013b).

The United States also remains fairly unregulated when it comes to employees' 'right to ask' for alternative schedules such as reduced and part-time schedules (Brescoll et al. 2013). Aside from mandated accommodations due to health-related needs, the majority of flexibility options in the United States are employer-driven, with minimum government support (Kossek et al. 2010; Williams et al. 2013a). For example, flexible-work options vary greatly among employers and tend to rely on informal requests to managers and supervisors. Even when formal policies are in place – i.e., policies that allow employees to make a formal request for a reduced or alternate schedule – it is often still the managers' discretion to grant that option on a case-by-case basis (Brescoll et al. 2013).

Organizational Programs & Practices

Access to Leave Policies

In the United States, companies have the option to offer parental leave benefits that go beyond FMLA mandates, but only a handful of employers have chosen to do so. Many parents, and especially mothers, often end up using a combination of short-term disability, sick leave, vacation, personal days, and unpaid family leave when caring for a newborn (Catalyst 2013b).

Ray and colleagues (2008) estimate that, while about 60 % of U.S. workers are eligible for FMLA leave, only one-fourth of U.S. employers offer fully-paid maternity leave of any duration, and one-fifth of U.S. employers do not offer any leave of any kind, paid or unpaid. A 2011 Society for Human Resource Management (SHRM) benefit survey of 600 U.S. employers found that 25 % of respondents offered paid family leave and 21 % offered family leave above and beyond what is required by FMLA; 16 % also offered paid paternity leave or adoption leave (Society for Human Resources Management 2012).

Access to paid leave and to other work-life benefits varies among different types of workers. In general, access to paid leave is greatest for high-income employees who work in managerial or professional roles at companies with 100 employees or more (Bernard 2013). Women and men working in lower level jobs tend to have less access to benefits such as paid leave than workers in higher-level jobs (Workplace Flexibility 2010).

In their cross-cultural analysis of the parental leave policies that are available in different countries, Ray and colleagues (2008) identified some policy characteristics that help predict increased gender equality in that context. These include generous leave that is paid, non-transferable quotas for fathers, universal coverage combined with modest eligibility restrictions, financing structures that pool risk among many employers, and scheduling flexibility. For example, extending parental leave to fathers and putting provisions in place that encourage men to use the leave (i.e., 'use it or lose it') are important tools to increase equality in the home by encouraging father's involvement in child rearing from the very beginning, and to support women's workforce participation. Unfortunately, this type of paternal leave is still rare, with Sweden and Norway offering fathers the most amount of non-transferable leave (7 and 6 weeks respectively), and only a few other European countries providing non-transferable leaves that range between a few days and a few weeks (e.g., Germany, Belgium) (Ray et al. 2008).

Work-Life Programs

During the 1980s work-life efforts in the United States were primarily geared toward employees with dependent-care responsibilities – often mothers of young children (Kossek et al. 2010; Sabattini and Crosby 2008). At that time, part-time work, temporary work and job-sharing arrangements were conceived as 'accommodations' for mothers, rather than work options that may apply to all employees (Catalyst 2000; Gerkovich 2006). A lot of attention was given to mothers who had to juggle work and home, and the attention often carried with it a covertly sexist message about potential negative consequences – both for women and workplaces – that may result from mothers having to manage paid work and family demands (Crosby 1991).

In the early 1990s, the work-life debate started to shift and broaden in scope. Researchers and practitioners began to examine how work-life effectiveness can benefit both employees and organizations and the need for cultural and structural change in the workplace (Barnett 1999; Barnett and Hyde 2001; Rapoport et al. 2002).

In recent years, also as a result of the workforce growing increasingly global and diverse, the types and scope of work-life programs have increased significantly. Today, most large companies and global businesses provide some form of flexible-work option or other work-life benefits (Beninger and Carter 2013). These efforts vary widely across regions, organizations, work roles, and in their degree of success when it comes to addressing employees' needs. Despite progress, many companies still have a long way to go when it comes to challenging old organizational norms and promoting more agile ways of working (Cohen et al. 2013).

Emphasis on Flexibility

The increased focus on work-life programs is connected to the globalization of work, which has made working flexibly a necessity for many organizations. By globalization we do not mean simply the off-shoring of jobs or the agglomeration of financial holdings across nations. Rather, we mean the knitting together of workers from many different cultural traditions, living in disparate locations and in different time zones.

Flexibility comes in many forms, but it has at its core the concept that the worker may have some degree of discretion over the 'when, where, and how' work gets done (WorldatWork 2009). Flexibility may occur through formal programs (e.g., compressed work week, remote home office, part-time arrangements) and may also occur in *ad hoc* fashions (e.g., variable start and end times, or working remotely on occasion, as needed) (Beninger and Carter 2013; Pitt-Catsouphes and Smyer 2006). Flexible work programs may also include choices in regard to pace, breaks, working overtime depending on projects and commitments, as well as flexibility to vary work arrangements over the course of an employee's career, such as having the option to enter, exit and re-enter the workforce or increase/decrease workload (Families and Work Institute 2012).

Technological advances have also facilitated the increase of flexible working. Because employees now have the tools to work from anywhere and anytime, informal and occasional flexibility of work time and place has become more common than before (Sabattini et al. 2010).

A study by Catalyst surveying 232 working women and 498 working men, all full-time professionals in both for profit and non-for-profit organizations, found that a majority of respondents reported that their company was offering some form of flexibility to workers (Beninger and Carter 2013). In their survey of over 700 U.S. companies with 50 or more employees, the Families and Work Institute (2012) found that a majority of employers provided some flexibility and for at least some groups of workers. They also found that availability of programs depended in part on the type of program offered. Specifically, 93 % of employers in their study allowed (some) workers to control over when they took their breaks, 77 % gave employees the option of periodically change their start and end time, and 63 % occasionally work remotely/from home. Notably, the proportion of employers reporting that they offered these same options to *all or most workers* was significantly lower, by an average of 30 % (Families and Work Institute 2012).

Not only does the amount of flexibility vary as a function of the type of program (e.g., flexible start times vs. working remotely), it also varies as a function of characteristics of the organization and work function. The same Families and Work Institute study cited above showed significant differences between small (50–99 employees) and large (1,000+ employees) organizations, where small employers were more likely than large employers to allow employees to allow some level of informal flexibility. Organizations where women made up less than 25 % of employees were, on average, less likely to provide flexibility than companies with higher proportions of women employees (Families and Work Institute 2012).

For hourly or client-facing employees with set hours and locations, flexible-work practices are less common and more difficult to implement, as they may require employers to reconsider existing scheduling practices (Workplace Flexibility 2010). In a survey of 648 hourly, low-wage employees, Watson and Swanberg (2011) found that the three most often cited work-life challenges included rigidity, unpredictability, and instability of work hours. In this context, then, an example of work-life effort might entail instituting a new scheduling system that is both more predictable and more flexible in terms of the types of shifts that are available to workers.

Examples of Practices

The non-profit organization Catalyst collects case studies of company practices that support gender inclusion in the workplace; many of these programs feature strong work-life components (Catalyst 2012a, b). One example comes from TURCK Inc. – the North American headquarters of the German automation technology manufacturing company. As a way to facilitate culture change in the organization, TURCK has created a program that links work-life and wellness initiatives to benefit both salaried and non-exempt employees (Catalyst 2012a). The company set up an annual well-being program, which is fully integrated in its business plan. Employee well-being is seen as critical to working effectively, as well as to retention, innovation, and engagement. The wellness program is divided in three-phases to help workers set and achieve well-being goals based on their individual needs and priorities: An initial assessment to set up specific goals; two one-on-one meetings with an external coach or human resources partner; and, lastly, participation in at least three well-being activities. These may include career-related activities (e.g., career development coaching; training), physical activities (e.g., exercise, nutrition, relaxation), social activities (e.g., groups, classes), financial activities (e.g., financial planning), and community-related activities (e.g., volunteering). Flexibility and leave options are also closely linked to the well-being program and are seen as key to the success of the program. The company offers generous paid time-off, telework, sabbaticals, and part-time schedules for reasons beyond parental leave (examples include spending time with chil-

dren, visiting family in a home country, volunteer work, going back to school), which make it easier for employees to achieve their career and well-being goals. Since implementing the program, TURCK has noticed increases in employees' well-being and decreases in overall turnover rates (Catalyst 2012a).

Another example of a successful approach to promoting better work-life effectiveness comes from the Boston Consulting Group (BCG) and within an industry – professional services – known for long-hour, 'on-call' cultures (Catalyst 2012b). In 2005, BCG started to test different ways to improve consultants' ability to manage work and personal responsibilities while also maintaining a high-touch approach for responding to clients' requests (Catalyst 2012b). After piloting different scheduling arrangements, the organization developed a new program that used teamwork as a tool to address work-life concerns among consultants. Specifically, the PTO (i.e., Predictability, Teaming and Open Communication) program facilitates the creation of new work norms from the start of each consulting project and sets up a system where employees can openly communicate about work-life issues. The program establishes predictable, enforced periods of time when consultants disconnect from work and work-related communications. This 'protected time' during evenings and weekends must be the same for all team members but distributed to ensure coverage for clients (Predictability). To make this work, teams must develop successful ways to get the work done collaboratively so that they can manage spikes in workload (Teaming). Effective communication and feedback are essential to the success of the program, and team members are encouraged to openly discuss project-related matters as well as work-life concerns (Open Communication). Regular feedback sessions are built into the program and teams may be assigned a PTO facilitator to assist the process. In terms of the results of the program, BCG internal analysis has shown improvements in job satisfaction, team efficiency, positive perceptions of work-life balance, and intention to stay at the company (Catalyst 2012b).

Utilization of Flexibility Policies and Programs

Despite numerous studies showing that a majority of today's workers value workplace flexibility (e.g., Beninger and Carter 2013; Cohen et al. 2013; Maitland and Thomson 2011), many formal work-life and flexibility programs remain underutilized (Williams et al. 2013a).

Beninger and Carter (2013) found that a fair percentage of employees used some types of *informal* arrangements. Approximately 30 % of both women and men reported using some informal flex time, 64 % said they used flexible arrival and departure time, and 7 % of both women and men said they had a compressed-week schedule. However, when it came to work options that required more formal arrangements or entailed time away from the office, such as regular telecommuting, gender differences emerged. Women were more likely than men to use regular telecommuting (39 % and 29 % respectively), with men (20 %) almost twice as likely as women (11 %) to report that they had *never* telecommuted throughout their career (Beninger and Carter 2013). Other studies have also shown that men are less likely to request or use formal work-life programs (Rehel 2013; Vandello et al. 2013), while women remain the main beneficiaries of options that require formal requests, such as reduced hours or part-time work (Stone and Hernandez 2013; Williams et al. 2013a).

Organizational culture can influence whether employees use work-life programs. Research suggests that women and men who work in companies where long hours at the office are highly valued may choose not to work flexibly for fear that they will be perceived as less committed to work or that they will face negative career consequences (Coltrane et al. 2013; Vandello et al. 2013; Williams et al. 2013a). Studies also show that many managers and supervisors still evaluate employees that put in extensive face time more positively than those who work flexible hours or who work remotely (Elsbach et al. 2010). According to Williams and colleagues (2013a) 'ideal worker' norms and face-time expectations

can lead to bias against employees who seek flexibility or alternative work options (e.g., the worker is not seen as committed to the work or organizations); this 'flexibility stigma' may also lead to discrimination (e.g., if employees on flexible schedules are not afforded the same opportunities or are being passed over for promotion) (Williams et al. 2013a, b).

Use of flexibility programs is also influenced by gender-norm expectations, with women viewed as the main beneficiaries of many work-life programs. In an experimental study where they tested perceptions of men requesting to take family leave in a hypothetical workplace scenario, Rudman and Mescher (2013) found that the 'flexibility stigma' was associated with a 'femininity stigma' for men employees who requested the leave. Specifically, men who negotiated leave to attend family commitments were more likely to be viewed as poor organizational citizens, and were rated higher on weak 'feminine' characteristics (e.g., insecure, weak) and lower on agentic, 'masculine' characteristics (e.g., competitive, ambitious) than other men. Vandello and colleagues (2013) also found that college students had gendered understandings of flexible working, where those seeking flexibility were perceived as more 'feminine' than employees working traditional hours. These findings suggest that cultural change is essential to effective implementation and that additional tools are needed to optimize the success of many work-life programs.

Individual and Organizational Outcomes

Research shows that work-life programs and flexibility can lead to positive synergies between work and personal roles (Crosby and Sabattini 2005; McNall et al. 2010). In a study with 220 working adults, for example, McNall and colleagues (2010) found that access to flextime and compressed workweek was linked to increased job satisfaction and lower turnover intentions – even after controlling for gender, age, marital status, education, number of children, and hours

worked – and that this effect was mediated by work-to-family enrichment. Thus, flexible work arrangements seem to help employees experience greater enrichment from work to home, which, in turn, is associated with higher job satisfaction and lower turnover intentions.

Effective work-life programs have also been linked to positive health behaviors and better employee well-being (Moen et al. 2011). Given increased time pressures and the blurred boundaries of today's workplaces, programs and practices that provide workers with greater schedule control – i.e., the ability to decide when and where work gets done – can positively affect workers' experiences. In a natural experiment testing the relationship between participation in a corporate initiative giving employees full control over their schedules (Results Only Work Environment or ROWE) and health behaviors, Moen and colleagues (2011) found that changes in work norms and work time promoted employee wellness. Specifically, the researchers conducted a longitudinal survey comparing workers participating in ROWE (N=325) and a comparison group (N=334) with similar characteristics in terms of age, gender, number of hours worked, and tenure at the company. Their analysis showed that participating in ROWE facilitated employees' health-related behaviors, defined as increased hours of sleep and exercise, and improved health management behaviors (e.g., scheduling doctor appointments). Employees' sense of schedule control and increased ability to manage work and personal demands was also linked to improved measures of subjective well-being (Moen et al. 2011).

Research across multiple organizations shows that flexible working and other work-life practices can positively affect the work environment. Numerous investigations report that both women and men prefer to work in companies that allow them to effectively manage work and personal commitments (Beninger and Carter 2013; Corporate Voices for Working Families 2005; Rapoport et al. 2002; Sabattini and Carter 2012). Studies have also shown that work-life programs are linked to higher employee retention rates (Valcour and Batt 2003), and decreased work-family conflict (Kelly et al. 2011).

Anecdotal evidence from individual companies corroborates the more nomothetic research. For example, since implementing the work-life programs described earlier, both TURCK and the Boston Consulting Group noticed positive outcomes for their employees, including increased well-being, improved perceptions of work-life balance, as well as decreased turn-over intentions (Catalyst 2012a, b).

In the United States, analyses of recently established policies in states like California and New Jersey showed that access to paid leave improved employee retention: more than 95 % of workers who took family leave in California returned to work and a majority returned to the same employer; this finding was especially strong for the groups of employees who didn't have access to paid leave prior to the law. Similarly, following the expansion of maternal and parental leave policies in Canada, women returned to work in greater numbers after the birth of a child (Boushey and Glynn 2012).

Offering flexible-work options also helps companies better manage their talent. Beninger and Carter (2013) found that both women and men who worked at a company that didn't offer flexibility were less likely than those who did to aspire to senior management roles at the company. In the same study, women who did not have access to flexible work options were more likely to downsize their aspirations (Beninger and Carter 2013).

Given these findings organizations can use flexible working as a tool to support the development and advancement of their employees (and women in particular), while also improving productivity, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment (Pruchno et al. 2000). Work-life programs and policies hold the potential to support cultural change, improve gender equality in the workplace (Cohen et al. 2013; Sabattini and Crosby 2007), and can help reduce the stigma experienced by women and men with caregiving responsibilities (Williams et al. 2013a). Allowing for different ways of working can also support a multi-generational workplace by tending to the needs of employees at different life stages and with different personal commitments (Sabattini et al. 2010).

Implications & Recommendations

Gender equality in the workplace means that women and men will have equal chances and opportunities to succeed, free of the gender-role restrictions. In general, national policies that support generous leave policies (e.g., parental leave or sick leave) are associated with increased women's labor force participation (Mandel 2011). Cultures that value women's talent are more likely to have both laws and organizational efforts to address issues that are of concern to women, including addressing work-life needs (Lyness and Kropf 2005), and women's labor force participation is, on average, higher in countries with high levels of access to childcare and public sector employment and less reliance on families as the major caregivers (Mandel 2011). Generous parental leave policies alone do not necessarily promote gender equality in the workplace. National policies that allow for long periods of maternal leave with no provisions to address gender inequalities at work may lead to backlash and discrimination against women of childrearing age (Mandel 2011). The absence of paid parental leave policies or poorly designed leave policies also reinforce traditional divisions of roles in the home, leaving women to bear a majority of childcare responsibilities and hence reducing their work opportunities and long-term earnings compared to fathers (Ray et al. 2008).

Similarly, instituting work-life and flexibility programs alone does not necessarily lead to a flexible and inclusive workplace. Researchers and practitioners know that implementing work-life programs is not simply a matter of having written policies in place (Johnson et al. 2008; Nugent et al. 2013), and that programs that are inconsistent with organizational norms are not likely to work (Sabattini and Carter 2012; Thompson et al. 1999) or be used by employees (Blair-Loy et al. 2011; Johnson et al. 2008; Sabattini and Dinolfo 2010). When old work norms devalue working flexibly, the 'flexibility stigma' may dampen enthusiasm for use of existing programs by those who wish to advance (Williams et al. 2013a, b. Creating a

culture that values work-life concerns, and respects different life paths, career goals, and working styles is essential to the success of any work-life program (D'Annolfo Levey et al. 2008).

Kossek and colleagues (2010) distinguish between structural and cultural factors that impact implementation of work-life efforts. Structural factors include formal policies, programs, and job structures, while cultural factors are those informal behaviors that help create a positive work-life culture by valuing employees' responsibilities outside of work. Examples of efforts that support cultural factors include training and coaching about work-life issues and transparent communication about work-life behaviors. Both structural and cultural supports are needed for an effective implementation of work-life initiatives (Kossek et al. 2010). Consistency between formal policies and informal practices is also important to avoid backlash against those who work flexibly (Kossek et al. 2010).

D'Annolfo Levey and colleagues (2008) also describe a number of factors that facilitate change in organizations. These include senior leadership support, clear accountability for progress, and effective communication. Communication is essential to make sure that employees understand and are aware of what options are available to them (Catalyst 2006; D'Annolfo et al. 2008), and it also helps them better understand their organization's unwritten rules and norms when it comes to using these programs (Sabattini and Dinolfo 2010). Finally, having employees actively engage in the work processes positively affects job satisfaction and enhances program effectiveness (Macky and Boxall 2008).

Unless the organizations' leaders clearly support the use of work-life programs, employees may not use them (Nugent et al. 2013). Senior leaders who want to demonstrate the importance of working flexibly can become role models by sharing their own work-life strategies, challenges, and successes, or by communicating about flexibility in positive terms. People managers and leaders can also promote work-life effectiveness by rewarding results over face time

(Cohen et al. 2013; Sabattini and Crosby 2007, 2008).

Maitland and Thomson (2011) argue that effective change initiatives should be clearly linked to the business – i.e., how do work-life programs benefit the organization? – and that they should promote change in the ways in which people think about work.

Finally, when it comes to instituting work-life programs, one size does not fit all: Cultural context, industry, and organizational context should be taken into account. In a multi-national study, Masuda and colleagues (2012) found that availability of flexible-work arrangements was associated with higher job satisfaction, fewer turnover intentions, and less work family conflict for employees in North America, Australia, New Zealand, and Great Britain but the same pattern of correlations was not significant in the Latin American and Asian clusters (Masuda et al. 2012). Sabattini and Carter (2012) and Sabattini (2012) recommend customizing work-life programs within any specific cultural setting taking into account local policies and employees' values and norms. For example, childcare supports might not be relevant in cultural contexts where extended families are largely involved in the care of the children, or where using daycare is frowned upon. Logistics also need to be taken into considerations; having the option of working from home is not relevant or useful to employees who do not have the space to work in their homes or lack of access to reliable electrical power. And in some regions, safety getting to and from the office also become key work-life concerns (Sabattini 2012).

Future Research

Given the growing body of research on work-life integration, there are promising opportunities for future work in this area. Applied researchers could further explore the connections between work-life and wellness practices to provide a more comprehensive perspective on the personal, health- and work-related outcomes of many workplace programs. Furthermore, research

examining variations across industries, job functions, as well as cross-cultural differences would afford insights on what factors moderate the relationship between work-life programs and both work (e.g., productivity, results) and personal (e.g., work-life effectiveness, well-being) outcomes. For example, how does the type of work, including the level of stress associated with a particular role, affect work-life programs' effectiveness? From a cross-cultural perspective, do cultural norms as well as the local family leave policies and legislation affect the extent to which particular programs are used and/or effective? Examining variations across contexts does not only advance the research on the subject but, from a practitioner's standpoint, it also provides the opportunity to share knowledge about what works and does not work in different contexts.

It would also benefit researchers and practitioners alike to understand more about effective work-life practices to support hourly, non-professional jobs (see for example Watson and Swanberg 2011) and low-wage employees (e.g., Bond and Galinski 2011). How might companies offer flexibility programs to blue collar or hourly workers? While for some roles it may not be feasible to allow workers to choose their own starting and stopping times or to work remotely, employers can address work-life concerns by considering their scheduling practices. Examples include compressed work week options or more predictable scheduling systems. Understanding the ways that flexibility might be built into different roles is a worthwhile task for future researchers.

In this chapter, we discuss how work-life program can lead to positive change towards more inclusive workplaces and benefit gender equality. An important area of research that may help shed more light into this issue concerns men's engagement in work-life programs. Research already shows that engaging men in gender initiatives can facilitate movement toward more inclusive workplaces (see for example, Dinolfo et al. 2013; Prime and Moss-Racusin 2009). Future research could explore ways to engage men in family- and work-life programs (including but not limited to parental leave) and examine the best approaches or strategies that engage both women and men

equally in these efforts (e.g., what individual employees, leaders, and organizations can do) as a way to change old work norms.

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Lutz C. Kaiser

Introduction

Over the entire professional life, gender differences in self-estimated career expectations can be rated as predictors for differences in the development of male and female career profiles. In the following, this hypothesis is investigated in sight of several aspects of career expectations. Section "Theoretical background and literature review" displays theoretical aspects and the identification of these gender effects in the relevant literature. Section "The gender-career gap in the public sector" provides an initial insight into the gender-career gap in the public sector by means of a cross-national comparison. Section "The data" describes the data as the basis for the empirical analysis that is established in following section. Section "Empirical findings" exhibits self-estimated and reciprocally estimated career expectations of female and male public sector workers in Germany, resulting in the identification of a gender-career estimation gap. In particular, an observation of differences in the reciprocal judgement of career chances (men in respect to women and vice versa) could lead towards a better understanding of gender related differences in career chances. Additionally, the self- and reciprocal estimation of career expectations in the

German public sector is an excellent field of research, since one may expect comparatively minor gender differences in this respect due to various legal devices to guarantee equal career chances. However it has to be admitted, that the paper contains the drawback of a missing comparison to the private sector of the economy to test for presumably differences in the magnitude of a gender bias in career chances and statistical discrimination between both sectors of the economy. Section "Conclusions" concludes and discusses remedies in terms of handling gender related differences in the self- and reciprocal estimation of career expectations.[1] Finally, section "Further research" outlines further research options.

Theoretical Background and Literature Review

This section describes the key theories and gives an overview of existing literature with regard to the field of *self-estimation of career opportunities* and the *reciprocal estimation of career opportunities*. As a starting point, both, a self-estimation of one's own career prospect or, in a converse perspective, a reciprocal estimation of career

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[1] For the progress of this book contribution, the author appreciates very valuable and helpful comments of Elke Holst, Research Director for Gender Studies at the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW-Berlin).

opportunities of another person contain a forecast-approach; career prospects in diverse negative, positive or neutral ways have to be qualified.

However, what is the basis of this forecast? Here, the term reciprocal can be utilized from a different, i.e. the psychological angel. According to Bandura (1997), the so-called *reciprocal determinism* is an approach that explains individual behaviour by means of two main perspectives that mutually coincide. On the one hand, individual's behaviour is shaped by the social environment. However, on the other hand, individual's behaviour simultaneously shapes the social environment with this social environment shaping (again) individual behaviour.

The latter assumption could be translated as 'You get what you want'.[2] Certainly, individual professional career tracks are shaped by the professional environment, e.g. firm-specific hiring procedures or promotion opportunities within companies. However, this professional environment is partially a copy of the signals sent by the individual workforce during hiring or promotion processes, co-formed e.g. by the individual self-efficacy to be successful in hiring- and/or promotion-processes. Within labor markets, this aspect could be labelled as *supply-side confidence* or *employee's self-efficacy*.

For the purpose of this analysis, the concept of reciprocity is used in a somewhat extended way. In a first stance, the self-estimation of career opportunities, either with regard to male or female workers, constitutes one part of the reciprocal determinism. An additional part is due to the genuine reciprocal estimation of career chances of the respective opposite sex, i.e. males

in terms of females and vice versa. Both parts coincide towards an important key factor with regard to the configuration of career chances.

These assumptions are important in terms of the topic 'well-being of working women'. As long as self- and reciprocal beliefs in career opportunities are equally distributed among male and female workers, e.g. based on a same specific level as 'good' or 'bad', there may not exist an intervening gender bias with regard to career development processes. For this scenario the above mentioned reciprocal determinism equally affects male and female career profiles.

However, divergences between these self- and reciprocally evaluated prospects, the so-called gender-career estimation gap, may result in an intervening bias on the decision-making process for career developments if, for instance, female workers would send signals of self-underestimated career chances. There is empirically based evidence that female career chances are assessed less positively by females as opposed to males. Allmendinger and Haarbrücker (2013) used a panel data approach to investigate male and female scripts of life in Germany. The data display some clear gender related divergences with regard to attitudes towards female career chances (Table 25.1).

Compared to the self-estimation of women (24 %), men reciprocally evaluate the development of career chances of women to have improved to a distinct higher extent (40.8 %). The reverse is true in terms of the statement that female career tracks developed negatively with in the past 2 years. To a higher percentage, women agreed to this scenario (12.2 %), whereas just about 4.5 % of the interviewed men confirmed this change in female career chances.

Similar findings are suggested by a study that assesses achievement-related self-evaluations in

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[2]An interesting experiment with regard to gender related differences in maths performance is a good example of this assumption (Spencer et al. 1999). As compared to men, women may possess lower self-estimated competences in maths on average. However, if it was explained to the experiment candidates in advance of the test, that women are said to have less competences in maths than men, but this is not valid for the following tests in the experiments, women and men performed with the same test results. Hence, so to speak, gender related differences in self-estimated competences were equalized by simply announcing equality.

Table 25.1 Comparative assessment of the development of female career chances in % (2012 vs. 2 years ago)

Assessment	By women	By men
Improvement	24.0	40.8
Same status	63.8	54.7
Worsening	12.2	4.5

Source: Allmendinger and Haarbrücker (2013, 56)

a simulated job interview situation with female participants evaluating their own performance as less successful as compared to their male counterparts: "Compared to the actual performance in the achievement test and to external assessments of the performance in the personal interview, women showed a significant under-evaluation. Males over-evaluated themselves compared to the performance in the written test, but not compared to the external assessments of the personal interview" (Sieverding 2003, 147).

Additionally, women tend to suppress their feelings to a lesser extent than men in interview situations. However, these different traits can result in disadvantages, since emotional suppressors are rated as more competent than emotional non-suppressors (Sieverding 2009).

Even at the other edge of the job hierarchy, i.e. *leadership* and management, the literature describes the phenomenon of gender differences in self-estimated career expectations. Bosak and Sczesny (2008) state that women tend to express a self-ascribed lack-of-fit to leadership positions as compared to men. Conclusively, women judge themselves as less suitable for a leadership position than men do.

However, based on a decomposition approach, Fietze et al. (2011) argue, that gender differences in personality traits cannot significantly drive gender differences in career opportunities. Their findings support the influence of labor market segregation and beliefs in gender related stereotypes in terms of statistical discrimination. In a similar way, Correll (2001, 1691) states that "(c)ultural beliefs about gender are argued to bias individuals' perceptions of their competence at various career relevant tasks, controlling for actual ability. To the extent that individuals then act on gender differentiated perceptions when making career decisions, cultural beliefs about gender channel men and women in substantially different career directions".

Attitudes towards female career opportunities can also be influenced by the level of job satisfaction. However, there is no straight forward relevance, e.g. 'the more satisfied, the more optimistic regarding career opportunities'. Female job satisfaction is also due their family background, since

women with children (and presumably comparatively low career aspirations at this phase of life) tend to be significantly happier if they have a job at all compared to working women with no children (Booth and Ours 2008). Hence, a high level of female job satisfaction is not necessarily an indicator for distinct career aspirations with a positive attitude towards female career chances. In fact, the reverse can be true, since, as compared to male workers, a comparatively high female job satisfaction occurs within conservative labor market regimes that come up with restrictions for female career opportunities resulting in the so-called *gender-job satisfaction paradox* (Kaiser 2007). From this point of view, analyses of female career opportunities should account for the level of female job satisfaction as a control variable.

Based on the above described theoretical framework the hypothesis could be formulated that female career prospects may turn out to be self-under-estimated and are reciprocally over-estimated with regard to the assessment by males, i.e. either colleagues or employers.

These theoretical implications and its strong empirical evidence coincide with the approach of *statistical discrimination*. Due to *asymmetric information* on the labor market to the general disadvantage of employers, average expectations are utilized to compensate the information vacuum within hiring and promotion decisions. The theory of statistical discrimination, as founded by Arrow (1973) and Phelps (1972), has a long tradition in, for instance, explaining wage differentials between male and female workers. Contemporary research on this topic verifies these theoretical assumptions. Belley et al. (2012) describe differences in male and female wage profiles to be due to differences in mobility and tenure. Their empirical investigation displays men and women having the same wage at the start of their career. Nevertheless, female wages grow to a slower extent as compared to men resulting in a *gender wage gap*. Within this context, Ejrnæs and Kunze (2013) show the effects of the first childbirth on the wage processes of highly attached women. Each year of leave minimizes the wage by 3–5.7 %. The wage of mothers who return to the

labor market clearly displays the so-called *wage penalty for career interruptions*. Overall, presumed or actual differences between male and female career profiles result in gender differences in wages that cannot be explained by differences in the educational attainment etc. Based on a decomposition approach, Busch and Holst (2008) detect an unexplained gender wage gap of about 17 % with respect to full-time employees in Germany for the year 2006. Further studies contain similar hints at the existence of a gender pay gap (cf. Hubler 2005; Brookes et al. 2001 or Black et al. 1999).

Both aspects, a 'female' self-ascribed lag in the self-estimation of career opportunities and the phenomenon of statistical discrimination, may finalise a serious vicious circle. A 'female' self-under-estimation of career chances may be rated as a proof of the negative assumptions within the frame of statistical discrimination, i.e. an on average expected lower productivity of female as compared to male workers. In this respect, the 'female' self-under-estimation of career opportunities ends in a *self-fulfilling prophecy* towards unneeded female disadvantages on the labor market.

The Gender-Career Gap in the Public Sector

The history of legal approaches to equalizing male and female career chances in the German public sector is long. There are several legal devices in force to promote gender mainstreaming that in particular should enforce equal opportunities on the labor market of the public sector. Each level of the German state, including the European frame, the central state, the federal states and the municipal state, possess their respective legal approaches (cf. Kohler-Gehrig 2009).

Despite these numerous legal opportunities, cross-national comparisons detect an obvious discrepancy in the German public sector with regard to the share of women in *public sector leadership positions* versus the share of women across the total public sector. Whereas 52 % of public sector workers are female, only 14.5 % of

public sector leaders are female. The ratio of the total male share in the public sector against the share of female leadership turns out with 3.31. Other countries do show a much better situation like Canada (45 % vs. 62 %), Australia (37 % vs. 57.4 %), the UK (35 % vs. 66 %) or France (21.4 % vs. 51.7 %). Nevertheless, countries like Japan or South Korea end up with even worse results (Table 25.2).

As to why do these differences occur? The German public sector is characterized by comparatively strict career settings in terms of achieving a leadership position. Specific tenure restrictions have to be met or occupational requirements are important to fill a leadership position, e.g. the occupation of a judge. Nevertheless, for German women, the public sector is attractive to put a work-family life balance into practise as mirrored by the high share of female workers in this sector. However, as the German private sector labor market is still comparatively conservative with regard to a work-family life balance, the low share of female leadership positions could also be due to a selection process with female public workers entering

Table 25.2 Women in the public sector

Country	Female leadership (%)	Total female share (%)	Ratio[a]
Canada	45.0	62.0	0.84
UK	35.0	66.0	0.97
South Africa	33.0	65.2	1.05
Australia	37.0	57.4	1.15
Italy	27.0	64.7	1.31
United States	31.0	57.0	1.39
Brazil	32.1	47.6	1.63
Russia	13.0	71.0	2.23
France	21.4	51.7	2.26
Argentina	19.0	56.0	2.32
Germany	14.5	52.0	3.31
Mexico	14.0	45.5	3.89
China	11.5	42.5	5.00
Turkey	13.6	23.0	5.66
South Korea	8.6	42.0	6.74
Indonesia	8.7	20.0	9.20
India	7.7	19.0	10.52
Japan	2.5	42.0	23.20

Source: Schreiber (2013), author's calculations
[a]Total male %/female leadership %

this section with no leadership position aspirations but the aim to combine family life and work. In other countries, a higher share of female leadership position could be due to the comparatively non-formal career steps with less restrictions like occupational requirements (Australia, Canada, UK, US). In contrast, India and Japan still stick to traditional versions of gender roles.

The Data

The data used in the current study, the so-called 'PSJS-data' (Public Sector Job Satisfaction Data), were collected by the author and arise from a case study of a communal public administration. The cross-sectional data were gathered in 2011 in a medium-sized city with some 60.000 inhabitants in the German county North-Rhine Westphalia. In order to gain a high response rate, paper and pencil-questionnaires were handed over to the entire population of public employees (N=874).

Fortunately, with 57 %, the overall response rate was comparatively high (n=498). The total sample of 498 respondents includes a sub-sample of cleaning workers (n=81). The particularity of this sub-sample is a lean sub-questionnaire that refers to a fewer number of questions and the

choice between different languages (German or Turkish). Due to the two different versions of the questionnaires, long vs. lean, the sampled data refer either to n=498 or n=417 accounting for a questionnaire version with and a version without cleaning worker respondents. The descriptive and regression analyses as presented here will account for the sample where the cleaning workers are excluded, since information on career prospects was not gathered for cleaning workers.

In order to raise information with regard to potential gender related differences in self-and reciprocally estimated career expectations, the questionnaire of the above described data set contains several items for different career aspects (Chart 25.1).

Firstly, the survey participants were asked to gauge the career in terms of education and training as such. Hence, this question aims at an estimation of the chances to be accepted for an apprenticeship, for example. Secondly, the questionnaire considers 'further education and training', i.e. to evaluate the chances of enhancing the level of qualification by the attendance of respective courses, like training on the job-courses. A third item is related to career opportunities. Here survey participants should estimate the chances to experience an upward mobility in terms of

Chart 25.1 Questionnaire items for the topic of estimated career expectations

1. Please give an assessment of male career chances regarding

	good	bad	don't know
a) education/training	☐	☐	☐
b) further education/training	☐	☐	☐
c) upward career mobility	☐	☐	☐
d) leadership position	☐	☐	☐

2. Please give an assessment of female career chances regarding

	good	bad	don't know
a) education/training	☐	☐	☐
b) further education/training	☐	☐	☐
c) upward career mobility	☐	☐	☐
d) leadership position	☐	☐	☐

career opportunities. The fourth item asks for an estimation of the chances to attain a leadership position. All items had to be answered with either 'good', 'bad' or 'don't know'. Hence, the focus, as set in this analysis, is restricted to male and female career opportunities, i.e. male and female public workers state a self-estimation and a respective reciprocal evaluation of the careers prospects of the their male or female colleagues. Hence the estimation contains both, a forecast and a comparison likewise.

Empirical Findings

The following describes gender differences with regard to self-estimated and reciprocally estimated career expectations of public sector employees in Germany utilizing a public sector dataset. Although there is no direct private sector-comparison feasible with the given data, the focus on public sector employees is of specific interest as one may expect comparatively minor gender differences due to various settings in the German public sector that aim at minimising gender related career discrepancies.

At first sight for the analysis of male career opportunities, it becomes obvious that with shares between 38 and 50 %, the categories 'good' and 'don't know' attain comparatively high values. Hence, a high proportion of male and female public workers cannot evaluate career chances of male workers due to a restricted basis of knowledge. On the other hand, only a comparatively low proportion gauge career opportunities of male colleagues as 'bad' (Chart 25.2). Some 17 % of the respondents have chosen this category for career upward mobility and about 15 % in terms of leadership whereas only 11 % regard this estimation for further education and training and only about 7 % for education and training.

However, if the results for the estimation of male career prospects are analysed separately based on the vote of male and female public employees, a clear divergence becomes obvious. Females evaluate the chances of their male colleagues far better than males their own opportunities (cf. Chart 25.3 versus Chart 25.4).

The gender differences concerning these separate assessments are statistically significant for each category (cf. Tables 25.4, 25.5, 25.6, and 25.7, placed in the annex of this book contribu-
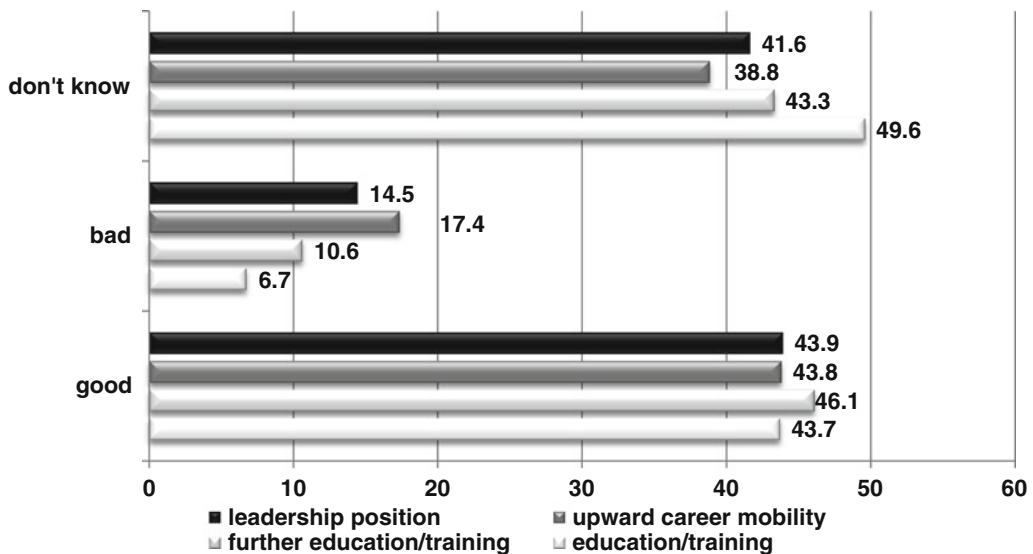
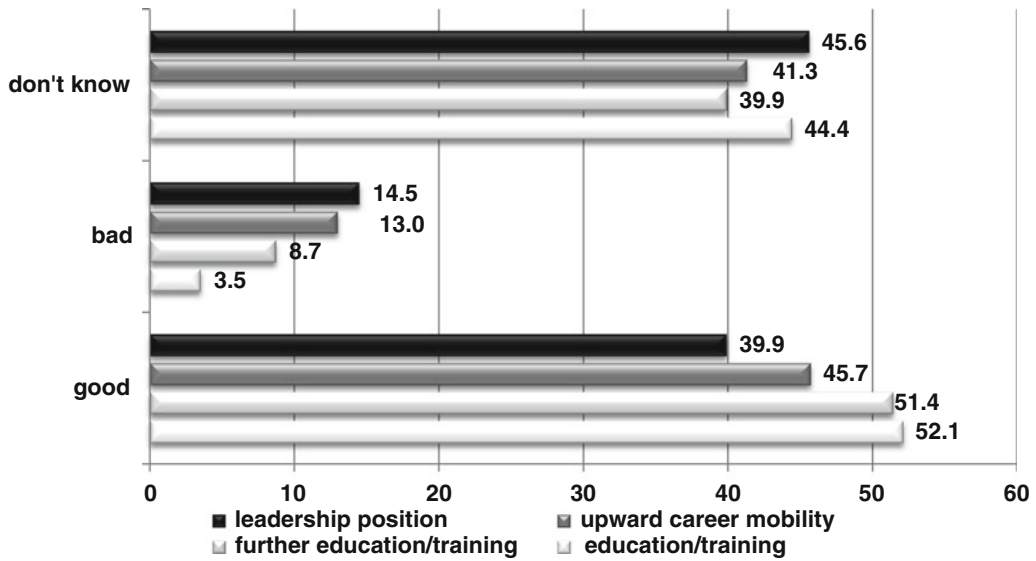**Chart 25.2** Career-prospect estimation for male employees (in %) (Source: Author's calculations)
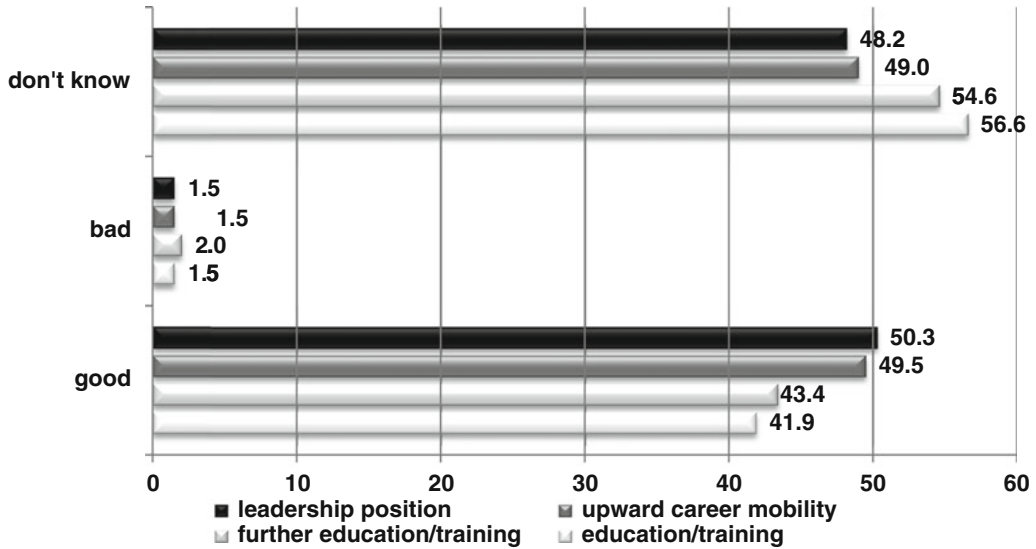
Chart 25.3 Career-prospect estimation for male employees by female employees (in %) (Source: Author's calculations)
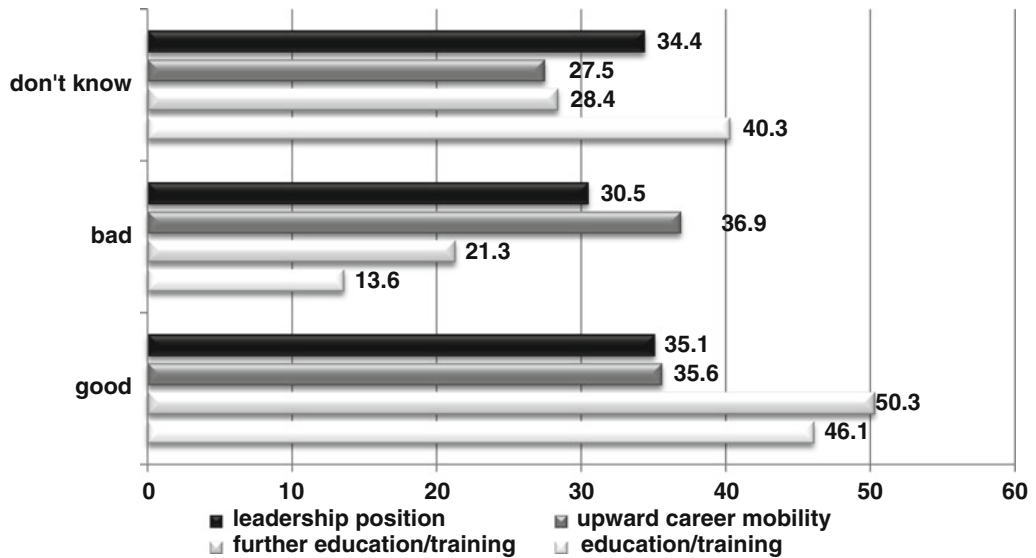
Chart 25.4 Career-prospect estimation for male employees by male employees (in %) (Source: Author's calculations)

tion). Hence, the findings support the tendency towards a reciprocal overestimation of male career prospects by females and a self-under-estimation of male career chances by males. The higher the career level, ranked from education and training towards upward career mobility and leadership position, the more obvious the self-under-estimation of male employees.

Similarly, the initial analysis of female career prospects shows a high share of respondents who are not able to assess female career opportunities. Additionally, the option to experience an upward career mobility and the chance to attain a leadership position are estimated as bad to a comparatively high share (26.2 and 24.6 %, respectively) (Chart 25.5).
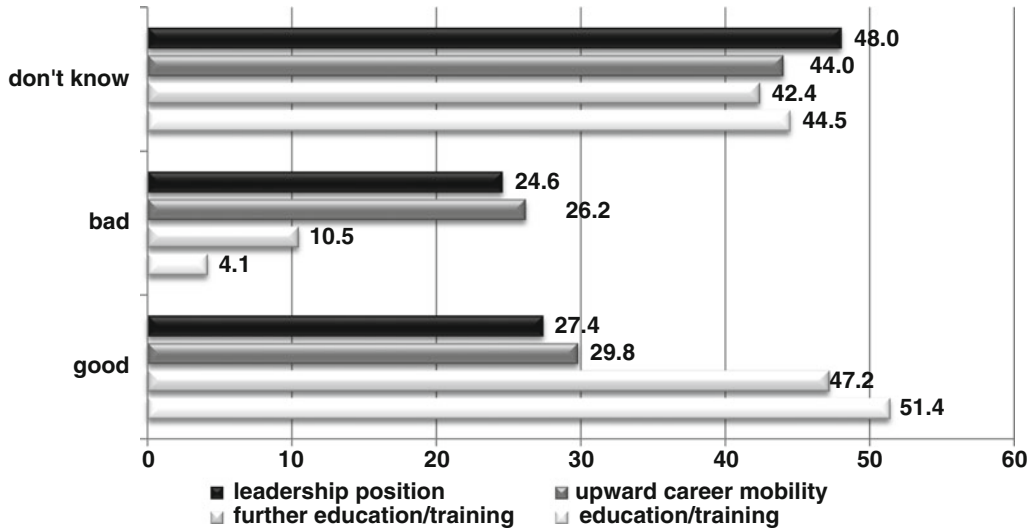
Chart 25.5 Career-prospect estimation for female public workers (in %) (Source: Author's calculations)
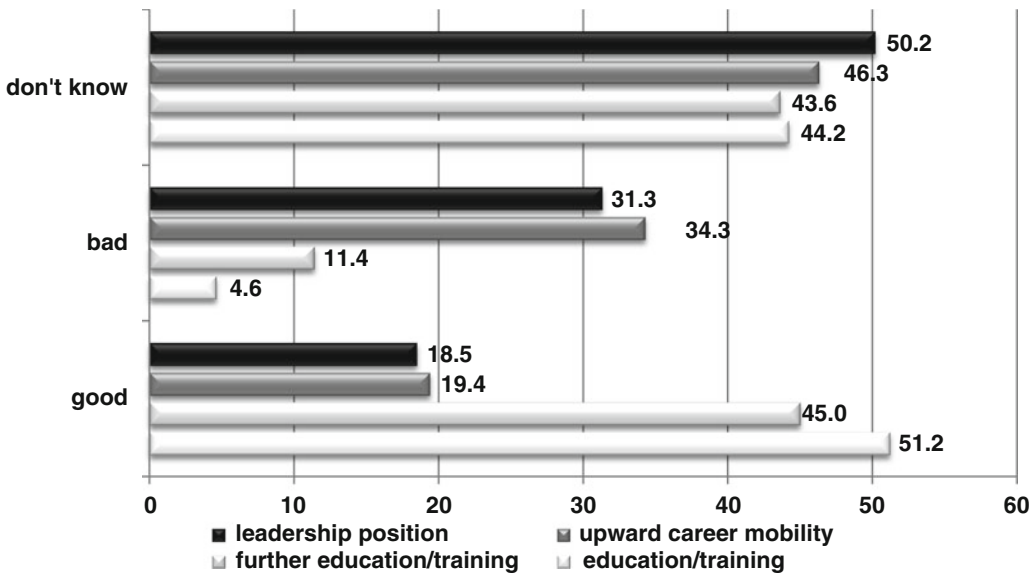
Chart 25.6 Career-prospect estimation for female employees by female employees (in %) (Source: Author's calculations)

A separate calculation of career prospects by female and male respondents shows again a more optimistic reciprocal assessment by male public employees as compared to the more pessimistic self-evaluation by female public employees. This becomes particularly true for the categories 'upward career mobility' and 'leadership posi-tion' (cf. Chart 25.6 versus Chart 25.7). Females gauge their chances for an upward career mobil-ity to 34.3 % and with regard to attaining a lead-ership position to 31.1 % as bad, whereas their male counterparts assess females chances in these categories to a significantly lower share as bad (13.0 and 14.5 % respectively).

Chart 25.7 Career-prospect estimation for female employees by male employees (in %) (Source: Author's calculations)

The analyses show the tendency that career prospects of the respective opposite sex are evaluated in a more positive way as opposed to the career chances of the own sex. This is true for career paths of both, men and women. For the latter, the descriptive results turn out to be statistically significant for upward career mobility and leadership position only (cf. Tables 25.8, 25.9, 25.10, and 25.11). This finding coincides with the rising magnitude of gender differences if the career ladder is climbed, i.e. if the level of career becomes higher with the lowest level set as 'education and training' and the highest level defined as 'leadership position'.

Descriptive differences in the self-estimation and reciprocal estimation of male career tracks display a less pessimistic assessment of male career chances by females compared to the self-estimation by male public employees (Chart 25.8). However, female employees state to a higher extent to be unable to evaluate male career prospects. However, the lowest percentage in this case is displayed for the category 'leadership position'.

Chart 25.9 summarizes the overall descriptive differences in gender related discrepancies of assessing prospective female career profiles.

Hence, women possess a less positive self-estimation when gauging their own career chances as opposed to the reciprocal estimation of female career chances by their male counterparts. In particular, the discrepancies emerge when the aspects upward career mobility and leadership positions are evaluated. Here, the gender-career estimation gap clearly emerges.

However, comparing Chart 25.8 versus Chart 25.9, it becomes obvious that gender related differences in self- and reciprocal estimation of career opportunities is most pronounced with regard to female career chances. From this point of view, a specific imbalance can be identified within the gender-career estimation gap.

Based on the theoretical implications as discussed in section "The gender-career gap in the public sector", *cognitive gender differences* (e.g. regarding educational attainment) and/or *non-cognitive gender differences* (e.g. in terms of socialisation) between male and female workers may drive the displayed distinct gender differences in the evaluation of female career chances.

In a first stance of detecting reasons behind this gender differences in assessing the female career prospects, differences in the *educational attainment* are 'historical' in developed coun-
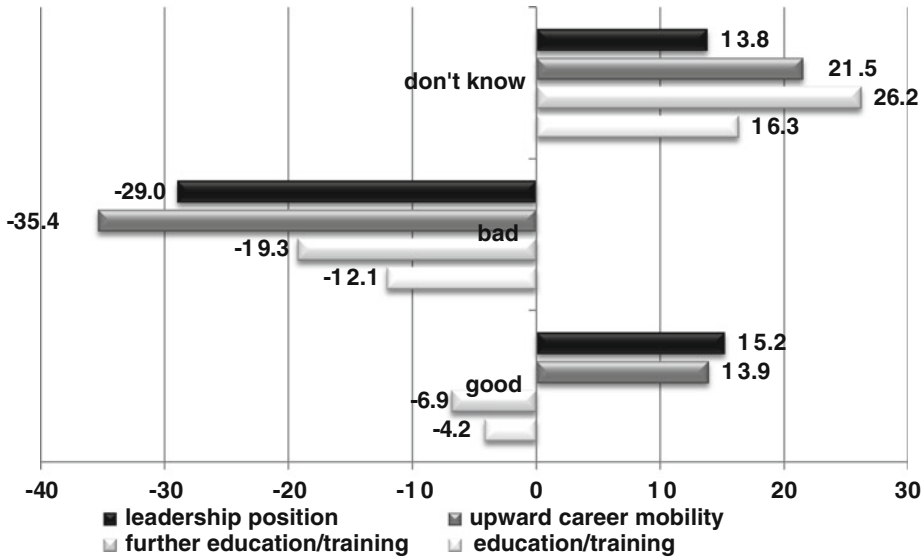
Chart 25.8 Gender differences in career-prospect estimation for male employees (Difference in percentage points, female versus male employees) (Source: Author's calculations)

Chart 25.9 Gender differences in career-prospect estimation for female employees (Difference in percentage points, female versus male employees) (Source: Author's calculations)

tries. In former generations, women clearly were disadvantaged due to lower educational levels. However, today, statistics show higher educational achievements for women as compared to men both in terms of school certificates and tertiary education in Germany and other central European countries (OECD 2012).

With regard to non-cognitive aspects, there are manifold aspects with differences between men and women that may drive the above described results. In terms of *preferences*, women tend to be more risk-averse than men (Croson and Gneezy 2009; Charness and Gneezy 2011) that entail no or at least less overestimation of one's own capa-

Table 25.3 Variables measuring respondent's characteristics (M-logit model)

Variable	Description	Coding
Sex	Sex of the respondent	0 = female, 1 = male
Leadership	Leadership position	0 = no, 1 = yes
Tenured civil servant	Tenured civil servant status	0 = no, 1 = yes
Tenure	Tenure in years	Decimal or full years
Age 24	Up to 24 years of age	0 = no, 1 = yes
Age 25–34	25–34 years of age	0 = no, 1 = yes
Age 35–44	35–44 years of age	0 = no, 1 = yes
Age 45–54 (reference category)	45–54 years of age	0 = no, 1 = yes
Age 55+	55+ years of age	0 = no, 1 = yes
Part-time job	Working on a part-time basis	0 = no, 1 = yes
Temporary contract	Possessing a temporary contract	0 = no, 1 = yes
Job-satisfaction	Level of job satisfaction	0 = not at all, …, 10 = totally
Administration modernisation	Necessity: admin. modernisation	0 = no, 1 = yes
Dissatisfaction staff council	Dissatisfaction with staff council	0 = no, 1 = yes

Source: Author's compilation

bilities (Barber and Odean 2001). Hence, female workers evaluate their own career opportunities in a more cautious rather than in an offensive way like their male counterparts. Accordingly, female workers tend towards a self-under-estimation of their own career prospects and a reciprocal over-estimation of male career options.

With the focus put on competitiveness, women may find themselves in a more defensive position, in particular in competitive situations against male applicants for a job or regarding a promotion opportunity (Niederle and Vesterlund 2007; Gneezy et al. 2003). These addressed gender differences are likely to have an impact on gender differences in the evaluation of male and female career prospects resulting in different labor market statuses.

However, a direct impact of non-cognitive gender differences on wage differentials as a causation for wage discrimination is not verified so far (Fortin 2008; Manning and Swaffield 2008). In contrast, male and female workers display the same likelihood to negotiate wages if wages are explicitly announced to be negotiable. However, if no information is given with regard to wage negotiations, male applicants initiate wage negotiations to a higher extent as compared to female applicants (Leibbrandt and List 2012). Hence, labor market statuses, wage differentials and wage discrimination might be due to these spe-

cific gender differences in negotiation affinities (Babcock and Laschever 2003).

Regression Approach

In order to gain a more detailed insight into the determination of the gender-career estimation gap a multinominal logit model (m-logit) is utilized in order to account for various information that is available in the data.[3] The model is applied to male and female career expectations respectively.

The data were pooled for the regression approach to end up with sufficient number of observations. The pooling strategy appends cross-sectional data in a fourfold way with regard to respective career categories (education/training, further education and training, upward career mobility and leadership position). Thereafter, the m-logit accounts for the repeated observation of identical individuals by means of a Huber-White estimator (cf. Huber 1967; White 1980, 1982).

Table 25.3 describes the exogenous variables of the m-logit. The dependent variable is again the assessment of male or female career opportu-

[3] A detailed description of the m-logit is offered by Long 1997, 148 et sqq.

nities rated between 'good' (coded as '1'), 'bad' (coded as '2') or 'don't know' (coded as '3').

Similarly to the broad descriptive analyses the m-logit is related to both sexes, but is accounting to control for sex in order to test for potential gender effects. Moreover, further individual characteristics are included in the model that potentially could have an effect on the evaluation of career prospects, like age, job status (tenured civil servant versus no tenured civil servant status, part-time, type of contract), tenure, job satisfaction, satisfaction with staff council, attitude towards the public service as such (necessity for modernisation). Additionally, the model differentiates if career prospects are assessed from a leadership position's point of view or not. This is especially important as a leadership position is related to decide upon hiring and promoting employees. Strong beliefs and/or valid knowledge in terms of male or female career opportunities may have an impact on decisions regarding hiring- and promotion processes. Here, the demand-side, i.e. the evaluation of employee's potentials with regard to the career development (job applicants or resident workers) by employers plays an important role.

Placed in the annex of the paper, Table 25.12 exhibits the descriptive setting of the variables in the first m-logit that accounts for the assessment of male career prospects. About 42.5 % of the observations are due to male respondents, i.e. female employees are in the majority in this sample. Leadership positions are represented to some 2.2 % and the status of a tenured civil servant is relevant for about 50 % of the regression population. With about 37 %, the age group of 45–54 years of age constitutes the most frequent age group. About a quarter of the respondents are working on a part-time basis and some 13 % possess a temporary contract. Their job satisfaction averages out at 6.8 using the ordinary scale measuring job satisfaction between 0 (not satisfied at all) and 10 (totally satisfied). About 44 % of the respondents would appreciate modernisation processes within the administration and some 30 % are dissatisfied with their staff council.

Controlling for other implemented effects, the results of the m-logit (cf. Table 25.14) display again a pessimistic self-estimation of male career prospects as opposed to the reciprocal estimation of male career chances by female employees. The marginal effect for the variable 'sex' (coded with '1' for male and '0' for female') turns out to be highly significant to judge male career prospects as comparatively 'bad'. Hence, men tend to assess their own career prospects even worse than women reciprocally estimate the career chances of their male counterparts. This finding related to the variable 'sex' of Table 25.14 coincides with the findings of Table 25.15[4]: Male employees reciprocally estimate career prospects of their female colleagues less pessimistic and more optimistic than women self-estimate their own career opportunities. Accordingly, the gender-career estimation gap is clearly validated by the regressions.

If the respondents evaluate male and female career opportunities from the point of holding a leadership position, the tendency emerges to state that career opportunities are 'good', both for male and female employees. This result could be interpreted as a general statement of loyalty from the perspective of a leadership position. For instance, the coding of the leadership position assigns the governing and deputy mayor and their office staff to this position. Since these positions are elected by the majority of the voters in communal elections, the attitude towards career prospects of their subordinated employees is stated to be positive. This may be interpreted as a device to maximize votes within the meaning of a 'political message' sent to their potential voters.[5]

On a high significant level, civil servants judge male career prospects as 'good' (Table 25.14) whereas civil servants tend to estimate female career chances as 'bad' (Table 25.15). The interpretation of these results is consistent with the above described outcomes, since female are overrepresented within the population of civil servants in the samples (54 and 57 %).

To a higher extent, with rising tenure, male and female career prospects are positively evaluated as 'good'. This finding could be due to the own experience of promotion and career development, since

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[4] The descriptive results for Table 25.15 are displayed by Table 25.13.

[5] The interpretation is related to the so-called Economic Theory of Democracy (cf. Downs 1957).

in the German administrative sector, promotion processes are mainly due to automatic promotions with rising age. Similar significant marginal effects emerge for male and female career opportunities with regard to the age-bands. However, for female career options, those who are 55 years of age and older, tend to assess female career developments to be 'bad'. Again this finding may be due to own experiences within this generation.

Holding a part-time job clearly hinders the respondents to deliver a 'good' or 'bad'-judgement, as the marginal effects show up to be positive regarding the category 'don't know'. This is particularly true for the assessment of female career chances. The result mirrors the position of these respondents, as part-timers are not being fully integrated in the workplace of the public administration. This kind of indecision is potentially due to family duties that currently form careers aspirations as being indifferent and/or undefined as opposed to those employees who are working on a full-times basis. The finding becomes even more conclusive, as a separate descriptive analysis of part-timers in the m-logit sample cross-tabulated with the variable 'sex' shows that about 93 % of the part-timers are female employees. Working on a basis of a temporary contract has virtually no impact on the judgement of career prospects of male and female employees, as temporary contracts are not very common in the German public administration.

In contrast, with rising job satisfaction, the respondents explicitly evaluate career opportunities in an optimistic rather than in a pessimistic way. Furthermore, the attitude of appreciating modernisation with the public administration has no impact, whereas dissatisfaction with the work council yields to an assessment of female career prospects to develop in a bad way (cf. Table 25.15). The latter finding clearly addresses the work council to be responsible for equalizing career profiles of men and women.

Conclusions

The descriptive and regression analyses clearly display a pessimistic self-under-estimation of female career prospects as opposed to the recip-

rocal over-estimation of male career chances by female employees in the case study of the German public sector. Similar is true in respect to the self- and reciprocal evaluation of male career prospects of male employees. Accordingly, a gender-career estimation gap clearly occurs. Female (male) employees tend to under-estimate (over-estimate) female career chances. The 'objective truth' of 'real career development potentials' is placed somewhere in between these instances of under- and over-estimation of career prospects. However, these 'real career chances' are more or less only solely feasible, if no gender-career estimation gap would be in force. Hence, as soon as a gender-career estimation gap occurs career potentials are utilized in a suboptimal way. In particular with regard to female career potentials on the labor market, their *human and social capital* would partially be wasted.

The combination of a gender-career estimation gap and statistical discrimination to the disadvantage of female employees tend to augment the level of overall female discrimination in the labor market resulting in respective negative consequences with regard to the well-being of working women. In contrast, male workers experience an under-estimation of their career chances as well but will additionally not have to face statistical discrimination that is due to an average expectance of a low productivity in the labor market, e.g. in terms of presumed interrupted career profile due to family responsibilities.

From this point of view, the formation of decisions with regard to practical career developments during hiring and promotion processes, will be influenced by 'beliefs' and 'power' in respect to male and female career chances. The power of utilizing beliefs is partially incumbent on the owner of a leadership position in the private or public sector of the labor market. At this stance biased self- and reciprocal career estimations are likely to possess an impact on the formation of decisions with regard to practical career developments. It is the mechanism of a reciprocal determinism that may act as a verification of a seemingly lower productivity of female workers within the meaning of statistical discrimination. The mechanism of statistical discrimination is extensively described in the

literature as a widely existent failure when it comes to decide upon a selection of human resources. Goldin and Rouse (2000) for instance show that far more female musicians are engaged in an orchestra if the application procedure is organized in a blind approach, i.e. the jury is allowed to hear but not to see the musicians.

However, the regression results suggest that those who decide upon career developments, i.e. public employers or employees possessing a leadership position, state that career prospects of their male and female employees are 'good'. Additionally, decisions on recruitment and promotion are always not entirely due to a 'single decider'. In particular, the (German) public sector offers various institutions that participate in the processes of deciding upon hiring and promoting like *staff councils*, *unions* or *equal opportunity commissioners*. Additionally, an equal proportion of males and females delegated to these institutions will be a very important requirement to deliver the respective decisions for equal opportunities because self- and reciprocal 'beliefs' in male and female career opportunities, potentially set in a converse manner against each other, are likely to be equalized by proportionality. An implementation and involvement of *women's quota in the labor market* might also flank equal opportunities. However, this approach may not be the optimal remedy against converse beliefs in male and female career opportunities. On the contrary, the gender-career estimation gap might even be fostered by means of the 'artificial character' women's quota in the labor market, since this device may possess a 'lack in the depth of focus' and therefore may not reach insistent beliefs in male and female career chances.

In contrast, *anonymous applications* are a good example for a device of how to absorb the vicious circle of statistical discrimination and converse beliefs in female and male career chances. For instance the Belgium public sector is successfully hiring its employees since 2005 on the bases of anonymous application schemes. Similar challenging results in terms of this approach are described by Krause et al. (2012). The authors also hint at some drawbacks of anonymous applications. However, anonymous applications may be more suitable for the public sector in general since the

public sector of the labor market traditionally provides (more) devices to attain equal opportunities as opposed to the private sector.

Additionally, supporting female career developments 'on the job' may be an important approach to smoothen the magnitude of the self-under estimation of career opportunities and a self-ascribed lack-of-fit to leadership positions. This empowerment strategy could be implemented by general and/or pay negotiation training courses (cf. Booth 2007).

Further Research

There are different strands of research that could be accelerated in order to boost the knowledge within the field of the gender-career estimation gap. Accordingly, various research approaches might be fruitful to make progress with regard to causes and consequences of gender differences in the self- and reciprocal estimation of career opportunities. This includes research regarding remedies against the respective negative consequences of these beliefs in male and female career chances.

Causes

To a higher extent, the mechanism of building-up gender related differences in self- and reciprocal beliefs in career chances should be investigated. By means of personal interviews or lab experiments, *qualitative research* could shed some more light on the basics of self- and reciprocal beliefs in career opportunities. This explorative perspective is very important to understand the reasons in a better way as to why the gap between male and female self- and reciprocal emerges. This research approach should also include the investigation of beliefs in male in female career chances that may still be fostered by the demand side of labor markets, i.e. employers. Qualitative expert interviews with employers and their institutional representatives may be devices to implement this research approach. If the background of these beliefs are detected, *quantitative research* should be utilized in order to display the overall empirical magnitude, i.e. to quantify the distribution of these beliefs within the population.

Consequences and Remedies

Having identified mechanisms and actors of the gender-career estimation gap, we are interested in its and their consequences respectively. For instance, cognitive and non-cognitive differences between men and women as discussed by Bertrand (2010) might be relevant for labor market related consequences within the field of statistical discrimination. The gender pay gap is a prominent consequence that occurs within the field of statistical discrimination. However, this phenomenon needs more validation in order to understand the steps that are made from step one (beliefs in differences) towards step 2 (reactions based on beliefs). From this point of view, the aspect of *reciprocal determinism* should be integrated in research activities to a higher extent in order to understand the interaction between signals sent by (male and) female employees, like an average self-under-estimation of career chances and the utilization of these signals by employers within the process of screening job- and/or promotion applicants.

The phenomenon of statistical discrimination is well known and labor market actors as well as politics have developed programs in order to absorb this disturbing aspect. However, the effectiveness and efficiency of these programs, like a *women's quota in the labor market* or *anonymous applications*, have not yet been consequently evaluated. A valuable field of further research would be the empirical identification of differences between the public and private sector of the economy. This kind of comparison could deliver more detailed information on the question, if a higher extent of (legal) interventions as realized in the public sector with regard to equalizing career opportunities also leads to a comparatively higher extent of smoothening labor market discrimination. As a starting point, the book contribution at least delivers the finding that the public sector as such possesses a distinct gender-career estimation gap that accelerates labor market discrimination to the disadvantage of the female workforce.

Annex

Table 25.4 Gender differences in the estimation of male career prospects (education and training) in % (cases in parentheses)

	Females		Males		Total	
Good	41.9	(85)	46.1	(71)	43.7	(156)
Bad	1.5	(3)	13.6	(21)	6.7	(24)
Don't know	56.6	(115)	40.3	(62)	49.6	(177)
Total	203		154		357	

Source: Author's calculations
Pearson chi^2 (2) = 24.3599 Pr = 0.000

Table 25.5 Gender differences in the estimation of male career prospects (further education and training) in % (cases in parentheses)

	Females		Males		Total	
Good	42.7	(87)	50.3	(78)	46.1	(165)
Bad	2.5	(5)	21.3	(33)	10.6	(38)
Don't know	54.7	(111)	28.4	(44)	43.3	(155)
Total	203		155		358	

Source: Author's calculations
Pearson chi^2 (2) = 44.4470 Pr = 0.000

Table 25.6 Gender differences in the estimation of male career prospects (upward career mobility) in % (cases in parentheses)

	Females		Males		Total	
Good	50.2	(102)	35.6	(57)	43.8	(159)
Bad	2.0	(4)	36.9	(59)	17.4	(63)
Don't know	47.8	(97)	27.5	(44)	38.8	(141)
Total	203		160		363	

Source: Author's calculations
Pearson chi^2 (2) = 76.6557 Pr = 0.000

Table 25.7 Gender differences in the estimation of male career prospects (leadership positions) in % (cases in parentheses)

	Females		Males		Total	
Good	50.5	(102)	35.1	(53)	43.9	(155)
Bad	2.5	(5)	30.5	(46)	14.5	(51)
Don't know	47.0	(95)	34.4	(52)	41.6	(147)
Total	202		151		353	

Source: Author's calculations
Pearson chi^2 (2) = 54.8050 Pr = 0.000

Table 25.8 Gender differences in the estimation of female career prospects (education and training) in % (cases in parentheses)

	Females		Males		Total	
Good	50.9	(112)	52.1	(74)	51.4	(186)
Bad	4.6	(10)	3.5	(5)	4.1	(15)
Don't know	44.5	(98)	44.4	(63)	44.5	(161)
Total	220		142		362	

Source: Author's calculations
Pearson chi^2 (2)=0.2435 Pr=0.885

Table 25.10 Gender differences in the estimation of female career prospects (upward career mobility) in % (cases in parentheses)

	Females		Males		Total	
Good	19.9	(44)	45.7	(63)	29.8	(107)
Bad	34.4	(76)	13.0	(18)	26.2	(94)
Don't know	45.7	(101)	41.3	(57)	44.0	(158)
Total	221		138		359	

Source: Author's calculations
Pearson chi^2 (2)=34.0446 Pr=0.000

Table 25.9 Gender differences in the estimation of female career prospects (further education and training) in % (cases in parentheses)

	Females		Males		Total	
Good	44.4	(96)	51.4	(71)	47.2	(167)
Bad	11.6	(25)	8.7	(12)	10.4	(37)
Don't know	44.0	(95)	39.9	(55)	42.4	(150)
Total	216		138		354	

Source: Author's calculations
Pearson chi^2 (2)=1.8817 Pr=0.390

Table 25.11 Gender differences in the estimation of female career prospects (leadership positions) in % (cases in parentheses)

	Females		Males		Total	
Good	19.5	(42)	39.9	(55)	27.4	(97)
Bad	31.0	(67)	14.5	(20)	24.6	(87)
Don't know	49.5	(107)	45.6	(63)	48.0	(170)
Total	216		138		354	

Source: Author's calculations
Pearson chi^2 (2)=22.4235 Pr=0.000

Table 25.12 Descriptives, M-logit model (male career prospects)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Assessment male career prospects	1,303	1.9916	0.9426	1	3
Sex	1,303	0.4252	0.4956	1	3
Leadership	1,303	0.2150	0.1451	0	1
Civil servant	1,303	0.5035	0.5001	0	1
Tenure	1,303	16.3092	10.7667	0.166	47
Age 24	1,303	0.0338	0.1807	0	1
Age 25–34	1,303	0.1819	0.3859	0	1
Age 35–44	1,303	0.2748	0.4466	0	1
Age 45–54	1,303	0.3707	0.4832	0	1
Age 55+	1,303	0.1328	0.3395	0	1
Part-time job	1,303	0.2740	0.4462	0	1
Temporary contract	1,303	0.1305	0.3369	0	1
Job-satisfaction	1,303	6.7928	2.2937	0	10
Administration-modernisation	1,303	0.4413	0.4967	0	1
Dissatisfaction-staff council	1,303	0.2970	0.4571	0	1

Source: Author's calculations (pooled data with 1,303 observations containing 336 individuals)

Table 25.13 Descriptives, M-logit model (female career prospects)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Assessment male career prospects	1,297	2.0510	0.9190	1	3
Sex	1,297	0.3832	0.4863	1	3
Leadership	1,297	0.2160	0.1453	0	1
Civil servant	1,297	0.5135	0.5000	0	1
Tenure	1,297	16.3018	10.8698	0.166	47
Age 24	1,297	0.0339	0.1811	0	1
Age 25–34	1,297	0.1850	0.3885	0	1
Age 35–44	1,297	0.2660	0.4420	0	1
Age 45–54	1,297	0.3847	0.4867	0	1
Age 55+	1,297	0.1241	0.3300	0	1
Part-time job	1,297	0.2922	0.4550	0	1
Temporary contract	1,297	0.1333	0.3401	0	1
Job-satisfaction	1,297	6.8874	2.2100	0	10
Administration-modernisation	1,297	0.4287	0.4951	0	1
Dissatisfaction-staff council	1,297	0.2776	0.4480	0	1

Source: Author's calculations (pooled data with 1,297 observations containing 334 individuals)

Table 25.14 M-logit model results: estimation of male career prospects

	Coefficients		Marginal effects		
Variable	Good	Bad	Good	Bad	Don't know
Sex	0.384	3.239***	−0.0161	0.193***	−0.177***
	(0.250)	(0.566)	(0.0576)	(0.0367)	(0.0571)
Leadership	1.776**	1.434	0.329***	0.00823	−0.337***
	(0.850)	−1.121	(0.110)	(0.0443)	(0.100)
Civil servant	1.021***	0.834**	0.233***	0.0124	−0.245***
	(0.230)	(0.332)	(0.0520)	(0.0122)	(0.0522)
Tenure	0.0650***	0.0414**	0.0154***	0.000321	−0.0157***
	(0.0152)	(0.0205)	(0.00365)	(0.000777)	(0.00365)
Age 24	0.693	1.561*	0.105	0.0789	−0.184
	(0.643)	(0.904)	(0.157)	(0.0942)	(0.119)
Age 25–34	0.645	0.195	0.154*	−0.00671	−0.148*
	(0.399)	(0.588)	(0.0902)	(0.0199)	(0.0893)
Age 35–44	0.254	0.320	0.0562	0.00797	−0.0641
	(0.286)	(0.437)	(0.0679)	(0.0180)	(0.0682)
Age 55+	−0.682*	0.286	−0.172**	0.0303	0.142
	(0.378)	(0.506)	(0.0821)	(0.0286)	(0.0880)
Part-time job	−0.476*	−0.382	−0.111*	−0.00594	0.116*
	(0.283)	(0.716)	(0.0671)	(0.0273)	(0.0695)
Temp. contract	0.356	−1.000	0.104	−0.0345**	−0.0695
	(0.384)	(0.920)	(0.0919)	(0.0149)	(0.0914)
Job-satisfaction	0.00290	−0.202***	0.00506	−0.00844***	0.00338
	(0.0535)	(0.0680)	(0.0129)	(0.00287)	(0.0129)
Administration-Modernisation	0.0778	0.144	0.0163	0.00435	−0.0207
	(0.231)	(0.342)	(0.0550)	(0.0132)	(0.0558)

(continued)

Table 25.14 (continued)

	Coefficients		Marginal effects		
Variable	Good	Bad	Good	Bad	Don't know
Dissatisfaction-Staff council	0.418*	0.833**	0.0830	0.0284	−0.111*
	(0.252)	(0.365)	(0.0578)	(0.0188)	(0.0596)
Constant	−1.921***	−3.786***			
	(0.588)	(0.863)			
Observations	1,303	1,303	1,303	1,303	1,303

Source: Author's calculations
log likelihood (0)=−1258.983, log likelihood (5)=−1045.1591; Wald chi^2 (26)=130.27; Prob>chi^2=.0000; Pseudo R^2=.1689. Pooled data with Huber-White Estimator, robust standard errors in parentheses adjusted for 336 clusters (individuals)
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 25.15 M-logit model results: estimation of female career prospects

	Coefficients		Marginal effects		
Variable	Good	Bad	Good	Bad	Don't know
Sex	0.263	−1.069***	0.116**	−0.121***	0.00589
	(0.239)	(0.317)	(0.0529)	(0.0244)	(0.0561)
Leadership	1.695**	0.0928	0.379***	−0.0782	−0.301***
	(0.820)	−1.363	(0.126)	(0.0591)	(0.114)
Civil servant	0.597***	1.008***	0.0909*	0.0798***	−0.171***
	(0.215)	(0.278)	(0.0464)	(0.0269)	(0.0489)
Tenure	0.0591***	0.0217	0.0132***	−0.000691	−0.0125***
	(0.0142)	(0.0159)	(0.00314)	(0.00155)	(0.00324)
Age 24	0.0949	−1.842*	0.0756	−0.111***	0.0355
	(0.570)	−1.040	(0.138)	(0.0257)	(0.141)
Age 25–34	0.251	−0.991**	0.104	−0.0960***	−0.00751
	(0.345)	(0.488)	(0.0809)	(0.0291)	(0.0813)
Age 35–44	0.0456	−0.362	0.0289	−0.0398	0.0108
	(0.267)	(0.355)	(0.0602)	(0.0308)	(0.0622)
Age 55+	−0.254	1.049**	−0.129*	0.175**	−0.0461
	(0.411)	(0.433)	(0.0728)	(0.0692)	(0.0910)
Part-time job	−0.728***	−0.863***	−0.132**	−0.0551**	0.188***
	(0.252)	(0.320)	(0.0518)	(0.0256)	(0.0576)
Temp. contract	0.356	0.661	0.0449	0.0605	−0.105
	(0.335)	(0.480)	(0.0770)	(0.0624)	(0.0744)
Job-satisfaction	0.0764	−0.121**	0.0248**	−0.0173***	−0.00748
	(0.0495)	(0.0601)	(0.0110)	(0.00620)	(0.0114)
Administration-Modernisation	0.0139	0.286	−0.0119	0.0315	−0.0196
	(0.214)	(0.290)	(0.0465)	(0.0292)	(0.0506)
Dissatisfaction-Staff Council	0.315	0.766**	0.0304	0.0749**	−0.105*
	(0.247)	(0.301)	(0.0512)	(0.0347)	(0.0567)
Constant	−2.001***	−0.882			
	(0.538)	(0.601)			
Observations	1,297	1,297	1,297	1,297	1,297

Source: Author's calculations
log likelihood (0)= −1315.004, log likelihood (5)= −1171.61; Wald chi^2 (26)=138.06; Prob>chi^2=.0000; Pseudo R^2=.1090. Pooled data with Huber-White Estimator, robust standard errors in parentheses adjusted for 334 clusters (individuals)
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

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Family and Labor Market Policies in Germany: The Well-Being of Working Women

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In Germany, women's participation in the labor market has historically differed greatly from that of men. This gender gap has been shaped by social norms and expectations for women, family and labor market policies, and Germany's corporatist-type social welfare state (Esping-Andersen 1990). In recent years, the federal government in Germany has focused its efforts on challenging the gendered division in labor and has developed a number of new policies and programs designed to encourage labor force participation among women. Although these new policies have undeniably altered the face of women's employment in Germany, they have not fully achieved their goals for working women.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, Germany implemented two new major labor market policies. The first dealt with labor market and family policy and the second involved unemployment and social assistance policy. The need for new policies was strongly influenced by changes in demographic and economic trends in Germany.

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These changes included low birth rates, and subsequent population declines which has created a dramatic shifting of the average population age towards the elderly. Additionally, and more recently, Germany has experienced high unemployment rates that have served to highlight the need for new labor market policies. For women, as for men, these shifts in policy have brought about winners and losers. Privileged women in the labor market, like those who were well-educated, gained direct access to benefits associated with high levels of labor market attachment, while less privileged women found that their access to unemployment assistance and social assistance became increasingly restricted.

In this chapter, we describe the ways in which the current policies affect women's relationship to the labor market. We review the historical context of working women in Germany, discuss the reasons and hoped for outcomes for recent family and labor market policy changes, and highlight how these policy changes could potentially have different effects for women with differing levels of privilege. Secondly, using data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), we examine the well-being of working women by exploring satisfaction with life, work, child care, and health. Specific attention is given to exploring how well-being differs between women who occupy more privileged positions in the labor market compared to women who are more economically

vulnerable. We conclude by discussing the implications that findings about women's well-being has when examining their connection to the labor market.

Working Women and the Historical Context of Labor Market Policy

Historical context plays an important role in how women's relationship to the labor market is framed. East and West Germany were separated for 40 years until unification in December of 1990 (Duggan 1995). The political differences between East and West Germany's approach to family policy directly informed the ease with which women were able to access the labor market prior to unification. For example, the communistic East Germany enforced policies that encouraged women's participation in full-time employment. They did this primarily with the creation of childcare programs, generous family leave, and flexible working hours that aided in making motherhood compatible with work (Duggan 1995). These policies, and the programs they created, allowed East German women to participate in the labor market at greater rates than their West German counterparts. Still, despite this, there were drawback to these policies. Primarily, the policies did not challenge gendered differences in work which meant that women were responsible for partici-

pating in the public labor market as well as being responsible for domestic labor and family caretaking (Duggan 1995).

In capitalistic West Germany family policies allowed one parent to work and provide for the family while the other parent could stay at home to provide child care and manage household labor (Duggan 1995; Guenther 2010). Although the labor policies in West Germany were often not gender specific, their implementation, in conjunction with the existing male-dominated division of labor, tended to reinforce the "male breadwinner model" (Duggan 1995; Gottschall and Bird 2003). Due to this, women in West Germany were less likely to participate in the labor market and were more likely to disconnect from work in the event that the domestic needs increased, such as those that might occur after a child is born.

Following the unification of East and West Germany in 1990, the West German family and labor market policies replaced those of East Germany. This effectively ended many of the childcare programs, child support services, and comprehensive family leave policies that had made it possible for East German women to participate in the labor market (Duggan 1995; Guenther 2010). Still, the historical precedence of the different policies towards women in both East and West Germany continues to have an effect on their participation in the labor market today (See Fig. 26.1).
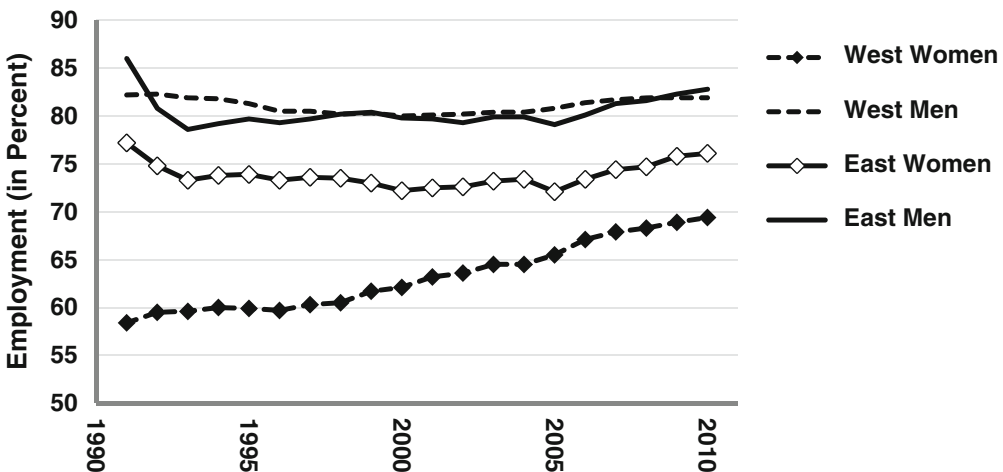
Fig. 26.1 Employment in East and West Germany by gender from 1991 to 2010 (*Source:* Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2012a) *Arbeitsmarkt 2011*. Nurnburg, DE: Bundesagentur für Arbeit)

Trends Informing the Need for Policy Change

In 2007, the federal German government began to implement a number of new family, labor market, and social welfare policies (Trzcinski and Camp 2013). The need for these changes was driven by three major factors: low fertility rates, the under-representation of women in the labor market, and high levels of unemployment. Each of these factors and the reason they drove policy change is explained the following section of this chapter.

Fertility Rates

The first major factor that drove the need for new labor market policies was the demographic and population changes that altered the number of available laborers in the population. Currently, Germany has one of the lowest fertility rates in the world, with fewer than 1.4 children born for every woman (Eurostats 2012; Statistisches Bundesamt 2012a). At its current trajectory, demographers project that the population in Germany will decline by nearly 13 million people by the 2050s (See Fig. 26.2). Although 8.7 % of the population is foreign and

Germany has a steady influx of immigrants, the pace of immigration is not substantial enough to halt the projected declines. Since 1971, the fertility rates in Germany have continued to fall and have remained below replacement rates, which means that new births have been insufficient to replace the number of workers leaving the labor market. Also, the low fertility rates have caused a change in the overall age structure of the population which indicates that the workers currently in the labor market are aging (Spakes 1995).

An interesting, and potentially important trend is that fertility rates appear to be inversely influenced by the educational attainment of women. In West Germany, for example, 26 % of women aged 40 and older who have a college or university degree do not have children. In contrast, only 16 % of women with a primary or secondary school certificate and 11 % of women who do not have an educational degree remain childless (Pötzsch 2011). Similar trends have also been noted in East Germany. This trend is important because it indicates that women who would be the highest valued in the labor market are also the least likely to have children. This suggests that participation in the labor market may have hidden costs for women that are forcing them to choose between working and having children.
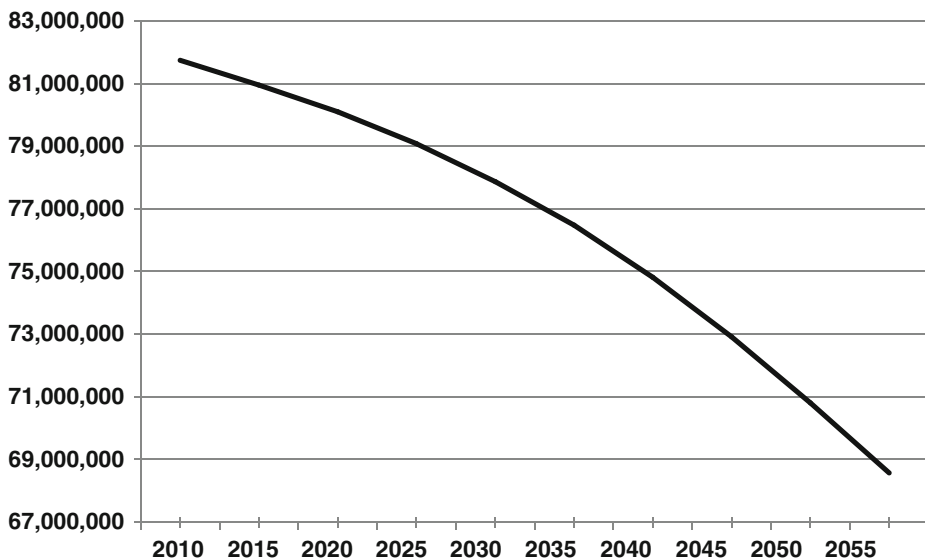
Fig. 26.2 Projected population trends in Germany: 2010–2055 (*Source:* Statistisches Bundesamt (2009) Germany's population by 2060: Results of the 12th coordinated population projection)

Labor Force Participation

Although women's participation rates in the labor market have historically remained much lower than that of men, as shown in Fig. 26.3, the demographic changes in Germany have forced the federal government in recent years to look to women to replenish the loss of laborers in the market. This replenishment of workers can happen in two key ways, women participating in the labor market and women having children. Indeed, many of the recent shifts in family and labor market policy, such as the development of more flexible family leave, has attempted to find ways to help women, especially mothers, balance family responsibilities and participate in the labor market.

When examining the effect of these policies it appears that they have had some success reducing the overall gendered division of the labor force. In 1990, only 62 % of women participated in the labor market, making women 21 % less likely to work than men. By 2011, this trend had changed with nearly 71 % of women participating in the labor market, only 11 % below that of men (See Fig. 26.3). Although it has not been an instantaneous change, women have been catching up to men in the German labor market at the rate of about half a percent each year since 1990.

Unemployment

The final factor that informed the need for policy change was the rapid increase of the number of unemployed persons in Germany, which had major political implications. The number of people unemployed increased steadily after unification between 1991 and 1997, with only a few minor decreases. From 2000 to 2005, however, the number of the unemployed climbed dramatically from 3.1 to 4.6 million, an increase of 1.5 million (See Fig. 26.4). This is particularly noteworthy given the ongoing decline in the total population size. In 2005, the unemployment rate peaked at 10.6 %, with slightly over 5 million Germans out of work (Asef and Wingerter 2011; Dougherty 2005). The perpetual rise in unemployment led to social and political change, as discontented Germans pushed for labor policy that would help create jobs. In 2005, this push changed the political environment in Germany, as the Social Democratic party was defeated and the Christian Democratic party elected. This shift in politics created an environment for the enactment of the new labor market and social welfare policies that would not have been considered or proposed under the old administration.

Fig. 26.3 Employment trends for women and men in Germany (*Source:* Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2012a) *Arbeitsmarkt 2011*. Nurnburg: Bundesagentur für Arbeit)
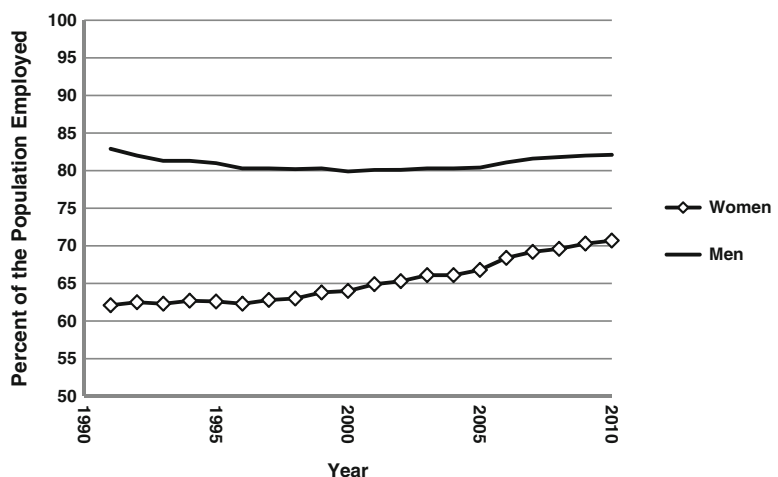
Fig. 26.4 Number unemployed in millions: 1991–2010 (*Source:* Asef and Wingerter (2011). Arbeitsmarkt. In Datenreport 2011: *Ein Sozailberich für die Bundesrepublik*

Deutschland, Band I, (pp. 97–108). Berlin: Statistisches Bundesamt; Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung)

Family and Employment Policies in Germany

Although there were undoubtedly a number of important policy changes that occurred following the 2005 political change in Germany, this chapter is going to focus on four key policies that had the ability to influence the well-being of working women: the Federal Law of Parental Allowance and Parental Leave, the Child Care Promotion Act, the inclusion of long term care under social security, and the Hartz reforms to unemployment insurance.

Early Childhood Benefits: Parental Allowance and Leave

In January of 2007, the Federal Law of Parental Allowance and Parental Leave was enacted, replacing the former child-rearing benefits that had existed in Germany. Parental allowance provides cash benefits to all German citizen with the exception of those that have very high incomes.

Single parents earning less than €250,000 and couples earning less than €500,000 annually are eligible to receive benefits. The benefits provided by parental allowance replace 65–67 % of a parent's earnings when they take leave from work to care for a newborn child. In some cases, parents may be eligible to have a greater percentage of their income covered, especially if they earn less than €1,000 per month (Geisler and Kreyenfeld 2012).

Parental allowance is calculated on a sliding scale and is based on what the parent earned in the12 months prior to the birth of the child (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs 2012; Statistisches Bundesamt 2012b). This allowance is a fixed monthly benefit that is set at a minimum of €300 per month and is capped at €1,800 per month (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs 2012; Statistisches Bundesamt 2012b). For each child, the parental allowance can be received for a maximum of 12 months in dual-parent households and 14 months in single-parent households (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012c). Parents can apply for parental allowances and leaves for each child

and are eligible for additional allowance in the event of multiple births. Parents who are not working or unemployed can apply for the minimum payment from Parental Allowance but these benefits may be deducted from other types of social welfare payments, such as unemployment benefits.

Under parental leave, mothers and fathers can take time away from their work or reduce work hours without losing their jobs. Parental leave can range from a minimum of 2 months to a maximum of 3 years per child as long as the parent was employed prior to the child's birth, worked at least 30 h a week, and notified their employer 7 weeks prior to taking the leave (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs 2012). Mothers and fathers can take time from work simultaneously or separately and can save 1 year of parental leave to use at any time between the child's 3rd and 8th birthday (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs 2012). The increased flexibility in leave times under the Parental Allowance and Leave Act from previous policies has made it easier for women to return to the labor market following the birth of the child and has attempted to encourage fathers to take time from their jobs to help provide care for their children (Reich 2010).

Benefits for Dependents: Child Care and Long-Term Care of Aging Parents

Historically, German policy has maintained that families should be the primary caregivers for dependent children and elders (Trzcinski 2000). In 2010, the number of individuals over the age of 65 and under the age of 15 (who are among the most likely to require care) was 31.2 %. Additionally, as the German population continues to age, it is projected that this group will expand to account for nearly 59.8 % of the German population by 2060 (European Commission 2012). This indicates that Germany could be facing a critical deficiency in care providers since there will be a growing number of individuals who need care at the same time that there will be a reduction in the number of individuals available to provide care.

Under the current German policy it can be any family member who provides care for children or aging parents, but, like many conservative type welfare states, German policies have historically emphasized women to be the primary caregivers in the family while men are the primary bread-winners (Esping-Andersen 1990; Henninger et al. 2008). A report by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (2011) reported that nearly 68 % of adults who have child or elder-care responsibilities in their families had to restrict their employment. Women, as the caregivers for children and elderly family members, are inordinately impacted by care giving responsibilities making them more likely to become disconnected from the labor market when there are care needs within the family.

To address the barriers that family care needs can cause women in Germany, the federal government has developed several new child-care and long-term care programs in attempts to reduce the barrier that family care can have on women's employment opportunities. The two most critical of these are an expansion of child-care under the Kinderförderungsgesetz, or Child Support Act, and the expansion of social security to provide long-term care benefits.

Child Support Act

In 1996, the federal government established more part- and full-time care facilities for children by expanding kindertagesstätte, or kindergarten, and expanding the number of day-care programs for children under three. Kindergarten programs are not operated through the school and provide pre-school opportunities for children from ages three to six. Unfortunately, there have traditionally few childcare programs available for children under the age of three. This has been a relatively large barrier to mothers with young children working outside the home. To rectify this the federal government extended its promise of providing additional childcare with the Child Support Act in 2008. This act solidified the parent's right to receive day care by guaranteeing that there would be a place for all children one year of age or older to receive care by 2014 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012d). Since 2008, the federal German government has invested resources to expand needed child care services and, by March 2012, reported

that there was an available day care for 23.4 % of all children under the age of three (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend 2012).

Long-Term Insurance

Women who care for aging parents or loved ones also face challenges working outside the home. As the population has aged, the federal government enhanced the German social code by creating long-term care insurance (Schulz 2010). Long-term care insurance provides cash benefits for the delivery of informal family care and community care. Benefits under long-term care allow family members to take time from work to provide care and help pay for care expenses, such as medical equipment and institutional care (Schulz 2010). Although long-term care insurance can be used to provide assistance in institutional settings, its primary purpose is to allow aging family members to be cared for in their own homes. To be eligible for the cash benefits associated with long-term care, family members must provide at least 14 h of care per week and be employed in the formal labor market for less than 30 h per week.

Unemployment Benefits: The Hartz Reforms

In response to the unemployment rates that began rising in 2000, the federal government drastically reformed social assistance and unemployment policies with the "Hartz Laws". This legislation was implemented in four separate stages between 2003 and 2006 (Ochel 2005). The Hartz reforms focused on reorganizing government services for the unemployed by restructuring unemployment agencies, developing a principle of "rights and duties" that encouraged the unemployed to seek employment, and deregulating aspects of the labor market, especially in the temporary work sector. The most recent of the Hartz reforms, called "Hartz IV", was implemented in January of 2005. Hartz IV altered unemployment insurance, or Arbeitslosengeld I, by reducing the benefit term from 32 months to 12 months for those under the age of 55 and 18 months for those over

the age of 55 (Fleckenstein 2008; Ochel 2005). Hartz IV also altered long-term unemployment insurance, or Arbeitslosengeld II, by combining it with the existing social-assistance program. Arbeitslosengeld II, or unemployment benefit II, covers individuals who continue to be unemployed after Arbeitslosengeld I benefits end and are between the ages of 15 and 64. To be eligible for Unemployment Benefit II, recipients must be unable to meet their basic needs, physically and mentally able to work at least 3 h a day, and willing to work (Fleckenstein 2008; Krause and Uhlig 2012; Ochel 2005).

As of January 2013, Unemployment II cash benefits for single individuals without children were €382 per month (Ronicke 2012). For spouses, who are living in the same household and who are also unemployed, each can receive €345 per month (Ronicke 2012). Additional cash benefits are awarded to families with children on the basis of the child's age (See Table 26.1). In addition to cash assistance, recipients can receive assistance with rent, heating, and emergency household expenses. Mandatory contributions to social insurance are also maintained, to provide health care coverage and old age pensions (Ochel 2005; Ronicke 2012).

In general, recipients of Unemployment Benefit II can be mandated to take any job opportunity, and cannot turn down jobs that pay less than they were earning before they became unemployed. Recipients cannot turn down a position even if an employer does not pay the amount outlined in collective bargaining agreements, as long as the wages are above the minimum requirement for the region (Ochel 2005). Additionally, those who receive assistance from

Table 26.1 Unemployment II cash benefits

Recipient	Euros per month
Single adults	€382
Spouse	€345
Under 25	€306
Children	
14–17 years old	€289
6–13 years old	€255
0–5 years old	€224

Source: Ronicke (2012). Hartz IV (Arbeitslosengeld II) nach dem SGB II

Unemployment Benefit II can be mandated to take community-service positions, also known as "One-Euro Jobs". One-Euro jobs pay €1 or €2 above the standard cash assistance provided by Unemployment Benefit II and can be used to test a recipient's willingness to work (Hohmeyer 2009; Hohmeyer and Wolff 2012; Ochel 2005).

Policy Outcomes: Impact on Women

Many of the new family and labor market policies following 2005 were aimed at increasing fertility rates, addressing the gender division of labor by creating greater equality for women in the labor market, and lowering rates of unemployment. In many ways these policies both succeeded and failed in meeting these goals. The next section provides an overview of the outcomes of these new policies and the effects they have had on the well-being of women in Germany.

Fertility Rates and Women

Despite the changes to parental leave, parental allowance, and child care policies, the total live birth rates in Germany have continued to decline (See Table 26.2). When investigating the effects of policy change on fertility rates in Germany, Thyran et al. (2010) noted that although overall fertility rates are declining, this trend is not consistent across all groups of women. Following the enactment of the Federal Law of Parental Allowance and Parental Leave of 2007, fertility rates increased slightly for certain groups of women. These groups included women who were employed full-time before they became pregnant, women who came from higher social classes, and women with higher income levels (Thyrian et al. 2010). Rather than increasing overall fertility rates, or allowing mothers who were formerly unemployed to participate in the labor market, it appears that these policy

changes had the strongest effect on women from more privileged social groups.

When examining policy changes, like parental allowance, closely there may be a few reasons that the changes may be furthering a reduction in fertility rates. It may be that policy changes have not provided the same benefits to all women, but rather may have made it more difficult for women from more economically vulnerable groups to have children. First, since parental allowance is based on earnings from employment, women with lower levels of income receive less assistance than women from higher-income families. This can be especially detrimental for single-parent and female-headed households because single-parent households rely on one income and women tend to earn much less than men (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012b). An examination of the differences in benefit amount from parental allowance by Kreisen (2012) determined that mothers are eligible for €878 in cash benefits per month while fathers' average claim is €1,201 per month. Secondly, there are large regional differences in the amount of parental benefit received. Lower income areas differ greatly from the amount received in higher income areas. The lowest average parental allowance is claimed in Bremen at €653 per month, the highest family allowance is claimed in Hamburg at an average of €850 per month (Kreisen 2012). This suggests that families who tend to live in more economically vulnerable areas do not receive as much assistance from parental allowance because they receive less in wages from working. This may indicate families in lower income regions have less ability to take time from work to care for children as families in higher income regions. Lastly, the greatest gap in parental benefits exists for unemployed mothers. Parents who were not employed prior to the birth of their child receive, on average, €329 per month while parents who were employed receive an average allowance of €964

Table 26.2 Total live births in Germany: 2007–2011

2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
684,862	682,514	665,126	677,947	662,685

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2013) Population movement: Births and deaths

per month (Kreisen 2012). This difference in assistance is even more drastic after the Hartz reforms to unemployment insurance which, as of 2011, mandated that parental allowance is deducted from unemployment assistance for parents receiving Unemployment Benefit II. In effect, for many families this reform forces unemployed parents to forfeit the parental allowance in its entirety. Undoubtedly, this policy change has the greatest impact on the most economically vulnerable families in Germany and could have a profound effect on the well-being of unemployed mothers

Equality for Women in the Labor Market

The second major goal for the new family and labor market policies was to encourage greater equality for women with in the labor market to encourage work force participation. This equality includes working towards women receiving wages comparable to men and participation in high level management positions.

Wage Gap for Women

Although policy changes and the creation of child care was designed to help women be able to access full-time employment and competitive jobs, the average wages received by women are still significantly lower than those of men (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2012b). In 2010, full-time workers earned €2,702 per month on average, with men who worked full-time earning €2,932 per month on average and women working full-time earning €2,312. Some of this income differences may be due to the different job sectors that tend to be occupied by women, especially women with family-related career interruptions (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2012b). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that mothers experience and even greater wage gap when compared to men and women without children (See Fig. 26.5). The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2011), also note that mothers in Germany will earn less than half the income of women without children during their career. Kühhirt and Ludwig (2012) report that women who take maternity leave notice a lifetime decrease in wages. Wages for mothers, on average, are reduced by 4 % for 1 year of maternity leave, 8 % for 2 years, and 12 % if they choose to take 3 years from work. Since there are very limited childcare options available for children under 3 years of age, single mothers especially have few options other than taking time from work to care for their children.
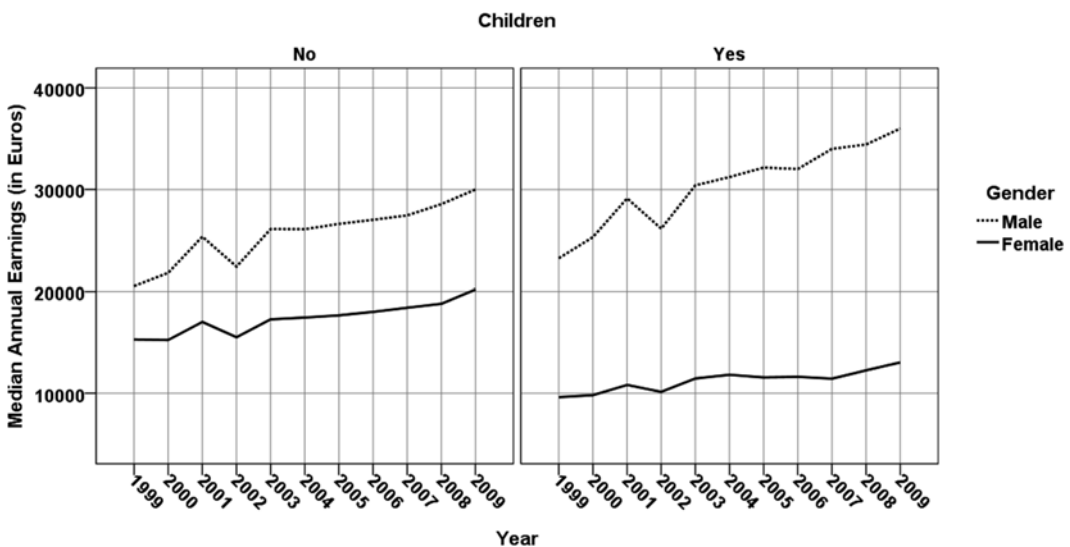
Fig. 26.5 Median earnings for women and men with and without children (*Authors Calculations:* Income adjusted for CPI for the year 2009. Based on data from the German Socio-economic Panel Survey (SOEP) between the years of 1999–2009)

Another factor that may be contributing to the differences in wages between women and men is the expectation that women in the labor market are merely providing a second income for the household, rather than being the main providers for a family (Bosch and Kalina 2008). Due to this expectation, women may continue to have difficulty obtaining better paying positions which tend to be reserved for men in a "male breadwinner- female caregiver" society (Misra et al. 2007; Ostner 2010). Since policy changes have attempted to make work more accessible for women, rather than challenge some of these underlying cultural beliefs about work, women may have more difficulty accessing the highest paying jobs. This is supported by evidence showing women make up the largest number of working poor in Germany (Gießelmann and Lohmann 2008).

Management Gap for Women

In Germany, women are underrepresented in managerial and leadership positions in most companies. The hope for the development of strong parental leave policies and the expansion of child care is that women would be more likely to be able to access higher level occupations. An examination of women in management by Holst (2005) determined that women only account for 10 % of members in the highest decision-making bodies in the top 50 publicly quoted companies. Additionally, she notes that women only account for 1 % of the members of management boards and only 8 % of the members of supervisory boards on Germany's 87 largest joint stock companies. Women who are in management positions are still more likely to head smaller firms and be employed in industries such as health care, catering, hotels, and transport, rather than manufacturing or industry where senior managers tend to be better paid (Busch and Holst 2009). Despite the fact that women in management positions are similarly educated with comparable work experience than men in management, they earn only 77 % of the men's average monthly income (Busch and Holst 2009). As child care options continue to be expanded in Germany management positions should become increasingly accessible for women.

Women and Unemployment

The third, and final goal of the policy changes was to reduce unemployment rates. Since the implementation of the Hartz reforms, unemployment levels in Germany have steadily declined. Since reunification, rates of unemployment for women have generally been the same as or higher than the rates for men (See Fig. 26.6). However, women are more likely than men to be jobless for longer periods of time when they become unemployed (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2012b).

Unemployed Women and Regional Differences in Labor Force Participation

Although it has been over 20 years since unification, the differing expectations of women's role in the labor market in East and West Germany have continued to have an impact on the employment of women in each region (See Figs. 26.7 and 26.8). In West Germany women are still much less likely to hold jobs, compared to their East German counterparts. Women who live in East Germany are much more likely to be employed in full-time work and are less likely to be employed in regular part-time or marginal part-time work positions. Since more women from East Germany participate in the labor market, they are also more likely to be unemployed than women from West Germany, who instead, are more likely to be not employed (not active in the labor market).

Policy Outcomes: Investigating Women's Well-Being and Labor Force Participation

Although the policy changes following 2005 have been observed to contribute to a variety of outcomes for German women, few studies have examined how these changes have affected the well-being of women. Well-being, measured by using life satisfaction ratings, can determine the effect that policy changes can have in a population. This study examines the satisfaction of
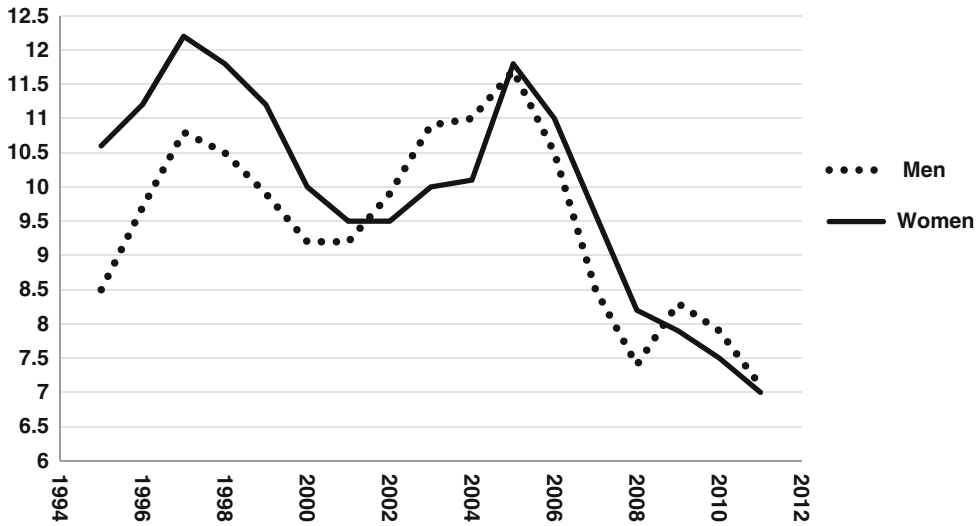
Fig. 26.6 Percentage of women and men unemployed in Germany from 1994 to 2011 (*Source*: Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2012d). *Arbeitsmarkt in Deutschland: Zeitreihen bis 2011*)
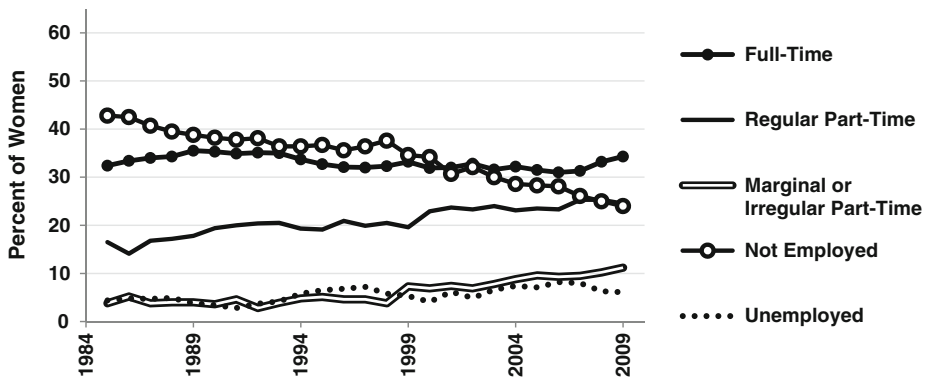
Fig. 26.7 Trends in employment status for women in West Germany 1985–2009 (*Authors Calculations:* Based on data from the German Socio-economic Panel Survey (SOEP) between the years of 2005–2009)
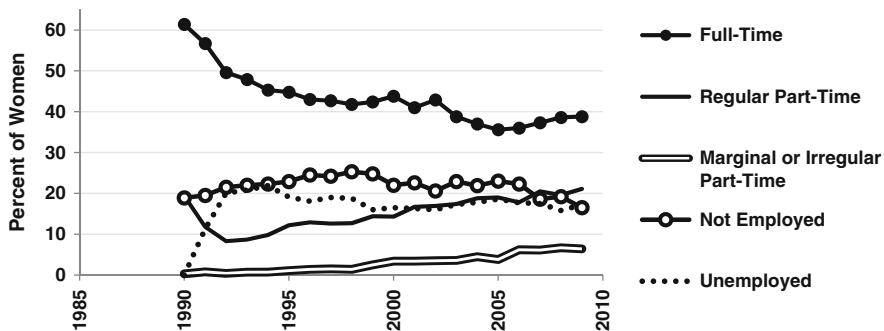
Fig. 26.8 Trends in employment status for women in East Germany 1990–2009 (*Authors Calculations:* Based on data from the German Socio-economic Panel Survey (SOEP) between the years of 2005–2009)

women before and after the implementation of the policies discussed in the chapter to determine if these policies have changed the well-being of women and their connection to the labor market.

Data and Methods

To examine the trends in women's labor force participation and the well-being of working women in Germany, we used the Socio-economic Panel (SOEP) English Panel version 26 (Cornell University 2011; SOEP 2010). The SOEP has been conducted annually in West Germany since 1984 and East Germany since 1990. It is a longitudinal survey that tracks about 20,000 individuals and 11,000 private households in Germany (DIW 2013; Trzcinski and Holst 2012). The SOEP is unique in that it provides a longitudinal representation of individual and household data in Germany and is a strong tool for measuring social, demographic, and economic trends. Some of the topics that are widely explored using the SOEP include household composition, occupational histories, employment, earnings, health, and well-being (DIW 2013). The English user package of the SOEP has been made available for researchers outside of the European Union and, in the United States, is obtained through Cornell University. This version of the SOEP differs from the data that can be obtained within the European Union in that it only contains 95 % of the original sample in accordance with strict data protection laws (Cornell University 2013; Haisken-DeNew and Frick 2005). Additionally, the English Panel version of the SOEP has had all the variables translated into English.

Most of the figures and tables included in this chapter were created from the 2005–2009 SOEP data using the SPSS complex samples module. The complex samples module allows for researchers to account for clusters and strata within the data and apply sampling weights. For the analyses in this chapter the authors clustered the data by household and used cross-sectional weights to ensure that the data was as representative of the German population. The applied cross-sectional weights account for

household size, gender, age, and nationality. Only adults between the ages of 18 and 62 were included, because children younger than 18 may not be fully engaged in the labor market and adults over the age of 62 may start to contemplate retirement and begin disengaging from the labor market. For most tables and figures men were removed from the data set and only women were explored. The exceptions to this are figures and tables that compare women with men.

Measures

The variables included in the analyses in this chapter focus on employment status, unemployment, disability, parental status, occupational autonomy, citizenship, and well-being. A detailed explanation of how each variable was measured in the SOEP questionnaire can be found in Table 26.3.

Employment Status and Unemployment. Employment status was created using questions that assessed current level of employment (See Table 26.3). All respondents who noted that they were currently receiving occupational or professional training were removed due to the low number of respondents in this category. All respondents who reported that they were not working and were federally registered as unemployed (ie. receiving unemployment benefits) were recoded as "Unemployed" to account for the differences that exist between women who are unemployed and who may be looking to return to the labor market and women who are not employed and may not be looking for employment.

Parental Status. Adults who reported having and caring for a child in their household, even a child that is not biologically their own (ie. adopted), were counted as having children.

Disability. Respondents who reported that they were legally classified as handicapped (formally assessed as having a medical limitation that interferes with work) were categorized as having a disability.

Table 26.3 Variables, associated questions, and possible responses

Variable	Question in the SOEP	Possible response
Employment status	Generated variable from the question: Are you currently engaged in paid employment? Which of the following applies best to your status? (pensioners with a job contract are considered employed)	1 – Full-time employed
		2 – Regular Part-time employed
		3 – In occupational/ professional education or retraining
		4 – Marginally or Irregularly employed
		5 – Not Employed
Unemployment	Are you officially registered as unemployed at the Employment office (Arbeitsamt)?	1 – Yes
		2 – No
Parental status	Generated variable from the question: Do children who were born in (16 years prior to current year the question is being asked) or later live in your household?	1 – Yes
		2 – No
Disability	Are you legally classified as handicapped or capable of gainful employment only to a reduced extent due to medical reasons?	1 – Yes
		2 – No
Occupational autonomy	Generated Variable associated with the different tasks that workers can be expected to carry out and the differing amounts of responsibility associated with each task. For example, and autonomy level of 1 would generally be assigned to a manual worker while a manager or a freelance academic would have an autonomy level of 5.	0 – Apprentice, Intern, Unpaid Trainee
		1 – Low Autonomy
		2 – Low Medium Autonomy
		3 – Medium Autonomy
		4 – Medium High Autonomy
		5 – High Autonomy
Citizenship	Is your nationality German?	1 – Yes
		2 – No
Well-being	**How satisfied are you today with the following areas of your life?**	
	Please answer by using the following scale:	
	0 means "totally unhappy", 10 means "totally happy".	
Satisfaction with housework	How satisfied are you with your housework?	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Satisfaction with health	How satisfied are you with your health?	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Satisfaction with household income	How satisfied are you with your household income?	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Satisfaction with work	How satisfied are you with your job? (if employed)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Satisfaction with leisure time	How satisfied are you with your free time?	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Satisfaction with child care	How satisfied are you with the child care available? (if you have small children)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Life satisfaction	**In conclusion, we would like to ask you about your satisfaction with your life in general.**	
	Please answer according to the following scale:	
	0 means "completely dissatisfied",	
	10 means "completely satisfied".	
Overall satisfaction with life	How satisfied are you with your life, all things considered?	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Sources: Gobel (2012a, b) SOEP documentation codebook: Person level questionnaires
Gobel (2012a, b) SOEP documentation codebook: Generated variables- personal level

Occupational Autonomy. Positions where women were evaluated as having no autonomy, such as unpaid internships and apprenticeships, were removed from this variable because these positions rarely denote a formal or long-term attachment to the labor market and are frequently unpaid positions. All other employed women were ranked on their occupational autonomy on a scale between 1, denoting low autonomy, and 5, denoting high autonomy.

Citizenship. Respondents that reported having German nationality were counted as being a German citizen.

Subjective Well-being. When examining subjective well-being, researchers generally use life satisfaction ratings as they are strong measures for capturing this concept (D'Acci 2010; Diener et al. 2012). In recent years, it has become increasingly popular for policy researchers and national governments alike to use subjective well-being measures to provide valuable information about the effects various social policies can have on different groups within a nation (Dolan and Metcalfe 2011). Well-being in this study is calculated from a series of questions that asked about satisfaction with various types of life factors, such as health, income, child care, and leisure time. Responses could range between 1, indicating complete dissatisfaction, and 10, indicating complete satisfaction.

Life Satisfaction. Life Satisfaction was determined by respondents' answer to a single question asking them about their overall satisfaction with their life. Responses could range between 1, indicating complete dissatisfaction, and 10, indicating complete satisfaction.

Results

When looking at the women in Germany, it appears that the new labor market, family, and social welfare policies in the mid to late 2000s have not improved their well-being, with life satisfaction scores slightly lower than before the new policies were implemented (See Fig. 26.9). Still, assessing the impact of policy is complex; only examining overall life satisfaction fails to capture the differences that can exist between different groups of women in Germany. A further examination of women with differing levels of education, women with vulnerabilities, women with disabilities, and women with children is discussed in more detail to determine how women from different backgrounds may have been affected.

Educational Levels and Working Women's Well-Being

Education has an important effect on participation in the labor market, as women who spend more time in school tend to be able to access better jobs, while women with lower levels of education often endure greater struggles when securing

Fig. 26.9 Average overall life satisfaction for German women aged 18–62 from 1999 to 2009 (*Authors Calculations:* Based on data from the German Socio-economic Panel Survey (SOEP) between the years of 1999–2009. Life satisfaction based on a scale between 1 and 10)
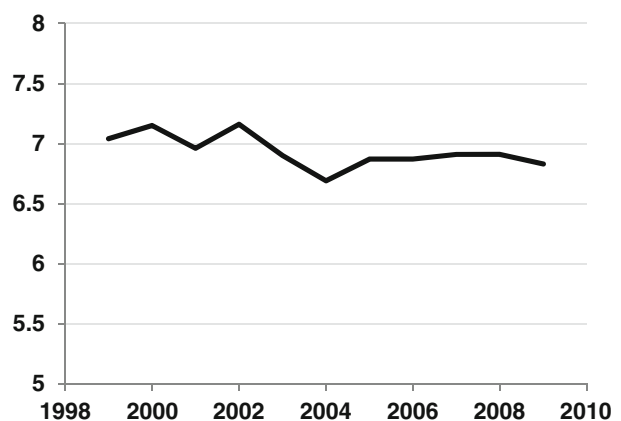
employment. This pattern is true in Germany, where women who have the highest levels of education are the most likely to hold full-time, high-autonomy positions, while women with less education are most likely to be not employed or unemployed (See Table 26.4).

Just as women with different levels of education have varied opportunities to access the labor market, they also experience differences in overall life satisfaction and well-being. As shown in Fig. 26.10, women who have an upper secondary degree consistently report higher levels of well-being than women who do not have a university, college, or graduate school degree. Women who have reached the highest levels of education have remained consistently satisfied with their life following policy changes. For women with lower

educational attainments, the policy changes have coincided with a drastic drop in life satisfaction and well-being over the last several years. This difference between well-educated and poorly educated women suggests that the policy changes may have had a negative effect on the well-being of less privileged women in Germany while maintaining the well-being of women who are more economically privileged.

The Well-Being of Vulnerable Women

Of course, lack of education is not the only issue that can create vulnerabilities for women's well-being. Immigrant women, mothers, women who have disabilities, and unemployed women, all

Table 26.4 Education, occupational autonomy, and employment status for German women aged 18–62

	Occupational autonomy	Full-time (%)	Part-time (%)	Marginal/irregular part-time (%)	Not employed (%)	Unemployed (%)
No degree/dropout	1.57	13.8	14.6	14.5	41.5	15.6
Secondary	2.00	26.5	24.8	10.7	27.3	10.7
Intermediate	2.59	36.5	27.2	8.3	18.8	9.2
Technical	2.80	38.7	28.0	10.2	18.5	4.5
Upper secondary	3.39	47.2	24.0	7.3	17.9	3.6

Authors Calculations: Based on data from the German Socio-economic Panel Survey (SOEP) between the years of 2005–2009. Occupational autonomy based on a scale between 1 and 5
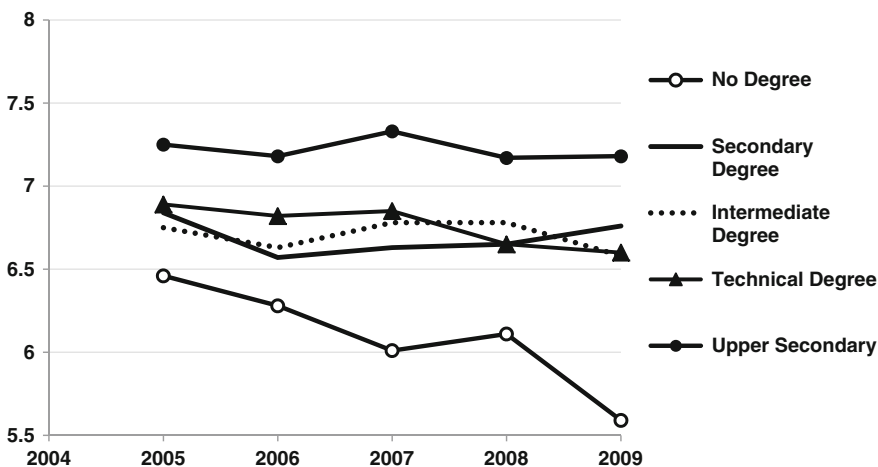
Fig. 26.10 Average overall life satisfaction for German women aged 18–62 by School Degree (*Authors Calculations:* Based on data from the German Socio-economic Panel Survey (SOEP) between the years of 2005–2009. Based on a scale between 0 and 10)

experience differences in levels of well-being, depending, even, on the region in which they live. As can be seen in Table 26.5, when examining satisfaction in several areas of life, some groups of women experience much lower levels of well-being than others. For example, women with no educational degree or those who have dropped out of school show very low levels of satisfaction with their health, household income, or available child care options. Women who have disabilities similarly report very low levels of satisfaction when looking at health and household income, and also have one of the lowest levels of overall well-being. On average, women with disabilities have overall life satisfaction scores that are only slightly higher than those reported by unemployed women, who report the lowest overall life satisfaction scores. Mothers from East Germany are the most satisfied with the child care options that are available to them, but are much less satisfied with their household income, compared to their West German counterparts. As Table 26.5 demonstrates, well-being is complex and can be influenced by a number of important factors. Still, German women with the highest levels of education have demonstratively higher levels of overall satisfaction with life.

The Well-Being of Women with Disabilities

Disabilities can greatly affect women's well-being but they also can have drastic effects on employment opportunities for German women. When looking at educational levels and employment, women with disabilities are much less likely to find full-time employment than non-disabled women who are equally well educated (See Table 26.6). Even among highly educated women, non-disabled women are more likely to have full- time employment, while women with disabilities are more likely to hold part-time posi-

Table 26.5 Differences in satisfaction for women aged 18–62.

	House-work	Health	Household income	Work	Leisure time	Child care[a]	Overall life
Educational level							
No degree/dropout	6.28	5.45	4.89	6.22	5.92	5.04	6.12
Secondary	6.70	6.50	5.72	6.77	6.85	6.88	6.69
Intermediate	6.53	6.67	5.78	6.70	6.59	6.73	6.71
Technical	6.34	6.65	6.11	6.46	6.30	6.20	6.77
Upper secondary	6.35	7.05	6.64	6.92	6.55	6.74	7.22
Immigrant							
German Citizen	6.57	6.81	6.00	6.81	6.73	6.68	6.88
Not a German Citizen	6.66	6.57	6.54	6.59	6.29	6.97	6.73
Disability							
No disability	6.63	6.97	6.03	6.82	6.68	6.73	6.95
Has disability	6.04	4.64	5.19	6.29	6.79	6.59	5.90
Unemployment status							
Not Unemployed	6.63	6.71	6.05	5.96	6.97	6.56	6.92
Unemployed	6.46	6.27	3.87	N/A	6.86	6.87	5.86
Region							
West	6.59	6.82	6.11	6.84	6.73	6.55	6.95
East	6.57	6.60	5.22	6.57	6.50	7.50	6.46

Authors Calculations: Based on data from the German Socio-economic Panel Survey (SOEP) between the years of 2005–2009. Based on a scale between 0 and 10.

[a]Child care satisfaction only assessed for women who reported having children

tions. Lastly, women who do not have an educational degree and are disabled are the most likely to be unemployed. For this group of women it may be particularly challenging to find and maintain full-time employment.

As shown in Table 26.5, working women with disabilities report much lower satisfaction with work, health, income, and child care opportunities than women who do not have a disability. Women with disabilities between the years of 2005 and 2009 also have lower overall well-being than women who are not disabled. One factor that could be contributing to the reduced well-being observed for working women with disabilities is the difference in access to employment opportunities. As shown in Table 26.6, regardless of educational level, women with disabilities are generally much more likely to be not employed than women who are not disabled. This difference could indicate that individuals with disabilities are not included equitably in the labor market or society which has an overarching effect on the well-being of women with disabilities in Germany.

The Well-Being of Women with Children

Historically, German women have shouldered the majority of the child care duties and, prior to the recent changes in family and labor policy, the overarching family, welfare, and labor market policies were designed to support that domestic role for women. Consequently, women's well-being and labor market participation are closely tied to their choice of having or not having children. When examining satisfaction among women with and without children, some interesting trends emerge (See Table 26.7). Women who work full-time and have children report slightly less overall life satisfaction than women with children who work part-time. Despite this, women who have children and work full-time report having slightly more job satisfaction and are happier about the childcare options available to them than their part-time counterparts. When examining women who are unemployed or not employed, childless women report lower levels of well-being than mothers. This is likely due to

Table 26.6 Level of education and employment status for disabled and non-disabled German women aged 18–62

	Full-time employment	Part-time employment	Marginal/irregular part-time employment	Not employed	Unemployed
No degree/dropout					
No disability	15.0 %	14.6 %	15.3 %	40.3 %	14.7 %
Disabled	5.7 %	15.3 %	10.2 %	52.5 %	16.3 %
Secondary school					
No disability	26.7 %	26.8 %	11.5 %	24.6 %	10.6 %
Disabled	24.8 %	11.9 %	5.7 %	45.6 %	11.9 %
Intermediate school					
No disability	37.6 %	27.9 %	8.7 %	16.4 %	9.6 %
Disabled	25.3 %	19.1 %	3.0 %	46.6 %	5.9 %
Technical school					
No disability	39.6 %	27.4 %	10.6 %	17.6 %	4.7 %
Disabled	29.0 %	37.8 %	4.7 %	25.9 %	2.6 %
Upper secondary					
No disability	47.5 %	23.8 %	7.4 %	17.7 %	4.7 %
Disabled	42.0 %	26.8 %	6.4 %	22.7 %	2.0 %

Authors Calculations: Based on data from the German Socio-economic Panel Survey (SOEP) between the years of 2005–2009

Table 26.7 Satisfaction of women aged 18–62 with and without children

	House-work	Health	Household income	Work	Leisure time	Child care[a]	Overall life
Full-time							
No children	6.70	6.89	6.44	6.89	6.57	N/A	7.02
Have children	6.39	7.00	6.04	7.14	5.77	7.20	6.94
Part-time							
No children	6.84	6.57	6.22	6.92	7.11	N/A	6.96
Have children	6.27	6.97	6.17	6.92	6.33	6.68	7.00
Marginal/irregular part-time							
No children	6.74	6.70	5.53	6.40	7.07	N/A	6.68
Have children	6.48	6.93	5.98	6.81	6.53	6.66	6.94
Not employed							
No children	6.62	6.25	5.94	6.16	7.32	N/A	6.66
Have children	6.64	7.25	6.17	5.77	6.56	6.56	7.23
Unemployed							
No children	6.47	5.98	3.62	N/A	7.09	N/A	5.63
Have children	6.44	6.64	4.20	N/A	6.56	6.89	6.14

Authors Calculations: Based on data from the German Socio-economic Panel Survey (SOEP) between the years of 2005–2009. Based on a scale between 0 and 10

[a]Child care satisfaction only assessed for women who reported having children

the fact that, although social welfare programs provide less security than employment, they offer more protection for families with children. Social welfare benefits help enhance the well-being of the entire family. Unemployed and not employed women who do not have children may not have access to some of the same protection and, therefore, may experience additional challenges when they are not connected to the formal labor market.

Mothers who do not have jobs outside the home are among the most satisfied women in Germany, reflecting that choosing not to work holds a number of benefits that enhance well-being. This may be due to the fact that women who are able to leave the labor market are not forced by financial constraints to maintain at least a part-time job. Since German mothers are more satisfied in part-time, even marginal part-time jobs, compared to childless women, the flexibility afforded by part-time work may be an important factor to a mothers' overall well-being.

Implications for Policy: Part-Time Employment and the Well-Being of Women

As demonstrated by the findings in this chapter the policy changes following 2005 have not had the same effect on all women. Especially for women who are mothers and women who experience some type of economic vulnerability, the policy changes have impacted well-being in a number of interesting and complex ways.

One particularly interesting finding was that women had a different response to the changes to family and labor market policy changes on the basis of if they were mothers and how connected they were to the labor market (See Fig. 26.11). Although all women appeared to have some initial decrease in well-being as the new policies were implemented, women with children who work part-time have consistently reported an increase in well-being since 2005.

Since 2005, there has been a steady increase in the number of women participating in the formal labor market and a decline in the number of

Fig. 26.11 Average satisfaction of women aged 18–62 with and without children by employment (*Authors Calculations:* Based on data from the German Socio-economic Panel Survey (SOEP) between the years of 1999–2009. Life satisfaction based on a scale between 1 and 10)

women not working, indicating that in some ways, the recent policy changes in Germany have been successful. Still, the greatest share of the increase in women's employment can be attributed to part-time work, as the number of women in full-time employment has declined (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2012c). Research that has examined women's employment in Germany has noted that women are fifteen times more likely to be employed part-time than their male counterparts (Bardasi and Gornick 2000). Although recent policy changes have expanded the inclusion of women in the formal labor market, they are not necessarily challenging the gendered division of labor. Rather, what may have changed is the underlying structure of the division, by where women still are much less attached to the labor market than their male counterparts.

In many ways part-time work could be viewed as a factor that could lower women's well-being, as part-time jobs are more frequently located in lower-paying job sectors, generally pay less per hour than similar jobs that provide full-time hours, and rarely transition into full-time employment (Gash et al. 2012; O'Reilly and Bothfeld 2002). Also, part-time work is not protected by the same policies or rewarded with the same social benefits as full-time labor (Paihe and Solaz 2012). Bardasi and Gornick (2000, 2008) reported, for example, that German women who work part-time earn lower wages even when controlling for factors such as age and education. This suggests that employers may have a bias against part-time laborers.

Despite the drawbacks of part-time labor, women, especially mothers, report relatively high levels of well-being when employed part-time (Holst and Trzcinski 2003). There are several advantages that part-time employment may offer to women. First, mothers may want part-time work, because it helps them to meet the time constraints of caring for their families. After unification, social welfare and family policies in Germany have continued to support the "male breadwinner" model in which wives are largely responsible for homemaking and care-taking responsibilities while men participate in the formal labor market (Summers 2012). Part-time jobs allow women to work without infringing on their responsibilities at home. Currently, 65.9 % of working mothers in Germany hold part-time positions, while only 6.2 % of fathers have

part-time jobs (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012e). In 2011, only 14 % of women who reported working part-time noted that they were interested in full-time employment, while 22 % of women working part-time indicated that taking care of children or other family members was the main reason that they were not interested in full-time work (Statistiches Bundesamt 2012b). Gash et al. (2012) reported that nearly 73 % of German women who were married or cohabitating would prefer to work fewer hours each week. Also, they noted that women in partnerships (married or cohabitation) who transition from full-time to part-time work report a significant increase in overall life satisfaction. For them, the move to part-time employment may help to improve the work-family balance leading to an overall increase in well-being (Gash et al. 2012, p. 67).

Second, women may be choose part-time employment since German family policy has encouraged the development of jobs that help women maintain a balance between family and work responsibilities. When comparing with the United States, Britain, and Germany, Cooke and Gash (2010) report that German women were much more likely to work part-time, but noted that part-time labor does not incur as much of a wage penalty in Germany as in the other two countries. Women may be gravitating towards part-time labor as new labor policies have increasingly considered the needs of women, especially mothers because the policies have succeeded in helping women attain realistic balance between work and family responsibilities.

Lastly, German women may choose to work part-time because it may promote marriage or family stability and may be a better choice for long-term economic well-being (Cooke and Gash 2010). In Germany, women may be more harshly affected by the economic consequences of divorce than women in other Western countries, and therefore may be willing to trade full-time work opportunities for part-time ones that allow them more time to provide care to the family. Burkhauser et al. (1991) notes that German women who get divorced suffer a post-tax and transfer loss of about 44 % and that "German tax

and transfer policies do almost nothing to cushion the economic hardship associated with divorce" (p. 356). Becker (1985) notes that caregiving and household responsibilities have been shown to adversely affect women's earnings and that married women may seek occupations that are more compatible with the demands of their home responsibilities. Thus, some women may perceive that holding full-time jobs or choosing professions that are not as compatible with household and care-giving responsibilities as limiting their opportunities to marry or have children, and may increase the chances of becoming divorced. Oppenheimer (1997) notes there are weaknesses to this theory in that marriage and labor force participation are embedded in a complex social context of family, labor, and gender roles and cannot be encapsulated in a simple economic analysis. There is, however, some support in the research literature that does seem to indicate that as women increase their economic independence from men it affects marital stability. A more recent analysis by Teachman (2010) that examines the connection between wives' economic resources and marital dissolution found that wives' higher incomes and higher income ratios were associated with lower marital stability while women who had a stable connection to working were less likely to experience a divorce.

When we examine the research that has specifically studied the experience of German women, work, and marriage, the general conclusion has been that as women work more they become increasingly likely to become divorced (Poortman 2005). Although other scholars are critical of this model, research has generally shown that there is a connection between women's full-time employment and the likelihood of divorce. A study by Kraft and Neimann (2009) showed that, for female breadwinner families, especially families in which women undertake a "double burden" (being responsible for the majority of the household income, as well as home and family care), divorce rates were significantly higher than those for women who worked, but had shared domestic responsibilities and those for women who earned less than 40 % of

the household income. Still, the relationship between women's work and divorce is undoubtedly complex. When studying the impact of wives' work on marital stability in Germany, Cooke and Gash (2010) noted that German women who worked part-time were significantly less likely to divorce than those who worked full-time. This may indicate that, under current policies and gender role expectations, German women may benefit most, in terms of well-being, from engaging in part-time work rather than full-time employment.

Future Research

The findings in this chapter demonstrate that there is an interesting connection between working and well-being for working women in Germany following recent changes to family and labor market policy. Although the current study examined several factors that influence women's employment, future studies would benefit from examining a broader range of economic measures. Examining income, material hardship, and overall economic security at both the individual and family levels would provide important information about what aspects of work and family have the strongest influence on women's well-being. Additional longitudinal studies will also help to provide greater understanding of the long-term impact of these family and economic policies on women's economic wellbeing. The current study focused on the short time period since the recent economic and family policies have been implemented in Germany. Understanding the long-term impact of these policies is critical in order to determine whether the trends identified in this study are indeed a systematic reflection of the policies implemented. Finally, as the findings from this research highlight how family policy can have differing effects for women who have more and less privilege, future studies should consider this since policy change does not have the same effect on all women.

Conclusion

As Germany has attempted to address low fertility rates, the gender gap in labor force participation and employment levels, a number of new policies have been enacted that have had specifically targeted women. These policies, including the Parental Allowance and Leave Act of 2007, new child care and long term care programs, and the Hartz reforms, have been successful in some ways and have contributed to greater inclusion of women in the labor force. However, these policy changes have also failed to meet other key goals. In general, fertility rates have continued to remain low among most groups of women, with the exception of those who are the most highly educated. Women from vulnerable groups, such as immigrants, the unemployed, and those with disabilities face additional barriers in accessing the labor market that have not been addressed by the current policy. Finally, women in general continue to experience inequalities in the labor market and are generally underrepresented in management and full-time employment. This may be due to family and care responsibilities which make engaging in part-time work more beneficial than taking on full-time positions.

When exploring the effect that the new family and economic policies have had on the well-being of women in Germany, it is apparent that not all women have been affected equally. Women who are highly educated, for example, report fairly stable levels of well-being, while women who are less educated report that their well-being has declined following recent policy changes. Also, women who are likely to have more difficulty finding employment, such as unemployed women and women with disabilities, have lower levels of well-being when considering related factors such as health, household income, and overall satisfaction with life. This suggests that the recent family and economic policies in Germany have greater benefits for privileged groups of women, while providing few protections for women who are less privileged. Further

examination of the effects on working women and their well-being in Germany is critical for the development of policies that continue to secure women's employment, especially for women who have additional challenges in accessing equal opportunities in the labor market.

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Social Costs: The Career-Family Tradeoff

Bridgette Cram, Mohamad G. Alkadry, and Leslie E. Tower

Introduction

As we mark the passage of three momentous civil liberty events—the 50th anniversary of the 1963 Equal Pay Act, the 1963 March on Washington, and the 1964 Civil Rights Act—Americans are paying closer attention to what equality means in society and whether we have achieved it. The question of representation of women is more critical than ever before. In the United States, women continue to make up less than one-quarter of elected representatives, 12 % of City managers, and more than three quarters of clerical employees in government's non-elected ranks (Alkadry and Tower 2013). In the private sphere, women, regardless of their employment status or income, continue to carry a heavier load than men in taking care of family and household responsibilities. The two fundamental and interrelated questions that we address in this chapter are: What are career costs of family life for women? What are social costs of career success for women? These are the central questions facing women who want "to have it all", achieving both a successful career and a fulfilling family life.

At the heart of the answers to these questions, is a fundamental interdependence of gender roles and the public and private domains. Public organizations have been slow to develop "family friendly" workplaces that accommodate a new generation of capable employees who are interested in an appropriate balance between family life and career success (Thornthwaite 2004). Based on this employer-employee mismatch, it comes as no surprise that employees with family obligations, particularly dual-earner families, are often forced to choose between career and family that impose significant costs. But who shoulders these costs? In the private domain, women continue to be expected by society to be the care provider for young and old members of the household; while men maintain the patriarchal status quo in the public sphere.

This chapter first explores the pervasiveness of the tradeoff between family and career for women in the workplace, highlighting specific examples in both public and private organizations. Following this overview, we will trace the roots of the problem in the public and private domains, exploring how the intersection of these domains makes it difficult for families to achieve both satisfaction and success in both career and family life. Lastly, we present a combination of organizational, societal, and policy remedies to improve the employer-employee mismatch related

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to work-life balance or satisfaction. The intent of this chapter is not to find a way for women to "have it all", as this is not a tenable goal. In fact, we argue that even organization men rarely "have it all." They just choose career success over family obligations. The chapter rather aims to find the "balance" between family and career in a policy, social, and organizational environment that allows women and men to find satisfaction in their career and family contributions, whereby career success is not dependent on utter devotion to work, and family success is not dependent on unfair distribution of family responsibilities.

Prevalence of Costs Associated with Success in Career and Family Life

In the past century, particularly after the Second World War, the USA witnessed an unprecedented increase in dual-earning families. Women, who were previously the primary caregivers in family life, were admitted into the workplace. Societal expectations for women's role in the home, however, have not changed. Furthermore, images of women thriving in the public domain, while having a successful family life in the private domain, became emblematic, demonstrating that women could have it all. Today, in the public sector women make up less one fifth of members of Congress, and less than one quarter of state legislators. They make up less than one third of federal employees in the senior executive service, and 12 % of the city managers in the United States. These figures are accompanied with three decades of women surpassing men in graduation from undergraduate and graduate programs (Alkadry and Tower 2013). The argument that female representation is driven by the pool of qualified applicants is increasingly less reflective of the reality.

Employees with family responsibilities face some serious choices in the tradeoff between successful career and family life. These costs, however, are affecting women at a much higher pace than men. The literature clearly indicates that women are far more likely to "be unmarried, have fewer children, or be divorced, while carrying a heavy housework burden" (Alkadry and Tower 2013, p. 68; Tower and Alkadry 2008). Furthermore, the implementation and enhancement of work-life balance or satisfaction policies continues to be slow and limited in scope. The United States continues to lag behind in instituting national policies that would protect families from career incursions in their private lives.

Although both men and women face choices between dedication to family or work, we argue in this chapter that women disproportionately face a larger cost premium for the career or social choices that they make. These greater costs are traced to the patriarchal nature of most bureaucratic organizations; organizations value masculine traits over feminine traits and rely on utter dedication to career in what Whyte (1956) describes as the concept of the "organization man." Although the organization man may be male or female, this bureaucratic character essentially requires "a declaration of the end of 'self' and the replacement of self by the organization" (Alkadry and Nyhan 2005, p. 159). This organization man is detached from social life, as his "personal, political, and social life is dominated by his/her workplace" (p. 160), rendering him effectively unable to dedicate time to a social life, including familial responsibilities (Alkadry and Tower 2013).

Therefore, whether male or female, choosing to work for a bureaucratic "machine" requires employees to make choices that will affect their career or social lives. These choices, however, inherently affect both spheres; women likely feel the costs imposed by these choices as they hold significantly more household responsibilities, meaning that their ability to be the ideal "organization man" is already made more difficult. Therefore, both males and females are forced to make choices regarding their careers and social lives, and although no one should be forced to choose between family and work, women bear significantly higher costs due to the patriarchal nature of family responsibilities and in some cases work relations. This section will evaluate the social costs of career choices, the career costs of social choices, and the history of organizational work-life balance policies and how public and private organizations compare to one another in this context.

The Social Costs of Career

The social costs of career success may be defined as the cost that individuals pay for choosing a career over family life. For the purposes of this discussion, the family activities that are foregone include not having children, having fewer children than desired, delaying marriage, not marrying at all, and carrying a heavier household burden than the other partner in a relationship. Researchers have shown that successful career women experience these costs at a higher rate than successful career men (Alkadry and Tower 2006). This section presents a historic overview of the role of women in the workforce. This historic overview includes trends in women's employment and the division of household labor among partners in the same relationship. The section concludes with a discussion of the family-career tradeoff facing many women in the workplace.

Workforce Participation

Stivers (2002) describes the history of women's participation in the public workforce and how it has changed over time; however, her principal argument is that although women have always been "on tap," they are rarely ever "on top" (p. 15). The movement of women from the home into the workplace began as a result of the Civil War; the government needed workers. This was enhanced by their ability to pay women less (Stivers 2002). Although women remained employed in these low-paying "women's jobs", the need for a larger workforce increased during World War I, allowing more women to enter into the public sector, albeit at lower wages than men. Although there was a movement during the Great Depression to remove women from the workforce, the onset of World War II once again required the government to allow women into jobs that were considered "men's work" (Stivers 2002).

In 2013, substantially more women were entering the public, private, and non-profit workforces. Although more women were entering the executive ranks and were found in key organizational positions, progress to gender parity seems

slow and at points stale. According to a 2013 Bureau of Labor Statistics report of women in the workforce, women's weekly earnings on average were 82 % of men's. Women of color found their average earnings even lower, at only $595.00 (Black) and $518.00 (Hispanic) in weekly earnings compared to that of $703.00 for white women (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics).

Alkadry and Tower (2006) compared the earnings of men and women in the same positions and found a substantial pay gap among women and men working in similar positions. Female workers earned on average 82 % of their public sector male counterparts working as head of purchasing (87 %), managers and supervisors (87 %), senior buyers (95 %) and buyers (87 %). Furthermore, women are more likely than men to work in the public sector, but are still disproportionately employed in the education and health and social services sectors, which tend to pay less and limit upward career mobility (United States Department of Labor 2011).

Workforce Segregation

Occupational data indicates that women continue to be segregated in female-dominated occupations, positions, and agencies. This segregation contributes to the wage gap. More specifically, Gauchat et al. (2012) report that the strongest determinant of the wage gap is occupational segregation. Guy and Newman (2004) discuss both horizontal and vertical job segregation tendencies: Horizontal segregation – is the pattern of women segregation in certain occupations but underrepresentation in other occupations (e.g., Most teachers are women, while women make up 15 % of all engineers in the federal government.). Whereas, vertical segregation is the pattern of women occupying lower level positions in an organization (e.g. women make up 70 % of clerical positions, but only 32 % of senior positions). Both types of segregation separate women and men along specific job characteristics.

Women also tend to be segregated by agency. Guy and Newman (2004) reported that women are segregated into educational and social services positions. More recently, Alkadry and Tower (2013) report that women continue to

dominate certain agencies such as the Department of Health and Human Services (65 %), Education (64 %), Housing and Urban Development (62 %), while they tend to be less represented in other federal agencies such as the Department of Homeland Security (32 %), Air Force (30 %), Navy (30 %) and Transportation (27 %).

Female-dominated occupations tend to require "emotional labor" (Guy et al. 2008). Emotional labor is seen as encompassing the "softer" characteristics of a job, such as caring and nurturing While emotional labor may require specialized skills, take significant time, and feel exhausting, emotional labor is not recognized, valued, or compensated. For example, emotional labor is largely absent from job descriptions. As a result, these positions are undervalued, another factor that may also contribute to the wage gap.

Why is this important? Women's history of being underpaid and segregated into positions, occupations, and agencies that are viewed as unequal to those of traditional men's employment has required women to make harder choices when it comes to their career and family life. These choices have a significant impact on the social wellbeing of both men and women and must be addressed by both the public and private sectors to avoid the deleterious effects.

The Choices That Women Must Make

According to Tower and Alkadry (2008), "women often find themselves having to choose between being 'organization women' with less family, or 'mommies' with less devotion to career" (p. 146). These choices, which the authors present as unjustifiable choices, will continue to be present, as "women's participation in paid employment increased substantially in the United States over the past 50 years, particularly among married women and mothers of young children" (Percheski 2008, p. 497).

This choice renders them unable to be fully committed to both family and career, as gender roles have prescribed, as the two are seen to be incompatible according to the patriarchal structure that most bureaucratic agencies employ. Furthermore, Tower and Alkadry (2008) also identify the social costs that women tend to pay

because of these choices, including "delay in marriage, not marrying at all, having fewer children, and experiencing higher divorce rates than men" (pp. 145–146). In addition to these identified social costs, it is important to take into consideration that women also complete a majority of the household work in the home, regardless of whether they are employed or not (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard 2010). The following sections identify the social costs that women endure based on career choices.

Trends in Marriage and Fertility

As already noted, in light of achieving career goals, many women may delay or decide not to engage in marriage or child rearing. All of these trends highlight the difficulties that women face while balancing career and social lives. It is clear that organization men are expected to be fully dedicated to the workforce without worrying about their homes because their wives are expected to take care of these duties. However, with an increase of women in the workforce, it is important to recognize that simply designating women as "organization women" a-la Whyte (1956) does not work because women are likely to have a different set of prescribed private domain roles. These roles make it much harder for women than men to be part-time parents and full-time workers.

According to Jensen (2012), women have begun delaying marriage and having children, as "the opportunity cost of having many children, or getting married and having children at a young age rather than accumulating human capital and/or entering the labor market, is low" (p. 753). The United States has experienced a fertility delay since after the baby-boom (Miller 2011) and a marriage delay since the mid 1950s (U.S. Department of Commerce 2003). Alkadry and Tower (2013) note that women delay marriage and children for a variety of reasons, including not having met the right person, not believing that these are priorities, a desire to gain additional schooling, wanting to simply focus on career success and income potential, or a perception that they cannot handle career and family responsibilities simultaneously.

Having a family appears to negatively impact women's careers—promotion and compensation. Smith (2005) reports that compared to white men, marriage decreases white women's chances for promotion (more than for any other race) – by comparison, it appears to help men. Hence, even if women "choose" to delay marriage, they are still facing penalties, including "more housework responsibilities, an increased incidence of being single or divorced, and fewer children as they climbed their respective career ladders" (Alkadry and Tower 2011, p. 741) In terms of delaying having children, Miller's (2011) study demonstrates that women who delayed having children into their mid-thirties "achieved higher earnings" (p. 1098). Her study, combined with additional evidence presented throughout the literature, demonstrates that for women, having children still presents a serious career obstacle. In light of these findings, it is clear that women are forced to choose between a career and delayed fertility, thus imposing costs no matter what decision they make.

The Housework Conundrum

The US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2009) reports that from 2003 to 2007, "women spent an average of 10.8 h more per week doing unpaid household work than did men" (p. 48). Due to the traditional role of women as the primary domestic caretaker of both family and home, having a career in addition to these responsibilities remains a difficult task. According to Alkadry and Tower (2013), the social costs of career in terms of household responsibilities manifest themselves in what Hochschild (1989, 1997) calls the four shifts. Essentially, after performing their first shift at their job, women must then enter the second shift of housework responsibilities, followed the by third shift of "listening to hurt family members (e.g., spouse or children) for working extensive hours"; finally ending with the fourth shift, referring to "the time late at night, early in the morning, or on weekends spent returning e-mails, writing reports, and engaging in other work-related tasks that may be accomplished electronically" (p. 75).

While gender roles have shifted such that women engage in the workforce, the expectation that women are largely responsible for housework has remained unaltered. Lachance-Grzela and Burchard (2010) assert, "…the gains women have made outside the home have not translated directly into an egalitarian allocation of household labor" (p. 767). Furthermore, women must work harder in their social lives (i.e. the second & third shifts) to "pay" for their career.

Trends in Divorce

Divorce, along with marriage and fertility delay, is also higher among professional women. There appears to be an interesting connection between housework inequity and divorce. Stier and Mandel (2009) find that as a women's contribution to the household increases, so does the likelihood of divorce. In fact, Rogers (2004) reports that the highest likelihood of divorce occurred when women contributed between 50 and 60 % to the household. Stress associated with role overload may contribute to the decision to divorce. Treas (2010) echoes this sentiment, as "dissatisfaction with a partner's contributions to housework decreases marital quality, and it increases marital conflict and thoughts of divorce, particularly for women" (p. 3). Thus, women who are excelling in their careers may face a social cost of divorce due to their success. In addition, this may be compounded by the fact that women must come home to perform their second and third shifts, which may decrease marital satisfaction and also lead to divorce.

Therefore, women's career success can create significant costs in their social lives. These costs may come in the form of delayed marriage, delayed child bearing, and increased divorce rates. Furthermore, the double duty of career and family also takes a significant toll on women who are working full–time. These costs demonstrate that organizations are still focused on creating the "organization man" and have not updated their policies to reflect the changing dynamics of employees who value and have commitment to both career and family life.

The Career Costs of Social Choices

The career costs of social choices include the costs associated with engaging in the aforementioned social activities of marriage, childbearing, and caregiving. These activities impact a women's projected career path and impose significant negative consequences when choosing to re-enter the workforce after leaving to engage in these activities. Alkadry and Tower (2013) explain that women and men exit the workforce for different reasons: women commonly exit the workforce to take-on caretaking responsibilities, while men commonly exit to reposition their career trajectory. With the fact that 37 % of "highly-qualified" women without children, and 43 % of women with children voluntarily exit their career at some point, it is critical to understand the barriers that women may face when trying to re-enter the workforce (Hewlett and Luce 2005).

Choice Discourse

Although women leave the workforce for different reasons, this choice may not have been theirs alone to make, despite it costing them in terms of their own future career success. Chang (2010) suggests that partners overwhelmingly make this choice together. Stone and Lovejoy (2004) discuss William's term "choice rhetoric." This term was developed to "frame women's decisions to interrupt careers…and attributes women's work status to their private and personal tastes and preferences and assumes that their decisions operate outside any system of constraints" (p. 63). Several critics of this term have emerged, as the idea that women just "choose not to" continue on an upward career track ignores many aspects, difficult conversations, and decisions that describe why this choice was made.

The results of Stone and Lovejoy's (2004) study demonstrate several important points. First, the choice to exit the workforce was complex, time-consuming, and "gradual accumulation of often overlapping workplace pushes and family pulls that led them to quit their jobs" (p. 80). Furthermore, they found that women are not "freely" exiting the workforce, as they would prefer to find an intermediary option. In addition, the authors cite their participants' recognition of a gendered reality, one which is tied to a patriarchal structure entailing "workplaces that assume the male model of work, the lack of real reduced-hours options that undermine women's efforts at work family accommodation, husbands' exemption from household parenting obligations, and the ideology of intensive mothering at home" (p. 80). This example offers a glimpse into what many women across the nation have to grapple with when it comes to having both a career and family.

Career Options after Exiting the Workforce

Once a woman exits the workforce, what are her options for reentry? The answers to this question are unfortunate. Professional women who exit the workforce pay a significant career penalty in the form of lower salaries, slowed career progression, or both (Stone and Lovejoy 2004). While some women may re-enter their careers in part-time positions, others opt for self-employment or take work in the secondary market (e.g. the service industry) (Alkadry and Tower 2013).

Part-Time Work

As evidenced by the Bureau of Labor statistics (2013), many more women are employed part-time than men. According Webber and Williams (2008), 17 % of women with children under the age of 6 work part-time, as compared to less than 4 % of similarly situated fathers. The choice to engage in part-time work, rather than returning to a full-time position is usually made for the same reasons (i.e. lack of flexibility) as to why women completely exited the workforce to begin with (Hewlett and Luce 2005; Stone and Lovejoy 2004; Lovejoy and Stone 2012).

But, professional part-time work may require almost a full-time workload without the recognition, authority, or compensation. This incongruence may lead to feelings of inadequacy. Furthermore, women who work part-time or engage in job-sharing may be placed on the "mommy track," limiting their ability to rise up

the hierarchy within the organization (Stone and Lovejoy 2004; Webber and Williams 2008). Although part-time professional work may offer women a better alternative than full-time work or completely exiting the workforce (Webber and Williams 2008, p. 17), it also possesses several negative effects. But, not all part-time work is created equally. Part-time work located in the secondary market, such as the service industry, tends to offer low wages, few benefits, little advancement opportunities, and high turnover (Alkadry and Tower 2013). Some women unable to re-enter their careers take this option for economic reasons.

Other Career Options

In addition to opting for part-time careers or being forced to take work in the secondary market, women may seek alternative careers. Lovejoy and Stone (2012), state that "one of the most striking and recurring findings in the small but growing literature on career return among women professionals is that women undergo a substantial shift in their career orientation and preferences after a career break, often redirecting away from former employers and careers" (p. 635). Women re-entering the workforce may enter into more "caring" professions (i.e. teaching, health & social services), and move away from the corporate world. Women who exit the workforce may change their interests and career aspirations, desiring more flexibility and different fulfillment from a career (Hewlett and Luce 2005; Lovejoy and Stone 2012). Although these aspirations to move towards more caring professions is fine at face-value, it is important to note that women who make such a change may face significant negative costs, such as decreased income, need for additional training, and an inherent "reduc[tion] [in] economic and social power relative to men in the family and the marketplace" (Lovejoy and Stone 2012, p. 649).

Self-Employment

Entrepreneurship is another alternative form of employment that women may pursue. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2013), the percentage of self-employed women has risen from 4.4 % (1976) to 5.1 % (2011). Self-employed women are more likely to be married and older than their career-track counterparts, and may also be influenced to seek self-employment due to the presence of children (Devine 1994; Taniguchi 2002). Self-employment's better compatibility with "family life" might be the reason, although a better framing of this reason might be that self-employment allows women (the boss) to create flexible and work-life policies for women (the employee). It is important to note that self-employment may be conducive to family life only when it does not entail capital ownership. In the case of "professions with office practices or in retail sales" women may have less flexibility due to their leadership roles (Goldin and Katz 2011, p. 46).

However, as with other forms of alternative employment, the self-employment options that women choose are relatively low paying and located within the non-professional personal services sector (Budig 2006). According to Budig, women that enter self-employment after non-employment "average the most children and highest marital rates", and only earn $4.08 per hour (p. 2229). For women who were previously employed prior to self-employment, "hourly earnings are higher … and this increase is largest among female professionals" (ibid.). Furthermore, she finds that children influence women's choices to become self-employed more than men's, with each child representing an 11 % increase in the likelihood of a mother seeking self-employment (ibid.). All in all, however, "self-employment appears to be an alternative to a less-than-ideal wage employment position, where conditions are family-unfriendly or worker-unfriendly" (Budig, p. 2236).

Finally, reentry into the workforce can be far more complicated for women who decided to voluntarily "opt-out" of employment to take care of family responsibilities. It is critical to understand why employers have set such high barriers to reentry. One possible way to understand why women opt-out in the first place and then choose not to return to the same career or position is to

examine the history and current status of work-life policies throughout organizational history.

Work-Life Balance Employer Policies: Public vs. Private Organizations

Work-life balance policies are clearly an important issue for both public and private organizations. However, based on the costs that families are still paying for certain career and social choices, it appears that these policies are not keeping up with the new wave of employees who want to "have it all". The US has several federally mandated policies, including the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993. According to Alkadry and Tower (2013), this act was imperative, as before its enactment, employers had the discretion to fire employees for "taking 'too much' leave" (p. 40). Although FMLA was designed to protect those who sought leave for reasons such as: childbirth or adoption, caregiving responsibilities, extensive medical leave, or leave for wounded soldiers, it still does not cover most of the population due to its stringent requirements. For women especially, the protection is low, "as FMLA covers only about 40 % of the private sector (National Partnership for Women and Families 2009), and 62 % of all employees" (Alkadry and Tower 2013, p. 41). Alkadry & Tower also note the state-specific addendums and improvements to FMLA, however, these policies do not compare to those of other countries. The United States was one out of 177 countries that did not provide paid leave for childbirth, while 169 other countries did (Heymann et al. 2007). The remainder of this section will focus on public vs. private organizations and their movement towards improving upon FMLA.

When it comes to private vs. public sector work-life policies, there are several points to consider. Rankings for "best work-life balance" have begun to grace the pages of top media outlets, with Fortune and Glassdoor leading the pack. Such companies demonstrate how important the issue of work-life balance is to employees and the population at large. These rankings, however, focus mainly on private companies.

Another set of rankings, which is more relevant to this paper, is the "Working Mother 100 Best Companies", representing both private and public corporations, however governmental organizations were not included (Working Mother 2011). In 2011, between 95 and 100 % of all ranked companies offered Flextime, Telecommuting, Job Sharing, and Compressed Work Weeks. Furthermore, 100 % of the ranked companies provided paid maternity leave; 79 % offered paid adoption leave; and 76 % offered paid paternity leave. Only 16 % of employers nationwide offer these same benefits. For the ranked companies, the average length of paid maternity leave was 9 weeks, with 5 additional weeks of partially paid maternity leave. Many of the ranked companies (at least 50 % or more) offered prenatal and postnatal support to their employees, including education, fitness, and pro-breastfeeding attitudes (supplying pumps, breaks, and refrigeration). The companies also offered a variety of childcare services and tools to help working mothers manage both their career and life roles.

In terms of government employment, the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) describes the variety of work-life policies that are available to federal employees, as their main function is to "provide assistance, guidance, and information as agencies develop and implement work/life programs" (United States Government Accountability Office 2010). Although many federal agencies provide opportunities for alternative schedules, telework, and policies that help with child/elder care, they have recognized their lag behind other public institutions, such as hospitals and universities, and particularly private sector corporations. To further improve upon OPM's policies, the Government Accountability Office consulted with 7 private companies (several of which were recognized by Working Mother) to devise strategies that would improve their work-life balance programs.

Companies with outstanding work-life policies are rare in both the public and private sector. Unfortunately, until more organizations follow suit of those listed by the Working Mother 100, women and families will continue to experience social costs and career costs. Luckily, more and

more attention is being paid to this facet of an organization's culture, which may have a positive impact and give organizations the "push" they need to seek out more work-life policies.

The workforce is not designed for employees with family responsibilities. As a result, women tend to experience social and career costs, as they are still viewed as the primary caregivers and main performer of domestic tasks. Furthermore, women who wish to "have it all" in terms of family and career may end up working lower paid part time jobs, switching careers, or becoming self-employed. Organizations should honor their employees' wishes to be dedicated to both their career and family, and may do so by offering supportive work-life policies. The following section discusses the public and private domains because the choices women make today are rooted in this public-private dichotomy.

The Public and Private Domain

The dichotomy between the public and private domains on gender issues has been critiqued and discussed among feminist scholars since the early days of feminism. Pateman (1983) argues that this dichotomy is "ultimately, what the feminist movement is all about…[and] feminist criticism is primarily directed at the separation and opposition between the public and private spheres in liberal theory and practice" (p. 281). We argue that the root cause of the choices that families, but specifically the women of these families, must make is within both the public and private domains. A discussion of the origin of the public-private dichotomy will be presented as well as a discussion of why this dichotomy has introduced the significant costs that women and the families must bear.

Origins of the Public-Private Dichotomy

Pateman (1983) argues that the first mention of a public-private dichotomy can be traced back to John Locke's *Second Treatise (1690).* Although

Locke was essentially discussing political vs. paternal power, his reasoning and definition of these two types of powers coincides with the dichotomy. Locke argues that political life (public sphere) encompasses all life but stops at the doors of domestic life, or the private sphere (Pateman, p. 284). Furthermore, Pateman describes how "Locke's theory shows how the public and private spheres are grounded in opposing principles of association which are exemplified in the conflicting status of women and men… participation in the public sphere is governed by universal impersonal and conventional criteria of achievement, interests, rights, equality and property – liberal criteria applicable only to men" (p. 284).

Ferguson (1985) and Bounds (1996) tie the distinction between the public and private spheres to the rise of capitalism. According to Bounds, the rise of the bourgeois class led to the simultaneous rise of "a bourgeois public sphere of discourse… rooted in a newly developing urban public, constructed of autonomous, self-reflective individuals" (p. 113). This discourse, however, excluded "women and the domestic or family sphere" (Bounds, p. 113) and succeeded in moving patriarchy into the public domain, leaving women in the domain of "unpaid reproductive labor" (Prugl 2004, p. 70).

Gavison (1992) argues that the relegation of women to the private sphere resulted from the political marginalization of women (e.g., no right to vote and limited property rights). This trend continues today with the gender based employment segregation, gender roles dictating that women are responsible for the lion's share of housework and caregiving, while men are responsible for being the breadwinner. Meanwhile, the private sphere of home life is devalued by characterizing it as "nature" or natural, and the public sphere is seen to embody "culture" (Gavison; Pateman 1983). From an anthropological viewpoint, "humankind attempts to transcend a merely natural existence so that nature is always seen as a lower order than culture" (Pateman 1983, p. 288); thus always placing women in a subordinate position to men.

This public-private dichotomy pervades history, and continues to affect modern day women. The effects of this dichotomy impose significant family and career costs. The next section will describe how this dichotomy has influenced organizational structures to favor masculine characteristics, due to the historical exclusion of women from the public sphere.

Influence of the Public-Private Dichotomy on Family and Career Costs

Bureaucracy and bureaucratic values, by definition, tend to favor dominating all encompassing masculine values and to overlook feminine caring values (Ferguson 1985; Whyte 1956). The two dominant feminist schools of thought, liberal feminism and radical feminism, have addressed the question of women's integration into the public sphere. These two approaches will be described followed by a discussion of the public-private dichotomy's contribution to the previously mentioned family and career costs and how, through the use of these approaches, these costs can be diminished.

Liberal Feminist Approach

Liberal feminism, influenced most prominently by Mary Wollstonecraft (1787) and Betty Friedan (1963), argues that bureaucratic discourse is complete, and that the simple inclusion of women into these bureaucratic structures will be enough for the discourse to evolve and accept "feminine" characteristics (Ferguson 1985; Bounds 1996). Ferguson argues that the liberal feminism movement achieves this goal through equal opportunity or affirmative action programs. While these actions proved crucial for women's rights and "the chances of individual women" (p. 28), they are limited in their scope to change the socially constructed bureaucratic discourse that excludes "the feminine". Although women are entering into this bureaucratic structure, work-life policies and views towards family-career values have not improved. Thus, the liberal feminism method of changing the bureaucratic discourse has been

fairly limited in mitigating the very inequalities it sought to abolish.

Radical Feminist Approach

The second approach to the public-private dichotomy is that of radical feminism. According to Sheller and Urry (2003) radical feminist theory "rejects the notion of a separate private realm by highlighting the unavoidable intervention of the modern welfare state in the supposedly 'non-political' realms of the family, sexuality, child-rearing, control of one's body and so on" (p. 112). Furthermore, Pateman (1989) describes that the phrase "the personal is political", coined by radical feminist Carol Hanisch and viewed as a popular feminist slogan, embodies the notion that "personal circumstances are structured by public factors… 'Personal' problems can thus be solved only through political means and political action" (p. 131). However, this rejection of the public-private dichotomy and a call for development of a system contrary to Liberal-Patriarchalism is a complex task to undertake. Ferguson's (1985) replacement of liberal feminism's limited action to remedy the incompleteness of bureaucratic discourse is the introduction of a feminist discourse, one which "provide[s] a way of thinking and acting that is neither an extension of bureaucratic forms nor a mirror image of them, but rather a genuinely *radical* voice in opposition" (p. 29).

The Public-Private Dichotomy and Career and Social Costs

Based on the above analysis, it is clear that the patriarchal history of the United States contributes to the associated costs that families, and most often women, face when it comes to career and family choices. The separation of the private and public spheres has led to an acceptance and preference of masculine characteristics in the public sphere. Thus, it is easy to understand why traditional bureaucratic organizations have been slow to adjust their work-life policies to account for an already present and increasing female workforce.

In terms of gender and its role within the public-private dichotomy, Stivers (2002) has been one of

the leading researchers in the field on this topic within Public Administration. Stivers' research focuses on "gender images" and the effect that these images have on women's role within organizations. She claims that bureaucracy is "a new form of patriarchy", in which "culturally feminine characteristics do not fit" (Stivers 2002, p. 25). Stivers agrees with Ferguson that men do undergo "feminization", but she argues that in the interest of maintaining their masculinity, they do not associate their actions with femininity. Stivers' central argument is that leadership throughout public administration is filled with images associated with "white professional males" and those who depart from these images face palpable disadvantages (Stivers, p. 78). Again, this statement is in alignment with Ferguson's argument that not only women, but also minorities and other marginalized groups are part of a subjugated discourse, oppressed by the bureaucratic structure. Although Stivers does not rally for the elimination of bureaucracy as Ferguson does, she certainly recognizes the need for a feminist perspective and the recognition of the role that gender dynamics play within public administration and bureaucratic organizations as a whole.

Societal, Organizational, and Policy Recommendations

To better address the new generation of workers that are committed to both career and family, society and organizations as a whole must undergo a significant change in how they view both the private and public spheres of life. This section identifies solutions for the societal and organizational levels, as well as federal policies to decrease the choices and associated costs that employees must make.

Societal

Based on the analysis of the public-private dichotomy, it is clear that culture and expectations about women must change. Women's gender roles make it difficult for them to successfully perform the "organization man" role without incurring a fam-

ily life cost. Lovejoy and Stone (2012) state that "as a society, we need to ensure not only that market work better accommodates caregiving but that care work … is fairly valued and compensated as well as gender neutral and that its humanistic values inform the organization and ethos of the professions" (p. 651). Legault and Chasserio (2013) discuss the difficulties imposed by women based on our very culture, which essentially "militate against balancing work and private life" (p. 122). Lastly, Cha (2010) raises an important point about the type of covert discrimination that is "hidden" within the workplace, stating that it is developed "in relation to the social context in which it is embedded" (p. 326). One way to change organizations is to change gender roles, and organizations will follow suit.

Essentially, society must learn to acknowledge and value the unpaid work that women are completing at much higher levels than men. How? Federal policy may help. For example, changing the law to award social security credits for caregiving years would begin to quantify the labor value of this largely unpaid or underpaid industry. Instituting laws more consistent with other industrialized countries (e.g., paid sick and parental leave) may allow more women to participate in paid employment without exiting the workforce or downshifting to part-time jobs. Finally, there needs to be a bridging of the gap between part-time and full-time working conditions in terms of working hours (flexible schedule), benefits, compensation, and job security.

It is also important to change the organizational world view that time spent on family is an indication of a lack of commitment. Clearly, changing societal values will not happen overnight, but it is imperative to begin this transition with younger generations, who are being trained to be the future leaders and managers of the private and public organizations that will also need to adjust to employees' desire to "have it all".

Organizational

Addressing the public-private dichotomy in terms of organizational policies has not been completed on an overarching level, hence the

slow acceptance of paid maternal/paternal leave and other policies that enhance employees' ability to have a commitment to both career and family. It is clear that a form of the radical feminist approach is one that will need to be embraced to begin this arduous task of aligning policies within organizations to this new workforce that embraces new, dynamic, and ever-changing values. Although a total abolishment of the bureaucratic system may be ideal, a push towards a more postmodern view of bureaucracy is not only more achievable, but can also lead to enhanced policies in the short-term. This postmodern approach advises us to move away from the modern idea that "organizations are 'technically rational machines'" (Kreiner 1992, p. 38) and that we must move from the factual to the representational, and the inflexible to the flexible (Hassard 1999). This approach is congruent with Ferguson's (1985) argument for a feminist discourse, as the introduction and its allowance to thrive and be embraced within all organizations can certainly lead to changes in the way we "think, live, work, and love … in opposition to the discursive and institutional practices of bureaucratic capitalism" (Ferguson 1985, p. 212).

Another way to move towards positive organizational change would be to embrace a "learning organization" mentality. Although all organizations should adopt this type of mentality, it is especially important among public organizations, as they have historically been less inclined to adapt to change. According to Wang (2004), "Over the long run, superior performance depends on superior learning" (p. 399). This type of learning also requires the organization to learn from its employees, especially through the lens of a feminist discourse. If employees are beginning to change their way of living from the original workforce over a century ago, then the organization must understand and adapt to these changes to maintain qualified individuals. Furthermore, learning from organizations in other countries is also helpful and necessary, as international organizations have shown a stronger track record in terms of work-life balance policies without sacrificing performance.

In terms of concrete policy, it is clear that the Working Mother 100 lists companies that have already embraced policymaking that helps working families balance both their career and social life. Policies such as new mother education, encouragement of breastfeeding, and a wider set of child and eldercare options should be available in every company. Furthermore, another aspect of the Working Mother 100 is their measure of management training on a variety of topics such as "training in how to hire, advance or manage women AND train and reward managers who help women advance" (p. 16). The companies that engaged in this training saw 46 % of its female employees promoted to upper-level management positions, compared to only 39 % of companies that did not use this targeted training strategy.

Furthermore, organizations need to be focused on retaining women who choose to exit the workforce due to family or any other obligation. Although all organizations should move towards a system of more flexibility and paid or partially paid maternity/paternity leave, there are other "baby" steps that organizations can take towards this goal. According to Hewlett and Luce (2005), the first step to making these changes is to come to the realization that the organization man is becoming obsolete, and that "women cannot be treated as 'men in skirts'" (p. 50); furthermore, they state that these highly-qualified women will continue to need to take time-off, so "the trick is to help them maintain connections that will allow them to come back from that time without being marginalized for the rest of their careers" (p. 50). To help make these connections, Hewlett and Luce suggest the availability reduced hour jobs, more flexibility in how to complete work throughout the day, alternative promotion pathways that accommodate for varying life choices, and removing the stigma of these policies to enhance workplace culture and encourage mothers to return to the same company they left. Essentially, the argument is that all organizations need to "build an on-ramp" that assists with "retention and reattachment" for any employees that need to exit or take time out of the workforce due to their equally important commitment to family.

Federal Policy

As discussed, the Family Medical Leave Act offers some weak protections for much of the workforce. Although a critical step in terms of employment protection, it is time for the United States to move forward and catch up with many of the other nations around the world. The strengthening of policies that support families with a dual commitment to family and career should be directed from a federal level. Miller (2011) indicates that the tradeoffs that mothers must make should "signal a need for increased government intervention to support working mothers. Proposed remedies include mandating paid maternity leave, extending protected leave to all workers, and providing universal access to quality and affordable childcare services" (p. 1098).

An additional area of federal policy could be in the introduction of increased intervention if the field of Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC). Ruhm (2011) argues that ECEC is primarily a private responsibility of parents within the United States; however, many other countries implement these programs that "are nearly universal once a child reaches a certain age" (p. 37), which result in positive outcomes for both mothers and children. Although these policies would be an excellent achievement for both mothers and fathers, the U.S. track record for support of using tax-payer money to fund universal programs is usually low. However, some ideas and implementation strategies may be garnered from current states that offer partially-paid maternity leave, such as in New Jersey and California (Alkadry and Tower 2013).

Conclusion, Future Research and Directions

Although significant strides have been made to accommodate a diverse and equitable workforce, it is clear that both the private and, particularly, the public sectors must continue to move away from the traditional patriarchal structure of bureaucracy and embrace a new generation of workers who value both family and career. The recommendations made in this paper can help "start the ball rolling" in terms of more work-life policy suggestions. To truly bring about the change that is needed, however, organizations must begin to move away from the traditional patriarchal structure to one that embraces the subjugated discourses of populations that have been marginalized under the traditional bureaucratic discourse.

Another conclusion that this chapter makes is a return to the old discussion of the public and private domains and how the two domains are interconnected. A change in organizational policies needs to occur in tandem with a change in our society. Organizational roles affect women's societal gender roles. Women's societal gender roles affect their organizational roles too. In the midst of the chicken-and-egg scenario, women find themselves before the non-choice "choice" between family and career success. What can organizations do? For a change, organizational actions should stop short of catering to societal images and to enforcing their images. Work-life benefits extended to both men and women would be an example of a policy that sends the message that both men and women are equally entitled to a career and a family life at the same time. Societal images are not going to change overnight, but equity in the workplace would certainly help expedite that change.

Finally, there is an urgent need in social sciences in general for more longitudinal multi-organizational research that tracks women in different organizations with different policies toward women and family-track employees. Work-life balance policies are starting to get some traction in that organizations are starting to realize the business sense in these policies. Perhaps, we need more focus on the business and human capital aspects of work-life balance policies. On the societal side, organizations should not enforce existing societal gender roles. Organizations can create a force through their practices that would help change societal roles. Women and men in leadership positions can set a great example by demonstrating how they can balance family and career needs.

The picture of President Kennedy's 2-year old son playing under the President's desk while the president is taking care of serious national and international business is forever etched in our national memory. It is etched as a beautiful picture of a father-son relation before a terrible tragedy that affected that family and the nation. To us, the picture resembles a statement about work-life balance, and an image that could help deconstruct the taboo of mixing family and work.

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An Exploration of Quality Part-Time Working in Europe, with a Focus on the UK Case

Clare Lyonette, Beate Baldauf, and Heike Behle

Introduction

In 2000, the European Union (EU) set a target of 60 % of women in each member country to be in paid employment by 2010 to reduce child poverty and dependence on the state, and it has been reported that many countries have far exceeded this level (Lewis 2009). Although the recession has had inevitable effects on labour market participation for both men *and* women, 2011 figures show that in the EU-27, over 58 % of working-age women were in employment, compared with 70 % of men. However, levels of female labour force participation mask important variations in working hours by country, gender and occupational class.

Part-time working is a common strategy used by many women (and some men) across Europe and other developed countries to manage work and non-work responsibilities, in particular childcare and elder caring. Many more women than men work reduced hours, while at the same time fulfilling normative expectations by taking responsibility for child-rearing and domestic work. There is a long-standing debate surrounding the so-called 'choices' that women make with regard to work and family responsibilities.

For example, Hakim's 'preference theory' (Hakim 2002, 2003) groups women by their 'work–home' preferences, which, she argues, shape their lives. In this way, a woman's preference for family over work would lead her to choose to work part-time or not to work at all, overriding any outside influences. Others argue that the constraints placed upon women affect their choices, emphasising the greater responsibility placed upon women for childcare and domestic tasks (e.g. Ginn et al. 1996). For example, women's employment choices can be particularly constrained or facilitated by national- and organisational-level policies, including childcare provision and accessibility, average full-time working hours and flexible working initiatives, among others. There are well-reported career penalties for part-time workers, including lower status and pay, and fewer training and development opportunities (for an overview, see Lyonette et al. 2010). On the other hand, women say they like to work part-time (Scott and Dex 2009; Gash et al. 2012) and part-time working women tend to report lower work-life conflict (Crompton and Lyonette 2007) and higher life satisfaction than full-time women (Gash et al. 2012).

This chapter will begin by outlining levels of part-time working in the EU and other developed countries, followed by an introduction to the UK Quality Part-Time Work Fund research project, carried out during 2009 and 2010. The chapter will conclude by drawing out the implications of

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the research for women's work-life balance and general wellbeing.

Part-Time Work in Europe

Until the recent economic crisis, all Western governments had been increasing family-friendly policies, although in various ways. For example, in Sweden, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands, parents with pre-school children are given the right to work reduced or part-time hours. In the UK, there has been a gradual expansion in the 'right to request' flexible working to parents and carers, although this does not guarantee that requests will be accepted. Nevertheless, part-time working is still the most popular flexible working strategy, most particularly for women with young children.

Recent OECD figures show the variation between countries with respect to the proportion of the female labour force working part-time (Table 28.1). In all countries, women's share of part-time employment is higher than 50 %, and in many cases this figure is considerably higher, reaching 80 % in Switzerland and over 70 % in many other countries. Those countries with particularly high levels of part-time employment among working women are the Netherlands (by far the highest at over 60 %), followed by Switzerland (45.6 %), the UK (39.4 %), Australia (38.4 %) and Germany (37.8 %). The US remains relatively low at 18.3 %, unchanged since 2000. Other countries with low proportions of female part-time employment include Eastern European countries such as Poland and Hungary, as well as Portugal. Countries showing the greatest increase in female part-time employment over time are Italy, rising from 23.4 % in 2000 to 32.3 % in 2012, and Spain, where the figure has risen from 16.5 to 22.9 % over the same period.

National-Level Supports and Part-Time Work

Hegewisch and Gornick (2011) undertook a detailed study of the impact of work-life policies

Table 28.1 Incidence and composition of part-time employment in selected OECD countries

Country	Women's part-time employment as a proportion of total female employment		Women's share of part-time employment
	2000	2012	2012
Australia		38.4	71.1
Denmark	24.0	24.9	60.9
France	24.9	22.4	77.4
Germany	33.9	37.8	78.7
Hungary	4.5	6.6	64.6
Italy	23.4	32.3	75.1
Netherlands	57.2	60.7	74.4
New Zealand	35.7	34.9	73.7
Norway	33.4	29.1	69.4
Poland	17.9	12.2	67.6
Portugal	14.9	14.8	58.3
Spain	16.5	22.9	76.2
Sweden	21.4	18.6	62.0
Switzerland	44.7	45.6	80.0
United Kingdom	40.8	39.4	73.8
United States	18.0	18.3	66.4
OECD	20.2	26.4	69.3

Source: OECD Employment Outlook 2013, Statistical Annex, Table H (selected countries)

Comments: Part-time refers to persons usually working less than 30 h per week in their main job. Australia: Part-time employment based on hours worked at all jobs. USA: Data are for wage and salary workers only. OECD: Weighted average

across the EU on women's employment patterns, and found that access to part-time employment has been important in raising the labour force participation of mothers in many European countries. However, for countries in which there are broader, more extensive packages of work-life balance supports, the link between motherhood and working part-time is no longer evident. For example, women of childbearing age in both Sweden and Denmark no longer have higher rates of part-time employment than other women, and in Sweden, the prevalence of part-time working among mothers of young children has reduced significantly since the 1980s, when tax and insurance policies, combined with widespread childcare provision, encouraged mothers to move back into full-time work. In Denmark,

mothers are now in fact *less* likely to work part-time than other women (part-time employment has become more important for young women and men who are attempting to combine employment with education). Again, this is also largely a result of widespread childcare services and access to full-time jobs with reasonable hours for both men and women, combined with social insurance regulations that favour full-time work (Rasmussen et al. 2005, cited in Hegewisch and Gornick, 2012).

Occupational Class and Part-Time Work

There are, as mentioned earlier, large occupational class differences in part-time working across Europe. An analysis of the 2009 European Company Survey indicates that about a quarter of companies (26 %) have any part-time staff in highly qualified or managerial positions. For most of those companies this applies to exceptional cases, rather than a common occurrence. The latter pattern is more often found in health and social work and in education. Similarly to part-time work in general, there are huge differences across EU countries. The Netherlands ranks top in terms of the highest share of companies with any part-time staff in highly qualified or managerial positions and the (absolutely and relatively) highest share of companies reporting that part-time highly qualified or managerial positions are common. The UK also has a relatively high share of companies with any part-time staff in highly qualified or managerial positions but in contrast to the Netherlands, relatively fewer companies which report that this is a common pattern (European Foundation 2011).

Hipp and Stuth (2013) analysed the factors that affect the scope of part-time work among male and female managers in Europe, drawing on the European Labour Force Survey (2009) and additional sources for contextual data. Their multi-level analysis found that cultural aspects and attitudes supporting gender equality within a country had a positive impact on the likelihood of being able to work reduced hours, while a culture

of presenteeism had a negative impact and the right to work part-time did not turn out to have a significant impact.

Part-Time Work in the UK: A Case Study

Part-time work for women in the UK is "recognizably *the* way of reconciling work and family" (Lewis et al. 2008: 25). The most recent figures show that over a third of part-time working women cited the reason for doing so as wanting to spend more time with their children (Labour Force Survey (LFS), April–June 2013). There have been increased numbers of men also working part-time in their main job, although this is often due to an inability to gain full-time work, especially during the current recession (Fawcett Society 2013). Men are also much less likely than women to work part-time after having children (LFS data, April–June 2013), with fathers working longer hours than non-fathers (Biggart and O'Brien 2009). For example, Table 28.2 shows that the proportion of women working full-time decreases dramatically according to the number of children she has (relatively few have more than four children so these figures are less reliable). On the other hand, the proportion of women working part-time increases according to the number of children they have (other women with children give up work altogether, although

Table 28.2 Proportion of male and female employees in the UK working full-time or part-time, by number of dependent children in family (aged under 16)

		Male		Female	
		Full time (%)	Part time (%)	Full time (%)	Part time (%)
Number of dependent children	0	84.5	15.5	65.7	34.3
	1	89.1	10.9	49.4	50.6
	2	91.3	8.6	38.9	61.1
	3	90.9	9.1	29.7	70.3
	4	87.1	12.9	32.4	67.6
	5	72.0	28.0	22.2	77.8
	6	59.5	40.5	33.2	66.8

Source: LFS, April–June 2013; weighted

these figures are not shown). For men, this works in the opposite direction, with men working longer hours according to the number of children they have. Recent European figures show that men in the UK work longer hours on average than almost all other EU countries (with the exception of Greece and Austria) (European Social Statistics 2013). In contrast, UK women work fewer part-time hours than the EU average, at around 19 h per week. The increase in men's hours may be a result of men having to fill the gap created by a loss or reduction in the female partner's income; indeed, research has shown that having a non-working wife was a significant predictor of work-life conflict for UK fathers (Crompton and Lyonette 2008).

As with other EU and OECD countries, part-time working in the UK varies not only by gender, but also by occupational class. Although childcare costs have been subsidized for those working parents on lower incomes over more recent years, in practice, the majority of childcare is still provided by the private sector. Indeed, the OECD (March 2010) found that UK families spent more on childcare than any other country included in their analyses. Not surprisingly, therefore, lower-paid women with pre-school children are more likely than women in higher occupational groups to work part-time rather than full-time, while simultaneously drawing on informal childcare such as grandparents and other relatives (Crompton and Lyonette 2010). Research using LFS data has shown that 60 % of mothers working part-time are employed in only four occupational areas: 'elementary administration and service', 'sales and customer service', 'caring personal service' and 'administrative' (Durbin and Tomlinson 2010). In contrast, only three per cent of mothers working part-time are corporate managers (Tomlinson et al. 2009).

A well-recorded lack of part-time opportunities available for women in senior occupations means that many professional women "choose" to downgrade when deciding to reduce their hours, working below their capabilities (Darton and Hurrell 2005; Women and Work Commission 2006) and crowding into lower-level part-time jobs (Grant et al. 2005). This has obvious implications,

not only for the women themselves who often become stuck in these lower-level jobs, thereby reducing their career opportunities and earnings, but also for the lower-level women who will potentially be displaced by women with higher qualifications and skills.

Part-time work as a whole has been conclusively demonstrated to be associated with lower levels of occupational success (e.g., Purcell et al. 1999) and the UK has the lowest rates of pay and the poorest working conditions for part-timers in Europe (Aston et al. 2004). According to recent findings from the Fawcett Society (2013), women in the UK experience one of the highest pay gaps in the EU. Not only are there gender pay gaps, but also part-time pay gaps: in 2012, comparing all work, women earned 18.6 % less per hour than men. Comparing those in full-time work, women earned an average of 14.9 % less per hour than men. The gap between the average hourly earnings of those in full-time work and part-time work was 37 % (http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/equal-pay/). In addition, Olsen and Walby (2004) established that the longer women stay in part-time work (as opposed to full-time) the greater their pay penalty.

While the UK is one of the countries with the largest share of female part-time workers across Europe and OECD countries, the Netherlands has by far the highest proportion of female part-time workers at over 60 %. Here, part-time work is more integrated into the national employment structure than in the UK and specific policies have been developed to protect part-time workers (Anxo et al. 2007). Legislation effectively prohibits employers from differentiating between full-time and part-time employees, without any objective justification, so recognising part-time work as equivalent to full-time work. Part-time workers are entitled to the same (pro-rata) pay and pension rights, bonuses and holidays and employees have the right to reduce or increase their working hours (employers could only refuse such requests if specific business interests were jeopardised as a consequence). Although such jobs could therefore be viewed as "quality" part-time work in the Netherlands, chances for promotion are still limited and the part-time pay

penalty is equally prevalent (see for example, Román 2006).

In spite of the fact that part-time work offers fewer economic rewards (Kalleberg et al. 2000) and fewer opportunities for progression, evidence has shown that women like part-time work and flexibility in their working hours (Scott and Dex 2009), and that part-time working women express more happiness and greater job satisfaction than full-time women (Booth and Van Ours 2008). The effects of reduced hours on levels of life satisfaction seem to be less straightforward, however (Booth and Van Ours 2008; Gash et al. 2012). Gash et al. (2012) conducted research on women in both the UK and Germany who switched from full-time to part-time work after having children and found that women in both countries reported increases in life satisfaction, and this was especially true of women who remained with their employer in the same job but with reduced hours. However, women in the UK with higher levels of education appeared to be less likely to experience improvements in life satisfaction. The authors argue that 'this could be the result of on average higher work orientation of educated women and the relatively low quality of part-time jobs in the UK' (Gash et al. 2012: 64).

In response to the accumulating evidence, the UK Government Equalities Office recently developed an employment strategy aimed at improving gender equality in the workplace, and increasing the availability of quality part-time work (GEO 2010). Based on a review of the literature and emerging findings from the research described here (Lyonette et al. 2010), the following definition of "quality" part-time work was developed:

The following sections report on an in-depth study of the UK Quality Part-time Work Fund (QPTWF) which aimed to address and improve the provision of quality part-time work, using a variety of methods. Two main research questions were developed during the course of the in-depth study:

- How are new kinds of quality part-time jobs being constructed to cope with the demands of caring?
- How do these new jobs improve the reconciliation of work and family roles for mothers?

The UK Quality-Part-Time Work Pilot Programme

Twelve organizations, covering a broad range of occupational sectors and sizes (see Table 28.3), received government funding from a total of £500,000 to '*support new initiatives aimed at achieving a culture change, so that more senior jobs – particularly in the skilled occupations and the professions – are more open to part-time and flexible working*' (Women and Work Commission 2009: 27). Projects were funded for between one and two years and varied from small projects (£15,000 or less), to large projects of over £60,000. Funding for most projects ended in April 2008, with the last two having finished in December 2008 and March 2009, prior to any major repercussions from the recession. Many of the pilots did not expressly set out to create new part-time posts but to help change organizational culture via various means (for example, by creating a recruitment website or a women's network).

Quality Part-Time Work
1. provides the same (pro-rata) terms and conditions, development and progression opportunities as comparable full-time work;
2. enables the job-holder to maintain (or enhance) his or her skills;
3. enables the achievement of an acceptable work-life 'balance', meeting the needs of both employer and employee; and
4. where a business case can be made, provides the opportunity to increase the number of hours to full-time work, if desired, at the same or a higher job level.

Table 28.3 Evidence base of the Quality Part-Time Work Fund pilot programme

Pilot organization	PM	LM	PT	HR	Other	Total interviews	Focus group
Flexworks (FWK): small recruitment company specializing in flexible working	1					1	
Working Families (WF): small voluntary organization providing help primarily for low-income families	1					1	
Youth Action (YA): charity working with young people from Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds on issues such as training and employment	1					1	
East Riding of Yorkshire Council (ERYC): large local authority	1	1	1	1		4	1 (6 LM)
Medical Women's Federation (MWF): largest organization of women doctors and medical students in the UK	1					1	
Kellogg's (Kell): large food manufacturer of cereals and snacks	1		1			2	
Royal Mail (RM): national postal service provider	1	2	1	1		5	1 (4 PT)
Workers' Educational Association (WEA): voluntary organization providing adult education	1				1	2	
Swindon Borough Council (SBC): local authority	1		1	1		3	
Wisework (WWK): small consultancy which supports organizations wishing to introduce flexible working	1				1	2	
Durham Constabulary (DC): large police force serving around 12 main towns in the north-east of the UK			4			4	1 (8 PT)
No. of interviews	**10**	**3**	**8**	**3**	**2**	**26**	**3**

Code:
PM Project Manager, *PT* Part-time employee, *LM* Line Manager, *HR* Human Resources Representative

The pilot programme defined a quality part-time post as one earning an annual minimum salary of £20,000, pro rata (approximately $31,000 at the current exchange rate).

Twenty-six interviews were carried out with representatives from 11 of the 12 organisations (one pilot organisation turned down further involvement in the study):

- 10 Project Managers, usually working in Human Resources (HR) departments
- 3 other HR representatives
- 8 part-time employees
- 3 line managers of part-time employees
- 2 others (e.g. clients of pilot organisations)

In addition, three focus groups were held: two with part-time employees and one with line managers.

Potential interviewees and focus group attendees were approached in a variety of ways, including gaining access via the Project Managers, flyers distributed via HR departments asking for willing volunteers, and "snowballing," in which interviewees themselves suggested other potentially interested parties. The research team made all efforts to interview up to four employees within each pilot organization. However, due to the limited number of respondents available for interview or focus group attendance within the time allocated to the project, the data from four pilot organizations was based on information provided by the Project Manager only, potentially limiting the reliability of the findings.

Where possible, semi-structured interviews took place in a private room in the pilot organization and confidentiality was assured. Given the time constraints of the project and the distance to some of the organizations, telephone interviews were conducted with some part-time employees, line managers and Project Managers. Interviews lasted for around an hour, following a topic guide designed to gauge the positive and negative aspects of the pilot programme, what worked and what could have been improved, and what respondents perceived to be the costs and benefits of increasing quality part-time work. Key examples

of good or best practice were also identified. Topic guides varied, according to the interviewee (for example, line manager, Project Manager, part-time employee). After gaining permission, the interviews were audiotaped and extensive notes were written up a short time afterwards.

The three focus groups similarly took place in a private room at the workplace and confidentiality was assured. Focus groups lasted between 60 and 90 min, following a topic guide designed to gauge the positive and negative aspects of the pilot programme, what worked and what could have been improved, attendees' current roles and any drawbacks or difficulties with part-time working, as well as any perceived differences between full- and part-time work, etc. All attendees also filled in a short questionnaire asking for basic demographic information, reasons for working part-time, occupation and supervisory duties, etc. Two researchers attended all the focus groups. After gaining permission, the focus groups were audiotaped and extensive notes were written up. Any additional material (for example, internal and/or project reports, workplace surveys) was also collected and analysed by the research team.

The Costs and Benefits of Increasing Quality Part-Time Work

All respondents were initially asked to identify any costs and benefits of increasing quality part-time work at their workplace. The majority of Project Managers and line managers recognized the potential for additional recruitment costs, extra time managing more people, as well as more review processes and appraisals, particularly for job share posts. Others referred to the potential for extra training costs and problems relating to continuity and communication between managers and part-time workers. Some Project Managers referred to the extra costs of training line managers effectively in dealing with part-time workers.

However, representatives from all organizations (whether Project Managers, line managers or part-time employees themselves) were almost universally convinced that the benefits of increasing quality part-time work outweighed the costs. Many interviewees referred to increased employee satisfaction and happiness, as well as greater focus and motivation of part-time workers, and that those working part-time were more likely to appreciate the efforts of their employer in allowing them to achieve a greater work-life balance, so increasing their flexibility and loyalty. Others outlined improved work-life balance, creativity and productivity, as well as greater retention, leading to reduced recruitment costs, and one focused upon reduced absenteeism and sickness among part-time workers (although this could not be verified via workplace data). Some pointed to the improved coverage of a job if two or more people were doing it, rather than just one.

How Are New Kinds of Quality Part-Time Jobs Being Constructed to Cope with the Demands of Caring?

There were several examples of organisations making efforts to increase or raise awareness of new and existing part-time opportunities. The following section will highlight some examples of good or best practice.

(a) Managers within a public sector local authority (responsible for a variety of local services, including education, social care, waste, etc.) were very much aware of the need for part-time workers, especially in 'service-critical' areas such as schools. For example, two line managers commented: "*without part-time workers, there would be no social care*", and "*schools would not be able to run without part-time staff*". While there are national shortages of head teachers, traditionally full-time workers with long hours, the authority's predominantly rural location deterred many head teachers from applying for jobs, especially in schools along the more isolated coastal areas. As a result, active efforts were being made to find new models of working, such as allowing one head teacher to move to part-time working to either manage his/her retirement or to take up caring or professional responsibilities on a part-time basis, while keeping their school duties also on a part-

time basis, and for another (more junior) co-head to "step up". This person could then work part-time in both roles, providing lots of advantages, including having someone ready to take on the headship when necessary (Source: focus group with line managers).

(b) A large private sector organisation recognised the need for senior women to progress and identified four future female leaders with young children, all of whom were working part-time or who had expressed an interest in doing so. The company organized one-to-one coaching sessions for the women with an external facilitator: it was reported that the coaching helped them to manage their workload and to delegate appropriately, so helping them to achieve a greater balance between work and family responsibilities. Those taking part then coached their managers in turn to show how it could work and also acted as positive role models within their own departments. Results were so far said to be very successful (Source: interviews with the Project Manager and one of the women on the coaching course).

How Do These New Jobs Improve the Reconciliation of Work and Family Roles for Mothers?

On the basis of extensive analysis of the interview and focus group data by the research team, part-time respondents were divided into groups according to the organisational context in which they worked (Table 28.4).

The individual examples set out in Boxes 28.1 and 28.2 represent the experiences of many of the women working part-time within the three different organizational contexts.

The example in Box 28.1 demonstrates the importance of supportive line managers and the acceptance by the employee that both parties need to be flexible. Because of her organisation's willingness to accommodate her working schedule in order to cope with her childcare demands, this woman stayed at the organisation and demonstrated a high degree of loyalty, in spite of the fact that she was aware of her higher earning potential elsewhere. For the pilot programme, the organisation was actively involved in promoting senior role models working part-time on their website, as well as developing case studies of line managers successfully coping with part-time employees.

The experience of the woman in Box 28.2 highlights some of the difficulties of working part-time in a demanding job. This woman deliberately applied for the new part-time managerial post as she thought that it would allow her to shift-parent with her partner while also allowing her to move up the career ladder. In spite of extensive training and mentoring systems in place, as well as a positive attitude towards part-time working overall in the workplace, this woman was struggling to carry out all her required management duties within her contracted 20 h per week. As a result, she felt that her family life was suffering. The pilot programme focused on introducing

Table 28.4 Typology of workplaces included in the pilot programme

	Progressive	Progressive/resistant	Traditional
Proportion of female part-time workers	High % of female workers, many part-time	Average % of female workers, some part-time but rarely at higher levels	Low % of female workers, some part-time but rarely at higher levels
Workplace recognition of the importance of part-timers	Recognised need for part-time workers by HR and senior management	Recognition of diversity issues and retention problems by HR	Recognition that women are not progressing but some jobs difficult to accommodate on part-time basis
HR policies	Supportive HR policies, strictly adhered to	Generally supportive HR policies, mostly adhered to	Generally supportive HR policies, rarely adhered to
Line manager attitude and training	Line manager training widespread	Some line managers still resistant	Most line managers male and resistant

Box 28.1: The Satisfied Employee, Progressive Workplace

The employee	Female manager, works 22.5 h per week, 3 children, husband's job involves lots of travel.
The family	When youngest child started school (mornings only), she needed some additional short-term flexibility. Her director said: "*let's come to a compromise; I don't want to lose you, it's only going to be for a few months*". Employee: "*for me, it was a massive weight off my shoulders, and they kept me as an employee*".
The job	If working longer on one project, she will reduce her working hours the next week. Does not generally work over contracted hours.
	"*Because of how flexible they have been with me, I will come in and offer a day or time for a meeting…no-one forces me, no-one pushes me, and they try their very best to arrange meetings in the hours that I'm there". "I feel that it's 2-way*."
Reconciliation?	"*Their being such a flexible employer has enabled me to stay. I know that I could go contracting and I could work elsewhere but I stay here because of the flexibility and it's not always about money…that is one of the biggest benefits and you wouldn't get that in all organizations*".

Box 28.2: The Conflicted Employee, Progressive/Resistant Workplace

The employee	Female manager in private organisation, 1 child. Contracted to work 20 h per week (evenings).
The family	Wanted a job to allow her to share parenting with partner. Current job means that she often does not get home until very late at night.
The job	Originally taken on as a part-time manager (4–8.30 pm), allowing her to progress in her career on a reduced hours basis, then went on maternity leave for a year. Was told that this job had now disappeared so had to come back as a reserve manager, filling in for others.
Reconciliation?	Hours now 5–9.30 pm but she often works until 11 pm. "*Not ideal with a young family*". An expectation from others that she has time to check emails, etc., but "*on the go*" from 5 pm until she goes home. No time for a break or to do paperwork and so catches up on this after the end of her shift.

new part-time managerial posts, specifically targeted towards women, one of which was taken up by the woman above. However, her Line Manager also acknowledged the difference between actual and contracted working hours. While there were opportunities to progress to the next managerial level, the job demands were perceived to be too difficult to carry out on a part-time basis.

Box 28.3 describes the experience of a woman who had initially been highly ambitious but the demands of her role and that of her husband, as well as the recognition of the inflexibility of her workplace, meant that she had effectively given up any ideas of progressing further. She also accepted that many senior jobs cannot realistically be carried out on a part-time basis within her workplace. For example, she said that a senior manager cannot leave for childcare reasons at a

specific time as they often work late hours, go home for a few hours and then come back if a specific case arises. The pilot programme focused upon highlighting barriers to part-time working within the organisation, which appeared to be ongoing. The resistance to part-time working was deeply entrenched, in spite of the fact that even working long part-time hours did not provide the same benefits as full-time jobs (for example, the ability to retire early on a full pension, or receiving overtime pay if working on public holidays).

In all, the organisational context acted either as a facilitator or as a barrier in ensuring reconciliation for the part-time women (and the limited number of men) included in the study. Where line managers were supportive of part-time workers, and where HR policies regarding part-time working had been implemented and strictly adhered to, part-time employees were generally willing to be more flexible with their working-time arrangements, where possible. Those workplaces with a recognised need for part-time workers and which had trained line managers in how to deal with part-time employees were

Box 28.3: The Trade-Off Employee, Traditional Workplace

The employee	Female professional in public sector organization, 2 children. Works 36 h per week (considered part-time within the organization), husband works long hours at senior level in same organization.
The family	Without children, the employee felt she could have been more ambitious. 4 days of nursery are cheaper than 5 so she works 4 long days.
The job	Not many senior women working part-time. When pregnant, she was put on a restricted schedule: *"Both my roles that I carried out…were soul-destroying, not very career-developmental, tortuous…when I was pregnant with my second child, I didn't declare it until I was over 20 weeks pregnant"*. *"You've got to work twice as hard to prove yourself. You do less hours but twice the work"*.
Reconciliation?	She thinks that you can't have everything and accepts that some jobs just are not suitable for women with young children. Even for the next level up, the hours *"would be just too unforgiving [given her husband's long hours]. So I think career-wise, my career pretty much stops at this level"*.

generally the most successful in increasing quality part-time working amongst staff members. On the other hand, employees in more traditional workplaces were still much more likely to report a high degree of resistance to part-time work by line managers. There was also a danger identified by some respondents that senior part-time jobs were simply full-time jobs done in fewer days, with little or no job cover on the employee's days off. This is supported by previous findings which showed that many part-time women in professions such as accountancy are already working long (part-time) hours and often make themselves available on days off for telephone calls and email contact. For example, the "good" accountant has traditionally been defined as one who is always willing to prioritize work, spending long hours in the office, demonstrating commitment (Lewis

2007). In reality, trying to maintain a senior position on a part-time basis often means trying to complete a full-time job in part-time hours (Lyonette and Crompton 2008).

A number of additional key themes linked to barriers and facilitators for part-time workers emerged from the data which included the following, with key examples of responses, provided below.

Greater respect/acceptance if successful: *"I as the individual have got to make this work because that then shows the management that when it is managed effectively and when you have the right person with the right support doing it, it is absolutely no different to someone working full-time"* (Female Project Manager, progressive/resistant workplace, interview).

Slow rate of organizational culture change: After a business trip to which she was not invited, one woman's manager told her "*because you've got children and you're part-time, I didn't think you could"…so I put him right on that and after that, he always did ask in advance…As a professional he should have treated me the same as the others*" (Female manager, progressive workplace, interview).

The importance of senior part-time role models (especially men) in the workplace: One voluntary organization reported that many large organizations now "*trumpet*" their senior part-time role models, as this is seen as good practice. However, they were also aware that there is a need for more male part-timers as "*cultural guardians*", setting the tone and highlighting the fact that flexible working is "*not just a woman's thing*" (Project Manager, progressive workplace, interview).

Persisting bias against female part-timers: There were also several examples of no change with regard to gender equality in the workplace. One woman commented that "*every single day, there's a comment*" [about part-time working]. *"Once one starts, then someone else gets into it"*. Negative reactions are usually from full-time men at the same level. *"Sometimes I just don't want to be here, that's how bad it can get in there…You have to justify yourself constantly"* (Female professional, traditional workplace, focus group).

Conclusions

Part-time work is a common strategy for combining work and family roles across Europe and the OECD countries, although the proportion of women working part-time within each country varies significantly. Evidence suggests that these variations are due in part to national and organisational-level supports and structures, as well as to normative expectations of male and female responsibilities. Part-time work has been shown over many years to be associated with lower career opportunities and pay. The results from this research project focusing on increasing quality part-time work in a diverse range of organisations in the UK has shown that things do appear to be changing, albeit slowly, and that many employers are responding to the needs of working mothers. Successful examples of part-time working, with senior employees acting as effective role models, tend to lead to wider acceptance overall, although there is some recognition that not all jobs can be done on a part-time basis. The HR representatives who were interviewed appeared to be generally supportive and have an important role to play in promoting quality part-time work, including the ability to draw on statutory policies if necessary. Selling the business case for increasing quality part-time work is crucial in getting commitment from senior management and line managers and those with a recognised need for part-time workers were more likely to embrace the increased provision of quality part-time jobs.

Several toolkits and self-help resources appeared to be effective in allowing both line managers and employees themselves to work through the advantages and disadvantages of working part-time. Individual examples of good relationships between part-time employees and line managers were not sufficient in themselves to ensure an increase in quality part-time working across workplaces: supportive HR policies need to be widely disseminated and jobs need to be advertised internally and externally with an explicit message that they can be done on a part-time or job share basis. Managers also need to be

encouraged to think more creatively about current and future roles and how these may be accommodated to part-time workers.

There was some evidence, supported by other examples highlighted in the literature, that part-time managers in operational roles do not have sufficient time to fulfil extra duties such as administrative tasks and work significantly longer hours than contracted to complete their work. However, in those workplaces where employers had accommodated the needs of part-time workers, these workers in turn demonstrated a high degree of loyalty and flexibility on their part, willing to come in for meetings or training days, whenever possible. Greater recruitment and retention of part-time employees in senior roles are of obvious importance to those organizations relying heavily on part-time workers. Although there was a tendency for line managers and HR managers to be more focused than part-time employees on the business case for increasing quality part-time work, employees often expressed an understanding of business needs, as well as their own needs in terms of childcare and other non-work responsibilities.

The two organizations reporting a significant culture change with regard to flexible and part-time working were the local authorities. Other pilot organizations reported that other priorities, often driven by budget constraints during the global economic crisis or organizational restructuring, had had the effect of taking the focus away from increasing and improving part-time work. Organizations which had focused on identifying role models to promote quality part-time work all reported significant positive outcomes, either within the public, private or voluntary sectors. Three organizations recorded an increase in quality part-time work as a result of the pilot programme, but apart from one local authority, there was some doubt about further increases after the end of funding. The two local authorities were the only pilot organizations reporting a definite commitment to sustaining quality part-time work, in part due to their dependence on part-time workers for delivery of services and also as a means of reducing overall costs. Other pilot organizations reported difficulties in

sustaining quality part-time work because of a lack of resources, organizational restructuring and changed priorities, managerial change and/or a continued need for a culture change within the organization. These findings link to more recent research on the impact of the recession on work-life balance policies and practices in public sector organisations (Lewis et al. under review). Over the course of the recession, public sector employers appear to have been promoting flexible working options as a solution to their budgetary constraints; new programmes of working, including a greater reliance on teleworking and remote working, often imposed involuntarily upon employees, in order to sell off office space as a way of saving money, were prevalent. Further research is required to explore the impact of different forms of flexible working on individual employee health and wellbeing, on workplace cohesion and productivity, and also on organisational and national level legislation. Increasing teleworking or remote working may create difficulties for HR departments attempting to support the general wellbeing of their staff and may lead to a greater focus on individual, rather than organizational, responsibility for work-life balance.

In spite of the fact that the majority of QPTW research projects did not set out to differentiate between men and women in part-time posts, there were a limited number of male part-time employees within the sample. However, this reflects the substantially lower number of men working part-time in the UK. It must also be acknowledged that the organizations involved in this project are likely to be those with a more positive attitude towards part-time working. However, there were some examples of resistant workplaces in which the Project Managers were trying to highlight the problems through the research findings, which provided an opportunity for comparisons with more progressive workplaces. There were also some difficulties in accessing respondents for interview and focus group attendance, and the Project Manager often acted as a go-between in the process, arranging interviews on our behalf. This may have skewed the sample towards those with a more positive view of their workplaces.

Although women like part-time work and part-time workers report lower work-life conflict, there is continued resistance in some workplaces to employees working part-time hours. Even in those workplaces where part-time work has become accepted and where more senior jobs are offered on a part-time basis, these jobs often require the employee to be available on days off, with no alternative cover in place, creating a situation in which a full-time job is effectively being carried out in part-time hours. In order to encourage more women and men to work part-time in more senior roles, quality part-time jobs need to be recognized as reduced hours, not full-time jobs worked in fewer days. While many employees (full-time or part-time) work longer hours than contracted, this is especially difficult for working parents with young children, who are often limited in their working hours by inflexible and expensive childcare arrangements and additional domestic responsibilities. It will be interesting to see the impact of lower governmental support in the UK (the abolition of child tax credits, lower child benefits) on the demand for quality part-time work and on any associated health and wellbeing outcomes. Although this chapter has focused primarily on the UK situation which has a very high proportion of women working part-time, it would be informative to view this as a test case for other countries with different levels of part-time working among women (and men). The examples of good practice outlined above can be easily replicated to other organisations and to other developed countries, so avoiding some of the pitfalls of more intransigent workplaces.

The barriers to increasing and improving quality part-time work extend beyond the workplace and into the home, however, and this applies to all developed countries. On the whole, it seems unlikely that male partners will undertake more domestic work and childcare if women are working part-time (whatever the "quality" of the job). While men continue to work (long) full-time hours and where women continue to be seen as the main carer, government initiatives to increase quality part-time work are unlikely to make a big difference to women's ability to progress within

the workplace, with women themselves choosing not to pursue more demanding roles (either full-time or part-time). The economic crisis may provide an opportunity for greater gender equality between women and men in the household: if mothers become the main breadwinner due to a partner's unemployment, fathers may be more willing, or indeed may have no alternative, than to take on part-time work, so acting as role models within the workplace, while increasing the time spent with children *and* on domestic responsibilities. There is a danger, however, that these will merely serve as short-term solutions and that once the economic crisis is over, women will be expected to revert to their role as main carer and part-time worker, irrespective of occupational level. Until there is increased gender equality in the division of domestic labour, with men willing (and able) to take on greater childcare and other responsibilities, women are unlikely to feel able to move up the career ladder and maximise their full potential within the workplace. Any increase in wellbeing and life satisfaction as a result of working part-time may therefore come at a cost.

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Opting In: Women in Search of Well-Being

29

Ingrid Biese and Linda McKie

Introduction

In this second decade of the new millennium, women find themselves navigating the hectic life of high modernity whilst also living in a time of global recession. Organizations are under high pressure to stay lean, flexible, and thus competitive, which in turn means individuals are pressured to do the same, and many working women pushed to keep reinventing themselves personally and professionally in order to do so (Elliott 2013). Past experiences and successes have lost their importance; today adaptability and capacity for change would seem to determine an employee's value (Durbin and Tomlinson 2010). According to Richard Sennett (1998, 2006), workplaces, where individuals and teams come and go, resemble train stations more than communities, and in the fast-paced, hectic work environment, individuals have difficulties creating coherent narratives of work. As Alison Wolf argues (2013) in her recent book the *XX Factor*, subtitled "How working women are creating a new society", professional women are becoming more equal to male counterparts, but divisions between women

are growing. Socio-economic differences impact on the narratives of working women in complex ways; familial origins and education are key to the creation of gendered lives, and thus moves to achieve equality.

In this chapter, we examine the experiences of middle class professional women, who choose to leave high-level careers to pursue specific interests. These are well off women who would seem to be moving towards equality, but choose to opt in to varied forms of work and lifestyles for reasons of their choice. While most previous research on opting out has been restricted to women who opt out of professional careers to become full-time mothers (see Jones 2012; Williams et al. 2006), we view opting out as the choice to do something else, which has a positive impact on health and well-being. Thus, we problematize the debate to explore a new perspective, namely opting in. We argue that opting in is a process through which women seek ways of working on their own terms, creating alternative definitions of success, and, importantly, placing priority on the well-being of themselves and their families. The economy affects workers on all levels and of all ages, including their health, and we underpin our analysis with the World Health Organization's (1946: 100) definition that 'health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease of infirmity.'

In summary, opting out to opt in, we argue, is a wider social phenomenon, and as the contem-

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porary culture and work climate puts a strain on the lives of women and men, and parents, affecting their sense of agency and well-being (Sennett 1998), individuals may choose to exercise control over their working and home lives. By opting in to alternative, sustainable ways of having a career without having to give up on other areas of life that are important to them, women can improve both their psychological and physical well-being. We present four case studies, drawn from the narratives of 16 professional women. Each case study reflects common themes across the narratives, as well as unique insights into the diverse ways in which these women come to decisions and make life changes to enhance well-being. The women are living and working in the post-industrial economies of Finland and the United States (US). These are similar and yet contrasting countries, as evidenced through differing levels of welfare and state support for equality issues and child/elder care needs.

The chapter opens with a description of the relevant similarities and differences between these two countries. Then we explore how contemporary corporate culture affects individuals' identities and how they make sense of themselves and their careers, which in turn has ramifications on what choices they make. Next, the chapter considers how concepts of reinvention are central to the issue of opting in, after which we go on to introduce the study. The four case studies are interlaced with analyses of the relevant issues pertaining to opting in, and how these four women's decisions and journeys have affected and been affected by their well-being. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of the connection between opting in and physical, mental, and social well-being.

Similar and Different: Professional Women in Finland and the United States

In recent decades women have made great strides in education, training, and employment, promoted through national and supranational strategies to enhance equalities and personal development (Tomlinson 2011; OECD 2012). Women's

participation in management has increased with, for example, a third of all managers in Finland being female (Lyly-Yrjänäinen and Fernández Macías 2009). Almost 40 % of employees in Finland have a woman as their immediate superior (Parent-Thirion et al. 2007).

These trends can be identified in a range of post-industrial societies, but they mask occupational segregation, as men and women dominate different sectors of the economy; men in science, engineering, and computing, and women in health, education, service, and public sectors. Thus, despite attempts to initiate change, vertical and horizontal segregation persists, as does the gender pay gap, with women continuing to earn up to 15–20 % less than an equivalent male colleague. Added to these inequities, women continue to undertake a disproportionate amount of care and domestic labor. Men as parents, relatives, and co-workers, are seemingly reluctant to undertake more of what can be repetitive and demanding work. In his recent book *Men Can Do It*, Gideon Burrows (2013) comments that the drudgery and delight of domestic and care work (Benn 1998) results in few men actively seeking to do more; the perceived benefits of being a prime carer tends to be outweighed by the daily grind of feeding, clothing, and supporting infants or elders. When women in professional careers opt out, this allows men to shrug their shoulders and potentially avoid direct action in the domestic sphere or to campaign in the workplace. It is also pernicious, and Hirschman (2006) notes that this reinforces stereotyping and reduces the potential for change, as future leaders and power brokers leave the workplace; 'selfless domesticity.' However, Belkin's thesis maintains that far from rejecting leadership, women are opting out as the drive for money and power comes with too high a price for the sanity and well-being of themselves and their families.

As noted earlier, this debate seems focused on women, work, and care in the US. Does this reflect a neo-liberal approach to gender equality in that country? Or are there wider, transnational trends to opting out? The contrast between the US and Finland is a stark one, despite many economic and cultural parallels. Finland has a strong public sector with a robust range of welfare policies and

services, albeit these are under review. Finnish women have a legislative right to long, funded maternity leaves, after which they are guaranteed the possibility of returning to work, if not to the same position, then to a position of at least the same responsibility in the organization where they worked before. Fathers also have the right to take a certain amount of parental leave. In addition there is high-quality, state subsidized daycare that is guaranteed to all children before they start school. What this means, is that in Finland, there is financial and structural support for women, in order to make it easier to combine having a career with being a mother. In Finland, there is also a history of women working full-time, predicated on the dearth of male workers at the end of the Second World War, which also triggered the universal provision of publically funded childcare. Finnish legislation is gender neutral, premised upon the notion of the worker citizen. However, gender segregation remains strong, with women over-represented in the public sector and the professions of education, health, and services (Statistics Finland 2013).

In contrast to the small population of Finland at just over 5 million, among the 317 million inhabitants of the United States, the situation for women and families is very different. The foundation for attitudes to women and work can be traced back to the late eighteenth century ideology of republican motherhood, the idea that women can support the development of a nation through the raising of children ready to be civic minded citizens (Kerber 1980). Economic changes have posed a range of challenges to this ethos, and by 1993 the Family Medical Leave Act came into force, which allows for 12 weeks unpaid leave following childbirth. This legislation covers a small proportion of working women, and whilst technically gender neutral, it is generally accessed by professional middle class women who can afford to take parental leave. All other forms of care, for elders, sick partners, or older children, is not addressed in legislation and left to employers to manage. It is therefore not surprising that there is a nanny-culture, as well as more stay-at-home mothers, than in Finland. Daycare is either very expensive or low quality, with

middle class parents tending to compete over their children's successes and futures (Warner 2005). American women in general have much more 'traditional' gender roles in their families than most women in Finland, even though spousal support and the division of household and care responsibilities are issues that women from both countries grapple with. Research has shown that women in both countries continue to have the main responsibility for care and household issues, despite having entered the public sphere and working alongside men in the political and business arenas (Misra 2012: 138). It also demonstrates that childless women are employed at similar rates and levels in both countries (ibid.).

Finally, a difference that is especially relevant, is that working culture is more competitive in the US, and working hours are longer than in Finland. In Finland, employees have a right to about 5 weeks of vacation every year,[1] which is long compared to American standards (Williams and Boushey 2010).

Pressured Times, Fractured Identities

In contemporary corporate culture, focus has been taken away from long-term solutions, and the pressure of short-term wins pushes organizations to be as flexible as possible in order to stay lean and competitive, which is also exacerbated by the on-going global recession (see for example Laverty 1996; Sennett 2006). Corporate cultures are now about flexible, fluid, and transitory work patterns, creating instability and insecurity, and making it increasingly difficult for individuals to create coherent narratives of work. The outcomes of these trends has been described by Sennett (2006: 4) thus, "if institutions no longer provide a long-term frame, the individual may have to improvise his or her life-narrative…"

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[1] In Finland all employees accumulate 2.5 days vacation (2 days for individuals who have been employed less than a year) for every month worked. This makes a total of 30 days vacation per year (http://www.erto.fi/tyosuhdeopas/vuosiloma/vuosiloman-ansaitseminen).

In addition to the ever-tougher, competitive, and insecure workplace conditions, the global recession is putting women (and men) under increasing pressure to work longer hours for the same or less pay, regardless of their care and domestic commitments (Sturges 2013). With a growth in part-time work, temporary, casual or no-hours contracts, and a general stagnation in pay increases, underemployment is a new phenomenon. This results in insecurities and potentially diminished opportunities for women in mid-career (Maynard and Feldman 2011). These trends and cultures are discouraging for those who strive to raise a family, be engaged with parents as they age, or include a wider range of activities, other than career building in their lives (McKie and Callan 2012; Walby et al. 2008).

Regardless of the ever changing 'train stations' of employment (Sennett 1998), media and other images of careers continue to promote outdated and idealized images of linear progression up the corporate ladder (Baruch 2004). A closer examination of careers finds many twists and turns. However, for many, the notion of the linear career ideal remains strong, as do notions that men's employment is more important than women's. More than ever, families are reliant on co-breadwinners, be that a heterosexual, same sex couple, or single parent household; the growing diversity of families, their needs, and aspirations, are mirrored in the kaleidoscopic nature of shifting employment patterns and careers (McKie et al. 2013; Sullivan and Mainiero 2007).

The short-termism, quick-fixism, and the demand of flexibility, in what continues to be a highly gender, segregated labor market, affects the very fabric of individuals' identities and their lives (see for example Giddens 1999; Hofmeister et al. 2006). In short, it is virtually impossible to develop and nurture a long-term life-project (Elliott and Lemert 2006). Tradition no longer dictates individuals' choices and no longer makes individuals' decisions for them regarding what they want to do or be (Giddens 1994); identities must now be artificially produced (Bauman 1991). Individuals are not only free to, they are made to create their own life narrative, or narratives; and they find themselves on a tightrope of sorts, where they constantly have to reinvent themselves to keep their balance (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Identity has thus become an on-going project, where individuals constantly have to evaluate and re-evaluate lifestyle choices (Elliott and Lemert 2006), and the standard or traditional biography has become a chosen or do-it-yourself biography (Beck 1994). Paradoxically, the self-realization and right to meaning and happiness, that has been put at the top of our priority lists, comes with an unfortunate side effect of ambivalence, uncertainty, and emotional cost (Bauman 1991).

Reinvention and Opting Out

The debate on opting out originated in 2003 in the United States, with the publication of Lisa Belkin's New York Times column 'The Opt-Out Revolution'. Belkin (2003) interviewed Ivy League university graduates who opted out of highly successful careers to become full-time mothers. Reasons given for opting out were largely issues of balance and quality of life. These women felt their corporate careers were forcing them to make too many sacrifices, and they simply wanted to have the possibility to raise their own children, while creating their own definition of what it means to be successful. However, Belkin argues, that this trend of women opting out is only the beginning. As more women opt out, men will start to follow, which, in turn, will force organizations to create working environments that better correspond to the lives, needs, and wants of contemporary men and women.

Belkin's column started a heated debate on women opting out, both in the media and in the academic world. While the debate has been mainly about women who opt out to become full-time mothers, much of the research has set out to prove Belkin wrong (see for example Boushey 2005, 2008; Percheski 2008). Another view has been that if women are leaving highly successful careers, it is not because they choose to, instead they are being pushed out – forced to choose between a career and children (see for example Stone and Lovejoy 2004). However, the current debates that suggest that women leave careers to become stay-at-home mothers, have largely

failed to take into account the possibility that perhaps a major change in mid-career is not only about mothers who want to stay at home full-time with their children, but also the nature of living and working in contemporary society. With the rising popularity of self-help and strategies to finding happiness (Elliott 2013), and as the notion of switching professions, adopting new lifestyles, and fulfilling lifelong dreams continues to be romanticized in the media, opting out has also become something to be admired in the Western world. Opting out can thus be seen as a brave change in the face of ever splintering identities and challenges, and should, in our view, include individuals who opt out of their careers to reinvent themselves, and to pursue new lifestyles and forms of work; to live and work on their own terms.[2]

The Study

As noted earlier, we are presenting material through case studies to offer depth, drawing from narratives that illuminate specific issues and the myriad ways in which women draw upon the past to speculate about futures and to provide context to their contemporary choices and situation. Case study research has a long history in the social sciences, partly due to the popularity of this method of study in psychology (Miller and Salkind 2002). When studying individuals, a case study approach to qualitative inquiry provides an in-depth description of a situation, process, or event, providing insight into personality, causing factors, and socialization processes (ibid.). The focus of case studies is not on discerning patterns or generalizations, however, as this chapter aims to add to currents debates, as well as to understand the profound effect contemporary culture has on individuals and their decisions to opt out and in, a case study approach provides the depth and insight needed to do so. As the aim of the research is to provide additional information to debates on opting out, as well as provide an alter-

native understanding of the phenomenon, the United States became a natural and relevant place to start. As noted earlier, this is where the debate originated and the place where much of the debate and the research on opting out are undertaken (Jones 2012; Williams et al. 2006). Narratives of Finnish women offer contrasts, as well as similarities, to those drawn from the women in the United States.

The interviews were all up to 2 h in length, during which the role of the interviewer was to listen while the interviewee was the storyteller. They were unstructured, with few open-ended questions, used simply to trigger the telling. As the process to opting in starts with the decision to opt out, it might be anticipated that there are a range of emotions including regret, conflict, and confusion (Stone and Hernandez 2012). A narrative approach allows the respondent to choose and move across discourses (Hollway and Jefferson 2000), as well as helping the researcher explore things left unsaid or issues rushed over (Frosh et al. 2003). In addition, as the respondents may not be able to describe their actions, or even be aware of them, the narrative approach can offer space to explore events, contradictions, and changes, at their conversational pace (Josselson 1995; Hollway and Jefferson 2000).

All of the narratives collected for this research were strikingly similar. Despite differences regarding nationality, place of work, marital status, and whether or not they had children, the women had similar experiences and reasons for opting out, as well as hopes for what their new lifestyles would bring. All the narratives included a search for authenticity, a search for coherence, a desire to have more power and control over their lives, as well as the ability to focus on what felt important to them, be that nurturing relationships with those close to them or doing fulfilling and meaningful work. Of these narratives, four have been chosen as case studies to illustrate that these are recurring themes, despite differences regarding age and whether or not the women are also mothers. The four chosen were those drawn from the narratives of Christina, Michelle, Sara, and Eva. Christina and Michelle are from the United States while Sara and Eva are from Finland. These case studies are first and foremost illustra-

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[2] Others who have had a similar definition of opting out include Mainiero and Sullivan (2006) and McKie et al. (2013).

tive examples of issues pertaining to coherence, health, and well-being, both in decisions to opt out as well as the new thinking and terms that define the new lifestyle that these women consequently opt in to. We open with an analysis of the narrative of Michelle, who provides what might be termed a 'classic' case, in so far as she is married, with children, and at mid-career. When her husband took seriously ill, the pressures of work and home were tipped too far in terms of stress.

Michelle's opting in process has been slow, spanned over several years. Before opting out,

Michelle: The Long and Winding Road to a Better Balance

American, 40 years old, married, two children

Opted out of a career in communications, opted in to entrepreneurship.

Michelle's opting out and in journey has been a long one. It started years ago, when she got pregnant with her first child, whilst heading the communications department in an IT company. According to Michelle, she was the only employee who was married, let alone pregnant. The company did not even have a maternity policy, so Michelle had to create one as her pregnancy progressed. Coming back to work after the baby was born was difficult, and she found she had to go home to her baby at the end of the working day, while her team continued on. She became uncomfortable and felt this was untenable; "*I figured out… that there are jobs for moms who want to be moms and who want to work and there are some… that are [just] not amenable to women, you know, being dual, moms and workers…*"

After a few months she resigned. Michelle stayed home for a while, and soon had a second child. After her youngest child was a year old, she went back to work and attempted to structure her career and work around her children; the aim was to achieve what she termed "*career and a meaningful family life.*" She started working part-time, but became increasingly unhappy by the situation as time passed, as, ironically, in part-time work she had no flexibility. One incident she reported was her daughter's first school play. This was scheduled for a day she worked, and so she asked to swap days. Her boss refused and she missed the play. Incidents like this were making her feel powerless and deeply frustrated; "*a lot of feeling like I was failing, and I think this is a cliché of the working mom, but I was failing in every way.*"

However, it was not until her husband fell ill with a debilitating disease that she finally realized she could not go on the way she was. The pressure of being there for her husband and her children, while having no flexibility, just became untenable and a great strain emotionally. After months of agonizing, she finally quit her job and went back to education to retrain in an area she had been interested in for a long time. Michelle also needed to find a way of generating much needed income, as well as being there for her family when they needed her; "*I needed to find that thing and it happened to be working for myself.*" She set up a business on a theme she felt passionate about.

Her husband recovered, and soon her business was also thriving. She makes much less money as an entrepreneur than she did in her corporate career, but is much happier, mainly because she feels in control; "*If I look back to all the times I had to control things, it was when there wasn't coherence, and I also think part of coherence might be the important things… then I think the rest of it doesn't matter.*"

Michelle asserts that having complete control over one's environment is impossible. She realizes that things will change; her children will change, the business will change, and her own wants and needs will change, but she is ok with that. She takes it one day at a time. Her ethos to life can be summed up as "*I want to surround myself by really caring, interesting people… and I don't need any of the other stuff and I just want my family to be healthy and important.*"

she felt inadequate and filled with doubt, overwhelmed by a lack of agency – she felt she did not have control over her life and over when she could spend time with her children. However, several times during the interview, Michelle explains that she loves to work and she wants to continue doing so; she just did not feel she was getting it right. Opting in, for her, was finding a way to nurture her professional self, working with issues she felt passionate about, while also having the power to decide how she would structure and divide her time between work, children, and her husband. Opting out of work altogether was not something she wanted to do, nor would it have been a sustainable solution, as her husband was sick and she needed to provide for her family. More control of her life and of her time gave her a sense of coherence, and she finally felt she was exactly where she was meant to be, acknowledging that 'where she was meant to be' would change over time; *"I really like what I do, which makes a difference… So now I kind of have both [family and work], which is good."*

Michelle, like many of the women, reported feeling exhausted at the time of opting out. Although it was health issues that pushed her to finally take the step – the failing health of her husband – she herself was physically in great shape. However issues of health are not only physical, as noted earlier, when referring to the WHO definition. The difficulties of balancing work and other areas of life took a toll on Michelle emotionally and psychologically. The turmoil she experienced and the lack of coherence in her day-to-day life and in her life narratives, was clearly causing anxieties and, in her own terms, resulting in a negative impact on her well-being.

Timing is important and the journey to opting in takes many twists and turns. Michelle needed to be the one to decide when she could be with her children and care for her husband. In addition, it also made her think about what was really important in life. Faced with the risk of death, she realized that work was not important enough to sacrifice time with loved ones over. So, when she experienced a life-threatening crisis, she found the final trigger to reconsider priorities and really think about what was important.

Next, Sara's story will be introduced. Sara's journey offers a contrast to Michelle's, as she did not opt out while her children where little. It was not until they were teenagers that she made the decision to leave her career, and in this narrative we illuminate the impact of changing relationships (divorce) on the pace and nature of opting in.

The hectic life of work, home, divorce, and single parenting, took a toll on Sara's psychological well-being, as illustrated through the lack of con-

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Sara: Opting in Late Career

Finnish, 50 years old, divorced, two children

Opted out of sales work in the service industry, opted in to a new career teaching at university.

Sara started working and supporting herself at a very young age. She built a career in the service industry and gradually worked her way up, taking qualifications on a part-time basis to advance. At the time of opting out, she was a successful sales manager and her working environment was very hectic. She was always on call; *"…you had to be flexible and there were functions in the evening, I couldn't only [meet] clients during the day… And then [there was] traveling…"*

There was little support from her husband, and she was the main carer and domestic worker in her family. Tensions rose, and Sara and her husband got divorced whilst the children were young. As a single parent and sole caretaker of the children, she worked long hours to ensure the household income and ensure success. She spoke of the incoherence she felt in her life, juggling childcare and work, and how this made her feel uneasy. On occasions, the children had to fend for themselves, but she felt she could not take the risk of opting in to work of her choice until her children were teenagers.

In her working life, she noticed that she was a nervous speaker, and her role involved regular presentations in front of colleagues and clients. She became terrified of flying, again a key component of her job. Sara speaks in confident tones about her conclusions that these symptoms emerged from the lack of control she felt in her hectic life; "*I don't even remember if I ever felt tired because I had so much adrenalin all the time [where I used to work]… in the morning I got up… first I would swallow [swallowing sound] then get up… there was so much work… and travel.*"

Finally, she decided enough was enough, and that she could take the financial risk of opting out. She left her corporate job and booked a trip to another country. Now sitting on the airplane, prior to take-off, the captain announced there was a technical problem, delaying departure. This would have caused serious anxiety, but now she leaned back and thought to herself that they probably know what they are doing. This was one of the most dramatic changes she noticed in herself.

Sara went back to university to study a subject she had always been interested in, psychology. Over the years, she had built some savings, and now had a lot of faith that things would work themselves out; in terms of psychological health and well-being they had worked out, too! After a few years she got her degree, and now teaches at that same university. She stands in front of her class and presents daily, and is no longer nervous. There is not as much money as before, but she makes enough to support herself and her children, and cherishes her relative flexibility and control over time; "*the feeling of freedom [after having opted out] was really amazing.*" She also speculates about becoming involved in politics.

trol and coherence in many aspects of her life. Sara was reacting physically to situations where she did not have control; public speaking, team briefings, flying, and work travel.

Along her journey, Sara felt tired and out of control. She felt she had to be someone she was not. Divorce, day-to-day strains, and looking to the future, caused her to rethink her priorities. Gradually, over years, she started to consider her options and her longer-term needs. Opting in to study meant taking a financial risk – she was a single mother – but after much deliberation, she came to the conclusion that she could not go on the way she had. Sara put faith in her plans to study, that they would bear fruit. She was desperate and determined, ground down by years of juggling. Sara's story illustrates how opting in is a process not only relevant to mothers of small children. She built up a career and waited, struggled, until her children were almost adults, before she opted in to a career in which she wanted to invest time and effort.

In the remaining two narratives, we illustrate that, contrary to many of the previous debates, women who opt in do so for a host of reasons, and not always to spend more time with their children. Eva and Christina do not have children. There are parallels between many of the issues they raise and the narratives of Michelle and Sara. They too experienced a difficulty with myriad roles and pressures, which took a toll on their well-being.

Opting in offers routes in a longer-term search for authenticity. For Eva, the question of authenticity is extremely important, and she mentions the

Eva: Acquiring Authenticity Across the Route to Opting In

Finnish, 33 years old divorced, no children.

Opted out of management consulting, opted in to art school and part-time work.

Eva worked for several years as a management consultant, starting her career in an industrial corporation, and then moving on to consulting. However, she felt she did not fit into the pace, values, and ethos of this business. Work took up her whole life and Eva became uneasy; "*I just felt angst over [the thought of]*

doing this for the rest of my life." At the same time, she was acutely aware of the day-to-day discrimination that she and other women were subject to throughout her career. This resulted in a sense of frustration, but also concerns about not letting herself or other women down.

Exhaustion was the trigger to change; "*I was so exhausted that I just cried all the time… it was probably a combination of many things… I just felt that every day was a struggle and how will I muster the energy… and then you just feel [really bad] if you see that no one else seems to complain about the working pace and you are like why does everyone else seem to manage when I can't?*" One day she called in sick and took the day to apply to art school. There was nothing unusual about that day; there was no grand life plan, but she had always been interested in art and had reached a point where she needed to do something, take a step in any direction. She applied to art school, and to her surprise she was accepted. Eva did not know if this was going to be her future career, but it provided her with an acceptable plan and way out. For financial support, she negotiated part-time work.

"*So much has happened in my life [since I opted out]… I came out of a bad relationship and then I have started studying something new and also recovered… It's like the chicken and the egg, you don't really know what has caused what. But what I really strongly know is what I absolutely do not want.*"

During the interview, Eva talks about the feeling of authenticity she has found, something which she never felt in her career as a management consultant; "*I always felt so very different… like I can't believe the way they think… like I thought that it must just be that I'm weird [laughing], but it's really good to notice that it's ok, that there are lots and lots of other people who have the same values as I do.*"

Like many other women who opt in, a cluster of issues came together at the point of leaving the corporate career. Eva's mother became seriously ill, and she and her husband decided to get a divorce. The divorce, however, was spoken of in terms of resignation, as she felt he never supported her or her career. She underscored that she cannot work if she does not care about the job; "*if you don't care you don't challenge yourself.*" She wants a job she cares and feels passionate about. At first she was worried about how friends and colleagues would react, but reactions have been mostly very positive; "*I feel so much more like myself [now after opting in]… I was trying to be someone I wasn't.*" She is very pleased about her decision to opt in to art and part-time work, and is much happier, and notices a change in her psychological well-being.

word 'authentic' several times during her interview. A search for authenticity and a feeling of finally being who and where they are supposed to be, invariably add to a sense of coherence, which these women previously lacked. Before opting out, they feel overwhelmed, but powerless, to change the corporate culture or their own situation within the organization. Their health suffers, and the routes to authenticity seem associated with better health status, not least psychological well-being. A feeling of authenticity would thus be intimately attached to the feeling that they are finally able to work, to live, on their own terms.

Both Eva and Christina were put off by the corporate culture; the hard, competitive culture, the hectic pace, 24/7 availability, and the feeling

Christina: Opting Out of Children to Opt In to Gendered Role

American, 38 years old, married, no children

Opted out of management consulting, opted in to non-profit work plus occasional consulting work.

Like Eva, Christina had a successful career as a management consultant. In contrast to Eva, she found this interesting and challenging, and said she was good at it. However, physical

symptoms of stress began to emerge; *"overall [it] was a good but somewhat stressful experience, where I found that the… compensation didn't outweigh or warrant the stress."* She saw that the competitive environment was not only affecting her, but also her whole team. Christina struggled with having to get her team to perform, noticing that they were *"somewhat unhappy."* A feeling of guilt developed and she found the job was emotionally draining. By now the thought of the next promotion – the next step on the career ladder – did not motivate her. She had been thinking about quitting earlier, and when she finally did decide to take the step, it seemed like a good time, as she was at the *"top of her game."* Her husband was also doing very well financially, so income was not an issue for her.

"I was having success… I was sort of at the top of my game… I quit because I wasn't that motivated by the next promotion, I knew that it was likely to get [bad] again and I think I had gotten enough confidence to start my own business, coupled with my husband making so much money that my salary and stress was… a drop in the bucket and the stress I was bringing home really wasn't worth it. So I had unique circumstances in terms of being able to say enough."

After she left, she continued doing consulting work for the same company and started getting involved in NGO's. Today she is on several NGO boards, and occasionally she does consulting work. She founded her own consultancy company, which she keeps alive, but has a range of work and personal interests which make life more fulfilling.

One of the factors that gave a push to finally take the step and opt out, was that her sister fell seriously ill and Christina felt she wanted and needed the flexibility to be able to be there for her; *"At the same time my [sister] has been diagnosed with… cancer. I think I had made*

the decision to quit prior to learning that, but upon learning that it just reinforced this feeling of, you know, spending all these hours at this company is not as important."

Christina feels most happy about the flexibility, not having to follow the fiscal quarters all the time, not being *"caught in the day-to-day drudge"* of corporate work, which feels meaningless to her. She has more time for friends and family, as well as time to pursue things that are interesting to her. She feels a lot less stressed, although she admits that she also misses the urgency a bit. One of the factors that made her hesitant to opt out, was the thought of giving up a regular salary of her own and becoming more dependent on her husband. She points out that quitting has made their roles more traditionally gendered; *"a big piece of quitting for me was giving up my own salary and that independence… a lot of my fear of quitting, honestly, had been I always have an escape route if I need it and by quitting it was a big leap of faith that I was stepping into a little more old-fashioned role."*

However, Christina has not only opted out of a corporate career; she has opted out of the societal expectation that she also become a mother. She and her husband have decided that they do not want children, which she explains is very hard for many people to take. It seems easier for people to reconcile the fact that she opted out of a career, than the fact that she opted out of motherhood. She has opted in to a life she finds rich and fulfilling. During the interview, she seems very confident, however, at the same time it becomes clear that she still feels unsure about other people's reactions to her choices, and has to have a 'story' ready for them. She talks about how it is weird not to be in synch with the rest of society. She describes it as *"opting out of the mainstream"* to opt in to live on her own terms.

of having to be someone they were not. Christina was also deeply affected by how this culture was affecting the rest of her team. However, neither of them felt compelled to quit or search for alternative lifestyles, until someone close to them got ill. It was then they felt that all the time and energy they were putting into a career that did not feel quite right, was not worth it. It was taking time away from what was more important, from time with people close to them. They did not have the same care responsibilities mothers of small children have; however, they chose to change their lifestyles to be there for the people close to them. As the rhetoric of choice gives a feeling of power and agency (Stone and Lovejoy 2004), their choice to leave their careers gave them the sense of power they did not have before opting out. However, especially for Christina, who made a conscious decision not to have children, this decision may very well be an unconscious choice to avoid another situation where she might lose the control she felt she gained by opting in, and a feeling of having control over one's life is directly attached to feelings of happiness, and thus well-being (Lane 2000).

Our analysis is drawn from the narratives of 16 professional women, and more specifically, the four cases studies detailed in this chapter. According to Ragin (1987, ix), the 'case-oriented approach is strong in its access to complexity and historical specificity', which is important for our purposes. These are middle class women, all of whom have financial, personal, and familial resources, which facilitated the choice to opt in. All too had a trigger in the final decision making process. This was the illness of a partner, child, close relative, or themselves, albeit experiences over many years had caused them to slowly but inexorably shift towards opting in. Central to their decisions were the interminable pressures of combing career and other aspects of their gendered lives.

In further research on women's working lives, adopting the biographical approach could add to the evidence base, and demonstrate if our findings are (a) relevant across the age groups from mid-30s to pre-retirement, (b) found across sectors of the economy from service and retail to engineering and science, and (c) evident in countries with differing welfare and care systems. Such a study would require notable resources in terms of time and money. However, the use of biographical matching could streamline the process and resource requirements. Crompton (2001) developed this approach to comparative research. The aim is to identify linkages between the macro (national) and micro (every day and personal) levels, to explore issues, in this case gender, work, and care, as these are (re)constructed in the lives of professional women. As has been pointed out by many feminist and critical scholars, in spite of the importance of quantitative approaches in social research and comparative analysis, they tend to have limitations with regards to the analysis of gendered processes (Williams 1991). Hence, the use of comparative case studies can enhance the potential to explore the cultural and social differences between countries or sectors, and to repack these differences and similarities (for an example of biographical matching see Jyrkinen and McKie 2012).

Conclusions

The commonly held view that opting out is an end in itself – leaving paid work – is one not borne out by the experiences of the women who participated in the study, reported in this chapter. Opting out is a stage through which women begin to move away from cultural and gendered (masculinist) norms, prevalent in most employing organizations (Acker 2006), to design lifestyles (including paid work) constructed on their terms, to which they actively opt in. For Michelle, Sara, Eva, and Christina, opting in is the adoption of a lifestyle in which they could take more control. Although the journey was a long one, and riddled with uncertainty, opting in had a direct and positive effect on their psychological and physical well-being. Physical symptoms included

reactions to stress, decreased energy levels, and simply the fatigue and the wear and tear of a career that left them feeling overwhelmed. Across all the narratives, the women's stories were peppered with words and comments such as "wear and tear", "limited energy", "overwhelmed", and "always tired". Prior to making the decision to leave, these women felt they had little, if any, control over their lives. They spoke of "every day as a struggle", "a lack of coherence", "agonizing lack of control". They also spoke of their passions for specific interests and skills, and their wish to be good at whatever they did. For professional women, success incorporates high achievement in paid work, family life, as well as social and familial networks; success runs across all aspects of life to a degree any individual might find difficult to achieve.

Although most of the women reported that their work had been stimulating prior to their lifestyle change, the way they had been working was not sustainable. The inability to plan their time, and the sheer amount of time they were expected to clock at work, left them feeling powerless and lacking the agency to have control over their lives. In addition, they often did not feel like they could really be themselves in the corporate environment, which was especially pertinent in the case of Eva. When opting in, they found ways of working with things they loved and felt passionate about, without having to give up on other areas of life. This not only brought great relief, the ability to finally be able to embrace different parts of themselves, and to combine different areas of life, gave them a feeling of authenticity, which added to their psychological well-being. They felt calmer, more confident, and simply happier. This authenticity adds to a sense of coherence, which in turn has had a positive effect on their well-being. Thus we argue that opting out and opting in is often driven by, as well as having positive consequences for, the well-being of women, whether or not they have children.

In an era when working life is becoming all the more hectic, and with pressures to stay competitive in a culture of short-termism, exacerbated by global recession, many are struggling to create a sense of coherence in their life narra-

tives. There are specific issues for women, who continue to be discriminated in masculinist working cultures, and have to combine different areas of life in a meaningful way, given they continue to carry the main responsibility for care and domestic labor. Through the four case studies, we have shown that opting out does not necessarily mean leaving paid labor altogether. Opting in is a journey to a lifestyle in which Michelle, Sara, Eva, and Christina could live and work on their own terms, creating alternative definitions of success. Opting in is not a new phenomenon, but it is one we should re-consider, for it offers redress to the gendered, and potentially discriminatory, focus upon women opting out. Women are opting out of prevailing masculinist norms, to opt in to a lifestyle, where work and other areas of life can be combined; where women have more power over time, can achieve coherence, and enhance their well-being. As noted at the outset of this chapter, the World Health Organization's definition of health includes physical, mental, and social dimensions, and for the women who opt in mental and emotional well-being is especially central.

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The Well-Being of Working Women in Times of Economic Crisis and Recovery: Insights from the Great Recession

Janice Peterson

Introduction

U.S. economic history reveals a close and complex relationship between the labor market status and well-being of women workers and the processes of economic transformation and structural change. Studies of changing gender roles and patterns of women's labor force participation and economic well-being over time often find this relationship to be a contradictory and at times seemingly paradoxical one, particularly in times of economic crisis.[1] Consequently, it is not surprising that the most recent economic crisis – widely referred to as the "Great Recession" in the United States – has once again drawn attention to the importance of gender in the U.S. economy and spawned numerous and still unfolding narratives and analyses of the well-being of women workers in times of economic crisis and recovery.

The Great Recession in the United States officially began in December 2007 and officially ended in June 2009.[2] Lasting 18 months, the Great Recession was the longest economic downturn in the post-World War II period (National Bureau of Economic Research 2010, p. 1). While "virtually no area of the economy remained unscathed" from the recession, the extremely negative impact on labor markets is particularly notable (Goodman and Mance 2011, p. 3). Further, the long duration of the Great Recession's negative employment consequences – for the economy as a whole and for individual workers – stands as a key difference between it and other recessions the United States has experienced since World War II (Hout and Cumberworth 2012, p. 2). The breadth and depth of employment loss in this recession – particularly in comparison to other recent recessions – contributed to its distinction as the "Great Recession" (Goodman and Mance 2011, p. 3).

This chapter provides a broad overview of what is known at this time about the impacts of the Great Recession on the well-being of women workers in the United States. This overview blends discussions of the descriptive statistics

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[1] For detailed economic histories of women workers in the United States see Kessler-Harris (1982) and Amott and Matthaei (1996).

[2] The Business Cycle Dating Committee of the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) determines the official reference dates (beginning and end) of business cycles in the United States. The NBER defines a recession as a "significant decline in economic activity spread across the economy, lasting more than a few months, normally visible in real GDP, real income, employment, industrial production and wholesale-retail sales" (Leamer 2008, p. 6).

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used to measure changes in economic well-being with influential interpretative narratives of the meaning of such changes. This approach is framed by feminist economic principles, which call for examining gendered economic outcomes in the context of gender norms and particular historical and cultural contexts. The chapter begins with an introduction to the feminist economic literatures that inform this discussion and an overview of key measures of the well-being of women workers prior to the Great Recession. This is followed by a descriptive discussion of the gendered impacts of the Great Recession and the narratives that informed popular views of the well-being of women workers in the economic downturn and shaped the research questions of scholars in response. Insights from emerging feminist economic analyses conclude the discussion of women in the Great Recession and provide the foundation for examining the changing positions of women in the recovery and for developing questions for future research.

Frameworks and Context

Feminist Economics

Feminist economists are a diverse group of scholars representing different traditions in economics as well as feminism (Peterson and Lewis 1999). Consequently, feminist economic analyses of the well-being of women workers reflect a rich diversity of standpoints and methods. A widely shared characteristic of feminist economic approaches, however, is a broader vision of work and well-being than is typically found in traditional economics. This is a vision of work and well-being that recognizes the critical importance of women's commitments to both unpaid and paid work, as well as the gender norms and belief systems surrounding women's participation in both unpaid and paid work. The discussion below draws on insights from two distinct but complementary feminist economics literatures analyzing the well-being of working women: "feminist-institutionalist economics," which integrates insights from the work of institutional

economics and feminist theory,[3] and the "women and recession" literature, which draws on the insights of comparative studies of women's experiences in time of recession in North America and Europe.[4]

The belief that economics is the study of social provisioning (as opposed to the traditional view of economics as the study of individual choices made under conditions of scarcity) is a shared conviction of feminist and institutionalist economists, and one of the cornerstones of feminist-institutionalist inquiry (Waddoups and Tilman 1992; Mayhew 1999). A focus on social provisioning leads to a broader understanding of economic activity, one that includes caring and other actions that cannot be understood entirely in terms of individual choices and outcomes (Todorova 2009). A social provisioning framework also grounds feminist-institutionalist inquiry in the rejection of analytic frameworks based in dualistic separations of "public" vs. "private" spheres of activity, which are viewed as central to defining, constructing, and defending social distinctions and hierarchy (Jennings 1993; Waller 1995).

Feminist-institutionalist economists have focused particular attention on the dualistic separation of the "public sphere" of the market economy from the "private sphere" of the home and family found in traditional economic thought – a distinction known as the "economy-family dualism." With this dualistic separation of the economy from the family, only production for

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[3] There are different schools of institutional economics; as the term is used here it refers to the "original institutional economics" – the American and European traditions in institutional economics rooted in the works of Thorstein Veblen, Karl Polanyi and Gunnar Myrdal (see Jennings 1993 for a detailed discussion).

[4] Two important volumes bring together representative research in this area. The first volume, *Women and Recession*, edited by Jill Rubery (originally published in 1988 and reissued in 2011), examines the experiences of women in times of recession in the United States, France, Italy and Britain. The second volume, *Women and Austerity,* edited by Maria Karamessini and Jill Rubery (published in 2013), examines the impacts of the Great Recession and associated austerity policies in United States, across the European Union (EU), and in particular EU nations (Iceland, Britain, Hungary, Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and Italy).

the market is considered "economic" and only wage labor is identified as "work." The association of women with the private sphere of the family and home has defined them as non-economic, obscuring and devaluing their contributions to social provisioning (Waller and Jennings 1990; Jennings 1994; Waller 1995). The gender biases of traditional economic theories reflected in the economy-family dualism are seen to have real social consequences for women through accepted measures of economic well-being and prescriptions for public policy (Jennings 1999a).

In feminist-institutionalist analyses of women's economic status and well-being, the economy-family dualism contributes to both the real circumstances of women's economic disadvantage as well as the justifications for women's unequal position in the economy. That is, through its definition of men as economic breadwinners and women as familial and non-economic, the economy-family dualism grounds the myths and distinctions that underlie gender inequality. Thus, in their analyses of gender inequality, feminist-institutionalist economists recognize the importance of the institution of the family (or household) as a bearer of gender, where power is articulated through gender norms (van Staveren and Odebode 2007). The focus on power relations moves feminist-institutionalist analyses of the family (or household) away from a narrow focus on individual choice, allowing gender and the power of gender norms to be taken seriously (Wheelock 1994). Further, this allows the evolving relationship between the family (or household) and the labor market to be incorporated into explanations of labor market choices and outcomes.

Economic analyses of labor markets typically attempt to explain how wages and employment are determined. Feminist economists have responded to traditional labor market theories with "concerns about their underlying assumptions, implicit gender biases, and their applicability to women's experiences" (Jennings 1999b, p. 510). Feminist-institutionalist economists are among those who have emphasized the power-dimensions of the wage-setting process and the ways in which the structure of labor markets identifies and devalues certain jobs as "women's

work" (Figart 1999a). Gender is seen to play a critical role in the development of labor market institutions, both shaping the division of labor through the value assigned to different types of work, and placing individuals within the gendered division of work. As feminist economist Deborah Figart has argued, "Patriarchal relations within the household and society influence both suppliers and demanders of labour, and both dynamics are integral to understanding discriminatory processes and consequences" (Figart 1999a, p. 111).

In feminist-institutionalist economics, traditional gender norms rooted in the economy-family dualism play an important – albeit changing – role in shaping the experiences and well-being of women workers, through their continuing influence on key social and economic institutions. The narratives that emerge in both public and scholarly discourse to explain, celebrate, condemn or justify particular outcomes for women workers provide an important way to examine those norms and their influence on women's economic well-being. Consequently, from a feminist-institutionalist perspective, both the particular outcomes experienced by women workers in the Great Recession (in terms of measures of economic well-being) and the different narratives about the impact of the recession on women workers, are important to understanding the significance of the recession for the well-being of women workers (Peterson 2012).

Gender as a variable in both explaining and shaping economic outcomes is also central to the "women and recession" literature, which examines the interactions of labor markets, industrial structure, gender ideology and public policy in the context of different nations and different recessionary periods (Rubery 2011/1988b, 2013; Karamessini 2013). These studies take a feminist and institutionalist (as opposed to a traditional) economics approach in recognizing the importance of particular social and historical forces creating differences across nations in women's experiences with recession and related policy responses. This provides an approach to examining the changing well-being of women workers in times of economic recession that explicitly "links

the analysis to both cyclical and longer-term change in national and employment models and to the social construction of gender relations within a specific institutional and political context" (Rubery 2013, p. 17).

The complexity of the relationship between the well-being of women workers and the state of the economy is reflected in three hypotheses that have been put forward and evaluated in the women and recession literature in efforts to explain or predict the particular vulnerability of women's employment (compared to men's employment) in times of recession over the course of several decades. In one hypothesis, often referred to as the "industry/occupational segmentation" or "job segregation" hypothesis, the concentration of female workers in industries and occupations that are relatively insulated from cyclical variations in output and employment is seen to provide them protection relative to male workers in a recession. Conversely, in the "reserve labor" or "buffer" hypothesis, women are seen to provide a "flexible reserve" of labor that is drawn into the economy during times of economic expansion and expelled during times of economic decline. Consequently, the position of women as marginal or recently hired workers is seen to leave them more vulnerable to cyclical variations in output and employment relative to men. In a third approach, typically known as the "substitution" hypothesis, women's lower compensation relative to men's (on average) is seen to open up employment opportunities for them in times of economic recession, as employers seek to cut costs by recruiting and hiring less expensive workers (Grown and Tas 2011, p. 178; Humphries 2011/1988, p. 15; Rubery 2011/1988a, p. 3; Albelda 2013, p. 86).

While these hypotheses are sometimes viewed as competing, feminist analyses of women and recession illustrate that these arguments can be compatible with each other when women's employment patterns are examined within historical and country-specific perspectives, for different subsectors of an economy, and interpreted in terms of the many different aspects of women's relationship with the wage labor market (Rubery 2011/1988a, pp. 4–5; Humphries

2011/1988, p. 15). Further, comparative studies find that the labor demand impacts of a downturn may vary over time with, for example, strong segmentation effects early in the downturn, followed by stronger substitution effects as employers respond through restructuring (Rubery 2013, p. 19). And, while the labor supply effects of recession will reflect the differences between men and women with respect to paid employment, they will also reflect differences in the positions of women and men in relation to the family, government services, and social norms with respect to gender roles (Rubery 2013, p. 20).

Recent feminist work focused on the Great Recession also emphasizes the importance of national policy responses to the downturn in shaping the impacts of recession on women's employment and economic well-being. The austerity policies implemented by governments in response to the Great Recession's impact on public finances, for example, have in many cases strongly influenced the ways in which women workers have experienced the crisis – through reductions in public sector employment, social transfers and social services. Austerity policies are expected to have negative effects not only on demand for women's labor, but also on access to services that support women in the roles as care givers (Karamessini 2013). In the context of the U.S. experience, feminist economist Randy Albelda argues that the importance of government spending in employment in "female dominated health, education and social service sectors calls new attention to a potential fourth effect of fiscal austerity." The increased role of state and local governments in the provision of "social infrastructure" (particularly care work) coupled with the high concentration of women workers in these sectors means that "state responses to recessions have also played out in gender employment patterns" (Albelda 2013, p. 86).

Taken together and in context, the hypotheses and observations of the "women and recession" literature present a broad framework for examining the well-being of women workers that highlights the relationships between a society's industrial, labor market and family organization, as well as the role of gender belief systems in maintaining

these relationships. In this framework, the patterns of women's labor supply are influenced by changes in the structure of the economy as well as systems of social reproduction. Declining real wages for men, for example, may bolster women's participation in paid work, just as increases in the number of women who head households may also increase pressure for labor force participation. The demand for women's labor structures the form as well as the level of their participation in the wage labor market – for example, as part-time or full-time work, structured as continuous or discontinuous employment (Rubery 2011/1988b, p. 277).

In the United States, labor market and family structures were transformed over the second half of the twentieth century by the increasing participation by women in the paid labor force, increasing numbers of women who head households, and an increasing dependence of both single and two-adult families on women's earnings (Rubery 2011/1988b, p. 277; Humphries 2011/1988, p. 17). These changes provide an important context for understanding the impacts of the Great Recession on the well-being of women workers in the early twenty-first century. A number of statistical indicators can be examined to characterize women's participation in paid employment and their economic status relative to men's. These indicators include women's labor force participation rates, unemployment rates, hours worked, occupations, and earnings. The increasing importance of dual-earner and single-mother families and the time women spend in unpaid household work are also important measures for characterizing women's increased integration into paid work. The following section provides a non-exhaustive introduction of these key indicators of women's labor market participation and well-being prior to the Great Recession.

Indicators of Women's Labor Market Participation and Well-Being

Measures of women's labor force participation are particularly important in discussions of their increasing integration into paid work, and the increasing labor force participation of women has fostered wide ranging discussions and analyses of changing gender roles and their importance to the economy (Coleman 1999). In the United States, the "labor force" includes all individuals 16 years of age and older who are working for pay or actively seeking paid work; the labor force participation rate is the labor force as a percent of the population (16 years of age and older).[5] Descriptive statistics on labor force participation rates reveal a large increase in women's participation in the paid labor force in the second half of the twentieth century.[6] For example, in 1940, 28 % of women were in the labor force; by 2007, the figure had risen to 59 % of women 16 years of age and over, and 75 % of women 25 to 54 years of age (Blau et al. 2010, p. 79). In contrast, male labor force participation rates began to decline in the 1950s, from 86 % in 1950 to 73 % in 2007. These opposing trends in female and male labor force participation have resulted in a steady narrowing of the gender gap in labor force participation rates over time (Blau et al. 2010, p. 81).

The officially measured labor force includes individuals who are unemployed as well as those who have jobs. Consequently, the unemployment rate – the percent of the labor force that is unemployed – provides an important measure of the extent to which the nation's labor force is being

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[5] The officially reported labor force statistics are based on data collected (for the civilian, non-institutional population) by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) in the Current Population Survey (CPS), a monthly survey of about 60,000 households that asks questions about the labor force activities of all individuals 16 years of age and older living in the household. According to the BLS definition, the "labor force" includes all individuals 16 years of age and older who are "employed" (worked for pay or profit during the week of the survey) or "unemployed" (did not have a job but actively sought paid employment during the 4 weeks prior to the week of the survey). (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2009; Blau et al. 2010, p. 77; Grown and Tas 2011, pp. 167–168).

[6] The very rapid increase in female labor force participation rates slowed in the early 1990s and remained roughly constant up to the time of the Great Recession (Blau et al. 2010, p. 91). This plateau in female labor force participation rates prompted a debate as to whether or not the United States was experiencing an "opt out revolution," particularly among highly educated women with children (see Blau et al. 2010, pp. 122–123 for an overview of this discussion).

fully utilized. The female unemployment rate is viewed as an important indicator of women's full integration into paid work and their economic well-being (Sosin and Rives 1999). The difference between female and male unemployment rate rates has shown important changes over time. Until the early 1980s, women had higher unemployment rates than men. Since the early 1980s, however, women's unemployment rates have tended to be about the same as men's, except during recessions when women's unemployment rates have been lower than men's (Blau et al. 2010, p. 86; Sosin and Rives 1999, p. 714).[7]

The number of hours worked is an important aspect of labor force participation that is not distinguished in the official labor force participation rate – to be counted as employed in official labor force statistics an individual may be working less than full-time. Feminist economists view work time as an important issue in the analysis of women's labor market experiences, since it can be associated with both increasing flexibility for women workers as well as "underemployment" and other forms of labor market disadvantage (Ferber and Waldfogel 1999). The likelihood of working part-time (fewer than 35 h per week) is a labor market indicator where significant gender differences remain – women continue to be much more likely to work part-time than men. In 2006, for example, 27 % of employed women worked part-time compared to 12 % of employed men (Blau et al. 2010, p. 85). A growing divergence of work hours by skill-level and type of work – increasing work hours for highly skilled workers and declining work hours for less skilled workers – has also become an important factor in understanding the hours worked by both men and

women (Blau et al. 2010, p. 86; Jacobs and Gerson 2004; Negrey 2012).

Despite women's increased participation in the paid labor force, a large number of women and men continue to work in very different sectors of the economy. "Occupational segregation" refers to inequality in the distribution of women and men across occupational categories. This is an important concept in feminist economic analyses of the well-being of women workers, since it is seen to have implications for women's wages and opportunities for advancement (Burnell 1999). Further, the sensitivity of different occupations (or industries) to the business cycle is seen to be an important factor in explaining differences in male and female unemployment rates (Grown and Tas 2011, p. 178; Humphries 2011/1988, p. 15; Rubery 2011/1988a, p. 3; Albelda 2013, p. 86).

Traditionally, women have been concentrated in office and administrative support and service occupations. Although women's concentration in these occupations has declined over the last three decades, in 2007, 22 % of women workers were in office and administrative support occupations, compared to 6 % of men; another 20 % of women workers were in service jobs, compared to 13 % of men (Blau et al. 2010, pp. 131–132). Women have increased their presence in professional occupations more than men over the last three decades; in 2007, about 25 % of women workers were in professional occupations as compared to 17 % of men (Blau et al. 2010, pp. 131–132). Although women have increased their representation in management, business and financial operations occupations,[8] in 2007, a somewhat higher percentage of male workers (16 %) than female workers (14 %) were employed in those occupations (Blau et al. 2010, p. 132).

Men are much more likely to work in blue collar occupations, which include skilled production, craft and repair work, as well as semiskilled and manual jobs. For example, in 2007, 36 % of male workers were employed in

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[7] This pattern in female and male unemployment rates continued as the U.S. economy entered the Great Recession. In 2007, the average annual female unemployment rate was 4.5 %, very similar to the average annual male rate of 4.7 %. With the onset on the Great Recession (December 2007), male and female unemployment rates began to diverge, and by December 2008 the male unemployment rate was significantly higher than the female unemployment rate – a pattern that continued throughout the downturn (Blau et al. 2010, p. 87).

[8] Women's underrepresentation in the top jobs in corporate America has been attributed to the barrier of the "glass ceiling." See Chamberlain 1999 for a detailed discussion.

such jobs, as compared to 7 % of female workers (Blau et al. 2010, pp. 131–132). The industries in which women and men work also differ considerably. Men are more heavily concentrated in construction, manufacturing, and transportation and utilities – in 2007, 36 % of male workers as compared to 12 % of female workers, were employed in these industries. In contrast, women were considerably more likely to be employed in education and health services – in 2007, 34 % of female workers as compared to 10 % of male workers were employed in these industries (Blau et al. 2010, p. 132).

The gender based "wage gap" – typically measured as the ratio of women's earnings to men's earnings – is another important statistical indicator of the well-being of women workers. Considerable attention has been given to the wage gap over time as a measure of women's progress in the workforce, and it is the inspiration for much of the economic research on labor market discrimination (Figart 1999b). For many years, the statistic that women (who worked full-time and year-round) earned 59 cents to every dollar earned by men (who worked full-time and year-round) served as a symbol of gender inequality in U.S. labor markets.[9] Although the ratio of female-to-male earnings remained close to 59 % throughout the 1960s and 1970s, there was a substantial narrowing of the gender earnings gap over the 1980s.[10] Between 1981 and 2007, the female-male earnings ratio for full-time, year-round workers increased from 59 to 78 % (Blau et al. 2010, p. 141).

The context for understanding the changing well-being of women workers also includes changes in family structure, women's contributions to family incomes and the challenges of allocating time to both paid and unpaid work. Over time, the labor force has included a growing proportion of workers from dual-earner families

and from single-parent families, generally mothers and their children (Blau et al. 2010, p. 293). For example, from 1960 to 2006, dual-earner families increased from 45 to 58 % of all married-couple families (Blau et al. 2010, p. 294). Among families with one or more children under the age 18 present, single-mother families increased from slightly less than 12 to 26 % between 1970 and 2006 (Blau et al. 2010, p. 299). Single-mother families face a particularly high risk of being poor. For example, in 2006, 36.5 % of single-mother families were poor, compared to 6.4 % of married-couple households (Blau et al. 2010, p. 301).

The increases in women's participation in paid employment and contributions to family income have not been accompanied by an equivalent reduction in their time spent in unpaid household labor. This has resulted in a circumstance often characterized as the "double day" or "second shift" – where women work a "second shift" of unpaid caregiving work in addition to a "first shift" of paid work (Floro 1999; Bianchi 2011). Although the unpaid work performed by women (and men) is varied in nature and measuring it poses challenges, an estimate of the time spent on household activities by married mothers in 2006 (using the 2006 American Time Use Survey) is illustrative – by this estimate, wives spent nearly twice as much time in household activities as husbands (Blau et al. 2010, p. 51).

These different indicators of the well-being of women workers illustrate the narrowing of important female-male gender gaps in some key indicators, as well as the persistence of important gender disparities over time. In addition, as feminist economic analyses have emphasized, the changing circumstances for women workers over recent decades must also be understood in the context of increasing income inequality among households, resulting in increased inequality among women (Albelda 2013, p. 83). For example, women of color and single-mothers heading families have not experienced the same economic progress as white and married women have (Albelda 2013, pp. 84–85). And, while the increased representation of women in prestigious, well-paid, and traditionally male professional

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[9] Full-time, year- round workers are defined as those who work 35 h or more a week for 50 weeks or more a year (Blau et al. 2010, p. 141).

[10] During the 1990s, the pace of the increase of women's earnings relative to men's slowed and became more erratic in the 2000s. See Blau et al. 2010, p. 141 for a detailed discussion.

and managerial positions is seen by many as a movement toward greater gender equality, it has also contributed to an increased polarization of women workers. The many women working in traditional female occupations with low pay and little opportunity for advancement face a different set of challenges than those closer to the top of the economic hierarchy (Power 2011/1988, pp. 143–146). Consequently, on the eve of the Great Recession, women workers in the United States could be seen as having experienced both economic progress and continuing economic challenges – economic progress and challenges not equally distributed among them.

The following section presents an overview of the impacts of the Great Recession on the well-being of women workers, taking into consideration the importance of labor market trends and the employment circumstances of women workers, the relationships between women's familial roles and their well-being as workers, and the importance of gender belief systems in interpreting women's employment circumstances. This overview follows the discussion of the gendered impacts of the Great Recession that unfolded in "real time" in the popular press (including the blogosphere), accompanied by the work of economic researchers that both responded to and generated popular debate.

Women Workers and The Great Recession

One of the widely noted characteristics of the Great Recession was that despite its very broad reach, some socio-economic groups were impacted more severely than others. For example, as reported by the Pew Research Center in 2010:

> While nearly all Americans have been hurt in one way or another, some groups have suffered more than others. Blacks, Hispanics and young adults have borne a disproportionate share of the job losses. Middle-aged adults have gotten the worst of the downturn in house values, household finances and retirement accounts. Men have lost many more jobs than women. And across most indicators, those with a high school diploma or less education have been hit harder than those with a college degree (Pew Research Center 2010, p. 7).

One impact that particularly captured the interest of commentators – in the popular press as well as the economics research community – was the disparity in male and female job loss. Higher job loss among men than women contributed to two economic trends that received extensive attention – an increase in women's share of total employment and a notable male-female gender gap in unemployment rates. These statistical trends gave rise to important interpretative narratives that shaped popular understandings of the gendered impacts of the Great Recession as well as the questions addressed by economic researchers. The following discussion highlights two particularly important narratives of gender and the Great Recession: the narrative that women were finally attaining employment parity and a workforce majority, and the narrative that the recession's gendered employment impacts were so skewed to disadvantage male workers that the Great Recession would be more appropriately named the "Great Mancession."

A Female Workforce Majority?

A rising share of total employment held by women over the course of the economic downturn was one of the similarities drawn between the Great Recession and Great Depression of the 1930s (Levine 2009). Because women comprised a significant share of paid employment prior to the economic downturn of the Great Recession, this increase took on the additional significance of potentially ushering in a female workforce majority for the first time in U.S. history.[11] For example, in January 2009, economist Casey B. Mulligan noted in *The New York Times* that women's share of the workforce, which had remained less than 49 % throughout the 1990s and 2000s, was nearing 50 % – thereby

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[11] In these discussions, the term "workforce" was typically used to refer to total employment, as opposed to the labor force, which includes both the employed and unemployed. English et al. (2010) provide an explanation of the measurement of women's share of the workforce and an analysis of the claims that women were attaining workforce parity with men.

approaching an important "milestone for working women."[12] Mulligan raised the possibility that "one legacy" of the "Great Recession" might be that "women become a majority of the workforce for the first time in American history" (Mulligan 2009a). A year later, Mulligan reported this milestone had in fact been achieved: "Before adjusting for seasonal changes, 64.2 million payroll employees in January 2010 were women and only 63.4 million were men" (Mulligan 2010). He noted that this reflected the types of jobs women and men hold and the impact of the recession on those jobs, and thus, a job market recovery could "push women back into the minority," but he concluded that, "Still, the basic long-term trend indicates that the basic parity between the sexes in the workforce is more than a passing moment" (Mulligan 2010).

Women worker's increasing share of total employment in the Great Recession also drew attention to their growing roles as economic providers for their families. News stories featured men being "pushed out of the cubical and into the kitchen" and unemployed husbands becoming "Mr. Moms" as their wives became the family "breadwinners" (see for example May 2009; Pappas 2011). A report released by Maria Shriver and the Center for American Progress in 2009 – *The Shriver Report: A Woman's Nation Changes Everything* – stated that not only were women half the workforce, but mothers were "primary breadwinners" or "co-breadwinners"[13] in two-thirds of U.S. families (Boushey and O'Leary 2009, p. 17). While the *Shriver Report* acknowl-

edged the role of the recession in accelerating women's acquisition of a workforce majority, as well as the challenges women workers continued to face, it argued that the growing importance of women's earnings to family well-being was driving transformational change in U.S. society – change that was affecting "nearly every aspects of our lives – from how we work to how we play to how we care for each other." As stated by the report's editors: "Quite simply, women as half of all workers changes everything" (Boushey and O'Leary 2009, p. 17).

A variety of commentators, however, questioned the conclusion that the acquisition of a (statistical) workforce majority by women was a signal that employment parity had been achieved for women workers. Catherine Rampell (2009a, b, 2010), for example, argued that women's attainment of a workforce majority in the midst of the Great Recession was a "bittersweet milestone," emphasizing that the reason for the observed increase in women's share of the workforce had "less to do with gender equality" than "where the ax is falling" in terms of job loss. Others argued that despite constituting an increasing share of the workforce, women continued to compare poorly to men on a variety of economic indicators, including average earnings. Lisa Belkin (2009), for example, argued that, "It is not good news when women surpass men because women are worth less."

The growing importance of women as family breadwinners in the midst of the Great Recession also invoked very different responses in popular commentary. While some saw the increased potential for shifting gender roles associated with women's increasing breadwinner roles as "a silver lining in a very bleak recession" (Pappas 2011), others viewed the acquisition of a female workforce majority and growing breadwinner roles for women with alarm. David Zinczenko (2009), for example, viewed the fact that "some experts predict that, for the first time, more American women will have jobs than men," as a trend "furthering the decline of the endangered male." Still others questioned the extent to which women's increasing breadwinner responsibilities were transforming gender roles and social institutions, and suggested that the economic

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[12] *The Economist* magazine also featured this trend very prominently in an issue with "Rosie the Riveter" on the cover, exclaiming "We Did It!" and raising the question: "What happens when women are over half the workforce?" An accompanying editorial proclaimed that: "At a time when the world is short of causes for celebration, here is a candidate: within the next few months women will cross the 50 % threshold and become the majority of the American workforce" (*The Economist* 2010).

[13] "Breadwinner mothers" were defined as single mothers who work and married mothers who earn as much or more than their husbands. "Co-breadwinner mothers" were defined as married mothers whose earnings constituted at least 25 %, but less than 50 %, of the couple's earnings (Boushey and O'Leary 2009, p. 19).

trends documented in works such as *The Shriver Report* presented "bad news" for working women who were facing more paid work outside the home without compensating reductions of unpaid work inside the home or adequate wages and benefits (Erbe 2009; Kornbluth 2009; Lowen 2009).

The assertions that the United States was witnessing increased gender equality and the emergence of a "women's nation" in the midst of the Great Recession – and the varying responses to these assertions – illustrate the many meanings that can be ascribed to changes in basic statistical measures of labor market well-being. The relative importance placed on different indicators, and the importance of gender belief systems in interpreting changes in these indicators, are critical to understanding the gendered impacts of the Great Recession. The narrative of women achieving a workforce majority in the Great Recession contributed to the context in which comparisons of female vs. male unemployment rates came to dominate economic commentary and research on the Great Recession and the well-being of women workers through the narrative of the "Great Mancession."

The "Great Mancession"?

The introduction and popularization of the term "Mancession" to describe the Great Recession is generally attributed to economist Mark Perry who, in a December 9, 2008 post to his blog *Carpe Diem*, declared "It's A 'Man-Cession' in the Lipstick Economy," stating:

> It's not a recession, it's a man-cession. And the lipstick economy may have only just begun. The U.S. recession has been a catastrophe for men, but merely a downturn for women (Perry 2008).

Perry followed up with almost monthly postings to *Carpe Diem* updating the status of the "Mancession" throughout 2009, and the concept began to appear in numerous analyses and discussions of the Great Recession (see for example, Thompson 2009; Rampell 2009b; McKelway 2010). According one count, in July 2009 a Google search on the term "Mancession" yielded 13,500 hits (Cook 2009).

According to the "Mancession" narrative, as traditionally male-dominated industries suffered a disproportionate share of job losses with the onset of the Great Recession, men's unemployment rates rose more rapidly than women's, leading to a "historic" gap between the two. As Perry reported in Congressional testimony in June 2010:

> In December 2007 as the recession officially began, the male jobless rate of 5 % was only slightly higher (by 0.20 %) than the female rate of 4.8 %; but a little more than a year later, the jobless rate gender gap widened to 2.5 % in May 2009, as male unemployment increased to 10.5 %, while female unemployment increased to only 8 %. That 2.5 % gender difference in jobless rates in 2009 set a new all-time historical record for the greatest male-female jobless rate gap in postwar BLS history up to that time. Within a few more months, that record was broken by a 2.7 % gender jobless rate gap in August 2009, when male unemployment reached 11 % and female unemployment reached 8.3 %, and that 2.7 % gap stands as the greatest jobless rate gender gap (in either direction) in postwar U.S. history (Perry 2010a, pp. 2–3).

Perry continued that although the "jobless rate gap" started falling after August 2009, the male unemployment rate "continued to rise to 11.4 % by October 2009, setting the all-time high record for the highest male jobless rate in BLS history" (Perry 2010a, p. 3).

In this narrative of the Great Recession, female and male workers experienced very different economic downturns, with women workers suffering much less serious declines in well-being than their male counterparts. Although the concept of "occupational segregation" by gender is not addressed, the gendered distribution of men and women across occupations and industries is seen to drive the male-female unemployment gap. Perry argued that the overrepresentation of male workers in industries most adversely affected by the economic downturn (such as manufacturing and construction) and the overrepresentation of female workers in sectors least affected by the downturn (such as education, healthcare and government) caused the Great Recession to have "disproportionate, adverse effects on men" (Perry 2010a, pp. 6–7). He characterized the resulting "Great Mancession" as

"historically unprecedented," with "profoundly negative and adverse effects" for male workers that were expected to persist into the future (Perry 2010a, p. 9).

This particular narrative came to dominate discussions of the impacts of the Great Recession – characterizing the downturn as a "Mancession" of historic and unprecedented proportions, where women workers experienced "merely a downturn" while men experienced a "catastrophe," establishing trends that would disadvantage men and advantage women well into the future. This characterization of the economic downturn not only influenced popular commentary on the Great Recession, but was also introduced into public policy discussion and debate. The "Mancession" was invoked, for example, in critiques of the Obama administration's economic stimulus proposals and policies, which were accused of favoring women and reinforcing men's disadvantaged status in the labor market (see for example Hoff Sommers 2009). Perry criticized President Obama's National Economic Council for issuing the report *Jobs and Economic Security for America's Women* in the midst of the "Great Mancession," calling it "extremely one-sided and misguided," given that "women have fared so much better than men during the Great Mancession" (Perry 2010b).

The various assertions of the "Mancession" narrative were, however, quickly questioned by a variety of researchers and commentators. For example, Federal Reserve economist Howard Wall questioned the claim that the "Mancession" was "historic" and "unprecedented," arguing that, "Despite the sudden interest in the phenomenon, the relative effects of the recession on men and women are not the least bit unusual" (Wall 2009, p. 6). He argued that the large gap between male and female unemployment rates in the Great Recession reflected, at least to some degree, the fact that men and women had shown very different labor force patterns in the recession – the male labor force shrank as the number of unemployed men increased, while the female labor force increased (Wall 2009, p. 6). He went on to argue that, to understand why "recessions hit male unemployment harder than female employ-

ment," analyses needed to go beyond the focus on industry mix that dominated the "Mancession" discussion. He concluded that while differences in the industries where men and women are in the majority are relevant, they are only part of the story and that a full understanding of the impacts of the recession must also take into account differences in the educational and demographic characteristics (such as marital status, presence of children, race and age) of women and men in the workforce (Wall 2009, p. 9).

Researchers and commentators also challenged the assertions that women had not suffered economically in the Great Recession as much as men. A report by the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, for example, documented that working women had been impacted by the Great Recession to a much greater extent than the "Mancession" narrative suggested, and that increases in unemployment rates had been particularly steep for female heads of households – increasing from 8.0 to 13.6 % between 2007 and 2009 (Joint Economic Committee 2010). This prompted some commentators to suggest that the Great Recession would be more accurately named a "momcession" than a "mancession" (see for example Goudreau 2010).

Others also challenged the notion that the Great Recession had meant "boom times" for women, calling attention to the variety of ways in which women continued to be disadvantaged in the workforce. Drawing on a broader range of indicators of economic well-being, this commentary emphasized that women workers continued to have lower wages than men (on average), were more likely to work part-time and have jobs without health insurance or access to unemployment insurance, and continued to devote more time to child care and housework (see for example, Cook 2009; Rampell 2009a; Swann 2009). Further, it was argued that men's disproportionate representation in the better paying, as well as more cyclical, sectors of the economy provided an illustration of how gender-stratified the U.S. labor market remained – a gender stratification that disadvantaged women workers in terms of earnings and other employment-related benefits (O'Connor 2010).

Feminist economists Caren Grown and Emcet Tas (2011) directly challenged the Mancession narrative with detailed research on the consequences of the Great Recession that extended the analysis of labor market impacts to include a wider range of demographic factors and indicators of well-being. Their research showed that when the differences between men and women in the Great Recession were examined more broadly and in historical perspective, "the 'man-cession' story is far too simple" (Grown and Tas 2011, p. 168). They argued that this overly simple narrative was problematic, yielding "partial results" and "potentially misleading policy conclusions" (Grown and Tas 2011, p. 182).

Extending the analysis of the recession's unemployment impacts to include factors such as race and ethnicity as well as gender, Grown and Tas found that several demographic groups had been differentially affected by the recession, both within and across genders, with "burdens falling especially on African American and Hispanic males and females and on single mothers" (Grown and Tas 2011, p. 168). Consequently, they found that comparisons of all men to all women obscured the fact that "some groups of women had experienced significantly higher rates than some groups of men." For example, throughout the recession unemployment rates were higher for black and Hispanic women than white and Asian men; unemployment rates were higher for women ages 16–24 than men ages 25 and over; and unemployment rates were higher for women maintaining families on their own than for married men and women living with their spouses (Grown and Tas 2011, pp. 170–172). Grown and Tas also found the male-female gender gap in unemployment rates – the popular measure of the "Mancession" – was neither uniform nor consistent across socio-demographic groups (Grown and Tas 2011, p. 170).

Extending the analysis of the recession's labor market impacts to include measures beyond unemployment, Grown and Tas also found a much more complex picture than that painted by the "Mancession" narrative. For some labor market indicators, such as the average duration of unemployment, Grown and Tas found similar outcomes for women and men. For example, in contrast to previous recessions, the average duration of unemployment for women and men "tracked each other closely" during the Great Recession, "doubling to around 35 weeks for both." This meant that, once becoming unemployed, "the difficulty of exiting unemployment did not appear to be any different for women than for men" (Grown and Tas 2011, p. 174).

Grown and Tas also found that taking broader measures of labor underutilization into account when defining and measuring "unemployment" yielded important differences by gender not captured in the Mancession narrative.[14] For example, the additional "unemployment" experienced by men as compared to women during the recession was not as large when labor underutilization was measured more broadly to include categories of individuals who had lost jobs and had given up actively seeking work, or were working less than their desired number of hours (Grown and Tas 2011, pp. 175–177). Of particular importance, Grown and Tas found that involuntary part-time employment,[15] an important measure of underemployment, increased at a much higher rate for women than men. In contrast, voluntary part-time employment increased substantially among men, but decreased among women (Grown and Tas 2011, p. 177).

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[14] According to the BLS definition of unemployment, individuals without jobs must be actively seeking work to be counted as "unemployed." Individuals who have looked for a job in the recent past but who stopped looking are, therefore, classified as being out of the labor force and not included in the official unemployment statistics. In addition, some individuals may be counted as employed but working fewer hours than they would like. To capture these broader dimensions of labor underutilization, the BLS computes a range of alternative "unemployment" measures from the CPS including different categories of "marginally attached workers" who have given up looking for work and workers employed less than their preferred hours (Grown and Tas 2011, pp. 175–177; Haugen 2009).

[15] The BLS categorizes part-time workers who work less than their preferred number of hours due to "economic reasons" (such as weak business conditions or the inability to find a full time job) as "involuntary part-time workers" and those working part-time due to "non-economic reasons" (such as personal or family obligations) as "voluntary part-time workers" (Grown and Tas 2011, p. 176; Blau et al. 2010, p. 78).

This research also illustrated the importance of recognizing complexity in identifying the causes of the observed labor market trends associated with the Great Recession. Grown and Tas show that changes in payroll employment data over the Great Recession are consistent with popular explanations of the downturn focused on the distribution of women and men across occupations and industries more or less adversely affected by the recession (Grown and Tas 2011, pp. 178–179). They also argue, however, that this analysis alone neglects other important dynamics that require attention in efforts to fully understand the significance of occupation and industry segmentation in the Great Recession. For example, Grown and Tas found that unlike previous recessions, the gendered distribution of workers by occupation and industry did not protect women workers from losing jobs absolutely in the economic downturn. In addition, they found that within industries the "extent of job loss or gain" for women and men was very similar (Grown and Tas 2011, p. 179). Further, Grown and Tas found that while the most insecure form of employment – employment in part-time minimum wage jobs – increased at a similar rate for women and men during the Great Recession, twice as many women as men were employed in such jobs in 2009. Consequently, they conclude that the significance of women as marginal workers in some sectors of the economy should not be ignored in more nuanced analyses of the impacts of the Great Recession on women workers (Grown and Tas 2011, pp. 179–180).

In a recent contribution to analyses of the Great Recession in a global context, feminist economist Randy Albelda (2013) also emphasizes the importance of moving beyond overly simplified narratives to recognize complexity in assessing the impacts of the recent economic downturn on women and men in the U.S. workforce. Albelda argues that an understanding of "differential gendered impacts" across the business cycle must begin with an understanding that women and men in the United States still have different economic roles. For example, women are over-represented in certain occupations and industries while underrepresented in others, women still

perform more unpaid work than men, and women are more likely than men to earn low wages (Albelda 2013, pp. 85–86). Consequently, Albelda argues that the fact that women and men experience an economic downturn differently is not surprising. In the Great Recession, for example, the very high job loss statistics for men in construction, manufacturing and professional services reflect the very high percentage of the jobs in those industries held by men: in December 2007, men held 87.5 % of all construction jobs, 71.1 % of all manufacturing jobs, and 55.3 % of all professional and business services jobs; over the course of the Great Recession, 90.8 % of construction jobs lost, 70.2 % of manufacturing jobs lost, and 59.8 % of business and professional services lost were held by men (Albelda 2013, pp. 87–88).

Albelda's analysis supports the conclusions of earlier research arguing that while job loss statistics support an industry/occupational segmentation explanation of the gendered unemployment impacts of the Great Recession, other factors need to be considered as well. She argues, for example, that growth in part-time employment over the recession suggests that employers were substituting part-time workers for full-time workers to lower costs (Albelda 2013, p. 88). Albelda's work also illustrates substantial differences in the unemployment impacts of the Great Recession across groups of women, where those "with the most precarious employment status" suffered the highest rates of unemployment. For example, she finds that, "Black women have much higher unemployment rates than do white women; unmarried women maintaining families have unemployment rates considerably higher than for those of married women; and younger women have higher rates than older women" (Albelda 2013, p. 90). Albelda concludes that one important consequence of the Great Recession has been to highlight "the longer term trend of inequality among women" (Albelda 2013, p. 98).

In addition, writing 3 years after the official end of the Great Recession, Albelda's research addresses the continuing impacts of the recession on women workers, highlighting the fact that the impacts of a recession may play out over a much

longer time frame than the recession itself. In the case of the Great Recession in the United States, the recovery ushered in a new pattern of gendered employment impacts in response to a complex mix of macroeconomic, labor market and public policy changes. Albelda argues that just as the Great Recession was notable for the large gap between men's and women's unemployment rates in the downturn, it is also notable for the "sharp fall in men's unemployment immediately following the recession but the lackluster recovery for women" (Albelda 2013, p. 87). The following sections highlight the key employment trends concerning women workers in the recovery, and the emerging issues and questions concerning these trends.

Women Workers and the Recovery

The "Mancession" narrative's assertion that the labor market trends of the Great Recession would continue to disadvantage men and advantage women in the long term were challenged by a number of commentators during the downturn, who argued that a recovery yielding even moderate job growth in male-dominated sectors, aided by federal stimulus spending on infrastructure, might particularly benefit male workers.[16] Further, it was argued that fiscal trends – such as the collapse of many state budgets – pointed to a future of deep cuts in many of the areas where women traditionally work, such as state governments, education and human services.[17] Consequently, some predicted that the "Mancession" might well be transformed into a "Mancovery" (Swann 2009; Covert 2010; Schepp 2010; Bork 2010).

The economic fortunes of women and men in the workforce did in fact change with the onset of the recovery. Despite the official end of the recession in June 2009, non-farm employment continued to decline until February 2010 (Goodman and Mance 2011, p. 5). The overall unemployment rate continued to increase, reaching its peak (at 10 %) in October 2009, and remained at or above 9 % until the fall of 2011.[18] Male and female unemployment rates showed considerable variation through this time period – while the unemployment rate for men peaked (with the overall rate) in October 2009, the unemployment rate for women peaked in November 2010 (U.S. Department of Labor 2011, p. 2; Somoza 2012, p. 7). Thus, while overall unemployment remained high as the recovery began, different trajectories for male and female workers emerged with women now being seen as the "economy's big losers" (Boushey 2011).

By early 2011 the "Mancession" had been declared over by a variety of commentators, with attention and debate turning to a growing employment gap favoring men over women (see for example Boushey 2011; Shapiro 2011; Stevens 2011; Barone 2011; Institute for Women's Policy Research 2011). By the second anniversary of the official beginning of the recovery (July 2011), the emergence of "Mancovery" had been widely documented.[19] The Pew Research Center, for example, issued a report authored by Rakesh Kochhar – *In Two Years of Recovery, Women Lost Jobs, Men Found Them* – which found:

> The sluggish recovery from the Great Recession has been better for men than for women. From the end of the recession in June 2009 through May 2011, men gained 768,000 jobs and lowered their unemployment rate by 1.1 percentage points to 9.5 %. Women, by contrast, lost 218,000 jobs during the same period, and their unemployment rate increased by 0.2 percentage points to 8.5 % (Kochhar 2011, p. 1).

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[16] Research findings that the duration of unemployment was similar for men and women – and that once unemployed, women did find jobs more quickly than men – suggested that once the heavily male-dominated industries that lost so many jobs in the recession even began to *slow down* their layoffs, gender patterns in employment and unemployment would shift and men's share of employment would slowly begin to increase (Mulligan 2009b).

[17] For example, Albelda reports that a 22 % decline in state and local government revenues between July 2007 and July 2008 created the biggest budget shortfalls on record (Albelda 2013, p. 82).

[18] The BLS reports monthly, seasonally adjusted, unemployment rates on its website (www.bls.gov).

[19] Both the Institute for Women's Policy Research (www.iwpr.org) and the National Women's Law Center (www.nwlc.org) published a series of updates on the trends in women's employment in the recession and recovery.

Kochhar noted that these trends were not only a "sharp turnaround" from the gendered employment patterns that prevailed during the recession itself, but also differed dramatically from those in previous recoveries. In particular, the recovery from the Great Recession stands out as "the first since 1970 in which women have lost jobs even as men have gained them" (Kochhar 2011, p. 2). Further Kochhar found that "employment trends have favored men over women" across a wide range of sectors (Kochhar 2011, pp. 1–2). Men both increased employment in sectors where women lost jobs (such as manufacturing, retail trade and finance) and gained more jobs than women in sectors where women also had employment gains (such as professional and business services and education and health services) (Kochhar 2011, p. 3).

Kochhar concludes that the reasons for these trends are complex, yielding no single explanation for them (Kochhar 2011, p. 3). This complexity is also reflected in the popular and research discussion of these trends, which address a range of possible factors of relevance to women's employment status. The fact that men had lost more jobs in the downturn, coupled with strong growth in some male-dominated sectors in the recovery, is often viewed as the key factor driving these gendered employment trends (Kochhar 2011, p. 3; Boushey 2011). Some analysts question this explanation, however, given that women were actually losing jobs (not just failing to find them) during this time period, and the gains in men's employment were not necessarily in the fields that saw the largest employment declines in the recession (Kochhar 2011, p. 3). This prompted some analysts to focus on the possible impacts of employment discrimination against women fostered by the "Mancession" narrative's focus on men's employment losses (Institute for Women's Policy Research 2011), while others argued the trends revealed men as more flexible and capable job seekers (Kochhar 2011, p. 3; Barone 2011).

The high concentration of women workers in the public (or government) sector is also seen by some analysts as a significant contributing factor to increasing female unemployment in the recovery, given heavy public sector job losses as the economy entered the recovery (Kochhar 2011, p. 3; Boushey 2011).[20] Albelda refers to this as the "austerity effect" of the Great Recession, where reductions in state and local government revenues led to sustained budget cuts, "which disproportionately affect women, especially low income women" (Albelda 2013, p. 82). As feminist economist Heather Boushey has also noted, state and local governments not only disproportionately employ women workers, but also provide services (such as after school care) that can enable women to take jobs (Marks 2010).

Consequently, the employment trends of the "Mancovery" led some analysts to conclude that the legacy of the "Great Recession" might in fact not be positive "milestones" for working women, but the "reversal in the long-term trend for women's employment" (Hout and Cumberworth 2012, p. 3). However, by the fall of 2012 reports on employment in the recovery began to reveal more gender balance in the job growth, signaling the possibility of another "turning point" for women workers (Luhby 2012; Institute for Women's Policy Research 2012). By the summer of 2013, reports indicated a "stronger recovery" was "reaching women workers" (National Women's Law Center 2013) and that women workers were gaining ground in "the jobs race" (Davidson 2013). For example, the official unemployment rate for women had fallen to 7.1 % in May 2013 (from 7.3 % in April 2013), while the unemployment rate for men increased to 7.9 % in May 2013 (from 7.7 % in April 2013) (Institute for Women's Policy Research 2013, p. 2).

These improvements in the employment situation for women workers have been attributed to a variety of factors, including improving fiscal circumstances for some state and local governments (Luhby 2012) and job growth in female-dominated sectors of the economy such as health care, food service, retail, and temporary help services (Davidson 2013; Rampell 2013a; Stafford

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[20] Defining the "government sector" to include federal, state and local government employment, Kochhar reports that from June 2009 to May 2011 women lost 297,000 government sector jobs while men lost 133,000 (Kochhar 2011, p. 3).

2013). The male-dominated manufacturing sector, on the other hand, has suffered from reduced international demand and U.S. defense cutbacks (Davidson 2013). Yet, as women workers have seen increased employment opportunities in this phase of the recovery, trends in other labor market indicators – particularly those associated with job quality and labor force participation – have raised questions concerning the full implications of this job growth for the well-being of women workers.

Questions and concerns regarding the quality of the jobs being created in the recovery have highlighted a number of issues, including those related to wages, the permanency of jobs, scheduling and work-time. A variety of studies have, for example, identified the growth in low wage jobs as a defining characteristic of the recovery,[21] and many of the recent employment gains for women have been in low-wage occupations. The National Women's Law Center, for example, reports that about 60 % of the increase in women's employment from 2009 to 2012 was in jobs that pay less than $10.10 an hour, as opposed to 20 % of the increase in jobs for men (Katz and Tanzi 2013). The rapid growth in temporary employment in the recovery[22] has also raised concerns with regard to the wages, benefits, scheduling and job security associated with the recovery's job creation (see for example Nash and Romero 2011 and Rugaber 2013).

The industries driving job growth in the recovery are also those likely to hire on a part-time basis (Katz and Tanzi 2013; Rampell 2013a, b). Part-time employment – including involuntary part-time employment – increased markedly through the recession (Sum and Khatiwada 2010, pp. 3, 6) and has continued to increase in the recovery (Lopez 2013; Rampell 2013a, b; Stafford 2013; U.S. Department of Labor 2011, p. 1). Women

are much more likely to work part-time than men, and involuntary part-time employment has increased substantially for women workers over the course of the recession and recovery (U.S. Department of Labor 2011, p.1). The costs to workers of this type of underemployment can be quite substantial – part-time workers typically receive lower wages and are less likely to receive employer provided benefits and training (Sum and Khatiwada 2010, p. 5; Grown and Tas 2011, p. 179). Part-time jobs are also more likely to have unpredictable, "just-in-time" work schedules, complicating workers' efforts to predict how many hours they will have from week to week and to balance work and family demands (Rampell 2013a, b).

At the other end of the work-time continuum, some workers have found too much, not too little, work to be the challenge of the Great Recession and its recovery. A December 2011 article in *Workforce Management*, for example, described today's professional workforce as "pressed and stressed," arguing that:

> While politicians and pundits fret about unemployment and underemployment rates, growing numbers of employees are under pressure to do more. The resulting "work-more economy" threatens not just workers' sanity but companies' long term success (Frauenheim 2011).

The "overemployment" of the "work-more economy" is seen to be the "flip side of the jobless recovery," throwing workers into "pressure cooker work climates" as employees are assigned more and more duties to fill the void created by layoffs, hiring freezes, or business expansion without new hiring (Frauenheim 2011).

Recent trends in another key labor market indicator – the labor force participation rate – are also notable and raise important questions about the long run impacts of the Great Recession on the well-being of women workers. The patterns of women's labor force participation differed from men's during the downturn phase of Great Recession. Grown and Tas report, for example, that after the recession began in late 2007 the labor force participation rate for men fell, while women's labor force participation rate did not begin to decline until 2009 (Grown and Tas 2011, p. 169; Rampell 2011a). Albelda also notes that

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[21] See Luo (2010) for a brief overview of studies on "the low–wage recovery."

[22] Although temporary hiring in a recovery is viewed by many economists as a leading indicator of future permanent hiring, continued high unemployment and growth of the temporary help sector has raised concerns that temporary employment is becoming a permanent feature of the post-Great Recession economy. See for example Nash and Romero (2011), Rugaber (2013) and Hatton (2013).

both more women and men have continued exiting the labor force during the recovery of the Great Recession than in previous recessions.[23] But, while men have typically left the labor force in the extended period following a recession (for the last four recessions in the United States), women have only recently followed this pattern, with a particularly large decline following the Great Recession. Albelda reports, for example, that women's labor force participation rate in June 2012 was the lowest it had been since March 1992 (Albelda 2013, p.89).

Current explanations for this decline in women's labor force participation differ in terms of the potential implications for the well-being of women workers, both today and in the future. For example, some explanations of the continued decline in women's labor force participation during the recovery focus on the low wages associated with the recovery's job growth. The jobs available to many women are seen to not pay well enough to outweigh the costs of mothers working outside the home and purchasing child care services. This is seen to be a particular challenge for low-income women in states that have cut back on child care support (Covert 2012; Katz and Tanzi 2013). Other explanations suggest that a large number of young women leaving the labor force are doing so only temporarily to acquire more education and update their skills – something they have been much more likely to do than young men (Covert 2012; Rampell 2013b). The extent to which this will give the next generation of women workers a labor market advantage vis-à-vis men in the future is an important question for consideration.[24]

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[23] In August 2013, the official labor force participation rate was 63.2 %, the lowest it has been since August 1978 (Hargreaves 2013).

[24] Since 2005 women have comprised the majority of college graduates (Katz and Tanzi 2013) and roughly equal proportions of men and women earn a college degree (Porter 2013). For an interesting overview of the debate regarding the impacts of young women leaving the labor force for education in the Great Recession, see The New York Times Room for Debate: Will Women Get Ahead by Going Back to School? January 11, 2012 http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/01/11/will-women-get-ahead-by-going-back-to-school.

Conclusion – Insights and Questions for Future Research

The Great Recession and its on-going recovery provide a valuable context for examining the well-being of women workers in times of economic crisis and change. Both popular and academic discourse on the recent economic downturn illustrate the complex relationships between the well-being of women workers, macroeconomic conditions, labor market and family structures, and gender belief systems. While the severe employment impacts of the Great Recession focused a great deal of attention on unemployment rates as the key indicator of worker well-being – and the observed male-female gender gap in unemployment rates contributed to interpretations of women "winning" and men "losing" in the recession – the broader discussion of women workers in the Great Recession highlights the many complex and interrelated forces impacting the well-being of women workers in today's economy.

The complex interactions between macroeconomic conditions and gendered labor markets have been particularly salient throughout the Great Recession and its recovery. The concentration of women workers in industries and occupations that are less cyclically sensitive did contribute to lower unemployment rates for women than men in the recession, yet women workers still suffered absolute increases in unemployment and fared poorly on other indicators such as underemployment. Further, the industry/occupational segmentation seen to favor women workers in the "Mancession" is also closely related to the relatively poor compensation and job security that characterize "women's jobs." As the recovery began, stronger job growth in male-dominated sectors, combined with state and local government budget crises eliminating many public sector jobs traditionally held by women, meant women's industrial/occupational distribution worked against them and employment trends shifted to favor male workers. More recently, strong job growth in traditionally female sectors is once again providing employment opportunities

to women, but in potentially low-wage, contingent or part-time work.

Continuing research on the significance of industrial and occupational segmentation by gender for the employment impacts of an economic downturn is important. Research taking a broad range of demographic characteristics into account, however, illustrates that while gendered labor market structures are very important, gender differences are not the only ones that matter for the well-being of many women workers. Continuing research on how different groups of women workers were affected during the Great Recession is necessary to clearly identify the impacts of this particular downturn and its similarity to and differences from other downturns in the U.S. economy.[25] Extending this analysis to include the recovery phase of the Great Recession is also important for understanding how the dynamics of these relationships either change or are reinforced by the second-round effects of the downturn and public policy responses.

The Great Recession has also strongly revealed the complex relationship between women's labor market status and well-being, family structure and gender roles. At the time the Great Recession began, women workers were well established as a significant proportion of the work force and important contributors to family income (in both single-parent and dual-earner households). Yet, the impact of the recession on women's share of the workforce and their increasing roles as breadwinners became an integral part of discussions of their well-being in the recession. The extent to which the potential acquisition of a female workforce majority was viewed in a positive or negative light reflected differing views on the desirability of changing gender roles, as well as differing views on the extent to which this economic trend actually reflected positive changes for women workers in the economy and society. In feminist commentary on the "Mancession" narrative of the Great Recession, anxiety over the declining power of the male breadwinner model is seen to be at the root of this

particular recession narrative's staying power and influence (see for example O'Connor 2010). The "Mancession" narrative is based in and reinforces dualistic thinking about women's roles in "the economy" versus "the family," ignoring the importance of women's earnings to the well-being of many families by disregarding high levels of job loss for women during the recession and continuing labor market disadvantages in many other areas.

Continuing research to identify and evaluate the narratives used to describe the experiences of women workers in times of recession and recovery is important for understanding the influence of gender norms on economic outcomes. Research that combines quantitative and qualitative analyses of the intersections of women's changing roles in the labor market and family is also very important. For example, in May 2013 the Pew Research Center released a report, *Breadwinner Moms,* where analysis of recent U.S. Census Data revealed that, "A record 40 % of all households with children under the age of 18 include mothers who are either the sole or primary source of income for the family" (Wang et al. 2013, p. 1). A survey conducted by the Center in April 2013 revealed that the "public was conflicted about this growing trend" – that while "most recognize the clear economic benefits to families," many at the same time "voice concerns about the toll having a working mother may take on children" (Wang et al. 2013, p. 6). Research tracking and illuminating the realities of women's dual roles (as opposed to simply assuming what their roles should be) is an important component of understanding their well-being as workers.

Clearly, the story of the well-being of women workers in the recent economic crisis and recovery is not over and will likely continue to unfold for some time. The health of the macroeconomy continues to be viewed by many as tenuous and expected labor market trends present a mixed picture for women workers. For example, women workers are underrepresented in professional, scientific and technical services industries, and science, technology, engineering and mathematical (STEM) occupations – industries and occupa-

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[25] Recent analysis by Hoynes et al. (2012) provides a very in-depth look at "Who Suffers During Recessions?"

tions that are expected to show strong job growth in the near future (U.S. Department of Labor 2011, p. 5). Women are well represented, however, in other predicted growth industries such as health care, social assistance and educational services (U.S. Department of Labor 2011, p. 5; Somoza 2012, p. 8) – job growth which, in many cases, will likely continue to raise questions with regard to the adequacy of wages and other measures of job quality.

Monitoring the employment situation of women workers as the recovery progresses is an important and on-going project, which needs to include measures of job quality as well as employment and unemployment statistics. The wages associated with the jobs created in the recovery will have important implications for the incomes of workers and their families as well as gender (and other) earnings differentials. Whether or not the jobs women take in the recovery are permanent or temporary, full-time or part-time, will have important implications for their earnings, work schedules, and job stability. The relationship between the quality of jobs created in the recovery and women's labor force participation is another important research topic – as are the long-term implications of this trend for the wages and employment opportunities available for the current cohorts of women with reduced labor force participation.

While many women workers struggle with the underemployment of insufficient and unreliable work hours and income insecurity, others face the overemployment of the "work more economy" and pressure to work longer hours and take on more responsibilities at work. Thus, the under-employment for some and overemployment for others associated with the recession and weak recovery threaten the well-being of workers across the occupational spectrum through different manifestations of increased job pressure and stress, as well as increased difficulties in balancing work and family obligations (see for example Lambert 2012). Further research examining the structure and implications of this dichotomy, combining standard economic indicators with those more focused on individual well-being (such as job pressure and stress), is important to

fully articulate the impacts of current trends on the well-being of women workers.

Finally, the Great Recession has drawn new attention to the need to carefully evaluate how the "well-being of women workers" is measured in times of economic crisis and change. As Karamessini and Rubery (2013) note, "although gender equality defined in the narrow sense of closing aggregate gender gaps in employment indicators may have improved in the first phase of the recession," this does not provide an adequate assessment of the gender impacts of the downturn (Karamessini and Rubery 2013, p. 314). While some gender gaps in labor market indicators narrowed in the recession, this was due to "a leveling down of men's employment position and prospects," instead of progress made by women. Further, economic policy responses to the recession, and challenges to the belief that gender equality is a worthy goal, may limit the progress of women workers in the future (Karamessini and Rubery 2013, p. 314). Research dedicated to identifying and applying more holistic measures of well-being to the changing circumstances of women workers is important for fully evaluating the impacts of economic crisis and change and for developing strategies for future progress.

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Let Us Listen to the Voice of Women in Management in the Twenty-First Century: A Longitudinal Study

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Introduction

Since the last century, women have joined the ranks of organizations, making them an important source of economic growth, employment, and innovation (Chakrabarti and Biswas 2012; Russell et al. 2009). However, when compared to men, women have kept their family roles even when taking on a job (Bem 1993; Coronel et al. 2010; Haar and O'Driscoll 2005; Hite and McDonald 2003). These roles have posed some dilemmas. For instance, a study found that 80 % of women, compared to 17 % of men, showed greater commitment when looking after their children or arranging for childcare accommodation and still fulfilling their job demands (Barclays 2000).

Women, as compared to men, have encountered different challenges at work, both as owners of a business and as employees in an organization. For instance, women have found that organizations are usually male oriented. Many of the roles and skills expected from certain positions are more male than female-oriented, which places women at a disadvantage. In terms of leadership skills in

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organizations, when people think of successful leaders, they are generally not linked to feminine qualities (Fullager et al. 2003; Schein 2001). However, some research suggests that there are contrasting masculine and feminine traits in leadership behavior. Specifically, feminine traits may include: supporting colleagues and rewarding collaborators, team-building and inspiring others, as well as networking (Atwater et al. 2004; Prime et al. 2009; Sczesny 2003; Yukl 1999). In terms of masculine traits, these may include problem-solving, influencing upward, delegation proficiency, assertiveness and persuasiveness (Cann and Siegfried 1990; Eagly and Karau 2002; Eagly et al. 1992; Prime et al. 2009).

Moreover, it has been suggested that some corporate practices, organizational policies and cultures may at times prevent women from delivering their true value due to male dominance (Knights and Kerfoot 2004). Specifically, it has been posed that recruitment, retention, and promotion processes may hinder the development of women (Oakley 2000). It may be argued that these practices are not only male dominated, but also one-dimensional as they are disconnected from the entire life context of women (Barragan et al. 2010). This view may also highlight the importance of including more gender research in management as a means to improving management practices independent of male or female collaborators. In so doing, a door may open for a better understanding of the role of women and their contributions to business management.

When women establish a business, they are frequently found in sectors which seem more female than male-dominated. These sectors include retail, services and the professions that "help." (Hisrich 1989; Quader 2012; Welsh 1988). These sectors seem to be more female oriented because they are more client-focused and offer more social attention and interaction (Brush 1992; Fisher 2004; Orhan and Scott 2001). Several researchers have concluded that independence and flexibility may persuade women to start up their own business so that they can focus on their family demands (deMartino and Barbato 2003). Women may also find more connection to their entire life context as they are able to integrate their family and personal goals to those of their work (Bailyn 1993). In a recent study comparing male and female entrepreneurs in terms of career achievement and personal life orientations, male entrepreneurs ranked higher-than average in career achievement orientation while women entrepreneurs did not (DeMartino et al. 2006). Another study suggested that more women than men entrepreneurs are motivated by the desire to balance the demands of personal and professional life (DeMartino and Barbato 2003) and many women started a business to have more time with their families (Fitzgerald and Folker 2005). It may be concluded that women, more than men, seek to solve life work imbalances as they are responsible not only for their work, but also for their families. Life dimensions of women may at times be not complementary but conflicting (Prime et al. 2009). Such imbalances have been of interest to researchers for the past decades. As we begin a second decade of the twenty-first century, the question is how women are managing these roles in a society ever more global, demanding and intricate. Thus, taking as reference previous debates in relation to the role of women in business, our research paper examines the following objectives:

(a) To identify, by revisiting salient literature, some key groups of studies on gender differences in the business world.
(b) To explore, through a longitudinal multi-case study based on in-depth interviews with key informants (top and intermediate managers),

the real barriers to women in management (WIM). Researchers also seek to provide some plausible advantages and disadvantages for those firms with WIM.
(c) To evaluate some of the main implications of WIM, the study for business practice, particularly in terms of resource management.

The paper is structured as follows: Section "Women in Management (WIM)" shows the literature review related to WIM; Sections "Methodology" and "Results" present the empirical research and findings. Discussion of results and conclusions appear at the end of the paper.

Women in Management (WIM)

To start our discussion, it may be important to expound three theoretical gender perspectives as a means to better understanding the role of women in business (Barragan et al. 2010). The first, the "equal opportunities" perspective from the standpoint of liberal individualism and liberal structuralism, sets forth that, even though men and women are considered equal, they have been socialized differently because there are structures in society which promote a gender-based power in favor of men (Calás and Smircich 1993; Hyde 2005; Nentwich 2006; Spelke 2005; Van den Brink et al. 2010). This perspective recommends changing some of the barriers in business. For instance, offering new organizational policies, flexible working hours and working from home schedules (Meyerson and Kolb 2000).

The second, "the value different" perspective, rests on the feminist theory. It proposes that gender balance is constructed by recognizing men and women differences and using these differences to benefit both genders (Hyde 2005; Kimmel 2000; Martin 2003). For instance, it values the traditional feminine qualities of empathy, sympathy, nurturing and good listening. However, some studies have posited that this perspective may reinforce some gender stereotypes associated with men and women.

The third, "the postequity" perspective, is based on the poststructuralist feminist and social constructionist feminist theories. This perspective

challenges the first two by exposing the social constructions of gender. It also contrasts biological sex and gender. The former being in relation to reproductive organs and the latter to constructed differences in society between men and women (Reskin and Padavic 1994). This perspective puts forward that as gender identities and stereotypes are being constructed under asymmetries of power and disparities of social conditions, they may in turn affect particular gender practices, attitudes, beliefs, and roles within organizations (Mills 1988). Results from a study based on these perspectives found that women in organizations aspiring to management positions tended to express the sameness perspective as they needed to "be like men" and be more aggressive, daring, and self-confident (Barragan et al. 2010).

Organizational theory sustains a masculine outlook (Nicholson 1996; Wilson 1996). It has also been suggested that the importance of gender as a concept in the development of better management practices have been largely unexplored (Ely et al. 2003; Mills and Marjosola 2002). However, gender in organizational theory and culture may provide insights to improving issues surrounding advancement for women in management (Coronel et al. 2010; Pasamar and Valle 2011). For instance, Fagenson (1990) coined the concept of WIM as the context by which women show the ability to assume organizational positions of significant power. Extensive review of literature has revealed that many studies focus on gender differences in business management. However, this topic appears to be contentious. According to Moncrief et al. (2000), gender differences are not so important. Thus, organizations are not required to set specific management performance tracks for men and women employees. However, several studies do contend for the existence of gender differences. Such differences between women and men may be arranged according to four issues: (a) personal and educational nature; (b) motivation for creating/running a business; (c) access to capital; and (d) search for business growth. These issues were raised in this study and the results offer some answers.

Do Personal or Educational Characteristics of Women Justify Important Differences in Running/Creating a Business?

When discussing personal characteristics of women in business, some researchers approach important differences based on gender stereotypes which may be descriptive or prescriptive. Descriptive stereotypes are defined as those qualities associated with women and men. In addition, prescriptive stereotypes are those beliefs about the roles that women and men should represent (Eagly and Karau 2002; Heilman 2001; Heilman et al. 2004; Prime et al. 2009). Previous research suggests that these stereotypes may place women in particular dilemmas regarding their personal and professional roles. For instance, prior studies have demonstrated that qualities associated with effective leadership in business are identified with stereotypes attributed to men (Fullager et al. 2003; Prime et al. 2009; Schein 2001; Schein et al. 1996). Hence, women may find themselves viewed as trespassing into leadership roles that are stereotypically prescribed for men. It has also been suggested that women working in male-dominated organizations are particularly susceptible to these negative evaluations. Some researchers contend that the incongruence between these two types of stereotypes offer a strong basis to argue in favor of the gender gap in business (Prime et al. 2009).

Other studies have shown that women feel that their managerial skills are less than those of men in terms of engineering, computer science, finance and technical capabilities (Pardo-del-Val 2010; Verheul and Thurik 2001). However they find that their social and interpersonal skills are better than those of men (Lituchy and Reavley 2004). Research has also suggested that perhaps some important differences may start at an early stage when children develop particular socialization skills. For women, this may positively translate into a stronger family identification and better social and relationship building skills. On the

negative side, women may show a lower level of perceived productivity and less self-confidence for business creation, even when their skills are at the same level of men's (Chaganti 1986; Chesterman et al. 2005; Coronel et al. 2010; Jones and Tullous 2002; Pardo-del-Val 2010; Quader 2012).

When compared to men, women tend to be cautious, less self-confident, less aggressive, easier to convince, and may have fewer leadership and problem solving skills at low risk decision-making situations (Sonfield et al. 2001). Other studies have found that women tend to support stronger work ethics and feel more personal responsibility for their business (Quader 2012; Marta et al. 2008). Danes et al. (2007) provide evidence of the moderating effect of gender on management practices and family business performance. For instance, it was found that personnel management has nine times greater effect on total income for female than male owner businesses. Donating time was more related to total income for female owners than male owners. Working longer weekly hours was related to higher total income for females. In this study females also indicated making better, "smarter" choices than only putting in more time.

Are the Motivations of Businesswomen and Businessmen Different?

It has been stated that women and men have important similarities in regards to their basic motivations in running a business. However, some authors argue that there are some key differences in relation to family-work balance and flexibility (Almerm et al. 2004; Leonard 2001; Oakley 2000) and extra incomes (Falkenberg and Monachello 1990). These differences may stem from a structural context of society pertaining to traditional roles expected for women and men (Foucault 1977; Meyerson and Kolb 2000). These roles may produce certain conflicts for modern women who no longer conform to their traditional roles and their corresponding motivations.

In an attempt to understand new roles of women, some prior research has paid closer attention to modern women seeking an entrepreneurial track. In terms of motivational similarities with men, entrepreneurial women have been found to have similar economic needs, independence aspirations, and opportunity identification as men entrepreneurs (Birley et al. 1987; Pardo-del-Val 2010). At the same time, Goffee and Scase (1982) found that women and men seek three motivations when starting-up a business: avoidance of 1. low-paid jobs, 2. supervision, and 3. subordinate roles in business.

In terms of motivational differences, however, women tend also to be motivated when starting up a business in socially oriented activities and relationship building (Fisher 2004). It may appear that women are interested in the social contribution provided by their businesses (Orhan and Scott 2001). It has also been agreed that some of the primary reasons for women to become self-employed are self-fulfilment, job satisfaction and achievement (Hisrich and O'Brien 1981; Moore and Buttner 1997; Schwartz 1976). In addition, women tend to be less motivated to make money and more worried about competitive advantage based on product quality.

From another perspective, some authors have studied entrepreneurship motivations based on the pull/push model (Brush 1999; Buttner and Moore 1997; Glancey et al. 1998, Hisrich and Brush 1984, Uhlaner and Thurik 2007). Motivations are classified as pull factors when social status, self-fulfilment, personal development, challenge seeking and achievement are included. Push factors are considered to include prevention of unwanted working conditions, job frustration, restriction of promotion opportunities and boredom.

While some authors have stated that men are motivated by pull factors (Birley and Westhead 1994; Shane et al. 1991) there is no agreement in reference to women. For instance, some prior studies argue that push factors such as prior job frustration and boredom, hostile large company working environment and experience of discriminatory labor practices seem to be key elements forcing women to start their own businesses (Hisrich and Brush 1984; Stokes et al. 1995).

However, other authors make reference that women entrepreneurs are equally motivated by pull and push factors (Buttner and Moore 1997; Van Gelderen et al. 2006).

One discriminatory labour practice that has caught some research attention is the "glass ceiling" or "glass walls" which are described as "those invisible, culturally embedded assumptions and beliefs about the skills and competencies of women that prevent their advancement into top management positions" (Eriksson-Zetterquist and Styhre 2008: 135–136). Some authors make reference that, in order to overcome the so called "glass ceiling," it is recommended that research explores some of the obstacles to women's advancement in organizational work culture (Arfken et al. 2004; Bell et al. 2002; Welsh 1998). This exploration may offer relevant insights into the development, conservation and alteration of discriminatory practices hindering and affecting motivations of women (Gherardi 1995; Mills 2002). For example, a study found that the scarcity in family friendly initiatives, flexible working hours and mentoring may indirectly strengthen the presence of the glass ceiling in the organization (Harvey et al. 2009; Man et al. 2009).

Flexibility appears to be another key motivating factor for entrepreneurial business women. As women seem to take on more responsibility in family matters (Grace 1998; Lupton and Schmied 2002), they tend to have more work-family conflict than men (Leonard 2001; Noor 2004). Entrepreneurial women seem to be motivated to start up a business because they envision more balance between job and family demands (Collins-Dodd et al. 2004; Gundry and Welsch 2001; Morris et al. 2006).

Most of the research on the conflict of women between work and family roles has focused on the negative emotions derived from this conflict (Dhaliwal 1998; Noor 2004; Shelton 2006; Strykowska 1995; Welter 2004). Some studies have found that women use particular psychological strategies to handle such conflict. Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1999), Ashforth (2000) and Edwards and Rothbard (2000) argue that these strategies may fall into four categories:

(1) segmentation, which suppresses behaviors, thoughts and feelings of one area when participating in another, (2) compensation, which is intensive involvement in one area as a means to counteracting negative results in another, (3) adaptation, which is a limited psychological involvement in one for the demands of the other, and (4) limit management, which is a development of methods to limit areas between work and family.

Do Women Find Resource Accessibility More Difficult Than Men?

According to Morris et al. (2006), a lack of opportunities to access financial resources has been one of the main barriers faced by business women. Three possible explanations for this situation (Coleman 2000) have been offered:

(a) It may appear that sex discrimination is partly the cause for unfair refusal of credits or restrained credit application processes.
(b) Women may tend to avoid higher levels of risk, thus they may prevent financial liabilities and may decline offering more collaterals in loan application.
(c) Companies owned by women are usually smaller and use less financial liabilities because women use their personal resources to handle their business financial needs.

Yet, some authors posit that there are no grounds for loan discrimination between businesses run by women and men (Fabowale et al. 1995). It may well be that businesses owned by women are smaller and newer. Women may also perceive they do not require financial loans. Parallel to Coleman (2000), it is more likely that women may use personal resources as a source of business capital. This issue may well be a matter of the business variables being evaluated in a credit application rather than gender discrimination against women. Some business variables used to evaluate credit applications are company size and years in business as banks usually grant loans preferably to larger and more established businesses (Coleman 2000).

According to Kang et al. (2010), investors systematically react to the different positions that women in top-management hold on corporate boards. They also found that investors respond positively to the assignment of women in independent director positions and are least responsive when the directors assume the CEO post.

Are Women More Reluctant Than Men to Seek Business Growth?

Some authors suggest that women tend to have smaller businesses with slower rates of growth, fewer resources, lower income/financial outcomes, and less number of employees than those owned by men (Hisrich and Brush 1984; Menzies et al. 2004; Singh et al. 2001; Srinivasan et al. 1994). Further, income increment differences were found among businesses run by women and men (Du Rietz and Henrekson 2000). These findings may suggest that women tend to settle for less ambitious business objectives when compared to men.

However, there are two key counter-arguments: (1) some authors suggest that it may be important to contrast two types of women entrepreneurs. First, traditional women are usually clustered in business sectors that are "not traditionally male-dominated" such as services industries and retailing (Bowen and Hisrich 1986; Goffee and Scase 1982; Moore and Buttner 1997; Rosa et al. 1994; Walker and Webster 2006). They are also sole proprietors with extended domestic services (Moore and Buttner 1997). Second, modern women who establish a business based on a career objective have made inroads into traditionally male-dominated industries. (2) If many more businesses run by women are found in the services markets and retailing, it may be argued that it is not because women tend to have less ambitious business objectives, but rather they are within more slower-growth, labour-intensive businesses and a premise for gender segregation (Broadbridge 1997; Buttner and Moore 1997; Coleman 2007).

Methodology

The case-studies presented in this paper are part of a research project that analyzes women's situation in various positions of business responsibility in Spain. This study has a longitudinal and qualitative profile. It represents the natural extension of the original project started more than 5 years ago (Vázquez-Carrasco et al. 2012). This research is based on in-depth interviews developed since 2007. Therefore we aim (i) to identify the key factors that contribute to consolidating and encouraging female jobs in high and intermediate job positions, both in the domestic and foreign markets, (ii) to offer specific results related to profile identification, characteristics, barriers and motivations related to WIM, and (iii) to analyze the evolution and possible changes derived from the differences during the life stages of women and/or due to economic conditions. From 2008 to 2013, Spain has undergone paramount changes in both economic and labor conditions due to the global economic downfall. Women included in the study have also experienced changes in both working and family settings.

From January 2008 to July 2013, the researchers were in close contact with the organizations. The research group conducted various in-depth semi-structured interviews with each of the six interviewees who were considered as primary informants. Collected data included aspects dealing with interviewee age at key stages of life, and level of responsibility at the firm. Data include company profile: public, private or family-owned business. These 30–40 min interviews mainly discussed aspects related to possible work discrimination for reasons of gender, attitudes of interviewees and companies towards business risk, reasons for new business creation and presence of women in the context of international business. The interviews in Spanish were recorded and transcribed for further analysis. Internal documents and secondary data, such as public reports and web pages, were used to understand the overall perspective of the topics at hand. In order to identify possible variations to any of the

research topics, periodical visits were repeated throughout this time frame.

QSR NVivo helped with data manipulation and organization throughout the research (Vázquez-Carrasco et al. 2012). This popular software for qualitative data analysis aids in the handling of large amounts of data. NVivo helps move forward the analytical process by offering dimensionality and structure to both theoretical and emerging codes (Maclaran and Catterall 2002; Weitzman and Miles 1995). It does not do the analysis itself. This tool allowed the researchers to move about theme codes as they emerged, collapsed or were combined with other codes. This system is more efficient and not as "messy" as the traditional qualitative analysis. This process was further strengthened with content analysis of main sentences (Vinnel and Hamilton 1999; Yin 1994). Objectivity was pursued (Chetty and Hamilton 1995; Grant and Perren 2002; Stake 1994), yet some subjective considerations may have occurred in the analysis. Still, the analytical process was systematic, iterative and reflective as a way to offer a minimum level of subjectivity (Stake 1994; Yin 1994; Chetty and Hamilton 1995; Grant and Perren 2002).

To further discuss and validate findings, interviewees were sent notes taken during the interview and drafts of each case study results so that they would comment about each meeting. After discussions, respondents were sent a main report with summaries of a complete set of interviews and were invited to comment once more. This iterative process of dialoguing with interviewees based on previous contacts helped advance and confirm findings as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994) and Yin (2003). This process not only helped to confirm findings, but also assisted in engaging the interviewees in a confirmatory fashion. At the same time, field and research notes, as well as conclusions, were also analyzed by colleagues in several management schools in Spain and UK, thereby enhancing the credibility and validity of our study (Guba and Lincoln 1989; Yin 2003).

Results

This section begins with the presentation of the main profiles of interviewees and the organizations for which they work. Additionally, the researchers have included results, with the most important verbatim, which serve as examples and a basis for discussion. Importantly, from the larger sets of raw data, verbatim were specifically extracted to sustain findings. Table 31.1 outlines the main profiles of both company and interviewees including: gender, age, vital status, work experience and position in the company. This table compares both the starting and current situations. This structure of comparing past and present situations is attained throughout the section, so changes can be easily observed. Tables 31.2, 31.3, 31.4, 31.5, 31.6, 31.7, 31.8, 31.9, and 31.10 highlight some of the most significant verbatim in relation to some key themes such as "glass ceiling", discriminatory treatment, family/work conflict/solution, financial problems, business growth, sales/quality, motivation to start business, women abroad and female potential integration.

Discussion

A total of five compelling themes emerged from our analysis. These themes discuss the following: (i) possible gender-related work discrimination, (ii) attitudes towards labor risk and financial problems, (iii) reasons why women may decide on a new business creation, (iv) family-work conflict, and (v) women in foreign business.

While in 2008 none of the case-studies offered evidence about the existence of the "glass ceiling" (Welsh 1988; Bell et al. 2002; Arfken et al. 2004), in 2013 three of the women interviewees explicitly stated its existence. Interviewee 1 affirmed she had to prove herself much more just because she was a woman. Interviewee 3 admitted she had to take gender into account when selecting new candidates ("*sometimes us women are not as caring with ourselves*"). Thus, in spite of our first

Table 31.1 Data about the interviewees

	Year	Case/Interview 1	Case/Interview 2	Case/Interview 3	Case/Interview 4	Case/Interview 5	Case/Interview 6
Age	2008	41	28	44	30	36	31
	2013	46	33	49	35	41	36
Vital status	2008	Married with two children	Single and no children	Married with two children	Single and no children	Married with two children	Married and currently pregnant
	2013	=	Married and no children	Separated with two children	Married with three children	Married with three children	Married with two children
Job position	2008	In charge of management	International marketing manager	Manager	Worked at Deloitte and at BBV bank. Financial manager for a family fruit export business. Currently created her own business	Head of Social and Cultural Promotion Department	Accountant in charge
	2013	Dismissed	=	=	=	=	Dismissed
Company		JDC Group (12 companies engaged in real estate, hotel management and outsourcing services of business management) Staff: 110 employees	Important Spanish beverage family business. She is part of the family ownership.	Cartuja Motor (leading car dealing company at sales of the make Skoda in Spain since 2001 and worldwide since 2004). Staff over 65 employees and recently the company has received an award for being the brand with the largest number of female work force (Rate close to 50 %)	Financial consulting company	University Pablo de Olavide	Hotel chain

Table 31.2 Summary chart of the main aspects dealing with glass ceiling

	Year	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
"Glass ceiling"	2008	**No** *"At least in this company… though in others maybe yes"*	**No** *"Person's capacity is assessed, not the fact whether they are men or women"*	–	–	**No.** *"In order to become a civil servant an objective test has to be taken. That is, in Public Administration the glass barrier is more difficult"*	–
	2013	**Yes** *"I have had to prove much more, dedicate more hours, give up things"*	**=**	**Yes** *"When I select candidates, I take gender into consideration, not as something crucial, but I keep it in mind. Sometimes us women are not as caring with ourselves"*	**Yes** *"During selection processes I felt that my age and family environment did not fit for a position of responsibility, so considered self-employment. Even when my second daughter was born, I had to settle with a layoff because they said that two children so close in age would impair my performance"*	**=**	**No** *"In my department the pace was dictated by us women, and men were assistants, maybe by chance"*

Table 31.3 Summary chart of the main aspects dealing with discriminatory treatment

	Year	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
Discriminatory treatment	2008	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	"*There is a great difference between multinational companies and family businesses. In the first there is no difference in treatment for being a woman, but in the latter this difference does exist...*"	**Yes**	**No**
		"*Men prefer men-to-men business*"	"*In some international contexts such as Japan or Islamic countries where women are looked at with certain suspicion... maybe more effort has to be made*"	"*In general, women always have to prove themselves more than men*"		"*At first, for being a woman and being young I did feel discriminated in some meetings. They all actively participated in conversations and they would look at me*"	"*I do not think it is a question of being a man or a woman. But it is a matter of value and the company's mentality...*"
	2013	**Yes**	=	**No**	*Greater demands*	=	
		"*With some vendors and within the company itself*"		"*Maybe because I have demanded so much from myself and because we work with companies in Central Europe with a different mindset. There are clients who are curious the first time they do business with a woman, then they even prefer dealing with me*"			"*When my daughters were born, yes. I was offered a shorter workday because they said that costs should be reduced and that it would be simpler to be me. It was best for me and could dedicate more time to my children, though*"

Table 31.4 Summary chart of the main aspects dealing with family-work/solution conflict

	Year	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
Family-work/solution conflict	2008	Yes	No	Yes	–	No.	No
		"I adapt the timetable, I delegate chores to my husband…at work I do not tend to delegate owing to responsibility of my position"	"Perhaps people without flexible timetables like me or with less economic resources have this problem"	"When you reach certain responsibility positions work is a fact that cannot be waived. It is also true that more responsibility involves working more for objectives and having more flexible timetables"		"Due to the flexibility of timetables of civil servants"	"My husband has a real flexible timetable and we try to make our work life and family life compatible…when the time comes for sure we shall go to our parents, brothers or we will look for nursery schools close to our work"
	2013	No	=	=	Yes	Yes	Yes
		"My husband has understood that mine is the main job"			"I hired a full-time person, and I rely much on my mother"	"I have delegated to other persons in order to solve it, both at work and with my family"	"Very: When my son was born, I only went back after two months because I was asked to. When my daughter was born and I was offered a shorter workday; it was fantastic"

Table 31.5 Summary chart of the main aspects dealing with financial problems

	Year	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
Financial problems	2008	**No** "*Only those related to the amount and the destination of funds*"	–	**No**	**No** "*Banks objectively analyze the business characteristics*"	**No** "*The hard part is the level of resources and what they are going to be used for*"	–
	2013	**=**	–	**=**	**Yes** "*Due to the type of business resources were required for*"	**Yes** "*Not because I am a woman, but for the financial situation we are going through*"	**No**

Table 31.6 Summary chart of the main aspects dealing with business growth

	Year	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
Business growth	2008	**No** "*We choose consolidation over growth*"	**No**	**Yes** "*We have to grow with Skoda, if not we lose territory exclusiveness*"	**No**	**Yes** "*In my opinion the Unit's growth involves my growth as a person*"	–
	2013	**=**	**=**	**No** "*At the current crossroads we are already doing much by keeping the current volume*"	**=**	**No** "*We are going through a financial situation of crisis where it is not possible to think about growth*"	**No** "*Due to crisis*"

Table 31.7 Summary chart of the main aspects dealing with sales/quality

	Year	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
Sales or quality?	2008	**Sales** "*That is what allows us to receive income*"	**Quality** "*Quality of the product in the long run leads to stable sales*"	**Quality and sales as well** "*We combine an aggressive sales policy to sell more vehicles with a sales policy based on customer satisfaction when maintaining the vehicle; this is one of the keys to success*"	–	**Quality** "*From "above" we are ordered to achieve "sales", that is, carry out more activities, but my aim is quality*"	–
	2013	**=**	**=**	**=**	*Both*	**=**	"*To me, quality. To the owner of the company I used to work at, it is sales*"

Table 31.8 Summary chart of the main aspects dealing with motivation on to start a business

	Year	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
Motivation to start a business	2008	–	–	–	*"This is the best way to keep my independence, to manage my timetable, not to explain anything to anyone other than to myself and to my family…"*	*"I think the main principle for working is subsistence. I would not want a man to support me as if I were a woman from the 1920s. In case my life was already settled then I would perhaps create a business to have an opportunity"*	Achieve more flexibility
	2013	–	–	–	*"Make my work and my children compatible"*	–	–

Table 31.9 Summary chart of the main aspects dealing with woman abroad

	Year	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
Woman abroad	2008	**Yes**	–	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
		But "*for men it will always be easier to go abroad*"		But "*women have to accept the consequences of the position*"	But "*men can travel more easily and spend more time out of the house*"	*"Society is changing, though it is slow. In the future I think there will be more women in more important positions. Sometimes doors are open for being a woman. Who knows? Maybe God is a woman?"*	*"It is possible that in some occasions people think men are better than women, especially because of the culture of some countries where women are seen as inferior, although if this limitation is overcome, I do not think there are any important differences"*
	2013	*"I would like it to be so, but I see it difficult in Spain"*	=	*"It depends on the kind of company, the prevailing mindset, the culture in the destination market…"*	*"There is ever less reluctance to hire women for these positions. Outside Spain, this debate has already been left behind"*	=	*"The presence of women as business directors will increase in the future"*

Table 31.10 Summary chart of the main aspects dealing with focus on female potential integration

	Year	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
Focus on female potential integration	2008	**Complementary contribution** *"As a boss, women are better; we have more sensitivity and we tend to analyze things more, pay more attention to details and to individualities…"*	**Complementary contribution**	**Complementary contribution**	**Complementary contribution**	**Complementary contribution**	**Complementary contribution**
	2013	=	=	=	*"I am not sure"*	*"Equality, but I believe that complementary contributions prevail in the business world"*	=

findings suggesting that in today's social and cultural field, competence, not gender, was assessed in business (as explicitly stated in 2008 by case number 2, the interviewee held the position of the International Marketing Manager of the company), in 2013 this statement seems to be unclear in the majority of our interviews Specifically, some of the interviewees admitted having at some point experienced a different treatment for being a woman. In this way, we encountered evidence that supports the study of Chesterman et al. (2005) and Orhan and Scott (2001), who affirm that women are discriminated in an unequivocal, but suggestive manner. For example, the manager at Cartuja Motor expressed that women had to prove themselves more frequently than men in a business environment. Another interviewee (Case number 5) acknowledged discriminatory treatment for being a young woman. Interviewee case number 4 admitted in 2013 that she even had to negotiate her dismissal when her second child was born.

We found one deviant case in 2008 that seemed not to suggest discrimination. Interviewee case number 6 claimed that individual treatment in a company depended on the company's assigned value of a person, not gender. This result supports Christman et al. (1990) who agree that there is no evidence of significance in favor of discriminatory barriers against women. In fact, this woman stated that women set the pace in her Department, and men were only assistants. However, in 2013 she admits having experienced a discriminatory treatment when her second child was born.

On the other hand, the interviewee case number 3 experienced a discriminatory treatment in our first research in 2008; now in 2013, she doesn't experience it any more. She recognizes she has been self-demanding and she works with companies from central Europe, which have a different mindset. She claims that "*there are clients who are curious the first time they do business with a woman, then they even prefer to deal with me*".

Hence, we are unable to presume that there is any evidence of a different posture towards women by reason of gender, despite the number of interviewers admitting to that being the case.

We think that perhaps the economic crash may affect labor relations and, in that context, some women – because of their vital cycle- are more sensitive than men.

With regard to discrimination in connection with access to financial resources, as Fabowale et al. (1995) expound, our data suggest that there is no such discrimination against women. Most interviewees stated that financial institutions take particular characteristics such as business profile, capital amount requested and reason for application into consideration. No gender specifics seemed to be assessed in applications. In this sense, our results support Coleman (2002) who indicated that loan officials discriminate on other factors such as company size and not gender. In 2013 two of the interviewed women acknowledged that they had experienced financial problems, but they explicitly stated that they were due to the Spanish economic crisis, not to gender.

Our study points to the possibility of there being more conservative than liberal women at the business growth stage during its evolution. Consequently, the results side with Menzies et al. (2004), contending that women tend to seek less business growth. In 2013, derived from the above-mentioned unfavorable economic situation, our interviewees are aware of the impossibility of growing, since it is even difficult to maintain the current sales volume.

Information obtained from the interviews is in line with the opinions from authors such as Kalleberg and Leicht (1991) in that gender in business is neither a setback nor an advantage, for women manage business differently than men, albeit with similar methods regarding effectiveness, which allow women to attain as much success as men.

In 2008 we found supporting information in the complementary nature of women's contributions, rather than being equitable. So we are inclined to favor the complementary side of female contributions more than the equitable alternative with regard to female potential in the corporate environment and in general. More to the point, people under cases number 2, 4 and 6, are in agreement when stating that each gender has its own advantages and skills, and that

companies should exploit each of their strengths. Nevertheless, in 2013 three of the interviewed women stated that they found it unclear which approach they should stand behind.

Results seem to show that women have certain specific advantages in business. For instance, it has been said that women are better at organizing and listening, not to mention that they are more practical than men. In this sense, we encountered several surveys in literature that outline the advantages of being a woman. In the introduction of this chapter we already indicated that the style of female management has been described as "more feminine" and participative. Furthermore, executive women also lend much more importance to communication fluency. They usually show kinder manners and they are in favor of an overall participatory decision-making process. Thus, as defended by Lerner and Almor (2002), these intangible assets constitute one of the main aspects to understanding business management as conducted and/or led by women. In addition, it seems that women are more concerned with quality and customer service as they relate to sales in the long run.

Although not explicitly, the works of Leonard (2001) and Eagly et al. (1995), claim that women are as equally effective in roles of leadership as men. Notwithstanding, in one of the cases (Cartuja Motor) the manager believes that less authority on behalf of women may be a disadvantage in this area. Our findings are in line with ideas defended by Oakley (2000), who recognizes gender differences.

As for the relationship with subordinates, McColl-Kennedy and Anderson (2005) claim that we would have to take into consideration not only the gender of the leader but also the pair-gender combination of leader and subordinates. On these grounds, they arrived at the conclusion that female managers were more appreciative of personal relations with their subordinates, assumed more commitment, and achieved a higher level of optimism towards their subordinates, regardless if the respondents were men or women. Moreover, higher levels of self-esteem were found among male subordinates under female managers.

With regard to the motivation for starting a business, in 2008 and 2013 we found the same main drivers: achievement of flexibility, independence and fitting together work and family.

From our reviews of published surveys and their results, we assert that one of the primary advantages for businesswomen is the reconciliation that occurs between their family and professional lives (e.g., Almerm et al. 2004; Strykowska 1995). It has been stated that women are more proficient and capable, a combination that serves them to bring their family and professional lives together. Consequently, it can be gathered that the skills involved in running a home may be of significant use in their ability to conduct business management activities.

The family-work struggle has been the subject of extensive research, and there is evidence that individuals have a double hierarchy of values: one that is important in family-personal matters, and another which guides judgment and behavior in their professional affairs (Chusmir and Parker 1991). These authors suggest that even though both genders hold akin job-related values, they disagree when it comes to family: women appear to be more sensitive to the need to bring their professional lives together with their family lives.

Literature offers two different types of conflict (Boyar et al. 2005):

– Work-family conflict: when job activities interfere with family responsibilities.
– Family-work conflict: when family activities interfere with job responsibilities.

In our opinion, it seems reasonable to go into the generalities of the reconciliation between family and professional activities, for it will eventually become necessary to achieve balance between both contexts.

Authors like Becker and Moen (1999), and Moen and Yu (2000), have proposed a number of outside methods to reduce work-family conflict which, among others, include child bearing postponement, child caring search and home chores assistance, and rejection of job acceptance. In a recent paper, Shelton (2006) advised the implementation of external strategies for manipulating roles instead of resorting to confronting conflict by means of internal strategies, since it appears to

be a higher need for reduction when the first strategy is implemented. They have put forward three external strategies: (a) role elimination (refrain from having a family); (b) role reduction (reduce the size of family, delay having a family); and (c) role sharing (delegate family or professional obligations). The conclusion they reached is that women mostly preferred the third strategy, which could be implemented by delegating roles both at work and at home. In this sense, entrepreneurial women delegate part of their responsibilities at work by using participation techniques and human resources practices, vesting subordinates with authority and creating work teams. Similarly, a portion of family responsibilities can be delegated by hiring help to look after the children or by doing housework, or by seeking the help from family or friends, including support from their husband or partner (Martins et al. 2002; De Bruin and Lewis 2004).

Our 2008 research yielded cases in which this conflict did not happen. For example, interviewees number 2 and 5 claimed that they had no problems in reconciling work life and family life because of their flexible schedules and purchasing power, both of which allowed them to delegate or hire help for certain tasks. However, interviewees number 1 and 3 admitted to having encountered this conflict. In both cases, the strategy was to delegate at home, not at work. It appears that job positions at upper levels represent fewer problems because they entail more flexible schedules and allow for broader task delegation decisions.

In 2013 interviewee number 1 claims that she doesn't encounter this conflict any more ("*my husband has understood that mine is the main job in our family*") and interviewees number 4 and 5, who claim to have encountered it, have solved it by delegating chores to other people, both at work and at home, or by hiring a person to take care of children.

The reconciliation of the family-work conflict appears to be the primary key factor of influence when women seek professional success as they are charged with greater responsibilities both locally and internationally. All interviews conducted during 2008 and 2013 point to the possibility that the female role in international job positions seems to be showing ever more successful results. Nevertheless, men are likely to continue to have fewer family responsibilities because they have less participation in child-bearing and family life activities. Furthermore, several interviewees recognized that women's success could also be dependent on the country of destination, for example: in countries such as Japan or some Islamic countries where distinctive cultural differences may pose certain disadvantages towards women, greater performance efforts may be demanded from women.

The results we have obtained are in agreement with Mayer and Cava (1993) in that they suggest that the social-cultural context, and not gender, is a more valuable reference for understanding some of the specific motivations of women at work. Our study suggests that women are driven by their quest for independence or more job flexibility, so we have opted to use the term "pushed" women, as proposed by Morris et al. (2006).

Conclusively, in terms of the best practices and policies, our study highlights, among other aspects, the following:

– Training programs are recommended with the purpose of developing certain "female" management traits, which might encourage such related aspects as the "connection" with employees and the sensitivity to the emotional context of subordinates, are recommended, in agreement with the papers by McColl-Kennedy and Anderson (2005). Such aspects might challenge the traditional "male" self-satisfactory aspects of management.

– In the same venue, it may be of relevance to favor a more leveled approach to the strengths of male (e.g., leadership, authority) and female (e.g., receptivity, communication, organization) management or, alternatively, a better understanding of these, likely complementary, forms of business management. It might be possible to accomplish a more conductive management process by adopting better policies and best practices for both genders.

– Public administrations and even businesses themselves should be encouraged to implement specific contributing systems so as to allow

finding ways to resolve the family-work conflict. For instance, the development of programs that heightened awareness might well be appropriate, as would be the establishment of such programs as applicable both to companies and families.

The information gathered, as well as the present discussion, have brought us to defend the arguments of Leonard (2001), published almost 10 years ago: notwithstanding the small progress of women's professional progress, it has remained mostly unchanged when compared to 15 or 20 years ago; we observe similar capabilities, and some progress in education and training, but there are still some differences in the biological role, which may remain forever. Will biology be the only brake for women's professional success?

In recent years, the international economic crisis has played a relevant part in the professional role of women, particularly for those who have young children or plan to extend their family, and who have witnessed their biological roles being encumbered with an adverse economic context.

Despite the above, interviewed women seem to have taken an optimistic view of the situation, which is similar to the one from the study conducted in 2008 (Vázquez-Carrasco et al. 2012). Thus, interviewee number two still believes that "e*ffort must be made to perform the strongholds of each gender, or better, of each person…good complementary nature increases the probability of a well done job, of the success of a company*"; and interviewee number three attests to "*If women are capable of coordinating family and work, imagine if they only dedicate to work…we are fantastic organizers, perhaps we listen more than men, but sometimes authority is necessary and maybe we lack this fact*".

However, this vision is different from what is shown in reality. For example, we found one woman who decided to go independent in face of gender discriminating practices she underwent during selection processes, and due to the number of children she has. In the same line, another of our interviewees was forced to reach a settlement with the company she was working for after the birth of her second son.

Conclusions

A conclusion may be drawn in that there is no apparent overall agreement on whether there is a specific prejudice towards women who occupy job positions of responsibility. More than a tendency in favor of either men or women, there are different methods and approaches used to understand how women are perceived, in general and in particular, in accordance with their place and responsibilities at work. Although this study failed to find any material difference between genders, several female qualities were indeed identified as a "female factor," which businesses encourage: both men and women acknowledge that those traits might well be construed as an advantage or a disadvantage. In general, we believe it more fitting to recognize a difference between women profiles and, instead of going for a gender-oriented judgment, admitting to the fact that certain female individuals show some qualities that may represent a source of competitive advantage. We therefore propose that, instead of gender, it is the degree of personal, social and organizational interaction that is used to better understand the context for professional women. Table 31.11 shows some of the potential advantages and disadvantages for women in management, based on previous work by Vázquez-Carrasco et al. (2012).

Regardless, the role of women in positions of responsibility is clearly ever more relevant

Table 31.11 Potential advantages and disadvantages for firms related to WIM

Advantages	Disadvantages
Human relations: receptiveness, openness, accessibility	Less authority, differences in leadership
Communication tasks	Potential absence of adaptation to some socio-cultural contexts
Long-term vision	Not short-term vision
Caution	*Caution*
Extrapolation for management of abilities related to family-work conciliation	

Source: Vázquez-Carrasco et al. (2012)

(Krishnan and Park 2005) in today's business world. However, the work-family conflict still appears to be a primary hurdle on the road to improving women's role in management and a key differentiating aspect between men and women under similar professional circumstances.

The longitudinal study conducted has allowed us to ascertain the situation of six women in positions of business responsibility at two different periods of their professional lives. One of the primary conclusions drawn from this analysis in time is that the economic crisis has made it difficult for women to obtain financial resources, becoming less prone to take risks at work. In fact, two of them have been dismissed from their jobs during this period. This is derived from an unfavorable financial crossroads, not gender discrimination. However, this situation might have affected the "glass ceiling" perception (which was greater in 2013).

Conversely, some of the interviewees have expanded their families in the reported period. For that, the family-work conflict has become more evident in 2013 as compared with 2008. Notwithstanding, they have managed to resolve this conflict with further repercussions. In spite of that, our research has made it evident that women appear to have a more idealistic view of females in business responsibility positions than shown in the reality of their lives.

These results may also suggest that more women than men are in tune with the imbalances of life and recognize the need to deal with them. This is not to say that perhaps these daily conflicts and struggles do not aid women so as to find a better balance between the two dimensions. In this sense, these imbalances may bring in a different perspective and meaning about their lives as they work on a daily basis to untangle these dilemmas.

This study may also suggest that women in management are a particular type of woman who is challenged and willing to solve the imbalances in life, as opposed to men. Perhaps, as mentioned before, we need to recognize that women in management represent a particular profile of woman who is challenged by these compelling themes with an idealistic angle about life.

From an organizational standpoint, women in management may contribute to the recognition that both genders live simultaneously in work and family dimensions, and that any of those affect the interaction, commitment and performance of the other. Businesses, then, may be able to change their practices, processes and culture accordingly to encourage the efficiency and effectiveness of women and men in the organization. Additionally, if it is expected that businesses today require a more participative style linked to feminine traits, women in management may also help to include a feminine perspective to the established male dominance by offering a more integral organizational approach.

Despite the outcomes and implications, it is necessary to admit several limitations of this research. First, this multi-case study is based on the social and cultural context of Spain. Furthermore, interviews were conducted on people at high social, cultural and educational levels, so it is possible that gender discrimination may be registered less frequently at other levels. Further research on this direction should be of interest in order to identify potential differences in patterns of behavior among levels. Transferability of results should be taken with caution as it relates to possible similarities and differences against this context. The qualitative profile of the study may provide certain margin of subjectivity when interpreting data and extracting results. However, the study established interviewee feedback and colleagues participation to diminish such limitation.

As this research shows, the debate is still opened. Various other aspects emerge for consideration in future research efforts: Is there an understanding of the social responsibility towards women being acknowledged by business philosophies under a rapidly changing century? Is the business responsibility any different for professional women in this century? There is evidence that not all women arrive at the same solutions with regard to family-work issues; in general, some women will choose task delegation at work over delegation at home; others might establish their own businesses to procure independence and flexibility for themselves. In view of the

variety of choices, it is appropriate to conclude that it is important to acknowledge profile, rather than gender differences. In essence, women may resort to attain flexibility in order to fulfill both family and work commitments and responsibilities. Additionally, there is the alternative of considering levels of business responsibility different from those included in this study. Furthermore, cultural differences between countries must be also considered as potential barriers for women in management. Therefore, it would be of interest to obtain data from other countries or different cultural contexts. Results could be improved by comparing all these research fields, reinforcing the implications of the present study. Future qualitative studies may also take into account the different roles of women in positions of responsibility, including questionnaires to allow for identification of varied female profiles and the establishment of causal relations, decision-making mechanisms and organizational results bound by their organizational philosophies with women in management.

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Women in the Workplace: Feminism's Potential Impact

Kendra Saunders

Feminism: An Introduction

A succinct definition of feminism is elusive to both theorists and laypersons. However, most feminists believe that women should have equal social, economic, and political rights to those of men. Furthermore, many feminists assert that women suffer from discrimination due to their sex, and that they have specific needs such as equal access to employment opportunities and freedom from objectification that remain unsatisfied. Feminists propose that empowerment and solidarity among women, promotion of equality between the sexes, and challenging societal pressures such as gender roles and sexism will lead to better conditions for women. These better conditions in turn will lead to a greater sense of well-being. In this way, feminists have proposed a connection between feminist views and mental health.

Although there are many definitions of feminism and hence measures of feminism in research, the most widely accepted measure of feminism appears to be the Feminist Identify Composite Scale, in part due to its sound psychometric properties (FIC; Fisher et al. 2000). The FIC measures women's acquisition of a positive feminist identity according to Downing and Roush's (1985) model

of feminist identity development. This model includes five stages. Stage 1, Passive Acceptance, is exhibited by a lack of awareness or denial of sexism and adherence to traditional gender roles. Stage 2, Revelation, occurs when a woman becomes aware of sexism, often through a negative event, which can lead to feelings of anger. Stage 3 is Embeddedness-Emanation, in which women develop solidarity with other women to feel validated that sexism exists. Stage 4, Synthesis, occurs when a woman can transcend traditional gender roles and value being a woman, as well as evaluate men on an individual basis and not as global oppressors. Finally, Stage 5, Active Commitment, includes an integrated identity as a woman where she is inspired to meaningful action on behalf of women. The FIC measures five dimensions that encapsulate a woman's feminist beliefs at a single point in time. Some of the research cited below utilized the FIC as a measure of feminist identity development and concepts from the FIC will be referred to throughout the chapter.

Feminism and Mental Health

Although research continues to unfold, it appears that feminism and feminist views are good for women and their mental health. First, holding feminist views appears to lessen undesirable symptoms among women. For example,

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research reveals a negative correlation between depression and exposure to feminism (Mauthner 1998), and most research suggests that women who are feminist are less likely to engage in eating disordered behavior (Murnen and Smolak 2009). Overall, having feminist views appears to decrease psychological distress among women.

However, rather than simply the absence of distress or negative affect, the concept of mental health combines a decrease in distress with an increase in well-being, and research also suggests that feminism aids the mental health of women. For example, research demonstrates that women who are feminist or are exposed to feminist views experience a higher self-esteem and self-confidence as well as increased personal empowerment and assertiveness (Ossana et al. 1992; Malkin and Stake 2004; Yoder et al. 2012). In addition, most research suggests that women who are feminist are more likely to have a positive body image (Murnen and Smolak 2009). Other research has demonstrated that students completing a Women's Studies course exhibited a greater internal locus of control or a sense of agency in determining their own life, and more positive attitudes towards men upon finishing the course (Harris et al. 1999; Pence 1992). Furthermore, research shows that women who are more feminist exhibit greater personal growth and healthier interpersonal relationships compared to women who are less feminist (Morandi and Yoder 2011; Rudman and Phelan 2007; Yoder et al. 2012). Finally, the author's research revealed that women who were in the Active Commitment stage of feminism (reflecting the most developed level of feminist identity) exhibited a significantly greater amount of overall psychological well-being compared to women who were less feminist (Saunders and Kashubeck-West 2006). Given this research, it appears that feminist views not only decrease some aspects of mental illness or distress, but they also increase mental health and psychological well-being among women.

Feminism and the Improvement of Conditions for Women

The above information and research suggest that feminism is good for women, but how might a feminist view help women in the workplace? Let's first look at how feminists and those with feminist views have already sparked change and better conditions for women. Feminists have played a role in women obtaining the right to own property, and the right to vote in 1920. Feminists have also helped to expand reproductive rights and have passed laws to help protect women from domestic violence and sexual abuse. Regarding workplace conditions, feminists helped place a prohibition on sex discrimination into the Civil Rights Act, assisted outlawing discrimination in education, and have championed equal pay in the workplace. In addition, feminists helped to ban employment discrimination against pregnant women, and played a key role in legally defining sexual harassment as a violation of women's rights in 1980. Clearly women with feminist views have already helped to increase the quality of life among women and improve equity in the workplace, creating a healthier environment for women.

Feminism and Career Fulfillment

Although much has been accomplished, women continue to face obstacles in the workplace. So, in addition to the points made above, how might a feminist view positively impact women's lives at work? First, expectations placed on adolescent girls due to traditional gender-roles can deter women and girls from their optimal personal and vocational development. Research reveals that gender-based expectations can impact self-esteem and the career options of girls throughout their life (Steffens et al. 2010). For example, a young girl may feel dissuaded from a preferred career in science, math or politics due to subtle and not so subtle messages about appropriate

roles and careers for women. In this way, sexism and traditional gender-role adherence can contribute to educational, economic, and vocational disparities as well as vocational discontent.

Feminism purports that we need to challenge traditional gender roles, and women who are feminist are more likely to demonstrate higher levels of Instrumental/Masculine and Androgynous (high in Masculinity and Femininity) traits (Saunders and Kashubeck-West 2006). Women who are more feminist and/or androgynous are generally less concerned with adhering to society's pre-conceived notions of gender-appropriate vocational choices, consequently opening up a broader array of career choices so that they can find the profession that best suits them. It's particularly important that girls and women are open to the traditionally male dominated STEM fields (science, technology, engineering and mathematics), because STEM jobs are the fastest growing sector of jobs in North America and throughout much of industrialized world.

Feminism and Inequality in the Workplace

As previously stated, feminists purport that women suffer from discrimination due to their sex and that the community needs to work together to promote equality between men and women. So is the workplace unequal? Research demonstrates that women around the world are not treated as equals to men in the workplace. The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index compares 134 countries on the equality of women with scores ranging from 0 to 100 and the most equal countries (Iceland, Finland, Norway and Sweden) score in the low 80s, showing there is room for improvement regarding gender equality around the world (Hausmann et al. 2009).

Women have several challenges regarding inequality in the workplace. First, there is a persistent difference in the earnings between women and men. The average disparity in earnings in the United States between women and men is 33 %, with women earning 77 cents for every dollar a man earns (Bishaw and Semega 2008; Leicht 2008; Institute for Women's Policy Research 2012). Pay discrimination is difficult to notice because discussing pay is often met with disapproval. Therefore, women are frequently unaware that they are being paid less than men. If women are unaware of a pay gap in the workplace, they do not object, and the problem is more likely to continue. The Equal Pay Act signed in 1963 and the Lilly Ledbetter Act of 2009, both of which were supported by feminists, helped to improve conditions, however women continue to earn less than men.

So how might a feminist view help bridge a pay gap? Research reveals that women with a traditional gender role orientation (which is negatively correlated with feminist views) feel less entitled than do men, often expect lower wages and do not negotiate as vigorously as men (Major 1987). In addition, traditional gender role ideology is negatively associated with wages for white and black women, but not for white men (Judge and Livingston 2008; Keil and Christie-Mizell 2008). The above research suggests that feminist women would be more likely to breach traditional gender roles and be more assertive in negotiating their pay. However, there is little empirical investigation in this area and additional research is needed.

There is also inequality in the status of men and women in the workplace. Men hold most of the highest positions of power throughout the world compared to women, and men are promoted faster regardless of their performance evaluation (Gupta et al. 1983). The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2011) found that 98 % of Fortune 500 CEOs are men, and 97 % of them are White. Furthermore, women are underrepresented in a number of high status fields, including the sciences, business, and politics.

There are many reasons why men generally hold positions of higher status in the workplace,

including adherence to traditional gender-roles, discrimination against women, etc. However, research on high-achieving women in the workplace shows that successful women share many characteristics with feminist women. These characteristics include a higher self-esteem, high self-efficacy, Instrumentality/Masculinity and autonomy (Judge and Bono 2001). High-achieving women, like feminists, also are low in gender-stereotypical behaviors (Betz and Fitzgerald 1987). Thus, it seems that high-achieving women and feminists are quite similar and likely positively correlated, suggesting qualities of feminists and successful women lead to more equity in the workplace and better conditions for women. However, more research examining the relationship between feminist views and work status and success is needed. In addition, the wage gap between men and women is due in part to women's work in the home, including housework, childcare, and/or care for a disabled adult (Ridgeway and Correll 2004).

Feminism and Work/Life Balance

Women still do more housework than men, even if they work full time outside the home or work longer hours than their male counterparts (Bianchi et al. 2000; Boye 2009). The fact that women do more housework is significant given that increased household labor is associated with higher levels of psychological distress and decreases in well-being (Bird and Ross 1993; Boye 2009). Being feminist might help women challenge this status quo of housework being women's work, and hence both reduce the gender-role strain many women endure and increase well-being. Research supports this assertion in that egalitarian attitudes, a hallmark of feminism, are associated with a more equal division of housework (Cunningham 2005). Furthermore, an equal division of housework is associated with higher well-being among women (Cunningham 2005).

In addition to doing more housework, women are also often expected to lead the caregiving in the family, creating additional stress given the majority of mothers are also employees

(U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2009). Many women also take on the role of caregiver to a disabled or ill adult (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2009). Multiple social roles can lead to increased self-efficacy and life satisfaction (Hong and Seltzer 1995). However, if a woman does not have social, spousal, or work support, these multiple roles at home and at work can lead to additional strain, and negatively impact mental health and increase depression (Castro and Gordon 2012; Reid and Hardy 1999). Furthermore, multiple caregiving roles can also lead to job penalties that lead to income inequality (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). The "ideal worker norm" does not include women who are mothers or caregivers to other family members (Correll et al. 2007). In fact, managers perceive women as having greater family work conflict, even if this is not the case, which in turn influences how they view women's performance (Hoobler et al. 2009). In addition, many mothers fear that one alternative, a part time work schedule, might create further inequities between them and their male counterparts, and research supports this assertion (Moen and Roehling 2005).

Feminists attempted many changes in the workplace to help ease the strain of the multiple roles many women face, but their success was limited. Workplace flexibility was once argued to be a feminist solution for women's busy lives and a way mothers could be better accommodated in the workplace. However, job flexibility failed to uproot previous models of employment, and hence the workplace has excluded some women from job opportunities and security (Cady 2013). Feminists also supported childcare reform. The National Organization for Women advocated for free childcare for all. More practically, feminist groups helped to put together and lobby for the 1971 Child Development Act (CDA), which would have established federally funded community centers with a sliding fee scale based on income. However, despite passing the Senate 63 to 17, President Nixon vetoed this bill.

So how might feminist views and challenging gender roles help with multiple role/caregiver strain on an individual level? First, women and men that adhere to traditional gender roles and are less feminist are more likely to accept inequality

in their relationships, both in general, as well as in the balance of power in their relationships, the division of household labor and childcare, and employment options and duties (Anderson 2012; Donaphue and Fallon 2003). For example, a more traditionally minded woman may think an unkempt house is solely a reflection of her and feel obligated to clean before having company over, even after she's had a long day working outside the home. In addition, a woman who is more traditional may feel obligated to do the vast majority of the cooking in the family, even if her spouse works fewer hours or is more skilled in the kitchen.

On a more positive note, social support (both in the workplace and at home) has been found to mitigate the impact of multiple role strain. In fact, social support (particularly support from one's supervisor) can be one of the strongest predictors of well-being among women who are working, married, and have children (Estes 2004; Rao et al. 2003). A sense of mastery and self-esteem (components of well-being found to be more common among feminist women) also mediated the effect of multiple role stress (Franks and Stephanes 1992). Finally, women who are feminist have greater expectations of an equal sharing of childcare, and women and men with non-traditional gender role attitudes (common among feminists) expect to share in childcare with their partners compared to more traditional women and men (Askari et al. 2010; Yoder et al. 2007). In fact, women reported greater relationship quality, equality, and stability to the extent that their partner was feminist (Rudman and Phelan 2007). So it seems women and men who are feminist emphasize more equal childcare and other household responsibilities, helping to alleviate multiple-role strain for those with children or elderly adults to care for at home.

Feminism and Adversity in the Workplace

Gender role stereotyping, microaggressions towards women (defined as brief and commonplace verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities) and unwanted sexual attention also pervade women's work experiences. For example, women on average report one or two sexist experiences per week, and over 50 % of women in America experience some form of sexual harassment in the workplace (Illies et al. 2003; Swim et al. 2001). In addition, research in other counties shows that sexism and sexual harassment is a frequent problem around the world (DeSouza and Solberg 2003).

Women who are in the numerical minority in the workplace or are in nontraditional occupations such as construction, military, or law enforcement are exposed to even greater amounts of sexism and sexual harassment (Bastain et al. 1996; DeSouza and Solberg 2003; Illies et al. 2003). However, regardless of occupation, victims of sexism and sexual harassment often experience a decrease in job satisfaction, a decrease in self-esteem and mental and physical health, and an increase in anxiety and anger, and a sense of helplessness and depression (Crull 1982; Fredrickson and Roberts 1997; Gruber and Bjorn 1982; Hamilton et al. 1987; Milner-Rubio and Cortina 2004; Milner-Rubino et al. 2009). In fact, gender based hostility towards women in the workplace impacts men's well-being and work satisfaction as well (Milner-Rubio and Cortina 2004). Clearly, women still suffer from sexism and discrimination in the workplace, and this experience can negatively impact women's mental health as well as the well-being of those who observe the discrimination of women.

How might feminism challenge sexism and sexual harassment in the workplace? Women who adhere to traditional gender roles are more likely to simply ignore sexist and discriminatory acts, and may internalize that they are somehow to blame or are inferior, allowing for these acts to continue unchallenged (Morandi and Subich 2002). In contrast, women with high levels of feminist identity are more likely to identify discrimination and recognize sexist experiences when they happen (Henderson-King and Zhermer 2003; Zucker 2004). Women who are more feminist are also more aware of the impact of sexism in the workplace. In addition, women with feminist views are able to frame sexism and discrimination in the workplace as unfair and due to their status as women (Fisher and Good 2004).

Similarly, Capodilupo et al. (2010) found that women with higher levels of feminism were more likely to identify microaggressions against women and were more likely to understand the psychological impacts that these microaggressions could have on themselves and others. In this way, feminist women are more likely to identify problems in the workplace due to their gender, so they can then make the decision on whether or how to respond. For example, a feminist woman may be more likely to both notice and challenge when males in the workplace frequently ask women to make and provide the coffee, or when male co-workers make sexist and derogatory jokes towards women, whereas more traditionally minded women may not notice the sexist nature of these behaviors. Furthermore, when feminist minded women are able to identify discrimination, perhaps they are better able to address these events by more direct and healthier means.

Research demonstrates that exposure to feminist views increases a woman's self-confidence, personal empowerment, and locus of control, giving feminists additional tools to face discrimination and sexism head on. In addition, research reveals that identification as a feminist is positively correlated with positive coping skills such as seeking support from others (among European-American woman) and confronting sexism (Leaper and Arias 2011). In addition, women who identify as feminist are more likely than non-feminist women to report sexism and discrimination (Ayres et al. 2009). Assertive methods of challenging sex and discrimination can help to end the offensive behavior and educate the offender about his or her negative impact in the workplace. In addition, research has found that proactive strategies to sexism such as seeking support and confronting are more effective than avoidant strategies in reducing the negative effects of sexism (Foster 2000).

Feminist views might also help girls and women cope with and respond to sexual harassment. Research supports this assertion, with girls who are discontent with traditional gender roles and exposed to feminism being more likely to report harassment (Leaper and Arias 2011;

Leaper and Brown 2008). Additional research reveals that women who are feminist are more apt to regard sexual harassment as offensive and respond assertively to their sexual harassers, often by reporting the sexual harassment (Brooks and Perot 1991; Gruber and Smith 1995; Schneider 1982). Feminist ideology was also correlated with advocating for positively changing the relations between women and men when there are problems (Fine 1992). Finally, Rederstorff et al. (2007) found that European-American college women who were sexually harassed were buffered from post-traumatic stress through their feminist views, although the same did not hold true for African-American college women. In sum, exposure to feminism and critical thinking about gender roles may help women and girls voice their displeasure with sexual harassment and positively cope with the event, rather than internalizing messages of objectification and inferiority. In this way, feminist women appear to be better prepared to cope with and respond to sexual harassment in the workplace compared to women who are not feminist. However, there are few studies that have addressed the advantages and disadvantages of a more assertive response to sex discrimination in the workplace, and more research in this area is needed.

Feminist Identity Development and Well-Being in the Workplace

It can be upsetting to recognize sexism and discrimination when it occurs, and the Revelation stage of feminism identity development (also called awakening feminism) has been viewed as a distressing stage that is associated with anger and threatened self-esteem, which can negatively impact mental health (Morandi and Subich 2002). That said, women in the Passive Acceptance stage and who are least feminist do not score significantly differently than those in the Revelation stage on measures of psychological well-being (Saunders and Kashubeck-West 2006). So, although those in the Revelation stage may be in some distress, they are generally no

worse off that those scoring in the Passive Acceptance stage. Also, women may pass though the Revelation stage as a means to acquire a more established feminism, which is linked to positive personal and interpersonal outcomes (Moradi 2012; Yoder 2012). In fact, Moradi (2012) argues that optimal functioning, in the context of oppressive conditions, might actually be discontentment or anger, as this discontent may be necessary for a commitment to change conditions. Moradi asks "might a sense of personal, relational, and collective contentment, numbness, and inaction be warning signs of non-optimal functioning?" She goes on to suggest such reactions imply limited awareness, internalized oppression, or a burning out from trying to positively change one's environment. In support of this idea the Revelation stage is positively correlated with justice entitlement, or the idea women should be treated fairly (Yoder et al. 2012), which is likely a precursor to acting to create social change. Similarly, Fisher and Holz (2010) purport that feminism can help women connect the personal distress from discrimination to the overall context and power of gender stereotypes, which in turn shifts the focus from problems within the victim of discrimination to problems with the system that allows such discrimination. In other words, women who are feminist are more likely to identify sex discrimination when it occurs, see the systemic nature of such problems, and have the sense of empowerment or agency to effect change.

Creating networks of support among fellow female co-workers (common in the Embeddedness-Emanation stage) may help to maintain a sense of control when facing discrimination by helping women combine resources and skills to enact change, which is a hallmark of feminism. A sense of solidarity with other women in the workplace may also help them recognize they are not alone in their experience of sex discrimination. In this way, group identification among women can attenuate the harmful psychological effects of discrimination (Schmitt et al. 2002). Finally, working together to solve problems of discrimination increases a victim's sense of justice, which has been shown to mediate the effects of discrimination on one's mental health (Fisher and Holz 2010).

Conclusion and Future Directions

In summary, although additional research is needed, it appears women who are more feminist may negotiate more assertively at work for a higher salary, as well as assert themselves at home so there is a better balance in housework and childcare between them and their spouses. In addition, women who are feminist are more likely to break outside traditional gender roles to find a career that is the best fit for them, notice and report sex discrimination in the workplace, and work together to elicit change in the workplace where it is needed. These qualities can improve the home and work life of women and increase mental health and job satisfaction. However, as is evidenced in previously cited data and research, there is still more work to be done. If women achieve equality in the workplace, it will only be after there is deliberate intervention in the work setting. Thus, the next paragraphs are recommendations to improve the workplace for women.

Recommendations for a More Equitable Workplace

First, for change in the workplace to occur, women need to be heard. Employers need to be proactive in involving women on boards and committees that discuss the work environment. Better yet, we need more female senior managers and executives in corporations to be pioneers for equality between men and women as well as family-friendly policies and methodologies. Having women at the table helps the workforce get used to hearing women's voices and perspectives in general, and women's very presence can transform expectations and widens the team of collaborators.

Discussing salaries with coworkers when appropriate might also help women to figure out if they have been victims of discrimination. Some employers try to prevent this by using contracts with provisions prohibiting salary discussions. Those employers are usually breaking the law. If you work for a non-government employer and are

not a supervisor or management, you probably have the right to discuss your salary, benefits and other working conditions with coworkers. The National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) protects employees who engage in discussions of salaries to improve working conditions. Thus, under most conditions you can discuss pay and benefits with coworkers and your employer is not allowed to punish you for this. Discussing salaries can be delicate, but it may help if you explain why you are asking and/or ask when a co-worker is leaving their place of employment. Female employees who surmise they are being paid unequal wages must acquire the information from reliable sources before they can demonstrate that their employers violated the law, and reliable sources include co-workers' disclosures of salaries.

The workplace could also make changes to become more family friendly and ease employees' work and family lives. Flexible scheduling, the ability to work from home or telecommuting, and company assistance with childcare should all be considered among organizations, and the changes would be helpful to both women and men alike. In congress, passing the Family and Medical Insurance Leave Act would also help make the workplace more flexible. This Act allows employees to contribute .02 % of their wages in exchange for an earned benefit of 12 weeks of leave at two-thirds their monthly salary. This leave could be used to stay home with a new child, care for a relative, or attend to a personal medical problem. Passing legislation such as this could make the work-life balance more tenable for working families.

Mentoring can also be effective in helping women become successful, and in fact more than 80 % of successful women in one study had been mentees at one point (Monserrat et al. 2009). It is both easy and inexpensive to design programs that enhance mentoring and networking in order to increase social support in the workplace. This social support in turn may decrease stress and increase productivity among employees.

Finally, it is important that employers develop a zero tolerance policy for inappropriate sexual behavior and sexual harassment at work. Sexual harassment can have devastating effects on the occupational and emotional health of employees, and a methodical, swift, and fair way of dealing with sexual harassment that is well known to employees will help create a safer work environment. Any or all of the above changes to the workplace would likely increase work satisfaction, loyalty, and productivity, and only with actions such as these will we see a positive, demonstrable change in the lives of working women.

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Part VI

Cross-Cultural and Country-Specific Context and the Well-Being of Working Women: A Global Perspective

Women in the Workforce: A Global Snapshot

Betty Jane Punnett

The topic of this chapter is how women are faring in the workforce around the world. If we ask this as a question "How are women faring globally?" we can respond by citing a recent example, which provides a thought-provoking 'answer'. In many ways, Malala Yousafzai exemplifies what we hope will be the future of women, on a global basis; at the same time, her experience tells a great deal about how women are faring in today's world. On July 12, 2013, this brave young woman sat in one of the United Nations' main council chambers in the central seat, usually reserved for world leaders, and spoke to the world. Among other things, she said "the extremists are afraid of books and pens," and "the power of education frightens them" … "they are afraid of women. The power of the voice of women frightens them." Her bravery and her words spoke to women and men everywhere. But we also need to reflect on her story.

Malala is from Mingora, in the Swat valley of Pakistan. She became well known when she wrote a blog for the BBC Urdu service describing her experiences struggling to get an education under the rising power of Taliban militants. At 11 she called personally on the US special representative to Pakistan, Richard Holbrooke, to use his influence to combat the Taliban's drive against education for girls. At 14, Archbishop Desmond Tutu put her forward for the international children's peace prize, and at 15 she became the youngest Nobel peace prize nominee ever. But this attention came at a price. Death threats followed her growing recognition. The Taliban sent a gunman to shoot Malala in October, 2012, as she rode home on a bus after school. Their stated intention was to silence the teenager and stop her campaign for girls' education.

Nine months after the attempt on her life and after many surgical operations, she stood at the United Nations on her 16th birthday on Friday, July 12, 2013 to deliver a defiant response – she said "They thought that the bullet would silence us. But they failed". Malala's story shows the strength of women who may change the role of women globally, as well as the determination of some groups to ensure that women do not succeed in changing their current role.

On a lighter note, the BBC World Service, June 20, 2013, interviewed a young woman who drove … a car. The fact that a woman who drove a car was appropriate for a BBC interview struck me as somewhat odd initially. Why was a young woman driver worthy of the BBC's time? This young woman drove a car in Afghanistan, and that is very unusual. What does this say about how women are faring globally? The young woman was upbeat and described the joys of the freedom

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of driving a car. She said she did not mind the stares of the male drivers or their derogatory remarks. Many women in many parts of the world, including myself, take driving for granted. Not so in Afghanistan. Yet, this young woman is at least permitted to drive in Afghanistan and her parents allowed her to drive. That is the positive news that we can take from this interview. On the negative side, the BBC said that she was considered a bit of a freak by many Afghans, who thought a woman should not drive.

Another BBC interview with Latifa Nabizada, the first female pilot in the Afghan air force, talked of prejudice, dealing with the Taliban and personal tragedy, but she said that her expectations for her young daughter's future were positive. In Afghanistan, as elsewhere, the picture of how women are faring is often mixed. We see positive changes, but negative stereotypes and prejudices continue. We know that in parts of the world, women are not permitted to drive. It is also true that in parts of the world, women are not allowed to own property; in some cases, they are considered the property of men. Women's work is sometimes unpaid and considered unimportant, even though they make substantial contributions to the local economy, and many families survive only because of the work these women do. At the same time, women are entering the business world in increasing numbers, and it is more likely today that they will make it to the top. Women are becoming better educated and entering professions that used to be closed to them in the past. The news about women, around the world, is both good and bad, but overall, women's situation in the workforce and workplace seems to be improving globally.

Slaughter (2012a, b) noted that women's rights are a global issue of the highest importance. In her article, she referred to the situation in the United States, and said that women in Washington had come a long way but still faced many career challenges, one of the biggest challenges was balancing a family and work. Interestingly, this seems to be a common thread in the literature on women and the workplace around the world. Slaughter commented that if having a family is a career barrier for women and not men, it is a matter of women's rights. In her article "What's stopping women," she calls for greater workplace flexibility – including changing the attitude that long hours and being physically at the office are positive, and allowing parents who have been out of the workforce to compete for top jobs when they re-enter the workforce. She expected many to consider her recommendations possibly utopian, but these suggestions outline the changes that need to be made in the world of work if women are to achieve equality in status as well as contribution.

This chapter will review the current status of women around the world, particularly working women, looking at similarities and differences in various countries and regions of the world. It will provide a broad overview of the status of women in organizations globally, as well as a micro perspective on women's roles in various locations. This will include cultural, economic, political and social influences that affect women at work. This information will serve to identify positive and negative contributors to women's well-being, globally, and in specific countries and regions, which will provide a basis for recommendations for organizations, in terms of improving the environment and culture for women, at the individual and firm level, as well as in terms of public policy.

The Global Gender Index (Hausmann et al. 2012) is a good place to begin considering the status of women generally. This index measures and compares economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, political empowerment, and health and survival in countries around the world. The index provides a framework for capturing the scope of gender-based disparities and is intended to give a quick picture of the equality, or inequality, between men and women that exists in various countries. Scores, theoretically, range from zero to one, with zero indicating total inequality and one indicating perfect equality; thus, a high score can be interpreted as indicating relative equality while a lower score indicates relative inequality.

According to the Global Gender Gap Report (Hausemann et al. 2012), the index rewards countries for smaller gaps in access to resources,

regardless of the overall level of resources. On education, for example, the index penalizes or rewards countries based on the size of the gap between male and female enrolment rates, but not for the overall levels of education in the country. This approach allows the index to be quite separate from overall levels of development. Further, it evaluates countries based on gender equality outcomes rather than inputs; the intent is to provide "a snapshot of where men and women stand with regard to some fundamental outcome variables related to basic rights such as health, education, economic participation and political empowerment" (p. 3). Variables related to country-specific policies, culture or customs (factors considered input variables) are thus not included in the index. As a result, the discussion of the Global Gender Index rankings and scores presented here are at a very general level – i.e., simply a reporting of a rank or a score, without looking behind it at the details that contribute to the rank or score. Interested readers will find details in the Report regarding how the scores are derived, as well as information on the sub-indices that are used to create the overall score.

The 2012 index shows the highest ranking countries as Iceland, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, all with scores above .80 (Iceland is highest at .86 and Sweden slightly lower at .81). These countries have always scored well on the index, and they have also all improved their scores over the years. Iceland has gone up from .78 earlier while Sweden increased marginally. Ireland, New Zealand, Denmark, the Philippines, Nicaragua, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Lesotho, and Latvia all score above .75. The list, at the top, is dominated by European countries, but interestingly includes an African, Asian and Latin American country. The Philippines has always scored well, but Nicaragua is notable for moving from .65 to .76 and Lesotho moving from .68 to .76. The United Nations' (2013) discussion of Nicaragua shows about 40 % women in parliament and increasing education for women, and these may be part of the explanation for their change in score. The BBC (2013) suggests that education is also a key to Lesotho's

score; in addition, this report suggests that in recent years, many men left Lesotho to find work in South Africa, and this opened educational and employment opportunities for women. Thus, it is important to look beyond the statistics as well. The BBC report notes further that the statistics putting Lesotho high in the equality index is impressive but glosses over the challenges – Allen (BBC 2013) notes that there may be less of a gap in health, education and political participation than in many other countries, and that there is greater political will to recognize the important role of women in society, but that the perceptions of many women living their daily lives in Lesotho is that they still get a raw deal.

The Middle East and North Africa region scored .59 overall (the Report describes this as having closed just over 59 % of the overall gender gap) and this region ranks lowest on economic participation and opportunity, and political empowerment aspects of the index. The lowest ranking countries overall were Lebanon, Nepal, Turkey, Oman, Egypt, Iran, Mali, Morocco, Côte d'Ivoire, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Chad, Pakistan, Yemen – all with scores between .50 and .60. Although these scores are low when compared to other scores, it is notable that they are still over .50. This appears to be a function of virtually all countries improving education and health opportunities and outcomes for women.

Overall, the news from the Global Gender Index is positive in terms of how women are faring globally. The 2012 report covers 135 countries, representing over 90 % of the world's population. All these countries have made good progress on health and educational outcomes. The report says that, globally, 96 % of the health gap and 93 % of the educational gap has been closed. One hundred and eleven countries have been involved in the index since 2006, and 88 % of these have improved their performance. Although the gender gap index is designed to avoid the impact of overall levels of development, it is interesting to note that the 'better' countries in terms of gender equality also tend to be the more developed and richer countries, and the poor countries of the world tend to offer less equality.

On the less positive side, the gender gap index also shows that:

- The gap between men and women on economic participation remains quite wide at .60 overall (North America had the best score at .80 and the Middle East and North Africa the worst at .40; Europe, Central Asia and sub-Saharan Africa were just under .70, Latin America and the Caribbean were about .60, and Asia and the Pacific in the mid-50s);
- Political outcomes are very unequal around the world – the Middle East and North Africa scored under .10 on political empowerment and the other regions scoring between .15 and .20, including Europe and North America, with Asia and the Pacific highest at .20.
- Thirteen countries, 12 %, showed a decrease in the index performance.
- It is also important to note that even the 'most equal' countries are not at 100 %, so there is room for improvement in all countries. The fact that countries are generally improving in terms of equality is encouraging, but the fight for equality in political participation has certainly not been won. UN Women's Executive Director Michelle Bachelet, during a statement at the Women's Foreign Policy Group (20 April, 2012 Washington, DC), noted a number of facts related to political participation:
  - Out of 193 countries, only 17 have women Heads of State or Government (up from 2005 when only 8 countries had women leaders).
  - Only 17 % of ministers are women (up from 14 % in 2005).
  - Only 19.5 % of legislators are women (a half point increase from 2 years before).
  - The Nordic countries have the highest percentage of women ministers at 48 % followed by the Americas at 21 %, and sub-Saharan Africa at 20 %.
  - In Europe the percentage of women ministers is 15 %; in the Pacific, 11 %, in Asia 10 %, and the Arab States are the lowest at 7 %.
  - The number of countries with more than 30 % female parliamentarians has gone up from 26 in 2010 to 30 in 2012.

Bachelet said that we know that special measures, such as quotas, accelerate women's participation in politics. Out of the 59 countries holding elections in 2011, 17 of them had legislated quotas and women gained 27 % of parliamentary seats in these countries compared to 16 % in countries without quotas. Finally she noted that we know that when there are more women in parliament, when women and men lead together, decisions better reflect and respond to the diverse needs of society.

One interesting finding of the Global Gender Gap report is the correlation between gender equality and the level of competitiveness in a country. The authors argue that because women account for one-half of the potential talent base throughout the world, closing gender gaps is not only a matter of human rights and equity, but also one of economic efficiency. The authors plot the Global Gender Gap Index 2012 scores against the Global Competitiveness Index 2012–2013 scores. Their results confirm a positive relationship. Although this is a correlation only and cannot be seen as necessarily a causal relationship, it is nevertheless a relevant finding, as it supports the idea that there is an economic rationale for ensuring gender equality everywhere, and particularly in poorer countries. Poorer countries are generally less competitive than richer ones and their scores on the gender gap index are lower. Increasing opportunities for women thus can provide a way to improve competitiveness in these countries.

Along similar lines, a McKinsey report (Barsh et al. 2012) found that a growing number of women around the world are succeeding both at senior and lower levels and that they are inspiring other women to succeed. The authors comment that more companies are enjoying the benefits of gender diversity and that some companies have found ways to increase the representation of women at the highest levels. The study also reported that "firmly entrenched barriers continue to hinder the progress of high-potential women" and that "everywhere we look, despite numerous gender diversity initiatives, too few women reach the executive committee, and too few boards have more than a token number of women" (p. 2). Another study (Barsh et al. 2008) noted that women start careers in business and other professions with the same level of intelligence,

education, and commitment as men, but comparatively few reach the top echelons. The report said that the gender gap matters, not only because the familiar glass ceiling is unfair, but also because the world has an increasingly urgent need for more leaders. The authors of this report concluded that all men and women with the brains, the desire, and the perseverance to lead should be encouraged to fulfill their potential and leave their mark. Again, this underscores the need for ensuring gender equality globally.

The Economist magazine (2013) issued a 'glass-ceiling index' in 2013. This index was largely based on data from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and compared 26 developed countries. The scores and rankings were based on education levels, labor force participation, wage gaps, percentage of women in senior jobs, and child care costs relative to average wages. Among the countries ranked, New Zealand was #1. Other countries in the top ten, in order of ranking #2 to #10, were Norway, Sweden, Canada, Australia, Spain, Finland, Portugal, Poland, and Denmark. Once again, the Scandinavian countries do well in terms of apparent gender equality. New Zealand scored close to 90 out of 100. At the other end of the scale, and substantially lower than other countries, South Korea scored about 15 out of 100; Japan was next on the low end scoring about 35 out of 100. One can ask 'what does scoring well or being number one actually mean?' New Zealand's number one score was questioned by New Zealanders, with Laura Flaherty saying that even if the country was top of the list it still had a long way to go to achieve equality in the workplace (Jones 2013), and Anthea Whittle was quoted by Jones as saying "Great that we're the best, sad that this is the best". The message seems clear in all these reports – globally, the world of work may be improving for women, but major challenges remain, and countries vary widely in terms of their attention to gender issues as well as their accomplishments in this regard.

These Reports provide a global view of how women are faring across the globe. This chapter will now consider some of the specific aspects of women's roles in the workplace. First, consider women's participation in the workforce.

Participation in the Workforce Around the World

This section presents some of the available _ information on women's participation in the workforce, around the world. The available information varies across countries/regions, so it is difficult to make direct comparisons. This information, rather, provides a general sense of the reality of the world of work for women. The following discussion is necessarily limited, due to space constraints, and readers interested in a specific location will want to get more information on that location. In addition, the discussion talks in terms of countries, and even entire regions, and it is important to recognize that the situation can vary enormously within countries and regions. To illustrate: in Africa, the situation is quite different in South Africa compared to many other countries on the continent; in India, the situation in rural areas can be a marked contrast to that in urban areas; in the USA, regulations vary from state to state. These, and other, variations need to be addressed in any more comprehensive look at how women are faring globally in the world of work. Nevertheless, the next section gives a bird's eye view of this world for women. The section begins with some general research findings on phenomena that are found worldwide; it continues with comments on specific countries and regions around the world.

From a global perspective, there is evidence that men and women fare differently in the workplace. A Gallup Poll (www.gallup.com, June 23, 2011) reports that, worldwide, men are nearly twice as likely as women to have "good jobs". Gallup surveys, in more than 130 countries, suggested that 33 % of the worldwide population of adult males is employed full time for an employer versus 18 % of all women (Socialand EconomicAnalysis@gallup.com). Gallup noted that employment varies widely by region, but men everywhere are more likely than women to be in full-time paid employment. What the report terms the "good jobs" gap between men and women is widest in the Middle East, North Africa and South Asia. In these regions, men are at least three times as likely as women to be employed

full time. In each of these regions, less than one-quarter of women are part of the workforce. Worldwide, women are generally less likely than men to be members of the workforce. About half of women (51 %) are not in the workforce; in comparison, only about 25 % of men are out of the workforce.

The issue of women's participation in the workforce, in the professions, and in management has been the focus of substantial research over the past 30 years (the Catalyst organization has conducted an array of studies in a variety of countries and is a valuable resource on women in the workforce). Women have, in fact, been entering the workforce in North America at a high rate since the 1960s (Auster 2001; Davidson and Burke 2004), and the same is true in many other countries of the world (International Labor Organization 2004; Maxfield 2005a, b). Much of the research has looked at the challenges that women face in entering the workforce generally, and the professions in particular, as well as the difficulties they face in advancing to higher levels within organizations or professions (Catalyst 2005; Kirchmeyer 2002). Challenges associated with career advancement have been considered in a number of studies and the existence of "glass walls" (women being limited to certain professions and jobs), "glass ceilings" (women being limited to lower levels in organizations and not being able to make it to the top), and "glass cliffs" (women executives working under conditions that lead to job dissatisfaction, feelings of disempowerment and high turnover) – that make it difficult for women to advance in many careers has been well documented (Burke and McKeen 1990; Jackson 2001; International Labor Office 2004; Maniero and Sullivan 2005; Powell and Graves 2003; Punnett et al. 2006). Interestingly, these themes are reflected around the world, both in more developed and developing countries. For example, the literature reviewed from Africa, China, India, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean, and so on, all discuss similar issues related to entering the workforce, succeeding in certain areas and professions, and rising to the top. Glass walls, glass ceilings, and glass cliffs unfortunately seem to be global phenomena, which prevent women everywhere from contributing as much as they could.

Globally, women continue to face profiling and stereotyping, biases in performance appraisal, lower salaries, challenges in terms of promotion, and difficult work-life trade-offs (Punnett 2010). The good news is that women are succeeding in all kinds of positions and at all levels around the world, and that the situation is improving for women in the workplace over time. Punnett et al.'s (2006) study of professionally successful women in the Americas showed the potential for leadership among women, with results suggesting that, across the countries studied, the successful women were self-confident and self-reliant, with a high need for achievement. Further, the successful professional women reported high levels of satisfaction (Punnett et al. 2006). One can conclude that women are faring better in the workplace today than in the past, but equality is not yet the reality. Much work remains to be done.

A common pattern seems to underlie the situation for women in the workplace across the globe. In the early 70s, Schein (1973) identified the "think-manager, think-male" phenomenon in the USA. Male characteristics were seen as appropriate for managers and female characteristics were seen as inappropriate. The resulting stereotype was that men were managers and women were best suited for support roles. This stereotype appears to hold internationally, and there seems to be a global perception that male characteristics are 'managerial' and female ones are 'supportive' (Punnett 2010). This means that women are often relegated to certain types of jobs and men progress to higher levels in organizations (Prime et al. 2008). A number of researchers (e.g. Fullagar et al. 2003; Jost et al. 2005; Williams and Best 1990) have demonstrated that the positive stereotype of the male manager holds across many cultures and, according to Prime et al. (2008) "people perceive general or global differences between women and men leaders" (p. 173) – women are judged as having fewer leadership attributes than men, and women were seen as being less task-oriented than a leader should be.

A Catalyst study (2013a) of 1,660 MBA graduates worldwide illustrated the results of these perceptions. The study found that men get projects with more than twice the budget and three times the staff as projects headed by women. It's no surprise, therefore, that men have more face time with senior management – 35 % of men say they get high visibility at the top, while only 26 % of women say the same. Catalyst says that women are less likely than men to get profit-and-loss responsibility, a chance to manage people, and a budget of more than $10 million. This means that even women, who start with the same skills and ambition as men, can find their careers stalled by lesser projects that aren't particularly important to top management. Catalyst's Senior Director of Research, Christine Silva says that it's not just about leading projects, it's how big those projects are.

Consider some specific countries/regions and how these general perceptions are seen in these locations. It is, of course, a gross generalization to look at even a country in terms of gender experiences. Clearly these experiences can vary across any country. This is even more so when we talk of a region. The regions used in the following discussion are made up of widely varied countries, and the experiences of women will also differ widely from country to country within a region, as well as from place to place within each country. Recognizing this, the following description gives a 'bird's eye' view of the world through a selection of countries and regions.

Africa

Women's participation in the labor force ranges from about 40 % in countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi and Uganda to 80 % or more in countries such as Burkina Faso, Burundi, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea and Sierra Leone. According to the International Labor Organization, informal employment is high for both men and women in most African countries but the reality is that women are disproportionally found in informal employment where they are paid less than men (Nordman and Wolff

2009). According to UN Women more than 80 % of women workers are in vulnerable jobs in sub-Saharan Africa. Interestingly, many women turn to entrepreneurial activities for income, and Africa has a higher rate of women entrepreneurs than any other region of the world (African Development Bank 2010).

According to Nkomo and Ngambi (2013) there has been a strong move across the African continent to enact legislation aimed at gender equality, and this should improve the situation for women at work over time. Unfortunately, they note that there is a gap between the declarations and legislation relating to equality and the reality on the ground. They suggest that women experience inequality, violence from tribal or domestic conflict, less power in decision making, and restricted access to education and decent work. In addition, women are generally responsible for the home and caring for children and the elderly, making them less available for full-time employment. These authors comment on the role of the sociocultural environment, noting that "in many countries when women become widows or divorced, the control of the marital property rests with husbands and/or the families of husbands" (this is true by custom even when the law dictates equality) and "girls are often forced into marriage, as early as seven years of age" (even though this is illegal) (p. 216).

Nkomo and Ngambi (2013) reflect many of the previously discussed barriers for women in the workplace. They conclude that in Africa as elsewhere the leadership role is often seen as synonymous with male figures, and that the same gender stereotyping of the managerial role is common throughout Africa. Women in leadership and management roles are paid lower salaries than men, and training and development opportunities as well as working hours favor men. Work relationships continue to be governed by patriarchal systems of socialization and cultural practices, with women's primary role seen as wives and mothers. Overall, they find that women are regarded as lacking the ability and competence needed for management and leadership, while men are regarded as naturally dominant and expected to be in control. The impact of the

attitudes is that women in Africa face substantial barriers in the workplace, and the glass ceilings, walls, and cliffs are the reality for African women.

While the previous discussion portrays the situation in Africa as rather negative, it is important to recognize that it is also improving. The equality legislation that has been passed is having an impact. Girls and women have greater access to education than they did in the past and with this there is increased confidence as well as more opportunities. More women are in management positions than previously, showing that they can be effective managers, and providing role models for other women. More women are also participating in the political process and are in a position to influence regulations as well as their enforcement. Select companies in the private sector as well as state-owned enterprises throughout the region are implementing equality measures to make the workplace more friendly for women. South Africa has achieved a relatively high participation rate for women on boards of 17.9 % (Gladman and Lamb 2013). All these activities suggest that women will fare better in the future. This may be accelerated with Africa's economic growth, as enterprises will find that they need to draw on all available talent if they are to be successful.

Canada and the United States of America (USA)

In Canada and the USA, the situation for women managers is better than in many other locations. Both Canada and the USA are generally seen as promoting equality between men and women, and diversity, in organizations. There are regulations in Canada and the USA to prevent discrimination on the basis of gender. This has resulted in a relatively high score on the Economic Participation and Opportunity aspect of the Gender Index -.80 overall. Nevertheless, both countries ranked outside of the top 20 in the 2012 general index, although both had relatively high scores of .74.

Catalyst (2007) reported that women comprised half of professional school graduates,

with careers in fields such as accounting, business, and law about equal to men. Even in these relatively progressive countries, however, women face barriers in workplace. Substantial research in the past 50 years has demonstrated these barriers (Punnett et al. 2006; Punnett 2010) and Barsh et al. (2012) noted that these barriers persist even though many companies are pursuing measures intended to ease women's progress through the organization. Women are more likely to serve in jobs that are subordinate to men – they are usually the secretaries rather than the bosses, the nurses rather than the doctors, the teachers rather than the principals, the assistants rather than the politicians, and so on, because of traditional views of women as mothers and care givers (Hoobler et al. 2009; Kirchmeyer 2002, 2006).

In Canada, according to recent statistics in 2011, 62.3 % of all women 16 years and over were in the labor force compared to 71.5 % of all men; in terms of management, women comprised 35.4 % of all management positions and 22.9 % of senior management positions (Statistics Canada 2012). Canada scored well on the Economist's (2013) glass-ceiling index, coming in at number 4, while the USA was number 12 on this index.

In the USA, in 2012, 57.7 % of all women 16 years and over were in the labor force, compared to 70.2 % of all men, and women comprised 51.5 % of management, professional and related positions (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013); however, only 14 % of executive committees were women and women made up only 15 % of corporate boards (Barsh et al. 2012), 4.2 % of CEOs, and 8 % of top earners (Catalyst 2013a).

Australia and New Zealand

According to Catalyst (2013b) the following figures describe the role of women in Australia's workforce: In June 2013, women made up 45.7 % of the Australian labor force and in 2012, women were 54.0 % of professional and technical workers. Women hold only 12.3 % of Australia Stock Exchange's (ASX) 200 directorships but this has improved (up from 8.4 % in 2010). In 2012 just

six (3.0 %) of ASX 200 boards had women as chairs; this had also improved slightly, up from five (2.5 %) in 2010. In 2012, 61.5 % of ASX 200 companies had at least one woman board director, up from 46.0 % in 2010. In 2012, women held 9.7 % of executive key management personnel positions in the ASX 200, up from 8.0 % in 2010. In 2012, women held only 6.0 % of all line management positions, up from 4.1 % in 2010. In 2012, women were just 37.0 % of all legislators, senior officials, and managers. In 2012, Australian women's salaries were substantially less than men's salaries, with women making just 65.0 % of what Australian men made. Australia ranked 25 out of 135 countries on the 2012 Global Gender Gap Index, up from 23 out of 130 countries in 2011.

On the positive side, in 2010, women were over half (58.0 %) of higher education students, with 64.9 % enrolled in management programs, but only 8.8 % in engineering and related technology courses. As in other countries, women are not well represented at the top, but the situation seems to be improving marginally. With increased education for women, particularly in management, we can expect that the role of women will continue to improve, perhaps at an accelerating pace.

According to Slaughter Australia has a robust work-life debate and women have a role model in Julia Gillard, Australia's first woman prime minister. Of course, unfortunately Julia Gillard was rather unceremoniously replaced in June 2013, and decided not to continue in politics. At the governmental level, Australia has created a corporate governance code. Companies must comply or explain why they have not complied with recommendations which include a policy, with measurable objectives, to achieve gender diversity on the board (including an annual assessment of objectives and progress made), disclose the mix of skills and diversity the board hopes to achieve, disclose the percentage of women employees, women in senior executive positions, and women board directors. There is also proposed legislation in Australia which would require companies with at least 100 employees to publicly disclose gender equality indicators, such as the composition of the board of directors. If companies do not comply with the proposed legislation, after being given notice and a chance to respond, they may be publicly named by the government and may be ineligible to compete for government contracts or grants and financial assistance. These measures should go some way towards creating a more equal workforce in Australia.

New Zealand scores higher than Australia on the Global Gender Index (above .75) and scores at the top of the Economist's glass ceiling index. Both of these scores suggest that New Zealand is a woman friendly workplace; so much so that the Economist suggests that working women may want to move to New Zealand. The picture, however, is not as rosy as these rankings suggest. Figures suggest that about 65 % of women are active in the labor force in New Zealand compared to 79 % for men (EY 2013). An article in the New Zealand Herald (March 9, 2013) says that there are major obstacles and inequities for New Zealand working women, and that the situation may be getting worse not better. Faye Langdon is quoted in the article as saying that research demonstrates that the workplace is worsening – 65 % of boards without a woman, only 26 % of senior executive teams having women in management roles, and a mere 5 % holding CEO positions. Judy McGregor, former equal employment opportunities commissioner said that women's struggle to get top jobs remained frustrating 10 years after New Zealand began tracking this type of data. She said that there had been some improvements but called the gender inequality systemic.

East and Southeast Asia

The situation varies substantially from country to country in the Far East. Labor Force participation is generally low (except for China), and this naturally translates to upper levels where participation is very low (Barsh et al. 2012). At the 5th East Asian Gender Equality Ministerial Meeting in Beijing, in May, 2013, there was general agreement that the status of women had continually improved in recent years, and that Asian countries

had progressed substantially, but that these countries still had a long way to go to achieve full gender equality. The following discussion briefly looks at the situation in a few select countries in East and Southeast Asia.

China was number 69, out of one hundred and thirty five countries, on the Gender Gap Index, with a score of .68. In China, labor force participation is higher, but women executives are still rare – making up only 8 % of corporate boards and 9 % of executive committees (Gladman and Lamb 2013). In China, most women work, but women in upper-level positions are unusual. Traditionally, women were not expected to partake in business activities, but the communist party promoted the idea that "women hold up half of the sky" and implemented educational programs that have led to a substantial increase in the numbers of women at work and in scientific professions and government. Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, China has promulgated a series of laws and regulations to establish, increase, and protect Chinese women's social status, rights and interests; according to the All-China Women's Federation, women made up 34 % of the total number of administrators, managers or cadres in governmental offices (at various levels), state-owned entities and enterprises, and professional research institutes, and female scientists comprise 36 % of the country's total (Jones and Lin 2001). However, according to Jones and Lin (2001), women cannot shake off the yoke of the ingrained sexist ethical norms without transforming people's mindsets. Many Chinese people have not changed their mentality toward women's roles in the family, workplace, and society. For example, Jones and Lin's (2001) survey showed that 62.5 % of the Chinese female respondents held neutral attitudes toward women as managers while 29.2 % have positive attitudes. Approximately 58.7 % of male respondents have unfavorable attitudes toward woman as managers while 41.3 % surveyed take a neutral stand. Interestingly, none of the males surveyed supported women as managers. These respondents indicated that family values are at the core of traditional Chinese civilization,

which believes that women should contribute greatly to the well-being of the family – and that a good wife is expected to possess chastity, beauty, submissiveness, and diligence. In Hong Kong, women are found relatively frequently at all levels of organizations and they are accepted as effective businesspeople, but even there they are found most often in secretarial positions, whereas males are not found in traditionally female jobs. In Hong Kong, women make up 9.5 % of boards (Gladman and Lamb 2013).

Women's participation in the Japanese labor force is low compared to men's – 48.5 % versus 71.6 % in 2012 (Catalyst 2012). In Japan, women are generally relegated to lower levels in organizations and often leave the workforce when they marry. Currently the statistics show that women make up about 1 % of corporate boards and 1 % of executive committees (Gladman and Lamb 2013). In Japanese organizations, women typically serve in lower paid and lower level positions – even graduates of top universities are hired for clerical positions. Japan ranked 101 out of 135 countries on the Gender Gap Index, with a score of .65. In 1986, Japan passed a law prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex and more Japanese women have been and are now entering the work force. Anti-discrimination legislation is better enforced in the public sector than the private, and women are more likely to be treated equally in government and public offices. While the situation for working women may be improving in Japan, the traditional role of the woman remaining at home after marriage is still accepted by most Japanese. The New York Times (August 6, 2007) reported that Japanese work customs make it almost impossible for women to have both a family and a career. Following the passing of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law women have become more common in factories and construction, and even as taxi drivers, but they have had much less success reaching positions of authority, which remain the preserve of men. According to Gunther (2008), although the country is one of the most developed and richest economies in the world, gender equality is extremely low and women are often hired for administrative tasks only; further, Japanese

women are still expected to stick to their traditional duties as mothers, wives, and "office flowers". The Japanese glass ceiling is also known as the "concrete ceiling", reflecting the high level of gender inequality.

In Thailand, women are seen as "the hind legs of the elephant" (powerful but following), and are generally in subordinate positions; this is somewhat tempered by educational and social background, which allows some women to hold top positions both in government and private industry. In Thailand, women make up 9.7 % of boards (Gladman and Lamb 2013). In Malaysia, women are said to have "equal opportunity", but business has been considered the preserve of males. Malaysia, however, introduced legislation in 2011 to achieve at least 30 % of women's representation in decision-making positions in the private sector (Deloitte 2011). Deloitte's report notes that the legislation is similar to legislation for the civil service introduced in 2004; in the civil service, women at the top increased from 18.8 to 32.2 % over the period 2004 to 2010. In Singapore, increasing numbers of women are entering the workforce, and professional women are likely to advance in firms linked with the government, but generally, their role remains subordinate to that of men. In a sample of listed companies in Singapore, Deloitte (2011) found 7.3 % women on boards, and in the 100 largest companies 6.4 %. In South Korea, it is rare for women to be in positions of authority, and their prospects for advancement are slim given many companies have a policy of employing women only until they are 30 or marry. South Korea had only 1.9 % female representation on boards (Gladman and Lamb 2013).

The European Union (EU)

The EU comprises a wide variety of countries, like most other regions, and there is substantial variation in gender equality across countries. At the same time, EU countries follow common regulations, so there is expectation that countries will be more similar than other regions. EU countries promote equal opportunities for women, and

there have been significant developments in legislation and anti-discrimination procedures, as well as changing attitudes towards women in the workforce across EU countries. There are specific programs intended to facilitate access to the labor market through education and training and to improve the quality of women's employment. Other issues being addressed in the EU are evaluation of women's contributions, career development, social protection, reconciliation of work and family issues through childcare, family services, housework sharing. Overall, EU countries are making efforts to improve the status of women through involvement in all levels of the decision process, and via their portrayal in the media. In spite of these efforts, women remain predominantly employed in lower level and lower paid positions and earn less than European men for the same job. The French statistics agency said that on average a French woman's income was 28 % lower than a French man's in 2010. The situation was seen as dramatic enough that the French Women's Rights Minister promised that companies who did not respect equal pay legislation would be punished if they did not change their practices. (www.Euronews.com accessed August 23, 2013).

One survey on women on boards (Gladman and Lamb 2013) says that industrialized Europe, especially the Nordic countries, is leading the world in terms of women at the top. Several European countries have laws relating to gender issues on boards, with Norway being the first country to introduce quotas in 2004 and several other EU countries are considering quotas. Norway currently has the highest percentage of women of any country on boards, at close to 36 %, followed by Sweden at 27 % and Finland at 26.8 % (Deloitte 2011; Gladman and Lamb 2013).

EU boards are nevertheless dominated by men – 85 % of non-executive board members and 91 % of executive board members are men, while women make up 15 % and 9 % respectively. Although low, an increase in the share of women on boards was recorded in all but three EU countries (Bulgaria, Poland and Ireland). Nevertheless, in November of 2012, the European Commission

took action to break the glass ceiling that keeps qualified females from top positions in Europe's biggest companies. It proposed legislation with the aim of attaining a 40 % representation of women in non-executive board-member positions in publicly listed companies (http://ec.europa.eu accessed August 25, 2013). The Nordic countries present a somewhat different picture. Some Nordic countries have adopted legislation regulating this topic – including quotas – while others have chosen a softer regulatory approach (Blöndal and Kaltoft Bendixen 2012).

According to the Gender Gap Index Report (Hausmann et al. 2012) 'Europe and Central Asia' as a region performed well with an overall score of .70, second to North America, in 2012. The region had high scores in the health and survival (.98) and educational attainment (.99), and was ranked second on economic participation and opportunity, and political empowerment. Seven European countries were among the top 10 countries in the ranking, and 14 countries among the top 20. Notably, four European countries (the Nordic countries) have consistently held the highest positions in the Index. Iceland held the number one rank in 2012, followed by Finland (#2), Norway (#3) and Sweden (#4). Finland and Norway exchanged spots in the rankings that year.

Countries from this region that joined the European Union within the past decade have seen on average a higher share of adult women enter the labor market since 2004 (the year eight countries joined the EU). These countries appear to be converging to the original EU member states of Western Europe (www.blogs.worldbank.org).

India

India ranked at one hundred and five out of one hundred and thirty five on the Gender Gap Index, with a score of .64. Traditionally, women in India faced major challenges in entering the workforce and getting ahead in the workplace, but, according to Lockwood et al. (2009), the situation is improving as more girls are being educated, more women are working outside the home, and women are attending business schools in greater numbers. Budwhar et al. (2005) noted that women were entering professions previously seen as the domain of men (including advertising, banking, engineering, financial services, and the police and armed forces). At the same time, recent statistics show that women in India have a very low labor force participation of only 29 % (International Labor Organization 2013). In spite of progress, women in India continue to face many barriers in the workplace, and many of these reflect the situation of women elsewhere. Khandelwal found that managerial qualities were associated more with men than with women in India – that is, the "think manager, think male" stereotype existed in India as it does elsewhere. Male managers were thought to be leaders and decision makers, effective at handling difficult assignments, and were seen as good bosses. These stereotypes have a negative impact on women's ability to progress in management. In addition, the traditional role for women as housewives means that career women face significant work-life balance challenges (Budwhar et al. 2005) and a supportive family is seen as key to professional success (Lockwood et al. 2009).

Budwhar et al. (2005) argued that women have special skills that should make them particularly effective as managers – including, networking and multi-tasking abilities, perception and understanding, a sense of dedication, loyalty and commitment, a collaborative style, crisis management skills, willingness to share information, sensitivity in relationships, and a neutral approach to gender. There are now programs in place to improve the situation for professional women in India which should lead to positive changes, even though the situation is only changing slowly (Lockwood et al. 2009). The percentage of women in management remains very low, only between 3–6 % and 96 % of these being in the informal, unstructured sector (Lockwood et al. 2009). Budwhar et al. (2005) noted that having programs in place was not enough, but that there needed to be true commitment on the part of senior management to hire women managers and a policy of advancement linked to business strategy.

In a 'blog' on August 15, 2013 by Nikki Lamba, she said, "Following a recent brutal string of sexual attacks on both local women and Western tourists, many are wondering: is India safe for women to visit – or live in?" She went on to give a list of dos and don'ts for women traveling alone in India and said that whether in a large city or a small town, women are told to expect rude comments, lewd looks and gestures, and unwanted touching, and instructed to avoid public transportation and to rely instead on taxis with call services, especially at night. She said – We are told to carry a cell phone at all times, avoid eye contact, and dress conservatively. Most of all, we are advised to travel with a companion – preferably a man. One result is that, compared with the same period in 2012, visits to India by female tourists dropped 35 % in the first 3 months of 2013. Clearly India has problems to address if the situation for women is to improve.

Latin America and the Caribbean

The Gender Gap Index found that the Latin America and Caribbean region had closed 69 % of its overall gender gap (i.e., the region scored .69). The region performed well on the educational attainment and health and survival sub-indices, and was ranked # 2, after North America (#1). In terms of education, women in the region generally outperform males in terms of enrollment; for example, at the University of the West Indies, women account for some 80 % of undergraduate and graduate students. Thirteen countries in the region have fully closed the gender gaps in the health and survival sub-index, and four have fully closed gaps in educational attainment. On the Economic Participation and Opportunity sub-index, the region was in the fourth place. The region performed well in terms of numbers of legislators, and senior officials and managers, with ten out of the twenty best performers globally from Latin America and the Caribbean. The region ranked ahead of Sub-Saharan Africa, North America and the Middle East and North Africa on the political empowerment sub-index, with a score of .18. Nicaragua at

#9 led the way in Latin America and the Caribbean in the category of political empowerment and was the only country from the region to hold a place in the top 10 of the global rankings.

The World Bank (2013a) says that labor force participation among women increased dramatically over recent years, nevertheless, the participation rate for women is about 60 % versus 80 % for men (World bank 2013b). The gender wage gap remains high, and women work in traditional sectors, such as services, domestic services and not in the high tech, construction or skilled fields. There is a persistent wage gap, particularly in Chile, Brazil, Mexico and Peru, where male professionals can earn up to a quarter more than their female counterparts. In terms of women on boards, Latin America does not do well. According to a report by Corporate Women Directors International, Latin America has 5.6 % women, higher than only the Middle East and Africa at 4.6 % and lower than the Asia-Pacific region at 7.1 % (CWBI 2013). Mexico and Brazil were higher at 5.8 % and 5.1 % respectively. Chile was lower at 2.8 %.

According to Leutert (2012), women in Latin America are employed disproportionately in less productive sectors. Men also far outnumber women in corporate leadership positions across industries, and, like most of the world, studies report that Latin America's women are often paid significantly less than men for the same labor. Even when Latin American women make it to the top of their field, 61 % report some form of discrimination at work. She also notes that one can expect more Latin American women to enter the workplace, and that this will increase the need to juggle work, family, and other responsibilities. Punnett et al.'s (2006) study of successful women in Latin America and the Caribbean highlighted the importance of family support for these women. Interestingly, in some interviews, women noted that household help is relatively inexpensive and helps in dealing with work-family challenges.

A McKinsey survey (2013) says that gender diversity is gaining ground in Latin America, even though women in the region are still greatly underrepresented in top management (even

though they are more likely than men to say they want to advance their careers). These are among the findings from a McKinsey survey on workplace diversity, which asked executives across Latin America what their companies are doing to attract and retain female employees, why there are few women at their companies' highest levels, and which barriers keep women from reaching the top.

Leutert (2012) concluded that despite the challenges Latin American women face, women in the workforce, and especially women in leadership positions, are good for Latin America – for its families, for its businesses, and for its future. She noted that women's income had had an even greater effect on the lowest rungs of the socioeconomic ladder, reducing the severity of poverty more than twice as effectively as men's earnings.

The Middle East and North Africa

The Middle East and North Africa are often combined in reports on gender; in addition, there are reports which refer to the Arab world and Israel is not always included in 'the Middle East'. This brief look at the Middle East will indicate which countries are included in a particular report. An International Labor Organization (ILO n.d.) on the Middle East and North Africa said that there had been some improvements in combating discrimination at work in the Middle East and North African region (the report cites figures from 2004, therefore it was likely published in 2005). It says that gender remains a concern for harnessing the full potential of the region. As in the rest of the world, there has been an upward trend in women's participation in the labor force but the gender gap in the region remained at 32 %, the lowest level among all regions. The Gender Gap Index 2012 (Hausmann et al. 2012) puts this region .40, showing some improvement, but it remains the lowest level in the world. The ILO report said that there had been a reduction in discriminatory hiring in good quality jobs in legislative, and senior official or managerial positions; and there had been an absolute percentage

increase of almost 2 % reaching a level of 11 % in 2004. In 2003, women's gross enrolment rates in primary and secondary education were equal to men's, and at the tertiary level enrolment rates for women were higher than for men in the region. In contrast, the score for this region on political empowerment was at .10, the lowest regional score. In terms of women executives a Mercer report (2012) on the Middle East and Africa found that Turkey was highest at 26 % and Saudi Arabia lowest with no reported women executives.

According to the Gallup Poll (Crabtree 2012) two out of three young Arab women between the ages of 23 and 29 do not participate in their country's labor force (compared to two out of ten for young Arab men). This gender gap is consistent across the 22 Arab countries and territories surveyed in 2011, but young women's labor force participation was slightly higher in low-income countries than in higher income countries. These broad gender gaps persist in Arab counties in spite of progress toward gender equity in education. The report found that in high-income Arab countries, women aged 23–29 were just as highly educated as their male counterparts and are more likely than young men to have a tertiary education (22 % vs. 16 %, respectively).

Women's workforce participation in the Arab world is influenced by ingrained cultural and institutional barriers. Interestingly, Crabtree (2012) reported that young adults in the region generally support the idea of gender equality in principle. Most young men and young women in all Arab countries polled agreed that women should be allowed to hold any job for which they are qualified outside the home (young men are somewhat less likely to agree). This may mean that the world of work for women will change as young men move into positions of power in politics and in the corporate world. Ladika supports this idea when she talks of the evolving role of women in the Middle East; she says that they are well-educated, confident, curious about the world, and working to rise to positions of power in their societies. She also notes that Universities and organizations in the United States are pairing up with those in the Middle East to offer new

educational opportunities to women in the region and that this opens a new realm of possibilities, including in traditionally male fields such as engineering and technology. In June, 2013, Arab businesswomen gathered in London to promote and highlight the role of their gender in Arab economies (Ghaziri 2013). Their discussions focused on how women need to penetrate the professional sectors, and how education is the key to ensuring that this takes place – leading to their success, and helping to combat traditional and cultural attitudes.

The Middle East, North Africa, the Arab world has been going through a time of turmoil, often called the Arab Spring, with major grassroots demonstrations, for the last several years. History is very much unfolding in the region at this time. What the outcomes will be is impossible to know. We can be sure that the outcomes will influence the world of work for women. There are some positive signs that suggest positive changes may take place in this region. There are also negative signs that little is changing, and that in some places, people are becoming even more conservative. The next section of this chapter considers Turkey as a special case, and shows how one country in the region has changed over the past century.

Turkey: A Special Case

This discussion of Turkey takes a positive perspective, because we believe that changes in Turkey have been positive for women, over the last century. Turkey was selected as a particular country to highlight because Turkey provides a particularly interesting example of women's role in the workforce and the relative speed with which change can occur. Turkey has gone from a state where women had virtually no rights to one where women are encouraged to participate fully in virtually all spheres of political and economic life. Turkey illustrates what can be achieved by a state, with vision at the top. Today, in Turkey, women are found in many top-level roles. These changes were brought about essentially because of the enlightened vision of one person, Kemal

Ataturk (1881–1938), and through legislation rather than through a feminist struggle. Today, in Turkey, the feminist struggle continues as women seek greater equality. In spite of the accomplishments of women in Turkey, they also face similar challenges to women elsewhere, and have by no means closed the gender gap. Turkey ranked close to the bottom of the Gender Gap Index, at one hundred and twenty fourth out of one hundred and thirty five, with a score of .60.

The 2013 annual meeting of the Academy of International Business (AIB) was held in Istanbul, Turkey and the Women at AIB hosted a special session on women in Turkey. All the women who spoke were successful in their own right, but all spoke of the difficulties that women still face in the world of work. Among the difficulties noted were: lack of access to education, a patriarchal mentality, lack of childcare, lack of role models, few women in decision making positions, and a lack of networks. One speaker noted that female labor force participation was at 29 % with a target of 35 % by 2018, compared to a European target of 70 %. Board participation was only 5 % and the gender pay gap was 25 %.

The following outlines the historical changes that took place in Turkey (Ayyildiz 2013) from the mid-1920s:

In 1926, the Turkish Assembly passed new laws these gave women equal inheritance rights, and stipulated that divorce could no longer occur at the whim of the husband, and that either parent might receive child custody. After the new laws, however, men still held the position as head of the household, and women could not work outside the home or travel abroad without the permission of the husband. The new laws also allowed women to teach in girls' schools and in mixed primary and middle schools and women could train in law, medicine, and public services.

The President made several speeches in the 1920s insisting on the full emancipation of women in the Turkish state and society. In 1930, women were given the right to vote and be elected in municipal balloting. Ataturk's adopted daughter Afet, the first woman to enroll in the People's Party, became an active speech-maker, and she became a professor of history, pointing the way

for other women. Women began to take their place in larger numbers in the expanding workforce. In the cities, women became teachers, lawyers, and judges, and even joined the police force. Women began to marry according to their own wishes, the nuclear family began to emerge and women like Keriman Halis (Miss Turkey and Miss Universe 1932) became symbols of the newly-found freedom.

Suffrage rights and other equality rights came about within the first 7 years of the Turkish Republic because Kemal Ataturk was able to sever the new State's laws from the religious laws that withheld equal rights to women. The achievements that Kemal Ataturk brought about for Women's Rights in such a short amount of time cannot be understated, particularly as they followed centuries and generations of virtually no rights for women. Rather than battling for equal rights as in many other countries, rights were granted to women because of the progressive and humanistic views of the President. In spite of the laws, the majority of Turkish women, however, have not been able to take full advantage of the new freedoms. Ataturk's vision is still a vision, and there are on-going struggles for equality in 2013. Some people even fear a return to more conservative ways because of the current strength of Islamists in Turkey. Nevertheless, Turkey provides a remarkable example of how quickly a society can change with the right vision and through the strength of legislation. Social change has been gradual and limited, with life in the countryside going on much as before. Ataturk knew the power of the conservative forces he sought to change, and these forces remain powerful in Turkey today.

Exhibit 33.1 provides a highlight summary of the major statistics and findings presented in the previous discussion on various countries and regions.

Espousing and Achieving Gender Equality

Punnett (2010) reported on a BBC program (*In Business*, October 2, 2008 www.news.bbc.co.uk), where the host Peter Day said "show me a British organisation that's been damaged by not having enough women on board. You can't. Neither can I. It is quite impossible to prove that the neglect of women in the workplace is having any impact on the way that companies (or other organisations) behave." He said further, "Would an organisation run by women be different from what we have at the moment? Would it have a different approach to hiring and firing, different working hours, a different attitude to the bottom line? A different purpose? Again, we don't know." Interestingly, this program was arguing in favor of more women in the boardroom and at executive levels. Day makes a very valid point. As long as women are not in these positions, we really cannot say what impact gender has on any aspect of management. In fact, a major challenge that we face in exploring the impact of gender on organizations is that in many ways we cannot know what impact gender actually has. We do know that the talent pool could be enlarged.

Peter Day concluded that, "The fact that women make up half the workforce and fail to scrabble their way up to near the top of the management tree let alone into the boardroom illustrates how effectively organizations manage to insulate themselves from the world they operate in", and "As a result, an unquantifiable amount of human talent is wasted. And the men who run business don't even notice." He may be speaking about the United Kingdom, but the same is true around the world, as the earlier discussion of various regions and countries has illustrated.

One of the arguments most likely to move the workplace towards equal rights for women, and their equal participation in the workforce, is that they can provide benefits for organizations. Further, as noted earlier, the Global Gender Gap report identified a correlation between gender equality and the level of competitiveness in a country, suggesting that equality for women is good for the economy. In spite of the difficulty in identifying the impact of women on organizations, there is some evidence of a positive impact. Hadary and Henderson cited several research results that show women are good for performance. Pepperdine University found better financial results where there were more women in

	Labor force participation	Legislation	Education	Global Gender Index	Employment barriers	Organizational parity
Africa	Women's participation varies widely, depending on country, 40% to 80%	Passed and proposed but often not enforced	Restricted	Lesotho .76	Homebound; informal & vulnerable jobs; patriarchal structures	Highest rate of women entrepreneurs
Canada	62.3% women 71.5% men	Anti-discrimination	Half of professional school graduates were Women	.74 outside top 20	Work-family issues	#4 in Glass Ceiling Index; 35.4% of women in management positions, 22.9% in senior management
US	57.7% women 70.2% men	Anti-discrimination	Good access	.74 outside top 20	Work-family issues	#12 in Glass Ceiling Index; 51.5% of women in management, 14% on executive committees, 15% on corporate boards, and 4.2% of CEO's
Australia	45.7% of labor force, and 54% of professional and technical workers were women	Had woman PM; corporate code in place to achieve gender diversity	58% of women in higher ed., 54% in management, 8% engineering	25th out of 130 countries	Work-family issues	#5 in Glass Ceiling Index; 12.3% women on major boards, 3% board Chairs, 6% line management, 37% legislators
New Zealand	65% women 79% men	Anti-discrimination	Good access	Above .75 – higher than Australia	Work-family issues	#1 in Glass Ceiling Index (score 90/100), 35% of women on boards, 26% on senior executive teams, 5% CEO's
China	Almost all women work	Anti-discrimination	36% of scientists are women	69th with a score of .68	Work-family issues; traditional values	Women comprise 8% of CEO's, serve on 9% of exec. committees, and consist of 34% of administrators, in gov't. offices
Japan	48.5% women 71.6% men	1986 law prohibiting sex discrimination	Good access	101th with a score of .65	"Concrete Ceiling"	Second last in Glass Ceiling Index (score 35/100), 1% of corporate boards and 1% of exec. committees have women
European Union	Target 70% participation	Significant laws passed and proposed including Quotas Target 40% of women on boards	Good access to education and special programs in place	Nordic in top 4	Less access to training & development than men	7th in top 10 of Glass Ceiling Index; 15% govt. ministers are women; In Norway, 48% govt. ministers are women, 35% of corporate boards 15% exec. committees have women; In UK, 16%corporate boards and 11% exec. committees have women
India	Very low and has declined to 29% for women 80% for men	New laws on sexual harassment	Increasing access for women, including professionaland management education	105th with a score of .64	Traditional beliefs such as "Think manager, think male," lack of physical safety	3–6% of women in management; they need special leadership skills
Caribbean & Latin America	Increasing, 60% women 80% men	Laws vary dramatically across the region	Good access; at UWI, 80% of enrolment are women	Overall .69, Nicaragua .76	Wage gap; childcare	In Nicaragua, there are 40% of women in parliament; women are self-confident and self-reliant
Middle East and North Africa Region	1/3 for women (aged 23 to 29) versus 9/10 for men	Minimal due to cultural & institutional barriers	Equal to male except tertiary - 22% women, 16% men,	.40 – lowest in the world .10 in political empowerment	High on 'good jobs' gap, cultural barriers	In Arab countries, women consist of 7% of ministers
Turkey	29% for women in 2013, target 35% by 2018	Kemal Ataturk's 1926 legislative program	Good access	124/135 with a score of .60	25% gender pay gap	Women c omprise 5% of board participation; there is listing of women for boards

Exhibit 33.1 Summary of highlights

leadership positions, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology found that the only good predictor of creativity and effectiveness in a group was the number of women in the group, Harvard Business School reported that peers, bosses, direct reports, and associates rated senior executive women up to 10 % better than male senior executives, and Credit Suisse Research Institute found that companies with women on their boards outperformed those with all male boards. A Catalyst study also (Kalman 2011) found that companies with more women on their boards were more likely to be philanthropic and generous. In terms of charitable donations. It is not clear that these studies show causality, but they do support the argument that gender equality may be good for the bottom line.

Suggestions for Achieving Gender Equality

The current review of how women are faring in the global workplace suggests several approaches that can be helpful in achieving gender equality around the world. The following discussion will focus on three areas – (1) policy initiatives that can be taken at the country, regional and international levels, (2) initiatives that can be undertaken by organizations and communities of organizations, and (3) actions that can be initiated and sustained at the micro level, by individuals and groups within the workforce.

The information provided in the chapter shows that policy initiatives at the macro level can be successful in influencing the role and status of women in the workforce and that countries can enact legislation and enforce regulations that make a difference in both the public and private sectors. Turkey was used as a specific example to illustrate the potential of the right policy initiatives. Some additional examples follow:

- The countries placing at the top of the Gender Gap Index are those that have regulations and policies in place, which limit discrimination and actively promote gender equality in the workplace. Norway, which places at the top of the list, has had a law in place since 2004 which mandates women on corporate boards

and in 2013 Norway had the largest percentage of women on corporate boards in the world, and four times the average for the rest of Europe.

- Countries which have progressed substantially in terms of gender equality have often done so through legislation. Countries in Africa provide illustrations of the effect of legislation. A particular focus of legislation has often been in the area of education and health, and there is evidence that improving education and health for women can substantially advance women's roles in society and in the workforce. The Scandinavian countries have also put legislation in place to make their companies more family friendly, including providing childcare and extensive parental leave, and consequently they come closer than other countries to achieving gender equality.
- Countries can make relatively quick and substantial changes in the role of women where there is a vision at the top, and where this vision is put into action through changes in policy and the implementation of legislation. Turkey was described as a specific example of this approach and Turkey currently keeps a list of women who are qualified to serve on boards and provides this list to companies.

At the organizational and corporate level, there is also evidence that organizations can implement programs and policies that improve the situation for women in the workforce. For example:

- Companies have introduced initiatives to make the workplace more "women friendly" (or "family friendly") and these have been successful in many instances. Options such as flexible scheduling, child care and working from home, can make it easier for employees to balance family and work lives.
- Lockwood et al. (2009) suggest several programs as contributing to a gender equitable workplace – senior management commitment to equality, career and leadership development for women, exposure to top management, job rotation, recruitment focused on women for top positions, mentoring programs and childcare facilities at work.
- Mentors and champions have been identified as an important component of ensuring that

women succeed in non-traditional roles – rising to the top as well as entering traditionally male professions. Companies that have introduced formal mentoring and championing programs have good records of improving the situation for female employees (Monserrat et al. 2009).

- Within companies, vision and action from the top has been described as critical to the success of various programs to support women. Companies where the CEO, Directors, and top management see gender equality as contributing to corporate success have tended to take the issue seriously and are more likely to succeed in making the workplace women and family friendly, as well as ensuring that women have equal opportunities to participate in training and development, and are considered for all promotions.
- There are organizations which are devoted to enabling women's participation in the upper levels of corporations. For example, several networks of women on boards have been established to support efforts to this end. In addition there are organizations devoted to providing training to ensure that eligible women are properly prepared to serve on corporate boards.
- Many authors stress the importance of leadership in making diversity work. Urstad (2012) talks of the need for leaders to be developed through training, so that leaders understand and appreciate that differences can be positive. She noted that achieving a diverse workforce requires trust, respect, recognition, and a willingness to learn. Changing power structures and challenging existing dogmas is by no means easy and establishing new understandings and practices is time consuming and can cause problems. These changes will not come about without those at the top being committed to change.

The role of individuals and groups of individuals is also very relevant to the success of women in the workforce:

- From the interviews and other research the McKinsey Leadership Project (Barsh et al.

2012) distilled a leadership model comprising five broad and interrelated dimensions:
1. meaning, or finding your strengths and putting them to work in the service of an inspiring purpose;
2. managing energy, or knowing where your energy comes from, where it goes, and what you can do to manage it;
3. positive framing, or adopting a more constructive way to view your world, expand your horizons, and gain the resilience to move ahead even when bad things happen;
4. connecting, or identifying who can help you grow, building stronger relationships, and increasing your sense of belonging; and
5. engaging, or finding your voice, becoming self-reliant and confident by accepting opportunities and the inherent risks they bring, and collaborating with others.

- Along similar lines, Nkomo and Ngambi (2013) talk about the importance of 'spiritual leadership' in the Kenyan context and the fact that women exhibit the qualities of beneficence, hope, courage, and Ubuntu (community and collective approaches) that make for effective leadership. Perhaps we can draw on this more broadly in terms of leadership qualities that can be encouraged among women. Rather than 'think manager, think male' perhaps we can shift our thinking to encompass the values that women bring to the manager role.
- Eagley (2011) also argued that the leadership style that is typical of female leaders may be particularly effective in today's organizations. She says that women tend to be role models, inspiring and encouraging others, and that they pay more attention to individual differences in subordinates. These qualities are what might be described as transformational and make women well suited as leaders of the organizations developed in today's world.
- It is also important to recognize the reasons that women choose not to work or leave the workforce. A recent Harvard Business School survey of graduates (Everitt 2013) found that 43 % of female graduates ages 48–66 are no

longer working full-time, compared with only 28 % of men. Among younger (Gen X) women, 26 % of women had left full-time work, five times more than their male counterparts. The study found that the more children alumnae have, the more likely they were to leave full-time jobs (37 % of Gen X women with two or more children were not in the full-time workforce, compared to 9 % with no children). This suggests that finding ways to accommodate work and a family remains a major concern for women in the workforce.

Women can also learn to speak up for themselves, but some women find this difficult to do. Speaking personally, I read research some 30 years ago that illustrated that women do not speak as much as men, that men tend to interrupt women and speak over them, and that men will rephrase women's ideas to become their own. I decided to change my own style. When my male colleagues interrupted me, I would point it out to them quietly but consistently. When males rephrased my ideas, I would note that that was my suggestion. It seemed to work, and it was necessary as I was one of only two women in a faculty of over fifty.

There are also ways to combine legislative, organizational and individual efforts. An interesting initiative, spearheaded by the Association of Chartered Certified Accountants and the Commonwealth Business Council, recently completed a major study of women in Commonwealth countries. This study resulted in the following six major recommendations (ACCA 2013).

- Create a database of women who are board-ready or have board potential to provide ample recruitment and sponsorship opportunities.
- Support sponsoring initiatives to ensure consistent levels of quality and share best practice across different regions.
- Build a research monitor across the Commonwealth to help generate greater transparency, compare boards across countries (recruitment and composition) and allow for understanding the impact on business performance.
- Raise career aspirations by having career development ingrained in education from the primary level through to university, and by ensuring high visibility of female role models.
- Create a media strategy to demonstrate the impact of women in senior leadership positions
- Work with organizations, business schools and other bodies to enable stakeholders to make informed choices.
- Share best practice across the Commonwealth, develop and strengthen support networks, and identify and share innovations.

This study focused on the Commonwealth (made up essentially of Britain and its former colonies) and the recommendations are intended for implementation in the Commonwealth countries. There is, however, a broader message here. To change the gender equity reality in organizations around the world, it is important to share best practices. Establishing a global network with aims similar to that of the ACCA and the Commonwealth Business Council, is one option that may be useful in efforts to achieve greater equality globally.

Research to Understand the Reality of Gender in the Workplace

This chapter has pulled together literature and research on gender in the workplace, and the degree of equity that currently exists around the world. Overall, one can conclude that women around the world hold lower level positions and are paid less than men, and thus are less involved in strategic decision making. One thing that is striking in the literature, from around the world, is the fact that women face the same challenges everywhere. The challenges differ in degree, but not in kind. In every country, the issue of work-family balance (managing full-time work and a household) is seen as a serious difficulty for women. The traditional view of women as primarily home-makers and mothers/wives makes it difficult for women in all cultures to participate equally and meaningfully. Successful working women everywhere also note the importance of support from their spouses and families in achieving success. These all continue to be relevant

areas for research, particularly in terms of how these factors can be managed effectively.

It is also interesting to note that in all cases there are factors at play – legislatively and societally – which should eventually lead to a more gender-balanced world of work and thus more involvement of women at all levels, including in strategic decision making. The interesting research question is how this change will affect decision-making. If strategic decisions change because of changes in gender representation, this will undoubtedly affect many aspects of organizations. Such changes would provide researchers with fertile ground for examining a myriad of gender-organizational relationships. A particular area of interest is whether and how the "think manager, think male" stereotype may change in response to demographic changes in the workplace. Other positive outcomes may include more responsible and compassionate decision-making, for example, improving the organization without compromising the environment and other stakeholders.

There is a substantial body of research on gender and equality in the workplace, both globally and in individual countries. Nevertheless, there is room for much more. The initiatives in many parts of the world to make the workplace more equitable and to increase women's participation at all levels provide a fertile area for research. Many of these initiatives provide, in effect, a field experiment that should allow researchers to pinpoint the impact of interventions, and to make causal statements about their impact.

The characteristics associated with men are those that are used to describe managers, and therefore women are not readily seen as managers. Women seem to face a classic "catch 22" situation in terms of management/leadership success. According to Brooks and Brooks (1997), most people prefer men to act like men and women to act like women. Society has certain expectations, and men and women are viewed more favorably when they conform to stereotypical roles than when they deviate from them. So, women are expected to act like women, but male characteristics are associated with success in the business world. If a woman manager acts like a good manager (i.e., a male manager), this is seen as negative from a personal point of view; if she acts like herself (i.e., feminine), this is seen as negative from a management point of view. Research on how successful women overcome this "catch 22" can provide valuable guidance for women managers and professionals. Research along the lines of Punnett et al. (2006) can help to determine the different factors influencing stereotypes and overcoming the stereotypes.

Research can take many forms. A somewhat unusual and intriguing explanation of the differences in labor force participation (as low as 16.1 % in Pakistan and as high as 90.5 % in Burundi, both developing countries) was provided by Alesina et al. (2011). Their interesting hypothesis is that gender differences are associated with the traditional use of the plough versus the hoe, centuries ago. The authors found that use of the plough is associated with attitudes of gender inequality, as well as less female labor force participation, firm-ownership, and participation in politics. Even among second-generation immigrants to the United States, women from cultures that historically used the plough tended to work outside the home less than those from cultures that historically used the hoe. Facing the same labor market, institutions, and policies, the fact that they came from plough-using cultures led to a lower rate of female labor force participation. These findings throw an interesting light on the long-lasting influence of culture on gender in the workplace. Non-traditional views on gender and the workplace also provide substance for research.

Summary and Conclusion

We know quite a lot about the role of women in the workplace and the challenges that women encounter in that workplace. We can say that women have not achieved equity in the workplace and that the workplace is influenced by gender. We can also say that women have achieved much around the world and that women have served successfully at

the highest levels, in spite of continuing gender biases. We can say that gender equality is increasing in most parts of the world. Women are better educated and healthier today than they were in the past, and they are participating in the workforce in increasing numbers. Economic equality lags behind education and health, and in the political arena, women have made little progress. One measure that is often used to judge the advancement of women in the workplace is their rise to executive levels and corporate boards. Several measures show that women are still a very small minority at these upper levels. Legislation in many areas, including with regard to top levels, has had some success in improving the workplace for women, and various organizations and specific companies have developed and introduced policies to make the workplace more women and family friendly. By and large, the public sector seems to have done more to encourage women than the private sector has, although there are notable private sector exceptions.

It seems that around the world, women are seen as primarily wives and mothers, and expected to put family ahead of work and a career. It also seems that, in the workplace in most countries, male characteristics are seen as being managerial and women are expected to be supportive rather than decision makers. These attitudes are gradually changing, with some evidence that women make good managers and that including women at the top has a positive impact on the bottom line. As more women move into middle and upper levels, hopefully this positive image will be reinforced. In the future, women entering the workforce should have more role models and mentors to help them succeed. There are many ideas about the factors that contribute to women continuing to face challenges in the workplace; future research could explore how and why these factors are changing. Future research could also continue to explore what works to improve gender equality in the workplace. Gender and the workplace, around the world, remains an important focus and a relevant area for research. Let us return to the question asked at the beginning of this chapter – "How are women faring globally?" and try to

answer it briefly. On the negative side, women continue to face many challenges in the world of work, including stereotypes and biases which make it difficult for them to succeed. On the positive side, both at the macro level and the micro level, women are making major inroads, and it is hopeful that the world will achieve a more gender equal workplace in time. The message everywhere is mixed, but women are faring better today than in the past. If Malala Yousafzai is the voice of the future, we have good reason to hope for a changing world.

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Are Education and Occupational Status Affecting Men's and Women's Satisfaction in Different Ways? A Cross-National Perspective on Gender Inequality

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Introduction

Gender differences in subjective wellbeing have since long been studied, although the results in the literature are mixed as regards whether women and men report (or not) similar levels of wellbeing. Inconclusive results often come from the complexity of the concept of subjective wellbeing, which is generally seen as a comprehensive construct including more affective perceptions, related to positive/pleasant or negative/unpleasant emotions, as well as a more cognitive component, related to individuals assessing their levels of life satisfaction (Diener 1984). More studies on gender differences in subjective wellbeing find that women tend to experience more unpleasant affects (Brody and Hall 1993; Nolen-Hoeksema and Rusting 1999), but also more pleasant emotions (Brody and Hall 1993), thus suggesting that women are more emotional than men. Other works suggest that gender is uncorrelated with happiness (Kahneman and Krueger 2006), but some cross-country studies find that women tend to report higher levels of happiness than men (Di Tella et al. 2003; Blanchflower and Oswald 2004). As regards life satisfaction, it is generally acknowledged that women tend to be more satisfied with their lives, at least in most developed countries (Graham and Chattopadhyay 2013), although some studies find similar levels in average life satisfaction between men and women, even when variations in satisfaction tend to be more marked in the case of women (Della Giusta et al. 2011).

More recently, researchers have also focused on how gender differences in subjective wellbeing have changed over time. Stevenson and Wolfers (2009) focuses on differences in perceived wellbeing between men and women in the United States and on their evolution over recent decades, finding that although women tend to report higher levels of satisfaction than men,

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there is a decrease in American women's subjective wellbeing both in absolute terms and in comparison with that of men. These results are in line with a previous work by Blanchflower and Oswald (2004), who find that women in the United States and United Kingdom have suffered a relative decline in happiness between the seventies and the nineties. As pointed by Stevenson and Wolfers (2009), the relative decline in women's subjective wellbeing seems at first counterintuitive given the enormous gains achieved by women in the last 35 years as regards educational attainments, greater labor market participation -accompanied by a slight decrease in gender wage gaps-, greater control over fertility, and several other domains. Stevenson & Wolfers suggest as a possible explanation for the relative decline in women's wellbeing that women's lives have become more complex, with increasing responsibilities in different life domains, making it more difficult to achieve a similar degree of satisfaction across all of them. Moreover, progress achieved by women in last decades may have come with increasing aspirations or with changes in the reference groups, so women might declare lower levels of satisfaction if aspirations have increased more than real opportunities or if women's reference group has broaden to include not only women but men around them. A more recent study by Herbst (2011) confirms a widespread decline in subjective wellbeing between 1985 and 2005, although this author finds that men and women experienced similar decreases in life satisfaction. The most common arguments to explain the decline in life satisfaction base on Putnam's (2000) work on the erosion experienced in social capital in recent decades. In fact, Herbst (2011) finds consistent evidence on different economic and social factors such as economic insecurity, interpersonal relationships, civil or political engagement, or interpersonal trust as being strongly associated with life satisfaction. Nevertheless, although trends in these economic and social forces (in particular, the rise in economic insecurity and the drop in social connectedness), seems to be strongly associated with the decline in life satisfaction, he does not find evidence on these factors affecting men's and women's

perceived wellbeing in a different manner, a result consistent with men and women showing similar trends in subjective wellbeing.

In fact, most of the key variables analyzed in the happiness literature as determinants of wellbeing seem to affect men and women in a similar manner. There is broad consensus on health and income as being positively related to subjective wellbeing.[1] Variables such as religiosity or age also seem to be highly correlated with men's and women's subjective wellbeing. Other personal and socio-economic factors, however, appear to impact men's and women's wellbeing in different ways, as it is the case for marriage (Della Giusta et al. 2011; Graham and Chattopadhyay 2013), education (Salinas-Jiménez et al. 2013) or some occupational variables. The results for the occupational variables are generally mixed. On the one hand, most of the empirical evidence finds a significant negative impact of being unemployed on individual wellbeing of both men and women.[2] On the other, results are not conclusive with respect to variables such as participation in the workforce, working full- or part-time, or the professional status, variables which in addition appear to have a different impact on men's and women's subjective wellbeing. As regards the occupational variables it is also worthy to note that men and women tend to place the focus on different life dimensions, with the job domain playing a more important role in overall satisfaction in the case of men (Della Giusta et al. 2011). A similar result is found by Di Cesare and Amori (2006), who find that women's wellbeing is affected by multiple factors, such as educational levels, marital status and social interactions, whereas men's wellbeing mainly depends on occupational status.

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[1] Dolan et al. (2008) provides a comprehensive review on the determinants of wellbeing. A recent survey of the happiness literature at the international level can also be found in Blanchflower and Oswald (2011). Additionally, Clark et al. (2008) offer an extensive review of the economic research focused on the relationship between income and subjective wellbeing.

[2] See, among others, the work by Clark and Oswald (1994), Di Tella et al. (2001) or Winkelmann (2009) for the effects of unemployment on wellbeing.

Among the proposed explanations on gender differences in wellbeing, and on the factors behind them, those based on personality and social context are the most common ones. There is a general consensus in the literature that there exist important differences in psychological attributes and preferences between men and women,[3] with gender attitudes being affected by environmental factors such as gendered patterns of socialization (Bertrand 2010). Some key aspects of gender socialization can be explained within the framework of the social comparison theory (Festinger 1954), which assumes that individuals enjoy greater satisfaction when they behave in a similar way to other individuals sharing similar characteristics, acting hence in accordance to prevailing social norms; and the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957), which suggest that inconsistencies between beliefs and behaviors would lead individuals to psychological tension. Focusing on gender, the work by Kimmel (2000) point out that social institutions such as workplace or family, among others, are gendered institutions where the prevailing norms are reinforced and reproduced whereas deviances are penalized. These insights have been introduced in the economic literature by Akerlof and Kranton (2000, 2002) through the hypothesis of the individual's social identity. Their gender identity hypothesis (Akerlof and Kranton 2000) states that social patterns will condition individual satisfaction depending on whether the individuals follow or move away from the social norm which corresponds to their identity, with applications to women participation in the labor force, to occupational segregation by gender, or to the allocation of housework tasks between partners.

The social context explanations have been tested in different contexts, pointing to gender differences in behavior, labor market outcomes, and perceived wellbeing as being affected by differences in roles and social expectations of men and women. Looking at social roles of women as homemakers and men as breadwinners, Fortin (2005) finds that these social roles tend to predict women's participation and outcomes in the labor market. Increased women's participation in the labor market could be in conflict with traditional women's role as homemaker in less gender egalitarian societies, thus affecting women's wellbeing. In this sense, Bjørnskov et al. (2007) find that women tend to declare higher levels of wellbeing in countries with less gender discrimination. In a similar vein, Tesch-Romer et al. (2008) find that societal gender inequality and cultural norms related to gender equality influence gender differences in perceived wellbeing, which seem to disappear when labor market conditions are more egalitarian. More recently, Della Giusta et al. (2011) also point to differences in gender roles and in women's expectations as regards paid and unpaid work as factors behind differences in subjective wellbeing between men and women, whereas Graham and Chattopadhyay (2013) also highlight gender norms and expectations as playing an important mediating role in perceived wellbeing.

In last decades, notable changes have taken place in gender relations, with women devoting more time to education and gaining power in the labor market. Since these factors seem to affect individual's satisfaction of men and women in different ways, in this chapter we analyze the factors behind life satisfaction of men and women focusing on the role played by educational attainment and different patterns of work. To this end, we study whether gender differences appear in the relationship between education and life satisfaction once its effects through income, health, participation in the labor market, professional status and the role of breadwinner in the household are controlled for. The conventional analysis is also extended to consider how different occupational and professional status variables may mediate this relationship. Account is also taken of the social context as regards gender inequality. Similar working status might lead to different perceptions of wellbeing depending on whether the individual follows or not the prevailing gender roles in her society, so the analysis is carried

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[3]A good review on this topic can be found in Bertrand (2010), where the focus is placed on gender differences in risk preferences or in attitudes towards competition and negotiation as well as on the discussion on the 'nature' and 'nurture' explanations of gender differences in preferences and behaviors.

out considering whether the individuals live in countries with higher or lower gender egalitarian patterns. The remainder of the chapter is organized as follows. First, we offer a brief overview of the literature on the relationships between education and occupational status and satisfaction with life. Next, we develop the empirical analysis, presenting the database, the methodology and the obtained results. Finally, the chapter will close with a discussion of the main findings and some concluding remarks.

The Role of Education and Occupational Status in Life Satisfaction

Education and Life Satisfaction

The economic literature generally acknowledges that education is both an investment and a consumption good (Schaafsma 1976). As already pointed by Schultz (1963), benefits to education are due to an investment component, which relates to monetary returns in the future, and a consumption component, which is associated to the utility coming from present consumption as well as from improved abilities to enjoy greater variety of goods in the future. Since the success of the human capital theory in the 1960s, the investment side of education has prevailed in the economic analysis and education is generally seen as increasing the skills and productivity of the individuals and, consequently, the wages they are paid in the labor market.[4] On the other hand, education can be seen as a consumption good which contributes to individual utility or satisfaction. Present consumption of education may be a good that positively contributes to individual wellbeing, but it can also be seen as an activity requiring an effort which may not be compensated with any enjoyment or intrinsic value; the

compensation would then be in the form of increasing future income and the education process would be seen as an investment cost. The consumption value of education goes beyond present consumption since education may induce changes in individual's preferences by increasing the variety of goods to be enjoyed in the future (Haveman and Wolfe 1984). However, some authors note that education will increase earning and consumption opportunities but also expectations, so its impact on life satisfaction will depend on how the increase of real opportunities compares to that of aspirations (Easterlin 2005; Ferrante 2009). In fact, the rising aspirations generated by education have often been highlighted as the main mechanism that could explain the weak relationship between education and subjective wellbeing found in many empirical studies.

As one finds reasons to expect both positive and negative effects of education on individual wellbeing, the net contribution of education to individual satisfaction, once indirect effects through income or job opportunities are taken into account, seems a priori unclear. Empirical studies that analyze the effects of education on subjective wellbeing are relatively scarce, probably because its effects do not usually manifest in a direct way but through variables such as health, earnings or participation in the labor market, and because the results tend to be inconclusive and change with model specifications. Most of the studies find a positive correlation between education and subjective wellbeing (Argyle 1999), but when income and occupational status are controlled for, the effects of education narrow down (Sandvik et al. 1993), tend to disappear (Argyle 1999) or become negative (Clark and Oswald 1996). The empirical evidence thus suggests that the positive correlation between education and subjective wellbeing works, at least in part, through indirect variables such as health, income, employment or social status (Hartog and Oosterbeek 1998; Helliwell 2003).

Many studies analyzing the determinants of subjective wellbeing include some control variables related to education, but, as noted before, few place their focus on the effects of education on individuals' wellbeing and even less analyze

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[4] Under the signaling or screening views, schooling is seen as having no effects on productivity although it may provide a signal of the individual's abilities to employers. In any case, these approaches also entail that schooling allows the individual to enjoy better job opportunities and greater wages.

whether these effects operate (or not) in a similar way across different groups of individuals. However, not all individuals attach the same importance to different employment conditions and, given that part of the effects of education manifests through occupational variables, it could be expected that education impacts individuals' wellbeing in different ways depending on their preferences not only towards education but also to occupational status. In this sense, as pointed by Trzcinski and Holst (2012) men tend to attach more importance to professional career than women do, so one could expect that the effects of education though occupational status differ between men and women.

Occupation and Life Satisfaction

A first question when looking at occupation would be whether working for pay increases the levels of subjective wellbeing. Stevenson and Wolfers (2009) find that women keeping house report lower levels of satisfaction than women who work for pay. When they examine the trends over time, however, it seems that satisfaction of homemakers has risen in last decades, thus closing some of the satisfaction gap between women who participate in the labor market and those engaged in home production. Boye (2009) also examines the relationship between paid- and unpaid-work and differences in wellbeing between men and women for a sample of 25 European countries, finding that women wellbeing increases with hours of paid work whereas hours devoted to housework are inversely related to their subjective wellbeing. Looking at hours devoted to paid work and housework, the results by Della Giusta et al. (2011) also suggest that paid work increases life satisfaction for both men and women, whereas time devoted to housework significantly relates to individual's satisfaction only for retired men and women.

Nevertheless, although participation in the workforce seems to positively affect individual satisfaction, it is not clear that increasing hours of work would always lead to greater wellbeing nor that it would affect men's and women's wellbe-

ing in the same way. Hence, even if a positive correlation between hours of work and subjective wellbeing appears, this relationship could be non-linear. While part-time work may be a source of satisfaction for some individuals by offering greater flexibility and opportunities to develop self-esteem and social relationships (Frey and Stutzer 2002; Clark 2003; Carrol 2007), it may also bring about dissatisfaction because of temporary work and fewer possibilities for professional development (Russo and Hassink 2005; Chalmers and Hill 2007; Connolly and Gregory 2008). Looking at women's subjective wellbeing of homemakers and women working full- or part-time, Treas et al. (2011) find that homemakers tend to be slightly happier than women working full-time, but they show no advantage over women working part-time. Similarly, Mencarini and Sironi (2012) find no significant differences in perceived wellbeing between housewives and women working up to 30 h per week, but working more than 30 h seems to lead to lower women's wellbeing. Finally, the work by Booth and Van Ours (2009) also suggests that women who work part-time are more satisfied than those working full-time, whereas satisfaction increases when working full-time in the case of men.

There also exist gender differences in preferences of men and women between career and time devoted to the family. In this sense, as pointed by Treas et al. (2011), to avoid status competition within marriage, women who work for pay might pursue only casual employment, not a career. Trzcinski and Holst (2012) find that there is a clear hierarchy on how the position reached in the labor market affects men's subjective wellbeing, with unemployed men being the least satisfied, followed by those who do not participate in the labor market, while men holding positions of leadership and greater responsibility are those who enjoy higher levels of satisfaction with life. On the other hand, unemployed women also perceive lower levels of satisfaction, but there are no statistically significant differences in terms of subjective wellbeing among women in managerial positions, those in non-managerial positions and those working as housewife. Trzcinski & Holst explain these gender differ-

ences based on the costs required to reach greater responsibility positions, in terms of both increased investment in education and greater number of working hours, and on opportunity costs which may be higher for women if they have to give up time spent with the family. Hence, it stands out that psychological and social costs may be greater when individuals move away from traditional roles, either in the case of men devoted to housework or in the case of women holding positions of greater responsibility and dedication to work, which could meddle in their traditional role of focusing on the family (Slotkin 2008).

Empirical Analysis

Data

Data used in this study come from the 2005 to 2006 wave of the World Values Survey and cover information on nearly 70,000 individuals from around 50 countries. Countries in the sample have been split into two subsamples in order to take account of societal conditions as regards gender equality. In particular, we consider the rank in the Gender Inequality Index (GII), which measures gender inequality between gender in three dimensions (i.e. women's reproductive health status, their empowerment and labor market participation relative to men's) to define a sample of countries with higher gender equality and a sample of countries with lower gender equality.[5]

The WVS database offers consistent data across countries for a large international sample and provides information on various measures of subjective wellbeing, such as happiness, life satisfaction and financial satisfaction. In addition, it provides information on most of the socio-demographic and economic variables usually considered in the happiness economic literature, such as income, employment, age, gender, marital status, religion, education or health. In this study, the WVS measure of general satisfaction with life is used as dependent variable. The question asked to evaluate life satisfaction in the WVS is as follows: "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days", with responses on a scale from 1, which means 'completely dissatisfied', to 10, meaning 'completely satisfied'.

Income data provided by the WVS give information on the relative position of the individuals in the income distribution of their country.[6] In this study we group the income variable, originally expressed in deciles in the WVS, in three categories corresponding to low-, middle- and high-income class (the low-income variable groups deciles from 1 to 3; the middle-income deciles from 4 to 7, and the high-income class the remaining above deciles). The education variable is also grouped into three categories, corresponding to individuals who have not completed secondary school, individuals with a level of secondary schooling, and individuals with higher education. Among the occupational variables we consider whether an individual works full- or part-time or whether she is self-employed, retired or pensioned, housewife, student, or unemployed. A variable of status related to positions of higher autonomy is considered by differentiating occupations linked to liberal professions, employers,

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[5] The whole sample of countries include countries with higher gender equality (low GII): Australia, Bulgaria, China, Cyprus, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Moldova, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States, and Vietnam; and countries with lower gender equality (high GII): Argentina, Brazil, Burkina, Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Peru, Rwanda, Serbia, South Africa, Taiwan, Thailand, Trinidad, and Turkey.

[6] The WVS thus provides information on the individuals' relative income and not on absolute income. Nevertheless, considering relative income is usual in the happiness literature and it is generally found that relative income shows at least as much influence on subjective wellbeing as absolute income. For a discussion of the effects of absolute vs. relative income in subjective wellbeing, see the works by Frank (2005) and Clark et al. (2008).

managers and supervisors from those hold by employees or workers with no supervisory tasks. Besides, controls are included for age, gender, marital status (married or living together as married), religion, and subjective health.[7]

Table 34.1 offers the statistical summary of the variables used in this study for the whole sample of countries and for the subsamples of more and less gender egalitarian countries. On average, individuals in the sample seem to be quite satisfied with their life, with a mean value for life satisfaction around 6.7 out of 10. No significant differences in perceived satisfaction appear between men and women, but life satisfaction is slightly higher for both men and women in more gender egalitarian countries (around 6.9). The sample of individuals is almost evenly distributed by gender, men representing 48 % of the individuals and women 52 %. Little differences by gender are found for most of the control variables: individuals show an average age close to 40 years (being older in more egalitarian countries, where the average age reaches 46 years); around 68 % report to enjoy a good or very good health; and 64 % of the respondents are currently married. Educational attainment, nonetheless, slightly differs by gender, with men achieving on average greater levels of education than women (62 % of men hold a level of secondary or higher education vs. 57 % of women in the whole sample of countries). Although men show higher educational levels than women regardless of gender inequality in the society, it should be noted that educational attainment tend to be lower, and the educational gap between men and women tend to be greater, in countries with more gender inequality: whereas in more egalitarian countries 70 % of women (vs. 72 % of men) hold a level of secondary or higher education, in less gender egalitarian countries the percentage of women

holding those educational levels is around 50 % (vs. 57 % of men). Gender differences are also evident when looking at the occupational variables. Whereas 24 % of women work full-time (19 % in less gender egalitarian countries), this percentage rises to 41 % in the case of men. Moreover, the percentage of men holding manager or supervisory positions (24 %) is also higher than that of women (17 %). Significant differences by gender also appear regarding the individuals' role in the household: whereas the percentage of men being househusband does not even reach 1 % in either more or less gender egalitarian countries, women being housewife rise to 18 % in more egalitarian countries and to 37 % in less egalitarian ones. Finally, men play a greater role as main wage earner in the household, with men being the main breadwinner in 67 % of the households whereas women do in less than half (27 %). The percentage of women being the main breadwinner is higher (33 %), although the same pattern stands since the percentage of men holding this role rise to 72 %, in more egalitarian countries.

Procedure

The empirical analysis bases on the following equation:

$$LS_i = \alpha + \sum_n \beta_n X_{n,i} + \varepsilon_i \qquad (34.1)$$

where i refers to the individual, LS is a measure of life satisfaction, Xn is a set of explanatory variables, such as income and other sociodemographic and individual characteristics, βn are the parameters to be estimated and ε is a random term.

We estimate several specifications of this equation by OLS.[8] In all the specifications the errors are clustered within countries and country

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[7] The use of subjective or self-reported health could lead to problems of endogeneity and reversed causality. However, the use of subjective health is usual in the literature on subjective wellbeing and self-reported measures of health seem to be a good proxy of objective health measures to which they are highly correlated (Pinquart 2001).

[8] Running OLS regressions or ordered latent response models makes little difference to results (see Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters 2004). Here we report OLS estimates so the marginal effects can be easily compared.

Table 34.1 Descriptive statistics

Variable	All		Women		Men	
	Mean	Std.dev	Mean	Std.dev	Mean	Std.dev
(a) Sample: all countries						
Life satisfaction	6.6626	2.3566	6.6651	2.3601	6.6603	2.3531
Control variables						
Gender (male)	0.4780	0.4995				
Low-income	0.3152	0.4646	0.3258	0.4687	0.3036	0.4598
Middle-income	0.4896	0.4999	0.4808	0.4996	0.4991	0.5000
High-income	0.1952	0.3963	0.1934	0.3950	0.1973	0.3980
Health (poor)	0.0680	0.2517	0.0759	0.2648	0.0594	0.2363
Health (fair)	0.2520	0.4341	0.2689	0.4434	0.2336	0.4231
Health (good)	0.4539	0.4979	0.4465	0.4971	0.4618	0.4985
Health (very good)	0.2262	0.4184	0.2087	0.4064	0.2453	0.4303
Religious	0.6832	0.4652	0.7209	0.4486	0.6418	0.4795
Married	0.6387	0.4804	0.6317	0.4823	0.6461	0.4782
Age	40.3071	16.4768	40.2307	16.4146	40.3985	16.5439
Education variables						
Education (<secondary)	0.4053	0.4909	0.4291	0.4950	0.3791	0.4852
Education (secondary)	0.4382	0.4962	0.4284	0.4949	0.4490	0.4974
Education (higher)	0.1565	0.3634	0.1425	0.3495	0.1719	0.3773
Occupational & wage earner variables						
Full-time	0.3199	0.4665	0.2389	0.4264	0.4087	0.4916
Part-time	0.0731	0.2603	0.0789	0.2696	0.0667	0.2494
Self-employed	0.1347	0.3414	0.0902	0.2864	0.1832	0.3868
Retired/pensioned	0.1239	0.3295	0.1123	0.3157	0.1368	0.3437
Housewife	0.1600	0.3666	0.3007	0.4586	0.0061	0.0778
Student	0.0741	0.2619	0.0762	0.2654	0.0717	0.2579
Unemployed	0.1011	0.3015	0.0931	0.2905	0.1097	0.3126
Manager/supervisor	0.2009	0.4007	0.1667	0.3727	0.2384	0.4261
Main wage earner	0.4732	0.4993	0.2704	0.4442	0.6738	0.4688
(b) Sample: countries with high gender equality						
Life satisfaction	6.8788	2.1324	6.8384	2.1687	6.9249	2.0894
Control variables						
Gender (male)	0.4673	0.4989				
Low-income	0.2701	0.4440	0.2854	0.4516	0.2526	0.4345
Middle-income	0.4926	0.5000	0.4810	0.4997	0.5057	0.5000
High-income	0.2374	0.4255	0.2336	0.4231	0.2417	0.4281
Health (poor)	0.0825	0.2752	0.0931	0.2906	0.0704	0.2559
Health (fair)	0.2659	0.4418	0.2849	0.4514	0.2441	0.4296
Health (good)	0.4407	0.4965	0.4207	0.4937	0.4634	0.4987
Health (very good)	0.2110	0.4080	0.2012	0.4009	0.2221	0.4156
Religious	0.5615	0.4962	0.6145	0.4867	0.5011	0.5000
Married	0.6608	0.4735	0.6408	0.4798	0.6835	0.4651
Age	45.8511	17.0555	46.0755	16.9944	45.5954	17.1220
Education variables						
Education (<secondary)	0.2924	0.4549	0.3040	0.4600	0.2791	0.4486
Education (secondary)	0.5061	0.5000	0.5038	0.5000	0.5088	0.4999
Education (higher)	0.2015	0.4012	0.1923	0.3941	0.2121	0.4088

(continued)

Table 34.1 (continued)

Variable	All		Women		Men	
	Mean	Std.dev	Mean	Std.dev	Mean	Std.dev
Occupational & wage earner variables						
Full-time	0.3975	0.4894	0.3262	0.4688	0.4788	0.4996
Part-time	0.0848	0.2786	0.1141	0.3180	0.0515	0.2210
Self-employed	0.0694	0.2541	0.0513	0.2206	0.0899	0.2861
Retired/pensioned	0.2223	0.4158	0.2162	0.4117	0.2291	0.4203
Housewife	0.0984	0.2979	0.1780	0.3825	0.0080	0.0892
Student	0.0535	0.2251	0.0498	0.2175	0.0578	0.2334
Unemployed	0.0600	0.2375	0.0523	0.2227	0.0687	0.2530
Manager/supervisor	0.3241	0.4680	0.2475	0.4316	0.4037	0.4907
Main wage earner	0.5170	0.4997	0.3317	0.4708	0.7199	0.4491
(c) Sample: countries with low gender equality						
Life satisfaction	6.5409	2.4660	6.5641	2.4592	6.5162	2.4731
Control variables						
Gender (male)	0.4841	0.4998				
Low-income	0.3406	0.4739	0.3493	0.4768	0.3314	0.4707
Middle-income	0.4878	0.4999	0.4807	0.4996	0.4954	0.5000
High-income	0.1715	0.3770	0.1700	0.3757	0.1731	0.3784
Health (poor)	0.0598	0.2371	0.0658	0.2480	0.0533	0.2247
Health (fair)	0.2442	0.4296	0.2595	0.4384	0.2279	0.4195
Health (good)	0.4612	0.4985	0.4616	0.4985	0.4609	0.4985
Health (very good)	0.2348	0.4239	0.2131	0.4095	0.2579	0.4375
Religious	0.7517	0.4320	0.7829	0.4123	0.7184	0.4498
Married	0.6261	0.4839	0.6264	0.4838	0.6257	0.4840
Age	37.1860	15.2794	36.8264	15.0559	37.5692	15.5052
Education variables						
Education (<secondary)	0.4688	0.4990	0.5019	0.5000	0.4335	0.4956
Education (secondary)	0.4000	0.4899	0.3846	0.4865	0.4164	0.4930
Education (higher)	0.1312	0.3376	0.1135	0.3172	0.1501	0.3571
Occupational & wage earner variables						
Full-time	0.2764	0.4472	0.1880	0.3907	0.3706	0.4830
Part-time	0.0664	0.2489	0.0583	0.2343	0.0750	0.2634
Self-employed	0.1717	0.3772	0.1130	0.3165	0.2346	0.4238
Retired/pensioned	0.0681	0.2519	0.0514	0.2208	0.0859	0.2802
Housewife	0.1949	0.3962	0.3726	0.4835	0.0050	0.0707
Student	0.0857	0.2800	0.0918	0.2887	0.0793	0.2702
Unemployed	0.1244	0.3300	0.1170	0.3214	0.1323	0.3389
Manager/supervisor	0.3325	0.4711	0.2622	0.4398	0.3809	0.4856
Main wage earner	0.4537	0.4979	0.2412	0.4278	0.6547	0.4755

Note: Life satisfaction is evaluated between 1 and 10. The independent variables (with the exception of age) are dummy variables, so their mean shows the proportion of individuals for which those variables take value 1

dummy variables are introduced to take into account that life satisfaction might be more comparable between individuals sharing the same socio-cultural background. Additionally, a gender perspective is adopted and all regressions are run for the sample as a whole, introducing then a dummy to control for gender, and for both women and men separately.

We first estimate a baseline specification that includes those socio-economic variables which are commonly used in the economic literature on wellbeing (e.g. income, health, gender, religion, marital status, education and unemployment). This standard specification is likely to suffer from omitted variable bias because it does not include the effects of different occupational and professional statuses. We therefore extend this specification to consider a wider range of occupational variables and the individual's role as main wage earner in the household. Finally, since the incidence of the occupational variables may differ depending on the individual's role in the household, we replicate the above analysis by differentiating between individuals who are the chief wage earner in their household and those who are not.

Results

Table 34.2 offers the estimates for the baseline specification and taking account of different occupational variables (panel a/ shows the estimates for the whole sample of countries whereas those for countries with higher and lower gender equality are shown, respectively, in panels b/ and c/). Once the control variables are introduced in the analysis it is found that men tend to report lower levels of satisfaction than women do, with this gap in satisfaction being greater in less gender egalitarian countries. Although we will focus on the educational and occupational variables, it has to be noted that all variables included in the analysis are significant and show the expected sign, thus obtaining consistent results with those found in the previous literature: a positive correlation appears between income and subjective wellbeing, with increasing satisfaction with life

as one moves from the lowest to the highest income group; enjoying improved health and being religious also correlates positively with wellbeing; and life satisfaction shows a U-shaped relationship with age. The estimates for these variables are rather similar for both men and women and regardless of whether the individuals live in more or less gender egalitarian societies. Being married is also positively correlated with life satisfaction, with the effect of this variable being clearly greater in the case of individuals (especially women) living in more gender egalitarian countries. Education also seems to positively correlate with subjective wellbeing, this being so regardless of gender. Nevertheless, the marginal effects of education on life satisfaction are slightly higher for women than for men and for individuals living in more gender egalitarian countries. It can also be noted that when the occupational variables are introduced in the analysis (columns 4–6), the education variables loose significance in the case of men living in less gender egalitarian countries. As expected, unemployment negatively correlates with subjective wellbeing, with this negative effect being more pronounced in more gender egalitarian countries, where the negative effect of being unemployed is rather similar between men and women. On the contrary, in less gender egalitarian societies, the effect of unemployment tend to be lower for women when other occupational variables are also considered. As regards the occupational variables it is found that working part-time (*versus* working full-time) significantly reduces men's life satisfaction, this being so especially among men in less gender egalitarian societies. Among individuals who do not work for pay, those who are unemployed (as already mentioned) suffer from lower subjective wellbeing whereas being student, retired or pensioned positively correlates with perceived wellbeing. Unpaid work as housewife seems to be positively correlated with subjective wellbeing in the case of women, but negatively correlated, albeit not significantly, with men's wellbeing. This general result applies for the whole sample of countries, although the impact of this variable significantly differs in countries with higher or lower gender

Table 34.2 Life satisfaction: the role of education and occupational status

	All	Women	Men	All	Women	Men
(a) Sample: all countries						
Gender (male)	-0.0945***			-0.0704***		
	[0.0156]			[0.0176]		
Middle-income	0.6391***	0.6599***	0.6139***	0.6404***	0.6664***	0.6074***
	[0.0193]	[0.0266]	[0.0280]	[0.0194]	[0.0268]	[0.0282]
High-income	0.8478***	0.8278***	0.8654***	0.8627***	0.8503***	0.8698***
	[0.0253]	[0.0348]	[0.0369]	[0.0256]	[0.0354]	[0.0374]
Health (fair)	1.0595***	1.0604***	1.0576***	1.0480***	1.0587***	1.0310***
	[0.0338]	[0.0448]	[0.0516]	[0.0343]	[0.0454]	[0.0524]
Health (good)	1.7702***	1.7355***	1.8049***	1.7516***	1.7181***	1.7796***
	[0.0334]	[0.0446]	[0.0505]	[0.0339]	[0.0452]	[0.0513]
Health (very good)	2.4515***	2.4584***	2.4450***	2.4310***	2.4468***	2.4092***
	[0.0361]	[0.0490]	[0.0538]	[0.0367]	[0.0498]	[0.0547]
Religious	0.2180***	0.2020***	0.2371***	0.2204***	0.2023***	0.2403***
	[0.0188]	[0.0272]	[0.0262]	[0.0191]	[0.0275]	[0.0265]
Married	0.2921***	0.2887***	0.2846***	0.2901***	0.2798***	0.2901***
	[0.0182]	[0.0246]	[0.0283]	[0.0188]	[0.0260]	[0.0288]
Age	-0.0325***	-0.0341***	-0.0297***	-0.0276***	-0.0309***	-0.0237***
	[0.0027]	[0.0036]	[0.0039]	[0.0030]	[0.0040]	[0.0044]
Age squared	0.0004***	0.0004***	0.0004***	0.0003***	0.0004***	0.0003***
	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]
Education						
Secondary education	0.0896***	0.1201***	0.0624**	0.0876***	0.1302***	0.0397
	[0.0192]	[0.0269]	[0.0275]	[0.0196]	[0.0276]	[0.0280]
Higher education	0.1596***	0.1850***	0.1407***	0.1611***	0.2062***	0.1120***
	[0.0259]	[0.0375]	[0.0362]	[0.0268]	[0.0392]	[0.0371]
Occupational var.						
Part-time				-0.1115***	-0.0175	-0.2135***
				[0.0327]	[0.0458]	[0.0482]
Self-employed				-0.0772***	0.0144	-0.1475***
				[0.0278]	[0.0469]	[0.0351]

Table 34.2 (continued)

	All	Women	Men	All	Women	Men
Retired/pensioned				0.0790**	0.0848*	0.0691
				[0.0351]	[0.0514]	[0.0487]
Housewife				0.0854***	0.1020***	−0.0669
				[0.0288]	[0.0357]	[0.1469]
Student				0.0681*	0.0779	0.0718
				[0.0370]	[0.0537]	[0.0531]
Unemployed	−0.3615***	−0.3502***	−0.3643***	−0.3567***	−0.3040***	−0.4075***
	[0.0274]	[0.0400]	[0.0380]	[0.0303]	[0.0454]	[0.0412]
Observations	68,012	35,499	32,513	65,306	34,102	31,204
(b) Sample: countries with high gender equality						
Gender (male)	−0.0329			−0.0407		
	[0.024]			[0.025]		
Middle-income	0.5650***	0.5408***	0.5964***	0.5718***	0.5591***	0.5871***
	[0.030]	[0.042]	[0.045]	[0.031]	[0.042]	[0.046]
High-income	0.7067***	0.6686***	0.7546***	0.7179***	0.6916***	0.7454***
	[0.036]	[0.049]	[0.053]	[0.037]	[0.050]	[0.054]
Health (fair)	1.1679***	1.2663***	1.0327***	1.1725***	1.2691***	1.0370***
	[0.047]	[0.062]	[0.073]	[0.048]	[0.063]	[0.074]
Health (good)	1.8930***	1.9338***	1.8231***	1.8907***	1.9291***	1.8173***
	[0.047]	[0.063]	[0.071]	[0.048]	[0.064]	[0.073]
Health (very good)	2.4890***	2.5881***	2.3542***	2.4808***	2.5771***	2.3410***
	[0.052]	[0.071]	[0.078]	[0.053]	[0.072]	[0.079]
Religious	0.2122***	0.1834***	0.2416***	0.2127***	0.1881***	0.2381***
	[0.026]	[0.037]	[0.037]	[0.027]	[0.038]	[0.038]
Married	0.4090***	0.4389***	0.3748***	0.4153***	0.4382***	0.3737***
	[0.027]	[0.038]	[0.041]	[0.028]	[0.039]	[0.043]
Age	−0.0521***	−0.0504***	−0.0541***	−0.0457***	−0.0460***	−0.0459***
	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.007]
Age squared	0.0006***	0.0006***	0.0006***	0.0005***	0.0005***	0.0005***
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]

Education						
Secondary education	0.1146***	0.1346***	0.0856*	0.1028***	0.1190***	0.0777*
	[0.031]	[0.043]	[0.044]	[0.031]	[0.044]	[0.045]
Higher education	0.2072***	0.2154***	0.1909***	0.2089***	0.2203***	0.1940***
	[0.039]	[0.055]	[0.055]	[0.040]	[0.057]	[0.056]
Occupational var.						
Part-time				−0.0602	−0.0095	−0.1472*
				[0.046]	[0.059]	[0.080]
Self-employed				0.0386	0.1631**	−0.0430
				[0.050]	[0.082]	[0.064]
Retired/pensioned				0.0863*	0.1087*	0.0519
				[0.046]	[0.064]	[0.066]
Housewife				0.0169	0.0719	−0.4382**
				[0.046]	[0.053]	[0.195]
Student				0.1367**	0.1106	0.1661*
				[0.063]	[0.091]	[0.089]
Unemployed	−0.5489***	−0.5395***	−0.5551***	−0.5303***	−0.4987***	−0.5607***
	[0.051]	[0.076]	[0.070]	[0.053]	[0.079]	[0.072]
Observations	24,527	13,066	11,461	23,687	12,598	11,089
(c) Sample: countries with low gender equality						
Gender (male)	−0.1335***			−0.0913***		
	[0.020]			[0.024]		
Middle-income	0.6654***	0.7064***	0.6167***	0.6631***	0.7056***	0.6102***
	[0.025]	[0.034]	[0.036]	[0.025]	[0.035]	[0.036]
High-income	0.9247***	0.9081***	0.9328***	0.9371***	0.9261***	0.9388***
	[0.035]	[0.049]	[0.051]	[0.035]	[0.049]	[0.051]
Health (fair)	0.9780***	0.9009***	1.0749***	0.9520***	0.8918***	1.0235***
	[0.047]	[0.062]	[0.071]	[0.048]	[0.064]	[0.072]
Health (good)	1.6807***	1.5862***	1.7943***	1.6475***	1.5573***	1.7494***
	[0.046]	[0.061]	[0.069]	[0.046]	[0.062]	[0.070]
Health (very good)	2.4054***	2.3458***	2.4830***	2.3712***	2.3285***	2.4260***
	[0.049]	[0.066]	[0.072]	[0.050]	[0.068]	[0.074]

(continued)

Table 34.2 (continued)

	All	Women	Men	All	Women	Men
Religious	0.2256***	0.2160***	0.2335***	0.2287***	0.2125***	0.2411***
	[0.026]	[0.038]	[0.036]	[0.026]	[0.038]	[0.036]
Married	0.2297***	0.2201***	0.2273***	0.2229***	0.2022***	0.2366***
	[0.024]	[0.032]	[0.038]	[0.025]	[0.034]	[0.038]
Age	−0.0231***	−0.0283***	−0.0168***	−0.0191***	−0.0254***	−0.0117**
	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.006]
Age squared	0.0003***	0.0004***	0.0003***	0.0003***	0.0003***	0.0002***
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]
Education						
Secondary education	0.0839***	0.1140***	0.0581*	0.0850***	0.1370***	0.0256
	[0.025]	[0.035]	[0.035]	[0.025]	[0.036]	[0.036]
Higher education	0.1308***	0.1598***	0.1139**	0.1245***	0.1863***	0.0603
	[0.035]	[0.051]	[0.048]	[0.036]	[0.054]	[0.049]
Occupational var.						
Part-time				−0.1497***	−0.0346	−0.2467***
				[0.045]	[0.069]	[0.060]
Self-employed				−0.1079***	−0.0262	−0.1844***
				[0.034]	[0.059]	[0.043]
Retired/pensioned				0.1133**	0.1517*	0.0978
				[0.053]	[0.084]	[0.070]
Housewife				0.1012***	0.1220**	0.2447
				[0.037]	[0.048]	[0.210]
Student				0.0295	0.0521	0.0291
				[0.046]	[0.069]	[0.067]
Unemployed	−0.3063***	−0.3013***	−0.3012***	−0.3124***	−0.2531***	−0.3661***
	[0.033]	[0.048]	[0.046]	[0.038]	[0.058]	[0.051]
Observations	43,485	22,433	21,052	41,619	21,504	20,115

Clustered standard errors in *brackets*

*significant at 10 %; **significant at 5 %; ***significant at 1 %

equality. In fact, the positive correlation between housework and life satisfaction found in the case of women is driven by women living in less gender egalitarian countries, with this relationship being not significant in more egalitarian societies.

Table 34.3 offers the estimates when a professional status variable related to whether or not the individual works in positions of greater autonomy and responsibility is included (columns 1–3) and when a dummy is introduced to consider whether the individual is the chief wage earner in the household or not (columns 4–6). The results for the control variables remain relatively stable, so we do not extend herein in their comments. When professional status is considered, it is found that holding positions of greater autonomy and responsibility or being manager or supervisor positively correlates with life satisfaction of both women and men, with similar marginal effects by gender. It has also to be noted that the educational variables loose significance in the case of men when the professional status is introduced in the analysis. Whereas taking account of professional status does not significantly affect the marginal effects of education on women's life satisfaction, in the case of men the secondary education variable ceases to be statistically significant (both in countries with higher or lower gender equality) and so does the higher education variable in the case of men living in less gender egalitarian countries. This result suggests that the effects of education on men's life satisfaction act, at least in part, in an indirect way through professional status.

Taking account of whether the individual is or not the main wage earner in the household (columns 4–6), we find that gender differences in life satisfaction decrease and cease to be significant in the case of individuals living in more gender egalitarian countries. Not being the main breadwinner in the household is positively and significantly correlated with women's subjective wellbeing, with a marginal effect of 0.12, whereas no significant correlation is found in the case of men. It should also be noted that this result is driven by women living in less gender egalitarian countries since this variable is not statistically

significant in the case of women living in more egalitarian societies. As regards education, we find that the educational variables loose significance in the case of women living in more gender egalitarian countries, whereas in less egalitarian countries both the secondary and higher education variables continue to show a significant and positive effect on women's life satisfaction. Furthermore, the results obtained for the occupational and professional status variables do not show significant changes, with the exception of the housewife variable which was positively correlated with women's wellbeing when this variable was not included in the analysis. However, when we consider the role as breadwinner in the household, the correlation between being housewife and women's life satisfaction ceases to be significant, this being so regardless of women living in countries with higher or lower gender equality.

The above results suggest that gender differences in life satisfaction and the effects of occupational status on subjective wellbeing may differ depending on the individuals' role in the household, so we next run the analysis separately for those individuals who are, and who are not, the main breadwinner in the household. Table 34.4 shows the estimates of this analysis, thus taking into account that gender differences in satisfaction and the effects of occupational status on perceived wellbeing may differ depending on the individuals' role in the household. When the analysis is run for the whole sample of individuals, it is worth noting that no significant differences in life satisfaction between men and women appear for the group of individuals who play the role of main breadwinner in the household, with the gender variable being significant only in the case of individuals who are not primary breadwinners. This result is driven by individuals living in less gender egalitarian countries, where men not being the main wage earners suffer lower levels of satisfaction than women. On the contrary, in more egalitarian countries, the gender variable is not significant regardless of being or not the main breadwinner, thus pointing to similar levels of satisfaction among genders.

Table 34.3 Life satisfaction: the role of professional and wage earner statuses

	All	Women	Men	All	Women	Men
(a) Sample: all countries						
Gender (male)	−0.0712***			−0.0364*		
	[0.0176]			[0.0210]		
Middle-income	0.6374***	0.6634***	0.6043***	0.6729***	0.7151***	0.6239***
	[0.0194]	[0.0268]	[0.0282]	[0.0221]	[0.0315]	[0.0312]
High-income	0.8550***	0.8443***	0.8601***	0.8955***	0.9014***	0.8815***
	[0.0257]	[0.0354]	[0.0374]	[0.0300]	[0.0423]	[0.0425]
Health (fair)	1.0450***	1.0564***	1.0271***	0.9543***	0.9693***	0.9342***
	[0.0343]	[0.0454]	[0.0524]	[0.0401]	[0.0542]	[0.0598]
Health (good)	1.7474***	1.7145***	1.7744***	1.6647***	1.6489***	1.6713***
	[0.0339]	[0.0452]	[0.0513]	[0.0393]	[0.0534]	[0.0583]
Health (very good)	2.4259***	2.4422***	2.4034***	2.3516***	2.3717***	2.3253***
	[0.0367]	[0.0498]	[0.0547]	[0.0422]	[0.0583]	[0.0616]
Religious	0.2193***	0.2018***	0.2389***	0.2219***	0.2122***	0.2341***
	[0.0191]	[0.0275]	[0.0265]	[0.0221]	[0.0330]	[0.0300]
Married	0.2863***	0.2766***	0.2854***	0.2588***	0.2086***	0.2815***
	[0.0188]	[0.0260]	[0.0288]	[0.0215]	[0.0315]	[0.0326]
Age	−0.0278***	−0.0312***	−0.0239***	−0.0214***	−0.0228***	−0.0203***
	[0.0030]	[0.0040]	[0.0044]	[0.0035]	[0.0048]	[0.0051]
Age squared	0.0003***	0.0004***	0.0003***	0.0003***	0.0003***	0.0003***
	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0001]	[0.0001]
Education						
Secondary education	0.0754***	0.1201***	0.0266	0.0797***	0.1480***	0.0166
	[0.0197]	[0.0277]	[0.0282]	[0.0224]	[0.0325]	[0.0311]
Higher education	0.1143***	0.1633***	0.0637*	0.1049***	0.1524***	0.0609
	[0.0279]	[0.0407]	[0.0386]	[0.0320]	[0.0482]	[0.0429]
Occupational var.						
Part-time	−0.1059***	−0.0084	−0.2113***	−0.1112***	−0.0278	−0.1994***
	[0.0327]	[0.0459]	[0.0482]	[0.0354]	[0.0506]	[0.0506]
Self-employed	−0.0938***	0.002	−0.1665***	−0.1067***	−0.002	−0.1873***
	[0.0280]	[0.0470]	[0.0353]	[0.0294]	[0.0497]	[0.0370]

Retired/pensioned	0.1163**	0.1154*	0.1139***	0.0878*	0.1034**	0.0966***
	[0.0577]	[0.0643]	[0.0427]	[0.0489]	[0.0516]	[0.0352]
Housewife	−0.0363	0.0748	0.0710*	−0.048	0.1254***	0.1062***
	[0.1683]	[0.0463]	[0.0367]	[0.1469]	[0.0362]	[0.0290]
Student	0.0598	0.0919	0.0790*	0.0978*	0.1111**	0.1003***
	[0.0678]	[0.0697]	[0.0471]	[0.0534]	[0.0544]	[0.0373]
Unemployed	−0.4051***	−0.3453***	−0.3756***	−0.3858***	−0.2770***	−0.3328***
	[0.0519]	[0.0583]	[0.0385]	[0.0414]	[0.0459]	[0.0306]
Prof. Status (manager/superv)	0.1481***	0.1689***	0.1529***	0.1409***	0.1337***	0.1378***
	[0.0333]	[0.0383]	[0.0250]	[0.0310]	[0.0342]	[0.0229]
Household No main wage earner	0.0358	0.1156***	0.0667***			
	[0.0330]	[0.0335]	[0.0224]			
Observations	25,648	25,294	50,942	31,204	34,102	65,306
(b) Sample: countries with high gender equality						
Gender (male)			0.0179			−0.0399
			[0.033]			[0.025]
Middle-income	0.6463***	0.6524***	0.6491***	0.5804***	0.5503***	0.5641***
	[0.055]	[0.052]	[0.038]	[0.046]	[0.042]	[0.031]
High-income	0.8101***	0.8189***	0.8152***	0.7309***	0.6802***	0.7054***
	[0.067]	[0.064]	[0.046]	[0.054]	[0.050]	[0.037]
Health (fair)	0.8448***	1.2348***	1.0701***	1.0337***	1.2665***	1.1697***
	[0.092]	[0.080]	[0.060]	[0.074]	[0.063]	[0.048]
Health (good)	1.5961***	1.8953***	1.7741***	1.8120***	1.9222***	1.8848***
	[0.090]	[0.080]	[0.060]	[0.073]	[0.064]	[0.048]
Health (very good)	2.1652***	2.5191***	2.3725***	2.3336***	2.5689***	2.4732***
	[0.097]	[0.089]	[0.065]	[0.079]	[0.072]	[0.053]
Religious	0.2355***	0.2424***	0.2364***	0.2361***	0.1863***	0.2107***
	[0.047]	[0.048]	[0.034]	[0.038]	[0.038]	[0.027]
Married	0.3986***	0.3954***	0.4038***	0.3682***	0.4347***	0.4108***
	[0.052]	[0.054]	[0.036]	[0.043]	[0.039]	[0.028]

(continued)

Table 34.3 (continued)

	All	Women	Men	All	Women	Men
Age	-0.0462***	-0.0466***	-0.0464***	-0.0426***	-0.0408***	-0.0470***
	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.008]	[0.009]
Age squared	0.0005***	0.0005***	0.0005***	0.0005***	0.0005***	0.0006***
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]
Education						
Secondary education	0.0846***	0.1024**	0.0575	0.0751**	0.0952*	0.0474
	[0.031]	[0.044]	[0.045]	[0.038]	[0.054]	[0.054]
Higher education	0.1514***	0.1634***	0.1345**	0.1298**	0.1160	0.1398*
	[0.042]	[0.059]	[0.059]	[0.051]	[0.074]	[0.072]
Occupational var.						
Part-time	-0.0516	0.0020	-0.1422*	-0.0650	-0.0315	-0.1147
	[0.046]	[0.059]	[0.080]	[0.053]	[0.069]	[0.090]
Self-employed	0.0029	0.1270	-0.0793	-0.0581	0.0763	-0.1412**
	[0.051]	[0.082]	[0.065]	[0.056]	[0.091]	[0.072]
Retired/pensioned	0.1004**	0.1264**	0.0645	0.0161	0.0484	-0.0328
	[0.046]	[0.064]	[0.066]	[0.058]	[0.082]	[0.081]
Housewife	0.0357	0.0944*	-0.4273**	-0.0243	0.0615	-0.6007***
	[0.047]	[0.053]	[0.195]	[0.062]	[0.071]	[0.223]
Student	0.1678***	0.1476	0.1924**	0.1617*	0.0788	0.2385*
	[0.064]	[0.091]	[0.089]	[0.097]	[0.139]	[0.137]
Unemployed	-0.5096***	-0.4722***	-0.5444***	-0.5753***	-0.6282***	-0.5324***
	[0.053]	[0.079]	[0.072]	[0.074]	[0.110]	[0.099]
Prof. Status	0.1528***	0.1574***	0.1537***	0.1862***	0.2094***	0.1624***
(manager/superv)	[0.033]	[0.047]	[0.047]	[0.039]	[0.056]	[0.054]
Household						
No main wage earner				0.0818**	0.0630	0.0756
				[0.034]	[0.051]	[0.051]
Observations	23,687	12,598	11,089	15,753	8,213	7,540
(c) Sample: countries with low gender equality						
Gender (male)	-0.0927***			-0.0666**		
	[0.024]			[0.027]		

Middle-income	0.6619***	0.7050***	0.6086***	0.6749***	0.7317***	0.6112***
	[0.025]	[0.035]	[0.036]	[0.027]	[0.039]	[0.038]
High-income	0.9319***	0.9230***	0.9314***	0.9219***	0.9232***	0.9081***
	[0.035]	[0.049]	[0.051]	[0.039]	[0.056]	[0.054]
Health (fair)	0.9491***	0.8903***	1.0190***	0.8890***	0.8117***	0.9749***
	[0.048]	[0.063]	[0.072]	[0.052]	[0.072]	[0.077]
Health (good)	1.6443***	1.5558***	1.7440***	1.6010***	1.5027***	1.7030***
	[0.046]	[0.062]	[0.070]	[0.051]	[0.070]	[0.075]
Health (very good)	2.3674***	2.3262***	2.4205***	2.3240***	2.2684***	2.3869***
	[0.050]	[0.068]	[0.074]	[0.054]	[0.076]	[0.078]
Religious	0.2282***	0.2128***	0.2400***	0.2161***	0.1949***	0.2319***
	[0.026]	[0.038]	[0.036]	[0.029]	[0.044]	[0.038]
Married	0.2197***	0.1998***	0.2328***	0.1974***	0.1444***	0.2228***
	[0.025]	[0.034]	[0.038]	[0.027]	[0.039]	[0.041]
Age	−0.0192***	−0.0256***	−0.0118**	−0.0133***	−0.0172***	−0.0089
	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.006]
Age squared	0.0003***	0.0003***	0.0002***	0.0002***	0.0003***	0.0001*
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]
Education						
Secondary education	0.0759***	0.1304***	0.0160	0.0846***	0.1681***	0.0082
	[0.025]	[0.036]	[0.036]	[0.028]	[0.041]	[0.038]
Higher education	0.0837**	0.1529***	0.0176	0.0833**	0.1632**	0.0166
	[0.037]	[0.056]	[0.051]	[0.041]	[0.063]	[0.053]
Occupational var.						
Part-time	−0.1454***	−0.0279	−0.2443***	−0.1375***	−0.0244	−0.2309***
	[0.045]	[0.069]	[0.060]	[0.046]	[0.071]	[0.061]
Self-employed	−0.1179***	−0.0300	−0.1972***	−0.1149***	−0.0076	−0.2044***
	[0.035]	[0.059]	[0.043]	[0.035]	[0.061]	[0.044]
Retired/pensioned	0.1331**	0.1696**	0.1204*	0.2102***	0.2642***	0.1988**
	[0.054]	[0.085]	[0.071]	[0.061]	[0.099]	[0.079]

(continued)

Table 34.3 (continued)

	All	Women	Men	All	Women	Men
Housewife	0.1234***	0.1451***	0.2689	0.0996**	0.1001	0.4186*
	[0.038]	[0.049]	[0.211]	[0.046]	[0.061]	[0.237]
Student	0.0627	0.0828	0.0563	0.0711	0.1070	0.0394
	[0.047]	[0.070]	[0.067]	[0.056]	[0.084]	[0.080]
Unemployed	−0.2865***	−0.2268***	−0.3417***	−0.3263***	−0.2737***	−0.3725***
	[0.038]	[0.059]	[0.052]	[0.046]	[0.072]	[0.062]
Prof. Status	0.1294***	0.1143**	0.1348***	0.1406***	0.1406***	0.1460***
(manager/superv)	[0.031]	[0.048]	[0.041]	[0.032]	[0.051]	[0.042]
Household						
No main wage earner				0.0472	0.1185***	0.0131
				[0.029]	[0.044]	[0.042]
Observations	41,619	21,504	20,115	35,189	17,081	18,108

Clustered standard errors in *brackets*

*significant at 10 %; **significant at 5 %; ***significant at 1 %

Table 34.4 Main wage earner roles and life satisfaction

	All		Women		Men	
	Main wage earner	No main wage earner	Main wage earner	No main wage earner	Main wage earner	No main wage earner
(a) Sample: all countries						
Gender (male)	−0.0065	−0.0830***				
	[0.0311]	[0.0307]				
Middle-income	0.6329***	0.6933***	0.6670***	0.7289***	0.6208***	0.6087***
	[0.0313]	[0.0314]	[0.0578]	[0.0376]	[0.0373]	[0.0573]
High-income	0.8747***	0.9035***	0.8570***	0.9184***	0.8829***	0.8467***
	[0.0435]	[0.0416]	[0.0803]	[0.0502]	[0.0520]	[0.0746]
Health (fair)	1.0088***	0.8930***	1.2517***	0.8215***	0.8515***	1.0845***
	[0.0563]	[0.0570]	[0.0926]	[0.0668]	[0.0713]	[0.1097]
Health (good)	1.7422***	1.5738***	1.9189***	1.5033***	1.6144***	1.7515***
	[0.0554]	[0.0558]	[0.0932]	[0.0653]	[0.0695]	[0.1074]
Health (very good)	2.4265***	2.2645***	2.6669***	2.2181***	2.2774***	2.3855***
	[0.0597]	[0.0596]	[0.1050]	[0.0704]	[0.0737]	[0.1125]
Religious	0.2162***	0.2286***	0.1841***	0.2228***	0.2297***	0.2280***
	[0.0306]	[0.0319]	[0.0607]	[0.0393]	[0.0356]	[0.0553]
Married	0.2535***	0.2363***	0.1799***	0.2284***	0.2963***	0.2403***
	[0.0307]	[0.0335]	[0.0523]	[0.0406]	[0.0390]	[0.0637]
Age	−0.0077	−0.0307***	−0.0085	−0.0284***	−0.0079	−0.0386***
	[0.0051]	[0.0050]	[0.0089]	[0.0060]	[0.0064]	[0.0091]
Age squared	0.0002***	0.0004***	0.0002**	0.0004***	0.0002**	0.0004***
	[0.0001]	[0.0001]	[0.0001]	[0.0001]	[0.0001]	[0.0001]
Education						
Secondary education	0.0833***	0.0785**	0.2302***	0.1150***	0.0348	−0.0121
	[0.0314]	[0.0320]	[0.0615]	[0.0385]	[0.0367]	[0.0586]
Higher education	0.1474***	0.0623	0.2780***	0.1006*	0.1044**	−0.0319
	[0.0429]	[0.0479]	[0.0842]	[0.0592]	[0.0502]	[0.0833]
Occupational var.						
Part-time	−0.1428***	−0.0787	−0.0217	−0.0532	−0.2057***	−0.149
	[0.0491]	[0.0521]	[0.0855]	[0.0633]	[0.0605]	[0.0935]

(continued)

Table 34.4 (continued)

	All		Women		Men	
	Main wage earner	No main wage earner	Main wage earner	No main wage earner	Main wage earner	No main wage earner
Self-employed	−0.1180***	−0.0943*	−0.0542	0.0132	−0.1459***	−0.2433***
	[0.0370]	[0.0499]	[0.0791]	[0.0649]	[0.0421]	[0.0799]
Retired/pensioned	0.1639***	0.0586	0.2310**	0.0326	0.1334**	0.1136
	[0.0551]	[0.0682]	[0.1011]	[0.0843]	[0.0662]	[0.1187]
Housewife	−0.1161	0.0825*	−0.0312	0.069	−0.3523	0.0607
	[0.0904]	[0.0475]	[0.1138]	[0.0542]	[0.3088]	[0.2137]
Student	0.2957	0.041	0.5628*	0.0927	0.0253	−0.0373
	[0.1890]	[0.0566]	[0.2932]	[0.0773]	[0.2500]	[0.0886]
Unemployed	−0.5462***	−0.3383***	−0.6265***	−0.2972***	−0.5151***	−0.4031***
	[0.0715]	[0.0504]	[0.1339]	[0.0678]	[0.0849]	[0.0776]
Prof. Status	0.1572***	0.1594***	0.1047	0.1986***	0.1733***	0.073
(manager/superv)	[0.0326]	[0.0394]	[0.0642]	[0.0482]	[0.0380]	[0.0694]
Observations	24,436	26,506	7,013	18,281	17,423	8,225
(b) Sample: countries with high gender equality						
Gender (male)	−0.0100	0.0351				
	[0.046]	[0.050]				
Middle-income	0.6186***	0.6816***	0.6547***	0.6587***	0.5982***	0.7288***
	[0.0511]	[0.056]	[0.087]	[0.066]	[0.064]	[0.107]
High-income	0.7682***	0.8672***	0.7211***	0.8651***	0.7757***	0.8672***
	[0.065]	[0.067]	[0.114]	[0.079]	[0.079]	[0.131]
Health (fair)	1.1176***	1.0126***	1.3088***	1.1725***	0.9587***	0.6279***
	[0.083]	[0.087]	[0.129]	[0.102]	[0.111]	[0.165]
Health (good)	1.8201***	1.7123***	1.9633***	1.8330***	1.6888***	1.4075***
	[0.083]	[0.086]	[0.132]	[0.102]	[0.109]	[0.163]
Health (very good)	2.4452***	2.2840***	2.7741***	2.3825***	2.2419***	2.0136***
	[0.091]	[0.094]	[0.152]	[0.111]	[0.116]	[0.179]
Religious	0.2590***	0.2072***	0.2645***	0.2228***	0.2525***	0.1889**
	[0.046]	[0.049]	[0.085]	[0.059]	[0.055]	[0.092]

Married	0.4182***	0.4231***	0.3970***	0.4344***	0.4271***	0.3368***
	[0.048]	[0.061]	[0.083]	[0.076]	[0.061]	[0.111]
Age	−0.0344***	−0.0509***	−0.0325**	−0.0478***	−0.0384***	−0.0581***
	[0.008]	[0.009]	[0.013]	[0.010]	[0.011]	[0.016]
Age squared	0.0004***	0.0006***	0.0004***	0.0005***	0.0005***	0.0007***
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]
Education						
Secondary education	0.0805	0.0598	0.1082	0.0857	0.0655	0.0205
	[0.053]	[0.055]	[0.097]	[0.066]	[0.064]	[0.106]
Higher education	0.1764**	0.0713	0.1082	0.1065	0.1940**	0.0260
	[0.070]	[0.076]	[0.129]	[0.091]	[0.083]	[0.144]
Occupational var.						
Part-time	−0.0603	−0.0829	0.0587	−0.0861	−0.1183	−0.1042
	[0.082]	[0.072]	[0.130]	[0.082]	[0.109]	[0.161]
Self-employed	−0.0522	−0.0762	0.1679	0.0071	−0.1162	−0.2170
	[0.071]	[0.093]	[0.150]	[0.114]	[0.080]	[0.164]
Retired/pensioned	0.1045	−0.0993	0.1910	−0.0452	0.0651	−0.2554
	[0.078]	[0.087]	[0.136]	[0.105]	[0.096]	[0.158]
Housewife	−0.2868*	−0.0199	−0.0186	0.0160	−0.9991***	−0.4293
	[0.165]	[0.073]	[0.196]	[0.080]	[0.382]	[0.291]
Student	0.3326	0.1217	0.4264	0.0127	0.2921	0.2055
	[0.327]	[0.110]	[0.522]	[0.149]	[0.424]	[0.168]
Unemployed	−0.5158***	−0.6728***	−0.3480	−0.7604***	−0.5821***	−0.6161***
	[0.137]	[0.091]	[0.245]	[0.125]	[0.167]	[0.136]
Prof. Status	0.1656***	0.2139***	0.2570***	0.1887***	0.1283**	0.2739**
(manager/superv)	[0.052]	[0.059]	[0.097]	[0.070]	[0.062]	[0.112]
Observations	8,181	7,572	2,740	5,473	5,441	2,099
(c) Sample: countries with low gender equality						
Gender (male)	−0.0079	−0.1286***				
	[0.041]	[0.038]				

(continued)

Table 34.4 (continued)

	All		Women		Men	
	Main wage earner	No main wage earner	Main wage earner	No main wage earner	Main wage earner	No main wage earner
Middle-income	0.6314***	0.6943***	0.6478***	0.7513***	0.6241***	0.5709***
	[0.039]	[0.038]	[0.077]	[0.046]	[0.046]	[0.067]
High-income	0.9315***	0.9086***	0.9155***	0.9275***	0.9440***	0.8332***
	[0.058]	[0.052]	[0.113]	[0.065]	[0.068]	[0.090]
Health (fair)	0.9426***	0.8310***	1.1925***	0.6455***	0.8019***	1.2838***
	[0.075]	[0.073]	[0.131]	[0.086]	[0.091]	[0.140]
Health (good)	1.6912***	1.5023***	1.8627***	1.3405***	1.5788***	1.9015***
	[0.073]	[0.071]	[0.130]	[0.083]	[0.089]	[0.137]
Health (very good)	2.3993***	2.2384***	2.5713***	2.1210***	2.2837***	2.5456***
	[0.078]	[0.075]	[0.144]	[0.089]	[0.094]	[0.142]
Religious	0.1928***	0.2403***	0.1151	0.2215***	0.2160***	0.2445***
	[0.040]	[0.041]	[0.085]	[0.051]	[0.046]	[0.067]
Married	0.1718***	0.1787***	0.0737	0.1780***	0.2326***	0.1939**
	[0.039]	[0.040]	[0.067]	[0.048]	[0.050]	[0.077]
Age	0.0047	−0.0237***	0.0028	−0.0224***	0.0063	−0.0284**
	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.012]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.011]
Age squared	0.0000	0.0003***	0.0001	0.0003***	0.0000	0.0003**
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]
Education						
Secondary education	0.0815**	0.0901**	0.2962***	0.1237***	0.0209	−0.0134
	[0.039]	[0.039]	[0.080]	[0.047]	[0.045]	[0.070]
Higher education	0.1207**	0.0492	0.3604***	0.0953	0.0552	−0.0719
	[0.055]	[0.061]	[0.112]	[0.078]	[0.063]	[0.101]
Occupational var.						
Part-time	−0.1831***	−0.0666	−0.0656	−0.0195	−0.2410***	−0.1531
	[0.061]	[0.071]	[0.113]	[0.091]	[0.073]	[0.113]
Self-employed	−0.1422***	−0.0747	−0.1143	0.0544	−0.1603***	−0.2500***
	[0.044]	[0.061]	[0.096]	[0.081]	[0.050]	[0.094]
Retired/pensioned	0.2157***	0.2247**	0.3484**	0.1788	0.1629*	0.3536**
	[0.077]	[0.104]	[0.150]	[0.135]	[0.090]	[0.168]

Housewife	−0.0893	0.1366**	−0.0260	0.1330*	0.3487	0.3899
	[0.110]	[0.062]	[0.142]	[0.073]	[0.472]	[0.290]
Student	0.2745	0.0615	0.5898	0.1681*	−0.0791	−0.0658
	[0.232]	[0.069]	[0.359]	[0.095]	[0.308]	[0.107]
Unemployed	−0.5599***	−0.2374***	−0.7390***	−0.1542*	−0.4960***	−0.3543***
	[0.085]	[0.063]	[0.164]	[0.085]	[0.100]	[0.095]
Prof. Status	0.1579***	0.1347***	0.0001	0.2106***	0.1993***	−0.0101
(manager/superv)	[0.041]	[0.051]	[0.085]	[0.064]	[0.048]	[0.086]
Observations	16,255	18,934	4,273	12,808	11,982	6,126

Clustered standard errors in *brackets*

*significant at 10 %; **significant at 5 %; ***significant at 1 %

Looking at the correlation between education and life satisfaction, it is found that the educational variables continue to be statistically significant in the case of women. Moreover, for women who are the main breadwinner in their household, education shows even a greater marginal effect on life satisfaction (0.23 for secondary education and 0.28 for higher education). Once again, this result is driven by women living in less gender egalitarian countries, with the educational variables being no longer significantly correlated with women's satisfaction in more egalitarian countries. Looking at the samples of men we find no significant correlation between education and men's subjective wellbeing once occupational variables and professional statuses are controlled for, with the only exception of higher education in the case of men living in more egalitarian countries.

Similar results to those previously reported are found as regards the occupational variables. Nevertheless, some differences appear depending on whether or not the individuals are the main breadwinner in their household. Working part-time is found to negatively correlate with individual satisfaction only in the case of men living in less gender egalitarian countries and being the chief wage earner in their household, whereas part-time work does not show any significant effect on women's life satisfaction nor in perceived wellbeing of men living in more gender egalitarian countries. It is also worth noting that the housework variable loose significance when the role as chief wage earner is considered, with house working being significantly correlated with satisfaction declared by men being the main wage earner and living in more gender egalitarian countries, where being househusband has a negative effect, and in the case of women who are not the main breadwinner in less egalitarian countries, where being housewife positively affect subjective wellbeing.

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

According to previous literature, overall satisfaction with life significantly correlates with variables such as income, health, age, religion, or marital status. The obtained results are consistent throughout different specifications, obtaining robust estimates when occupational and professional status variables are included and when various subsamples are defined. Since the results obtained for these control variables are in accordance with previous empirical work (see, for example, Dolan et al. 2008), we do not extend herein in their discussion. However, the results obtained for other variables such as gender, education, occupational status, or being the main breadwinners in the household, differ depending on the specifications or samples considered. Moreover, running separate analyses for the subsamples of men and women and considering whether they live in countries where more (or less) gender egalitarian norms prevail allows one to look for the roots of gender differences in life satisfaction and the way in which different variables affect women's' and men's perceived wellbeing, both at the individual level and taking account of the societal context.

As regards gender differences in life satisfaction, our results show that men tend to declare lower levels of satisfaction than women do once the control variables are introduced in the analysis. However, it has to be noted that this result is driven by individuals living in less gender egalitarian countries since men and women living in societies with a higher level of gender equality tend to report similar levels of satisfaction with life. Moreover, gender differences in subjective wellbeing in less gender egalitarian countries decrease and lose significance when account is taken of the individuals' role as main breadwinner in the household, with no significant gender differences in subjective wellbeing among individuals who are the primary breadwinners, whereas among those individuals who are not the chief wage earners it is found that men tend to declare lower levels of life satisfaction than women do.

This result is in line with socialization theories (Festinger 1954, 1957) and with the hypothesis of gender identity (Akerlof and Kranton 2000), which assume that individuals suffer psychological tensions when they deviate from prevailing social norms. In more gender egalitarian countries, gender social norms might appear in softer

ways, leading hence to less tension among gender roles. However, if the prevailing social pattern corresponds to a situation where men tend to play the role of main breadwinner in the household, those who do not follow that role might perceive lower levels of satisfaction as a result of deviating from social norm, as seems to be the case in countries with higher gender inequality. In sum, differences in subjective wellbeing of men and women appear to be related to different patterns of gender socialization.

Existing empirical evidence about workforce participation and its relationship with subjective wellbeing is not conclusive. There is robust evidence that being unemployed negatively impacts subjective wellbeing. Nevertheless, the results for other variables such as having a paid job or being housewife, or working full- or part-time, are ambiguous. The results obtained in our study tend to confirm that unemployment has a negative impact on subjective wellbeing, even when its effects through income are controlled for. This is so for both men and women and regardless of gender inequality and of the role as wage earners in their household. This negative effect on wellbeing is consistent with a conflict between the preferences for a paid work and a situation where the individual do not find a job, with this conflict being independent of gender and roles in the household.

Other situations where the individual does not work for pay, as is the case of house work, should not a priori lead to individual conflicts between the activities carried out and individuals' preferences. In fact, in less gender egalitarian countries women being housewife tend to report higher levels of satisfaction than those working full-time, finding no significant differences in women's satisfaction among those who work full-time and those who work at home in countries with higher gender equality. On the contrary, men devoted to house work in more egalitarian countries tend to report lower levels of subjective wellbeing, although this relationship loose significance when the role as wage earner is considered and remains statistically significant only for men who play the role of main breadwinner in the household. Similarly, in countries with more gender inequality, the positive effect of being

housewife loose significance for women who are the main chief earner in the household, thus suggesting that, besides gender socialization theories, the effects of house work on individuals' satisfaction seem to respond to the specialization hypothesis proposed by Becker (1965), which states that the division of labor responds to a pattern of specialization in either market or domestic production.

Among occupational statuses, men working part-time tend to declare less satisfaction than those working full-time, whereas no significant differences between working full- or part-time are found in the case of women. Furthermore, the negative correlation between part-time work and men's wellbeing appears to be significant only for men living in less gender egalitarian countries and who are chief wage earners in their household. This result suggest again that subjective wellbeing could be related to prevailing social norms, with men playing the role of main breadwinner and deviating from the social standard of working full-time being those who declare less satisfaction with life.

Finally, education is significant and positively related to subjective wellbeing of men and women, although it appears to affect men's and women's satisfaction through different channels. Whereas men tend to derive satisfaction from education through occupational and professional status women tend to enjoy more direct effects of education on subjective wellbeing, this being so at least in countries with more gender inequality. In more gender egalitarian countries, the effects of education through occupational status are less pronounced and a more similar pattern appears between men and women. Thus, even when the secondary variable loose significance in explaining men's satisfaction when the occupational and professional status variables are introduced in the analysis, higher education continues to show direct effects on satisfaction of men and women besides enhanced occupational and professional opportunities in more egalitarian countries. Nevertheless, all the educational variables loose significance when the role as main wage earner is considered, this being so irrespective of gender. In less gender egalitarian countries, however, the pattern is significantly different, with men clearly

deriving satisfaction from education through occupational opportunities whereas women enjoy more direct effects of education on subjective wellbeing. In fact, for men living in less egalitarian countries, the educational variables cease to be significantly correlated with wellbeing once occupational variables such as working full- or part-time are considered. On the contrary, education positively correlates with women's wellbeing in these countries regardless of occupational and professional statuses.

In sum, the results of this study point to gender differences in satisfaction as being driven by prevailing social roles of men and women in different societies. Whereas most variables (e.g. income, health, age, religiosity…) seem to affect women's and men's subjective wellbeing in similar ways, other variables such as education (and occupational opportunities which come with education), professional status and the role of main wage earner in the household affect individual wellbeing in significant different ways depending on gender, this being so especially in the case of individuals where gender inequality is higher. In more gender egalitarian countries those variables show similar effects on life satisfaction of men and women. However, in less egalitarian countries women seem to derive more satisfaction of not being the chief wage earner in the household (and when they are not the main breadwinner they derive more satisfaction when working at home than when working full-time), whereas men are less satisfied when they work part-time or play the role of househusband. This result of men attaching more importance to professional career than women do is also reinforced by the instrumental dimension through increased occupational and status opportunities that men in less gender egalitarian societies attach to education. The results of this study tend hence to confirm that gender social roles matter to shape individual subjective wellbeing, being the gender social context a key element in explaining gender differences in life satisfaction and the factors behind subjective wellbeing of men and women living in different societies.

Future Research

This chapter focused on analyzing the effects of variables such as education and occupational status on subjective wellbeing of men and women. Since men seem to attach more importance to the work domain, the variables associated with occupation (including job opportunities related to educational achievement) are good bet for explaining differences in life satisfaction of men and women. Identifying other life domains to which men and women attach different emphasis (e.g. family, social relations…), and the relevant variables within these domains, seems a promising line of research to better understand gender differences in wellbeing. Within the work domain, the study of the use of time devoted to paid work, house work and other activities would also allow to get a deeper understanding of differences in subjective wellbeing of men and women working full- or part-time or being homemakers. The role of gender inequality in different societies has also been explored in this chapter. However, individual attitudes towards gender inequality have not been analyzed. Looking at individual attitudes towards the role of men and women in a society could shed light on different behaviors of men and women as regards their participation in the labor force and on the satisfaction they derived from that participation. Also, exploring whether those individual attitudes are (or not) in line with prevailing social norms regarding gender inequality could provide evidence on individual conflicts with social norms, with these conflicts affecting individual satisfaction. Not only the social context matters to shape gender differences in wellbeing, so looking at how the individuals' attitudes fit the social context would be a promising line of future research to understand individuals' satisfaction and gender differences in wellbeing.

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The Subjective Well-Being of Working Women in Europe

Eduardo Bericat

Introduction

In this chapter we study the subjective well-being of women, focusing on working women in Europe, carrying out a comparative analysis of their socioemotional well-being in different employment situations. In addition to understanding women's objective conditions of existence (Bericat 2012a; Bericat and Sánchez 2015; EIGE 2013), it is also necessary to understand how they feel about, perceive and evaluate their own lives. Although it has been widely demonstrated that there is a correlation between objective and subjective well-being, we also know that the relationship between living conditions and the way in which individuals subjectively experience those conditions is complex and at times paradoxical. The *Easterlin paradox*, for example, shows that economic growth in developed countries is not associated with increases in the average level of happiness (Easterlin 1974). In addition, Stevenson and Wolfers have shown that, despite the on-going improvement women have experienced in their well-being during the last 35 years, their level of happiness has declined both in absolute as well as in relative terms with respect to men (Stevenson and Wolfers 2009).

In short, the analysis of human subjectivity contributes knowledge that is necessary to form an accurate representation of the world; and in this sense, the study of the well-being of working women in Europe requires information regarding how they feel about and assess their lives, specifically addressing the impact of different employment situations.

After a period in which the measurement and control of objective conditions constituted the hegemonic or almost exclusive way in which the progress of societies and individual well-being were evaluated, a new period has begun in which individuals' perceptions, evaluations and feelings regarding their living conditions are being considered. It has been shown that the material and economic development of societies does not lead directly to a state of complete happiness, nor, is it capable of eliminating the pain and suffering of life. As a result, it is necessary to look not only at objective conditions of well-being but at subjective well-being as well. Social scientists such as Norman M. Bradburn, Edward Diener and Ruut Veenhoven, among others, have been pioneers in doing so.

Therefore, following this recent line of research, we will analyse the impact of different employment situations on the subjectively experienced well-being of European working women. Through this analysis we intend to provide answers to the following questions: Is the subjective well-being of women with paid employment

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greater, less than, or equal to that of women who are not economically active? To what extent does subjective well-being decline when working women lose their employment? How does job insecurity affect the subjective well-being of working women? Who enjoys a higher level of subjective well-being, working women or house-wives? Are there differences in subjective well-being between women who work for a wage and those who are self-employed?

To respond to these and other questions, we have carried out an empirical analysis using data from a special module on *Personal and Social Well-Being*, introduced by Huppert and her col-laborators in the third wave of the *European Social Survey* in 2006 (Huppert et al. 2005). This module contains a significant number of ques-tions on emotional states, which has allowed us to create a multi-dimensional model to measure the subjective well-being of those surveyed. Thus, we have designed, constructed and vali-dated a composite indicator with the purpose of measuring individuals' subjective well-being (Bericat 2013). This *Socioemotional Well-Being Index* (SEWBI), the design and content of which is explained in greater detail in the following section, constitutes a synthesis elaborated with the information provided by the interviewees regarding the frequency with which they had experienced certain emotions during the week prior to being interviewed or the extent to which they were in agreement or disagreement regard-ing specific statements about certain general emotional states (see Tables 35.1, 35.2, 35.3, and 35.4). Therefore, the analysis on the subjective well-being of working women in Europe that is presented in this chapter is not based, as is common, on the analysis of only one variable, such as in scales measuring satisfaction with life or happiness, or on the analysis of a series of variables treated individually. Instead, the analysis is based on a multidimensional and synthetic index that measures the socioemotional well-being of those interviewed.

Given that the level of socioemotional well-being of men and women is different (women's reported well-being being lower than men's), the analysis is from a gender perspective, establishing

Table 35.1 Status dimension: emotional states of workers from 15 to 65 years of age, by sex, in Europe

Status		Male	Female	Total
Felt sad how often past week	None or almost none of the time	64.2	50.6	58.1
	Some of the time	32.8	43.3	37.5
	Most of the time	2.2	4.3	3.1
	All or almost all of the time	0.8	1.8	1.2
Felt depressed how often past week	None or almost none of the time	68.8	58.7	64.3
	Some of the time	27.0	34.6	30.4
	Most of the time	3.0	4.8	3.8
	All or almost all of the time	1.1	1.9	1.5
Felt lonely how often past week	None or almost none of the time	76.5	71.5	74.3
	Some of the time	19.3	22.8	20.9
	Most of the time	3.0	3.8	3.4
	All or almost all of the time	1.1	1.9	1.5

Source: ESS (2006)

Table 35.2 Situation dimension: emotional states of workers from 15 to 65 years of age, by sex, in Europe

Situation		Male	Female	Total
Enjoyed life how often past week	None or almost none of the time	3.7	4.4	4.0
	Some of the time	24.2	26.1	25.0
	Most of the time	46.0	44.4	45.3
	All or almost all of the time	26.1	25.1	25.7
Were happy how often past week	None or almost none of the time	3.1	3.7	3.3
	Some of the time	23.0	24.6	23.7
	Most of the time	49.7	47.3	48.6
	All or almost all of the time	24.3	24.4	24.3

Source: ESS (2006)

relative comparisons between the respective variations in well-being that women and men experience when we compare two different employment situations. As it is important to know the absolute levels of socioemotional well-being

Table 35.3 Personal (*self*) dimension: emotional states of workers from 15 to 65 years of age, by sex, in Europe

Self		Male	Female	Total
In general, **feel very positive about myself**	Agree strongly	17.8	14.3	16.2
	Agree	64.3	60.9	62.7
	Neither agree nor disagree	12.8	15.8	14.1
	Disagree	4.5	7.8	6.0
	Disagree strongly	0.6	1.3	0.9
Always **optimistic about my future**	Agree strongly	15.7	13.2	14.6
	Agree	56.7	52.4	54.8
	Neither agree nor disagree	17.3	20.3	18.7
	Disagree	8.9	12.6	10.6
	Disagree strongly	1.3	1.5	1.4

Source: ESS (2006)

Table 35.4 Power dimension: emotional states of workers from 15 to 65 years of age, by sex, in Europe

Power		Male	Female	Total
Felt rested when woke up in morning, how often past week	None or almost none of the time	16.3	22.3	19.0
	Some of the time	34.1	34.6	34.3
	Most of the time	36.0	31.6	34.0
	All or almost all of the time	13.6	11.5	12.7
Felt calm and peaceful how often past week	None or almost none of the time	6.7	11.6	8.9
	Some of the time	31.5	36.0	33.5
	Most of the time	46.7	40.7	44.0
	All or almost all of the time	15.1	11.7	13.5
Had lot of energy how often past week	None or almost none of the time	6.0	9.5	7.6
	Some of the time	31.8	34.0	32.8
	Most of the time	44.7	41.3	43.2
	All or almost all of the time	17.5	15.1	16.4

Source: ESS (2006)

of working women, it is clearly essential to know if the relative variations in socioemotional well-being experienced by working women are similar or not to those experienced by working men. The ultimate objective of our analysis is to identify the existence of *gender asymmetries* in the influence that different employment situations can have on socioemotional well-being.

In short, we want to look at the extent to which different employment situations affect the quality of life of working women, based on their own subjective emotional evaluation – for example, the extent to which specific employment situations make women feel happier or enjoy life more; feel sadder, alone or depressed; feel more optimistic and proud of themselves; or feel more relaxed and rested.

The Socioemotional Well-Being Index (SEWBI)

The Socioemotional Well-Being Index is a composite indicator of subjective well-being based on the sociology of emotions (Bericat 2012b). The sociological theories that sustain this conceptualization of subjective well-being are Thomas Kemper's *social interactional theory of emotions* (1978), and Randall Collins' theory of *interaction ritual chains* (2004). The conceptual definition of the SEWBI was developed based on these two theories, complemented by Scheff's *theory of pride and shame* (1990). The theoretical framework for the index has been described in Bericat 2013.

Kemper's social interactional theory of emotions is based chiefly on the fact that "a very large class of emotions results from real, imagined, or anticipated outcomes in social relationships" (Kemper 1978: 48). In the course of each interaction, actors can maintain, obtain or lose specific benefits or rewards. If actors obtain a reward or benefit they experience pleasurable or satisfying emotions; if they lose benefits or rewards they experience unpleasant or unsatisfying emotions. Secondly, the theory posits that the emotional states actors experience essentially depend on their relative positioning on two basic dimensions of sociability, the *power dimension* and the *status dimension*. An individual will, in general, be content and satisfied when he or she considers that his/her power and status are *adequate,* and will be discontented or dissatisfied when he

or she feels his/her power and status to be *insufficient* or *excessive*.

Adequate power generates confidence because it permits an individual to have sufficient control over his/her environment. Its inverse, *fear*, is the prototypical emotional state of an actor that faces a dangerous or threatening situation with insufficient power resources. Limited control over a situation provokes feelings of anxiety and uncertainty. The feeling of *happiness*, of being content, of joy, of being esteemed, accepted, loved and valued by others, is the prototypical emotional state of an actor, who, in the course of a social interaction receives adequate reward willingly granted by others; this means that the individual has a high level of status. In contrast, an individual will experience emotional states of *depression* if others do not grant him or her adequate rewards, in other words, do not grant him or her an adequate level of status.

Durkheim's conception of ritual underpins the key concept in Collins' sociology of emotions: *emotional energy* (EE), a lasting mood that occurs in the individual after having collectively shared the same emotional state with others. Which concrete *emotional ingredients* (sadness, horror, pride, happiness, etc.) feed the collective effervescence of a ritual (Collins 2004: 107–108) are not important; what is important is *the emotion that persists* beyond the ritual. Collins uses the concept of emotional energy to refer to these persisting emotions; in other words, EE is a *basic psycho-physiological pattern* associated with the humours, lasting moods and deep

feelings that compose individuals' daily lives. A successful ritual elevates the emotional energy of the participants, while a failed, empty or forced ritual diminishes it (Collins 2004: 50). The concept of emotional energy is linked to the primary emotions of happiness or joy and sadness or disappointment. High emotional energy involves exhilaration, joy, enthusiasm, effervescence, vitality, feeling good about one-self or confident, while low emotional energy involves disappointment, depression, lack of initiative and negative feelings toward one-self.

The operational definition of the index was initially established through the selection of emotional states linked to the general theoretical framework, to the social dimensions of power and status, and to the conceptual definition of subjective well-being that we adopted. Subsequently, a measurement model using the emotional items contained in the personal and social well-being module of the European Social Survey was developed using *common factor analysis*, which was then validated through *confirmatory factor analysis*. The measurement model of socioemotional well-being that was finally selected, as can be seen in Fig. 35.1, includes ten emotional states structured in four dimensions. As is common with multivariate factor analysis, the value of the index for the total sample included in the analysis is equal to zero. Therefore, the positive values of the SEWBI must be interpreted as levels of well-being that are higher than the average for the population, while negative values are considered to be

Fig. 35.1 Socioemotional well-being index (SEWBI). Dimensions and emotional states
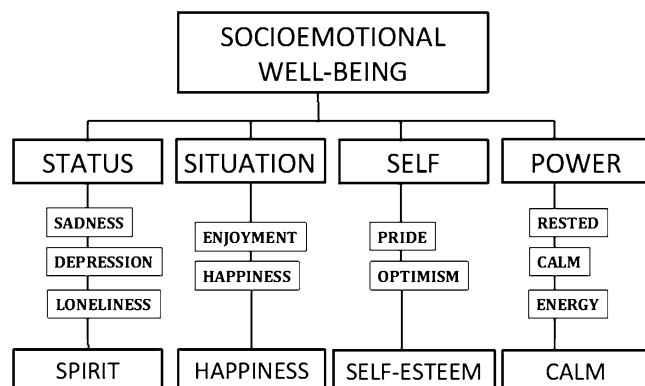
indicators of socioemotional well-being below the average for the population.

The social dimension of status incorporates the feelings of sadness, depression and loneliness, and defines the general *emotional vitality* that characterizes the emotional structure of the subject. The second dimension, which incorporates feelings of happiness and enjoyment of life, can be interpreted as the emotional evaluation the individual makes of his/her general life situation. For Veenhoven (2012), the happiness scale is the best measure of the general subjective well-being of the individual. However, beyond the assessment the individual establishes of his/her context or general life situation, subjective well-being also depends on the emotional evaluation the individual makes of his/herself. This third dimension, the emotional evaluation of the "self", which has a diachronic and biographical character, also manifests itself in the self-esteem and optimism of the individual. Lastly, the power dimension corresponds with feelings of calmness, and incorporates the sensation of awakening well-rested in the morning, the sense of being at peace and full of energy. This dimension can be interpreted as a measure of the degree of control the subject feels he/she has over the demands and concerns that come from outside.

In short, based on the theoretical model that inspired the conceptual definition of this index of subjective well-being, it can be stated *that socioemotional well-being is a general and relatively stable emotional state that indicates the emotional evaluation, positive or negative, that an individual makes of the results of the totality of his/her social interactions* (Bericat 2013). From the perspective of the empirical model that inspired the operational definition of the index, the measurement of subjective well-being has four fundamental emotional components: feeling energetic or depressed; feeling happy or unhappy; feeling pride or shame in oneself; and being calm and relaxed or, in contrast, anxious and stressed.

Tables 35.1, 35.2, 35.3 and 35.4 show the responses given by those interviewed to the ten questions used in the construction of the SEWBI. The percentages from the tables are based on the ESS survey of the population from 15 to 65 years of age in 20 European countries included in the analysis (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Cyprus, Germany, Denmark, Estonia, Spain, Finland, France, United Kingdom, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Slovenia and Slovakia), in other words, the potentially active European population.

We should note that the measurement model for the index does not directly and mechanically translate the responses given by participants to the ten emotional items. This is because the common factor analysis does not attempt to explain the total variance for the ten questions as a whole, but rather only the common variance, which is the variance derived from the latent concept that the measurement model is intended to capture. Hence, the socioemotional well-being index offers a more reliable, robust and valid measurement than that which can be provided by a scale composed of only a single variable. This composite indicator, as an index that tries to measure a multi-dimensional reality, also offers estimates for each of its four dimensions, which allows us to carry out a more complex and nuanced analysis of the subjective well-being of both working women and men.

Working Women and Non-working Women

Is the socioemotional well-being of women that have paid work, greater, lesser than or equal to that of women who are economically inactive or unemployed? Based on a theory of the multiple roles that working women must carry out (Marks 1977; Thoits 1983) (not only their economic activity but, due to existing gender inequality in the division of labour in the home, also the majority of domestic tasks), we might assume that their subjective well-being would be lower than that of non-working women; the stress they face would explain their lower level of subjective well-being. However, in modern societies, working in a paid job involves a significant improvement in an individual's economic, social and symbolic resources, which should increase his/her subjective

well-being. A meta-analysis based on 161 studies carried out between 1950 and 2000, shows that the results refute the *stress hypothesis* and confirm the *enhancement hypothesis* (Klumb and Lampert 2004). The Eurofound *Second European Quality of Life Survey. Subjective well-being in Europe* (Watson et al. 2010) also confirms that, in general, persons with paid work are more satisfied with life than persons without work. This difference varies according to the country, being greater in less-developed countries. The Eurofound study, however, did not carry out an analysis of the subjective well-being of workers and non-workers by sex. Other studies (Bryson et al. 2012) have also confirmed the existence of a positive association between working and the *Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-being Scale* (WEMWBS).

The data from our analysis included in Table 35.5, shows that European working women between 15 and 65 years of age have a higher score on the socioemotional well-being index than non-working women (−1.1 and −7.8, respectively). That working women in Europe experience a greater level of general subjective well-being than women who do not work is significant. On the one hand, this confirms the great importance that work has in the process that leads to gender equality. The greater the number of women that work, the greater is the increase in their subjective well-being. On the other hand,

this socioemotional difference stimulates the motivation or desire women have to work, which contributes to increasing their participation in the labour market. Consistent with this result, it has also been shown that the commitment women have to participating in the labour market has not lost intensity since 2008, the year in which the current economic crisis began (Rubery and Rafferty 2013).

However, looking at the last two rows of Table 35.5, we see that the difference in the socioemotional well-being of working women and non-working women (6.7) is less than the difference between working men and non-working men (10.1). In other words, paid work continues to be more important to the socioemotional well-being of men than women. In contrast to men, whose activity structure is composed almost exclusively by their role in the labour market, the activity structure of women is much more varied, including diverse compositions of equally legitimate roles of both a productive and reproductive nature.

Comparing the differences between workers and non-workers in each of the dimensions, we can see that in the status dimension measuring general emotional vitality, the socioemotional well-being of men that do not work is 19.2 points below that of men who do work, while for women the difference is 15.3 points. The difference in the "self" dimension measuring self-esteem, is

Table 35.5 Socioemotional well-being (SEWBI) of workers and non-workers, by sex, in Europe. Population from 15 to 65 years of age

		Dimensions				
		Status	Situation	Self	Power	SEWBI
Workers	Female	0.2	6.6	−2.9	−8.0	**−1.1**
	Male	19.8	3.8	10.0	5.2	**9.7**
	Total	11.0	5.1	4.2	−0.8	4.9
Non workers	Female	−15.1	0.0	−7.5	−8.4	**−7.8**
	Male	0.7	−4.0	−0.8	2.2	**−0.4**
	Total	−9.1	−1.5	−5.0	−4.4	−5.0
Total	Female	−6.8	3.6	−5.0	−8.2	−4.1
	Male	14.2	1.5	6.8	4.3	6.7
	Total	3.4	2.6	0.7	−2.1	1.1
Dif.w-nw	Female	15.3	6.6	4.6	0.4	**6.7**
	Male	19.2	7.8	10.8	3.0	**10.1**

Source: ESS (2006)

relatively much greater among men (10.8) than women (4.6), which indicates the intensity of the existing connection for men between work and personal identity. The increase in well-being for workers in the power dimension, which reflects physical and psychological tensions over roles, is minimal for working women (0.4), as women who work must in general take on a double role. In contrast, the difference between workers and non-workers in the overall evaluation of their life situations or sense of happiness and enjoyment is almost as high for women (6.6) as for men (7.8).

Working Women, by Age

Does the socioemotional well-being of women vary by age? Does the difference in socioemotional well-being between working women and non-working women change over the different stages of the life cycle? The information in Table 35.6 shows that the subjective well-being of women varies with age, and that differences between workers and non-workers change over the different stages of the life cycle.

The socioemotional well-being of European women from 15 to 65 years of age declines gradually with age. The score on the index reaches −9.1 for women from 55 to 65 years of age. In the case of men, the index also declines gradually, but in contrast to women, it climbs again, reaching 7.2 in the last age group. This result confirms the existence of the U distribution in men that many studies have shown in analysing the relationship between age and subjective well-being. According to these studies, subjective well-being is high among young people, declines in middle age, and then climbs among older persons.

Regarding the differences by age between the subjective well-being of persons that have paid employment and those that do not, the pattern revealed in the data in Table 35.6 is very different for men and women. The collapse in socioemotional well-being among men in the central stage of their lives as economically active individuals, between 35 and 55 years of age, is dramatic, the decline reaching 32.9 points among men between 35 and 45 years of age and 26.8 points among those between 45 and 55. In this stage the majority of men work, but those that do not suffer significant emotional consequences. After reaching 55 years of age, the decline in socioemotional well-being slows, which could be interpreted as a relaxation of the existing link between work and male identity.

In women we do not find such dramatic declines in socioemotional well-being in any of the age cohorts. In contrast to men, affected by a rigid *role exclusivity* of an essentially productive nature, women can opt for different roles of similar although not identical social legitimacy. However, beyond the general contrast between men and women, the differences in the socioemotional well-being between women workers and non-workers shows a peculiar distribution over the life cycle. Differences in well-being are minimal between 25 and 34 years of age, as well as between 35 and 44 years of age, in other words, they are minimal during women's reproductive cycle, when women must not only carry out their role in the labour market and their

Table 35.6 Socioemotional well-being (SEWBI) of workers and non-workers, by sex and age, in Europe. Population from 15 to 65 years of age

Age	Female				Male			
	Total	W	Not-W	Dif.w-nw	Total	W	Not-W	Dif.w-nw
15–24	−0.3	5.1	−2.5	**7.7**	10.6	12.0	9.7	**2.3**
25–34	−1.0	1.0	−4.5	**5.5**	6.7	9.1	−6.0	**15.1**
35–44	−3.4	−2.3	−5.9	**3.6**	5.8	9.4	−23.5	**32.9**
45–54	−6.1	−2.3	−14.1	**11.7**	3.7	8.0	−18.7	**26.8**
55–64	−9.1	−3.3	−12.2	**8.9**	7.2	12.6	1.3	**11.3**
Total	−4.1	−1.1	−7.8	6.7	6.7	9.7	−0.4	10.3

Source: ESS (2006)

domestic role at home, but also a third role, that of caring for and raising children. In other words, during the reproductive stage of the life cycle, the socioemotional benefit that paid employment provides women is quite small. Only those women with good well-paying jobs can to a certain extent resolve the multiple tensions resulting from the triple role of paid worker, housewife and mother they carry out in this period of the life cycle (Macran et al. 1996). For this reason, it is likely that socioemotional well-being declines for most women workers.

Finally, it is necessary to briefly mention women over 45 years of age, who have left behind the most intensive period of child-raising. In this stage, differences in the socioemotional well-being between working women and non-working women again increase. The gradual lessening of roles raising children and taking care of the home probably increases the emotional value of paid work. In the last two economically active age cohorts, the score on the index for socioemotional well-being for women that do not work declines to −14.1 and −12.2 respectively. These women go from carrying out an *oversaturated* role to one which is increasingly empty, perhaps lacking in functionality. Thus, the fall in socioemotional well-being that takes place in these years reveals the difficulties that non-working women face during this stage of life. Despite these difficulties, up until now, little attention has been given to this stage in the life cycle of women.

Working Women, by Education Level

The majority of studies shows the existence of a small but significant positive correlation between education level and subjective well-being (Diener et al. 1993, 1999; Watson et al. 2010 and OECD 2011). In a meta-analysis of this relationship, the authors found that education level explained between 1 and 3 % of the variance (Wittrer et al. 1984). However, this small positive correlation is not found in all studies. In some, individuals with a medium level of education were the ones who enjoyed the highest subjective well-being, while

in others, this correlation varied according to the country, being stronger in countries with lower income levels (OECD 2011; Dolan et al. 2008). Nevertheless, differences in results may be due to the methodological difficulty of calculating the net effects education has on subjective well-being. Given that education level is associated with many other variables, such as income, occupation, health and social status, it is almost impossible methodologically to distinguish direct effects from indirect effects (Dolan et al. 2008; OECD 2011). Michalos examines whether education influences happiness, and if so, how much. His response is the following: It depends on how one defines and operationalizes the ideas of 'education', 'influence' and 'happiness'. If we use a narrow definition and operationalization, we know that the direct effect of education level on a happiness scale is quite small. If we use a broader and more robust definition of these three concepts, then we find that "education has enormous influence on happiness" (Michalos 2008).

The information in Table 35.7 reveals the tremendous importance that education has for European women, whether working or not. There is a great difference in the socioemotional well-being of women that have not reached the first level of secondary studies (−17.7) and that of women who have obtained a university degree (5.0). This fact acquires even greater importance when we see that the socioemotional well-being of men as measured by the index varies much less based on education level: 22.7 points of difference between women with high and low levels of education in comparison to only 7.4 points of difference between men.

European women gain significant socioemotional rewards for their educational achievements, which explains the great interest, commitment and effort they give to their education. This gender asymmetry, in this case favourable to women, explains the drive that has fed the educational revolution for women, whose academic achievements and performance surpass those of men. Many other studies also show that the strength of the existing correlation between education level and subjective well-being is greater among women

Table 35.7 Socioemotional well-being (SEWBI) of workers and non-workers, by sex and education level, in Europe. Population from 15 to 65 years of age

Education	Female				Male			
	Total	W	Not-W	Dif.w-nw	Total	W	Not-W	Dif.w-nw
Below lower secundary	−17.7	−14.9	−19.5	**4.6**	2.9	7.1	−2.3	**9.4**
Lower secundary	−7.9	−4.7	−9.8	**5.1**	4.6	7.8	0.7	**7.1**
Upper secundary	−2.5	−0.1	−5.4	**5.3**	6.7	9.6	−0.5	**10.1**
Advance vocational	0.4	0.7	−0.1	**0.8**	10.5	11.8	5.0	**6.8**
Terciary (total)	1.9	2.5	0.3	**2.2**	8.9	11.0	−3.6	**14.6**
Terciary (high)	5.0	6.1	1.7	**4.4**	10.3	12.0	−1.9	**13.9**
Total	−4.1	−1.1	−7.8	6.7	6.7	9.7	−0.4	10.1

Source: ESS (2006)

than men (Wittrer et al. 1984). In addition, indirect effects must also be taken into consideration. For example, the influence of education on the employment rate is significantly greater for women than men (Michalos 2008). In short, education is the most important and effective instrument that women have if they are to continue in their advance toward *socioemotional gender equality*.

Lastly, it is necessary to emphasize that the higher level of socioemotional well-being of women with high levels of education is not exclusively the result of the instrumental benefits of education, such as attaining a job or a higher level of income. Education also has an impact on status and a strong symbolic impact, enhancing the dignity of women and contributing, in this way, to guaranteeing gender relations based on equality. The fact that the difference in emotional well-being between university educated women that work and those that do not is quite small, indicates this. For this group, the difference is only 2.2 points, while among university educated men the difference between those who work and those who do not is 14.6 points. In other words, educational achievement in itself, independent of its impact on employment, has positive effects on the socioemotional well-being of women. The increase in expectations and aspirations that are associated with a higher level of education (Clark and Oswald 1994), and that can increase levels of frustration, causing a possible decline in socioemotional well-being, does not seem to have had this impact on European women.

Women Workers, Students, the Chronically Ill or with Disabilities, the Retired and Housewives

Based on the measurement model established by the SEWBI, and in contrast to measurements of subjective well-being based exclusively on scales of satisfaction and happiness, the socioemotional well-being of women (−6.0) is significantly below that of men (6.5). This difference of 12.5 points in the SEWBI illustrates the degree of *socioemotional gender inequality* existing in European societies. Given that structural gender inequality persists in Europe to the detriment of women (Bericat 2012a; Bericat and Sánchez 2015; EIGE 2013), it is not surprising that their subjective well-being is below that of men (Bjørnskov et al. 2007). However, the analysis of the subjective well-being of women, both as an absolute and in comparison with men, continues to be an issue debated in the literature, as similar results are not always found. Diener argues that results showing a supposed equivalence between men and women on overall scales of happiness, as well as satisfaction (Watson et al. 2010), is incompatible with the fact that depression and negative emotions are more prevalent among women, although it is also true that positive emotions are also more widespread among women (Diener et al. 1999). Different results are also found when analysing measures of life satisfaction and *affect balance* (OECD 2011).

In any case, a multidimensional index that incorporates different components of subjective well-being can contribute to resolving some of the existing disparities in the literature. For example, the fact that the balance women make in the situation dimension is very similar to that of men (−0.3 vs. 0.3, respectively), as are their general scores on life satisfaction scales, may result from a tendency by individuals to "naturalize" the typical circumstances that characterize their life situations. Thus, it may be that women, when reporting their level of satisfaction with their lives, which constitutes a judgement with a high cognitive component, incorporate the fact of being women in an unequal society that systematically deprives them of certain rewards or benefits. This said, it should be noted that in Table 35.8 we can see that in the other dimensions, the difference between the well-being of men and women is quite clear.

Given the gender asymmetry that affects the socioemotional well-being of women and men in Europe, we will now analyse in greater detail the socioemotional well-being of women who are economically inactive. This category includes individuals in very diverse situations with very different levels of well-being, such as students, those who suffer chronic illness or disability, and retired persons (ONS 2012). Table 35.8 includes the scores on the well-being index for the

economically inactive. For obvious reasons, in contrast to the other tables, this one takes into account all of the European population 15 years of age and over.

The socioemotional well-being of women workers (−1.1) and students (−0.5) is higher than that for women in general (−6.0). In contrast, the socioemotional well-being of women retirees is lower (−11.7), and that for women with chronic illnesses or disabilities is incredibly low (−52.5). The dramatic situation of these women reveals that the capacity of human beings to adapt subjectively to obviously difficult situations has its limits (Veenhoven 1991; Diener et al. 2012). It is important to emphasize that the impact of chronic illness and disability on socioemotional well-being is greater for women than men (−52.5 vs. −35.9, respectively). The impression that illness and disability leaves on personal identity and the social (the self and status dimensions) is greater for women than men (−51.3 vs. −34.4 and −79.1 vs. −42.4, respectively). However, the perception of their overall life situation is similar for women and men, −35.7 for women and −37.2 for men.

Working Women and Housewives

From a gender perspective, the comparison between the socioemotional well-being of *working*

Table 35.8 Socioemotional well-being (SEWBI) of workers, students, the chronically ill or disabled, and retirees, by sex, in Europe. Population 15 years of age and older

	Dimensions				
	Status	Situation	Self	Power	SEWBI
Female					
Paid work	0.0	6.2	−2.7	−7.9	**−1.1**
Students	−5.6	22.0	0.1	−18.4	**−0.5**
Chronically ill/disabled	−79.1	−35.7	−51.3	−43.9	**−52.5**
Retired	−25.4	−12.9	−8.6	0.2	**−11.7**
Total female population	**−11.2**	**−0.3**	**−5.7**	**−6.6**	**−6.0**
Male					
Paid work	19.7	3.7	10.1	5.5	**9.8**
Students	16.9	14.9	16.4	−4.5	**10.9**
Chronically ill/disabled	−42.4	−37.2	−34.4	−29.6	**−35.9**
Retired	6.2	−4.5	1.4	21.1	**6.1**
Total male population	**12.3**	**0.3**	**6.2**	**7.2**	**6.5**

Source: ESS (2006)

women and *housewives* (or women who exclusively occupy themselves with domestic tasks) merits special consideration, as they constitute two basic socio-structural positions. However, the socioemotional well-being of working women and housewives is conditioned by both the different content of the role of these positions, and the different social value that each society grants them in a determined time period (Ferree 1984). On the one hand, working women can face special tensions, as in a context of an inegalitarian distribution of domestic tasks, they have to carry out two roles at the same time. On the other hand, the basic characteristics of taking care of the home, working alone and at very routine tasks that receive little recognition and without any material compensation, could lead us to conclude that the socioemotional well-being of housewives is lower. In any case, the data seem to indicate both paid work and housework currently constitute legitimate options for European women, although the option chosen by each woman depends on many factors, both structural and strictly personal.

Based on data from Table 35.9, which includes women from 15 to 65 years of age, the socioemotional well-being of working women in Europe is only slightly higher than that of housewives of the same ages (−1.1 vs. −2.1). Although it is sociologically significant that the socioemotional well-being of women in both positions is quite similar, it is also important to note that the well-being of working women is greater than that of housewives.

Analysis of the dimensions of the index allows us to clarify the small difference observed between working women and housewives. Thus, as has been found in earlier research (Ferree 1984), the stress felt by housewives is lower than that of working women (−1.1 vs. −8.0). However, working women reveal greater well-being in the status dimension (0.2 vs. −5.9) and the situation dimension (6.5 vs. 2.5). Many studies have shown the existence of a relation between the position of housewife and depression (Coltrane 2000; Sironi and Mencarini 2006). It is also logical to think that, based on the increase in resources that paid work provides, both happiness as well as

Table 35.9 Socioemotional well-being (SEWBI) of working women and housewives, by age, in Europe. Population from 15 to 65 years of age

Females	Dimensions				
	Status	Situation	Self	Power	SEWBI
Work					
15–24	5.6	26.6	2.2	−13.8	5.1
25–34	2.7	14.4	1.3	−14.5	1.0
35–44	−1.0	6.5	−4.3	−10.4	−2.3
45–54	−1.3	0.1	−5.3	−2.8	−2.3
55–64	−2.0	−7.3	−5.5	1.6	−3.3
Total 15–65	**0.2**	**6.6**	**−2.9**	**−8.0**	**−1.1**
Housework					
15–24	−11.4	−1.4	0.1	−17.5	−7.6
25–34	0.0	10.4	−4.0	−11.4	−1.2
35–44	3.8	9.4	−3.5	−3.0	1.7
45–54	−11.1	−3.2	−2.5	3.4	−3.4
55–64	−16.0	−6.5	−5.9	10.1	−4.6
Total 15–65	**−5.9**	**2.5**	**−3.8**	**−1.1**	**−2.1**

Source: ESS (2006)

enjoyment would be somewhat greater for working women in comparison to housewives. Lastly, the fact that the respective assessment of the "self" is not very different (−2.9 vs. −3.8) indicates that personal identity of both sociostructural positions is, from a subjective and emotional perspective, equally legitimate.

Table 35.9 includes data by age to see if scores on the index vary during different stages of the life cycle. Thus, we can verify that the socioemotional well-being of housewives is lower when they are young, increases during reproductive stages, in other words, from 25 to 44 years of age, and then decreases again between 45 and 65 years of age. In short, as would be expected, the reproductive stage alters the socioemotional well-being of both working women and housewives. For example, the existing difference in socioemotional well-being between working women and housewives, which is greatest among young women, also increases after the reproductive stage. Starting at 45, and particularly after reaching 55, the well-being of women who are housewives, as the data presented earlier has also shown, declines considerably.

Unemployed Women

Unemployment, understood as the situation of an individual that wants to work but lacks paid employment, has an enormous and dramatic impact on subjective well-being. This has been shown in many studies carried out in recent decades, independently of the way in which well-being is measured (Haring et al. 1984; Dolan et al. 2008; Bryson et al. 2012; Diener et al. 1999; Ferrer-i-Carbonell 2012; OECD 2011; ONS 2012). These studies also show that the relationship between unemployment and subjective well-being cannot be explained exclusively by the loss of income. In addition, the unemployed also suffer higher suicide rates (Oswald 1997).

The information in Table 35.10 reveals that the socioemotional well-being of unemployed women in Europe that are looking for work is 13.2 points lower than that of women who hold a paying job. If unemployed women are discouraged and are not looking for work, the difference

Table 35.10 Socioemotional well-being (SEWBI) of workers and unemployed, by sex, in Europe. Population 15–65 years of age

	Dimensions				
	Status	Situation	Self	Power	SEWBI
Female					
Paid work	0.2	6.6	−2.9	−8.0	**−1.1**
Unemployed, looking for work	−28.6	−18.6	−10.5	0.5	**−14.3**
Unemployed, not looking for work	−32.5	−29.0	−9.6	−3.2	**−18.6**
Male					
Paid work	19.8	3.8	10.0	5.2	**9.7**
Unemployed, looking for work	−20.4	−20.2	−7.1	3.6	**−11.0**
Unemployed, not looking for work	−16.3	−31.2	−20.3	−0.2	**−17.0**

Source: ESS (2006)

in their well-being with those who are working is even greater, 17.5 points lower. In contrast with other life situations with a major negative impact on subjective well-being, such as separation from a partner or divorce, and as happens with chronic illness or disability, individuals do not adapt to being unemployed, even after many years (Diener et al. 2012; Ferrer-i-Carbonell 2012). In some studies, however, no relationship between length of unemployment and decline in subjective well-being has been found (Clark and Oswald 1994). Nevertheless, based on the information in Table 35.10, the greater decline in socioemotional well-being among the discouraged unemployed is clear, affecting the degree of happiness and the enjoyment of life of both women and men (−29.0 and −31.2, respectively), as well as the self-esteem and optimism of men (−20.3).

The fall in socioemotional well-being experienced by unemployed men (20.7 and 28.7 points, respectively) is greater than that experienced by unemployed women, as also shown in other studies (Dolan et al. 2008; Bryson et al. 2012). While the lesser impact of unemployment on women does not detract from its significance, it does reveal the persistence of important gender asymmetries in the work sphere -the lack of work continuing to have greater emotional impact on men than women. This indicates that the role that work plays in the private lives of men and women in our culture continues to be different.

Observing how scores vary on the different dimensions of the index, we see that the impact of unemployment on the status dimension is much greater for men than women (−40.2 vs. −28.8), as it is on the self (−17.1 vs. −7.6). In contrast, unemployed women actually improve their subjective well-being in the power dimension, in other words, their level of calm or tranquillity (7.5); this is surely due to the decline in stress resulting from no longer working both outside and inside the home. Lastly, it should be stressed that both unemployed women and men make a very similar overall assessment of their life situation, this is true for both the unemployed seeking employment and those that are no longer looking for work.

Fear of Unemployment

The emotions that an individual experiences are not exclusively dependent on the immediate context, in other words, on the individual's experiences at a specific moment in time. Rather, they are also determined by what individuals imagine or expect regarding what the future situation will be. This is one of the important paradoxes that affect the world of our emotions (Bericat 2012b). Fear and hope constitute paradigmatic emotions in this sense, as they are exclusively provoked by perceptions of the likelihood that future events will happen, disagreeable events in the case of fear, and agreeable events in the case of hope.

A concrete example of the important role that future expectations play in the emotional experience of individuals is shown in the data from Table 35.11, where we can see how the socioemotional well-being of working women and men varies according to their subjectively estimated likelihood of losing their current employment.

Table 35.11 shows some very interesting and revealing results. If in Table 35.10 we could see that the socioemotional well-being of an unemployed woman no longer looking for work, is 17.5 points lower than that of a working woman, now we can see that the socioemotional well-being of a working woman who believes it is 'very likely' or 'likely' that she will lose her job is 23.4 and 23.7 points, respectively, below that of a working woman that enjoys secure employment, in other words, who believes it is 'not at all likely' she will lose her current job. The fear of unemployment causes a decline in the socioemotional well-being of a working woman that may even be greater than the decline in socioemotional well-being caused by the actual loss of work.

Regarding working men, the comparison of the scores on the index reveals the following results: a decline of 26.7 points when they are unemployed and not looking for work, in comparison to a decline of 25.0 or 27.2 points when they are working but are 'very likely' or 'likely' to become unemployed. Other studies show similar results and reveal the possible consequences that this can have in times of crisis (Bryson et al. 2012). In short, job insecurity in itself can deeply

Table 35.11 Socioemotional well-being (SEWBI) of workers in Europe, according to the perceived risk of unemployment, by sex. Population with paid work

	Dimensions				
	Status	Situation	Self	Power	SEWBI
Female					
Very likely	−17.2	−10.4	−21.2	−23.0	**−17.9**
Likely	−30.3	−7.9	−19.4	−15.0	**−18.2**
"Don't know"	−13.8	−13.9	−13.3	−7.8	**−12.2**
Not very likely	0.9	0.3	−3.3	−6.3	**−2.1**
Not at all likely	9.4	16.4	2.8	−6.7	**5.5**
Total	0.0	6.2	−2.7	−7.9	**−1.1**
Male					
Very likely	−12.1	−11.5	4.3	−8.8	**−7.0**
Likely	1.8	−18.2	−15.0	−5.3	**−9.2**
"Don't know"	19.2	−22.7	−0.7	−1.8	**−1.5**
Not very likely	18.1	1.0	5.8	1.6	**6.6**
Not at all likely	27.6	13.0	19.5	11.8	**18.0**
Total	19.7	3.7	10.1	5.5	9.8
Total					
Very likely	−14.6	−10.9	−8.2	−15.7	**−12.4**
Likely	−13.3	−13.4	−17.1	−9.9	**−13.4**
"Don't know"	4.4	−18.8	−6.3	−4.5	**−6.3**
Not very likely	10.3	0.7	1.7	−2.0	**2.7**
Not at all likely	19.6	14.5	12.2	3.7	**12.5**
Total	10.8	4.8	4.4	−0.5	**4.9**

Source: ESS (2006)

alter the emotional structure of workers, dramatically undermining their socioemotional well-being, and subjectively anticipating the true, real and objective consequences that unemployment could cause. In this way, the fear of future unemployment is fully incorporated into the present in the lives of workers, altering their behaviour and their social and economic demands. In a time of intense economic crisis and high unemployment, fear is no longer the exclusive domain of the insecure worker, as it becomes part of a widespread emotional climate that significantly alters labour relations and subjective well-being. In short, the *subjective* becomes *objective*.

Working Women, Self-Employed Women and Women Employers

In this last section, we provide comparative data on the socioemotional well-being of women who are employers, self-employed and employees (both those with indefinite and temporary jobs). A significant number of studies (Blanchflower and Oswald 1998; Andersson 2008), although not all (Dolan et al. 2008; Bryson et al. 2012), show that self-employed women have a higher level of subjective well-being than working women.

In our analysis, as can be seen in Table 35.12, the level of socioemotional well-being as measured by the index is higher for both self-employed women (5.7) and women employers (3.3) than for working women (−2.1). Given that the social status of employers is higher than that of the self-employed, one might expect that their subjective well-being would also be higher. However, this is not the case. The flexibility in terms of working hours that characterizes self-employment may permit these women to better manage the demands of work with their domestic tasks and private lives. In contrast, the demands and stress of running a business may reduce the socioemotional well-being of women employers. In any case, the fact that employers have a level of socioemotional well-being below that of women who are self-employed is significant, as it confirms the existence of an emotional ceiling when women take on entrepreneurial functions and responsibilities, which become more demanding as women climb the business ladder.

Considering the value that the index has in each of the four dimensions, we see that feelings of happiness and enjoyment of life (life situation) are highest for women who are employees (6.2), being much lower for both the self-employed (2.9) and those who are employers (1.9). The improvement in the socioemotional well-being of the total of self-employed women is a result of a considerable increase, 17.1 points, in the dimension of the "self". That is, perceptions regarding self-esteem and optimism go from −4.6 for working women, to 12.5 for the category total self-employed. In addition, although the score on the

Table 35.12 Socioemotional well-being (SEWBI) of employees, self-employed and employers, by sex in Europe. Population 15–65 years of age

	Dimensions				
	Status	Situation	Self	Power	**SEWBI**
Female					
Employee	−0.8	6.2	−4.6	−9.2	**−2.1**
Self-employed	1.7	2.9	13.4	4.7	**5.7**
Employer	11.6	1.9	10.3	−10.5	**3.3**
Total self-employed[a]	4.4	2.6	12.5	0.4	**5.0**
Total female workers	**0.0**	**6.2**	**−2.7**	**−7.9**	**−1.1**
Male					
Employee	20.6	4.5	8.2	4.6	**9.5**
Self-employed	21.0	−3.9	14.0	10.3	**10.4**
Employer	10.4	4.9	29.0	11.0	**13.8**
Total self-employed[a]	16.4	0.0	20.6	10.6	**11.9**
Total male workers	**19.7**	**3.7**	**10.1**	**5.5**	**9.8**
Total					
Employee	10.5	5.3	2.2	−1.9	**4.0**
Self-employed	14.0	−1.4	13.8	8.3	**8.7**
Employer	10.6	4.2	24.9	6.3	**11.5**
Total self-employed[a]	12.7	0.8	18.1	7.5	**9.8**
Total workers	**10.8**	**4.8**	**4.4**	**−0.5**	**4.9**

Fuente: ESS (2006)
[a]Total self-employed includes the categories 'Self-employed' and 'Employer'

status dimension for the self-employed is only slightly higher than for working women, for women who are employers it rises considerably, to 11.6. It is clear that carrying out entrepreneurial functions requires a high level of emotional energy and motivation. Lastly, the data for the power dimension show that business women face the same stress or pressures as working women. However, we can see that the self-employed experience less stress in their work, with a score of −7.9 for total women workers in comparison to 4.7 for the self-employed.

Table 35.13 Socioemotional well-being (SEWBI) of workers in Europe with indefinite and temporary contracts, by sex, from 15 to 65 years of age

| | Dimensions | | | | |
Employees	Status	Situation	Self	Power	SEWBI
Female					
Unlimited contract	1.7	6.6	−4.6	−9.4	−1.4
Limited duration	−7.1	3.2	−2.8	−10.8	−4.4
Total female employees	−0.8	6.2	−4.6	−9.2	−2.1
Male					
Unlimited contract	24.6	4.9	7.4	5.6	10.6
Limited duration	6.1	0.9	12.4	−0.5	4.7
Total male employees	20.6	4.5	8.2	4.6	9.5
Total					
Unlimited contract	13.9	5.7	1.8	−1.4	5.0
Limited duration	−0.1	2.0	5.3	−5.3	0.5
Total employees	10.5	5.3	2.2	−1.9	4.0

Source: ESS (2006)

Analysing the data for men, we see that the difference between the socioemotional well-being of employees (9.5) and the total self-employed (11.9) is much less than is the case among women. As happens with educational achievement, the rewards in emotional well-being obtained by women when they take on entrepreneurial roles are greater than those obtained by men, which could imply greater motivation among women for the tasks of entrepreneurship. Comparing employees and the total for self-employed, the socioemotional well-being of women who are self-employed is 7.1 points higher, while the difference for men is only 2.4 points.

Finally, in Table 35.13 we present the data on subjective well-being for employees based on type of work contract. The socioemotional well-being of workers with temporary contracts (0.5) is significantly lower than that of workers with indefinite contracts (5.0), which reveals the subordinate position that temporary workers occupy in the labour market. Lower scores occur among both men and women, although the difference based on work contract is less among women (3 points) than men (5 points). Regarding specific dimensions, the major difference is found in status, which declines much more among men with temporary contracts (−18.5) than women (−8.9). In other words, men with temporary contracts are relatively more discouraged than women in the same situation.

In short, labour market segmentation by type of contract also leaves its indelible mark on the socioemotional well-being of both working women and men in Europe.

Conclusions

From the preceding analysis we can draw the following conclusions regarding the subjective well-being of women in Europe:

The socioemotional well-being of women as measured by the index is 12 and a half points below that of men, revealing the existence of *socioemotional gender inequality*. The subjectivity of women, therefore, reflects the structural gender inequality of European societies.

The score on the index for working women is almost seven points higher than the score for women who do not work. This difference in subjective well-being is significant, as it is an important basis for women's motivation, commitment and desire to work.

The difference between the socioemotional well-being of working women and non-working women is, in general, less than the difference between working and non-working men. More specifically, the difference among men reaches 30 points in the central period of their economically active lives. In women, the difference declines to a minimum of four points during the reproductive stage of their life cycle.

European women with university degrees score 23 points higher on the index than women that do not have a secondary school education. In men, this difference is only 7 points. In other words, women obtain greater socioemotional reward from their educational achievements, which explains the great commitment they have

to education. In short, education is the most important and effective instrument that women have to continue advancing toward both structural gender equality and socioemotional equality.

Women who suffer chronic illness or disability experience a dramatic decline in socioemotional well-being in comparison with the total population of women. The score on the index declines to −53, which reveals their intense suffering.

The socioemotional well-being of housewives, that is, women that dedicate themselves exclusively to domestic tasks, is only slightly below that of women who work. This means that, in terms of subjective experience, both socio-structural positions are practically equally legitimate. The better emotional state and greater happiness of working women is in part compensated for by the greater tranquillity housewives enjoy.

Unemployed women suffer a serious decline in their socioemotional well-being, scoring −14 on the index. If unemployed women become discouraged and stop looking for work, their level of subjective well-being declines to −19 points. The even greater decline in socioemotional well-being among unemployed men shows that, despite the cultural change experienced in Europe over recent decades, work continues to be of less importance emotionally for women than men.

Job insecurity and the fear of unemployment reduce the socioemotional well-being of all workers, even more than actual unemployment itself. A working woman who feels herself to have a very high likelihood of becoming unemployed, has a socioemotional well-being 23 points below that of a working woman who feels herself to be securely employed. In other words, the fear of future unemployment is fully incorporated into the present subjective well-being of working women and men.

The socioemotional well-being of all self-employed women, in other words, including those who work for themselves and those who are employers, is 7 points higher than that of employees women. The increase in socioemotional well-being obtained by these women in taking on entrepreneurial roles is greater than that found among men with the same economic position. This difference in subjective well-being could be the result of greater motivation or desire to be self-employed or to be entrepreneurs among women.

Finally, the lower measure of socioemotional well-being that working women with temporary contracts have, in comparison to women with indefinite contracts, reveals that labour market segmentation based on type of work contract also leaves its indelible mark on the well-being of working women.

Future Research

This chapter has offered an overview of the subjective well-being of working women in Europe. We have seen how certain objective employment conditions, whether considered more or less desirable or undesirable, are associated with specific levels of socioemotional well-being. In addition, we have also confirmed that the analysis of subjective well-being adds a different perspective on the life situation of working women and an image of reality that is distinct from that offered by the mere analysis of objective factors. The combined study of the objective and subjective realities of the employment activity of women is a major challenge and should inspire social research in the near future. The variations observed in the Socio-Emotional Well-Being Index are a clear external validation of this measurement instrument, which can, therefore, continue to be applied in subsequent analyses and research. These variations also show that the emotional states of individuals are not as arbitrary as some believe, but instead are socially conditioned by life situations that must be rigorously analyzed in depth.

Through the application of this composite indicator of subjective well-being we obtained answers to some of the questions initially raised. However, many other questions have emerged which deserve our attention and could lead to further research. In which cases, for example, might excellent objective working conditions be associated with low levels of socioemotional well-being? And the reverse, in which cases might terrible working conditions be associated

with high levels of socioemotional well-being? The relatively high level of subjective well-being of women with university educations suggests that their educational achievements provide them with many and diverse rewards and that, therefore, it is this emotional energy that feeds the motivation and will women apply to their studies. But, is this really the case? To what extent is the improvement in subjective well-being that women obtain from education due to an increase in their status or their power? Regarding the general well-being of working women other questions also arise: Under what conditions does work improve or worsen their subjective well-being? How do the quality of employment and job satisfaction influence the general subjective well-being of the lives of working women? How does the number of working hours, working at night, shift-work and working weekends affect women's well-being? Regarding the subjective well-being of working women and housewives, we can formulate other questions: Is the level of subjective well-being of working women and housewives similar in all countries, regardless of their level of development, and in all cultures, regardless of their social values? Will this similarity remain the same over time, or is this a provisional equilibrium that in the future will be resolved in favor of working women?

Many other questions about the emotional states of well-being or dissatisfaction could lead to new research approaches to the study of working women. For example, it would be very interesting to study job mobility and the glass ceiling that limits women's employment opportunities from the perspective of the emotions that women experience in these situations. It would also be interesting to know the emotional states that different life-work conflicts and balances provoke in women. In addition, in subsequent studies we must broaden the framework of analysis to include not only women's employment activity, but also the caregiving and domestic work they do. Occupational segregation and the study of the socioemotional well-being of persons in different occupations could also lead to future lines of research. In addition, studies should be carried out to design social policies aimed at improving

well-being as well as reducing the dissatisfaction felt by many women. The high level of dissatisfaction experienced by women with disabilities or chronic illnesses highlights the need to establish these types of social policies.

The analysis presented in this chapter is only an initial general, descriptive and exploratory foray into the study of the socioemotional well-being of working women. Future research should adapt the methodology to the nature, depth and complexity of the questions and objectives raised by the research. Thus, studying the socioemotional well-being of social groups in concrete situations may require the use of qualitative techniques, such as focus groups or in depth interviews, while the answer to other types of research questions, such as estimating the net effect of a specific employment situation on the subjective well-being of working women, will demand the use of multivariable models that allow for control over diverse intervening factors.

Lastly, it is essential to develop theories, perspectives and theoretical models that will ultimately allow us to understand the life structures underlying the complex relationship between women's work and subjective well-being, in other words, theories that explain the connection that exists between women's activities and the content of their emotional conscience.

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Inequalities in Unpaid Work: A Cross-National Comparison

Janeen Baxter and Tsui-o Tai

Introduction

A considerable body of research across a variety of disciplines, including sociology, psychology, demography and economics, has documented and explained gender inequalities in unpaid household work (Coltrane 2000). Although there are variations in approaches and perspectives, all agree that women in western societies are responsible for the majority of unpaid care and housework tasks and spend substantially more time on these activities than men (Coltrane 2000). But explanations for these patterns differ across disciplines and there is also debate about the consequences of these divisions for social stratification and inequality more broadly. Some argue that gender divisions of household labor are rational economic outcomes of variations in human capital that maximize household utility (Becker 1991), while others argue that gender divisions of household labor are fundamental to ongoing stratification and inequality between men and women and a major source of constraint on women's equality of access to paid employment and political power (Friedan 1963).

Underlying this large body of research is a focus on three primary questions. First, how much time do men and women spend on unpaid work and is there evidence of variation across different types of households, institutional contexts and time? Second, how do we explain the observed patterns and in particular, why do women continue to undertake the bulk of this work despite a considerable increase in dual earner families and women's continuous involvement in paid work throughout their life course. Third, what are the consequences of gender divisions in unpaid work for other outcomes, including relationship quality, relationship stability, individual wellbeing and socio-economic attainment?

This chapter reviews the main theoretical arguments and key recent empirical findings in each of these areas. We review the key literature in each area as well as present results from new research using data from the International Social Survey Program. We focus primarily on unpaid housework, but where relevant also consider childcare. We do not discuss research on other forms of care, such as elder care or volunteer work. We commence with an overview of research on time use in households and show how these patterns vary in relation to individual and household characteristics and across countries. We then review the main theoretical arguments advanced to explain the continuing gender division of labor in unpaid work focusing on recent developments and debates. Finally we examine

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the consequences of gender divisions in household labor for men and women's wellbeing focusing on time pressure and work-family balance.

Time Use in Households

Although most researchers agree that women undertake the bulk of unpaid labor, there are differing views about how much change has taken place over time and whether men's and women's time on unpaid work is converging. Hochschild (1989) coined the phrase "stalled revolution" to refer to men's lack of involvement in domestic work, while Gerson (1993) referred to "men's quiet revolution" to describe that group of men who have rejected the male breadwinner model in favour of greater involvement in fathering and an increased share of domestic work. There is evidence that men are more involved in certain forms of childcare (such as playing with children or taking them to activities) than in housework tasks (Kan et al. 2011). While childcare is undoubtedly a very important form of unpaid work, it is a very different form of work, with very different determinants, outcomes and experiences to housework activities. For these reasons it is important to treat housework and childcare separately.

It is also important to differentiate gender divisions of tasks and activities from gender divisions of time spent on unpaid work. The former refers to who usually does specific tasks and activities while the latter refers to how much time they spend on these activities. Research has shown that in most households in western societies women are responsible for several core or routine activities such as cleaning, cooking, laundry and shopping. These are the tasks that are necessary in all households on a regular basis, unlike other activities such as outdoor tasks that may be more intermittent, or dependent on the season or type of household dwelling (Gupta 1999). Men's unpaid activities on the other hand are often more intermittent or dependent on the season or type of household dwelling and includes activities such as yard work, home maintenance and car maintenance. Empirical measures of unpaid work typically use either an indicator of time spent on unpaid work collected by means of a time diary or summary measure of time spent on activities over the past week. Or a relative measure which measures the share of total housework activities performed by women measures by the proportion or percentage of unpaid work done by women. It is important to note that changes in the proportion of unpaid work undertaken by women may reflect either a change in women's behaviour or their partner's behaviour.

Research on trends over time in men's and women's time on housework shows some areas of change. Bianchi et al. (2000), using time diary data from repeated cross-sectional representative samples of American adults between 1965 and 1995 found that women reduced their time on housework by about 12 h per week (down from approximately 30 h per week in 1965 to approximately 17.5 h in 1995) while men's housework time doubled during this period (from approximately 5 to 10 h per week) with the largest increases occurring prior to 1985. However, they conclude that the declining gender gap in housework has more to do with a decline in women's hours on housework than an increase in men's hours on housework. And like all other studies of housework they find that the core housework activities, cooking, cleaning and laundry are still primarily women's responsibility. They also report that the activity which shows the greatest level of convergence is cooking with "women's reported hours 8.8 times higher than men's in 1965 but only 2.8 times men's in 1995" (2000: 207).

More recently, Kan et al. (2011) examine data from the Multinational Time Use Surveys for several countries between 1961 and 2004. They find that men's domestic work (including time spent on childcare) has increased over this period, but shows signs of levelling off, and in some countries reversing, since the 1990s. On the other hand, women's time on domestic work has steadily declined over the four decades. The result they conclude is a fairly consistent convergence in the relative contributions of men and women to domestic work in the last four decades, but with some slowing of the trends from the 1990s onward. But they also show that gender segregation of tasks has remained constant with a clear gender division of labor in the activities that men and women do at home. Women spend more

time than men on all activities, but particularly on routine housework tasks (cooking, cleaning and laundry) while men spend the largest proportion of their time on non-core activities (such as outside work and household repairs). Domestic tasks thus remain clearly differentiated as either masculine-type or feminine-type. The implication is that gender convergence in time will be very difficult to achieve, particularly in relation to routine or core housework tasks.

Overall previous studies on trends in time use tend to suggest that, to the extent that change in men's level of involvement in housework has taken place, it occurred primarily in the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s (Bianchi et al. 2000; Baxter 2002; Chesters 2013; Sayer 2010). After this period it appears that the rate of change for men may have slowed down and possibly even ceased. For women, the pattern appears to be a more consistent reduction in time spent on housework from the 1960s through to the 1990s. It may be that the period prior to the 1980s was most conducive to change because this was the time when women's participation in paid work began to increase most dramatically, family size declined considerably and the women's movement was at its peak. But why should the rate of change for men have slowed, while for women it continued? One possibility is that for women continued reduction in time on domestic labour was the result of sheer necessity. Faced with the continued dual burden of paid and unpaid work, and men's apparent reluctance to increase their share of domestic work further, the only way for women to cope may have been by continuing to reduce domestic time or by purchasing paid help. At the same time, changes in consumption patterns, for example the increased availability of pre-prepared foods and wash and wear clothes, in combination with changing attitudes to gender roles, changing family structures, declining levels of fertility and increased involvement in paid work may all have helped to produce a continued decline in women's time on domestic labour.

These general trends however, mask important variations across institutional, household and individual contexts. A growing body of literature shows that social and political settings shape interpersonal arrangements within households over who does domestic work and how much time they spend on it (Cooke and Baxter 2010; Fuwa 2004; Geist 2005; Hook 2006; Treas and Drobnič 2010). Often this work draws on theories of welfare regimes as developed by Esping-Andersen (1990) which groups countries according to their welfare support principles and levels of marketization. Esping-Andersen identified three main groups – liberal, social democratic and conservative welfare regimes. Briefly, liberal welfare regimes, such as the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom, are based on neoliberal policies about individual responsibility, means-tested welfare and markets as the main basis for social support. Social democratic regimes, such as Norway, Sweden and Denmark, tend to provide universal, high quality social support based on principles of equality and egalitarianism. Finally in conservative countries, such as Germany, Italy and France, welfare support is provided through social insurance and group membership of occupational categories. Although there have been several critiques and modifications to this typology (Orloff 1993; Pfau-Effinger 2010) these groups are often used to theorise expected outcomes in comparative analyses of unpaid labor.

How does national context influence the allocation of unpaid labor and time spent on unpaid labour within households? Most research argues that national policies around work and family, women's employment, labor regulations and rewards, as well as cultural values and levels of support for gender equality shape the ways in which men and women negotiate unpaid labor in the home, as well as influencing the effects of micro factors such as the effect of relative resources on time spent on unpaid work. Generally speaking, countries with high levels of women's labor force participation, high levels of gender earnings equality and high levels of cultural and political support for gender equality, such as in the social democratic regime, have been found to have more gender egalitarian household arrangements for unpaid work (Fuwa 2004; Geist and Cohen 2011; Hook 2006; Treas and Drobnič 2010). The argument proposed is that these policies both directly encourage more involvement by men in unpaid work, but also

influence the ways in which micro processes shape the negotiation of unpaid work within households. For example, in countries where women are more involved in paid work we would expect men to be more involved in the family sphere in order to compensate for women's reduced time availability for unpaid work. At the same time, in countries with high levels of support for gender equality we might expect that women will have stronger aspirations for career advancement and equal sharing of unpaid work. This may mean that women will have more power in the home to translate their earnings, time spent in paid work and beliefs about equality into more gender equitable arrangements in the home.

Previous research has found some support for these processes. Fuwa (2004) using data from 1994 for 22 countries finds that the effect of women's time in paid work and their gender attitudes on their share of unpaid work is much stronger in gender egalitarian countries, such as Norway and Sweden compared to countries with lower levels of macro gender equality such as Japan, Russia and Bulgaria. Hook (2006) analyses time use data for 20 countries over the period 1965–2003 and finds that men spend more time on unpaid work in countries with higher levels of women's employment. A more recent study by Hook (2010) reports similar patterns for the level of sex segregation of unpaid work showing less sex segregation of unpaid work tasks in more egalitarian countries. The implication of these cross-national studies is that changes in individual attributes such as gender attitudes or men's and women's time spent in paid employment will not be sufficient to bring about change in the allocation of, and time spent on, unpaid work in the home. Rather we also need change in the macro political and social context if we are to move toward gender equality in the home.

Unpaid Work in Cross-National Context

In this section we present new analyses of the distribution of unpaid work within households and time spent on unpaid work for men and women across 29 countries using data from the 2002 International Social survey Program Family and Changing Gender Roles III Module (ISSP Research Group 2002) . Table 36.1 presents the general patterns. The analysis is limited to respondents aged 18–65 and who were married or cohabiting. The final analytic sample consisted of 6,735 women and 5,285 men.

We report individuals' housework loads and the relative share of unpaid work within couples. The first approach is time-based, counting the weekly hours that the respondent and partner spend on household work (excluding childcare and leisure time activities). The man's percent of total housework hours (respondent's + partner's hours) is calculated to indicate the distribution of housework time between couples. The second approach focuses on household tasks. To gauge the man's share of female-typed tasks, we averaged couple's sharing of five female-typed chores—laundry, grocery shopping, cleaning, meal preparation and caring for sick family members (Cronbach's alpha = 0.76). For each of the five tasks, the responses are coded as always the woman (=1), usually the woman (=2), about equal (=3), usually the man (=4) or always the man (=5). Following some previous studies (Batalova and Cohen 2002; Fuwa 2004), the small numbers reporting "done by a third person" are treated as equally shared (3). A higher average score means greater male participation in these tasks. The time-based and task-based measures of housework divisions are correlated (r = 0.5 and 0.6 for men and women respectively) but not highly similar. In general, men who share a larger proportion of housework hours tend to participate in female-typed household tasks more frequently.

On average, across all 29 countries, according to both women's and men's reports, women spend 20 h per week on housework and men spend 7–9 h per week. Men's self-reported hours are slightly higher (1 h) than those reported by women. In addition, based on both women's and men's reports, men share 26–32% of total housework hours.

In terms of country differences, according to women's reports, the time that women allocate to

Table 36.1 Weekly housework hours, man's percent of housework hours and task sharing by gender and country

	Women's reports				Men's reports			
Country	Woman's housework hours	Man's housework hours	Man's percent of total housework hours	Task sharing	Woman's housework hours	Man's housework hours	Man's percent of total housework hours	Task sharing
Australia	21.67	10.90	31.54	1.97	20.25	12.44	38.56	2.31
Austria	22.52	5.84	21.34	1.81	22.78	8.24	27.88	2.16
Belgium-Flanders	22.49	8.17	24.51	1.91	21.04	8.13	28.70	2.11
Brazil	34.27	7.36	15.01	1.79	31.66	11.06	26.20	2.29
Bulgaria	21.42	9.01	28.67	1.80	22.88	12.36	34.74	2.16
Chile	35.36	8.35	17.92	1.83	36.43	11.01	23.97	2.30
Cyprus	18.29	4.24	17.81	1.85	18.21	5.40	23.01	1.84
Czech Republic	23.13	8.61	24.79	1.75	23.04	10.81	31.85	1.96
Denmark	12.00	6.21	32.54	2.22	12.65	7.53	37.38	2.45
Finland	11.36	5.19	31.56	2.34	11.59	6.18	34.90	2.46
Germany-East	14.86	6.64	30.21	2.08	17.36	6.84	29.60	2.25
Germany-West	21.22	7.78	26.32	1.95	20.71	6.92	28.60	2.29
Great Britain	12.40	5.03	27.53	2.16	14.50	7.13	34.80	2.37
Hungary	28.00	11.38	25.75	1.86	27.21	10.83	28.35	1.98
Israel	17.85	6.38	26.81	2.09	17.42	6.70	31.51	2.38
Japan	27.19	2.53	9.37	1.50	26.31	3.19	11.40	1.79
Latvia	19.76	11.18	33.55	2.11	17.81	13.07	40.42	2.34
Mexico	29.44	11.91	26.77	1.81	27.97	14.65	34.41	2.52
Netherlands	15.68	5.09	24.88	2.02	17.38	6.13	28.90	2.26
Norway	11.00	3.82	26.47	2.23	10.65	4.97	32.69	2.43
Philippines	25.60	11.66	30.80	1.83	22.37	15.73	41.72	2.52
Poland	21.71	12.08	33.24	2.01	19.56	11.46	37.39	2.12
Portugal	26.94	6.01	16.47	1.72	22.84	7.65	26.30	2.22
Russia	26.61	14.31	33.24	2.06	26.12	15.22	36.02	2.34
Slovenia	21.25	7.93	25.52	1.98	22.16	7.42	25.70	2.18
Sweden	12.99	6.79	33.92	2.36	13.30	7.58	37.45	2.49
Switzerland	16.34	5.26	25.59	2.05	18.45	5.64	28.12	2.36
Taiwan	15.10	5.23	24.05	2.10	18.09	5.53	25.06	2.18
USA	13.47	5.54	30.34	2.10	15.13	8.98	37.19	2.67
Total	20.71	7.61	26.09	1.98	20.36	9.09	31.76	2.29
N	6,735				5,285			

Data source: ISSP Research Group (2002)
Sample: coupled respondents aged 18–65

housework ranges from 11 h in Norway to 35 h in Chile. Japanese men devote the least amount of time (2.5 h) while Russian men devote the most hours to housework (14 h). In addition, the man's share of total housework hours range from 9% in Japan to 34% in Sweden and Lativa. Based on men's reports, Norwegian women dedicate the least amount of time to domestic work (10.7 h) and Chilean women allocate the most hours (36 h) to household tasks. Also, Japanese men spend the fewest hours in housework (3 h) and men report the most housework hours (16 h) in the Philippines. Similarly, men's percent of total housework hours ranges from 11% in Japan to 42% in the Philippines.

Generally speaking, women living in Nordic and English-speaking countries (except Australia) allocate the fewest hours to domestic labour, whereas Southern American women spend the most amount of time on housework. Women in other countries fall in between. On the other hand, East Asian men (Japan, Taiwan) devote the fewest hours to housework while their counterparts in the Philippines, South America and post socialist countries allocate more hours to housework. Considering the distribution of housework hours between couples, East Asian men (Japan, Taiwan) contribute the least, followed by men in South Europe and South America (Brazil and Chile, but not Mexico). Relative to their counterparts in other countries, men share a larger proportion of housework time in the Philippines, Nordic, liberal, and some post socialist countries (Latvia, Poland, and Russia). To be noted, although countries are usually grouped into different clusters based on welfare systems, cultural norms or economic structures, there are actually substantial variations within country groups. For instance, in Nordic countries, Swedish men and women tend to spend more time on housework than Norwegians. Regarding conservative countries, Austrian women spend more hours on household tasks than Dutch, German and Swiss women. Furthermore, among southern American countries, Mexican men do a larger share of housework than their Brazilian and Chilean counterparts.

As suggested by previous studies, men's self-reported housework time and participation are higher than women's reports, although men's and women's reports are generally consistent (Pearson correlation and Spearman rho >0.9). It is also noteworthy that men's long housework hours do not necessarily translate into a large share of housework time. For instance, although Brazilian and Chilean men spend many hours on household labour, their contribution to total housework time is still relatively low, given their partners' spending even more time on domestic work. On the contrary, compared to other countries, Nordic men and women have a relatively equal division of housework because both of them do not spent much time in household work.

Finally, we also show the division of female-typed housework across the 29 countries. On average, female-typed tasks are usually done by women (1.98–2.29). Men are less likely to share female-typed household tasks in Japan, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and Cyprus while Nordic, American and British men are more likely to participate in those tasks. However, men who contribute to a large share of housework hours do not necessarily participate in female-typed household tasks frequently. For instance, although men spend longer hours on unpaid work in some post socialist countries such as Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and Hungary, compared to men in other countries, they do not do a large share of female-typed household tasks.

In summary, although previous studies show a decline in women's housework hours and an increase in men's time on domestic work over time, our findings show that women still spend much more time on household work than men and the persistence of a gender segregation of household tasks. There are substantial variations in housework time and housework division across the 29 countries. As many international studies have pointed out, country differences in housework division appeared to be related to societal gender attitudes, welfare systems and employment structures (Fuwa 2004; Fuwa and Cohen 2007). A more equal division of domestic labour has been found in Nordic countries where

economic structures, social policy and public attitudes support overall gender equity and female employment through the availability of public childcare and the flexibility of employment hours. The division of housework, on the other hand, is less equal in East Asia, Southern Europe and southern America where female participation in the labour market is less pervasive partially due to the lack of comprehensive family policies and part-time employment opportunities.

Theoretical Approaches

Attempts to explain the processes underlying the allocation of unpaid labor and men and women's time on unpaid labor has taken two broad approaches. First is a group of theories that fall within an economic framework including explanations drawing on human capital theory, relative resources, exchange bargaining and dependency theories. Second are explanations that derive from theories of gender display or doing gender approaches. Despite their differing philosophical bases, all come to similar predictions about outcomes for housework hours with women undertaking the majority of unpaid labor due to either their limited economic resources, their weaker bargaining position or gender performance which is associated with women doing housework and men not doing housework. Much empirical research finds support for both approaches, although there are criticisms of both and recent developments suggest modifications and further theoretical developments are needed.

Human capital and exchange bargaining or dependency theories argue that lower relative earnings equates to more time on housework. In the case of human capital theory, this is due to the rational allocation of men's and women's labour in a way that maximises rewards to the household. Women are better suited to household production and therefore invest less time in education and the labour market compared to men. Women thus acquire less human capital that is rewarded in the market, tend to earn less and therefore to spend more time on housework (Becker 1991).

In the case of exchange bargaining, or dependency theories, women perform more housework because they typically have fewer resources to bargain their way out of this undesirable work (Brines 1994). The assumption is that housework is undesirable work and the spouse with the fewer resources, most time, and least bargaining power, will do most housework. The exchange bargaining perspective emphasizes relative access to economic resources as important for determining power differentials in the household. Depending on the level of resources an individual contributes to the household they will have more or less bargaining power over the allocation of housework time. The assumption is that as women's earnings increase, relative to their partner, the division of household labour will become more equal. Further, in the event that women's earnings exceed those of their partner, then the gender division of labour will be reversed and men will spend more time on housework than women. Time spent in paid employment may also be used as a measure of resources with more time in paid work associated with less time on unpaid work.

In contrast to these economic approaches to explaining the household division of labour, others have argued that gender display is an integral component of housework. Candace West and Don Zimmerman (1987) developed the idea of the performance or display of gender wherein men and women establish and affirm their gender identity by the display of gender appropriate behaviour. Sarah Fenstermaker Berk (1985) extended this idea to housework arguing that the performance or non-performance of housework is fundamental to the production of gender. She argued that the marital household is a "gender factory" where, in addition to accomplishing tasks, housework produces gender as men and women carry out routine household tasks. This approach has been enormously influential in studies of the domestic division of labour with many studies finding support for a process of gender display (Bittman et al. 2003; Gupta 1999; South and Spitze 1994).

Most empirical research draws on a combination of economic dependence and gender display

for explaining the allocation of household tasks. Brines (1994) has argued that both economic dependence and gender display operate within a single household with women's housework time better explained by an economic dependence model and men's better explained by gender display. The implication is that the forces governing women's investment in housework are different to those governing men's level of involvement in housework. In other words, not only is housework gendered, but the processes leading to variations in time spent on housework are also gendered. Using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics in the US, Brines showed that as women's relative share of income increased, men increased their share of housework, but only up to a certain point. Once women's earnings reached parity or increased beyond the point of equality, men's housework hours began to decline. Brines argued that in these households, men adopt more traditional behavior in order to negate the gender abnormal behavior of not being the main breadwinner. Women's behavior on the other hand consistently followed an economic dependence model.

More recent studies have extended and refined her work. Greenstein (2000) finds similar results to Brines with an absolute measure of housework hours, but not with a proportional measure. His analyses of the US National Survey of Families and Households find that breadwinner wives do a larger percentage of housework than would be predicted using a model of economic dependence while dependent husbands did less. Thus his results are consistent with a gender display, or what Greenstein calls a "deviance neutralization" model for both men and women when considering a distributional measure of housework.

Bittman and colleagues (2003) examine time use data from Australia and find that economic exchange explains women's housework time up to the point where men's and women's earnings are the same. Once women's earnings exceed men's, "gender trumps money" and women increase their housework time consistent with a model of gender display. This is similar to the findings of Brines and Greenstein. But for men the results differ. Bittman and colleagues find no

relationship between relative earnings and men's housework hours. They conclude that there are real national differences between the US and Australia to do with the more entrenched nature of the male breadwinner role compared to the US making it even more deviant in Australia for women to be the main breadwinner.

A recent development in this field is the work of Gupta (2006, 2007) who challenges the view that husbands and wives divide housework on the basis of relative earnings. Rather he argues that women's housework time is determined by their absolute earnings not their earnings relative to their husband. Using data from the US National Survey of Families and Households he shows that women's housework time is related to their own earnings with higher earning women spending less time on housework than lower earning women. He also finds the same relationship amongst single women indicating that the mechanism underlying the relationship between earnings and women's housework time is not linked to economic bargaining or gender display, since single women have no imperative for gender display with domestic labor and no partner to bargain with over the allocation of labor.

Further Gupta finds no association between men's earnings and women's housework time, or men's housework time, suggesting that the relationship between men's earnings and housework is not the same as the relationship between women's earnings and housework. One of the possible implications of Gupta's work is that women act as autonomous economic agents in their households and may use their own earnings in different ways to men. Gupta's work thus challenges both economic dependence and gender display theories and suggests that differences amongst women in levels of earnings is the key explanatory variable explaining variations in women's housework time.

But Australian research has found less support for Gupta's theory of absolute earnings (Baxter and Hewitt 2013). Using longitudinal household panel data that tracks individual earnings and time on unpaid labor over time, they find more support for relative earnings than women's absolute earnings in predicting time spent on unpaid

labor. They conclude that the institutional features shaping the organization of the domestic division of labor may be different in Australia than in the United States. Australian men and women may be more strongly tied to a traditional (male-breadwinner-female homemaker) division of domestic labor that is both based on and determined by Australian women's disproportionate share of part-time employment. As discussed above, cross-national studies have shown that institutional contexts shape the ways in which men and women negotiate and organize domestic labor within households. In this case these contextual variations may mean that relative, rather than absolute earnings are most important for determining the allocation of unpaid work within households in Australia compared to the United States.

Unpaid Work and Wellbeing

While much of the research on unpaid work has focused on explaining why gender divisions in time and tasks are so persistent, there is also a sizeable body of research examining the effects of unpaid work responsibilities on men's and women's wellbeing and subjective perceptions. Much of this work has focused on perceptions of fairness in relation to unpaid work (DeMaris and Longmore 1996; Greenstein 1996, 2009; Lennon and Rosenfield 1994; Sanchez 1994; Thompson 1991). One of the key findings identified in these studies is the high proportion of women and men who report that the division of domestic labour at home is fair, despite the fact that women undertake a high proportion of unpaid work (Baxter 2000; Braun et al. 2008; Lennon and Rosenfield 1994).

Attempts to account for this rather puzzling finding have drawn on distributive justice frameworks that explain the possible subjective processes underlying perceptions of fairness and entitlement. For example, rather than assuming that all women want an equal (50/50) share of tasks, other relationship outcomes may also be valued, such as a stress-free relationship, fulfilling relationships with children, a sense of enjoyment and reward that comes from taking care of one's family. Related to this, men and women may also justify unequal divisions of household labour based on perceptions of gender roles. As noted above, research has argued that performing housework is central to women's gender identity, while not doing housework is an important component of the construction of masculinity (Berk 1985; Bittman et al. 2003; Greenstein 2000). Women and men with traditional views about who should do household labour will thus be less likely to perceive an arrangement in which women do most of the household work as unfair compared to those with more egalitarian beliefs. Alternatively, justification may rely on perceived competence to perform particular tasks or different standards or procedures for carrying out tasks. For example, men and women may justify women's greater housework load by beliefs that women are more competent at household work, or have higher domesticity standards (Thompson 1991).

In addition, a distributive justice perspective draws attention to "comparison referents," those who are used as a point of comparison when evaluating whether a situation is fair. Most research on housework has tended to assume that women will judge the fairness of their housework load in relation to the amount of household work done by their partners. But women may judge their load in comparison to other reference points, such as their mother or sisters (Thompson 1991). Such comparisons might mean that women judge their own loads as fair. Women may also compare their husbands to other men, some of whom may do less housework than their partners. For example women may judge their partner's contribution in relation to the amount of work their fathers did at home when they were growing up, or in relation to the partners of friends. These kinds of comparisons may mean that women judge their partners contributions as fair by comparison to other men.

Other work has focused on the associations between unpaid labor and subjective wellbeing in terms of time pressure, work-family conflict, happiness and marital satisfaction. The results are diverse with variations across measures of

wellbeing, gender and country. As early as 1976, Ferree provided evidence of the benefits of paid work to women's wellbeing by refuting the claim that women would prefer to spend time at home rather than in employment. Her analyses of US data showed that working class women not in employment were less satisfied than working class women who were employed. She argues that for many women housework is not enjoyable, is socially isolated and does not provide the same rewards as paid work outside the home. Many of the classic liberal feminist texts of the late 1960s and early 1970s were based on similar premises, arguing that sexual liberation was dependent on freeing women from the drudgery of housework (Friedan 1963).

More recent research supports these early claims. Most research finds that women's wellbeing decreases with increasing hours of housework and increases with longer hours in paid employment (Boye 2009; Mencarini and Siron 2012). The same is not the case for men. Many studies find no association between housework and men's wellbeing and only limited evidence of links between employment hours and men's wellbeing (Boye 2009), possibly because of minimal variation in paid and unpaid work hours for men. As Boye (2009) points out, this may vary with gender attitudes or preferences around working time. Women with traditional attitudes may be happier staying at home than women with egalitarian attitudes. And the patterns may vary across countries with women gaining less enjoyment from paid work in countries with high levels of gender segregation and gender pay gaps. It is also important to differentiate the effects of absolute hours of housework from relative share of housework between men and women. Wellbeing may be higher for both men and women when domestic labour is shared regardless of the number of hours of housework (Mencarini and Siron 2012).

A recent cross-national study focusing on happiness finds that women homemakers report slightly higher levels of happiness than women who are in full-time employment (Treas et al. 2011). Further there was no difference in happiness levels between women employed part time and women homemakers. One explanation may be that women who are homemakers experience less time pressure than women who combine paid and unpaid work. There is certainly considerable work showing that feelings of time pressure and work-family conflict are most acute amongst workers with young children who are working long hours in employment (Jacob and Gerson 2004; Van der Lippe 2007). These findings also highlight the need to examine the relationship between unpaid work and different measures of wellbeing, including time pressure, happiness, and work-family conflict.

Unpaid Work and Wellbeing in Cross-National Context

Based on the same data source (ISSP Research Group 2002) and analytic sample (coupled respondents aged 18–65 from 29 countries) reported earlier, we utilize multilevel linear models to investigate the impacts of housework hours and the division of domestic work on time pressure, work-family conflict and general happiness for men and women separately. The analyses presented in Tables 36.2, 36.3, and 36.4 include both working and non-working respondents. We estimate different analyses with different measures of housework: the man's percent of total housework hours in Table 36.2, men's and women's weekly housework hours in Table 36.3 and couple's share of female-typed household tasks in Table 36.4. We conduct additional analyses to examine the effects of housework division and housework hours on work-family conflict and happiness amongst working respondents. Separate models were computed with different measures of housework, which are presented in Tables 36.5, 36.6, and 36.7.

We report results for three wellbeing outcomes: time pressure, work-family conflict and general happiness. Time pressure is measured by the following question: "There are so many things to do at home, I often run out of time before I get them all done." The responses range from strongly disagree (=1) to strongly agree (=5). Work-family conflict is constructed from

Table 36.2 Random-intercept models for time pressure and general happiness (Man's share of housework hours)

Variable	Women's reports		Men's reports	
	Time pressure	Happiness	Time pressure	Happiness
Intercept	2.828***	5.789***	2.425***	5.727***
Man's percent of				
Housework hours	−0.006***	0.005***	0.004***	−0.001
Total housework hours	0.008***	0.000	0.006***	0.000
Respondent's work hours	0.011***	−0.001	0.007***	0.001
Spouse/partner's work hours	0.000	0.002**	0.001	−0.001*
Relative income (man's income higher=ref)				
Same income	0.036	−0.049	0.056	0.001
Woman's income higher	0.114**	−0.061	0.044	−0.104*
Respondent's education	0.035*	−0.024*	0.005	−0.017
Spouse/partner's education	−0.002	0.055***	0.043**	0.038**
Liberal gender attitudes	−0.117***	−0.027*	−0.050*	−0.008
Number of children	0.160***	−0.015	0.056***	−0.002
Number of adults	0.021	−0.007	0.032	−0.012
Family income (standardized)	−0.018	0.063***	−0.028	0.082***
Respondent's age	−0.003	−0.008***	−0.005**	−0.006***
Household time pressure		−0.087***		−0.028**
Random component				
Between-country variance	0.314	0.169	0.363	0.198
Within-country variance	1.151	0.915	1.144	0.889
N	6,735		5,285	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 36.3 Random-intercept models for time pressure and general happiness (Absolute housework hours)

Variable	Women's reports		Men's reports	
	Time pressure	Happiness	Time pressure	Happiness
Intercept	2.636***	5.948***	2.571***	5.707***
Respondent's housework hours	0.013***	−0.004***	0.013***	−0.001
Spouse/partner's housework hours	−0.003	0.008***	0.002	0.001
Respondent's work hours	0.011***	−0.001	0.007***	0.001
Spouse/partner's work hours	0.000	0.002*	0.001	−0.001
Relative income (man's income higher=ref)				
Same income	0.034	−0.047	0.065	0.001
Woman's income higher	0.106*	−0.055	0.053	−0.104*
Respondent's education	0.033*	−0.021	0.005	−0.017
Spouse/partner's education	−0.003	0.056***	0.043**	0.038**
Liberal gender attitudes	−0.120***	−0.025	−0.049*	−0.008
Number of children	0.161***	−0.015	0.056***	−0.002
Number of adults	0.021	−0.007	0.032	−0.012
Family income (standardized)	−0.018	0.064***	−0.028	0.082***
Respondent's age	−0.002	−0.008***	−0.006**	−0.006***
Household time pressure		−0.088***		−0.028**
Random component				
Between-country variance	0.317	0.170	0.382	0.200
Within-country variance	1.151	0.915	1.144	0.889
N	6,735		5,285	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 36.4 Random-intercept models for time pressure and general happiness (Task measure)

Variable	Women's reports		Men's reports	
	Time pressure	Happiness	Time pressure	Happiness
Intercept	3.203***	5.578***	2.386***	5.676***
Task sharing	−0.241***	0.148***	0.073**	0.014
Total housework hours	0.006***	0.001	0.006***	0.000
Respondent's work hours	0.011***	−0.001	0.006***	0.001
Spouse/partner's work hours	0.000	0.002**	0.002	−0.002*
Relative income (man's income higher=ref)				
Same income	0.040	−0.049	0.070	−0.004
Woman's income higher	0.120**	−0.061	0.053	−0.110**
Respondent's education	0.037*	−0.022	0.003	−0.017
Spouse/partner's education	0.002	0.053***	0.044**	0.037**
Liberal gender attitudes	−0.106***	−0.033*	−0.049*	−0.009
Number of children	0.159***	−0.016	0.055***	−0.001
Number of adults	0.024	−0.010	0.032	−0.011
Family income (standardized)	−0.015	0.062***	−0.028	0.082***
Respondent's age	−0.004*	−0.008***	−0.005**	−0.005***
Household time pressure		−0.084***		−0.029**
Random component				
Between-country variance	0.298	0.204	0.351	0.192
Within-country variance	1.146	0.914	1.145	0.889
N	6,735		5,285	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 36.5 Random-intercept models for work-family conflict and general happiness (Man's share of housework hours)

Variable	Women's reports		Men's reports	
	Work-family conflict	Happiness	Work-family conflict	Happiness
Intercept	1.489***	5.953***	1.680***	6.310***
Man's percent of				
Housework hours	−0.001	0.006***	0.001	−0.001
Total housework hours	0.002*	−0.001	0.002**	0.001
Respondent's work hours	0.010***	−0.001	0.007***	0.001
Spouse/partner's work hours	−0.001	0.003**	0.001	−0.001
Relative income (man's income higher=ref)				
Same income	0.109***	−0.015	0.017	0.025
Woman's income higher	0.134***	−0.052	−0.075*	−0.063
Respondent's education	0.036***	−0.022	−0.003	−0.022
Spouse/partner's education	0.001	0.056***	0.004	0.029*
Liberal gender attitudes	−0.122***	−0.035*	−0.059***	−0.020
Number of children	0.041***	−0.009	0.022**	0.001
Number of adults	0.013	0.019	−0.003	−0.011
Family income (standardized)	−0.009	0.067***	0.017	0.086***
Respondent's age	−0.004**	−0.009***	−0.006***	−0.009***
Work-family conflict		−0.287***		−0.277***
Random component	0.209	0.172	0.151	0.191
Between-country variance	0.606	0.864	0.599	0.864
Within-country variance	0.106	0.038	0.060	0.046
N	4,256		3,943	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 36.6 Random-intercept models for work-family conflict and general happiness (Absolute housework hours)

Variable	Women's reports		Men's reports	
	Work-family conflict	Happiness	Work-family conflict	Happiness
Intercept	1.483***	6.133***	1.710***	6.286***
Respondent's housework hours	0.003*	−0.005**	0.002	0.000
Spouse/partner's housework hours	0.000	0.008***	0.002*	0.002
Respondent's work hours	0.010***	−0.001	0.007***	0.001
Spouse/partner's work hours	0.000	0.003**	0.001	−0.001
Relative income (man's income higher=ref)				
Same income	0.109***	−0.012	0.019	0.024
Woman's income higher	0.134***	−0.044	−0.071*	−0.065
Respondent's education	0.036***	−0.020	−0.003	−0.022
Spouse/partner's education	0.001	0.059***	0.004	0.029*
Liberal gender attitudes	−0.124***	−0.031	−0.059***	−0.020
Number of children	0.041***	−0.011	0.021**	0.001
Number of adults	0.013	0.017	−0.003	−0.011
Family income (standardized)	−0.009	0.068***	0.017	0.086***
Respondent's age	−0.004**	−0.009***	−0.006***	−0.009***
Work-family conflict		−0.289***		−0.277***
Random component				
Between-country variance	0.194	0.164	0.157	0.189
Within-country variance	0.606	0.867	0.599	0.864
N	4,256		3,943	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 36.7 Random-intercept models for work-family conflict and general happiness (Task measure)

Variable	Women's reports		Men's reports	
	Work-family conflict	Happiness	Work-family conflict	Happiness
Intercept	1.556***	5.735***	1.644***	6.269***
Task sharing	−0.042*	0.163***	0.021	0.004
Total housework hours	0.001*	0.000	0.002**	0.001
Respondent's work hours	0.010***	−0.001	0.007***	0.001
Spouse/partner's work hours	−0.001	0.003**	0.001	−0.001
Relative income (man's income higher)				
Same income	0.110***	−0.017	0.017	0.020
Woman's income higher	0.136***	−0.052	−0.077*	−0.071
Respondent's education	0.037***	−0.023	−0.003	−0.022
Spouse/partner's education	0.002	0.055***	0.004	0.028*
Liberal gender attitudes	−0.120***	−0.039*	−0.059***	−0.021
Number of children	0.041***	−0.010	0.022**	0.001
Number of adults	0.014	0.013	−0.003	−0.010
Family income (standardized)	−0.009	0.066***	0.017	0.086***
Respondent's age	−0.004***	−0.009***	−0.006***	−0.008***
Work-family conflict		−0.285***		−0.278***
Random component				
Between-country variance	0.216	0.171	0.155	0.217
Within-country variance	0.606	0.864	0.598	0.864
N	4,256		3,943	

four items: (a) In the past 3 months it has happened that I have come home from work too tired to do the chores which need to be done; (b) It has been difficult for me to fulfil my family responsibilities because of the amount of time I spent on my job; (c) I have arrived at work too tired to function well because of the household work I had done; (d) I have found it difficult to concentrate at work because of my family responsibilities. We average the responses of the four items (alpha = 0.74). Higher scores refer to higher levels of work-family conflict. General happiness is measured by a global question asking "If you were to consider your life in general, how happy or unhappy would you say you are, on the whole?" The coding of responses is completely unhappy = 1 and completely happy = 7.

In addition to housework hours and the division of domestic labor, following previous studies, we include other predictors and control variables, such as weekly working hours (time availability), relative income and education (relative resources), gender attitudes, the numbers of children and adults (demand of family work), family income and the respondent's age. Addressing gender attitudes, the scale is based on a factor analysis of Likert items on agreement/ disagreement with five statements: (1) A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works; (2) Family suffers when the woman has a full-time job; (3) A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children; (4) Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay; (5) A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family (alpha = .74). Higher scores represent more egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles.

The measurement of relative income is based on an item asking whether the respondent's income is higher, the partner has the same income, or the spouse's income is higher. The respondent's and spouse's educational attainment is coded into a six-point scale, ranging from no formal qualifications (=0) to university degree completed (=5). Because the categorization of family income varied across countries, we standardize family income by country. Other variables including age, the numbers of children and

adults and working hours (top-coded at 60) are continuous.

The findings are presented in Tables 36.2, 36.3, 36.4, 36.5, 36.6, and 36.7. In terms of paid and unpaid work time and wellbeing outcomes, for women, partners' larger share of housework hours and female-typed household tasks is associated with lower levels of time pressure and positively correlated with women's happiness. Interestingly, men's participation in female-typed tasks (Table 36.7), but not men's share of housework hours (Table 36.5), mitigates frequency of work-family conflict among employed women. On the other hand, women's housework and employment hours and couple's total housework hours increase levels of time pressure and work-family conflict. Women's housework hours reduce their levels of happiness.

Turning to the results for men, individuals' unpaid and paid work hours and their share of household time and tasks contribute to higher levels of time pressure (Tables 36.2, 36.3, and 36.4). In addition, for working men, personal employment hours and partners' housework time, but not their housework hours or share of domestic labour, are positively linked to work-family conflict (Tables 36.5, 36.6, and 36.7). Perhaps more interestingly, neither couple's time in housework nor the division of domestic labor is related to men's happiness (Tables 36.2, 36.3, 36.4, 36.5, 36.6, and 36.7). Similar to previous studies that find a positive effect of time pressure/work-family conflict on psychological distress, life stress and anxiety, and a negative effect on life and job satisfaction (Allen et al. 2000; Frone et al. 1992; Mauno and Kinnunen 1999), both men and women report lower levels of happiness because of time pressure or work-family conflict.

The findings regarding the associations between time use and wellbeing outcomes are generally consistent with previous research. As previous studies suggest, long paid and unpaid work hours contribute to overload and energy depletion and leave less time for relaxation (Mattingly and Sayer 2006). With the increase in dual-earner couples and single-parent families, more employees feel stressed while trying to

manage competing demands of work and family (Byron 2005). Meanwhile, the results reveal some gender differences in time pressure, work-family conflict, happiness and the effects of explanatory variables. First, additional analyses (results not shown) show that women report significantly higher levels of time pressure and work-family conflict than men. Second, for working respondents, women's housework hours and men's participation in female-typed household tasks are related to levels of work-family conflict reported by women while men's housework hours do not predict men's reports of work-family conflict. Third, the individual's and spouse's housework hours are correlated with women's, but not men's, happiness. Fourth, although long working hours lead to high levels of time pressure for both men and women, the association is significantly stronger for women than men.

These gender differences are generally supported by previous research. As expected, housework time affects women's perceived work-family conflict and happiness more substantially than men's. The greater subjective wellbeing and time-pressure consequences of women's housework are likely a result of an unequal division, the gendered nature of household tasks, and gender role expectations (Barnett and Shen 1997; Glass and Fujimoto 1994; Golding 1990; Larson et al. 1994; Roxburgh 2002, 2004). As Table 36.1 illustrates, on average, women's weekly housework hours are at least 10 h more than men's. In addition, compared to men's typical tasks (e.g., car maintenance, small repairs), women's housework (e.g., cleaning, cooking) tends to be menial, repetitive, unrelenting and needs to be performed on a daily base. The disproportionate housework time and loads, tediousness, repetitiveness and inflexible schedules of female-typed tasks, and the sense of unfairness caused by unequal divisions may all contribute to women's psychological distress and higher levels of work-family conflict (Roxburgh 2002, 2004).

Furthermore, cultural expectations for gender roles are associated with women's higher levels of work-family conflict and psychological distress. Some scholars argue that the impact of competing family and work responsibilities is not the same for men and women due to gendered role expectations (Milkie and Peltola 1999). For women, the roles of wife, mother and employer are usually incompatible. Because of the gendered division of labor and the ideology of intensive mothering (Hays 1996), women are expected to be all-giving caregivers regardless of their work status. By contrast, men's work and family duties are interdependent. Even with men's increasing involvement in domestic work and childcare and the new social expectation for nurturing fathers (Bianchi et al. 2000; Wall and Arnold 2007), men are still considered the providers of the family. In other words, "being a provider fulfills husband, father and worker duties" (Milkie and Peltola 1999: 480). Thus, compared to men, women may encounter more difficulties when they try to combine different identities and associated responsibilities.

Following the above discussion on gendered role expectations, it is not surprising that partners' working hours are negatively associated with men's happiness but positively correlated with women's happiness (see Tables 36.2, 36.3, and 36.4). Given that men are usually the primary providers in the household, it is likely that partners' stable employment status and working time enhances women's happiness when household hours, housework division and other characteristics are held constant. On the other hand, because the majority of women are still the primary carers in the household, women's long employment hours are likely to affect domestic arrangements and men's subjective wellbeing considerably.

In line with gender role theories, gender attitudes affect men's and women's wellbeing as well. Both men and women with more egalitarian attitudes are less likely to experience time pressure and work-family conflict. Scholars suggest that individuals adopting egalitarian gender attitudes tend to value both family and work roles equally and dedicate time to both domains equally (Hochschild 1989; Livingston and Judge 2008). It is possible that individuals with egalitarian gender attitudes report lower levels of work-family conflict because they expect the interferences between family and work spheres.

As expected, greater numbers of children are associated with higher levels of time pressure and work-family conflict for both men and women, given that more children in the household may lead to physical unavailability for employment, preoccupation with childbearing activities and overload (Mattingly and Sayer 2006; Voydanoff 1988). However, the number of children does not predict men's and women's happiness. Some previous studies show that the association between the number of children and happiness is not linear (Kohler et al. 2005). Nonetheless, our additional analyses do not find a nonlinear connection.

Other explanatory variables also yield significant impacts on time pressure, work-family conflict and general happiness for men and women. In terms of relative resources, women with high education and whose income levels are at least similar to their partners' are more likely to experience time pressure and work-family conflict. This may reflect the greater time demands of high income jobs and the fact that many households do not outsource domestic tasks even if they can afford to do so due to cultural and contextual factors (Baxter et al. 2009; Van der Lippe 2007). On the other hand, women with partners with high educational attainment tend to feel happier. The results for men however are different. Employed men report lower levels of work-family conflict if their partners have higher income than themselves. When both working and non-working respondents are included in the analyses, men who earn less than their partners are less happy. In addition, partners' educational attainment is positively associated with men's feelings of time pressure and happiness.

As to other controls, consistent with previous studies, increases in family income enhance happiness for both men and women. Younger men are less likely to report time pressure and work-family conflict, but are also less likely to be happy. Age yields a similar effect on levels of time pressure, work-family conflict and happiness amongst women, although the connection between time pressure and age is not significant for women in Tables 36.2 and 36.3. Some scholars have suggested that individuals aged between late 20s and early 40s are more likely to experience high time pressure and feel stressed because this is the life stage when people start to take more family responsibilities such as establishing families and having young children (Higgins et al. 1994; Van der Lippe 2007). Our study, however, suggests that individuals in early life stages might have better health and energy to handle time pressure and work-family conflict, when marital status, the number of children and other characteristics are controlled.

Final Comments

In conclusion, there is a considerable body of evidence across a variety of countries documenting and explaining gender inequalities in unpaid domestic work. This work shows some evidence of changes over time, including increasing time spent by men in activities such as cooking and childcare, but insufficient evidence to conclude that there is a substantial narrowing of the gender gap in unpaid work. Women continue to spend much more time than men on domestic and care work and to perform the largest share of this work relative to their partners. There are some variations across countries as shown by cross-national research. This research shows that gender divisions of labor at home tend to be more egalitarian in countries with higher levels of macro equality, such as in some social democratic nations. Researchers have shown that institutional contexts shape both the amount of time men and women spend on domestic work, as well as the relationships between individual level resources and domestic labor arrangements. This work highlights the importance of investigating not just household level negotiations around who does domestic work, but also how institutional contexts shapes individual level arrangements.

The main theoretical approaches underlying research on domestic labor have continued to focus on relative economic resources in the household, time availability and gender display. Recent debates have raised some important issues about the importance of relative resources versus absolute earnings, arguing that it is women's

absolute earnings that explain gender divisions of time rather than relative earnings. Others have questioned the evidence for gender display suggesting that the empirical evidence for this theory is scarce (Sullivan 2011). These debates are important because they raise questions about the mechanisms underlying gender divisions and have implications for developing policies that might intervene to support more egalitarian arrangements.

Such policies are important if we are to make progress in improving wellbeing outcomes for men and women. Most research shows that unequal divisions of labor have implications for time pressure, work-family conflict and happiness, particularly for women, but also for men on some measures. Thus improving gender divisions at home is an important goal, not just for levels of equality but also for the wellbeing of men, women and families.

Future Research

Future research on inequalities in unpaid work might benefit from understanding how gender divisions of labor change across the life course. This will require both theoretical and methodological advancements. Theoretically it involves moving beyond static conceptions of divisions of labor to understanding how life course events generate new divisions and new mechanisms driving allocations of time to paid and unpaid work. For example, the mechanisms underlying who does what tasks in the home and how much time they spend on them may vary across the life course. During the early stages of family formation when children are young, it may be economically rational for couples to adhere to a gender division of labor in which women are the primary caregivers and men are the primary breadwinners. At other stages of the life course, these divisions may be driven less by economic rationality and more by gender display or normative beliefs about appropriate behavior and responsibilities. A life course approach would enable consideration of changes in the mechanism underlying the gender division of labor and perhaps lead to more dynamic theories of gender inequality.

Methodologically it requires new empirical data collected longitudinally from the same individuals over time. Such data enable consideration of how divisions of labor change in relation to life course transitions such as relationship formation and dissolution, childbirth, employment changes and retirement. Some longitudinal work has been undertaken examining marital status and parenthood transitions in relation to men's and women's time on housework (Gupta 1999; Baxter et al. 2008). These studies show that women's time on unpaid labor varies widely across the life course in association with relationship and parenthood transitions. Men's unpaid work time on the other hand, is both much lower than women's and remarkably stable across the life course.

Cross-national research examining life course variations could shed further light on these processes. In some countries, institutional support for combining paid and unpaid work in the form of publically funded childcare centers, parental leave policies and flexible work hours may lead to different associations between gender, parenthood and unpaid work. Future work examining the mechanisms underlying gender divisions of labor over the life course in cross-national perspective will advance our understanding of these mechanisms and potentially provide important insights into how public policies might best support gender equality in paid and unpaid work.

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Hang Yue Ngo and Huimin Liu

Introduction

Work satisfaction has been viewed as an important aspect of worker well-being (Danna and Griffin 1999; Guest 2008). In current literature, a number of factors at organizational and individual levels have been identified as antecedents of work satisfaction (Hodson 1989; Saari and Judge 2004). These factors are likely to affect employees' perceptions of work conditions and their evaluations of work experiences. Previous studies indicated that the effects of some factors are different for male and female employees (Bokemeier and Lacey 1987; Mottaz 1986). For example, job satisfaction of working women tend to be affected more by interpersonal relationships and variables related to work-family interface (Bruck et al. 2002; Fraser and Hodge 2000; Rudd and McKenry 1986).

As highlighted in cross-cultural research, cultural and institutional factors would also play an important role in affecting employees' work satisfaction (Saari and Judge 2004; Thomas and Au

2002). In this chapter, we use China as a case to illustrate the impacts of various cultural, socio-institutional, work-related, family-related, and personal factors on job and career satisfaction of working women. During the past three decades, China has transitioned from a central-planned economy to a market-oriented economy. In the process of economic reforms, tremendous changes have taken place in the socio-economic structure, such as patterns of social inequality (Wang 2008; Zhao 2012), social welfare system and job security (Gallagher 2004), and gender role and status (Zhang and Hannum 2013). Due to these changes, the employment opportunities, work experiences, and work outcomes of men and women have become diverse (Cao and Hu 2007; Song and Dong 2013). Accordingly, they may develop different expectations and preferences, and use different comparisons groups in arriving at appraisal of their jobs (Chow and Ngo 2001; Smyth et al. 2009). It is interesting to explore the gender differences in work satisfaction in the Chinese context, and to make comparison with other countries.

Moreover, working women in China have encountered substantial obstacles in their career development, including gender role stereotyping, gender-based discrimination, occupational gender segregation, glass ceiling, stick floor, sexual harassment, and work-family conflict (Ling and Powell 2001; Ngo 2002; Shaffer et al. 2000). These obstacles are widespread and likely to exert some adverse impacts on their well-being.

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Not until recently, limited research has been carried out to examine this issue. To enrich our understanding, we attempt to provide an overview and synthesis of relevant literature related to work satisfaction of Chinese women.

This chapter is organized as follows. In the next section, we examine the cultural and economic context in China that has profound impacts on organizational practices, employment conditions, and individuals' work orientations and values. This is followed by a discussion of the concepts of job and career satisfaction. We then review previous studies on job and career satisfaction of Chinese employees, and try to identify the key personal, family-related, and work-related antecedents. Specifically, we spell out those factors that have been found to affect the gender differences in work satisfaction. In the last section, we provide a conclusion that highlights the unique conditions in China and suggest some possible directions for future research.

Cultural and Economic Background

Pre-reform Era

For centuries, China has been a patriarchal society with a clear demarcation of gender roles. According to the traditional Confucian ideology, men assume the role of providers and women serve as the caretakers. Chinese women are expected to be subservient to the family patriarch, play a subordinate role in the public sphere, and have a lower status in society (Peng et al. 2009).

Since the establishment of the communist government in 1949, China has adopted a national policy of gender equality. Viewed as a means to women's emancipation, the labor force participation of women was strongly encouraged. Many economic and social policies have been implemented by the Chinese government to promote women's status and redress the negative stereotyping of women, including the provision of more educational opportunities for women, centralized allocation of labor, and subsidized child care arrangements (Cooke and Xiao 2014).

Additionally, a number of laws and regulations, such as equal pay for equal work, have been enforced to safeguard women's rights and interests in the workplace (Cooke 2004: Ngo 2002). For that reason, the status of women had gradually improved in the early era of communist regime.

Reform Era

In 1978, the Chinese government launched a new national policy toward market liberalization and economic development. Since then, China has gradually transited from a centrally planned to a market-oriented economy. The economic reforms have brought about tremendous changes in the labor market and the enterprises, and hence affect the employment conditions and career trajectories of male and female workers (Peng et al. 2009).

First of all, a nascent labor market has emerged, which enables labor reallocation within and between firms, industrial sectors, and regions. As a result of the restructuring of the state sector and the growth of the non-state sector, there has been increased job turnover and occupational mobility among workers (Chow et al. 1999; Song and Dong 2013). This created new opportunities for career advancement for some workers, and also forced others to take up low-paid and low-status jobs (Ngo 2002).

In the state-owned enterprises (SOEs), several significant changes have been implemented, including the introduction of modern management system, the transformation in ownership structure, and the adoption of new HRM and employment practices. Consistent with the policy of decentralization, the managers in SOEs have been granted more authority in making business and personnel decisions. In particular, they have greater autonomy to hire and fire workers to enhance efficiency and labor productivity, raise salary to retain productive workers, and cut benefits to reduce the social welfare burden (Gallagher 2004; Ngo et al. 2008). With the introduction of fixed-term employment contracts and performance-based compensation, a shift in wel-

fare provision responsibility from the enterprises to various parties, and a new labor law that regulates employment relations, the old life-long employment system with extensive welfare benefits (which is known as the "iron-rice bowl" system) has been abolished in SOEs.

Owing to the open-door policy, the number of foreign-invested enterprises has increased substantially. At the same time, privately-owned enterprises have also experienced rapid growth in number (Chow et al. 1999). To attract and retain talent, these firms have adopted a market-oriented approach in managing human resources and invested more on employee training than SOEs (Ngo et al. 2008). In the past, the government controlled individuals' jobs and careers, but now under the new employment and career systems, workers can have their career planning and make their job choice and other career-related decisions (Russo et al. 2014).

Impacts on Working Women

Nevertheless, it has been argued that the benefits and costs of economic transition have not been distributed evenly between the two genders (Cao and Hu 2007; Song and Dong 2013). For example, in the process of SOE restructuring, more women than men had been laid off, and these laid-off female workers experienced greater difficulty in finding new jobs. To a certain extent, this reflects the higher cost of employing women because of their maternity leave and child care benefits (Ngo 2002; Peng et al. 2009). A large number of female workers reluctantly moved into the informal sector and the small private businesses, and took up the inferior jobs with low wages and poor working conditions (Ngo 2002; Song and Dong 2013). Some middle-aged women even retired earlier and left the labor market.

As pointed out by the World Bank (2002), some policies that support workplace equality for women have receded during the reform era, because the Chinese government put high priorities on economic competitiveness and growth. Besides, legislation that protects women's rights at work has been weakly enforced.

The traditional gender stereotypes and values have re-emerged, leading to increasing gender discrimination in the labor market (Cao and Hu 2007; Shi and Jin 2013; Ngo 2002). For enterprises, marketization and the profit motive have created incentives for discrimination against women. Overt and subtle gender discrimination widely exists in employment policies and practices, including recruitment, promotion, compensation, and retirement regulations (Cooke 2004; Nolan 2010). Research has consistently showed increasing gender gap in pay and other labor market outcomes during the past two decades (Shi and Jin 2013; Zhang and Dong 2008; Zhang and Hannum 2013).

As a result of the abolishment of the life-long employment system and the social welfare reform, there has been a loss of job security and the reduction of material benefits among workers (Cooke and Xiao 2014; Gallagher 2004). This has lowered their economic well-being, and accentuated their senses of uncertainty and instability (Yu 2008). As women are more vulnerable to workplace discrimination, layoffs, and unemployment than men, they tend to have a stronger feeling of job insecurity.

Lastly, the marketization of the Chinese economy has also led to work intensification, particularly for those workers in the private sector and foreign-invested manufacturing firms (Cooke and Xiao 2014). With longer working hours and increasing job stress, married women have greater difficulty in juggling between work and family demands, and work-family conflict becomes an immense challenge for them (Zuo and Jiang 2012).

All in all, along with the rapid growth of the Chinese economy and the liberalization of the socialist ideology, the traditional patriarchal values and gender-based division of labor has resurfaced (Cao and Hu 2007). Some of the new policies promoted by the Chinese government implicitly and explicitly encourage women to return home, to take on traditional gender roles, and to leave the public sphere to men (Currier 2007). In the workplace, women encounter various obstacles and suffer many disadvantages. While men are able to take advantage of the new

opportunities to advance their careers, women often become the victims of employment discrimination, and hence their status and well-being in the labor market has been deteriorating (Zhang and Hannum 2013). Worse still, they lack the opportunities, resources and support from their employing organizations to develop their careers and to deal with the new challenges (Peng et al. 2009). Under such circumstance, it is plausible that female employees enjoy less work satisfaction than their male co-workers.

Job and Career Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is one of the widely studied constructs in the field of applied psychology and management. Locke (1976) defined it as a positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences. Spector (1997) viewed it as an attitude concerning the extent to which employees like or dislike their jobs. In empirical research, there are two common approaches to the measurement of job satisfaction. First, the global approach assesses the construct based on an individual's overall affective reaction to his or her job. The composite approach, on the other hand, examines the pattern of attitudes an individual holds regarding various facets of the job, such as pay, fringe benefits, job conditions, nature of work, company policies, coworkers, and supervision (Spector 1997).

According to Judge et al. (1995), career satisfaction refers to an individual's feelings toward accomplishment of career goals and satisfaction with his or her career. It can be viewed as the subjective perception and evaluation of an individual's career progression and success (Loi and Ngo 2010).

As pointed out by Gu et al. (2010), job satisfaction emphasizes specific task environment in which an employee performs required duties, whereas career satisfaction highlights a career extension beyond a specific job's. Previous studies showed that job and career satisfaction are distinct constructs (Judge et al. 1995). However, they also share some commonalities. First, both

of them represent employees' perceptions on their work lives (Igbaria et al. 1991), which involve their affective response to the job environment. They have also been considered as the key indicators of employees' subjective well-being (Ngo et al. 2014a; Nielson et al. 2011). Second, the two constructs have been found to be associated with some important employees' outcomes, such as organizational commitment, job involvement, and turnover intentions (Gu et al. 2010). Third, both of them have some common antecedents, including personal values and expectations, job experiences, job characteristics, and work conditions (Chen 2011; Ngo et al. 2014a).

In western literature, mixed results have been reported regarding the relationship between gender and work satisfaction (Phelan 1994; Witt and Nye 1992). As indicated in some studies, female workers reported a higher level of job satisfaction than their male co-workers, despite they usually experience worse work conditions, such as lower pay, less authority, and less job autonomy. This phenomenon is known as the 'paradox of the female contented worker' (Crosby 1982). One explanation for this is the gender differences in life goals, work values, and job preferences. For example, women prefer jobs with good interpersonal relationships and they have a strong desire to integrate work and family life. The other explanation pertains to different targets of social comparison used by the two genders. Specifically, men tend to compare themselves to someone of the same sex in appraising their jobs, while women tend to compare themselves to other women.

Nevertheless, a large-scale survey with more than 6,000 employees in nine European countries revealed no significant differences in job satisfaction between the two genders (deVaus and McAllister 1991). It has been contended that the differences in job and career satisfaction between men and women may not be due to sex *per se*, but due to certain factors that vary with sex (Mason 1994; Ngo et al. 2014a). These factors may include pay, opportunities for advancement, support and resources in the workplace, and gender-

based discrimination. When these factors have been taken into consideration, the gender differences in job attitudes would disappear (Lefkowitz 1994).

In China, increasing research attention has been paid to the work satisfaction of Chinese workers during the past two decades. Loscocco and Bose (1998) found that men have a higher level of job satisfaction than women. It has been argued that Chinese women generally have higher expectations from work, owing largely to socialist ideology that emphasizes gender equality. In reality, women encounter various disadvantages and gender-based inequities in the workplace, and thus they reported lower job satisfaction than men (Loscocco and Bose 1998). In line with this argument, Ngo et al. (2014a) showed that women displayed less job satisfaction than men in their study of 591 Chinese employees. However, in another large-scale study of urban residents, Nielsen and Smyth (2008) reported no significant gender differences in job satisfaction. Yang and Wang (2013) also obtained a similar finding in their study of civil servants in Beijing.

Furthermore, inconsistent findings have also been reported regarding the relationship between gender and career satisfaction in China. In a study of 139 Chinese managers, Tu et al. (2006) found that gender was not a significant predictor of career satisfaction. A similar finding was obtained by Loi and Ngo (2010) and Liu et al. (2012). However, the study by Ngo et al. (2014a) showed that female employees had a lower level of career satisfaction than their male colleagues.

To sum up, similar to those research findings in western countries, mixed results on the gender differences in job and career satisfaction have been obtained in previous studies that were conducted in China. One possible reason for this is due to the inclusion of different variables (e.g., personal factors and workplace characteristics) as predictors and controls in these studies. To untangle this issue, it is important to evaluate these variables accurately and to examine their interaction effects with gender on work satisfaction.

Antecedents of Job and Career Satisfaction

In current literature, a host of factors have been identified as predictors of workers' job and career satisfaction. Based on their nature, these factors can be broadly classified into three groups, namely, person-related, family-related, and work-related factors. In the following parts, we discuss their effects in the Chinese context.

Person-Related Factors

Person-related factors pertain to individuals' (1) socio-demographic characteristics, (2) work values and job preferences, and (3) personal dispositions and personality traits. Below we provide a review of these factors and discuss how they are related to work satisfaction of Chinese employees. Special attention will be paid to the gender differences as revealed in previous studies.

Socio-demographic Characteristics
Several socio-demographic variables, including age, education, and income, are supposed to affect job and career satisfaction of workers. However, in western literature, inconsistent relationships have been found between these variables and employees' work satisfaction. This is also the case for the recent studies conducted in China.

Take the example of educational attainment and job satisfaction. A few studies, such as Sun et al. (2009) and Cheng (2013) reported a positive relationship between the two. However, Smyth et al. (2009) found that education was not related to job satisfaction, while Yang and Wang (2013) even found that education had a negative relationship on job satisfaction. The effect of education on career satisfaction appears to be more consistent, as most studies revealed no significant relationship between them (Liu et al. 2012; Loi and Ngo 2010; Tu et al. 2006; Zhang et al. 2010).

As regard the effect of age on work satisfaction, mixed findings have also been reported in

previous studies. While Nielsen and Smyth (2008) and Yang and Wang (2013) discovered a positive relationship between age and job satisfaction, Smyth et al. (2009) found no significant relationship between them. Turning to the relationship between age and career satisfaction, Tu et al. (2006) and Zhang et al. (2010) reported a positive relationship. However, some other studies, including Liu et al. (2012) and Loi and Ngo (2010), did not find any significant relationship between the two.

According to common wisdom, high income may make an individual feel more contented with his or her job. Several studies conducted in China have provided the empirical support for this argument (Cheng 2013; Nielson et al. 2011; Smyth et al. 2009). One study, however, revealed a negative effect of income on job satisfaction (Nielsen and Smyth 2008). On the hand other, Guen et al. (2013) found a positive association between income and career satisfaction in their study of Chinese managers.

A major reason for the above inconsistent results in empirical research is due to sample variation. Since China is a huge and populous country, most studies only selected the respondents in a province, in a city, in an employment sector, or even in a firm. Yet there are a lot of variations in work conditions among geographic areas, industrial sectors, and enterprises. Some studies included a small number of respondents who were not drawn from random sampling. Inevitably, this restricts the generalizability and comparisons of the empirical findings across studies. It should also be noted that, in all the above studies, gender was not an analytic focus. Hence, we know little about the possible interaction effect of gender and socio-demographic characteristics on job and career satisfaction in the Chinese context.

Work Values and Job Preferences

It is well known that individuals are different in their work values, which affect their needs, preferences, and expectations at work. These psychological factors in turn can explain employees' levels of job and career satisfaction. Because of sex-role socialization, men and women tend to

hold different work values, bring different expectations to the workplace, and have different job preferences and career aspirations (Ngo and Tsang 1998; Ngo et al. 2014a). For example, women tend to place less value on remuneration and attach strong importance to social relationships. Besides, they often have a strong desire to integrate work and family life, and prefer jobs with good interpersonal relationships. In a meta-analysis of gender differences in job attribute preferences, Konrad et al. (2000) found that men consider income and job responsibility to be more important, while women consider interpersonal relationship and task significance to be more important.

In China, only a few studies have been conducted to investigate the gender differences in work values and job attribute preferences. Li et al. (2008) pointed out that female workers emphasized more on intrinsic work values, job stability, and job security, while male workers focus more on extrinsic work values, such as self-fulfillment, achievement, wealth, and superiority. However, Granrose (2007) reported that Chinese men and women were not different in their work values, and they also had similar career goals and employed similar career tactics. In a study of business students in China, Chow and Ngo (2001) found no significant gender differences in job attribute preferences between the two genders, except in job security that females preferred this attribute more than males.

Furthermore, three other studies have linked work values to work satisfaction of Chinese workers. First of all, Siu et al. (2003) found a positive relationship between Chinese work values and job satisfaction. In their study, the construct of Chinese work values captured the salient characteristics of Chinese culture, including collectivism, long-term orientation, authoritarianism, and *guanxi* (i.e., personal connections). In another study, Li and Ngo (2014) provided empirical evidence that Chinese traditionality, defined as the extent to which an individual endorses the traditional hierarchical role relationship prescribed by Confucian social ethics, exerted a significant effect on both job and career satisfaction. The third study was conducted by

Froese and Xiao (2012) who examined the relationship between work values and job satisfaction. This study showed that individualism and willingness to take risks are two significant predictors of job satisfaction. In all the above studies, however, gender was not included in the analysis, and thus we have no idea about the gender differences in this regard.

To and Tam (2014) examined the impact of work values on job satisfaction among Chinese female migrant workers. They found that cognitive work values (e.g., job responsibility, use of ability, meaningfulness of the job, and contribution to society) were positively related to job satisfaction. Their study further demonstrated similarities in the effects of work values for respondents of different age groups.

Personal Dispositions and Personality Traits

The effect of dispositional influences on work satisfaction has been established in western studies. Some personality traits, such as extraversion, conscientiousness, and core self-evaluation, have been found to be significant antecedents of employees' job satisfaction (Saari and Judge 2004). Nevertheless, few research has been carried out to examine whether these dispositional and personality traits exert similar effects in the Chinese context. One exception is the work by Li et al. (2010), which indicated that an individual's proactive personality, referring to behavioral tendency to identify opportunities to change things at work and to act on those impulses, was an important predictor of job satisfaction among Chinese employees. However, their study did not found any gender differences in proactive personality and job satisfaction.

Another personal factor that has drawn increasing research attention recently is psychological capital, which refers to an individual's positive psychological state of development. It generally consists of four different components, namely, self-efficacy, hope, resilience, and optimism. Using a Chinese sample, Kwok et al. (2014) reported a significant positive effect of self-efficacy, hope, and optimism on job satisfaction of white-collar workers. In another study,

Cheung et al. (2011) found that psychological capital (as a global measurement) exerted a positive effect on job satisfaction among school teachers in China. However, there was no correlation between gender and job satisfaction in the above two studies. In a study of 362 Chinese employees, Ngo et al. (2014b) showed that self-efficacy and optimism were positively related to job satisfaction, while hope and optimism were positively related to career satisfaction. They concluded that gender role orientation (i.e., masculinity and femininity), but not gender *per se*, was an important determinant of individual's psychological capital, job and career satisfaction among Chinese workers.

Family-Related Factors

Although work-related variables have been considered as the primary predictors of individuals' work satisfaction, more researchers have come to realize that work and family domains are interrelated and hence family-related variables should also be taken into consideration in the investigation of work attitudes (Loscocco and Bose 1998). Below we give a brief review of empirical studies linking family-related variables with job satisfaction in the Chinese context. Our focus is on two types of family-related factors: (1) family-demographic variables, and (2) work-family interface. Due to the limited number of studies exclusively focusing on women, much of the research we cited includes both male and female samples.

Family-Demographic Variables

Studies of job satisfaction increasingly use demographic variables (e.g., marital status, number of children, and age of the youngest child) as indicators of family conditions. Yet surprisingly, these variables have generally shown little or even no relevance to the job satisfaction of women and men in western studies (deVaus and McAllister 1991; Loscocco 1990). Nevertheless, China has a distinct cultural tradition of extended family involvement. The extended family involvement, particularly the support for house-

work and childcare from family members, may result in work and family dynamics that are different from those in the West.

We located one study by Loscocco and Bose (1998), showing that Chinese women experienced increased job satisfaction because of the extended family structure. The study investigated gender patterns in both levels and determinants of job satisfaction (i.e., overall satisfaction, pay satisfaction, and intrinsic satisfaction) using survey data from 871 employees. Results indicated that Chinese women are less satisfied with their jobs than are men, contrary to much research in other countries. Gender differences emerged when examining the effect of family variables (i.e., housing quality, affluence/appliances, marital status, and extended family structure) on employees' job satisfaction. The researchers found that those family variables did not influence men's job satisfaction. However, extended family structure appeared as a significant predictor of women's pay and overall satisfaction.

The gender asymmetry detected regarding the role of extended family structure may reflect the possibility that modern Chinese households are still influenced by traditional gender role ideology. Even when they work outside, Chinese women still carry most of the burden of household chores. Statistics showed that Chinese women did about twice more housework than their husbands (Gao and Zheng 2012). Chinese women continue to assume the primary responsibility for childcare, even when they hold a job. Thus, it is not surprising to find that extended family structure significantly enhanced Chinese women's job satisfaction, perhaps through the ease of "a second shift" at home with the help and resources from extended family members.

Work-Family Interface

The dynamic interactions between individuals' work and family roles have been shown to be associated with their job satisfaction. In the literature, work-family interface is considered to comprise two different components: work-family conflict (WFC) and work-family enrichment (WFE). WFC, a type of interrole conflict that represents negative interdependencies between work

and family roles, has demonstrated a consistent negative association with job satisfaction (Allen et al. 2000). WFE, a positive type of linking mechanism between work and family constructs, has found to be positively related to employees' job satisfaction (McNall et al. 2010). Empirical evidence examining the relationship between work-family interface and job satisfaction in Chinese employees has been accumulating. Below we give a brief review of these studies.

Zhao et al. (2011) surveyed 121 sales managers from 26 hotels in China to clarify the relationship between WFC and job satisfaction. In their study, job satisfaction was composed of two parts: affective reaction and cognitive appraisal. Results showed that both work interfering with family (WIF) and family interfering with work (FIW) had negative impact on an individual's affective reaction to his/her job, while only FIW reduced the cognitive appraisal of a job. Their sample consisted of an equal number of male and female respondents, and gender was not included as a variable in the SEM analysis. Using the same data set, Qu and Zhao (2012) continued to examine the moderating effect of WFC on the relationship between life satisfaction and job satisfaction. Results indicated that the positive spillover from life satisfaction to job satisfaction was much stronger for employees with lower levels of WFC. In this study, gender was treated as a control variable in the regression analysis.

Wang et al. (2010) examined the relationship between work-family conflict (i.e., both WIF and FIW), job-related self-efficacy, work satisfaction, and supervisor satisfaction in a sample of Chinese and Indian bank employees. One of the significant gender differences they found was that the negative relationship between WIF and work satisfaction was stronger for women than for men. The findings suggested the persistence of traditional gender role ideology in Asian countries, such that work roles are more salience for men, whereas family and home responsibilities are more salient for women. According to social identity theory, individuals are more stressful when their salient role identity is threatened. Thus, WIF had a stronger negative effect on women's work satisfaction as it threatens wom-

en's highly salient family roles. In contrast, men may feel less dissatisfied with their work even under high levels of WIF, because WIF does not endanger the accomplishment of their more salient work roles.

Tang et al. (2014) investigated whether work-to-family enrichment functioned as a mediator between three types of work support (i.e., supervisor, co-worker, and organizational support) and job satisfaction among 543 employees in China. Results showed that work-to-family enrichment fully mediated the association of supervisor support and organizational support with job satisfaction. Although the psychological processes behind seemed to hold for both genders, one significant gender difference was detected such that the relationship between work-to-family enrichment and job satisfaction was significantly stronger for females than males. The authors argued that female employees were more family-oriented and would be more satisfied with their jobs when they perceived their jobs as enriching and benefiting their family life.

Liu and Cheung (2014) examined the crossover effects from one partner's work-family interface to the other partner's well-being in a matched sample of 361 Chinese dual-earner couples. Results from the Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (APIM) analyses showed that at the individual level, both husbands' and wives' work-family conflict was negatively related to job satisfaction, whereas their work-family enrichment was positively related to job satisfaction. Interestingly, at the couple level, wives' work-family enrichment was found to be positively associated with husbands' job satisfaction. In contrast, husbands' work-family enrichment did not significantly enhance wives' job satisfaction. The researchers speculated that husbands tend to be less expressive about positive events at work, and wives generally have fewer opportunities to recognize and value their husbands' skills or knowledge in details, thereby learning and benefiting from their husbands' enriching experiences.

Given the fluid and permeable boundaries between work and family spheres, it is likely that family-related demographic variables as well as the interaction between work and family roles will exert some influences on individuals' job satisfaction. Moreover, considering the traditional role of the female as the primary caregiver for children and the elderly, family context should be highlighted in the investigation of determinants of Chinese women's job satisfaction. Based on the above review, Chinese women may experience increased levels of job satisfaction because of having the support of an extended family, encountering less inter-role stress and conflict, and having increased enriching experiences between work and family roles. Following the logic, we also expect that these positive factors would enhance women's satisfaction with their careers.

Work-Related Factors

The impacts of work context on employees' satisfaction have been well documented in the Western literature. For example, job satisfaction has been viewed as a function of job characteristics (i.e., skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback). Certain work conditions, such as pay, involvement, promotional opportunities, and interpersonal relationships, are considered as key antecedents of job and career satisfaction of employees. Besides, work resources such as social support, job-related information, and employment flexibility would enhance employees' work satisfaction, while work stress such as heavy overload, long working hours, and role conflict would reduce work satisfaction. Some organizational factors, such as firm size, degree of centralization, corporate culture and climate, employment policies, and human resource (HR) practices also have some important roles to play in this regard. In China, the last decade has witnessed increasing research on organizational-level antecedents of job and career satisfaction among employees. Below we provide a brief review of these studies, with special attention paid to gender differences.

Using the data set collected from the Chinese General Social Survey, Cheng (2013) examined the effects of employee involvement and partici-

pation on job satisfaction of Chinese workers. In his study, employees who had more flexibility and autonomy in managing their workloads, and had greater freedom to express their opinions to their supervisors were found to enjoy more job satisfaction. Female respondents also reported a higher level of job satisfaction that male respondents.

In a study of 268 Chinese workers in a foreign-invested enterprise, Scott et al. (2003) reported that perceived group support, participation in decision-making, and task interdependence are positively related to job satisfaction of the respondents. In their statistical analysis, gender was not included as it is a focus in the study.

Yang and Wang (2013) explored the determinants of job satisfaction among Chinese civil servants. Their empirical results showed that the respondents' job satisfaction was related to a number of organizational and job characteristics, including relations with co-workers, work environment safety, working hours, salary, work-family balance, task variety, and confidence in career development. They further found a significant interaction effect of gender and salary, in that job satisfaction of women was higher than that of men at low levels of salary.

Lu et al. (2007) examined the female nurses' views and experience regarding their working lives in China. Their findings indicated that occupational stress and role conflict had a significant negative effect on the job satisfaction of the respondents. In another study of 598 female nurses in China, Sun and her associates (2009) found that structural empowerment (which include greater access to information, support, resources, and opportunities for mobility and growth) were associated with a higher level of job satisfaction among the female nurses.

Rutherford and his associates (2012) developed a model linking some work attitudes and behavior of female Chinese salespeople. While previous research indicated that females had a lower level of perceived organizational support (POS) than males, they found that job satisfaction of the respondents increased when they perceived more support from the organization, regardless of gender.

Li et al. (2011) investigated the relationships among HR system, organizational climate, and job attitudes of Chinese employees. They reported a positive effect of high performance work system and an interaction effect of climate strength and consensus of HRM system on work satisfaction of the respondents. In their study, they did not consider the gender differences, and gender was not correlated with job satisfaction.

Fu and Deshpande (2013) evaluated the impact of organizational climate on job satisfaction in a China's insurance company. They found that caring climate had a positive effect on employees' job satisfaction. Gender, however, was not included in their path analysis, and it had no correlation with job satisfaction.

As regard the antecedents of career satisfaction, some studies have been conducted in China in recent years. For example, Loi and Ngo (2010) investigated mobility-related factors that affect employees' career satisfaction in the Chinese setting. They found a positive effect of POS and procedural justice on career satisfaction of Chinese workers. However, gender was not an analytical focus in their study.

In another study of 184 workers in a Chinese state-owned enterprise, Zhang and her associates (2010) reported that access to information and access to resources in the workplace were key predictors of individual's career satisfaction. Gender was not correlated with any of the above variables.

Tu et al. (2006) explored the impacts of several factors on career success of Chinese managers. They found that total compensation and organizational success (i.e., whether or not the organization is able to reach its strategic goals) were significant predictors of respondents' career satisfaction, but gender was not.

In a study of Chinese managers, Guen et al. (2013) provided empirical evidence that salary, job level, career anchor, and perceived organizational career management were significant factors leading to career satisfaction of the respondents. In their study, perceived organizational career management refers to those organizational and HR practices pertinent to employees' career development, such as mentoring programs, career

ladders and paths, external and in-house training, job rotation, and developmental assessment centers.

The important role of mentorship has also been highlighted in the study of Liu et al. (2012) who found mentorship quality positively affected career satisfaction of Chinese protégés. In their study, however, gender had no correlation with career satisfaction.

There is only one study that puts its focus on gender differences. Adopting a gender-based view, Ngo et al. (2014a) investigated how perceptions of the work context affect the job and career satisfaction of Chinese employees. In their study, POS, procedural justice, and gender bias against women were considered as antecedents, and gender was expected to moderate the relationships between these antecedents and work satisfaction. They found that male respondents reported high levels of job and career satisfaction than female respondents. Moreover, they also found some moderating effects of gender. Specifically, with a higher level of POS, women enjoyed more job satisfaction than men. In addition, when women perceived more gender bias against them in the organization, they had less career satisfaction as compared to men.

Several observations can be made from the above review of studies conducted in China. First, consistent with previous works in the West, job and employment conditions have been found to be salient predictors of job and career satisfaction of Chinese employees. It appears that some of the effects are similar in China and in western countries.

Second, the influences of organizational factors (e.g., organizational structure, corporate culture, employment policies, and HR practices) have been under-explored. These factors are likely to affect employees' perceptions regarding fairness, discrimination, support, and career advancement in the workplace, and hence influence their work satisfaction. To provide empirical evidence in the Chinese context, more research is called for.

Third, although men and women tend to have differential perceptions of the work context and thereby lead to different attitudinal reactions

(Ngo and Tsang 1998), only few studies focused on such gender differences in China. In most cases, gender was just included as a control variable, rather than a predictor or a moderator in the relationship between job conditions and work satisfaction. There is a need for more studies based on a gender perspective.

Conclusion

The investigation of work satisfaction has a long history in Western countries. A huge body of literature has accumulated regarding the determinants of job and career satisfaction of employees. One stream of research has focused on the gender differences and has identified several actors that exert differential effects on work satisfaction of men and women (Bokemeier and Lacey 1987; Mottaz 1986). It is questionable whether these factors also play a similar role in the Chinese context. To address this issue, in this chapter we provide a comprehensive review and synthesis of relevant literature on job and career satisfaction of working women in China. Our review suggests a complex picture.

China has several unique characteristics that we need to pay special attention to. First of all, China is a huge and populous country. The variations among different regions (e.g., coastal provinces and other provinces), economic sectors (e.g., state sector, private sector, and foreign-invested sector), and industries (e.g., manufacturing, high-technology, and services industry) should not be overlooked. Hence, it is difficult to generalize the findings of a single study and to draw a simple conclusion about the overall pattern of work satisfaction among Chinese employees.

Second, China has a high rate of female labor force participation by international standard. Thanks to the policy of gender equality promoted by the government in the early communist era, the economic involvement of women has been strongly encouraged. Even today, the socialist ideology has a profound impact on women's orientations and expectations at work. For example, many of them still expect equal pay for equal

work and prefer jobs with high security and welfare protection (Chow and Ngo 2001). However, due to work intensification and less support from the employing organizations, working women may encounter more work stress and work-family conflict than before (Cooke and Xiao 2014: Zuo and Jiang 2012), which undermine their work satisfaction.

Third, China is also an emerging economy with an impressive economic growth in the past two decades. As a result of economic reforms, there have been dramatic transformations in the country's social and economic structure, which influence various aspects of people's lives. In the work domain, many new employment opportunities have been created that enhances individuals' job mobility, career choices, and income attainment (Song and Dong 2013). Besides, the government also implemented some policies that created barriers and disadvantages for certain groups, including married and older women (Nolan 2010; Peng et al. 2009). As such, social inequality in general and gender inequality in particular have become a serious issue in contemporary China (Currier 2007; Zhang and Hannum 2013). When comparing with their male co-workers, female workers may feel that they are relatively deprived under the current economic situation. Such feeling is likely to have a negative effect on their level of work satisfaction.

Finally, some other distinctive features of the Chinese society may also influence individual's economic well-being and work attitudes. One is existence of the *hukou* (i.e., residential registration) system that allocates all Chinese residents into two groups, agricultural and non-agricultural urban residents. These two groups of people have differential assess to employment opportunities and are entitled to different social welfare benefits. In the urban labor market, they also face different employment conditions and received different compensations (Nielson et al. 2011). Moreover, despite rapid social and economic development in the post-reform era, the influence of Confucianism (i.e., the traditional ideology) on work values and gender roles is still pronounced in China. People with traditional values have been found to report a high level of job and

career satisfaction (Li and Ngo 2014). It is interesting to evaluate the influences of communism, Confucianism, and western ideology on orientations and attitudes of male and female workers in contemporary China. Another feature is the salience of *guanxi* (i.e., personal connections), which affects individual's access to resources, information, and opportunities in the workplace. We expect that it has significant impact on employees' well-being. To fully understand how the Chinese workers perceive their work environment and generate their work satisfaction, it is important to take into consideration of the influences of the above unique features in China. In other words, research on workers' well-being should be contextualized, with the use of some relevant indigenous concepts.

Future Research Directions

As demonstrated in the preceding section, the job and career satisfaction of Chinese workers are determined by a host of factors at various levels. To examine the interplay of various factors and to disentangle the complexity involved, it is desirable to conduct cross-level analysis, instead of focusing solely on the determinants at societal, organizational, or individual level. Another possible avenue for future research is to investigate the interaction effects of various factors. For example, some personality variables may interact with the employment practices to generate a significant impact on work satisfaction via person-organization fit. Likewise, there may be some interaction effects of family-related and work-related factors on job and career satisfaction of working women.

From our review, we notice that less research attention has been drawn to the influences of cultural factors. Arguably, these factors (e.g., collectivism, power distance, and gender egalitarianism) not only directly affect individual's work orientation, values, and perceptions, but also moderate the effects of some workplace factors on employees' satisfaction. For an emerging economy like China, it is interesting to study the changes in cultural values along with economic

development and how these changes affect the well-being of men and women in the workplace.

Given the paucity of information at the firm level, more research attention could be paid to the impacts of organizational culture, gender composition and segregation, the availability of diversity programs and family-friendly work practices on employees' evaluation of their jobs and careers. This type of research can advance our understanding about the role of organizations in promoting employees' work satisfaction in the Chinese context and also provide some practical implications for the Chinese firms.

Furthermore, to better understand the role played by gender in affecting the job and career satisfaction among Chinese employees, more studies from a gender perspective are called for. Instead of simply comparing the differences between male and female employees as in some earlier studies (e.g., Ngo et al. 2014a; Zhang and Hannum 2013), researchers should incorporate some gender-relevant constructs and theorize their roles in affecting job and career satisfaction of working women. Some good examples of these constructs include gender role orientation, gender identification, marital power, and work-to-family spillover.

Past research has consistently showed increasing gender inequality in the Chinese workplace, as indicated by widening gender gap in pay and a high level of occupational sex segregation (Ngo 2002; Shi and Jin 2013; Zhang and Hannum 2013). Gender-based differential treatments can also be found in firms' HRM practices, such as job assignments, performance appraisal, retirement arrangements, and training and career development (Cooke 2004; Ngo and Loi 2014; Nolan 2010). In view of the above, there is a need to explain how this phenomenon affects women's job and career satisfaction. We suggest that the issue can be addressed through some theoretical lens, such as social exchange perspective, organizational justice theory, relative deprivation theory, and social comparison theory.

Last but not least, our review focuses mainly on job and career satisfaction, which are considered as key aspects of worker well-being. To fully understand individual's well-being in the workplace, other aspects such as income and social welfare benefits, mental and psychological health, and family and life satisfaction (Cheng 2013; Sun and Xiao 2012; Zhao 2012) should also be examined in future research. It is also desirable to conduct large-scale survey with representative samples to investigate the topic in the Chinese context. With more relevant information, we can better understand the well-being of Chinese women in the post-reform era and suggest some appropriate policies to address their needs.

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Yusuf M. Sidani

Introduction

When it comes to the status of working women in the Middle East, there seems to be two perspectives. The first group, the optimists, holds the "nothing is particularly wrong" thesis. They acknowledge that things may have not been going well for working women, but assert that their situation is no different than the status of their sisters elsewhere. There are problems such as lower levels of participation and pay and scarcity in the upper echelon, yet working women have come a long way over the past few decades. In relative terms, they are much better off in today's Arab organizations than their predecessors.

The second group, the skeptics, adopts the "everything is wrong" thesis and they have much to complain about. They refer, for example, to reports issued by international organizations to support the notion that the gender gap in the Arab world is greater than almost every other region in the world (e.g. Arab Human Development Report 2002). They refer to a host of cultural factors that are impeding women's ascension in the workplace. They refer to evidence widely disseminated by the popular media that shows the dismal position of working women. Issues of discrimination, prejudice, inequity in participation and pay, and sexual harassment are among the common problems that these women face. It is argued that working women face these to a greater extent than their counterparts in other parts of the world, and the situation is not getting any better.

The discrepancy between the two positions is clear. Neither group would deny that a problem exists impacting the quality of work life of working Arab women. Yet, for the first group this problem is greatly exaggerated. Some would go as far as suggesting that there is no unique "women" problem in most Arab communities that could be separated from other development problems. There is a larger underdevelopment problem with many mixed dimensions; the women's issue is just one aspect of a larger problem or perhaps one of its symptoms (e.g. Abdel-Haleem 2010). When larger societal problems are addressed, the "women" issue will, for the most part, be solved. The second group would argue that the "women" issue is a main problem that stands on its own and that is a cause, rather than a symptom, of other problems. They are concerned that lumping the "women" issue together with a host of other issues would only dilute its importance. Under such perspective, women suffer from significant cultural and organizational impediments that are exclusive to the region. The types of problems that Arab women face are unique to the context in which they live. Assuming

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that such problems are universal would lead to cosmetic remedies that will only delay the implementation of needed remedies. The Arab world has distinctive issues and thus unique solutions have to be advanced.

The position adopted in this paper is neither one of absolute optimism nor that of pure skepticism. While one could generally tilt away from the skeptics' perspective, there are nevertheless unique institutional factors in the Arab world impeding women's progress and the quality of their work lives. This position could be called a cautious optimism perspective, not because the situation of Arab working women is ideal; nothing is close to idealism in their case. It is partially optimistic for various reasons that are explored in this paper.

Some space will be devoted to discuss the above positions in relation to the situation of women, particularly working women, in the Arab world. Arguments for a "cautious optimism" perspective will be explored, offering some contextual background about women and working women in the Arab world.

Women in Arab Culture

Over the past 100 years, Western eyes have barely witnessed any change in the image of Arab women. For example, images of these women in a major popular magazine such as *National Geographic* have witnessed little change regarding how the Arab world and Arab women, and male-female dynamics in Arab societies, are presented and perceived (see for example Steet 2000). Some would argue that Islam, which is largely blamed by some for the plight of Arab women, is not the real culprit (Sidani 2005). Early practices in Muslim societies portray a picture of vibrant Muslim women very much involved in the affairs of the young community. Some contemporary feminists consider that those exceptional roles set an interesting precedent for women's emancipation (Gettleman 2003). They would refer to a host of cultural and historical factors that slowly stripped women of their rights, including the right to work. Despite the dazzling, often surprising, examples of energetic females throughout Islamic history (Mernissi 1993),

female participation dwindled as time passed till a phase was reached when they were denied the right for education or political and economic contributions (Al-Faruqi 1987).

Strong feminist movements of the twentieth century pushed for change, inspired –among other things- by the writings of Qasem Amin in the late nineteenth century, and the activism of Huda Sha'rawi, the most renowned Arab feminist, in the early twentieth century. Gains were slowly but steadily realized,[1] although participation remained relatively low. Women's education and right to work –at least in traditional female dominated professions– was acknowledged across most of the Arab world. Significant, though not sufficient, improvements in women's development indicators in the Arab world were realized (Arab Human Development Report 2002). As they stand today, development indicators show that, in comparison to other regions of the world, Arab countries still demonstrate tremendous gaps at various levels. A composite index for gender equity published by the World Economic Forum in 2012 shows that Arab countries are among the worst in terms of gaps between males and females where their rankings range between 107 and 135 among 135 countries (Hausmann et al. 2012). The Gender Inequality Index issued by UNDP always portrays a similar picture (HDR 2013; Table 38.1).

Arab female education developed very fast over the past few decades, yet such advances have not been paralleled by similar changes in societal norms and attitudes. Metle (2002), for example, noted how women in Kuwait are adversely impacted by certain societal norms. Other societal and cultural impediments have been uncovered in other parts of the Arab world including Egypt, UAE, and Lebanon (Abdalla 1996; Jamali et al. 2005; Mostafa 2003). Thus Arab women, in some countries more so than in others, continue to suffer from limitations on their participation in political, economic, and

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[1]This differs from one country to another. Impediments against women became more relaxed in some countries like Egypt, Lebanon, and Iraq, while other countries (e.g. Saudi Arabia) retained strict control over women's economic and political participation.

Table 38.1 Gender indicators in Arab Countries

Country	Global Gender Gap Index[a] 2012 Rank	Gender Inequality Index[b] Rank
Algeria	120	74
Bahrain	111	45
Djibouti	n/a	na
Egypt	126	126
Iraq	n/a	120
Jordan	121	99
KSA	131	145
Kuwait	109	47
Lebanon	122	78
Libya	n/a	36
Mauritania	119	139
Morocco	129	84
Oman	125	59
Palestinian territories	n/a	na
Qatar	115	117
Sudan	n/a	129
Syria	132	118
Tunisia	n/a	46
UAE	107	40
Yemen	135	148

[a]*World Economic Forum*

[b]*UNDP*

social arenas, access to employment opportunities, high illiteracy, and wage discrimination.

The skeptics thus would argue that, while the above problems are common to both males and females, females bear the maximum toll. The Arab Human Development Report (2002) indicated that women's political and economic participation has been unacceptably low. The gender empowerment measure (GEM) showed that the Arab region, compared to other world regions, ranked second to last, just surpassing sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, other indicators reflected significant gaps in gender equity.

Women and Work in the Arab Society

Female employment outside the home is a modern concept in Arab society. Women have long worked in agriculture and traditional crafts across the Arab world, but the concept of an employed salaried woman is relatively novel. In a country like Egypt, female participation in the workforce increased in the 1950s and 1960s as the country witnessed a mass industrialization movement. The discovery of oil in some Arab countries actually led to a mass exodus of women from the labor market as foreign labor became more widely used. Many women who could afford not to work gave up their careers after marriage. Moreover, it was unusual for them to come back to paid employment after leaving it.

Over the last few years, however, Arab women began to progressively leave their marks in the labor market. Their role has grown considerably including getting involved in entrepreneurial ventures (Dechant and Lamky 2005). In many Arab countries, women started to come back to the workforce mostly as entrepreneurs or civil servants (Itani et al. 2011). Yet despite such advancements, there are still some solid barriers. Most females lack financial and managerial know-how in addition to industry knowledge for starting a business. Lack of social and business connections often inhibit women's careers (Omair 2010). Furthermore, cultural and social norms act as a main hindrance to their participation and work involvement. In some quarters, there is an undeniable religious interpretation that nurtures a justification for constraining cultural practices. Those practices, justified by what appears to be a monolithic religious comprehension, complicate women's work and the quality of their work experience. Yet such interpretations are increasingly challenged, not only by "hardline feminists", but also from within the religious establishment itself (Sidani 2005). By the same token, changing discourses within feminist circles are giving more room to women's emancipation that does not stand in direct opposition to religious understanding.

Women's labor participation in the Arab world ranks last compared to all other world regions including sub-Saharan Africa. Table 38.2 presents female labor participation for all Arab countries and it shows that –on average- Arab states fare miserably (HDR 2013). Male labor participation is the lowest compared to other world regions (74 %), but what is more alarming is that

Table 38.2 Female and male labor force participation rates

	Labor force participation rate (2011)	
	Female	Male
Algeria	15	71.9
Bahrain	39.4	87.3
Djibouti	36	67.2
Egypt	23.7	74.3
Iraq	14.5	69.3
Jordan	15.6	65.9
KSA	17.7	74.1
Kuwait	43.4	82.3
Lebanon	22.6	70.8
Libya	30.1	76.8
Mauritania	28.7	79.2
Morocco	26.2	74.7
Oman	28.3	81.6
Palestinian territories	15.1	66.3
Qatar	51.8	95.2
Sudan	30.9	76.5
Syria	13.1	71.6
Tunisia	29.9	44.4
UAE	43.5	92.3
Yemen	25.2	72

Table 38.3 Female and male estimated earned incomes

	Estimated earned income			
	Female	Male	Female to male ratio	
Algeria	2,390	14,922	0.16	
Bahrain	16,289	28,115	0.58	
Djibouti	1,496	2,627	0.57	**
Egypt	2,605	10,012	0.26	
Iraq	n.a.	n.a.		
Jordan	2,051	9,745	0.21	
KSA	6,652	38,856	0.17	
Kuwait	25,940	40,000	0.65	
Lebanon	5,922	23,920	0.25	
Libya	5,590	22,505	0.25	**
Mauritania	1,112	4,016	0.28	
Morocco	2,173	7,915	0.27	
Oman	9,804	40,000	0.25	
Palestinian territories	n.a.	n.a.		
Qatar	33,260	40,000	0.83	
Sudan	1,039	3,119	0.33	**
Syria	1,362	9,071	0.15	
Tunisia	3,249	11,731	0.28	**
UAE	18,306	40,000	0.46	
Yemen	996	3,685	0.27	

Source (except "**": Hausmann et al. (2012). The Global gender Report (2012). World Economic Forum
**UNDP (2009)

the discrepancies between male and female participation levels are extremely high. This is a clear indication that there is a problem in that regard. Recent studies have also uncovered that working women are still grossly underrepresented in senior management positions (see for example Kemp et al. 2013).

Those statistics are disturbing as they indicate that despite the variances among Arab countries, differences in labor participation rates between males and females are huge. While the world average discrepancy is about 25 percentage points, Arab countries average about 48 discrepancy points. This comes despite major improvements in female education over the past few decades. Such improvements in education only led to marginal increases in participation rates (from 17.5 % in the early 1970s to less than 30 % in the last few years; see Jamali et al. 2008). This shows the huge persisting disparity between males and females in terms of access to the labor market. Table 38.3 shows the ratio of estimated female to male earned incomes, which also por-

trays a disturbing picture. Female to male earned income ranged between a dismal 0.15 in Syria to a maximum of 0.83 in Qatar, averaging about 0.35. This is compared to rates of 0.55 in South Africa, 0.64 in Portugal, 0.68 in Bulgaria, and 0.43 in Malaysia (Hausmann et al. 2012).

Women's lagging behind in employability can be traced to a number of reasons (Omeira 2010). Women's access to educational opportunities has been rather limited. Moreover, women have less control over financial and economic resources, in addition to technical know-how (Itani et al. 2011), which makes it difficult to start their own business. In addition, most organizations in the region are run by men and a strong bias against hiring females has not yet subsided. This is exacerbated by a weak legal structure that does not protect against prejudice either in terms of such laws being passed in the first place, or in terms of these being seriously implemented. Women's

legal right to work in the Arab world varies greatly from one country to another. Women are often punished indirectly for their reproductive role due to the labor laws that do not accommodate potential and new mothers (Sugita 2010). Even when such laws do exist to accommodate them, there is a discrepancy between what is sanctioned by law and what is applied in practice, which often works to the detriment of these women (Sugita and Hammoud 2010).

Cultural factors embodied in social institutions also pose an impediment to women's employability and quality of work life. In many contexts, religious understandings prescribe a woman's proper societal functions including her role in the economic space and the labor market (Aune 2008; Iannaccone 1998). This is very much the case in Arab societies where cultural conceptions of religion cultivate specific beliefs of how, and where, women should act. A woman's role is mostly viewed to be that in harmony with home and family activities. Gender role norms in Arab societies are clear in terms of prescribing, not only where women are expected to work, but also how they are expected to behave. Another understanding that is often linked to religion is that a woman's scope of authority is mainly restricted to the private sphere, whereas a males' authority extends to the public sphere inclusive of economic and political activities (Mernissi 2002). This is, surprisingly, a cultural construction that is not in line with earlier accounts of Muslim women (Ramadan 2009), including Khadija the wife of the Prophet. Yet such construction of the role of women has often been taken-for-granted, which impacts women's employability and the quality of their work lives once they are employed.

Various studies about women in Arab organizational contexts indicate that they still suffer from biased treatments compared to men. They have uncovered several challenges for women at the workplace, including patriarchal structures, cultural stereotypes, role expectations, overt and covert discrimination, and issues of work-life conflicts (Al-Lamki 1999; Chatty 2000; Omair 2008). Jamali et al. (2005) found that working women in Lebanon, especially, in leadership positions, suffer from a selection bias due to the perceived incompatibility between their gender and some work requirements. Studies about female entrepreneurs found that women suffer from lack of access to professional and financial networks, inability to secure sufficient start-up capital, and deficiencies in business learning opportunities (Dechant and Lamky 2005; Itani et al. 2011; McElwee and Al-Riyami 2003). Negative attitudes towards the work of women still exist in various countries (Abdalla 1996; Elamin and Omair 2010; Sidani and Gardner 2000), although some argue that modernity is likely to reduce stereotypical perspectives about their roles (Mostafa 2005). Their presence in managerial positions is gradually taking hold, although they are still being challenged by a perceived incompatibility between their family roles and their newly assumed leadership roles (Al-Lamky 2007; Metcalfe 2006). In addition, because of cultural expectations, lack of organizational responsiveness, and –sometimes- women's own preferences, opportunities for international management opportunities become constrained (Hutchings et al. 2010).

Family Pressures on Working Women

Despite the significant changes over the past decades, the family continues to be a dominant feature of Arab society. The Arab family is a tightly knit entity, patriarchal, hierarchal, and extended (Sharabi 1992; Barakat 1998; Khalaf and Khalaf 2008), where family members are interdependent, with high expectations for mutual service and common responsibility. The father typically has supreme authority and control over family affairs. Gender plays a significant role in how children are raised. Male figures, including brothers and sons, gradually gain the power of their fathers and they often exercise such control over the females in their families. Girls are socialized to give in to such power structures, and brothers become junior patriarchs exercising their command over their younger siblings (Joseph 1994).

Social role theory asserts that variances in men's and women's societal behaviors are linked to the social roles they assume (Eagly 2009). People behave in line with those expectations. A female acting in congruence with her expected private role as a homemaker and mother thus displays behaviors of nurturance and compassion. Males, on the other hand, behave in accordance with their expected public roles and thus display behaviors of assertiveness and firmness (Diekman et al. 2002). This has an impact on the identity formation process which is significantly impacted by familial experiences and types of role models people are exposed to. In many Arab societies, few roles are accessible to women beyond their homes (Barakat 1998). Girls are raised with a need to be protected, and they are socialized to develop the 'natural' role of getting married and establishing a family. Young girls are thus given significantly larger shares of household chores, washing dishes, cleaning house, and caring for younger siblings; it is not unusual to find a 5-year old girl holding her 1-year old brother or sister on her back (Schaefer Davis 2008). Young boys are socialized to be served by females in the household thus putting burdens on their unmarried sisters.

In Arab countries, single females have higher work participation rates than married women (Fargues 2005). Most single women in Arab contexts, irrespective of their age, live with their parents till they get married. They are still expected to share the household affairs and domestic chores, and face major psychological pressures in relation to their marital status. An unmarried working female is still expected to participate in house work, which creates a double-burden, a thing that is typically found among married women in Western societies. Kawar (2000) presents the case a single female who has to face continuing family demands when she comes back from work:

> My mother expects me to do all the housework after my return from work. She thinks that since she always cared for us, now it's my turn to care for her. She does not realise that I am exhausted, and accuses me that I am lazy. (p. 62)

Those women face a double burden. On the one hand there are family expectations and responsibilities that have to be met. On the other hand, they are employed and are accountable to their employers. Those opposite pressures are more evident in less prosperous Arab countries, like Egypt and Lebanon, where women -because of economic necessities- have to seek out work opportunities outside the home while –at the same time- not being relieved from their home-making duties.

On top of all of this, those women often face familial pressures to get married (Omar and Davidson 2001). They have to incessantly clarify and justify their non-marital status to family members (Davidson and Cooper 1992) which become even more intense as they become older. Although societal transformations over the past few years have commanded altering roles and expectations, such changes are happening slowly, and in some Arab countries, these are not happening at a meaningful pace. This understandably puts pressures on working women as they cannot, either mentally or physically, meet various work and family demands. Working single women have a host of strains that, to a certain extent, make conflicts at home and at work overbearing (Sidani and Al Hakim 2012).

Like their counterparts in other parts of the world, married working women in Arab societies face more tensions in their families as they try to balance their work and family lives. While this tension is characteristic of most world societies, tensions in Arab societies make such a balance much harder to attain. This is again related to the existing role expectations that women face. Work does not belong to a woman's "normal" space and any woman who is working is assuming a function that goes beyond what is expected or accepted. Brooks (1995) narrates stories of working women who struggle to make ends meet:

> Husbands ….[are] mostly raised by women who didn't work outside the home, they are used to a household where their shirts are ironed, the floors swept, the food elaborately prepared and always ready. Now, a young man might meet his bride as a coworker in his office. Before their marriage, he

enjoyed the chance to admire her beauty …But once she is his wife, he resents the fact that other men in the office have the pleasure of her company … (p. 179)

Brooks also reports how many husbands of working women, are still not ready to help their wives with the household chores. A working woman has to work in some countries, like in Egypt and Lebanon, because of economic necessities. Yet this does not make the household and family expectations any less. Many husbands, socialized into not working in their own households, are only slowly beginning to accept the fact that they need to lend a hand to their wives at home.

Work Pressures on Working Women

A woman faces different types of pressures at work that have significant impact on her life, potential organizational contributions, and the way she sees herself (see for example, Karam and Afiouni 2013). The first type of pressures pertains to perceptions of her being a woman, not fit for leadership roles, and not being equipped of what it takes to succeed in a world that is "not hers" (Koenig et al. 2011). Under that pressure, a woman has to always go the extra mile to prove that she is prepared to occupy a non-traditional role. In those situations, a woman is more prone to have her work undervalued or not valued at all. If her work meets with undisputed success, the case is likely that false attributions would be given to reach the conclusion that success is infrequent and sporadic (Dixon et al. 2012; Eagly et al. 1992; Galper and Luck 1980; Hoyt and Burnette 2013; Igbaria and Baroudi 1995; Sczesny et al. 2004).

Under such circumstances, she is less likely to be placed in job positions that fit her qualifications instead of her expected role. This gives her less access to good initial appointments, and – later on- potential job openings within the firm. Her attempts for upward mobility are often met with disapproval. This eventually would feed into

her self-concept making her less confident about her abilities. If she decides to fight back, a host of institutional factors may work against her: her family, the organization in which she works, and her limited network. A weak regulatory framework does not help either (Arab Human Development Report 2005). Legal cases of discrimination are rarely made or pursued in many Arab countries.

In addition to problems women face because of the perceived lack of fit between their social roles and work roles, they also face problems in relation to their own being, as females in the workplace. If studies about working women in Arab contexts are rare, studies about sexual harassment in Arab workplaces pale in comparison. This is a topic that is rarely discussed despite the fact that many would assert it is prevalent. Gharaibeh (2007) estimates that there are about 34 million Arab women who may have faced one form of sexual harassment during a 2-year period of her study (2003–2005). This estimate clearly suggests that such a problem is widespread. Whether this is a more or less acute problem than in Western contexts is an empirical question that still needs to be answered. Yet, it can be deduced that there is a problem, and unlike Western contexts, this is not properly addressed in organizational settings.

A Case for Partial Optimism

The above paints a bleak picture about the status of working women in the Arab world. Yet, in what follows, a case for cautious optimism will be presented regarding women's experiences in Arab organizations.

It is true that there are certain countries in the Arab world where working women are not faring very well. The 2013 Human development report (HDR 2013), for example, has noted that female labor participation has averaged 27.5 % (ages 15 and older) compared to 74.6 % for males (see Table 38.2). Yet, the picture that is sometimes painted about the whole Arab world represents

Table 38.4 Female and male education indicators

	Population with at least secondary education (% ages 25 and older)	
	Female	Male
Algeria	20.9	27.3
Bahrain	74.4	80.4
Djibouti	n.a.	n.a.
Egypt	43.4	59.3
Iraq	22	42.7
Jordan	68.9	77.7
KSA	50.3	57.9
Kuwait	53.7	46.6
Lebanon	53	55.4
Libya	55.6	44
Mauritania	8	20.8
Morocco	20.1	36.3
Oman	47.2	57.1
Palestinian territories	48	56.2
Qatar	70.1	62.1
Sudan	12.8	18.2
Syria	27.4	38.2
Tunisia	25.5	70
UAE	73.1	61.3
Yemen	7.6	24.4

average perspectives that are not typical of all Arab contexts. In other words, compared to the average, situations are better in some countries and worse in others. In addition, some countries fare very well in some gender indicators and fare significantly worse in others. For example, female education has reached impressive levels in many countries such as Qatar, UAE, and Bahrain, although participation levels still suffer (See Tables 38.2 and 38.4). There are conservative attitudes that limit women's access to certain jobs such as in the educational sector in a country like Saudi Arabia, but such is not the case in a country like Tunisia or Lebanon. In some countries, women have really come a long way, probably still not well in comparison to other world regions, but in comparison to where those countries were a few years ago. In other countries, the situation looks extremely depressing.

The institutional context has been changing in many countries generally in favor of more opportunities for women's work and quality of work life. The legal context has gradually moved towards improving the status of women in many societies. In Egypt, for example, modernized legislation and jurisprudence regarding family laws have impacted legislation throughout the Arab World (Esposito 2001). This changing legal context reflects an institutional change that eventually impacts how society views the role of women in society, and their contributions at work. The past few decades have also witnessed changes in the role of the Arab family, although it still remains a central societal unit in the society (Haj-Yahia 2000). The concept of family comprising of a dual-career couple is not an alien concept anymore.

The power of religious institutions is also changing. While religion in Arab societies is a very important factor in how people run their lives, many changes have occurred over the past few years. There is increased evidence that suggests that religion to the younger generation of Arabs is becoming more of a personal experience; there is more emphasis on individualized religiosity and less faith in religious institutions (AUB-UNICEF 2010). This means that more people, especially the large youth segments in the Arab World, are not turning for organized religious establishments to explain to them what is acceptable and what is not. More people in the Arab world, both males and females, assert that women's rights are impacted negatively by economic problems rather than by religion (Mogahed 2012). Alternative understandings of Islam are emerging allowing a wider space for women's work and participation, and such views are expected to be more embraced than classical conservative viewpoints.

Within the Arab and Muslim world there has been a renaissance of feminist groups, generally termed Islamic feminism, who base their activism on the reinterpretation of religious texts. These groups cannot be categorized among "Islamist groups" as-for the most part- they do not have an Islamist political agenda. Many among this group would affirm that striving for reform, as far as women's issues are concerned, should not be based on anti-Islamic stance. Some would assert, however, that such feminist movements should not work for women's interests

alone as it is better to work for overall societal development, which would undeniably include the ascension and development of women (Al-Faruqi 1987).

Thus, there is a growing trend in the religious discourse that asserts that women's work is not against Islamic teachings or history (Sidani 2005). In doing this, a major reexamination of Muslim history is being conducted by both Muslim scholars and feminists. While this may prove to be a worthwhile task, some feminists fear that an over-involvement in such an endeavor may distract from the purpose of needed reforms. Moghadam (2002) indicates that an undue attention given towards the reinterpretation of religious texts may lead to stale emphasis on theological arguments rather than the solutions to challenges that women face. What is important is that women's causes are not only served at the intellectual or even legislative fronts, but also that such successes are translated into substantial felt developments on the ground.

With the advancement of communication and transportation channels and intensification of cross-border relationships, the link between globalization and women's rights/work opportunities has caught the attention of several researchers. Metcalfe (2008), for example, argues that the relationship between gender and globalization in the Middle East is a complicated one, and it cannot be understood without connecting it to the broader social and economic changes related to the rights of women in the region. Globalization did, however -according to Metcalfe- make gender a salient issue. Such a complicated link was also captured by Doumato and Posusney (2003) who assert that globalization is having an intense impact on gender relations, and that women's reactions to globalization are molding its effects. Bacchus (2005), based on a review of the literature, indicated that the overall impact of globalization has "proven to be negative" in developing countries. This relates to the fact that, despite their increased impact in their societies, females are not being rewarded for their contributions, and their work is still perceived to be of inferior value compared to males. While acknowledging the complex connection between women's rights

and globalization, especially in the Arab world, one could argue that certain aspects of globalization have benefited women in the Arab world. Arab women are more aware as to what is happening across the borders, and opportunities for copying "other" practices are becoming more frequent. The past couple of decades, for example, have witnessed an increase in women's entrepreneurial initiatives in such countries as the UAE (Itani et al. 2011), prompted –at least partially- from people becoming more aware of the potential that women have in the economic space. Globalization has also facilitated the proliferation of "transnational feminist networks" that have advanced a feminist economic perspective: "As such …'globalization-from-above' has engendered 'globalization-from-below,' producing a dynamic and transnational women's movement that has been confronting neoliberal capitalism and patriarchal fundamentalism" (Moghadam 2005: preface).

Among the most recent occurrences that also lead to a position of cautious optimism, are the Arab Spring movements that started in late 2010 in Tunisia and later impacted many parts of the Arab world. The relationship between dictatorships and women's rights is a complex one worthy of separate investigation. What could be said in this paper, however, is that several authoritarian Arab regimes, in an effort to appease conservative groups, have traditionally derived part of their legitimacy from inhibiting or slowing reforms that facilitate women's political and economic growth. This has been more common in countries in the Arabian Peninsula than in other Arab countries such as in North Africa or the Levant Area. In the latter countries, the games played by authoritarian regimes were somewhat different. In order to confront strong fundamentalist groups with political agendas, they introduced superficial reforms that did not tackle the real issues pertaining to women's rights and development (Ottaway and Carothers 2004). In Syria, for example, reforms supposedly aiming at advancing the cause of women have proven cosmetic at best, and the impact of authoritarianism has slowed, not only the advancement of women, but the advancement of the whole society.

With the Arab Spring, and the strong female involvement in its construction and diffusion, lies a great hope. With more freedoms, women have so much to gain. This is still an experiment in process which could lead to material gains for women (and men) unless the Arab Spring is hijacked again by a new wave of dictatorships.[2] Why is the issue of political regime relevant to women's societal ascension? Fish (2002) offers, in a rather interesting study, an answer:

> Several leading writers have argued that the repressiveness and unquestioned dominance of the father in the family and of the male in relations between men and women replicate themselves in broader society, creating a culture of domination, intolerance, and dependency in social and political life… The notion of isomorphism between primary social relations and those that obtain in broader society has a long history in social science…. oppression as a habit of life blocks the oppressor's own advancement and freedom (p. 30).

In other words, the subordination of women in a way is representative of subordination of the whole society to a small group of dictators. As societies march forward towards greater political freedoms, chances are this will be diffused to impact male-female dynamics in families and in the workplace. From such a perspective, any step back in the Arab Spring, or any hijacking of its initial objectives, should be seen as a blow not only to those who espouse political freedoms, but also to women's ascension and societal participation.

Future Directions and Conclusion

To answer the questions raised in this handbook, one would conclude that gender does matter in the well-being of the working women in Arab countries. Females still have to challenge cultural mindsets that are hesitant to accept their full economic contribution. While prejudices still exist, there is evidence to suggest that women are becoming increasingly able to contribute to the

economic well-being of their societies. Serious work has to be done on the educational front to change existing stereotypes that limit women's professional development. In addition, the legal framework needs to be cognizant of the importance of instituting female friendly policies in the workplace. Yet, the solution is not primarily a legal one. Businesses have a big role to play in instituting practices that precede regulatory developments. The extent to which organizations can precede social institutions in advancing women's causes is a matter of interest. Scholars have noted that organizations often cannot precede such institutions by a great degree as they risk losing legitimacy with key stakeholders (Maurer et al. 2011). Yet companies, especially leading large companies or branches of MNCs, can comfortably take the lead in instituting practices that are more welcoming of female talent and professional development (Sidani and Al Ariss 2013).

This chapter leaves some unanswered questions that need to be addressed in future studies. What is the extent of differences among different Arab countries? To what extent will regulatory changes be translated into real opportunities for working women? What type of companies and managers will continue to challenge the status quo and work proactively towards the advancement of working women? To what extent has the Arab Spring contributed to the well-being of the working women, if at all? Would Arab societies witness significant positive changes in the business arena as far as the status of working women is concerned, if current power structures and patriarchal dynamics persist in the political and social spheres? Those issues open enormous opportunities for future research.

The above discussion argued that working women in the Arab world have indeed been suffering from significant gaps in their participation and economic/organizational well-being. Existing role expectations related to who they are – as females- greatly inhibit their ability to rise at a professional level. Legislative and organizational contexts are also not always supportive of a culture of equal opportunity and fair advantage. Yet, the above discussion presented a case

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[2]As this paper is being written, Egypt is witnessing another power struggle that could digress the country again into a new era of authoritarian rule.

of optimism and hope. Societal and institutional changes have been moving in many parts of the Arab world at a pace that is supportive of changing norms and stereotypical roles, albeit often at a slow pace. Recent political changes and societal transformations seem to be supportive of a more welcoming culture for working women. Yet our optimism is also partial, cautious, and not definite. Changing cultural dynamics are often met with resistance from groups that may have much to gain by maintaining the status quo. This will not result, beyond mere cosmetic changes, in any meaningful change and development -not only for working women- but also to organizations and the societies in which they operate.

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Narjes Mehdizadeh

Global Work-Family Balance Initiatives

Boje and Almqvist (2000: 38) argue that reconciliation of work and care "across countries depends on both the national labour market conditions and the type of family policies implemented in the different welfare states." Similarly, it has been argued that the patterns of paid and unpaid work in the population may be expected to differ, depending on the welfare state institutions in a country (Gershuny and Sullivan 2003; Drobnič and Treas 2006; Fuwa and Cohen 2007). Hence, it is likely that the influence of the welfare state on work patterns will also affect the well-being of both men and women (Sjöberg 2004).

While it has been argued that paid employment offers the opportunity for personal fulfilment and enhances well-being (Stuart et al. 2013), if appropriate strategies to balance the responsibilities of work and family are not in place, paid employment may have an adverse effect on mothers' and children's well-being (Mehdizadeh, forthcoming). In European studies on work-family balance and the well-being of

mothers and children, a number of salient issues have emerged. A poor work-family balance, by which I mean a felt imbalance, can have the following deleterious effects on women, particularly mothers:

– conflict and tension between women's multiple roles as wives, mothers and paid employees (Hirsch and Rapkin 1986; Arber 1991, 1997; Avison 1995; Waldron et al. 1998; Maclean et al. 2004).
– feelings of stress, guilt, and anxiety (Rubery et al. 1997; Lahelma et al. 2002; Barnett 2004; Bull and Mittelmark 2009; Chatterji et al. 2011)
– poor physical and mental health (Goode 1960; Thoits 1983; Verbrugge 1983, 1985; Cooke and Rousseau 1984; Kandel et al. 1985).
– decreased personal happiness and marital contentment (e.g., Gilbert 2006; Gorchoff et al. 2008; Dew and Wilcox 2011).
– financial pressures necessitating mothers' paid employment (Bull and Mittelmark 2009)

These research results are paralleled by the emergence of a policy framework at both national and supra-national levels, such as the Europena Union (EU), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United Nations (UN) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) (Ilkkaracan 2011).

One of the main areas of European employment policy is the reconciliation of work, private life and family. Key elements of the

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EU's employment strategy are to facilitate a rise in the overall rate of employment for men and women, the creation of new, high quality jobs, and the promotion of schemes to support the health and well-being of employees. The target of the previous Lisbon Strategy (2000 to 2010) was to reach an overall employment rate of 70 % and a female employment rate of 60 % in the EU. However, under the current Europe 2020 Strategy, one of the main aims is to reach a rate of 75 % for overall employment. While women's employment rates have increased considerably since the beginning of the twenty-first century, women, and indeed men, are still faced with difficulties in terms of the reconciliation of work and family and private life. This then becomes a central economic policy concern, as well as a social one.

Hence, the policy framework document, "A Roadmap for Equality Between Women and Men 2006–2010," adopted by the European Commission in 2006, identifies one of the six priority areas as "the reconciliation of work, private and family life" (European Commission 2006). This document highlights the importance of policies to support the transformation of services and the care regime structure in EU countries to permit both men and women to work outside the home. A double-breadwinner/carer family model is the focus of this document, which emphasises the requirement for policies that not only allow mothers to enter the labour market, but also encourage fathers to take an equal share of unpaid housework with women (Ilkkaracan 2011). Similarly, the ILO indicated its recognition of fathers' involvement in family responsibilities by its adoption of Recommendation No. 165 (accompanying the Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981:No. 156), which contains provisions for parental leave (Mehdizadeh 2013b). The European Commission (2008) has also stressed reconciliation polices as part of the EU social agenda, not only to achieve gender equality, but also for EU goals of economic growth, full employment and social integration (European Commission 2008). The OECD has similar concerns, which are expressed as the following:

> The importance of the reconciliation of work and family life also lies in the fact that getting the right policy balance will promote other societal goals. Aggregate labor supply and employment will be increased; stable, secure sources of income for families fostered; gender equity facilitated; child development supported; and independence promoted (OECD 2002: 3).

Hence, the reconciliation of work and family life directly involves two goals that are important both to individuals and societies: an opportunity for full participation in the labour market, not only generating income, but also offering fulfilment in what may be the most significant social activity of contemporary life, and providing children with the care and nurturing that they need. These aspirations need not be mutually exclusive. Therefore, there is a requirement for a new set of social policies to assist in reconciling work and family life by providing adequate resources for families and for child development, facilitating parental choice about work and care, and promoting gender equality in employment opportunities (OECD 2003: 3).

In 2009, the United Nations Development Plan (UNDP) and the International Labor Organization (ILO) drafted a report in which the issue of the reconciliation of work and family life is addressed as being among one of the most complex current social problems, as it encompasses a wide variety of goals and thus the participation and engagement of all stakeholders:

> It is necessary to advance toward reconciliation of these two spheres through social co-responsibility: redistributing care responsibilities between men and women, as well as among the family, the State, the market and society as a whole. […] This transformational agenda is not only socially indispensable for the promotion of decent work and exercise of human rights, but it will also have positive results in terms of labor, economic and productive issues. This is why the agenda of reconciliation with social co-responsibility not only is necessary, but is also a viable agenda. (UNDP-ILO, 2009: 9, quoted in Ilkkaracan 2011)

Despite these general global initiatives, in developing countries, the issue of work-family balance has not yet been explored to the same extent, and policy has only patchily, and sometimes merely nominally, addressed them. This becomes

a critical policy gap when economies modernise and globalise, and when women become more educated and find ambitions beyond the home. This gap becomes particularly acute in Islamic societies, where motherhood and the family have a special social, religious and even constitutional role, but, at the same time, women have a right to paid work and, increasingly, have the human capital to take up employment. This chapter will examine this social and policy conundrum, looking at Iran as a case study.

Work-Family Policies in Iran

In the Middle East (ME), women's employment rate is low – in contrast to the levels of education that they acheive. It is all too easy to dismiss this as a purely culturally-induced situation, rather than being due to a lack of policies that encourage a sound work-life balance: indicatively, however, the vocabulary of work-life balance and family-friendly policies has seldom been used in the ME (Mehdizadeh 2011). In fact, women's participation in the economy and the labour market is acceptable across most of the ME, despite the variety of political systems and welfare regimes, although actual participation remains low. At the same time, however, the family unit, as a woman's realm, remains at the heart of family policy (Mehdizadeh 2013a). While this emphasis does not exclude women's participation in paid work, it does place their participation in a given context of soial and even political obligation. Work-family balance becomes even more vital in this context.

Iran is an example of how this issue has emerged, and how it has been addressed to date. While women are accepted as both 'carer' and 'worker,' motherhood is seen as a woman's key role – women can work for pay, as long as they do not neglect their main role as mother and agent of stability in the family unit (Mehdizadeh 2013a). Thus, while women's employment and socio-economic activities are seen as vital to societal well-being and economic growth Mehdizadeh and Scott (2011), their prime responsibility is, however, being citizens at home, occupying the role of wife and mother, agent of

peace and stability in the family. The expectation is that Iranian women should fulfil three roles, as wife, mother and worker, but how these roles are combined in practice remains unclear (Mehdizadeh 2010, 2013a).

Hence, understanding the overall nature of Iranian family policy is in some ways a key to understanding work and family balance in the country and the tensions that employed mothers face. The government explicitly recognises the family unit as a target for policy rather than promoting the interests of individuals. Families and children are the focus rather than women as workers or carers. According to the Constitutional Law (CL), the family is the basic unit in Islamic society, and 'women' are the basic unit of the family. For this reason, it is unfavourable from a constitutional viewpoint, over and above social policy issues, if women work in jobs which, in this view, damage the stability and protection of family relationships.

The philosophy of this principle is clearly documented in the Assembly of Experts for Constitutional Law establishment. It states the following[1]:

> The purpose of this principle is to value the family system as a special social system. Its real meaning should be kept in society and there should be sought a remedy for the factors and conditions which loosen the basis of family and destroy it. Alternatives should be found through regulations, rules and plans; since with modern technology, women are attracted from the family environment to the job environment and this would loosen the basis of the family, erode its real meaning, disintegrate it and isolate it from wider society. This is so that we can say: rules and plans are regulated in such a way that does not leave the family out from wider society and its meaning is preserved, in addition to providing facilities which are necessary for the formation and preservation of a safe family on the basis of rights, moralities and virtues which give security to man, woman and children and all that are included in that family (Parliament Office of Publishing and Advertisements 1989: 440).

The mention of "facilities" appears to reflect the belief that if working mothers are given the opportunity for, say, flexible work, they will be physically and mentally healthy and can make a

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[1] This is the author's translation.

positive contribution to the development of well-being of their families, communities and countries. Hence, plans and rules are devised in such a way as to preserve the meaning of the family and not to separate it from the wider society. Further, these plans and rules are also intended to provide facilities based on rights and principles in order to ensure that all members of the family are secure. This will be discussed in greater detail later. The Assembly of Experts for Constitutional Law continued:

> In this principle, women's rights are not insisted on against the man's in a special way but the family is considered as a basic unit contrary to its erosion in the society and the destruction of its real meaning. Of course, a woman can work to such an extent that the children's rights are not damaged and there occurs no contradiction to the maternal and marital duties. There should be no case in which the affections between a woman and her husband or a mother and her children are destroyed totally when she is attracted to a job environment (Parliament Office of Publishing and Advertisements 1989: 440).

It is clear from these quotations that, even for traditionalists, the isolation of women from public life was never the aim in the written policy and regulations in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Overall, they suggest a 'third way approach:' on the one hand, motherhood is taken as a prime value and its importance is emphasised in maintaining the stability of the family; and, on the other hand, this does not mean that women have to be restricted to the home and the performance of domestic tasks. In other words, the participation of women in economic and political life should not come at the cost of family life or traditional values; indeed, the belief is that the well-being of future generations is more assured if work-family balance – but a balance in preserving family life – can be achieved (Mehdizadeh 2013b). Consequently, work and care reconciliation strategies will be constructed differently than they are in the European context.

In Iran, welfare strategies have been designed to enhance working mothers' well-being and labour market participation by offering them the right to receive childcare (e.g., state responsibility for childcare; help with childcare fees), as well as the right to time for care (e.g., leave; possibilities for part-time work). For example, in paragraph 10 of women's employment policies, as well as in the Charter of Women's Rights and Responsibilities (CWRR), women's right to have access to facilities to assist them in carrying out family responsibilities while in employment is emphasised (Paragraph 107: 20). In addition, Mehdizadeh (2013a) found that most policy makers are of the view that the main problem for working mothers is the pressure they experience from performing multiple roles. As a result, parliament has enacted laws that influence women's employment patterns with an agenda of reducing women's working hours while maintaining a full salary. Some of the more relevant policies are as follows (Mehdizadeh 2013b):

1. Female employees of the government, state-owned companies or dependents of public sector employees can continue their service part-time (with working time reduced by up to 25 per cent), given that there is no damage to their maternal, marital and domestic duties; however, this has to be suggested and agreed upon by the top official in the organisation. For instance, recent legislation has reduced nurses' working hours from eight to six per day. Moreover, recent legislation permits mothers of disabled children, no matter what type of contract they have, to work part-time for as long as they choose, and not just for three years, as was previously the case. If they make up the shortfall in their national insurance payments, they will receive the same benefits as full-time workers. Further, legislation has recently been approved (although it is not yet in the implementation stage) that will reduce full-time working hours from 44 hours to 36 hours, with no reduction in salary for all women with children aged under seven, for those with a husband or child who is disabled, or who are head of the household.

2. Job flexibility in the form of teleworking was introduced in the public sector in 2012 but subsequently suspended due to infrastructural problems, concerning IT in particular.

3. Married women who are permanent employees and whose husbands are sent on fixed

missions outside the country are allowed to travel with their husbands and stay there for several years on leave without pay and can return to their previous jobs after their husbands' missions are finished.

4. Both men and women can take unpaid leave for up to three years for reasons concerning family responsibility, without losing their post.

5. Nursing mothers are allowed one-hour paid free time per day for breastfeeding until the child is two years old. A mother with twins is allowed two hours per day. This time can be divided into two or three daily breaks.

6. Maternity leave is extended from four months to six months and, for twins and triplets, to 12 months.

7. Job security for mothers is ensured after maternity leave and during breastfeeding.

8. A package as a part of the reconciliation of work and family programme, including two weeks of paternity leave, two extra days paid leave per month for mothers and increased maternity leave from six months to nine months, has recently been approved in parliament.

9. Where previously female students had the right to take one semester's maternity leave, this has been increased to two semesters.

10. Women are offered help with childcare fees. This sum was recently raised from 250.000Rials per month to 500.000Rials (around $25 at August 2013) for children under five years, for a maximum of two children.

11. Article 78 of the Labour Law, which is partly related to women's jobs, stipulates that the employer is obliged to give time to those women who want to breastfeed their children and to include this time in their length of service. Moreover, the employer should provide childcare centres to care for the employees' children.

Following the process of privatisation of state organisations, in 2008, all pre-school and day care centres, including those in enterprises, were transferred to the open market, except for a small number in the most underprivileged areas and in rural locations. Therefore, the government aim was limited to subsidising the purchase of private provision. However, the possibility of re-introducing these on-site day care centres has been under discussion of late.

All this represents an impressive legislative attempt to ease women's reconciliation of employment and family life, according to nationally-prescribed values. As can be seen from the list above, policy measures aim to preserve and enhance mothers' family roles, while at the same time allowing them labour market participation. However, many implementation problems remain, as there is frequently a dichotomy between policy and practice. Moreover, the legislative emphasis has been on care for children under school age, but no attention has been paid to after-school care for older children. This represents a considerable problem for working mothers, due to the disparity in school hours and normal working hours. Therefore, while there has been considerable progress in terms of the reconciliation of work and family in Iran in recent years, issues of implementation and coverage remain unresolved (Mehdizadeh 2013b). In the following section, we examine the day-to-day experiences of educated working mothers with school-age children in combining childcare and employment in Iran.

Childcare, Working Arrangements and Women's Well-Being in Iran: Some Empirical Evidence

For this study,[2] both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis were used, allowing for some measure of triangulation. The primary data were drawn from a questionnaire survey and interviews conducted among educated mothers (with a high school diploma and above) who have school-age children in the city of Shiraz, Iran. The sample for the survey comprised 547 working and non-working mothers, with a range of employment, working hours,

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[2] Data used for this analysis taken from my 2010 PhD thesis.

children's ages and social backgrounds. A multistage cluster sampling approach was adopted with schools as the sampling unit. The subsample for the interviews consisted of 14 educated mothers, 7 in paid employment and 7 not, with children attending different schools. However, in this chapter, the interviews with the working mothers will be focused on.

The survey respondents had the following characteristics. All mothers had at least one school-age child. The majority had two children, while only a small minority had four children or more. The majority of the respondents (84 %) were currently living with their husbands, while the rest were either divorced or widowed and living alone with their children, or with relatives. Further, the majority were in the age group 31–40; over half had a High School Diploma, 17 % had a trade or professional qualification (equivalent to the UK HNC, HND and so on), 26.9 % had a Bachelor's degree, 1.9 % had a Master's degree and the same percentage had a PhD degree, and one mother was a professional doctor. Of the 266 respondents who had a High School Diploma, only 50 were working. Of the 138 respondents who held a Bachelor's degree, 116 were working. It should be noted that in the findings section, the direct quotations are taken from the interviews and the statistical data presented are from the questionnaire.

As mentioned previously, women's increasing assumption of multiple roles affects their wellbeing. Women remain largely responsible for the home and family, despite assuming work roles traditionally associated with men (Hochschild 1989; Tang and Tang 2001). The sharing of care responsibilities and the allocation of time between husband and wife can thus be seen as one possible way to solve care problems. In the study sample, 39 % of all the mothers said that they received some help from their husbands in the care of their children. Twenty-nine percent received a great deal of help from their husbands, while 32 % received little help. However, as these figures suggest, it may not always be possible for husbands to look after children, even if they want to. Furthermore, this strategy of expecting husbands to help out may have a deleterious effect on the women's interpersonal relationships. As one of the interviewees in paid employment pointed out:

> His working shifts are at nights, so I cannot rely on him at all, and have to deal with all of the problems myself. It can be really difficult for me; sometimes I feel depressed and become quiet. Overall, I feel this affects my interpersonal relationships. (Interview, no. 11)[3]

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the European research suggests that women may experience negative effects, such as anxiety, in attempting to cope with these multiple roles. Indeed, over 80 % of the respondents in Mehdizadeh's (2010) study had experienced major worry, while just 2 % had not felt worried at all. Almost one-third of these respondents indicated that they were worried about their children's educational progress at school, physical safety, and cultural and behavioural problems, while over 20 % worried about cultural/behavioural problems only, and 17 % worried about educational progress, with just under 6 % expressing concerns about their children's physical safety. According to the result of the Chi-square ($X2=0.039$; $df=2$; $P=0.980$) there was no significant difference between the views of working and non-working educated mothers in this regard. With regard to educational progress, in Iran, school teachers usually ask parents to give extra help to pupils every day so that they have a better chance of achieving educational goals at school. Tension arises from trying to meet the demands of the children, who want to spend more time with their mothers, as well as the demands of other members of the family or the employer. As a working mother argued:

> If a centre near the school could look after the children, this would be good. They could have special classes and educational programmes. For example, I have a shortage of time and when my child is at home I can't help him with his school lessons. They could compensate for it … I think a lot of children need educational things out of school. There is a need for the person. Several times I actually decided to recruit a tutor to work with him …

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[3]All quotes from Mehdizadeh (2010), author's translation.

Fig. 39.1 Level of educated mothers' satisfaction with time spent on children
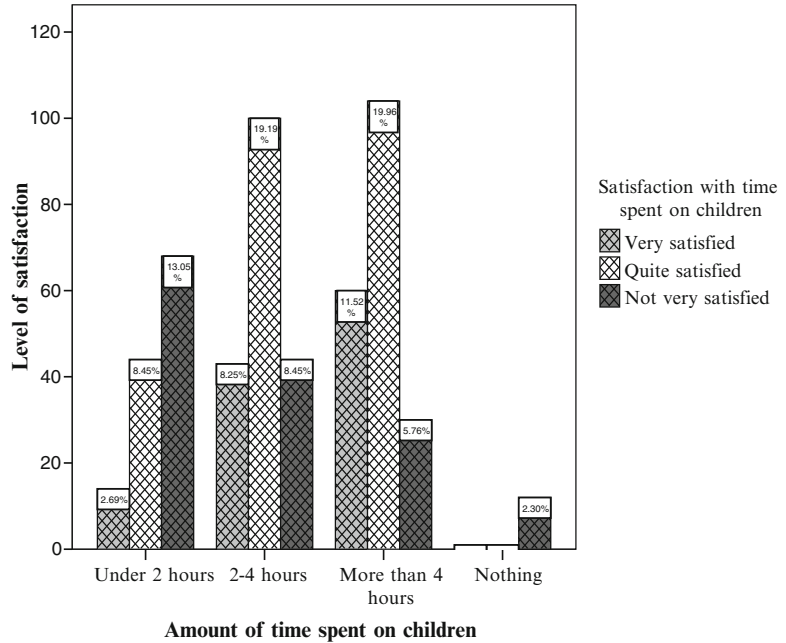
If I want to help him it needs at least three hours. … If I couldn't spend this time with him I know he would fall behind his friends. (Interview, no. 3)

In addition to helping children with their school work, it is often difficult for working mothers to find sufficient time to carry out household tasks. Indeed, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, there is a statistically significant negative relationship between the psychosocial well-being of working mothers and carrying out household tasks, such as shopping for food, cooking, washing clothes, sweeping and mopping. Although many of the respondents in Dako-Gyeke and Ibrahim's (2012) study in the context of Ghana, another developing country, indicated that shopping for food and cooking added to their stress, eating meals together as a family is associated with greater family cohesion (Fiese et al. 2002) and positive outcomes for children (Eisenberg et al. 2004; Neumark-Sztainer et al. 2003, 2004). As sharing food is essentially a social activity (Ochs et al. 1996, 2006), it should therefore provide the opportunity to strengthen relational ties (Campos et al. 2013), but some working mothers may not be able to do this if work times conflict with family meal times. As one working mother reported:

They should solve the problem of working mothers in such a way as to stabilise the family unit more.

I'd like to eat breakfast with my husband and my daughter every day, but it is not possible. My daughter never eats breakfast with us because our hours of work are different from school hours. … However, I've heard from my friends and relatives in other countries that they are more comfortable doing their jobs there than we are here. They can eat breakfast together in the morning and leave home and the children stay at school until they come back from work. Can our policy makers go for a visit and see how they do it? … they think about things to provide peace of mind for working mothers. But we as an Islamic country give value to such things. We haven't done any thinking. (Interview no. 5)

In a similar vein, there was a strong association between levels of educated mothers' satisfaction and the amount of time they spent with their children. Mothers who spent more hours with their children were more satisfied. Therefore, it could be argued that educated mothers prefer to spend reasonable amount of time at home looking after their children and dealing with family responsibilities (see Fig. 39.1).

Further, the following quotation highlights the important point that an educated working mother's satisfaction with her job depends on her being sure that her children are well treated; if she feels that the children would feel neglected, then her the motivation for work would decrease.

I would only be satisfied with my work if my child was happy about the fact that his mother is educated and is teaching. But when I see him alone at home, he says 'you are leaving us again mum', or 'what kind of job is this?' All of this reduces my motivation for work (Interview no. 1).

All these findings suggest the necessity for specific interventions that take cultural differences into account, as certain activities might be more stressful than others for working mothers in specific cultures. It was suggested by a number of the respondents that one of these interventions could take the form of the provision of free welfare facilities for women's needs. As one mother put it:

Policy-makers should do more for women's rights. Employed women cannot look after every aspect of running the home by themselves. For example, in France there are some companies which help working mothers and those with new babies. The government pays part of the fees, but in our country there are no such things. (Interview no. 4)

Such interventions could facilitate working mothers' fulfilment of their multiple roles of worker and carer. The assumption of these roles means that, on the one hand, they have a strong inclination towards performing their role in the home and family in the best way possible, while on the other hand, they wish to make full use of their personal qualities and play important roles in their economic and social lives. In addition, they have yet another role as caring and supportive wife. Mothers struggle in these multiple roles, as the following quotation illustrates:

Our culture expects a woman to be a good wife and a good mother, as well as to work outside and earn money. All of this is expected from a woman. Women in Iran are very attentive to their children, and our society never completely understands us. (Interview no. 14)

Another respondent explained why this is the case:

Women can have a role in the economy. Women are sometimes even more effective than men. However, there are expectations for women to be mothers, because our society is an 'emotional' society. For our society family is very important. They want the family to be stable. The role of women has been accepted in our society. … No-one ever says that women should not go out to

work, but they say women who are working outside the home should also protect their families. This is because they know that women have the ability to work outside the home as well as protecting their families. (Interview no. 11)

A major motive given by many of the respondents for not working outside the home was the importance of the educational and behavioural development of their children. A number of educated women believe that by making their children's development paramount, they are contributing more to the economy than if they were actually working outside the home. However, for those educated mothers who said that the role of women is that of economic player, without, of course, neglecting their children's educational and behavioural development, it seems that financial reasons may have affected their perceptions (Mehdizadeh 2010).

A parallel result was found in Kodagoda's (2010) work on Sri Lanka, a developing country, but with a markedly different socio-cultural context. Nevertheless, her analysis of employment-childcare-wife/mother combinations among female bank managers and health professionals similarly showed that the mothers had not attained satisfaction in their personal, home or professional lives, and had encountered conflict between their roles. Both the mothers and their husbands considered mothers to be the primary caregivers for their children, holding that mothers have greater confidence and skill in bringing up their children. This led to the mothers' experiencing an unequal gendered division of household work, albeit that their husbands gave them increasing support. Maternal responsibilities were deeply embedded in their minds. While mothers may take varying decisions as a part of good mothering, their main focus remained their children. However, despite the many negative experiences they faced in their motherhood, they still needed a job for economic as well as personal reasons.

Although the Sri Lankan government formally promotes gender equality at all levels, there is a discord between official policy and actual practice at the level of organisations and individuals. For example, many mothers in the Sri Lankan sample thought they could not take up their right to leave,

shorter working hours, etc., because of workplace expectations and pressures (Kodagoda 2010). Further, in Sri Lanka, the ingrained cultural notion is such that mothers are primarily responsible for children; and paid parental leave to be shared between both mothers and fathers has not been introduced, although this could encourage gender equality in the workplace and at home (Kodagoda 2010). Improvements in policy are required to eradicate these inconsistencies between prevailing social norms and to change the gendered division of labour. Kodagoda (2010) suggests that, through a re-examination of serious flaws in policy, policy makers should reconsider the increasing work-family conflict experienced by women in Sri Lanka, in the realisation that it is an issue of family and employment – including men as husbands, fathers and managers in the workplace, rather than perceiving work-family conflict simply as a woman's problem.

The Iranian experience is similar. One Iranian working mother explained how, despite the conflict of roles having led her to consider leaving her job to stay at home with her children, she was unable to do so, as the family needed two sources of income to survive. She continued:

> One hundred percent, the priority is with the family. When my first child was 4 months old, and I was on maternity leave, I asked my husband if I could take one year's leave without pay, but my husband wasn't happy. When I asked why, he said he would have taken out a loan if he hadn't counted on my earnings, and we weren't able to pay the instalments otherwise. If we do not go to work, our husbands should be sufficiently well-off to provide for us. Without my earnings, we have nothing. We can't carry on. I even have to work extra shifts to provide for the house and other expenses. (Interview no. 4)

However, although mothers have to work, they are not willing to leave their younger children alone. The majority of respondents (81 %) believed that it would not be suitable to leave children under the age of 12 without adult supervision. Only 19 % of respondents said that children between the ages of 7 and 11 could be left alone. Educated mothers were then asked, if they did leave their children alone, what effect this had on their ability to concentrate at work. Less than half (45 %) of the respondents replied 'very great' or

'great', with only 22 % saying 'very little'. Typical reasons cited by the respondents for lack of concentration on their work were as follows:

> The feeling of an anxious mother because of the loneliness of the children, which causes the mother to be unsuccessful at work. (Interview no. 3)

> I feel insecure. All my thoughts are about my children. (Interview no. 8)

> I am always thinking that my children might do something dangerous and I dread something bad happening. (Interview no. 3)

As mentioned previously, Iranian working mothers expressed their anxiety about leaving children and going to work due to the effect this has on their children. As many as 26 % of the educated mothers said this had a very great effect on the behaviour of their children, while 42 % stated that it had a great effect, and only 2 % said very little. Typical reasons cited by mothers were:

> They feel so worried because they are not used to being alone. (Interview no. 4)

> If I leave them alone, they become depressed. (Interview no. 11)

> They are terrified of loneliness. (Interview no. 7)

> The feeling of the lack of security affects their behaviour. (Interview no. 14)

> My children feel that they have a lack of attention. (Interview no. 1)

> I worked for six months. When my child remembers that, she always says to me: 'mum do you know how much I suffered in that time? (Interview no. 6)

> My child keeps telling me that you have the right to work, but I'm alone and I feel bored, what can I do? (Interview no. 5)

The following quotation from an educated working mother explains how mothers experience a great deal of anxiety in terms of the emotional, physiological and educational aspects of their child's development while they are at work:

> In the case of my son, I feel that he may be affected emotionally, and that his diet is not very nutritious. I used to give him the house keys, and he had full responsibility for himself. I feel that this has had a strong effect on him, as he hasn't had a proper childhood. We have to allow him to be relaxed, and to live his childhood. Instead, I shared my problems with him. I had given him the house

keys, and had arranged for a school bus to pick him up. He had to lock the door himself, and eat his food alone. There was always a chance that he might not have done these things, and I always had to worry about things like that. I had to phone the neighbours to check if he had left, returned, or what he was doing. Overall, all of these things, how he goes to school and how he gets home, cause a lot of anxiety for us. (Interview no. 11)

In the same study, the overall pattern shows that while 61 % of the respondents stated that their husbands had agreed to them working, 24 % said they had disagreed, and 14 % indicated that their husbands were undecided. The most common reasons cited by educated mothers in terms of disagreement with their husbands about working outside the home were, respectively, as follows:

Paying less attention to children and husband. (Interview no. 3)

Because of stereotyped views of women's work. (Interview no. 6)

Lack of husband's interest in my work. (Interview no. 8)

We do not have any financial problems. (Interview no. 10)

My husband isn't satisfied about me working. He says I don't want you to work so our child doesn't get upset. He always tells me to go outside the home and have fun. Why do you want to work? We don't have any financial problems. But I'm interested in working. (Interview no. 10)

Hence, mothers' working outside the home has an effect on the well-being, not only of the mother, but of all the family members, often leaving mothers with a dilemma as to whether to take up employment or not, particularly if there is no pressing financial need to do so (Mehdizadeh, forthcoming).

These quotations from educated working mothers may reflect some of the discussion in this section:

One of my friends told me a beautiful thing. When I was working in a school and my child was one-and-a-half years old, I consulted her and asked whether she thought I should go to my job or not. She told me: Look, whether you come to your work or not, in both situations you feel regret. If you go to your job, you will always say: I wish my children had grown up under my supervision and not in other people's houses or in the childcare centres. They got a cold, and instead of looking after them I was at my job. If you don't go to work, when children grow up you

will say: I wish I had gone to work and had known what my situation would be like now. Really it seems to me that it is a very beautiful sentence. What she says is true. … Exactly, it is like two sides of a coin. (Interview no. 3)

I choose to stay at home and I don't really regret it, because I think I did the right thing. Because among all the nieces and nephews in my own family and also my husband's family, everyone says my children are the best. Thank God for this. They are well trained. They are so polite. … But there is the fact that I don't have complete economic independence and I'm sometimes dependent on my husband in this regard. It is very bad. (Interview no. 1)

There is evidence to suggest that bringing up children in dual-earner families is associated with decreased personal happiness, marital contentment and well-being, in particular for mothers (e.g., Gilbert 2006; Gorchoff et al. 2008; Dew and Wilcox 2011).

However, not all working mothers had the same worries and concerns about their children. The level of anxiety experienced by the working mothers varied, according to the level of support they received from their family and friends. They were asked what type of childcare arrangements they made for their children after school hours and if they felt it was easy to make this type of arrangement. Some favoured more home-based care as an ideal care arrangement. One mother reported that help from informal networks had been particularly vital for her during those periods when her husband had undertaken work-related travel and she had been alone with the children:

My sister is very helpful in looking after my children when I am alone at home. … I feel comfortable. I try not to send my children to nursery until they are 4 years old because I am so worried about shaping my child's personality. I always organize them to be with me or with another near relative, like my aunt, parents, sister … and never leave them alone. (Interview no. 2)

Another made a similar comment:

Because I have my family to help me, I don't have any problems. But for mothers that don't have anyone, things are very difficult. (Interview no. 14)

However, it is not always possible or easy for mothers to arrange informal care, as other

relatives are also working. As one interviewee reported:

> He (my child) has to be left alone at home when I am working. … I have some relatives in Shiraz, but they have their own problems, as they are also working mothers. (Interview no. 1)

These findings highlight the requirement for work and family policies that permit new parents to take longer leave, and/or work fewer hours in the first few months after the birth of a child. In sum, a balanced engagement in work and family roles is expected to be associated with individual well-being because such balance reduces work–family conflict and stress, both of which detract from well-being.

The main findings from the empirical research are summarized as the following:

- The assumption of multiple roles for mothers has a negative effect on their well-being.
- Working mothers worry about their children's educational, emotional and cultural development as well as their physical safety.
- There is a positive association between levels of educated mothers' satisfaction and the amount of time they spend with their children.
- Mothers' working outside the home has a negative effect on well-being, not only their own themselves but also that of other family members.

Conclusion

Work-life balance has always been a concern for quality of work life and quality of life. Individuals experiencing interference between work and personal lives are also significantly more likely to suffer from reduced psychological well-being and physical health (Grant-Vallone and Ensher 2001). Work–family balance is generally thought to promote well-being. The well-being of employees is in the best interest of communities and organizations. The average adult spends as much as a quarter or perhaps a third of his or her waking life at work. Families and work organisations are the two institutions most central to individuals (Mortimer et al. 1986). However, finding an acceptable balance between these two domains

has become a major life issue for many (Kemske 1998). Responding to employees' needs for balance, some firms have introduced several changes in the workplace, such as help with childcare, teleworking, job-sharing and flexitime (Caudron 1997; Flynn 1997). However, Galinsky and Stein (1990) noted that the most progressive businesses go even further than the implementation of such programmes, and change the organisational culture to become more "family-friendly."

In Iran, although government policies regarding work and care reconciliation are well developed, socio-cultural norms are such that women in Iran, even those in paid employment, are regarded – indeed constitutionally positioned - as the primary caregivers to the children and the mainstay of the home. Hence, the pressures of balancing their triple roles as employee, wife and mother frequently take their toll on women's well-being, both physical and psychological. Many women find themselves in a dilemma in that, while they wish to participate in the labour market, they are also concerned about bringing children up in the best way they can. In this context, Mehdizadeh (2011) argues that to achieve the "ideal of care," which mothers want, it is necessary to introduce the "ideal of work" for mothers. On this point, policy-makers interviewed in the course of the survey suggested reduced hours of work with full pay and benefits. However, any such work–family policies in Iran will tend to focus on women working in the public sector, thereby excluding the 60 % of working women who are employed or self-employed in the private sector (according to the 2006 census). For these reasons, strategies to enhance work-family balance in a holistic approach would be most useful and practical.

In Iran, there is an impressive legislative attempt to ease women's reconciliation of employment and family life according to nationally prescribed values. The policy measures aim to preserve and enhance mothers' family roles, while at the same time allowing labour market participation. However, many implementation problems remain, as there is frequently a dichotomy between policy and practice. Moreover, the legislative emphasis has been on care for children under school age, while no attention has been paid to after-school care for older children. This

represents a considerable problem for working mothers, due to the disparity in school hours and normal working hours. Therefore, while there has been considerable progress in terms of the reconciliation of work and family in Iran in recent years, issues of implementation and coverage remain to be resolved (Mehdizadeh 2013b). Nevertheless, the fact that these changes in the area of work and family balance and well-being have been very recent means that there has perhaps not been sufficient time for the implications to permeate Iranian society. Further changes might be expected in the future. For this reason, Iran will continue to be a country of interest for such studies.

This chapter examines the challenges that Iranian mothers of school-age children face when trying to balance work and family life, their impact on work and family outcomes and the different policies that the government are using to reduce barriers to the parenting, work and care. It highlights how these mothers experience a great deal of anxiety in terms of the emotional, physiological and educational aspects of their child while they are at work.

Future research on women's employment and well-being should be extended to include other regions in Iran and other countries in the Middle East and North Africa. This research also suggests the following topics for future research on work-family balance issues in Iran:

- Comparison of the experiences of work and well-being of educated (above diploma level) and less educated (under diploma level) women
- Exploring men's attitudes to family well-being and work and family balance
- Examining the issues of out-of-school-care arrangements from the perspective of children's well-being
- Exploring employers' attitudes toward women, work and well-being
- Possible solutions to work and family conflict
- Investigating organisations and businesses with a view to improving work-family balance strategies and hence, the well-being of families

A number of policy implications emerge from the findings of the research. These are the following:

- The "ideal of work" for mothers, such as reduced hours of work with full pay and benefits, the availability of more flexi-time jobs, and the creation of job opportunities so that women can work at home, should be introduced through government policies and enforced in both the public and private sectors to promote a better work and family balance.
- The government should ensure the availability of child-care services in all sectors, not only in its own organisations and enterprises, and oblige employers to establish childcare in workplaces through the redefinition of labour laws.
- More government subsidies for childcare services are needed in order to widen access to them. In particular, in view of the lack of services for children aged 7–11, greater provision should be made for older children to access educational and recreational activities after school hours, during weekends and school holidays to contribute to healthy childhood development and growth.
- Work and family balance policies should be expanded, to include longer and more flexible parental leave for both parents and perhaps also through regulations which allow relatives other than the parents to care for the child.
- More institutional resources are needed to support working mothers in domestic duties such as childcare and housework affairs. Men should be encouraged to help women in domestic roles, for example, through government campaigns to raise awareness.

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Introduction

As in other countries, in the last few decades, Malaysia has witnessed unprecedented changes in the lives of men and women resulting from modernization, globalization and rapid technological advances. These changes include (i) gender-role prescriptions, where the traditional demarcation of labor is no longer strictly adhered to and both men and women occupy work and family roles; (ii) composition of the workforce, now made up of dual-earner families, single parents, and never-married employees; (iii) family structure and household configuration, where parents can no longer depend on the extended family for support and children are raised by alternative childcare providers; (iv) blurred boundary between work and family, due to advanced communications technologies, enabling constant contact with the workplace from home; and (v) attitudes and values of men and women who are becoming more perceptive of other aspects of life such as leisure, religion, and the general quality of life. Though these changes concern both men and women, women are usually more affected because women in collective and familial Asian cultures have traditionally been expected to assume the responsibility for the home and children (Hofstede and Bond 1988).

The Malaysian population comprises of Malay (51 %), Chinese (23 %), Indian (7 %), indigenous groups (11 %, such as Iban, Kadazan, Melanau, Bidayuh, Kenyah, Kayan, Kedayan, Murut, Senoi, Negrito, etc.), and others (8 %, like Sikh, Eurasian, *Peranakan*—descendants of early Chinese settlers, among others as well as non-Malaysian citizens; Statistics Department, Malaysia 2011). In the three main groups—Malay, Chinese and Indian—socialization of males and females adheres strictly to traditional cultural values with males being trained to be independent and assertive while females are expected to be effeminate and polite. Both are also assigned different roles, with men being accountable for the family's economic upkeep and women expected to be responsible for the home—children and housework. There are, however, some differences in the three main groups with regards to the status of women. The traditional Malay women, compared to Chinese and Indian, are more economically independent (they can own land under the Customary or *Adat* law) and enjoy more economic autonomy (Karim 1992; Reid 1988).

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Table 40.1 Percentage of female students in government-assisted educational institutions in Malaysia

	1970	1980	1990	2000[a]	2007/8[b]
Primary	46.8	48.6	48.6	48.6	48.6
Secondary	40.6	47.6	50.5	50.5	50.0
Post-secondary (Form 6 & matriculation)	42.6	45.5	59.3	66.4	65.1
University (undergraduates only)	29.1	35.5	44.3	56.2	61.9

Source: Statistics from 1970 to 1990 (6th Malaysia Plan)
[a]http://www.kpwkm.gov.my/panel/Upload/edu1_Enrolmen%20di%20Institusi%20Pendidikan%20kerajaan%20dan%20Bantuan%20Kerajaan%20Mengikut%20Peringkat%20Pendidikan%201998%20%202001.pdf
[b]http://www.kpwkm.gov.my/documents/10156/40d5d22a-45a9-44a9-9999-1da191e86d4a & http://www.kpwkm.gov.my/documents/10156/5f60709f-cde4-4f33-896a-630ee964a962

Fig. 40.1 Enrolment in government and government-assisted higher educational institutions by level of education, 2001–2009 (% of girls in total) ([a]Polytechnics, institutes of teacher education, community colleges and Tunku Abdul Rahman College. *Source:* Ministry of Education and Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia (2010)) (Color figure online)
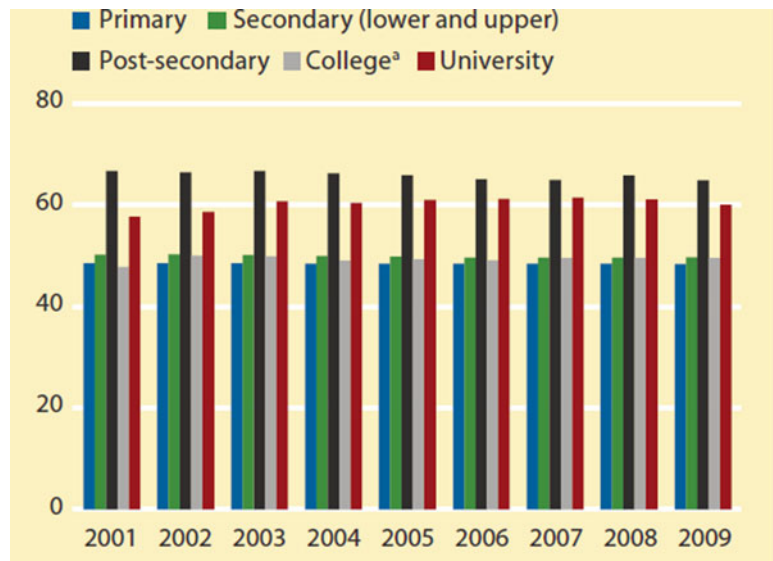
Education and Employment

Since independence in 1957 from Britain, women have made significant progress in education as observed in their increased enrolment in schools and higher education institutions. Table 40.1 shows the percentage of female students in government-assisted education institutions from 1970 to 2007/8. Over the years, while the percentage of female students remains about the same at primary level, from secondary level onwards, female enrolment shows a steady increase, and by the mid-1990s, females outnumber males at post-secondary and university levels (refer also to Fig. 40.1). The main reason for this increase can be attributed to the initiatives taken by the government. In the Sixth

Malaysia Plan (1991–1995; the Malaysia Plans are 5-year development plans that started in 1971 as part of the New Economic Policy), the government specifically emphasized and focused on issues and strategies for the advancement of women—detailing programs and projects for their development, recognizing them as an important economic resource and identifying constraints that were inhibiting their full involvement. In the succeeding development plans (Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Malaysia Plans), efforts to enhance the role, position and status of women increased, particularly with the provision of more education and training opportunities to meet the demands of a knowledge-based economy and to improve their upward mobility in the labor market.

However, it should be noted that there is gender imbalance across subject disciplines with women overrepresented in education, social sciences, humanities and health, while being underrepresented in engineering, pure sciences and technical fields (see Table 40.2). This imbalance was formally introduced into the education system by the Rahman Talib Report of 1960 that instituted vocational subjects like Industrial Arts, Commerce and Agricultural Science for boys and Home Science for girls. The subjects chosen for each gender reflect the gender orientation of the curriculum which perpetuates the role of man as the family's breadwinner and woman as housewife, mother and caretaker of children. Further, cultural norms about gender roles also influence women's decisions in choosing certain specialties over others—with decisions made on the basis of society's expectations and approval, usually with future family responsibilities in mind (Dunne and Sayed 2002). Thus, courses that are more inclined on altruistic, intrinsic and social rewards tend to be favored over those that are more technical or entrepreneurial. This "socialization" perspective reflects the existing cultural norms about gender roles within the society.

At present, there are more women than men at tertiary level of education, but this is not reflected in the labor force participation rate. While female labor force participation has increased from 30.8 % at independence in 1957 to 47.8 % in 1990, it has since remained stable between 44 and 48 % for the last three decades (see Table 40.3). In other words, less than half of women within the working age group of 15–64 years are employed. This rate is even lower during certain periods in the women's life cycle corresponding to the childbearing and childrearing years (30–39 years, see Fig. 40.2, Malaysia Economic Monitor 2012). Figure 40.2 shows that women have a tendency of not returning to work after marriage and childbirth. In fact, the report mentioned that Malaysia is the only country in the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) region that has a single-peaked profile of labor force participation for women—signifying women's initial entry into the labor force after secondary/tertiary education, in contrast to the double-peaked pattern or "M-shaped curve" usually observed in many countries indicating women's return to work after childbirth (Malaysia Economic Monitor 2012). Compared to neighboring countries, such as Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia, women's labor force participation rate in Malaysia is low despite their relatively high educational attainment. Though more women than men enter and complete tertiary education, women tend to drop out of the labor force after childbirth, implying that these women face problems in managing work-family issues, due to gender role expectations and a labor market that is not conducive in facilitating their return into the workforce after childbirth. In addition, despite the Equal Pay Act of 1970, women are consistently paid less than men (see Table 40.4).

Table 40.2 Proportion of females enrolled at public and private institutions of higher learning by area of specialization, 2009

Type of higher learning institution	Arts	Sciences	Technical	Total
Public	67.3	63.1	38.7	60.3
Private	56.0	60.0	21.7	52.4
Both	61.1	61.3	31.4	56.1

Source: Ministry of Higher Education

Table 40.3 Labor force participation rate by gender, 1980–2008

	1980	1990	1995	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Malaysia	64.9	66.5	64.7	65.4	64.9	64.4	65.2	64.4	63.3	63.1	63.2	62.6
Male	85.9	85.3	84.3	83.1	82.3	81.5	82.1	80.9	80.0	79.9	79.5	79.0
Female	44.1	47.8	44.7	47.2	46.8	46.7	47.7	47.2	45.9	45.8	46.4	45.7

Note: 1980 refers to the first Labour Force Survey of 1982
Source: Malaysia, Department of Statistics, Labour Force Survey Report, various years

Fig. 40.2 Labor force participation of women peaks before marriage and declines thereafter (*Source:* CEIC and ILO Laborstats)

Women's labor force participation rate (percent)
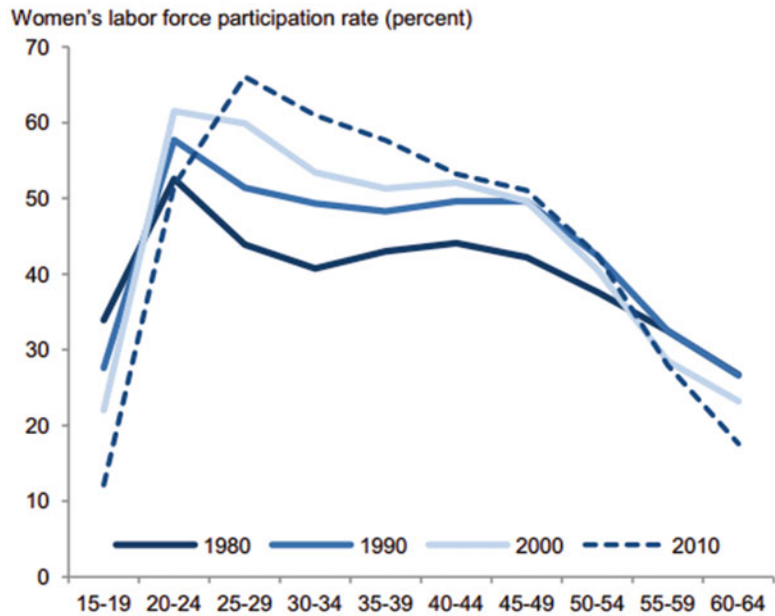
Table 40.4 Average monthly basic wage by sex and occupation, 2008

Occupation	Male (RM)	Female (RM)	Male: female wage ratio
Senior officials and managers	4,296	2,522	1.70
Professionals	3,670	2,848	1.29
Technicians and associate professionals	2,007	1,957	1.03
Clerical workers	1,407	1,325	1.06
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	924	802	1.15
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	730	513	1.42
Craft and related trade workers	1,081	727	1.49
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	860	623	1.38
Elementary occupations	693	561	1.24
Overall	1,473	1,239	1.19

Source: Malaysia. Ministry of Human Resources, National Employment Return 2008

Work, Family and Women's Well-Being

Work and family are the two central domains in life. There are several studies that have examined the psychological outcomes of combining work and family in Malaysia. However, before considering these studies, a number of caveats should be noted.

First, in Malaysia, many factors in addition to education work in tandem to influence women's well-being. For example, the socio-cultural historical context in which women live needs to be considered in trying to understand their roles and well-being. Unless the cultural themes and value system that bear on their roles in society are understood, there will always be problems in discussing women's work and family roles. Within the collectivist cultures of Malaysia, men are perceived as the economic head of the family and they normally make the final decisions affecting the family. Similarly, as women's primary role is to take care of the family and work is perceived only as an added-on role, the former is always seen to be more central to their well-being, even with the recognition that a one-wage earner is insufficient to maintain a decent standard of living in the present context.

Second, in considering women's roles, while experiences within the roles are important, relationships between the many players in the different respective roles (such as spouses, children, other family members, friends, etc.) also need to

be taken into account. These aspects are important to Malaysian women because once they are married, they are also "married" to their husband's family. Relationships normally extend beyond husband and wife to include the many other relations in the family, including in-laws, siblings of the spouse and the extended kin. It is not uncommon for a newly-married woman to live with her in-laws before the couple can afford a place of their own. Therefore, these relationships are significant and they can provide both support and distress to women. Support from the husband and the women's own personality can further contribute to their well-being. Therefore, women's lives in Malaysia are complex, and one needs to consider not only factors within the immediate work and family domains, but also those outside these domains that may enrich and give meaning to women's lives or the reverse (Noor 2006a).

Third, in the three main ethnic groups, Malay, Chinese and Indian, religion plays a crucial role. While Malays unite under the bond of Islam, most Chinese practice a combination of Buddhism and Confucianism. Most Indians belong to the Hindu faith. Religion gives meaning and purpose to life by structuring one's experiences, beliefs, values and well-being (Beit-Hallami and Argyle 1997; see also the articles on religiosity, spirituality and health in the American Psychologist, 2003, vol. 58). For many Malaysian women, religion is used as a coping strategy to deal with adverse life circumstances besides providing other benefits such as solace from prayer and contemplation, distraction from daily stress, the opportunity for socializing and fellowship, promoting a healthy lifestyle by prohibiting drugs, alcohol, etc. (Noor 1999, 2008).

Noor (1999), in one of the earliest studies examining the relationship between role experiences (work—autonomy, tedium, overload; marriage—spouse support, marital problems; parenting—positive mother experience, negative mother experience) and well-being (symptoms of psychological distress and happiness) in Malaysia among Malay (N=288) and Chinese (N=92) women, showed that among several work conditions that were examined, only job autonomy was predictive of both distress and happiness, after controlling for demographic (age, ethnicity, occupational groups) and personality (negative affectivity) variables. Spousal support also predicted happiness. The other role experiences were not related to well-being. The qualitative results provided further insight into the lives of these women. Though the majority preferred to work in full-time employment, Chinese women had a stronger preference to do so than Malay women. Chinese women also reported that their husbands definitely preferred them to work compared to Malay women. Both groups reported spending more time in household chores and childcare than their husbands. The author attributed the relatively small variances observed in the well-being measures (26.4 % and 17.1 % for happiness and symptoms of distress, respectively) to other predictors that were not measured, one of which was religion (supported by the qualitative reports of the women that religion helped them to cope with adverse life experiences) as well as to the women's socialization—to report only on the good and desirable, and not the negative experiences.

In another study, Noor (2008) tested the role of religiosity in the relationship between Malay Muslim women's work experience and well-being (psychological distress and life satisfaction) as a function of age. While in general the results showed that religiosity has the potential to exercise a protective influence on women's well-being, the relationship differs among older and younger women. In younger women (21–36 years), high religiosity moderated the effects of adverse work experience on well-being. Among older women (37–57 years), however, the results are not as straightforward because both main and moderator effects of religiosity and work experience were observed depending on the well-being measures that were used. The author attributed the findings to the fact that younger and older women may not make use of religion in the same way, which may then affect their well-being differently. The different patterns of findings for the two well-being measures also reflected the issue of specificity in the stress–strain relations as well as the importance of using both positive and negative outcomes in studies of

women's well-being. Though the two measures of well-being are correlated, they are distinct measures, each having different predictors.

Noor (2006b), in another study, used a life-course approach (see Moen 1998) to test a model of roles and women's well-being and found that the predictors of well-being differed by age. Using structural equation modeling, the findings showed that for women in the age group between 20 and 29 years, the direct predictors of well-being (as measured by physical health, psychological distress and life satisfaction) were role experiences (work, marriage and parenting), work-family conflict, and negative affectivity Negative affectivity also showed an indirect effect on well-being via work-family conflict. However, no direct effect of role experiences on work-family conflict was observed, suggesting that for this group of women, role experiences did not influence their conflict levels. This is not surprising because many women in this age group are either single or just married (with an average of one to two children), so that conflict between work and family is still minimal. These determinants accounted for 76 % of the variability in women's perceived well-being.

For women between the ages of 30–39 years, both role experiences and negative affectivity had direct effects on well-being. Although roles and negative affectivity also directly determined work-family conflict, conflict did not predict women's well-being. In contrast to the women in the previous age group, women in this group were actively raising children while at the same time being in full-time employment. Therefore, conflict between work and family was inevitable. However, although they reported experiencing conflict, it did not affect their well-being. These women may have developed certain coping strategies to handle their current situation. These two determinants (roles and NA) accounted for 59 % of the variance in well-being.

In the final age group (40 years and older), role experiences directly predicted conflict and well-being, but negative affectivity had direct effect on well-being only. Similar to women in the 30–39 age group, though roles had direct effect on work-family conflict, conflict did not

predict their well-being. Conflict between work and family roles may change over time, and women too may become better at dealing with these changes. Therefore, for women older than 40 years old, only role experiences and negative affectivity influenced well-being. These two determinants accounted for 99 % of the variance in perceived well-being.

Therefore, using a life-course approach, these findings showed that the determinants of women's well-being are not static but they changed over the life course depending on what may be more important to them at a particular point in time. The pathways indicated by each of the three age-related models provide an understanding of how the different sets of variables are related. In addition, the amount of variance explained by each of the models indicated the importance of those variables within the particular age group.

Abdullah et al. (2008) examined the general perceptions of women towards their roles, their interpretation of progress, as well as factors that facilitate and hinder their progress. Questionnaires were distributed to 1,000 Malay women in Malaysia from rural and urban areas, aged from 15 to 67 years. Using questionnaires and interviews, the results indicated that despite being employed, they are still perceived to be primarily responsible for the home and children. However, perception of roles again differed by age. Older women still perceived women's place to be at home despite being highly educated, that women have to make sacrifices for the family, and that they should be feminine. Younger women, on the other hand, recognized that they too are powerful, and that they have a role to play in society. Nevertheless, regardless of age, all agreed that women cannot excel at work and home simultaneously, that they should not compete with men nor show off their ability, and that they need to be obedient to the husband and not be demanding. Women are also perceived to be more responsible for the children (and home) than men.

These results indicate that although women have been given opportunities to higher education and employment, many aspects of their lives still remain unchanged. Women's lives are oriented more towards family matters rather than

self-fulfillment, and when faced with having to make a choice between career and family, the priority is the family. The present Malay women are caught in a dilemma between the modern challenges of life and culture/traditions. While many are now employed, they are still expected to be responsible for the family and to maintain the traditional perception of a woman.

A number of implications can be drawn from these studies. First, despite being in full-time employment, the traditional division of labor is still strong. Women are still expected to be responsible for the home and children. This expectation makes it difficult for women to combine employment with family responsibilities without experiencing work-family conflict, overload, burnout and decreased well-being (Din and Noor 2009; Noor 2003; Noor and Zainuddin 2011). And, this is precisely the reason why many employed women do not return to work after having children.

Second, religion can moderate the adverse effects of work on well-being, but this depends on the age of the women (Noor 2008). A life-course approach in understanding women's roles and well-being, thus, is meaningful because the determinants of their well-being differ by age. While work, marriage and parenting are the three most important social roles, experiences within these roles are not static. As children get older, women's family role experiences may change (for the better or worse), and similar changes may also occur within the work role. Other roles that are previously less important, e.g., caring for an elderly parent, may become more dominant in later life. Thus, this approach considers the dynamic nature of how women's lives change over time. What may be important is not any one particular role but the entries and exits of these roles over the years and their timing in relation to the women's age and the other roles that they may occupy (Han and Moen 1999; Moen 1998; Moen and Sweet 2004). These entries and exits of roles may influence their health and psychological well-being differentially across the life course (Moen 1998; Moen and Sweet 2004). The study by James (2011) further supports this approach, when he showed that irrespective of

gender, employees' use of work-life balance practices vary over the life course. For example, parents with young families identify maternity, paternity and parental leave as their preferred work-life balance arrangement; but this arrangement was less important for parents with school age children, and was insignificant for those without children.

Thus, which combination of multiple roles has deleterious or beneficial effects on women's well-being depends on their timing and the contexts in which they occur. The challenge then is to delineate the many life patterns of women and to ascertain which of these are the most adaptive for the individual woman. For example, as indicated earlier, irrespective of age, role experiences predict well-being. Poor role experiences may lead to work-family conflict but conflict may not necessarily affect their well-being. The presence of certain individual difference variables like negative affectivity and coping strategies may moderate or mediate the stress–strain relationships. Religion has been used as a coping mechanism to help moderate the adverse role experience on well-being, particularly for younger women.

Work-Life Balance Policies and Practices

Currently, women's labor force participation rate in Malaysia is low compared to other Asian countries like Indonesia, Singapore, Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, and China (Malaysia Economic Monitor 2012). As shown in Fig. 40.2, though many initially participate in the labor force, many also tend not to return to work after having children. The low participation is mainly driven by social norms that see women as being primarily responsible for childcare and housework while men are expected to be the main economic provider. These role expectations make it difficult for women to reconcile employment with family obligations—childcare, and housework. In addition, many workplaces lack work-life or family-friendly policies and practices that can facilitate women's return to work after childbirth, such as affordable and quality childcare and flex-

ible work arrangements. This double burden of combining work with domestic responsibilities has been shown to be the main obstacle preventing women from moving into senior roles in the corporate sector (Women matters: An Asian perspective 2012). While this problem affects all women, it is most significant for Asian women because of the strong cultural views regarding the roles of men and women in society, combined with a lack of support in providing work-life balance practices. Indeed, the survey indicated that the absence of such infrastructure was found to be the third biggest obstacle to increasing gender diversity at the workplace in Asia (Women matters: An Asian perspective 2012).

In addition, the modernization and urbanization processes that accompany the government's development plans since 1971 have changed the basic structure of the family, with the traditional extended family system increasingly being replaced by a more nuclear one (Noor 2009). Other family models are also being observed—the never married or single employees, female-headed households due to higher divorce rates, "commuter families" (parents live and work in different towns or states, and children live at home with one parent, usually the mother), etc. It is also becoming more difficult to depend on the extended family network for childcare needs. In one of the earliest studies carried out by the National Planning and Development Board (1998) on "Childcare and Parenting Styles among Working Parents", employed parents reported that they performed only 14.6 % of childcare needs with the rest outsourced to other family members (30.6 %, to grandparents, other relatives and older siblings), neighbors and friends (15.0 %), domestic servants (6.6 %, mostly Indonesians and Filipinos), licensed childcare centers (5.1 %), public or religious schools (18 %), and the rest who could not afford center-based childcare had to rely on unlicensed and unregulated childcare centers or private individuals. In a later study, Noor et al. (2004) showed that parents tended to outsource even more of these childcare needs—24.1 % family members, 22.8 % neighbors and friends, 10.1 % domestic servants, 14.9 % childcare centers, 19.1 % left on

their own—performing only 9.0 % of childcare. The studies indicate that unless women have some viable forms of alternative childcare when they are at work, employment would be difficult.

Studies in the West have indicated that organizations that offer and implement family-friendly or work-life balance policies and practices are able to attract and retain a higher percentage of employees than those that do not have these policies (Hudson 2005; McDonald et al. 2005). Family-friendly or work-life balance practices normally refer to an organization offering one of the following—organizational support for dependent care, flexible work options, and personal or family leave (Estes and Michael 2005). Research has indicated that organizations which offer some forms of flexible working arrangements, cater for parenting or other care needs, or offer family or personal leave have reported increased organizational commitment, productivity and job satisfaction among their employees (Beauregard and Henry 2009; Casey and Grzywacz 2008; Yasbek 2004). These employees have also reported more control over their own work schedules, which in turn is related to improved mental health outcomes (McDonald et al. 2005). However, this positive relationship between work-life practices and organizational outcomes holds only when employees feel free to use the practices without negative consequences to their work lives (Beauregard and Henry 2009; Eaton 2003).

But, not all workplaces offer such practices and policies in the West. Among the predictors of the presence of work-life balance policies are industry type—with the public sector the most likely to offer work-life balance policies while wholesale and retail industries are the least likely (Evans 2001; Galinsky and Bond 1998; Yasbek 2004); size of organization—with larger firms, i.e., those having more than 1,000 employees more likely to provide more generous policies than smaller ones (Evans 2001; Yasbek 2004); organizations employing professionals, and technical workers (Yasbek 2004); organizations that are predominantly women, and those with a large proportion of women in top management (Galinsky and Bond 1998; Yasbek 2004). On the other hand, those in lower-paying jobs, who are

most in need of these support, are usually the least likely to have access to it (Kossek 2005). Furthermore, though work-life balance measures may be available in organizations, they may not be used because of the organizational structures and culture. In the UK, for example, work-life balance policies are available at "high-performance" management level but they are not taken up by these high-level employees due to concerns on the negative effect of these policies on individuals' work-life balance (White et al. 2003). Organizational cultures that are unsupportive of work-life balance issues can thus undermine work-life policies, leaving those who take them up feeling undervalued and marginalized (Beauregard and Henry 2009; Gambles et al. 2006).

Organizational structures and cultures in the West are also not gender-neutral (Acker 1990; Dahlmann et al. 2009). Within organizations, cultural representations of gender are conjured and reproduced, with males seen as masculine and females as nurturing, leading them to be perceived and treated differently. Indeed, women executives have pointed to a traditional corporate culture as the primary barrier to women's advancement (Ragins et al. 1998; Straub 2007). As a result, women who may need these policies more than men may not use them for fear of losing their credibility (Straub 2007). Similarly, Garcia (2012) reported that working fathers who assume sole family caretaking responsibilities tend to experience more discrimination at work such as being denied a leave of absence as well as potentially damaging their career development.

In Malaysia, via the 5-year development plans, the government has instituted a number of policies to encourage more women into the labor force including care-related leave schemes, flexible working time arrangements and childcare. While there are other policies like training and benefits, the three more significant ones are flexible work arrangements, childcare, and leave policies. They are meant to address the constraint in time for domestic and care giving responsibilities resulting from women's employment. However, despite these efforts made by the government, few employers (government agencies included) provide childcare facilities and fewer still are willing to retain positions for women who take leave in excess of their entitlement, let alone ensuring their seniority.

Aminah (2007), in one of the few available studies examining the implementation of family-friendly policies in the Malaysian government and four private organizations, showed that the government is more generous than the private organizations in the provision of these facilities. However, all organizations are still at the early stage of policy development, due notably to a lack of organizational commitment and general support for these policies. This is so because organizations do not view the harmonization of family and working lives to be important. Thus, practices that could help employees handle the demands of work and family such as childcare, leave and other benefits are lacking. The following section discusses in more detail some of the more important policies and challenges in their implementation.

Workplace Initiatives in Malaysia

Over the last 25 years, Malaysia has developed several initiatives meant to improve women's participation in employment, earnings, and quality of employment. Following the announcement of the National Family Policy by the government in December 2010 and officially launched the following year in May, several policy and legislative initiatives have been taken to enable both women and men to reconcile the demands of work with those of the home. These initiatives have been moving at an incremental pace as set out in Table 40.5.

The policy and legislative initiatives in Malaysia can be broadly divided into three categories: (i) flexible work arrangements, (ii) childcare policies, and (iii) leave policies.

Flexible Work Arrangements

The first category of workplace initiatives addresses the provision of flexible work arrangements as a means of balancing work and family obligations. Flexible work arrangements include

Table 40.5 Summary of the policy and legislative developments related to family-friendly workplace initiatives

Policy	Details
National Family Policy 2011	Supports and complements National Social Policy, National Policy for Women, and the National Child Policy.
National Policy for Women 1989	Provides the groundwork for subsequent policies and programs concerning women. More recent initiative includes the launched of the Gender Focal Point Program in 2009, which details out a framework for planning, development, use, regulation, and other activities related to gender mainstreaming and women empowerment
Employment Act 1955 (amend. 1998 and 2010)	Covers provisions on maximum working hours, salary, and leaves. Has a significant impact on women's position in the labor market, in terms of flexible working hours, establishment of part-time work, and entitlements for maternity and paternity leaves
Income Tax Act 1967 (amend. 1971)	Allows women workers to elect for separate tax assessments, unless they chose not to be assessed separately. Offers provision relating tax deduction for employers who provide childcare centers near or at the workplace to their employees
Childcare Act 1984	Sets out provisions to strengthen the regulation and inspection frameworks for childcare
Code of Practice on the Prevention and Eradication of Sexual Harassment at the Workplace 1999	Contains guidelines to employers on the establishment and implementation of in-house preventive for addressing sexual harassment complaints and provides mechanisms to prevent sexual harassment
The 10th Malaysian Plan 2011–2015	Represents a significant milestone in the government's plan towards empowering women. Focuses on increasing women's participation in the workforce to 55 % by 2015 and increasing women in key decision making positions

a wide range of options, including staggered working hours, working from home, reduced work hours, compressed workweeks, job sharing as well as job exchanges. Among these, three arrangements are practiced in Malaysia: (i) flexibility in starting and ending the working day (i.e., staggered hours), (ii) flexibility of working from home, and (iii) part-time employment.

Staggered working hours were introduced among civil servants in June 2007 (Pekeliling Perkhidmatan Bilangan 2, Tahun 2007). Under this arrangement, workers can choose from three options that they prefer in arriving or leaving work, i.e., 7:30 am to 4:30 pm, 8:00 am to 5:00 pm, and 8:30 am to 5:30 pm. In addition to staggered working hours, a home working program was launched in October 2008 by the Ministry of Human Resources, allowing selected workers, particularly the disabled or those with children, to work from home. Six companies (Adabi Consumer Industries Sdn. Bhd., Elentec Sdn. Bhd., GIDA Industries Sdn. Bhd., Hin Press & Trading, Peraliph Sdn. Bhd., and Hardy Slex Sdn. Bhd.) participated in this pioneer program (Bernama 2008). A similar program was then piloted on 35 civil servants from the Public Works Department, with the majority being women. The third form of flexible work arrangement is part-time employment. Following the second amendment to the Employment Act 1955, which came into force in October 2010, the statutory provisions for part-time work for Malaysian workers (Employment [Part-Time Employees] Regulations 2010) are established. This regulation outlines the legislative details and provisions that are necessary to ensure that part-time workers are afforded similar benefits and protections as regular workers in terms of pay, holidays, public holidays, and sick pay. More importantly, it offers employment opportunities especially to women, who otherwise may have been left out because of family commitment or other personal reasons.

While these flexible work arrangements are now available to facilitate better work-life balance for Malaysians, a question arises: do these flexible work arrangements indeed provide the necessary flexibility to deal with work obligations and family responsibilities? In reality, the provisions of the current flexible work arrangements are not really flexible per se. For example, the staggered working hours are "fixed" and this

restricts the choice in selecting a suitable work schedule. A more rigorous and contemporary definition and practice that better operationalized "flexible work arrangements" is needed so that workers could have more options in selecting arrangements that best suit their needs, in line with the life-course approach mentioned earlier.

In addition, the current flexible working arrangements are not implemented fully within government offices and departments. For example, working from home and part-time work are offered only to a select group of civil servants. The private sector has been less enthusiastic in its commitment and willingness to offer some forms of flexible working arrangements. A survey by the Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development, Malaysia (2009) reported that only a small percentage of private organizations practice the home working program. Another study found that only 16 % of the respondents in private sector employment reported working in family-friendly organizations (Subramaniam and Silvaratnam 2010). Although a more recent study found that the commitment of the private sector, particularly multinational companies, is increasing (Subramaniam 2011), there is still a lack of genuine effort or a strong enough desire to change the work patterns that maximize work-life balance.

Childcare Policies

The formulation and adoption of childcare policies constitute the second category of workplace initiatives in Malaysia. The childcare policies are underpinned by the Childcare Act 1984, which sets out a framework and consultation on childcare provision. This Act forms the basis for the establishment of workplace-based childcare centers; hence, directly recognizing the importance of childcare support in enabling parents, especially mothers, to work.

Closely connected to this Act are the government subsidies and fiscal incentives—the purpose of which is to support childcare facilities and work flexibility. For example, in 2007, civil servants whose monthly household income was below RM2,000 received a subsidy of RM180 per child for subsidized childcare fees (Pekeliling Perkhidmatan Bilangan 4, Tahun 2007); this was then extended in 2009 to those whose monthly household income was below RM3,000 (United Nations Country Team 2011). The government has also offered fiscal incentives in terms of a 10 % corporation tax exemption to encourage employers, especially those in the private sector, to set up their own childcare centers.

Despite these initiatives, the response from employers has apparently been very slow. In 2012, the number of registered childcare centers stands at 1,962 (The Malaysian Insider 2013). Of 92 registered childcare centers in the workplace, only 21 were run by the private sector. The rest were managed by the government indicating the lack of support from private sector organizations compared to government ones (New Straits Times 2012).

The lack of support from employers to provide for childcare facilities deserves further discussion. Research has established various benefits of providing high-quality onsite or near-site childcare facilities for employers, employees, and children. These include improvement of workers' productivity, reduction of absenteeism and tardiness, higher employee morale and commitment, as well as lower training and recruitment costs (Smith et al. 1997; U.S. Department of the Treasury 1998). Despite these documented benefits, employers, public and private alike, still lack an understanding of the value of employer-supported childcare. It is likely that this hesitation has been, in most cases, due to the cost implication of the process that is assumed to reduce the companies' financial standing. Employers may also face other challenges in providing these facilities such as lack of space and a limited number of professional childcare operators, which, in turn, would add further costs to the business. Cultural norms regarding the roles of men and women that govern workplace structure (as previously discussed) are also to blame.

Parental Leave Policies

Parental leave policies are the third category of workplace initiatives directed at supporting employed Malaysian women and their families. Under the Employment Act (Section 37), women in the public sector are allowed to take up a minimum of 60 days maternity leave with pay for up

to five surviving children. More recently, a 90-day maternity leave was introduced (Pekeliling Perkhidmatan Bilangan 14, Tahun 2010). Meanwhile, female employees in the private sector are entitled to 60 consecutive days of maternity leave with pay.

Three other policies for civil servants were promulgated in 2003, 2007, and 2009. The first of these was the paid paternity leave, which gave working fathers the right to extend time off from three to seven days to help share the responsibility of caring for their babies after birth. In 2007, a policy that allows working mothers to take unpaid leave for up to 5 years (for up to a maximum of five children) to take care of their children was introduced (Pekeliling Perkhidmatan Bilangan 15, Tahun 2007). Women workers are also allowed to apply for a period of up to 3 years of unpaid leave to accompany a spouse on an overseas posting (Pekeliling Perkhidmatan Bilangan 29, Tahun 2009). This provision is in place to ensure that families can stay together.

Although these leave policies are available for civil servants, the same does not apply for other types of employees. For example, the benefits of the paid paternity leave are only for government employees and not for workers in the private sector. Because the latter sector does not include provisions for paternity leave, a majority of male workers utilize their annual or unpaid leave or even sick leave at the birth of their children. Similarly, only very few, if any of the private sector organizations offer the 90-day maternity leave. Women in these organizations who may want or have to take an extended maternity leave are more likely to take unpaid leave. However, taking this latter type of leave has the unintended consequence of potentially disadvantaging women's overall position in the organization. Studies have found that women who took lengthy maternity leave are at a greater risk of losing their job, pay raise, and work experience, as well as opportunity for promotion (Curtis et al. 2002; Lyness et al. 1999) than women who have taken shorter leaves.

Parental leave policy is a topic that most employers are reluctant to take up because of the general organization's aversion to the additional costs that it represents. One such cost is the continued maternity benefits, including health insurance coverage by employers for mothers on leave. Estimates show Malaysian employers spent about RM1.57 billion annually in providing the 60-day maternity leave to its female employees and the total cost could increase up to RM 2 billion if the 90-day maternity leave is adopted (Malaysian Employers Federation 2010). The private sector has also claimed that the creation of an additional paid maternity leave would jeopardize companies' operations and burden employers. Many of them are unwilling to pay the full monthly wages during the entire 90-day leave. Employers will also have to factor in the cost of hiring temporary workers or paying overtime to another employee in order to cover the work of the person who goes on maternity leave. However, this might not be the case if the maternity benefits are jointly offered and financially supported by the employers, the government, and/or social security, similar to that implemented in other countries such as Singapore, Thailand, India, and Laos.

Reframing Work-Family Issue

Currently, as many as 2.3 million Malaysian women within the working age group of 15–64 are "absent" from the labor market (Lewis 2012), making their labor force participation the lowest among ASEAN countries and below the expected level given the country's level of development (Malaysia Economic Monitor 2012). Though there are policies and workplace initiatives in place, they have not been successful in persuading more women into the labor market. How can this issue be reconciled?

While work-family policies are meant to enable women to remain economically active during the childbearing years, research has shown that cultural norms regarding gender, work, and family play a significant role in the formulation, institutionalization, and efficacy of these policies (Kremer 2006; Budig et al. 2012). For example, Budig et al. (2012), comparing data from 22 countries, showed that work-family policies (parental leaves and public-funded childcare) and cultural attitudes (family values such as support

for the male breadwinner/female caregiver model, and beliefs that children and family life suffer when a mother works for pay) combined interactively to influence women's earnings, such that these policies are associated with higher earnings for mothers when cultural support for maternal employment is high, but have less positive or even negative relationships with earnings where cultural attitudes support the male breadwinner/female caregiver model. These results imply that culture amplifies the relationships between the policies and maternal earnings.

Because the gendered nature of work and family is still strong in Malaysia, an alternative way for the government to encourage more women into the labor force is to make work-family issues as societal issues, rather than as individual problems to be handled by the individual woman and her family. In doing so, husband and wife as well as the workplace and the larger society will have to take some responsibility for the well-being of the family. In addition, the different groups in Malaysia are collectivist in nature, thus, establishing public policies that create systemic support for the families would reflect this view and intuitively, would be more easily endorsed. For example, in Scandinavian countries, the state directly intervenes to support women's labor force participation by providing them with public-funded childcare, maternity and parental leaves and other leave schemes (see Datta Gupta et al. 2008; Mandel and Semyonov 2005). The state recognized the needs of dual-earner families and they have transferred the major parts of care from the home to the public sector. As such, in these countries, women's labor force participation rate is extremely high (between 80 and 86 %, Datta Gupta et al. 2008).

If the government is serious in increasing and maintaining women in the labor force, then more should be done. It has given women the opportunities to education and employment; now it needs to go a step further by mandating organizations to provide support for policies that can facilitate women (and men) to balance their work and family lives. At present, the private sector is excluded from having formal policies on flexible work arrangements, childcare, and parental leave.

Because these workplace initiatives are non-compulsory, only a few private companies provide childcare centers at their workplaces or offer the work-from-home option to their employees (Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development, Malaysia 2009; Subramaniam and Silvaratnam 2010).

In addition, what is greatly needed is a "cultural policy" that creates new social norms promoting equality for men and women. This seems daunting at present. Malaysian society is still traditional and religious. As shown by studies in the West, development of family policies has strongly been influenced by the strength of the political parties—religious and secular (Korpi et al. 2013). Catholic parties have been shown to be averse to polices increasing women's paid work while secular center-right parties have avoided extending claim rights (securing material support like cash and services from public authorities) to facilitate women's advancement. The left parties, in contrast, have supported family policies and have extended citizen's claim rights by transferring social care as paid work into the public sector (Korpi et al. 2013). The left-parties are reflected by Scandinavian countries, in contrast to other countries in Continental Europe that have been more influenced by Catholic parties which have pressed for more traditional family policies. Thus, understanding the political set-up of a country can predict its take on the kinds and extent of family policies. In the case of Malaysia, based on its traditional cultural sentiments and politics, it would indeed be difficult to meet the country's projected 55 % target of female labor force participation by 2015 (Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011–2015), unless there is aggressive support for policy implementation.

Besides the socio-cultural and political obstacles to implementing work-family policies, many employees also perceive these policies to be unfair. For example, while employed parents with young children often identify maternity and paternity leave as being important, this arrangement is less crucial for those with older children, and even irrelevant for the childless. In addition, those who take up these work-life balance arrangements are mostly

women. In fact, James (2011) showed that the work-life requirements vary not only within gender by job function, department, and household situation but also for individual employees over the life course. In other words, different home and work needs of men and women imply that policies suitable for one group of employees at one point in time may have little or no effect for another group. Thus, to make these policies more acceptable to all, there is a need to go beyond gender and family needs, to include other forms of diversity, family configurations, and socio-historical contexts.

To do so, Özbilgin et al. (2011) have suggested using an intersectionality approach to better capture the changing realities of the family and workforce. Intersectionality goes beyond the individual-level analysis to consider patterns of interactions between different aspects of power and inequalities within categories of individuals (see also McCall and Orloff 2005). Put another way, by going beyond the usual individual-level analysis to include other intersections in life—social, economic and culture—it is better able to capture the complex, multifaceted reality of men and women's lives. Using this approach, Korpi et al. (2013) examine socioeconomic class and different types of family policies on gender inequalities in terms of agency and economic inequality in 18 OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries. The results indicated that in countries with well-developed policies supporting women's employment and work-family reconciliation, there are no major negative family policy effects for women with tertiary education. But, family policies clearly differ in the extent to which they improve opportunities for women without university education. The results imply that an understanding of the relationship between "individual-level characteristics and national-level conditions that influence gender inequalities in economic outcomes" (Pettit and Hook 2009, p. 175) is most pertinent. Thus, this intersectional approach can take into account the interplay between gender, class and the wider socio-cultural context.

Future Research Directions

Research has addressed some of the issues related to work, family, and women's well-being, but other gaps remain. For one, although there has been an increased focus on the effects of multiple role experiences on women's well-being, some of the changing realities of the family and the workforce have not been adequately addressed. This chapter has highlighted that women's labor force participation rate in Malaysia is low despite significant improvements in education. While it is possible that the reason for the dropout is attributable to the traditional gender divisions of labor and unsupportive organizational culture, the exact explanation for such a situation in Malaysia remains a subject of speculative debate. The identification of factors that can inform and explain why Malaysian women are more likely to leave work after childbirth should stimulate future research and subsequent policy changes to improve their work-life balance. It would also be useful to explore the coping strategies of women who remained in the work force and compare these with those who have opted out after childbirth, again in the hope of informing policy changes.

While work-life balance initiatives have not been totally ignored by employers, neither has much progress been made on them. Work-life balance policies and initiatives are meant to facilitate a more equal gender division of household caring, and to improve the well-being of workers and their families, but employers are not likely to implement them if the economic advantages of doing so are not presented. Thus, research examining what kinds of work-life initiatives work, for which group of employees and in what kinds of job sector, would be most beneficial before designing and implementing these initiatives.

Studies on the implications of mandating both public and private sectors to institute work-life balance policies would also be welcomed. Equally important would be research to evaluate the effectiveness of the present work-life balance initiatives.

Comparative research on men's participation in childcare and housework remains another

important gap. In Malaysia, hardly any attention has been paid to men's domestic lives, their experiences as well as expectations. Another key challenge would be to design studies of husband-wife dyads with the aim of effecting a policy change so that equal caretaking and shared responsibilities are regarded as gender issues, affecting both men and women alike. Studies that identify possible interventions targeted at reducing overcommitment to work in men and lessening family caregiving responsibility among women would pave the way for broader women's participation in employment and increased men's commitment to caregiving (Garcia 2012).

Further studies that explore the feasibility of incorporating a cultural policy that emphasizes gender equality and aims at changing both men and the androcentric culture are needed. But more work is required before the nature of such a policy can be clarified. Thus, an analysis of the sociocultural, historical, political, economic and personal context could increase our knowledge and understanding of the obstacles to the full development and effective implementation of the policy.

This last point relates to the intersectionality approach that goes beyond the usual individual-level analysis to take into account of the power dynamics that shape work-life issues in contemporary workplaces (Özbilgin et al. 2011). The current work-life literature has failed to go beyond the individual level analysis to consider other domains of life (besides the traditional nuclear family) and strands of diversity (besides gender) and their intersection with historical and structural power relations at societal and organizational levels. In Malaysia, the ethnic groups are different with differing power relations, thus, examining the antecedents, correlates and consequences of work–life issues of each group would provide some insight into the role played by structural and institutional conditions.

Finally, future research should utilize more qualitative studies on the lived experiences of men and women within their multiple roles and more precise measurements (e.g., time diaries and husband-wife dyad data) to gain better insight into their lives.

Conclusion

At the moment, the more pressing issues for working families are shared family responsibilities, spousal support, and consistent, affordable, and dependable childcare. Consequently, there is an urgent need to change the male-breadwinner/female-caregiver model to one of "shared family responsibilities." Due to the gendered nature of work and family within the Malaysian context, a number of recommendations were posited, including treating work-family issues as social issues rather than as personal problems, mandating both public and private sectors to institute family-friendly workplace policies and support for these policy implementations, moving beyond domestic boundaries to take into account of other forms of diversity such as different groups of people (i.e., race, age, class, etc.), changing family structure and household configurations, as well as the understanding of men's experience in their fathering and caretaking roles. In addition, there is a need to recognize the different life courses of women and men and to see how best they can negotiate the different aspects of life within the existing socio-cultural context.

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The Reality of Women on the Boards of Directors of Brazilian Companies: Seeking Insight and Solutions

Kellen Lazzaretti and Christiane Kleinübing Godoi

Introduction

Historically, female participation in the Brazilian Marketplace and in organizations in general reflects a subordinate social status. This situation has not yet been thoroughly addressed by literature, notably by Brazilian literature, which is still limited to an instrumental approach, both to gender studies and to female specifics, and focused on compensation- and position-related topics. We begin to contextualize this study bearing in mind this critical warning, and aware that the concept of gender has been historically construed to encompass both relationships between men and women, and their roles in society and in power relations.

We have noted that data by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), from December 2013, shows that the rate of working individuals among the Brazilian female population in the country's largest cities was still 14 % below the rate of the male population. For reference, the working population is comprised of 12,559,000 men and 10,771,000 women.

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Furthermore, there is prominent disparity in opportunities available for career progression to senior management positions, so that men are more likely to take on such roles. Hence, there is a noticeable pay gap between genders, as formerly noted by Flecha (2007), and Santos and Ribeiro (2009). However, the most significant differences are among graduated professionals.

Studies, such as that of the Brazilian female author Madalozzo (2011) and of the Brazilian Institute of Corporate Governance (IBGC), show that women in Brazilian enterprises find it harder than men to progress to higher responsibility positions, such as senior management, CEOs or board members. In addition, when they do manage to progress to such positions, there are compensation differences favoring men. This type of inequality has been referred to in the literature as the "glass ceiling" effect (Morrison et al. 1987; Burgess and Tharenou 2002; Li and Wearing 2004; Jackson and O'Callaghan 2009; Madalozzo 2011). The glass ceiling effect consists of an invisible barrier that prevents or hinders female progression to higher-ranking positions. This phenomenon is evidenced when the following four aspects are present: (1) gender inequality unexplained by the relevance of an employee's work or by his/her professional credentials; (2) gender inequality is more common in senior management positions than in lower ranking positions; (3) gender inequality is evident in career progression and advancement opportunities to higher ranking positions; and, (4)

gender inequality increases with career progression (Jackson and O'Callaghan 2009).

The aim of this study is not to provide evidence of such effect in Brazilian organizations, but to specifically address a key type of inequality at the organizational level – which is still relatively new territory to Brazilian literature-, namely male and female differences in participation rates on Boards of Directors (BDs) (Adams and Ferreira 2009; Branson 2011; Grosvold 2011). Data recently published by Catalyst, an organization founded in 1962 by the American Felice N. Schwartz to promote female equality in the marketplace, indicates that Boards of Directors are regarded as a male domain, where female access is difficult.

Some countries, aware of these obstacles, sought to implement affirmative measures, such as quota regulations, setting a minimum percentage of female participation on the BDs of their companies. The first country to implement such legislation was Norway. Later, Spain, France and the Netherlands also passed laws requiring increased female participation (Adams and Ferreira 2009; Branson 2011; IBGC 2011). Brazil – where the percentage of women on BDs is extremely low, as we'll discuss herein – is attempting to follow suit and pass legislation setting increasing minimum quotas to reach 40 % female participation by 2020 (Brasil 2011). Surveys carried out by the Brazilian Institute of Corporate Governance (IBGC), in 2011, showed that only 7.71 % of the seats on BDs were occupied by women, while in Norway, where female participation is the highest in the world, this rate is 39.5 %, which shows that quota legislation had a significant impact, at least quantitatively.

In addition to the reduced participation of women on BDs, some researchers focus on determining the factors contributing to female participation on BDs (Sheridan and Milgate 2005). In addition, other researchers seek to determine the level of formal education and professional experience required for women to reach BDs (Grosvold 2011). Some of these studies are based on the Human Capital Theory (Terjesen et al. 2009; Ployhart and Moliterno 2011; Hansen et al. 2012).

The Human Capital Theory originated in the economic sciences, coined and championed

initially by Theodore W. Schultz, Gary S. Becker and Jacob Mincer. The theory focuses on the belief that acquiring more knowledge and skills increases individual human capital, thus increasing employability, productivity and potential earnings. This results in higher earning potential, which is positive both for the individual and for social progress (Cunha et al. 2010). Studies involving women and BDs based on this theory assume that board members must bring to the BD their ample and unique human capital, in order to be considered fit for a seat (Kesner 1988). However, a study by Burke (2003) revealed that a common assumption among board recruiters is that women do not have the appropriate human capital to occupy seats on BDs.

Based on an analytical and critical approach, and on the perspective of the Human Capital Theory, the aim of this chapter is to bring to the reader's attention unknown aspects of the reality of women in Brazil, seeking to outline and shed light on the topic, particularly in regards to companies' Boards of Directors. The text is divided into two stages or main parts, specifically an outline of the current reality and its analytical review. In the first part, we use both empirical-theoretical studies and statistical data obtained from Brazilian institutes to draw a picture of female participation in the country's marketplace and BD structuring by companies. In the second part, seeking insight and solutions, we provide details of a qualitative survey carried out based on the Human Capital Theory, in which we analyze the different aspects of education and professional experience of Brazilian female board directors that may have prompted their progression to BDs.

Part I – Outlining the Reality of Women in the Brazilian Marketplace and in BD Structuring by Companies

The Brazilian Marketplace: Statistics and Preliminary Analyzes

Brazil has a population of about 190,755,799 people, 49 % of which are men and 51 % of

which are women. This higher percentage of women is also seen in classrooms, i.e. women have a stronger presence in schools than men at basic and secondary education levels. Furthermore, indicators of female and male participation allow us to conclude that there are more women than men on all levels of education (IBGE 2010). Over the years, women have also increased their participation in the Brazilian marketplace. Between 1981 and 2002, the rate of female activity in Brazil increased from 32.9 to 46.6 %, i.e. a 13.7 % increase in 21 years (IBGE 2010). A survey carried out in the first half of 2013 in metropolitan areas of the country showed that 10.5 million women and 12.5 million men were working (Arcoverde 2013).

It is also noteworthy that, in 2013, women were the breadwinners in 33 % of Brazilian homes in urban and rural areas. In urban areas alone, they supported 38 % of the households (IBGE 2013), but, despite being more educated and supporting a third of Brazilian homes, women still have to face compensation and opportunity inequalities. In metropolitan areas of the country, they earn 26 % less than men (Arcoverde 2013). These statistics reflect a situation of unequal pay between women and men in Brazil. Such discrepancies are also reflected in the wages paid to employees educated to graduate level.

The average monthly wage for men in 2010 was R$ 5,416.66 and for women was R$ 3,207.28 (RAIS 2010), which is approximately US$ 2,257.90 and US$ 1,347.60, respectively. This means that although there are more graduate females in the Brazilian marketplace, there is an average 25 % difference in wages favoring men.

These data corroborate the results of a previous survey carried out by Flecha (2007), who studied a specific region of Brazil and found that despite the higher number of highly educated females employed, there is still gender inequality in regards to compensation. The author noted that even if female participation increases in the region, the outlook still does not favor women. Women are usually in less prestigious roles, such as in maintenance and cleaning, while men occupy more prestigious and higher paying positions, such as directing and managing companies. This also shows discrimination against females in companies in regards to opportunities.

Studies show that female progression up the hierarchy in organizations is harder than progression for males, and this is even more prominent in higher-ranking positions (Steil 1997; Man et al. 2009). A survey carried out by Grant Thornton, in 2013, showed that globally the average number of women in senior management positions is 24 % – three percentage points above the 2012 figure. However, in Brazil this index dropped from 27 % in 2012 to 23 % in 2013 (Arcoverde 2013). If we look at CEO positions, female participation, albeit still low, increased from 9 to 14 % in most countries, whereas in Brazil it decreased. Madalozzo (2011) also found a low number of women occupying CEO positions in Brazil, i.e. 8.55 % in a sample of 370 companies. Furthermore, she found that if there is a BD, the probability of there being a female CEO drops by 12 % (Madalozzo 2011). The author explains that because BDs are typically male dominated, members tend to choose CEOs that represent them. Another survey published by the Brazilian Institute of Corporate Governance (IBGC), from 2011, shows a percentage of 2.97 % of women in CEO positions in publicly traded companies.

The lack of opportunities for women in organizations, according to Steil (1997), may reflect male values, which regard leadership positions as unsuitable for women. In addition to having career progression hindered by this discriminatory view, Brazilian female executives must also deal with the guilt they feel trying to find a work/family balance (Neto et al. 2010). When there is tension between these two areas, women tend to view this as a personal failure.

According to Belle (1991), through their culture, companies have the power to affect not only women's professional lives, but also their personal ones. For example, some women postpone maternity to gain more professional experience and to be more dedicated to their companies. In Brazilian banking institutions, for example, both men and women view women's personal lives as

competing with their careers (Andrade et al. 2002). In addition, when families need someone to relegate their careers to focus on their personal lives, this responsibility usually falls upon women (wives). The emerging rhetoric, at least among the banking institutions analyzed by Andrade et al. (2002), is that if women choose to put their careers ahead of their personal lives, they are reproducing the male model. In this regard, Belle (1991) explains that female executives are at a disadvantage when compared to men, because they face the duality between being the "maternal executive", i.e. occupying less responsibility and time demanding positions, and being the "organizational woman", often relegating maternity and betting all their chips on the opportunities that their organization may have to offer.

Female executives must face this duality on a day-to-day basis. In order to achieve professional success they force themselves to act like men, embracing the male stereotype even in how they dress, because if they act as feminine women, questions will inevitably arise as to the nature of their success being their female sensuality. Contrastingly, they are expected to be feminine, because of the maternal, frail and delicate female stereotype. The social representation of the female executive is the overlapping of images of the feminine and sensitive woman, and the strong and seductive woman (Diniz et al. 2011; Neto et al. 2010). Maintaining this balance is not easy, but these assessments compelled us to advance our studies into gender diversity and female participation, particularly in regards to Boards of Directors.

Female Participation on Boards of Directors: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Studies

In this section, we begin with a general overview of the impact of female participation on Boards of Directors in different countries, followed by a more in-depth analysis including the Brazilian scenario.

Female Participation on Boards of Directors: A General Overview of Different Countries

Unlike other gender studies supported by feminist theories, most of the academic literature regarding female participation on Boards of Directors (BDs) is descriptive and not based on a single, specific theoretical framework. However, according to the feminist approach to investigation, most of these studies exploit theoretical perspectives in order to explain gender inequalities in this environment (Terjesen et al. 2009).

The role of Boards of Directors is to provide recommendations and guidelines for the CEO and other top managers, as well as to support strategic planning, but not its implementation (Forbes and Milliken 1999). According to the IBGC (2013), a BD may be regarded as a Corporate Governance mechanism, whose mission is to hedge assets and maximize returns on corporate investments. In principle, the BD is one of the most important controllers of management, as its members are elected by shareholders to act on their behalf (Zara and Pearce II 1989).

A few studies on the effectiveness of BDs report that gender diversity can increase business volume and performance, but is not fully effective alone. Knowledge, skills, drive and actual ability to effectively carry out a series of roles are also essential (Forbes and Milliken 1999). From this perspective, female participation on BDs has been prompting several studies on the female characteristics, influence and traits that women bring to BDs, noting their impact on the dynamics, business performance and management of the actual BD. Advocates for increasing the number of female board directors argue that diversity could have a positive impact on BD monitoring and on control functions (Grosvold 2011).

Having a more diverse BD, with increased female presence, has been shown be advantageous. Studies revealed that women have more diverse professional experiences; therefore, their participation on BDs could lead to more creative and innovative decisions (Burke 1994). They have also shown that female presence on BDs leads to diversity of opinions; they provide strategic

contributions, such as additional influence on the decision-making and leadership styles of the organization, they improve the company's image before stakeholders (Burgess and Tharenou 2002). Burgess and Tharenou (2002) also state that female presence ensure their male counterparts "behave better" (*sic*). However, the authors highlight that if there is only one female board director, the company will not benefit from all the aforementioned benefits.

The number of women on BDs has also been studied. Konrad et al. (2008) examined the impact of having one, two or three women on BDs, and found that one or two women can make interesting contributions and improve BDs, while three or more women can really contribute to the BD, starting with the fact that they actually feel more comfortable. The authors state that when there are at least three female board directors, men are more open to female opinions.

Shilton et al. (2010) revealed that a single woman on a BD might be marginalized, because she may be stigmatized by the other members. They believe that this woman will only present a "female perspective". This means that the male board members will be more focused on the fact that she is a woman than on her individual contributions (IBGC 2009).

In a report by female board directors themselves, Burke (1997) noted that a positive impact of having women on BDs is the effect of their presence on other female employees, who feel more motivated to work. Furthermore, the BD becomes more sensitive to issues related to female employees. Evanston (2011) highlights that increased female representation on BDs causes a direct increase in female participation and access to more senior positions within companies. Cabo et al. (2010), in turn, report that female presence on BDs actually promotes further female access to BDs.

The literature has also sought relationships between female presence on BDs and other variables. Williams (2003), for example, sought to determine whether female participation on BDs affected Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) among American Fortune 500 companies. Results indicate that organizations with higher female presence are more engaged in activities related to corporate social responsibility, but only in areas related to community services and arts, not affecting areas such as education and public policies.

Huse et al.'s (2009) study also showed that female board directors might contribute particularly by controlling CSR and other strategic controls. Later, Bear et al. (2010) found a relationship between female participation on BDs, CSR and company reputation. The study suggests that women play an important role in improving corporate responsibility, contributing to the company's CSR.

Studies on the relationship between BD composition and business performance have not shown significant evidence of a relationship between these two variables. Lehn et al. (2009) studied 82 American companies that survived the 1935 and 2000 periods, and found no evidence of a relationship between BD size or composition and business performance. Carter et al. (2010), analyzed data from 641 companies that were in the S&P 500 between 1998 and 2002, and found no significant relationship between any of the gender variables and performance. Gazley et al. (2010) also found no association between racial/ethnic or gender diversity in BDs and business performance.

Other studies attempted to determine whether there is a relationship between female participation on BDs and companies' financial performance. When carrying out this analysis, Simpson et al. (2010) concluded that empirically there are several logical reasons to expect a positive relationship between women on BDs and increased profits and better returns for shareholders; however, the authors concluded that there is a mixed relationship between women on BDs and financial performance, which depends on the specific circumstances of each company.

In their analysis of the reaction of the stock market to female board nomination, Campbell and Minguez-Vera (2010) concluded that the stock market reacts positively in the short term to female nominations to BDs, which indicates that investors, on average, believe that female board directors add value. The study also suggests that female presence on BDs has a positive and significant effect

on the company's long-term value, if other determinants of company value are controlled.

Shilton et al. (2010) evidenced that having qualified women on BDs would have a positive impact on companies, because it would enable them to reach out to a broader customer base and improve decision-making. Furthermore, they believe that the level of investments made by female shareholders and their purchasing power as consumers are strong arguments for female representation on BDs.

As evidenced, several studies have been carried out to determine relationships between female presence on BDs and other variables. However, what they have actually been showing is that female participation is low in most companies in the various countries studied.

Pajo et al. (1997) assessed gender composition in the 200 largest companies in New Zealand and found that 28 % had women on the BDs. Out of all BD seats in these companies, only 4.4 % were occupied by women. In the same year, Conyon and Mallin (1997) found that approximately 20 % of the 350 largest companies in the United Kingdom had women on the BDs, most of whom were not company executives. Another finding was that the percentage of seats occupied by women was 2.49 %.

Knippen and Shen (2009), analyzing the evolution of female participation on American BDs between 1998 and 2005, found that the average number per company increased from 0.78 to 1.05 and the percentage of seats on BDs occupied by women increased from 7.8 to 11.4 %. Simpson, Carter et al. (2010), on the other hand, analyzed the course of female participation in a sample of 1,500 companies listed in the *Standard and Poor's Index* (S&P). Between 2003 and 2007 there was on average one woman on the BD of each company, but the percentage of women occupying seats on BDs was on average 11 %.

In Canada, the publication "*The 2007 Catalyst Census of Women Board Directors of the FP500*" revealed that, in 2007, out of the 4,061 seats on BDs of the 500 largest Canadian companies, only 13 % were occupied by women. There was a small 3.2 % increase since 2001 with the following results: 9.8 % (2001), 11.2 % (2003), 12 % (2005) and 13 % (2007).

This scenario is also seen in other countries, some of which have been implementing affirmative actions to counter these low indexes. Grosvold (2011) clarifies that affirmative actions are efforts to help a group of people who are being discriminated against; these are often intended to benefit women and ethnic minorities. Among the most mentioned actions, there is quota legislation.

The first country to pass quota legislation on this topic was Norway, in 2008. At the time, it was set forth that public liability companies (PLC) had to have 40 % female board directors on their BDs. Companies that failed to comply with this legal requirement would be subject to banning from the stock market and even closure (Branson 2011). Spain was the second country to pass quota legislation and, afterwards, this and other initiatives spread to other countries.

Branson (2011) explains that Belgium, for example, has quota legislation pending parliamentary approval, but the IBGC (2011) survey reports that Belgium, as well as Italy, have already implemented a 33 % quota since 2011.

In 2006, France also created a law that required 20 % of BD seats to be filled by women; however, the law was deemed unconstitutional (Branson 2011). In 2007, the country passed an equal pay law to prevent women from being promoted to BDs as a simple formality, without equal pay. Nonetheless, female participation on BDs in the 100 largest French companies in 2009 was only 8 %, and among PLC companies, there were only six female board directors (Branson 2011). Hence, at the end of 2010, France passed quota legislation requiring 20 % of BD seats in publicly held companies to be filled by women within 3 years, and this percentage was to double to 40 % in 6 years. Hence, by 2017, 40 % of BD members shall be women.

In Sweden, quota legislation will only be passed if companies do not voluntarily allocate 25 % of their board positions to women (Adams and Ferreira 2009). According to Branson (2011), Sweden (28.2 %) and Finland (26 %) are against quota legislation, because they already have significant female representation on BDs. The UK and Germany do not agree with quota legislation (Branson 2011). Nonetheless, Germany, follow-

ing a debate in its largest bank's assembly, has been contemplating this possibility.

Countries in other continents have been resorting to legislation to increase female participation on BDs. South Africa, for example, has laws for companies that seek public listing for fund raising (IBGC 2011).

In addition to quota legislation, some countries have been implementing a comply-or-explain requirement. This requirement mandates that listed companies comply with governance requirements or they have to explain why they are not doing so. This requirement has been adopted by the London Stock Exchange and the Australian Stock Exchange (Branson 2011). Other countries that implemented the comply-or-explain requirement include Iceland and Finland (IBGC 2011).

In Canada, these measures are not viewed favorably. Chapin (2011) reports that a proposal was presented to the five largest banks in the country, through which they were to commit to achieve gender equality on BDs in 10 years. However, this proposal was rejected. Chapin (2011) also concludes, in his study with Canadian CEOs, that 59 % were against quota legislation. The main argument against quota legislation is that activists would be nominated instead of experts, as well as leaders' daughters, wives or sisters, instead of women who deserved nominations on the basis of their own merits. Instead of quota legislation, 39 % of the respondents suggested creating tutoring programs and 28 % suggested courses for female board directors.

In Brazil, few studies have been carried out on this topic; however, there is academic, political and social interest on the topic of female representation in this environment (boardroom), as surveys have been showing low female participation on BDs in the Brazilian marketplace as a whole.

The Reality of Brazilian Boards of Directors: A Picture of Female Participation

Little has been written about female participation on Boards of Directors in Brazil; however, there are increasing academic, political and social concerns regarding the topic. A preliminary survey

was published in 2006 by the Capital Aberto Magazine. At the time, the topic drew attention in Brazil due to Spain's decision to implement a quota system for women on BDs through the Conthe Code. In the aforementioned publication, the composition of the BDs of the 150 most highly valued Brazilian companies in the Bovespa (stock exchange) was analyzed, taking members and substitutes into account. Data found showed that out of the 150 companies analyzed, 79 had at least one woman on their BDs, i.e. 52.67 %, but when seats occupied by females were analyzed, they found only 8.5 %. The survey also shows that many of these women were members of the controlling families (Madureira 2011).

In 2009, the Brazilian Institute of Corporate Governance (IBGC) published a report analyzing the BDs of 508 companies listed in the BM&FBovespa that year. Later, in 2011, the Institute also published a second report with data for 2010 and 2011. Its results showed a low and stable index of female participation on the BDs of these companies – 32 % on average. When compared to other countries, Brazil has one of the lowest indexes, while Sweden (100 %) and Saudi Arabia (1 %) have the highest and lowest indexes, respectively.

In order to draw the topic to academic debate, we also sought to analyze the gender composition of 410 companies listed in the BM&FBovespa in 2011 (Lazzaretti and Godoi 2012). This study noted that only 133 of these companies had at least one woman on their BD, which is equivalent to 32.44 %. Later, in a different study Lazzaretti et al. (2013) analyzed the composition of the BDs of 99 most liquid Brazilian companies in the stock exchange (BM&FBovespa), in 2011. Results showed that 37.4 % of these companies had at least one woman on their BD – a slightly higher percentage than found by the IBGC during the same period.

Groysberg and Bell (2011) asked board members from both genders in 26 countries what the main reason was for there not being an increase in female participation on BDs. The answer given by 34 % of the women was that networks tend to be geared towards men, while 39 % of the men believed the lack of women in executive positions

to be the main reason for there not being an increase in female participation on BDs. In the Brazilian case we cannot say that the answers found by Groysberg and Bell (2011) apply, but data published by Madalozzo (2011) have shown that there are few companies with women in executive positions in Brazil, which may also hinder female participation on BDs.

Also in regards to the number of companies with female board directors, we note that although 32 % of Brazilian companies have women on their BDs, most of them have no more than one female board director. Only 1.77 % of the companies had three or more female board directors in 2009 (IBGC 2009). In 2011, this index was on average 2 %, according to studies by the IBGC (2011), and Lazzaretti and Godoi (2012). As stated earlier, both studies found that most of these women were members of the company's controlling family.

A noteworthy index in surveys on this topic is usually the number of seats occupied by women on BDs all over the world. In Brazil, a survey published by Catalyst (2011) found that a mere 5.1 % of the Brazilian BD seats were occupied by women. Lazzaretti et al. (2013) analyzed a sample of 99 companies listed in the BM&FBovespa in 2011 and found a 5.4 % index. Furthermore, the study showed that companies that have been listed in the stock market for longer and have more seats in their BDs are more prone to have female board directors. In Norway, where there is the highest number of women on BDs, this percentage in 2011 was of 39.5 % (Catalyst 2011).

IBGC data (2009, 2011) portray a slightly more positive picture. In 2009, 2010 and 2011 the index remained on average around 7.5 %, having dropped to 6 % in this period. A potential explanation for this drop is that new boards members are nominated yearly in Brazil, and when we analyzed the reports we noted that between 2009 and 2010 a few female board directors who were in more than one board became members of fewer BDs. In contrast, between 2010 and 2011, we noticed that new women who had not yet featured as board members were nominated.

It is worth taking a moment to discuss the fact that a single woman can occupy more than one seat on BDs, which further reduces the actual number of women on Brazilian BDs.

Data from reports published by the IBGC (2009, 2011) show that, in the three years surveyed, the number of seats occupied by women was higher than the effective number of women. In 2011, for example, there were 204 seats occupied by women, however, there were only 165 women occupying them, which represents an average of 1.23 seats per woman.

In our study (Lazzaretti and Godoi 2012), we also found a surplus of seats in our sample. The 410 companies analyzed had 182 seats occupied by 158 different women. This averages to 1.15 seats per female board director. Daily et al. (1999) observed that in 1987 the average number of female board directors in American companies (Fortune 500) was 0.54, while in 1996 this average had increased to 1.2. Branson (2011) highlights that female board directors in the US today are viewed as "trophies" and are invited to join up to seven boards. In publicly traded American companies, the number of women on boards increased from 19 to 80 between 2001 and 2007, but year after year the female members were always the same. These data show that the number of women on BDs may be even lower than reported by surveys, if we take into account that they may have seats in more than one BD.

As previously mentioned, some countries have been implementing affirmative actions to promote gender equality on BDs. In Brazil, although recent, this debate has already led to a Draft Bill in the Senate (no. 112 from 2010), which seeks to set forth quotas for women. This Bill is very similar to the one in effect in Norway, as it foresees a minimum percentage of women on the BDs of public and mixed capital companies, including their affiliates and controlled companies. The draft bill being processed since 2010 sets forth progressive percentages, so that by 2022 minimum participation will be of 40 % (forty percent) of women on BDs (Brasil 2010). It is still unclear what direction this bill will take. Regardless, it is an alternative that has produced results, at least in other countries.

The IBGC (2011) states that adopting a quota system and other measures has only had a positive effect on the boards of other countries in regards to percentage of female participation. There is a warning that passing the law in Brazil could lead to an "emptying of management" caused by progressing several managers to BDs. Furthermore, implementation of this legislation could cause women to accumulate too many seats on BDs, which has already happened in Norway, where several companies trying to quickly comply with the legislation nominated the same female board director to 18 different BDs (Branson 2011).

According to surveys published in Brazil, female presence on Brazilian BDs is low. This is not surprising, as academic studies have shown that despite the apparent progress, Brazil is still a country where gender inequality is a reality on several organizational levels. However, Nielsen and Huse (2010) believe that being a woman is not what will determine board membership; rather it should be based on their experience. Hence, we also want to steer our analysis towards a road less traveled and seek to determine what experiences or requirements are desirable for a board member and which of these do Brazilian female board directors have. Nonetheless, our analysis is based on the Human Capital Theory, which we will present in Part II.

Part II – The Human Capital Theory and Its Use in BD Studies: Seeking Insight and Solutions

Introduction to the Human Capital Theory

Since Adam Smith, some economists have assumed a relationship not only between the level of education of a country and its wealth, but also between an individual's level of education and his/her productivity (Sanchis 1997). Adam Smith himself introduced the concept of human beings as capital, and laid the foundation of what would become the science of human capital (Cunha et al. 2010). Terjesen et al. (2009) found that gen-

der studies, particularly on female participation on BDs, are divided into four analytical perspectives: Individual, Board, Firm, and Industry and Environment. At the Individual level, the most popular theories are the Human Capital, the Status Characteristics, and the Gender Self-Schema theories. At the Board level, the most common theories are the Social Identity, the Social Network and Social Cohesion, and the Gendered Trust, Ingratiation and Leadership theories. In studies based on the perspective of Firms, the most used theories are the Resource Dependency, and the Institutional and Agency theories. Finally, from an Industry and Environment perspective, the most popular theories are the Institutional and Critical Management theories.

In this study, at the Individual level, the Human Capital Theory is used to explain how investments in female human capital may have an impact on female appointment to Brazilian BDs. The Human Capital Theory was coined in the US, in the mid-1950s/beginning of the 1960s. Its precursors were Theodore W. Schultz, Gary S. Becker and Jacob Mincer (Cunha et al. 2010). Schultz believed that a person's education was largely accountable for increasing his/her productivity as an individual and society's productivity as a whole. According to him, to achieve a more equal society would require investing in educating the individual (Sobel 1982).

This theory developed as a more comprehensive explanation to expansion processes, due to concerns regarding the economic system and work force qualification in the US, and due to political efforts against poverty, both equally pertinent to the country's reality at the time. Essentially, this theory states that there is a close relationship between economic development and work productivity (Sanchis 1997).

The Human Capital Theory stems from the premise that in the same way that a company invests in physical capital, i.e. expecting returns on its investment, individuals may also invest on their human capital, through education, training and health status, as a means of increasing their productivity and, therefore, their salary. On a personal level, investments in human capital exist to

the extent that the rate of return expected by the individual is equal to the discount rate (Cacciamali and Freitas 1992). This theory analyzes the impact of accrued knowledge from education, skills and experience, on the cognitive and productive capacity that may benefit the individual and his/her organization (Terjesen et al. 2009). In this regard, Cunha et al. (2010) explain that by investing in education, individuals are developing the knowledge and skills that add value to the individual (increasing the individual's employability and income), to the market, to the community and to the organizations where they work. By increasing human capital, companies would also enhance competitiveness, employee well-being and the life of the community.

Ployhart and Moliterno (2011, p.128) define human capital as […] "a unit-level resource that is created from the emergence of individuals' knowledge, skills, abilities or other characteristics". The authors suggest that human capital at the individual level is not just the total of an individual's human capital, but the result of a process called emergence. In this process, the individual human capital interacts and merges, to create a different measure. According to these authors, the individual human capital may have cognitive and non-cognitive elements. Cognitive (defined herein as "what a person can do") comprises knowledge, skills, abilities and other individual characteristics; non-cognitive ("what a person will do") comprises overall cognitive skills (knowledge, skills and experience), as well as individual values and interests. Non-cognitive elements and overall cognitive skills are constant through adulthood and have a permanent impact on the types of situations and experiences that an individual chooses to take part, as well as the types of social relationships that he/she establishes and maintains.

Nonetheless, the literature also has critics of this theory. One of the criticisms is against the fact that it states that accrual of human capital results in accrual of income. According to Cacciamali and Freitas (1992), an individual's education alone does not increase the individual's productivity at work. In addition, the increased productivity enabled by accrual of human capital is not always reflected on wages. Sanchis (1997) agrees with Cacciamali and Freitas (1992) noting the large number of graduates, in sub-standard jobs, with low wages or even unemployed.

Despite the criticisms against the theory, Hansen et al. (2012) carried out a study in Norway and Germany aimed at determining how board recruiters define and assess the human capital of potential BD candidates. Among the characteristics listed, there were previous experiences as a board member, industry-specific knowledge, highly educated, among others listed in Table 41.1.

Previous studies by Hansen et al. (2012) also aimed to map out the characteristics usually listed as relevant to reaching a position on a BD. Burke (1994), interviewing Canadian CEOs, found that the main characteristics required by them when selecting a BD member were: experience presiding over a small company and experience as head of department. In a later study, the author asked Canadian female board members about the characteristics that contributed to their rise to BDs. Three characteristics were mentioned, namely a good career path (resume) in a certain area, business contacts and, lastly, good knowledge of the industry (Burke 1997). Also in 1997, in New Zealand, Pajo et al. asked the same question to female board members and they emphasized that, in order to reach their position, it is important to make people notice you, to be out there, and to have communication and decision-making skills.

Sheridan and Milgate (2005), comparing the viewpoints of female and male board members in Australia, noted that both believed there to be requirements other than gender distinction to reach positions on BDs; these are sound business knowledge and business contacts. The authors also investigated what factors contributed to these people's involvement in BDs. Women said that being highly visible is very important, although men did not really agree with this. A noteworthy data point in this study is that most women reported some sort of family tie with the

Table 41.1 Characteristics that may contribute to female participation on BDs

Authors	Characteristics
Burke (1993,1994, 1997)	Good resume.
	CEO experience.
	Experience as head of department.
	Wide network of connections.
	Industry-specific knowledge.
Pajo, McGregor and Cleland (1997)	Notoriety.
	Communication and decision-making skills.
Burgess and Tharenou (2002)	CEO experience.
	Experience abroad.
Zelechowski and Bilimoria (2004)	CEO experience.
Sheridan and Milgate (2005)	Industry-specific knowledge.
	Wide network of connections.
	Notoriety.
	Family ties with the organization.
Shilton, McGregor and Tremaine (2010)	Wide network of connections.
	Desire to become a board member.
	Notoriety.
Colaco, Myers and Nitkin (2011)	Wide network of connections.
Hansen, Ladegard and Buehrmann (2012)	Experience as a board member.
	Industry-specific knowledge.
	Highly educated.
	CEO experience.
	Leadership skills and experience.
	Strategic knowledge.
	Experience abroad.
	Experience in governmental agencies.
	Academic experience.
	Not being too young.
	Being reliable.

company where they act as board members. Shilton et al. (2010), interviewing board members, noted that maintaining a network of relationships and being acknowledged by the business community are also aspects that can influence a woman's nomination to a BD.

Other characteristics also considered by BDs when choosing a member is previous experience

as CEO and experience abroad (Burgess and Tharenou 2002; Zelechowski and Bilimoria 2004). In BDs in the UK, for example, Singh et al. (2008) showed that women are significantly more likely to bring international diversity into their boards. Recently nominated women are more likely to have experience as board members for smaller companies and to have MBAs, while recently nominated men are significantly less likely to have previous experience as BD members or as CEO/COO. Nonetheless, the reality of the UK is not shared by all countries and women often find gender specific obstacles to acquiring experience abroad and are much less likely to be CEOs than men (Zelechowski and Bilimoria 2004).

Cabo et al. (2010) suggest that to increase female participation in BDs companies should review their selection criteria and include other sources of talent overlooked until now. These other sources of talent or experience are described in several studies, such as Burke's (1997), which, based on an analysis of the previous experiences of Canadian female board members, found that most women were former employees of the companies where they now acted as board members, and had experience as business owners or consultants.

In New Zealand, Pajo et al. (1997) found that 35.5 % of the female board members were business owners and 25.8 % were employees in other companies, 38.7 % had experience in finance and 19.4 % had CEO experience. In the neighboring Australia, male board members were more likely to be company employees or business owners, while female board members were more often business consultants (Sheridan and Milgate 2005). North American female board members, in turn, were also more likely to have experience as consultants, scholars, and in the medical industry, and less likely to have experience as executives or in finance and real estate (Simpson et al. 2010).

In order to summarize these studies, Table 41.1 shows the list of characteristics regarded as important in a BD candidate.

As seen in Table 41.1, a wide network of contacts and diverse professional experience are

Table 41.2 Categorization of Brazilian female board members

Category	Subcategories	Description
1 – Internal board members	1.1 – Family members	All board members who are also members of their companies' controlling families. In this category, there are female board members who are family members, as well as those who, in addition to being family members, are also shareholders.
	1.2 – Shareholders	All women who have no family ties with the company, but own company shares;
	1.3 – Employees	All women who are employees of the companies in which they act as board members. Although there are women who are family members or shareholders who are also employees of their respective companies, this category refers only to the women who have no family ties and are not shareholders of the company. This group also includes women who are in political roles or work in public administration, and who have seats on the BDs of state-owned companies.
2 – External board members	2.1 – Independent	All independent board members, i.e. those who have no families ties, are not shareholders and are not employed by the company, and are classed as such by BM&FBovespa.
	2.2 – Other	All female board members who could not be placed under any of the previous subcategories – i.e. they have no connection with the company and are not classed as independent.

key characteristics for female participation on BDs; however, Bilimoria and Piderit (1994) assert that, despite women's sufficient skills and relevant professional experience, they are still being prevented from reaching the top. In view of this contradiction, we propose a more in-depth analysis of the characteristics displayed by Brazilian female board members and of how these characteristics may have affected or contributed to their nomination to BDs. This analysis was based on the premises of the Human Capital Theory.

Analysis of the Profile, Education and Professional Experience of Brazilian Board Members, Based on the Human Capital Theory

In order to determine the relevant education and professional experience required for women to reach Boards of Directors in Brazilian publicly traded companies, based on the Human Capital Theory, our study analyzed the resumes of the 158 female board members on the BDs of Brazilian publicly traded companies listed in the

BM&FBovespa, in 2011. For this analysis, we used a content analysis technique (Navarro and Díaz 1994).

In order to analyze the profile of the board members studied, we used the following recording units: age, education, professional experience within and outside the company in which they are board members, and previous experience as board members. Next was a categorization process, which consisted in classifying previously coded and interpreted recording units into their respective context units. In order to determine categories, we conducted a second overall review of the data and referred back to the theory, and determined two categories into which we divided resumes for analysis: Category 1 (Internal board members) and Category 2 (External board members).

Based on the definition of external board member by Zara and Pearce II (1989), and Bange and Mazzeo (2004), we established three subcategories for Category 1 (1.1; 1.2; 1.3) and two subcategories for Category 2 (2.1; 2.2), as shown in Table 41.2.

By following these steps, we were able to simplify our review of the profile of each category and produce a general overview of Brazilian

female board members' education and profes-
sional experience.

General Analysis of the Categories Based on the Human Capital Theory

From a review of the resumes of these 158
women, we were able to produce a detailed over-
view of the education and professional experi-
ence of Brazilian female board members, which
also enabled us to draw a few conclusions.

Brazilian female board members are divided
into two types or two categories: (1) internal and
(2) external.

Internal board members (Category 1) repre-
sent 73 % of the total. They have very distinctive
characteristics and may be split into 40 % family
members of the controlling family, 14 % share-
holders and 19 % company employees. The
remaining 27 % (Category 2) are external board
members, comprised by 9 % independent board
members and 18 % other, who could not be deter-
mined to have a current or former tie with the
company (Table 41.3).

The Human Capital Theory stresses that board
members must have a large reservoir of human
capital, before they can be viewed as worthy of a
seat on BDs, and must also add exclusive human
capital to the BD (Kesner 1988). In our analysis
of board members' resumes, we sought to deter-
mine the level of education and the multiple
experiences that would make them particularly
attractive for the role; however, we found a few
peculiarities.

In regards to education, 74 % of the female
board members had completed tertiary educa-
tion. The most common degrees were in Business

Table 41.3 Brazilian female board members' categories and subcategories

Categories	Subcategories	Percentage
1 – Internal board members	Family members	40
	Shareholders	14
	Company employees	19
2 – External board members	Independent	9
	Other	18

(18 %), Law (27 %) and Economy (13 %).
However, 6 % had only completed Secondary
Education. It is noteworthy, however, that some
resumes did not disclose their level of education;
instead, they would refer to the women simply as
Business executive, Business owner, Trader or
Industrialist (16 %), Housewife (3 %) or Insurer
(1 %). It is worth noting that all of the above are
among the board members in the family members
and shareholders subcategory.

In regards to the post-graduate courses taken
by the 158 board members, we found that 43
women invested in an MBA and/or Research
degree in management. Several of these courses
were with national institutions and few of them
with international institutions. However, we
noted that, overall, in Brazilian BDs internal
board members invest less in education than
external board members. The professional expe-
rience of board members is also varied, most of
which on senior management roles.

In Category 1 (internal board members), 41 %
of the women in the family members subcate-
gory had held a senior management position in
the company where they acted as board mem-
bers; all of these roles were at the Executive
Management or Head of Department level. In
addition, 47 % had some experience in other
companies not owned by their families, 27 %
had experience as board members for other com-
panies; however, most of those were holdings
owned by the family group.

In the shareholders subcategory, 18 % have or
had a management position with the company where
they act as board members, and the remaining 82 %
have or had experiences in other companies, 67 % of
which were in senior management roles. Some of
these companies are part of the same group of the
company where the woman acts as board member.
In 41 % of the resumes, we found previous experi-
ence as board members. Some of these companies,
however, were part of the group that owned the com-
pany where they act as board members.

Board members in the employee subcategory,
on the other hand, gained most of their experi-
ence within the company where they currently
hold BD seats – all of them as heads of depart-
ments or heading the company. In addition, some

had careers in the public sector, as public servants and managers or in political positions.

Board members in Category 2 (external board members) – which includes independent and "other" board members – have similar professional profiles; many have worked in the Legal industry, in law firms or as consultants, others have experience in finance, with previous senior management positions in financial institutions. Most of them also have previous experience as board members, which is regarded as an important requirement to reach BDs.

The diverse professional experience found across the resumes of Brazilian female board members, when viewed from the perspective of the Human Capital Theory, strengthen their cognitive and productive skills and may benefit them individually, as well as their organizations (Terjesen et al. 2009). Previous senior management and board experience is a characteristic highlighted in the literature as important and desirable in BD members.

As seen, Brazilian female board members bring very diverse knowledge and skills to their BDs. Their education and professional experiences are varied; with some of them having invested more in education, with master's and doctorate degrees, while others built solid careers within the companies where they act as board members or in other companies. Even those who are family members (40 %) or company shareholders (14 %), albeit less intensely, have also invested in education and management experience.

These data suggest that in the BDs of Brazilian companies, the human capital accrued by board members may be regarded as an important characteristic for BD nomination. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that this aspect is only relevant for external board members. Other characteristics stood out as relevant in the selection of internal board members, namely family, shareholding or employment connections with the company.

At this point, we had to refer back to the theory to determine the most common levels of education and professional experience found in academic studies, in order to compare those in more detail with the profiles of Brazilian female board members.

Characteristics Favoring BD Participation: Returning to Theory

According to previous studies summarized in Table 41.1, the characteristics that may contribute to female (or male) participation in BDs are diverse. These characteristics are shown briefly in Table 41.4 as key words or expressions. In preparing this summary, some of the characteristics found were eliminated, because they could not be determined in the curricular analysis of board members, as they were deemed too subjective or generic for our review. These were: (1) Good resumes (Burke 1997); (2) Good communication and decision-making skills (Pajo et al. 1997); (3) Nomination by a CEO or member of the Board of Directors (Pajo et al. 1997); (4) Desire to become a board member (Shilton et al. 2010); (5) Notoriety (Pajo et al. 1997; Sheridan and Milgate 2005; Shilton et al. 2010), which led to the 12 characteristics listed in Table 41.5.

The first characteristic was detected by Hansen et al. (2012) and refers to the age of board mem-

Table 41.4 Brazilian female board members' education

Education	Percentage
Bachelor of Business	18
Bachelor of Law	27
Bachelor of Economy	13
Secondary Education	6
Business owner, Trader or Industrialist	16
House wife	3
Insurer	1
MBA or Post-graduate research degrees	27

Table 41.5 Important education and experience characteristics for BD participation

Characteristics	
1 – Not being too young	7 – Network
2 – Highly educated	8 – Experience abroad
3 – Family ties with the organization	9 – Industry-specific knowledge
4 – Management experience (CEO)	10 – Experience as board member
5 – Knowledge of the business sector	11 – Academic experience
6 – Strategic knowledge	12 – Experience in governmental agencies

bers. The study showed that recruiters prefer more mature board candidates, i.e. not too young; however, the average age of Brazilian female board members was 51. Previous studies by Burgess and Tharenou (2002), and Groysberg and Bell (2011), also showed that the average age of female board members in other countries was between 40 and 50, and 55 and 65, respectively. Groysberg and Bell (2011) also claimed that women in these positions are usually younger than their male colleagues. In this regard, Hansen et al. (2012) suggest that the fact that women are younger than men may be an indication or reason for low female participation in BDs, because they would be less experienced when reaching BDs than their male colleagues.

The second characteristic, also found by Hansen et al.'s (2012) study, is regarding the level of education. The survey showed that a desirable trait in BD candidates is a good level of education, preferably an MBA in Law or Finance. Most Brazilian female board members have degrees in Law, Economy or Business, however, few invested in postgraduate studies on these subjects or courses abroad. Of the 158 female board members, three had obtained MBAs abroad; seven had Master's degrees from national institutions and three from international institutions. Hence, we can say that this is not a common denominator in the resumes of Brazilian female board members, as only 8.9 % of them have it.

The third characteristic – family ties with the organization – was found by Sheridan and Milgate (2005) to be a common trait in BDs. In Brazil, 40 % of the female board members are members of the controlling family. Out of these, some work in the company as managers, while others could not be determined to work for the company. This characteristic was the most common in Brazilian BDs, so much so that having family ties accounted for most female board nominations, ahead of investments in human capital.

The fourth characteristic – management experience – has been described in many ways. Certain studies believed it to be important for board members to have previous experience as CEOs of small companies or heads of department (Burke 1994); others just indicated CEO experi-

ence (Burgess and Tharenou 2002; Zelechowski and Bilimoria 2004; Hansen et al. 2012). Brazilian female board members have experience as department or company managers. In Category 1, 41 % of the board members who are family members have or had roles in managing the company, all of them as Managing Directors or heads of specific departments, and 24 % have some experience in other companies not owned by their families, where they acted as directors. Seventy-three percent of the shareholders had managed departments or companies, 18 % in the companies where they are board members and 55 % in other companies, where they acted as directors, partners or superintendents. In regards to company employees, 100 % of them hold senior management positions in the company, and 72 % have also held senior management roles in other companies.

In Category 2, 87 % of the independent board members have already held senior management positions, such as CEOs, superintendents and department or company directors; however, none of the women in this group held management positions in the companies where they are board members. Finally, the other board members (classed as Other) have very diverse experiences and act as consultants, directors or managers of financial institutions and companies in several industries.

The diversity of experiences in higher-ranking positions leads us to infer that these women have other desirable characteristics, such as item 5 – vast knowledge of the business sector (Burke 1997; Sheridan and Milgate 2005) – and 6 – strategic knowledge. Furthermore, it indicates that throughout their careers they established important business connections and a considerable network (Burke 1997; Sheridan and Milgate 2005; Colaco et al. 2011; Shilton et al. 2010), because of the experiences and connections enabled by these positions they hold (item 7) and which, according to the authors, contribute to their current positions on BDs. Another aspect that may have contributed to their networking are the postgraduation courses they took in Brazil and abroad. Some educational institutions commonly attended by them may have contributed to expanding their relationship networks.

Item 8 – experience abroad (Burgess and Tharenou 2002) – is not very common in the resumes of Category 1 board members. Notably, one Portuguese board member has experiences in countries such as Portugal and Spain, while another board member acted as head of operations, and financial and accounting auditor for a foreign company, which indicates experience abroad. In category 2, one board member had been a lawyer with a law firm headquartered in the US; two others had worked as consultants in two American companies headquartered in Brazil; a fourth board member had worked for an American bank, which also has a branch in Rio de Janeiro. In these cases, we cannot confirm whether they actually worked in the countries where these companies are based, or in their Brazilian branches. A fifth board member has experience with the World Bank in Washington, D.C. The ninth requirement – specific knowledge of the industry where the company where she acts as board member operates (Hansen et al. 2012) – can also be found in the resumes of Brazilian board members, albeit less frequently. For example, 16 of the board members in the employee subcategory had experiences in other companies within the same industry as their current company.

In characteristic 10 – Previous experience as a board member – (Hansen et al. 2012) – we noted that approximately 34 % of Brazilian female board members have previous experience in this role, and this was found in both categories analyzed. In Category 1, 27 % of those who are members of the controlling family have experience as board members in other companies; however, most of these companies were holdings owned by the family group. Forty-one percent of the shareholders already have experience in other BDs, and 24 % of the employees have such experience, but, like family member board directors, most of these companies were part of the group comprising the main company. In category 2, independent board members have the most experience as board members (47 %) and in the "Other" group, 32 % had acted before as board members. These figures suggest that this experience is frequent and relevant in the resumes of Brazilian female board members.

Characteristic 11 – having academic experience – (Hansen et al. 2012) was also present in the resumes of some Brazilian female board members, albeit very shyly. Out of the 158 women, only 14 have already held positions as university professors or researchers, and this type of experience was seen in both Categories (1 and 2). In regards to characteristic 12 – experience with governmental agencies (Hansen et al. 2012), this is more common among Category 1 board members, more specifically among employees, eight of whom had held public positions.

Returning to theory and determining the characteristics required for a position in a Board of Directors enabled us to draw a clearer picture of the aspects of education and professional experience that contributed to getting these 158 women to the top of their organizations, overcoming barriers commonly put before them. It is noteworthy, however, that the Human Capital Theory helps understanding the importance of investing in education and experience in propelling the careers of many of these women forward, but it is not the main factor in this equation.

Conclusions

Data presented so far have shown that female participation in BDs in Brazilian companies is less frequent than in most countries. Even if the quota legislation is approved in Brazil, the chances of the percentage of female participation, which has been stable at 7.5 % for the last three years, reaching 40 % in the next 10 years are remote. Furthermore, there are also concerns about how companies will respond to this legislation, for example, if in trying to comply and quickly adapt to the new standard they might nominate even more female family members, or we may end up with the same female board members accumulating multiple BD seats.

It is noteworthy that the Human Capital Theory, used in this qualitative study, is based on the assumption that investment in education enables better opportunities for people. Therefore, more investments in education are key for women to rise to BDs. Experiences that promote knowl-

edge acquisition in business and strategy, creating a wide network of connections, and educational opportunities abroad were also relevant in our study. Nonetheless, few professional women had such opportunities. Being members of the controlling family was the main reason for female nomination to BDs.

These considerations and studies enabled us to paint a broader picture of gender composition in the BDs of publicly traded Brazilian companies, as well as learn about the characteristics of level of education and professional experience of female board members. We hope to contribute to the debate on gender inequality in organizations, particularly in BDs, by providing data for better understanding of characteristics desirable in a company's board of directors' nominee; outlining the profile of the women who hold such important positions in Brazilian organizations; showing women who wish to rise to BD positions career pathways to do so. The latter veer from investments in their education to their personal development, leading their careers towards acquiring diverse professional experiences in management positions and other BDs and nurturing a large network of connections.

The extent and complexity of the topic create a few theoretical and methodological constraints for researchers throughout the study. The unavailability of previous academic results on this aspect of the Brazilian marketplace prevents us from creating a theoretical framework targeting the Brazilian case. This has also meant comparing our data with that of other countries, with different cultural, economic and social realities than the Brazilian. Secondary data provided by the IBGC were the only information available for comparative and analytical purposes in the Brazilian scenario. In view of the constraints of this study, we can suggest broadening its scope, both theoretically and empirically. First, we suggest conducting new studies with data from previous and later periods to the one addressed in this study for comparative purposes. Such studies should address both gender composition of BDs and analyzes of female board member resumes. We also suggest carrying out similar studies with

male board members for comparative purposes. As this is still a relatively new topic in Brazilian business literature, the field is open to many other studies. In finance, there could be comparisons between the financial performances of companies that have women in their BDs against those that do not, in order to determine whether female presence has any impact on this variable. In corporate governance, based on the agency theory, it would be worth analyzing whether female presence affects the behavior and performance of the actual BD, particularly in terms of assertiveness in decision-making. We also suggest studies from a behavioral and organizational culture perspective, in order to determine if there are barriers preventing female progression to BDs and how such barriers appear, e.g. "glass ceiling effect".

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Gendered Ideology, Male Dominance and Women's Microcredit Participation in Rural Bangladesh

42

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Introduction

Microcredit has become orthodoxy in the socioeconomic empowerment of women. It is true that, in a male-dominated society like rural Bangladesh, women's participation in microcredit programs can allow them to earn an income of their own, which may in turn develop their human potentials. However, previous studies unveil that a significant proportion of loans borrowed by married women are actually controlled by their husbands (Goetz and Gupta 1996; Kabeer 2001). With regard to this, women's nominal microcredit/loan-borrowing status may not necessarily ensure their income-earning activities (active microcredit participation). This study examines the influences of their husbands' gender ideology on women's active microcredit participation mediated through household male dominance in rural Bangladesh.

What Is Microcredit?

Microcredit is described as the extension of micro-loans to the socioeconomically underprivileged population. It is also known as a poverty reduction intervention in both low-income and high-income countries (Ahmed et al. 2001; Salt 2010; Schurmann and Johnston 2009). Microcredit programs focus on poor people, who are generally abandoned by the traditional banks. This is because traditional banks hardly offer loans to the individuals who lack collateral, stable employment and a certifiable credit history. It is assumed that microcredit allows the poor to pursue income-generating entrepreneurial projects, which eventually enables them to better afford to care for themselves and their family members. Nowadays microcredit has become a popular poverty reduction intervention across the world.

Women and Microcredit Programs in Rural Bangladesh

Bangladesh is one of the poorest and most densely populated countries in the world. Around 45 % of the Bangladesh's 160 million people live below the poverty line – earning less than two US Dollars a day. 78 % of Bangladeshis live in rural areas where poverty is most severe; women, in particular, suffer low socioeconomic status, as they are constrained from having land, property, education, employment, income, and freedom (UNDP 2008).

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Microcredit programs in rural Bangladesh predominantly target women because women's microcredit participation is not only considered to be an essential element in poverty reduction but a means of empowering women in ways that enhance their skills, capabilities and socioeconomic status (Hadi 2001; Mahjabeen 2008; Schuler et al. 1996; Yunus 1994). Today, more than 2,000 microcredit organizations are lending small loans to about 20 million people in rural Bangladesh and almost 97 % of the microcredit (loan) borrowers are women.

Apart from the extension of microcredit interventions and their increasing popularity among policy-makers, there is a lack of reliable data about the success of microcredit programs, though a few studies indicate both positive and negative consequences of microcredit programs on women and their family. A few studies indicate that microcredit participation improves women's socioeconomic status, raises their self-esteem, and ensures their wellbeing within the household (Ahmed et al. 2001; Hadi 2001; Mahjabeen 2008; Salt 2010; Schurmann and Johnston 2009). In contrast, other studies find that women's microcredit participation increases their workload and family conflict, leading to an escalation of marital violence since it threatens men's traditional patriarchal family authority (Hossain 2002; Meade 2010; Schuler et al. 1996, 1998). Inconsistence in data across studies related to the levels of women's income-earning microcredit participation, poverty reduction and empowerment is also obvious.

Gender Ideology, Male Dominance and Microcredit Participation

The term 'ideology' bears a variety of meanings within specific literatures. In this study, gender ideology is defined as people's attitudes toward gender-specific roles, rights, and responsibilities (Kroska 2007). Kroska (2007) argues that the construct of gender ideology is one-dimensional and ranges from conservative to liberal. She (Kroska 2007) exemplifies that, in conservative/traditional gender ideology, men are expected to

fulfil their family roles through bread-winning and decision-making activities and women are expected to fulfil their roles through homemaking and care-taking activities; while in liberal ideology both women and men are expected to perform bread-winning, decision-making and care-taking activities.

Gendered Ideology and Household Male Dominance in Rural Bangladesh

Household male dominance refers to the degree of husband's authority in household decision-making (Chung et al. 2008). Patriarchal gender ideology is dominant in rural Bangladesh, and is believed to be the root of patriarchal family authority in the country (Baden et al. 1994; Cain et al. 1979; Schuler et al. 2008). Traditional religious norms such as *Purdah* (veiled seclusion among women) constrain Bangladeshi women from joining in activities outside the home. *Purdah* is a systematic way of controlling women's social behaviours (Kabeer 1990). As *Purdah* does not allow women to move freely, it is considered that the husband's main responsibility is to maintain their families financially and the wife's main task is to take care of their family members. The husband is thus supposed to be the breadwinner. The husband is also expected to be the guardian of his wife, while the wife is expected to obey her husband. Therefore, patriarchal gender ideology influences household male dominance in rural Bangladesh.

Household Male Dominance and Women's Microcredit Participation

Microcredit participation is assumed to be a redefinition of women's typical gender roles in rural Bangladesh. However, in reality, only few women have control over the loans (Karim and Law 2013). The study of Karim and Law (2013) reveals that patriarchal gender ideology constrains women from active microcredit participation (controlling and using the loans). However, this

might also be related to the high household male dominance prevalent in rural Bangladesh, where men are supposed to be the main household decision-makers (Baden et al. 1994; Cain et al. 1979). Indeed, mediated through household male dominance, gender ideology may influence the levels of women's microcredit participation: loan-borrowing status may be considered their nominal microcredit participation and their participation in the use of loans toward an income-earning enterprise is their active microcredit participation.

Conceptual Model and Hypotheses

This study theorizes that gender ideology is the main determinant of women's microcredit participation in rural Bangladesh (Schieber and Thompson 1996; Schuler et al. 2008). Our previous study reveals that patriarchal ideology is negatively associated with women's active microcredit participation (Karim and Law 2013). However, there seems to be a gap in the literature that shows how gender ideology is influential on women's microcredit participation in Bangladesh. In the current study, it is hypothesized that the effect of gender ideology on women's microcredit participation will be operated through household male dominance. The model is basically rooted in the ideological component of patriarchy theory. The term patriarchy refers to the systematic organization of male supremacy and female subordination, which operates through social, political, religious and economic institutions (Kramarae 1992). In a patriarchal family organization, men are considered to be the household head and therefore they are primarily accountable for the economic support as well as for the authority of the family. Lerner (1986) argues that, patriarchy – male dominance over women – has emerged through a historical process and maintained by culture and social institutions. Patriarchy lives through practice (e.g., gendered division of labour), such as heavy work for men (Kidwai 2001; Kramarae 1992). In short, patriarchy theory asserts that, as it legitimizes male superiority and female inferiority (Kramarae 1992), patriarchal gender ideology is the source of gendered division of labour,

gender inequality, and subordination of women (Bograd 1988; Dobash and Dobash 1977–1978, 1979; Yllo 1983). As a result, gender ideology may influence women's microcredit participation, due to household male dominance (Goetz and Gupta 1996).

As gender ideology is the main influencing factor, the current study proposes a conceptual model to explain women's microcredit participation in relation to household male dominance in rural Bangladesh. The model hypothesized that the influence of gender ideology on women's microcredit participation would be mediated through household male dominance. The testing of three specific hypotheses will facilitate testing the model: H*1*: There will be a significant positive relationship between gender ideology and women's microcredit participation. In other words, liberal gender ideology will promote women's active microcredit participation. H*2*: Household male dominance will mediate the relationship between gender ideology and women's microcredit participation. However, H*2* (i): when, household male dominance is controlled, the relationship between liberal gender ideology and women's active microcredit participation will be decreased significantly; and H*2* (ii): household male dominance will become the significant influencing factor of women's active microcredit participation. In other words, low household male dominance will increase women's active microcredit participation. Finally, H*3*: There will be a positive relationship between patriarchal gender ideology and household male dominance. In other words, liberal gender ideology will decrease household male dominance.

Data and Methods

The current study was a part of a larger study, "Gender Ideology, Microcredit Participation and Marital Violence against Women in Rural Bangladesh", conducted in 2009. The focus of the main study was to examine the relationship between women's changing status through microcredit participation and their exposure to male marital violence from a male perspective.

Study Design

The study follows a cross-sectional design. Though a longitudinal design is supposed to be more appropriate to examine the causal path: the influence of their husband's gender ideology on women's active microcredit participation operating through household male dominance, a cross-sectional design is also likely to provide respectable insights into the data (Mann 2003).

Site Under Study

Fieldwork was conducted in five purposively selected northwest Bangladesh villages. All the villages were 20–30 km northwest of Rajshahi district headquarters. The presence of microcredit programs was taken into account in selecting the villages. There were 15 microcredit organizations working in the villages. Three of them were international (INGOs), three were national (NGOs), and the other nine were regional and local level organizations.

Study Participants

The study participants were currently married men in the villages. They were selected using a simple random sampling procedure. The estimated sample size was 310 out of a total of 1,367 (Yamane 1967).[1] However, considering the risk of withdrawal and non-consent of some participants, a sample pool was created with a 20 % oversample. It was expected that oversampling would ensure responses from the required number of samples (Fink 2003). Therefore, 376 married men were eventually randomly selected for this study.

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[1] By assuming 95 % confidence level and the population proportion P=.5, the sample size was determined using the following formula (Yamane 1967):

$$\text{Sample size} : n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2} = 309.45$$

Where, n=sample size, N=total number of married men (population size=1,367), and e=the level of precision (assuming 95 % confidence level)=.05.

Measures of Husband's Gender Ideology

Husband's gender ideology was measured using a 25-item, short version of a scale called the Attitude toward Women Scale (AWS) (Spence et al. 1973; Spence and Helmreich 1978). Gender ideology often refers to people's attitudes toward women's roles in contemporary society (Goldson 2005; Spence and Hahn 1997). The AWS was developed to assess people's attitudes toward women's roles in six areas: vocation and education; freedom and rights of women compared to men; acceptability of various dating behaviors; acceptability of drinking behaviors, swearing and joke-telling behaviors; acceptability of premarital sex; and attitude toward marital relationships and family obligations (Spence and Hahn 1997; Spence et al. 1973). The following item is an example of the scale: *"A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man"*. Each item of the AWS was scored on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0=most conservative view, to 3=most liberal view. Summated scores across items yielded a total score ranging from 0 to 75, where a lower score indicates a conservative ideology. The AWS is widely used to measure gender ideology in the western context (Goldson 2005). Within the context of current study, the AWS was validated for a Bangladesh population through a pilot study. All the items were translated into Bengali and their representation validity was established. Five postgraduate students translated the scale independently. The translation followed culturally appropriate meanings of the items. After that, a group discussion was arranged to finalize the translation. A sociologist and a psychologist in a Bangladesh university also evaluated the face validity of the translated version of the scale. Both of them favorably rated the validity. Principal factor analysis (PFA) was conducted to test the construct validity of the scale (Hair et al. 2010). This suggested a unifactorial dimension of the translated AWS, with an alpha reliability coefficient of 0.92.

Measures of Household Male Dominance

An eight-item household male dominance scale was developed to assess the degree of male dominance (male authority) in household issues in rural Bangladesh. Five areas of family authority-related issues were included: money-controlling issues, family planning and child rearing issues, housework-related issues, farming issues, and in-laws related issues (Baden et al. 1994; Haque and Kusakabe 2005; Kabeer 1999; Pal 2001; Quisumbing and Briere 2000). The items were scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0=low male dominance, to 4=high male dominance (i.e., 0=wife makes the decision alone, 1=mainly wife, but she keeps husband informed, 2=discuss together and make a joint decision, 3=mainly husband, but he keeps the wife informed, 4=husband makes the decision alone). A mean score, the total score of all items divided by the number of applicable items, was the score of the household male dominance; a high score indicates high male dominance. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was conducted to understand the latent factor structure (construct validity) of the scale (Hair et al. 2010). This analysis extracted a single factor, which explained almost 80 % of the total variance with an alpha reliability coefficient of 0.96.

Measures of Women's Microcredit Participation

Women's microcredit participation was conceptualized as women's active involvement in the use of loans for earning an income. Participation may have different levels, e.g., non-participation, nominal participation, and active participation (Agarwal 2001). Bina Agarwal (2001) argues that mere membership cannot reflect true participation until women's roles in it are taken into account. In the present study, the degree of women's microcredit participation was examined in terms of their involvement in the use of loans such as: (i) borrowing a loan for 1 year or more; if yes – (ii) controlling and using the loan by the woman herself; if yes – (iii) investing the loan in an income-earning enterprise(s). For each question, the answer was coded as 0=No, and 1=Yes. Summated scores across the questions yielded a total score ranging from 0 to 3. The scores 0–2 indicate the lowest levels of participation, while the maximum possible score 3 indicates the highest level of participation, respectively. Plainly, the score '0' means "non-participation" – non-borrowers of loans; '1' implies "nominal participation" – women are loan-borrowers, but the loans are controlled by their husbands; "2" implies "non-productive participation" – women control the loan but it is used on a non-productive issue(s) such as medical treatment, marriage ceremony etc., and "3" implies "active participation" – a woman herself controls the loan and the loan is used for an income-earning enterprise(s).

Questionnaire Survey

A structured questionnaire was administered in face-to-face interviews since many respondents were supposed to be illiterate. On-site face-to-face interviews allowed the interviewer to interact with the respondents, which ensured a clear understanding of the survey questions as well as better quality responses (Maxim 1999). The participation rate was high; a total of 342 respondents (out of 376 men) successfully completed the interviews.

Analytical Strategies

Multivariate regression analyses were performed. A path analysis was conducted to test the hypothesized model, which provided numerical estimates of the causal associations between the variables (Bryman and Cramer 2009; Kabeer 2001). The path analysis was accomplished through a series of hierarchical regression analysis. The mediation hypothesis was tested by looking into the changes in the effect of the independent variable (e.g., gender ideology) on the dependent variable (e.g.,

microcredit participation), after controlling for the mediator (e.g., household male dominance) (Baron and Kenny 1986; Mackinnon and Dwyer 1993).

Computation of path coefficients A path diagram of the hypothesized model was generated to make the statistical connections between the explicit variables (see Fig. 42.3). Each path denoted a coefficient – a standardized regression coefficient (β) (Bryman and Cramer 2009). Path (*a*) establishes the effect of the independent variable (liberal gender ideology) on the mediator (household male dominance); path (*b*) establishes the effect of household male dominance on the dependent variable (women's active microcredit participation); path (*c*) establishes the total effect of liberal gender ideology on active microcredit participation; and path (*c′*) indicates the direct effect of gender ideology on active microcredit participation, the residual effect after mediating through household male dominance (Baron and Kenny 1986).

Standardization of path coefficients. Path analysis usually takes into account standardized regression coefficients (β), which are logically comparable with each other (Bryman and Cramer 2009). The equation for the path coefficients to household male dominance followed linear regression using SPSS 18.0.0, which estimated standardized regression coefficients (β). As the dependent variable 'active microcredit participation' was dichotomous, logistic regressions were used to estimate the relevant regression coefficients, which estimated $ex(\beta)$ (Hair et al. 2010). Therefore, the statistical solution given by Mackinnon and Dwyer (1993) was utilized to compute the comparable standardized regression coefficients from the analysis of logistic regression outputs. The calculations were accomplished by using a Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet developed by Nathaniel R. Herr (2006), adapted from the equations of Kenny (2009), and the equations suggested by Mackinnon and Dwyer (1993).[2]

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[2] The equation for the comparable logistic coefficients is as follows:

$$\beta = b * SD(x) / SD(y')$$

Results

The average score of the AWS indicates that the men are very conservative ($M = 18.80$, $SD = 13.54$), where the theoretical mid-point of the (conservative/liberal) scale is 35 with a range of 0–75. On the other hand, the average household male dominance score is 2.72 ($SD = .68$), with a range from 0 to 4, where a higher score indicates high household male dominance. The study also shows that 51.2 % of married women are microcredit borrowers. However, only 19 % of the loan-borrowing women are active microcredit participants who use the loans for income-earning projects. In the other 81 % of the cases, the loans are fully controlled and used by their husbands (see Table 42.1). Women's income-generating projects comprise goat raising, cow raising, poultry raising, vegetable farming, food processing, handicrafts, setting-up small shops, etc.

Bi-variate Associations Between Hypothesized Variables

One-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted to compare the effects of husband's gender ideology and household male dominance on women's microcredit participation (i.e. non-participation, nominal participation and active participation). Means plots were also generated. The coefficient of correlation was calculated to examine the association between gender ideology and household male dominance. It appears that there is a significant effect of husband's gender ideology on the women's microcredit

Where, β = standardized regression coefficient, b = unstandardized logistic regression coefficient, $SD(x)$ = Standard Deviation (SD) of the Independent Variable, $SD(y')$ = Standard Deviation of the Dependent Variable in the Predicted Scores

While, $SD(y')$ followed the equation below (Herr 2006):

$$VAR(y') = b^2 * VAR(x) + \pi^2 / 3$$

Where, VAR = Variance = SD^2.

Table 42.1 Sample profile and descriptive statistics, N = 342

Variables	*M*	*SD*
Men's age (Years)	36.76	10.89
Wife's age (Years)	29.93	9.42
Years married	14.93	10.35
Number of children	2.26	1.31
Attitude toward women (AWS)	18.80	13.53
Household male dominance	2.72	0.68
Religion	*N = 342*	*%*
Muslim	328	95.9
Non-Muslim	14	4.1
Family type		
Nuclear	286	83.6
Joint	56	16.4
Household landholding		
Landless	123	36.0
Marginal	154	45.0
Better-off	65	19.0
Husband's education		
No schooling	108	31.6
Up to SSC (10 year)	184	53.8
SSC and above	50	14.6
Wife's education		
No schooling	58	17
Up to SSC (10 year)	248	72.5
SSC and above	36	10.5
Women's microcredit participation		
Non-participation	167	48.8
Nominal participation	142	41.5
Active participation	33	9.6

Source: Field Survey (2009)

Note: *These 76 wives were regarded household co-breadwinners

participation, F (2, 339) = 4.09, p = .017 (see Fig. 42.1). Gender ideology is also found to be significantly correlated with household male dominance, r (342) = −.412, p < .001. Results of ANOVA also indicate that there may be a significant effect of household male dominance on women's microcredit participation, F (2, 339) = 10.52, p < .001 (see Fig. 42.2). Therefore, the results of bivariate analysis met the statistical preconditions for multivariate analysis and hypothesis testing.

Factors Influencing Women's Microcredit Participations

Three statistical models are presented to explain women's microcredit participation. The first model examines the factors associated with women's nominal microcredit participation; the second model examines the factors (other than household male dominance) related to women's active microcredit participation; and after including household male dominance into the analysis, the third model further examines the factors associated with women's active microcredit participation. In the first model (Model–I), it appears that low socioeconomic status of a household influences women's loan-borrowing status – nominal participation in the microcredit program. Household landholding and husband's educational attainment are significantly and negatively associated with women's microcredit-borrowing status. Wife's age and family type are also significantly associated with women's loan-borrowing status. However, husband's age, wife's educational attainment, husband's gender ideology, and household male dominance are not found significantly related to women's microcredit-borrowing status. The effect of the socioeconomic factors can be interpreted as such that, with other variables held constant, the odds of borrowing a loan by a married woman are 3.40 times greater in landless households and 2.84 times greater in marginal households than that in the better-off households in the study (see Table 42.2). On the other hand, the odds of borrowing a loan by a woman are 3.39 times greater for husbands with no schooling and 2.94 times greater for husbands with below SSC level (Secondary School Certificate – received after successful completion of 10 years of education) of education than those of husbands with higher level of education (see Table 42.2).

However, in Model–II, women's active microcredit participation appears to be predicted by their husband's gender ideology only, controlling for husband's age, wife's age, family type, landholding, husband's education, and wife's

Fig. 42.1 Levels of women's microcredit participation by attitude toward women
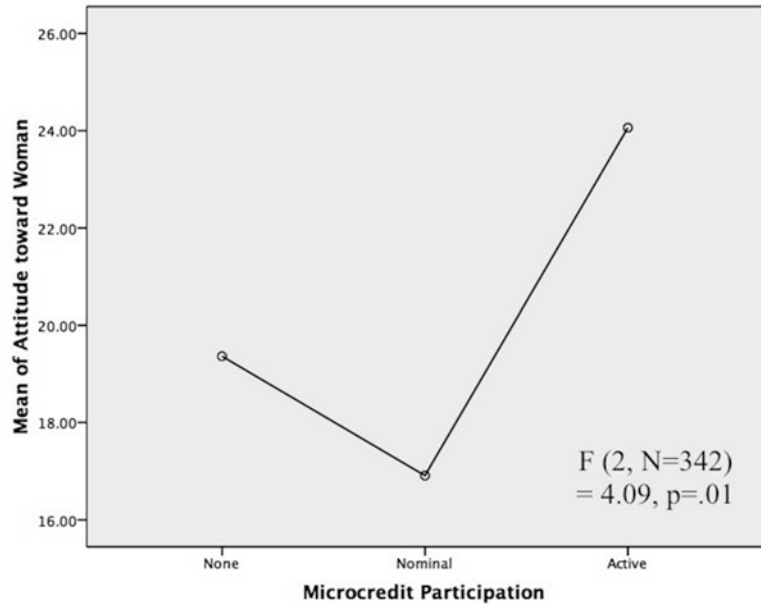
Fig. 42.2 Levels of women's microcredit participation by household male dominance
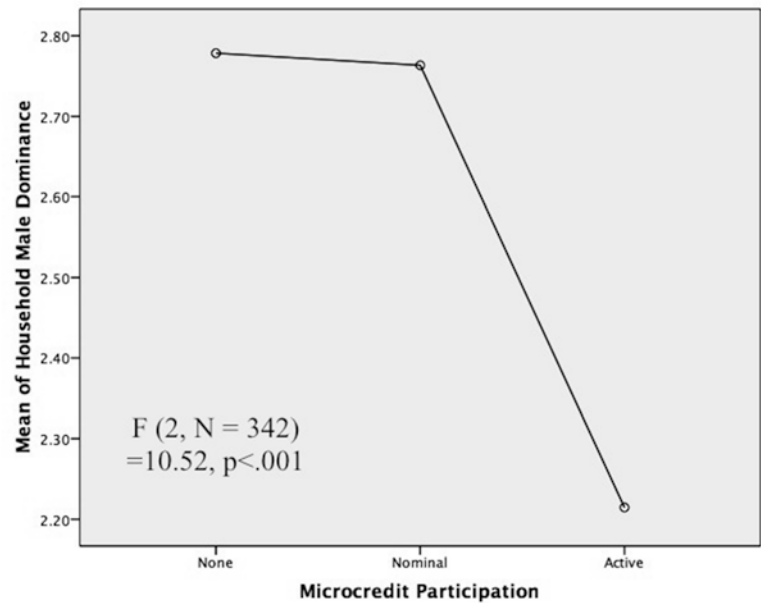
education (see Table 42.3). The results can be interpreted as such that, with other variables held constant in the model, the odds of women's active microcredit participation increase from one to 1.032 for each point increase in the score of gender ideology (attitude toward women scale), $exp(\beta) = 1.032$, $LR\ \chi2\ (1, N = 342) = 5.88$, $p = .015$. Nonetheless, in Model–III, household male dominance appears to be the single significant predictor of women's active microcredit participation, controlling for other variables including gender ideology. The results indicate

Table 42.2 Logistic regression model to explain women's nominal microcredit participation

Variables	Loan-borrowing status (Nominal participation) (Model–I)	
	B	OR
Husband's age	−0.05	0.95
Wife's age	0.08	1.08*
Family type		
Nuclear	1.30	3.65***
Joint		1
Household landholding		
Landless	1.22	3.40**
Marginal	1.05	2.84**
Better-off		1
Husband's education		
No schooling	1.22	3.39**
Up to SSC (10 year)	1.08	2.94**
SSC and above		1
Wife's education		
No schooling	−0.15	0.86
Up to SSC (10 year)	0.44	1.56
SSC and above		1
Attitude toward women (AWS)	0.00	1.00
Household male dominance	−0.16	0.84
−2 log likelihood	415.84	
Nagelkerke R square	0.21	
Hosmer & Lemeshow test	$\chi2_{(df, 8)} = 4.27, p = .83$	
Overall percentage corrected	67.3 %	

Source: Field Survey (2009)
Note: *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 42.3 Logistic regression models to explain women's active microcredit participation

Variables	Step-1 Active microcredit participation (Model–II)		Step-2 Active microcredit participation (Model–III)	
	B	OR	B	OR
Husband's age	−0.06	0.94	−0.05	0.95
Wife's age	0.07	1.07	0.05	1.05
Family type				
Nuclear	1.20	3.32	0.94	2.56
Joint		1		1
Household landholding				
Landless	0.88	2.42	0.89	2.43
Marginal	0.48	1.62	0.39	1.48
Better-off		1		1
Husband's education				
No schooling	1.24	3.45	0.97	2.65
Up to SSC (10 year)	0.78	2.18	0.60	1.82
SSC and above		1		1
Wife's education				
No schooling	0.47	1.61	0.25	1.29
Up to SSC (10 year)	−0.11	.89	−0.08	0.92
SSC and above		1		1
Attitude toward women (AWS)	0.03	1.03**	0.01	1.01
Household male dominance			−1.26	0.28**
−2 log likelihood	196.66		185.19	
Nagelkerke R square	0.12		0.19	
Hosmer & Lemeshow test	$\chi2_{(df, 8)} = 6.17, p = .61$		$\chi2_{(df, 8)} = 13.96, p = .08$	
Overall percentage corrected	90.6 %		90.4 %	

Source: Field Survey (2009)
Note: *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

that for each point increase on the household male dominance score, the odds of women's active microcredit participation decrease from one to 0.285, $exp(\beta) = 0.285$, $LR \chi2$ (1, $N = 342) = 9.76$, $p = .002$ (see Table 42.3).

Influence of Husband's Gender Ideology on the Women's Active Microcredit Participation, Mediated Through Household Male Dominance

Hierarchical logistic regressions were used to test the effect of gender ideology on women's active microcredit participation, mediating through household male dominance. Husband's gender ideology was entered in *Step–1* and household male dominance in *Step–2*, respectively (see Table 42.3). An initial support for the hypothesized model will be found if their husband's gender ideology significantly predicts women's active microcredit participation in *Step–1* (H_1), but will no longer account for any significant effect in *Step–2* (H_2: i) when household male dominance will be entered into the model – rather household male dominance will become the significant

predictor of women's active microcredit participation (H₂: ii). In addition, to understand the correlational order/path between the hypothesized variables, the linear regression results presented in Model–IV was considered for assessing the relationship between husband's gender ideology

Table 42.4 Regression model to explain household male dominance

Variables	Household male dominance (Model–IV)	
	B	β
Husband's age	0.01	0.17
Wife's age	−0.02	−0.31*
Family type		
Nuclear	.17	.09^
Joint (ref)		
Household landholding		
Landless	−.06	−.04
Marginal	−.12	−.09
Better-off (ref)		
Husband's education		
No schooling	−.27	−.18*
Up to SSC (10 year)	−.18	−.13^
SSC and above (ref)		
Wife's education		
No schooling	−.18	−.10
Up to SSC (10 year)	0.08	.05
SSC and above (ref)		
Attitude toward women (AWS)	−.02	−.45***
R^2	.273	
Adjusted R^2	.251	
Regression residual (ANOVA)	$F_{(df, 10)} = 12.81$, $p < .001$	

Source: Field Survey (2009)
Note: *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

and household male dominance (H₃) (see Table 42.4).

The regression results for the mediation model are shown in Table 42.3. In *Step–1*, the husband's liberal gender ideology is found to be significantly and positively associated with women's active microcredit participation (see Table 42.3). Therefore, H₁ is supported. However, when household male dominance is controlled (in *Step–2*), it appears that the effect of gender ideology on women's active microcredit participation is reduced to a non-significant level (see Table 42.3). Therefore, H₂ (i) is also supported. On the other hand, in *Step–2,* household male dominance appears to be the single significant predictor of women's active microcredit participation. Therefore, H₂ (ii) is supported. It is also revealed that husband's liberal gender ideology is negatively associated with household male dominance (see Table 42.3). Therefore, H₃ is also supported. In short, the results of hierarchal regression analysis indicate that husband's gender ideology may have an indirect effect on the women's active microcredit participation, intermediated through household male dominance (see Fig. 42.3).

Discussion and Conclusion

In summary, from the findings, it appears that gender ideology has significant influences on both household male dominance and women's active microcredit participation. It further indicates that the effect of husband's gender ideology on the women's active microcredit participation is completely mediated through household male dominance (see Fig. 42.3). It also appears that husband's low socioeconomic status positively

Fig. 42.3 Influence of their husband's gender ideology on women's active microcredit participation, mediating through household male dominance
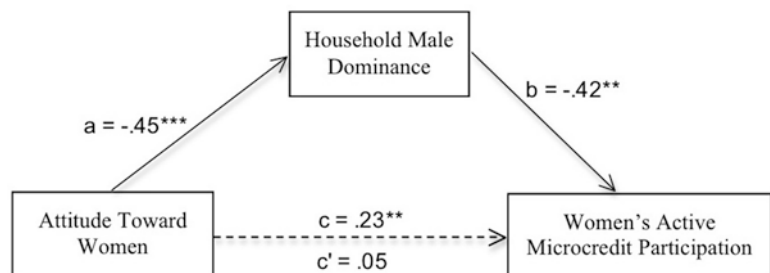
influences women's nominal microcredit participation (loan borrowing status) whereas husband's conservative gender ideology leading to a high male dominance constrains women from active microcredit participation.

We observe that the women-focused microcredit interventions predominantly reinforce traditional gender inequalities in rural Bangladesh. Microcredit is primarily offered to poor married women, but in practice the loan is mostly controlled by their husbands. Goetz and Gupta (1996), Hunt and Kasynathan (2002), and Rahman (1999) revealed similar results in their studies in different South Asian villages and mentioned that only a few of women receiving loan from women-focused microcredit organizations were controlling their loans. In addition, Karim and Law (2013) revealed that husband's conservative gender ideology constrains married women from active participation in the microcredit programs. The present study further indicates that the negative effect of husband's conservative gender ideology on women's active microcredit participation is operated through household male dominance.

Many scholars argue that patriarchal gender ideology is the main source of gender-specific roles and rights that legitimize patriarchal social/family order (husband to wife authority) in a systematic way (Dobash and Dobash 1979; Yllo 1983, 1993). Patriarchal gender ideology is widely dominant in rural Bangladesh, which typically confines women's positions as subordinated to their husbands (Baden et al. 1994; Haque and Kusakabe 2005; Kabeer 1990; Karim 2006). This is because traditional gender ideology expects men to be the breadwinner of an household and women to take care of the family members (Kabeer 1990). Further, Karim and Law (2013) argue that a husband's low socioeconomic status influences the woman's nominal microcredit participation (loan-borrowing status) since microcredit is largely given to the poor women. They also note that many Bangladeshi men may not allow their wife to become members of microcredit organizations, if men are offered the loan (Karim and Law 2013). Therefore, operating through high household male dominance, conservative gender ideology is likely to constrain women from active microcredit participation.

Our study also indicates that a rise of liberal gender ideology may lower household male dominance, which may in turn promote women's active microcredit participation. Previous studies showed that Bangladeshi married women's life and extra-household affairs such as continuing education, occupation, income, community participation, sexuality and so on are typically controlled by their husbands (Baden et al. 1994; Cain et al. 1979; Schuler et al. 2008). Therefore, it is also plausible that their husband's liberal ideology may have a positive effect on women's active microcredit participation, operating through an egalitarian family authority.

Limitations of the Study

Although the current study is one of the few studies that has addressed women's active microcredit participation from a gender perspective, it has some limitations that should be noted in order to understand the findings properly. With regard to the study participants, data on women's microcredit participation were entirely collected based on their husband's reports, which may contain selection biases. As a result, women's participation might be under-reported. Also, a number of possible confounding factors could not be controlled for in the current study. For example, due to only a few non-Muslim study participants having been selected, religion could not be included in the analysis: although religion may have significant influences on both household male dominance and women's active microcredit participation.

The current study adopted a cross-sectional design. However, cross-sectional design is correlational by nature, and therefore no causal inferences can be made from the results. For example, it cannot be stated that husband's liberal gender ideology influences household male dominance, which in turn promotes women's active microcredit participation. Indeed, it can also be possible that women's active microcredit participation reduces household male dominance. Therefore, a

thorough understanding about the relationship among the variables may not be achieved by the current study. Further study, based on a longitudinal design is imperative in order to better understand the directional relationships between the variables.

Contributions, Implications and Recommendations

In general, there has been a lack of empirical studies analyzing how women's microcredit participation is practiced in relation to gendered ideology and household male dominance in rural Bangladesh. In the context of dominant patriarchal gender ideology in rural Bangladesh, the current study provides a comprehensive understanding about the way microcredit intervention has been practiced and under what conditions it can contribute to women's income-generating participation. The current study reveals that microcredit programs have largely been implemented on an axis of the traditional patriarchal ideology in rural Bangladesh. In most of the cases, women's loan-borrowing status could not ensure their income-earning microcredit participation. However, it has been indicated that, despite the high patriarchal social order prevalent in rural Bangladesh, liberal gender ideology may moderate household male dominance, which may in turn promote women's active microcredit participation. In other words, the current study reveals that a husband's liberal gender ideology may play a significant role in enhancing the wife's active microcredit participation leading to their income-earning opportunities. This may also decrease household patriarchal dominance.

Within the background of women-focused microcredit intervention in a highly patriarchal society, husband's gender ideology appears to be an important influencing factor in women's income-earning microcredit participation, as well as in the effectiveness of microcredit programs. Even though patriarchal gender norm is highly influential in the society, it appears that the way individuals perceive gender (e.g., holding a lib-

eral attitude) can still challenge traditional gendered arrangements within rural Bangladeshi households. In other words, the study indicates that husband's liberal gender ideology may also play an important role in the transformation process of women's gendered roles and rights in rural Bangladesh society. These findings may have significant policy and practical implications in Bangladesh context.

> We recommend that: (i) women-focused microcredit intervention should not completely side-step men. A focus on men's gender ideology may also be worthy. Including men in microcredit programs may positively change their attitudes toward women's socioeconomic roles, rights and responsibilities. Women-focused microcredit organizations should particularly initiate programs for changing men's patriarchal attitudes toward women. Before providing loans to the married women, microcredit organization may arrange frequent group meetings with their husbands in order to motivate them (men) to be supportive of women's extra-household socioeconomic enterprises. Dispossessed men's credit needs should also be addressed by the microcredit organizations; (ii) microcredit interventions should address patriarchal gender ideology by creating an environment where people may have a chance to rethink the importance of women's socioeconomic roles and contributions. In other words, it is important to challenge the existing gendered ideology and to initiate a discussion within the community on people's gendered roles, rights and responsibilities. Community-level social action/movement can be initiated in this regard. The pervasive nature of women's patriarchal subordination reflected in high male dominance prevalent in Bangladesh seems mostly to be maintained by patriarchal social order, and justified by patriarchal ideology. Therefore, appropriate social policy and measures should also be undertaken to address patriarchal ideology – the root of gender inequality in rural Bangladesh.

Future Research Directions

Although the current study has achieved optimum success regarding the purpose of the study and a reflection on their fulfillment, it investigates very few perspectives to understand women's income-earning scopes in relation to their microcredit participation in rural Bangladesh.

For example, the current study could not focus on how women's adherence to patriarchal ideology is associated with both household male dominance and women's active microcredit participation, though this may provide a better understanding about the phenomenon. Future research should further integrate women's adherence to patriarchal/liberal gender ideologies into the issues. The current study is also generally silent about how liberal women confront conservative men/husbands, and how this is influential on the levels of women's microcredit participation. Research based on qualitative methodologies might be imperative in order to understand this better. Further research should also address how women's active microcredit participation is associated with resource and power imbalances between husband and wife.

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Employment, Empowerment, and Spousal Violence on Women in Developing Countries

43

Yoo-Mi Chin

Introduction

Women's labor force participation is expected to improve their well-being in various dimensions by empowering them through economic independence and social networking. Applicability of this conventional wisdom, however, depends upon each woman's cultural and social surroundings. The empowering effect of a female working would be limited and could even be reversed and effectively disempower her when social acceptance of female independence is low. In many developing countries, where there is an urgent need for economic and social development, a deep-rooted patriarchal culture might conflict with the desire of women to enhance their economic status.

Freedom from violence, essential to human integrity, is a critical factor in determining one's quality of life and well-being. It plays a particularly important role in the well-being of women who are, by far, the most common victims of violence, especially within the home. Many women all over the world have long been plagued by spousal violence. For example, a multi-country study performed by WHO (2005) finds that between 15 and 71 % of partnered or once-partnered women experience physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner in their lifetime. A detrimental effect of spousal violence is not confined to a physical or emotional harm; spousal violence directed at women often creates a major obstacle to their capabilities and optimum development by discouraging those victims from seeking and taking advantage of economic and social opportunities.

This paper examines how female employment often leads to spousal violence, lowering the women's well-being in developing countries. Specifically, section "Working Women in Developing Countries" reviews the nature and characteristics of the work that women in developing countries are generally engaged in. Section "Well-Being of Women and Spousal Violence" discusses the bodily integrity of the central human capabilities approach as a normative measure of the quality of life. Section "Theories on Women's Work and Spousal Violence" reviews existing theories regarding the effect of a female's work status on her risk of spousal violence, and section "Empirical Analysis of Women's Work and Spousal Violence" summarizes existing empirical studies in various developing countries. Section "Discussion" discusses the implications of these empirical studies, and section "Conclusion" provides conclusions.

Working Women in Developing Countries

Working women have easier access to financial resources and social networking outside the immediate family. They have a greater chance of

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earning autonomy at work and applying it to decision making at home. Therefore, women's employment is generally considered to be a good measure of their overall status, both inside and outside the home.

As Kishor and Neitzel (1996) noted, however, whether or not working women in developing countries actually enjoy better status depends on the nature and characteristics of the work in which they are engaged. First of all, appropriate remuneration is a crucial condition for the benefits of employment to be realized. The empowerment effect of female employment depends largely upon access to financial resources. If a woman's work does not provide an appropriate remuneration, therefore, its empowerment effect is questionable. Further, the location of her work is another important condition. Female employment is expected to contribute to empowerment by building social capital outside her home and kin relationships. However, her work would not necessarily contribute to building social capital if, for example, she only works within her home and does not venture beyond her domestic sphere. In addition, the type of industry needs to be considered. While modern occupations, which require higher education and training, would contribute to enhancing a woman's status and autonomy by improving her knowledge and the scope of her networking, traditional occupations (e.g., agricultural work), which are usually occupied by women with little education and skill, are least likely to improve a woman' status. Lastly, social surroundings in which they are embedded can play a crucial role as well. For example, in a society where male dominance prevails, a woman might be involved in productive activities, only by default, while her employment would not serve as a basis of economic independence or autonomy (Safilios-Rothschild 1982).

Kishor and Neitzel (1996) examine the status of women in developing countries by comparing indicators of their status in multiple dimensions, using Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) from 25 different countries.[1] One important indicator that they investigate is the work status of women and their work load. The employment rates, which are calculated based on each woman's own report on her work status, are reasonably high at 40 % (or greater) in most countries. Kishor and Neitzel further find that a non-negligible proportion of working women work without cash earnings or are paid in kind. The proportion ranges between 10 and 20 % in most countries, but is as high as 38 % in Rwanda. The majority of both paid and non-paid employees work outside the home in most countries, while, among the self-employed, the proportion of the women who work at home is about the same or greater than the proportion of those who work outside the home. In almost all countries, female occupations are concentrated in agricultural, sales, or manual labor, which together account for between one-half and two-thirds of female occupations. Less than 10 % of female occupations are modern jobs, such as professional, technical, or managerial jobs in most countries.

In summary, while female employment rates are reasonably high in these developing countries, it is uncertain whether these working women can actually enjoy the benefits of employment, because a fair proportion of those women work without proper remuneration. Further, many self-employed women do not work outside the home, and female employment is restricted to traditional, more menial occupations. Therefore, it seems that female employment in developing countries generally falls short of having those

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[1]The analysis covers the surveys of 25 countries: Burkina Faso (1992–1993), Cameroon (1991), Ghana (1993), Kenya (1993), Madagascar (1992), Malawi (1992), Namibia (1992), Niger (1992), Nigeria (1990), Rwanda (1992), Senegal (1992–1993), Zambia (1992), Egypt (1992), Morocco (1992), Bangladesh (1993–1994), Indonesia (1991), Pakistan (1990–1991), Philippines (1993), Turkey (1993), Bolivia (1993–1994), Brazil (1991), Columbia (1990), Dominican Republic (1991), Paraguay (1990), and Peru (1991–1992).

factors that are essential for empowerment. With that in mind, we discuss next how such female employment affects the well-being of working women.

Well-Being of Women and Spousal Violence

Given that traditional indicators of economic performance (such as GDP) have limitations in measuring the quality of life or happiness (Easterlin 1974), there have been efforts to develop ways to capture subjective dimensions of well-being (Stiglitz et al. 2009). At the same time, research findings indicate that subjective well-being is positively correlated with material living standards (Stevenson and Wolfers 2013). Combining the two arguments, one might conclude that subjective well-being encompasses objective well-being, and that measuring subjective well-being alone is sufficient for gauging quality of life. However, individuals are constrained by existing social values and traditions. Individual preferences that have been adapted to existing institutions and culture can be immune to long-lasting adverse conditions that undermine human welfare. For example, anecdotal evidence suggests that women in a patriarchal society adapt to an abusive and discriminatory culture and that such unfavorable conditions are not reflected in the subjective assessment of their own well-being (Nussbaum 2000). Therefore, it is less compelling to resort to using individual subjective assessments in evaluating the well-being of women in developing countries, because women there often take it for granted that they must subordinate their own wants and desires to those of others.

In this context, a normative approach that defines universal conditions for human well-being, despite its paternalism, could be useful. While this approach essentially provides objective measures of well-being, it deals with features that go beyond income or command over commodities, unlike conventional economic indica-

tors. For example, Nussbaum (2000) provides a list of central human capabilities that should be pursued for each and every person, by treating each and every person as an end, and not as a means for the ends of others.[2] The list includes: (1) life; (2) bodily health; (3) bodily integrity; (4) senses, imagination, and thought; (5) emotions; (6) practical reason; (7) affiliation; (8) other species; (9) play; (10) control over one's environment. It is noteworthy that Nussbaum took the destitution of women in developing countries as a point of departure for her search for central capabilities.

In evaluating the well-being of working women in developing countries, this paper adopts Nussbaum's central capabilities approach by focusing on the bodily integrity of those women.[3] More specifically, we look into how a woman's employment influences her spousal violence experiences. Spousal violence constitutes a major obstacle to women attaining essential capabilities. The threat of violence can cause a woman to be reluctant to go out to work for fear of a backlash from her husband, thereby seriously limiting her economic opportunities (Agarwal and Panda 2007). Injuries from violence can further erode a woman's social opportunities by deterring her from building social relationships and social capital outside of her home (Agarwal and Panda 2007). These detrimental effects carry over to her children who may suffer from emotional or

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[2]The capabilities approach was pioneered by Amartya Sen and has been influential for defining and evaluating human development and well-being. It has been a widely accepted paradigm in the field of development and constituted a theoretical basis of the Human Development Index (Fukuda-Parr 2003). The capabilities approach emphasizes what people can do or be (functionings) and their freedom to choose among the functionings (capabilities) rather than their command over commodities.

[3]Nussbaum (2000) defines bodily integrity as "being able to move freely from place to place; having one's bodily boundaries treated as sovereign, i.e. being able to be secure against assault, including sexual assault, child sexual abuse, and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction."

behavioral problems once they are exposed to violent situations (Edleson 1999). Given the extensive negative impacts of spousal violence on central human capabilities, freedom from spousal violence needs to be a crucial component of an attempt to evaluate the quality of life for women (Stiglitz et al. 2009).

Theories on Women's Work and Spousal Violence

Theories That Predict Higher Risk of Violence for Working Women

How does a woman's work status influence the risk of spousal violence directed at her? Several theories that predict how working women are more likely to suffer from spousal violence than those who do not work include the relative resource theory, gendered resource theory, extraction theory, and evolutionary theory.

The relative resource theory focuses on the symbolic nature of employment, rather than on its function as an access to economic resources. It regards marital relationships as governed by status expectations that are culturally defined. If there are status inconsistencies between partners, which are usually captured by disparities in education, occupation, or income between the two, the disadvantaged partner may turn to coercion (Hornung et al. 1981; Macmillan and Gartner 1999; Molm 1989). More specifically, in an unconventional situation, where a woman is employed while her husband is not, her employment can be interpreted as a confrontation with the social norm of male dominance, and the husband would try to compensate for the loss of authority by exercising spousal violence against her (Macmillan and Gartner 1999). The gendered resource theory, on the other hand, asserts that the effect of status inconsistency depends on the husband's general attitudes toward women, suggesting that an abuse-triggering effect of more resources in the hands of the woman is confined to a traditional husband (Atkinson and Greenstein 2005). Extending this argument, we can expect that a backlash effect of a woman's employment

would be greater in a patriarchal society (where the woman's submissive role has been taken for granted) than in an egalitarian society. In that case, her employment might cause abuse by her husband, regardless of his employment status, as long as it constitutes a challenge to a social norm of masculinity.

There is another mechanism where employment can also yield a positive effect on spousal violence. In some situations, violence can be used as an instrument to extract a transfer of more resources from a victim to a perpetrator, rather than as an expression of anger or frustration. In this case, the risk of spousal violence would be greater for a woman with more resources (Bloch and Rao 2002; Goetz and Gupta 1996). Based on the logic of this extraction theory, an employed woman may suffer from a higher risk of spousal violence, when she commands more resources.

The evolutionary theory suggests that paternal uncertainty is a motivation for spousal violence. Males need to compete with other males to secure their share of the ancestry of generations to come (Wilson and Daly 1996). Males are afraid of a wife's infidelity because, then, their paternal inputs might be wrongly invested in another man's child (Wilson and Daly 1996). Proprietary males, therefore, feel that they have the right to retain and control their mates. Spousal violence in this context is interpreted as a result of the jealousy that males feel whenever their partners potentially have a chance to be in sexual relationships with other males (Eswaran and Malhotra 2011). A corollary from the evolutionary theory would be that women who have greater chances of having contacts with other males will be subject to greater risks of spousal violence. Working women make a good case for this prediction, especially when they work away from their homes (Eswaran and Malhotra 2011).

Theories That Predict Lower Risk of Violence for Working Women

There are other theories that predict a negative effect of women's employment on the risk of spousal violence, including the marital dependence theory,

marital bargaining theory, and exposure reduction theory.

The marital dependence theory claims that a woman's social status, as well as her access to other resources, is typically determined by marriage. Therefore, a woman who is highly dependent on a marriage, due to a lack of alternatives to the marriage, would have to bear adverse treatment by her husband, such as wife abuse (Kalmuss and Straus 1982). Marital dependency is both economic and psychological, but economic dependency due to her lower earning power is at the core of a wife's dependence on marriage (Kinsley 1977). Therefore, as long as a woman's employment decreases her dependency on her husband, this theory predicts that a woman who has a job, a direct access to an economic income, would suffer less from spousal abuse.

The theory of marital bargaining in economics presents a similar logic. The main prediction of the theory is that an increase in a woman's economic opportunities, relative to those of her husband's, would increase her threat-point, which is her utility level after divorce (Farmer and Tiefenthaler 1997; Tauchen et al. 1991). Since her threat of leaving the relationship then would become more credible, she can enjoy the more favorable allocations and treatment within an intact marriage, including less violence directed toward her. Alternatively, with adequate economic resources, she will be able to actually leave the relationship, thereby shunning any further violence. Therefore, as far as a woman's employment allows better outside options such as financial independence after divorce or a greater chance of remarriage, it will deter spousal violence.

On the other hand, a theory in criminology predicts a potentially negative effect of a woman's employment on spousal violence for a totally different reason. The exposure reduction theory claims that conditions that shorten the time that a woman is exposed to an abusive partner reduce the risk of violence (Dugan et al. 1999, 2003). Examples include the availability of public assistance, no-fault divorce law, and protection orders (Dugan et al. 2003). Similarly, a woman's employment may constitute another factor that

reduces her exposure to a risky situation, in so far as it allows her to spend less time with an abusive partner (Aizer 2010).

Empirical Analysis of Women's Work and Spousal Violence

Women's Work Status and Their Experience of Spousal Violence

Numerous studies have provided empirical analyses of the relationship between a woman's work status and spousal violence that she ever experienced in her lifetime. Many of these studies, however, treat a woman's employment as one of many risk factors of spousal violence, rather than as the main focus. Kishor and Johnson (2004) and Hindin et al. (2008), for example, use DHS[4] of multiple developing countries and perform a multivariate logistic analysis of the risk factors of spousal violence, including a woman's work status as one of the predictors. Both studies find that a working woman generally faces a higher risk of violence than a non-working woman in many countries.

Kishor and Johnson (2004)[5] find that, in India and Peru, a working woman who is paid with cash or works without any payment is significantly more likely to have experienced physical violence than a woman who does not work. The same association is found in Columbia for both physical and sexual violence. Similarly, in the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua, cash payment is associated with a higher likelihood of having experienced either physical or sexual spousal violence, although no significant difference

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[4]DHS has been collecting information on violence against women since 1990. It constitutes a useful source of data on spousal violence, given that it also covers a wide range of demographic and socio-economic variables. Moreover, the DHS program used a standard module and improved comparability of different countries. As of mid-2013, domestic violence data of 37 countries are available.

[5]The study covers the surveys of 9 countries: Cambodia (2000), Columbia (2000), Dominican Republic (2002), Egypt (1995–1996), Haiti (2000), India (1998–2000), Nicaragua (1997–1998), Peru (2000), and Zambia (2001–2002).

is found between women who work without payment and women who do not work. In Egypt, however, a woman who receives a cash payment is less likely to have experienced physical violence than a non-working woman, while a woman who works without payment is at a higher risk. Overall, working women who earn cash in Egypt are the only group in this study that experiences a violence deterring-effect from employment.

Hindin et al. (2008) report a similar result using DHS of 10 countries.[6] In Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, and Zimbabwe, non-working women are significantly less likely to have experienced physical/sexual violence than women in non-agricultural occupations. Further, while a working woman in agricultural occupation is significantly less likely to have experienced physical/sexual violence than a woman in non-agricultural occupation in Bangladesh, the opposite is the case in Malawi. In any event, there is no statistical evidence to suggest that women in these countries who work are at a lower risk of spousal violence than women who do not work.

On the other hand, Panda and Agarwal (2005), using a household survey in the state of Kerala in India, find that a woman with regular employment is less likely to have experienced physical violence than an unemployed woman, although seasonal or irregular employment does not have a significant effect on the risk of violence. The result, therefore, suggests an empowerment effect of regular employment. It is interesting, however, that they also find that the risk of physical violence is higher when a woman's employment status is better than that of her husband's, which supports the relative resource theory.

Some studies find no significant relationship between women's work and spousal violence. Brown et al. (2006) find in Lesotho that a woman's paid employment does not significantly affect her risk of sexual violence by an intimate

partner or by any other person. Similarly, Dude (2007) does not find any significant effect of a woman's employment in the Ukraine on her ever-experience of physical spousal violence. While the aforementioned studies treat the employment of women as only one of many risk factors, Dalal (2011) uses the National Health Surveys of India (NFHS-3) to specifically focus on a woman's work status and earnings as the main risk factors, and to discuss how the economic empowerment of a woman is associated with the risk of emotional, physical, and sexual violence that she ever experienced during marriage.[7] A bivariate logistic analysis reveals that a working woman has a higher risk of experiencing all types of violence. Among working women, those who work away from home are more likely to have experienced emotional and physical violence than those women who work at home, although the relationship is reversed for sexual violence. Seasonal employment is associated with more physical or sexual violence than regular employment is. On the other hand, women whose earnings are greater than those of their husbands have experienced a higher risk of all types of violence than those whose monetary contribution is less than their husband's earnings. The risk is highest for those women whose husbands have no income.

Overall, while some studies suggest a protective role of regular employment, as compared to unemployment (Panda and Agarwal 2005) or seasonal/occasional employment (Dalal 2011), the findings of the reviewed studies are by and large in line with the theories that predict a higher risk of violence for working women. In most studies, a woman who works is associated with a higher risk of physical violence than a woman who does not work. Cash payment, working

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[6]The study covers the surveys of 10 countries: Bangladesh (2004), Bolivia (2003–2004), Dominican Republic (2002), Haiti (2005–2006), Kenya (2003), Malawi (2004–2005), Moldova (2005), Rwanda (2005), Zambia (2001–2002), and Zimbabwe (2005–2006).

[7]Vyas and Watts (2009) also address how a woman's economic empowerment affects the risk of intimate partner violence in low and middle income countries by reviewing published studies from 41 sites. Although they summarize the reviewed studies by focusing on the effects of economic variables (employment status or earnings), the economic empowerment of women is not necessarily the main focus of the reviewed studies. In many of these studies, female economic empowerment is rather treated as one of many risk factors of violence.

away from home, better employment or earning status of a woman than that of her husband are generally associated with a higher risk of violence, supporting the resource theories (the relative resource theory and gendered resource theory), the evolutionary theory, and the extraction theory. Therefore, the overall findings seem to suggest that a woman's employment plays a more symbolic role than an economic function in marital relationships.

However, it must be noted that it is hard to infer a causal effect of a woman's work status on spousal violence, based on the correlations. First of all, the timing of an experience of spousal violence is unknown. Given that the analyses use the current employment status of women (instead of the employment status at the time of violence perpetration), the positive association does not necessarily capture the effect of work status on the risk of violence. Instead, it might capture the reverse causality: the effect of spousal violence on the women's decision to work. Second, those studies do not address the problem of omitted variable bias. There can be unobservable factors that pertain both to spousal violence and a woman's work status, such as the socio-economic status or patriarchal culture of her household. The positive association, therefore, might be a result of these unobservable factors that entail both female labor force participation and violence, rather than female employment causing more violence. Unless these sources of endogeneity bias are addressed, a causal inference as to the effect of female employment on the risk of spousal violence cannot be established.

Women's Work Status and Current Spousal Violence

Some of the studies that examine the relationship between a woman's work status and her experience of spousal violence also investigate the effect of female employment on current violence (defined as spousal violence perpetrated within the past 6–12 months of the survey). Given that the timing of the violence is recent, the analysis is less susceptible to temporal reverse causality,

although it is still not entirely free from endogeneity bias.

Kishor and Johnson's (2004) multivariate logistic analysis, using the DHS of multiple countries,[8] further find that working women in India, regardless of being paid or not paid, suffer from a higher risk of physical spousal violence perpetrated within the past 12 months than non-working women do. Similarly, in the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua, working women who are paid in cash are at a higher risk of either physical or sexual violence than non-working women are. Egypt is the only place where a working woman who receives cash as payment is less likely to experience current physical violence than a non-working woman is. Even in Egypt though, when a working woman is not paid, she is more likely to experience physical spousal violence than a non-working woman is. Overall, the findings regarding current violence experiences echo the findings regarding overall experience of violence in that evidence for the violence deterrent effect of female employment is weak.

Further, a multivariate logistic analysis performed by Burazeri et al. (2005) finds that the odds of experiencing physical spousal violence in Albania during the past 12 months are the highest for those women engaged in white collar work, followed by women in blue collar work, housekeepers, and the unemployed. The highest risk for the women in white collar work might be a result of male backlash against them, whose status is considered to be a challenge to male dominance, or it could be a result of the men's extraction motive. Tumwesigye et al. (2012) report similar, but slightly different results using the 2006 DHS of Uganda. Their multivariate logistic analysis reveals that the odds of physical violence during the past 12 months are higher for women with professional/clerical jobs than for women who have no occupations, although the difference is not statistically significant. On the other hand, women who have non-professional

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[8]The analysis of the current violence covers 7 countries: Cambodia (2000), Dominican Republic (2002), Egypt (1995–1996), Haiti (2000), India (1998–2000), Nicaragua (1997–1998), and Zambia (2001–2002).

occupations, such as agricultural, manual, or domestic jobs, have more than twice the risk of experiencing physical violence than women who have no occupations. In essence, both Burazeri et al. (2005) and Tumwesigye et al. (2012) suggest a violence-triggering effect of female employment, rather than a violence-deterrent effect.

Rocca et al. (2009) use a sample of married women in slum areas of Bangalore in India in their analysis. Each woman self-reports her work status and vocational training experience at two different stages, before marriage and after marriage. While vocational training of women is not a direct measure of their employment status, it matters since it signifies their employment potential and enhances their employment opportunities in the future. An innovation in their analysis is that they attempt to establish a temporal causality by investigating the effect of female work status or employment potential prior to marriage on spousal violence after marriage. However, their empirical analysis does not provide clear evidence on temporal causality. Among the four predictors (work status before and after marriage, vocational training before and after marriage), women's vocational training participation after marriage is the only significant variable that has a positive effect on the risk of physical violence during the past 6 months of the survey. Although this result does not clearly establish a temporal causality, a positive link between women's employment potential and spousal violence leads the authors to question the effectiveness of conventional ways used to empower women. They warn that efforts to empower women through more and better employment opportunities might result in unintended consequences when they clash with widespread social norms.

The study by Rocca et al. (2009) is, in fact, based on a baseline 2-year longitudinal survey. Krishnan et al. (2010) use the same longitudinal survey, but additionally, include two follow-up surveys conducted at 12 months and 24 months after the initial survey. Exploiting the longitudinal nature of the survey, they examine a temporal causality of employment status by looking at how employment status at one visit affects the risk of violence by the next visit. More importantly, they focus on how "changes" in employment status across visits affect the risk of spousal violence. They find that women who work at one visit are 60 % more likely to experience physical violence during the 6 months before the next visit, than those who do not work. Further, women who are unemployed at one visit, but find a job by the next visit, are 80 % more likely to experience physical spousal violence than those women whose employment status does not change over time.[9] These findings provide an important, albeit not impeccable, clue to the causality of female employment on the risk of spousal violence and suggest female employment as a driver of violence, rather than a result of it. Therefore, this study also provides evidence that emphasizes a symbolic role of female employment in a patriarchal culture, rather than its empowering effect.

In summary, again, there is little evidence that a woman's employment deters her current experience of violence. Rather, a host of studies suggest the violence-triggering effect of a woman's working. As noted earlier, however, a causal relationship has yet to be established. While some of the reviewed studies contribute to defining a temporal causality by using longitudinal surveys, they still suffer from endogeneity problems. This is because a woman's work status is determined by unobservable preferences, cultures, social norms and many other factors that are also determinants of violence. Therefore, in order to establish a causal relationship, it is imperative to exploit exogenous variations in female work status.

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[9]The study further finds that the risk of violence also responds to a husband's employment status. Women whose husbands have a hard time finding or keeping a job at one visit are more than twice as likely to experience physical spousal violence by the next visit. Also, if husbands are employed at one visit, but have a hard time finding a job by the next visit, their wives are 70 % more likely to experience violence by the next visit, as compared to women whose husbands have stable employment. These results might be driven by the husbands' stress due to job insecurity, which can be also interpreted as frustration caused by failure to keep the culturally established standard of male dominance.

Exogenous Work Status and Violence

Chin (2011) exploits exogenous variations in women's work status driven by an interaction between weather shock and geographically driven employment patterns in rural India.[10] The study uses the 1998–1999 National Health Surveys of India (NFHS-2) to examine how employment of women during the past 12 months of the survey affects their experiences of physical spousal violence during the same time. Naïve OLS estimation results (without addressing the endogeneity of the work status) show that women who work during the past 12 months of the survey are subject to a higher risk of physical spousal violence perpetrated during the same time period. However, the major concern of this study is that this positive relationship might be driven by omitted variables that are correlated with both the violence and the female work status (e.g., poverty or social norms). Also, it is unclear whether this positive relationship reflects the effect of spousal violence on a woman's decision to work or the effect that her work status has on spousal violence. These concerns are addressed by using an instrumental variable strategy, instrumenting for a woman's work status with the interaction between rainfall shocks in the past 12 months in the state where she resides and a dummy variable that indicates if her state of residence is a rice-growing state. This interaction captures demand-driven changes in female labor force participation which are orthogonal to unobservable determinants of violence, as well as being free from the reverse causality concern. The instrumental variable estimation reveals that

a woman's working actually reduces the risk of spousal violence. Interestingly, however, the study further suggests that this negative effect of female employment may not be due to an improved bargaining power, but rather to a strong exposure reduction. It is found that employment does not generate a significant violence-deterrent effect for women who receive remuneration for their work, whereas it does yield a strong deterrent effect, when a woman is not paid. Given that financial income is an important source of bargaining power, this finding invalidates bargaining as a major driving force of the violence deterrence. Instead, a substantial violence-deterrent effect of employment for females who do not receive remuneration (and have little gain in bargaining power) suggests that the deterrence might be a result of her shortened time spent with an abusive partner because of her employment. The argument is further supported by the fact that a woman's working does not generate a violence-deterrent effect when her husband has a rigid work schedule that minimizes the exposure reduction effect of her work. At the same time, the study does not entirely preclude male backlash or extraction motives against working women. For example, the study notes that no deterrent effect of employment for females with financial income might be a result of male backlash that cancels the deterrent effect of a reduction in exposure.

Overall, this study reports an important result: a woman's work, when exogenously driven, can have a violence-deterrent effect. It is notable, however, that this effect is due to a strong exposure reduction instead of a higher bargaining power of the women.

Discussion

The empirical findings are generally in line with the view that female employment plays a symbolic role rather than a pure economic role. However, given the limitations of the existing studies due to endogeneity problems, more evidence based on exogenous variations in female

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[10] In India, female labor force participation is substantially higher in rice-growing eastern and southern states than in wheat-growing northwest states, because women have a comparative advantage in rice production (Bardhan 1974; Boserup 1970; Indian National Science Academy and Chinese Academy of Sciences 2001; Miller 1981). Further, crop production in India relies heavily on rainfall, and rice production is much more dependent on water than wheat production (Mbiti 2008). Therefore, positive rainfall shocks in rice-growing states are expected to increase the demand for female labor more than they would in wheat-growing states.

employment is needed to develop a clear-cut causality between a female working and her violence experience.[11]

Future studies may build on the studies that exploit exogenous variations in female labor income in developing countries. Qian (2008), for example, explores the hilliness of an area as an exogenous source of variations in the amount of tea planted, which she considers a proxy for female earnings in China. The idea is that females have comparative advantages in producing tea, and tea production requires particular geographic conditions, such as being planted on semi-humid hilltops. Similarly, Luke and Munshi (2011) use the elevation of land and female ages to capture exogenous variations in female labor earnings in the tea estates of India. There are some other studies that focus on women's access to credits, rather than their labor income, because credits, which are crucial for self-employment activities, can be more pertinent to a female working, where a functional female labor market is lacking. Pitt and Khandker (1998), for example, make use of the quasi-experimental nature of microcredit program implementation in rural villages in Bangladesh to identify the effect of program participation on poverty reduction.[12] In capturing exogenous variations in female employment, future studies may build on these reviewed stud-

ies. They can exploit conditions or shocks that influence the demand for labor in a market where women have comparative advantages. They might also make use of quasi experiments, based on policies that particularly target the stimulation of female employment.

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that even a study that is based on exogenously- determined female employment is skeptical about the bargaining effect of a female working. This absence of evidence for the empowerment effect, however, is not surprising, given the nature of employment that women are generally engaged in, as described in section "Working Women in Developing Countries". Lack of proper remuneration, home-based works, and traditional menial occupations all seem far from the conditions that potentially empower women and enhance their autonomy. Therefore, future studies shall pay particular attention to characteristics and circumstances of female employment and determine whether this lack of evidence is actually driven by patriarchal values that are hostile to female independence or due to the nature of female jobs that are short on factors that leverage their bargaining power.

While more rigorous research is needed for clarification, it must be kept in mind that this male backlash against female independence is an actual concern. As noted earlier, for example, one study finds that women in professional occupations that are expected to have most of the conditions that maximize their bargaining power do, in fact, face the highest risk of spousal violence (Burazeri et al. 2005). There is little doubt that development policies that are centered on gender equality and that seek to enhance the status of women through better education, improved employment opportunities, and easier access to credit would substantially contribute to eliminating poverty and inequality in the long run. These achievements will eventually improve the well-being of women in multiple dimensions. The pursuit of female empowerment and gender equality, however, might clash with deep-rooted patriarchal cultures that do not welcome women's involvement in economic activities or attainment of bargaining power in household decisions. This

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[11] For example, market wages of female labor would constitute a convincing exogenous source of employment variations. Unfortunately, however, that is often not a viable option in developing countries where women are predominantly self-employed or work in the informal sector, of which quality wage data are not always readily available.

[12] Women's participation in microcredit programs is typically endogenous. Given that participating women select themselves into a participation group, there is self-selection bias. Further, unobservable village-level attributes might affect both participation and the outcome of participation. In order to address the two sources of bias, their identification strategy combines the credit eligibility rule (having land with less than 0.5 acres) with variations in program availability among villages. Comparing the outcomes of credit-eligible households between program and non-program villages yields the effect of the program free from self-selection bias. Further, comparing the outcomes of eligible households and non-eligible households within a village eliminates the bias due to village-level attributes.

clash can lead to undesirable outcomes that undermine the well-being of women in the short run. To make matters even worse, patriarchal cultures often do not allow working women to shift their domestic duties to others. Therefore, women, who are already burdened by extensive household tasks, typically have to bear double workloads when they engage in work outside the home (Kishor and Neitzel 1996). Hence, in devising policies to enhance the status of females, a more sophisticated approach that minimizes cultural backlash needs to be taken. Also, while efforts are needed to provide women with financially stable employment and greater opportunities to engage in modern occupations, such efforts should be combined with attempts to ease the burden of their household tasks. Provision of reliable childcare, easier access to safe water, and financial and medical support for sick household members would be viable beginning steps for such efforts.

Conclusion

This paper reviews theoretical and empirical studies regarding how women's labor force participation affects the risk of spousal violence against them in developing countries. While empirical findings generally suggest a violence-triggering effect of female employment, additional studies based on exogenous variations in female work status need to be conducted to establish a firm causal relationship. At the same time, given that existing studies generally suggest that efforts to empower women might cause a male backlash, rather than improving their bargaining power in the short run, policies that focus on female empowerment should take a sophisticated approach that can help minimize cultural resistance.

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Impact of HIV Related Stigma and Discrimination on Working Women in Sub-Sahara Africa

Vincent Icheku

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to survey current literature and references relating to workplace stigma and discrimination against vulnerable women living with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) in Sub-Saharan African countries for which data is available. The objective is to build on the knowledge already present in the literature and propose workplace policy and programmes to minimise the impact of HIV-related stigma and discrimination on the wellbeing of working women.

Sub-Saharan Africa is one of the most heavily populated regions of the world. Among other things, it faces a high burden of HIV and AIDS disease infections. The United Nations' data on the global HIV/AIDS epidemic shows that an estimated 33 million people worldwide are infected with HIV. Sub-Saharan Africa remains the worst affected region in the world – with an estimated 22.5 million, it accounts for almost 67 % of people living with the disease (UNAIDS 2008). An estimated 2.7 million people in the region died from the disease in 2006 (UNAIDS 2006). The region now accounts for an increasing proportion of the world's poorest people, and living standards have generally fallen since the disease surfaced in the 1980s. Many of the social and economic indicators that are used to measure output performance have actually regressed, mainly due to the impact of the disease on the populations – especially women. One scholar posited that life expectancy is now less than 40 years in Malawi, Botswana, Mozambique and Swaziland, while for the region as a whole it is 47 years compared with an estimated 66 years prior to the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Cohen 2002).

The rate of HIV infection varies from country to country. In 2005 an estimated 5.5 million people (amounting to 18.8 %) of adults in South Africa were living with HIV. The disease prevalence levels here were exceptionally high – an estimated 930,000 adults and children died of AIDS-related illnesses. This amounts to one-third of AIDS deaths globally. It is also estimated that one-third of people living with HIV globally live in southern Africa. In neighbouring Zimbabwe, 1.7 million people are living with the disease. However, data have shown a decline from 22.1 % in 2003 to a current estimate of 20.1 % (as at 2006). The national HIV prevalence among adults in Mozambique is estimated at 16.1 %, with 1.8 million people living with HIV in 2005. In Kenya, an estimated 1.3 million people were living with the disease in 2005 but the prevalence declined from 10 % in the late 1990s to around 6 % in 2005. The United Republic of Tanzania, with 1.4 million people living with HIV in 2005, also enjoyed relative stability in the adult population in general but recorded a

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remarkable increase of 13 % among women aged 30–34 years. In Burkina Faso the disease prevalence among pregnant women attending antenatal clinics in urban areas for which data is available dropped from almost 4 % in 2001 to just less than 2 % in 2003 (all figures from UNAIDS 2006).

The above data shows that the prevalence of HIV is on the increase in some countries while declining or stabilizing in others. The United Nations has attributed the decline to the effects of increasing HIV prevention efforts over the past decade, notably a decrease in sex with non-regular partners and increased condom use (UNAIDS 2006). Nevertheless, while some countries experienced decline or stability in the general population, a high prevalence rate was found in the female population. For example, in Senegal HIV prevalence among female sex workers remained high, at around 20 % in Dakar and 30 % in Ziguinchor (UNAIDS 2006). Similarly, a high prevalence rate was found among female sex workers in Ghana, where adult HIV prevalence was estimated at 2.3 % in 2005. In the same year, an estimated 1 million people were living with HIV in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The disease prevalence in the adult population was estimated at 3.2 %, but a higher prevalence of 7 % was found in pregnant women in Lubumbashi. The disease prevalence among pregnant women attending antenatal clinics in Swaziland rose from 4 % in 1992 to 43 % in 2004. Almost one in three pregnant women attending public antenatal clinics in South Africa was living with HIV in the same year. Globally, there were an estimated 17.3 million women living with HIV in 2005 – three quarters (or 13.2 million) of whom were living in Sub-Saharan Africa. In 2006 an estimated 52 % of all women over 15 years living with HIV/AIDS resided in South Africa (UNAIDS 2006).

Recently, UNAIDS (2012a, b) reported that at the end of 2011 it was estimated that out of the 34 million adults worldwide living with HIV and AIDS, half are women. It added that one woman becomes infected with the disease every minute, with some countries reporting that more than 10 % of young women aged 15–24 are living with HIV. The organization also reported that out of around 20.2 million people living with HIV and AIDS (PLWHA) in Sub-Saharan Africa, an estimated 12 million of them were women whilst the remaining 8.2 million were men. UNAIDS have estimated that around 70.5 % of all women with HIV and AIDS live in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS 2010a, b). The International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimated that the proportion of women living with HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa, which had already exceeded 50 % by 1990, has comprised 60 % of all adults living with HIV since 2000. This represents 15 women with HIV for every 10 men with HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa (ILO 2009). According to the World Health Organization's recent report, 'Sub-Saharan Africa', women constitute 60 % of people living with HIV in the region (WHO 2012). It is evident from these statistics, broadly in agreement with each other, that in Sub-Saharan Africa more women are infected with HIV/AIDS than men. In other words, the disease is having a disproportionate impact on a particular gender. The question, therefore, is why are Sub-Saharan African women more vulnerable to infection than males? The following section examines the issues concerning the vulnerability of the women.

In Africa, according to Tigawalana (2010), there are two main routes through which people can be infected with the HIV virus. The first is through unprotected sex between men and women which accounts for 80 % of the known cases. To substantiate this claim, he opines that infection from a man to a woman during vaginal sex, which is commonly practiced in Africa, is two to three times greater than transmission from a woman to a man. He argues that this is due to the biological makeup of the female genital tract. (He adds that the risk of HIV transmission is the greatest during anal sex and the least for oral sex.) He explains that the female genital tract is made up of a large unprotected area, i.e. it is sensitive and more prone to injury, and thus infection. Semen also has a higher viral load than vaginal fluids and stays in the female genital tract for some time after several acts, which increases the chances of HIV transmission. Emphasis is therefore placed on condom use as a strategy to

prevent transmission through this route (Tigawalana 2010). Unfortunately, this strategy has not produced the desired impact in Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, a study cited in UNAIDS (2006) showed that knowledge of HIV transmission is low and condom use uncommon in Somalia, one of the countries with a low national HIV prevalence rate (about 0.9 % of its adult population in 2005). The evidence from the study demonstrated that 17 out of 20 men and 19 out of 20 women aged 15–24 years had never used a condom. Tigawalana's second route of transmission, which accounts for 20 % of known cases, is through transmission from mother to child during pregnancy, labour and breastfeeding. The strategy for preventing transmission through this latter route is minimal. He states that the vulnerability of sub-Saharan African women to HIV infections cannot be explained by biological factors alone (Tigawalana 2010). In line with this view, he examined existing studies and found, as indicated in the next section, that cultural practices in sub-Saharan African countries contribute immensely to the vulnerability of women to HIV infection.

Cultural Practices and Vulnerability of Women to HIV Infection

Culture plays a significant role in people's lives in Sub-Saharan African countries as a whole. It provides the framework for people's social behaviour (Aseka 2006). According to Pearce (2006), culture relates to the beliefs and values taught and learned at the family-unit level. It is the shared values and beliefs that allow a group to self-identify as a cultural unit. Members of the group form an affinity and identity through the shared values and beliefs. Thus, any culture that engenders relationship power imbalances, traditional gender role acceptance and patriarchal belief systems that devalue women's sexuality and encourages sexual violence will exacerbate women's risk of HIV infection (Vyas and Watts 2009). For example, Sub-Saharan African societies are predominantly patriarchal, have strict role differences between men and women

(particularly with regard to access to resources and in decision-making authority), and have inherent power imbalances. Traditionally, African men are expected to go outside the home to work and fend for their family. The women are expected to be responsible for maintaining the home through nurturing and rearing children. This cultural convention results in male-dominant societies and encourages women to be subservient to men, with the low social status and economic dependence of African women preventing many of them from controlling their own risk (Safaids and WHO 1997).

Such cultural practices also result in gender gaps in educational achievements, land ownership, access to credit, employment opportunities and promotion to senior positions in the workplace; and patterns and control of productive resources. These unequal power relationships and imbalances in access to resources produce an unequal balance in sexual relations in favour of men. As with any cultural practices that perpetuate the subordinate position of women politically, socially and economically, this is likely to exacerbate women's risk of HIV infection. According to Abdool et al. (2010) the unequal power balance between men and women makes the latter more vulnerable to HIV infection and substantially reduces their ability to insist on safe sexual practices. The evidence from a Safaids (2009) study shows that patriarchy, men's abuse of power and the accepted patterns of male dominance all serve to inhibit women from making informed sexual choices to prevent HIV infection. The abuse of power by patriarchal men often results in sexual violence against women, especially rape. This mostly occurs in family settings and workplaces (Tigawalana 2010) but remains largely unreported because of the social stigma attached to victims of sexual violence (WILDAF 2002). In light of the above factors, the reduction of risk of HIV infection demands gender-based responses. It involves analysis of gender stereotypes and a redefinition of male and female relationships. It should also include analysis of how the different social expectations, roles, status and economic power of men affect women (Safaids and WHO 1997).

Another important factor to consider is African cultural practices which allow both polygamous and monogamous relationships. Men in both polygamous and monogamous relationships are effectively allowed to have multiple sexual relationships, including extra-marital sex (Tigawalana 2010) and these do not protect women. According to Clark et al. (2006) such cultural practices may be seen as vehicles for HIV transmission and can explain increasing levels of infection among women in Sub-Saharan Africa. Other examples of cultural practices which create barriers to practicing safe sex include women's lack of sexual decision-making power and men's dislike of condoms. These cultural practices no doubt place women in a disadvantageous position when it comes to safe sex, with implications for the spread of HIV (Clark et al. 2006). Women are also often forced into early marriage or sexual relationships with older men. Some of these men are infected with HIV but a woman's fear of violence leads to acceptance of sex without protection. A number of men infected with HIV have also been reported to force young girls to have sex, believing that a virgin can "cleanse" them of HIV (Tigawalana 2010).

One scholar posited that poverty encourages a culture of intergenerational sex in African countries by allowing young women to have sex with older men, often called "sugar daddies", for money, gifts or status (Pearce 2006). Poverty can also encourage women to marry men who are much older than them and more sexually experienced, thus exposing them to the risks of HIV (Tigawalana 2010). In Sub-Saharan African countries, poverty often leads many of the women to become sex workers or to engage in temporary sexual relationships for survival. The complexity surrounding the many transactions encompassing sex work makes them difficult to define. The transactions include, but are not exclusive to, sporadic or occasional exchange of sex for transportation, school uniforms and fees, food and accommodation (Abdool et al. 2005, also cited in Abdool Karim et al. 2010). In other words, the women's preoccupation with survival means that a majority of them enter into a series of monogamous relationships and have children to ensure

continued financial support from the fathers. Some of them, in the course of their lifetime, will have several children with different biological fathers to ensure both their and their children's survival. This culture of bartering sex with goods or cash for survival makes these women vulnerable to the risk of HIV infection, as the risks of the infection and options to reduce these risks are not immediate priorities for them (Abdool et al. 2010).

In addition, the limited employment opportunities which characterize rural communities in Sub-Saharan African countries result in migration by both men and women to cities in search of employment and income opportunities (Lurie 2000). The prolonged stays away from home often disrupt conjugal stability and social cohesion. This promotes the establishment of new sexual relationships and subsequent risks of HIV infection. In South Africa, for instance, a study showed that the main factor contributing to the high prevalence of HIV infection among women is the widespread circular migration of men who work in the cities, where they have "city partners", while maintaining their spouses and children in rural areas (Lurie et al. 2003, also cited in Abdool et al. 2010). It is improbable that they practice safe sex when they return home. This is because the gender role expectations and dominant ideologies about marriage and procreation do not encourage the use of preventive methods such as condoms (Abdool et al. 2010), citing Gupta et al. 1995). In a rural survey carried out by Colvin et al. (1995), cited by Abdool et al. (2010) the prevalence of HIV infection among women who saw their partners less than 10 days per month was 15 %, compared with 0 % among women who saw their partners more frequently. The prevalence of HIV infection among mobile couples is two to three times higher than that among more stable couples. The study concluded that the situation makes young women in rural communities particularly vulnerable to the risks of HIV infection. Thus, the issues of poverty and unemployment among Sub-Saharan African women will need to be addressed if governments are serious about reduction in the incidence and prevalence of HIV/AIDS among women in the region.

The vulnerability of Sub-Saharan African women to the risk of HIV infection has also been attributed to a culture of sexual violence in the forms of rape and defilement that have been known to expose women to such risk. One scholar argues that forced or coerced sex, which he states is common in Sub-Saharan Africa, increases the chances of HIV transmission. This is because violence during sex may cause bruises and tears in the genital tract, thereby making the woman more vulnerable to HIV infection (Tigawalana 2010). Similarly, the cultural practice of "dry sex" increases the vulnerability of women to HIV infection. Dry sex refers to the common practice in sub-Saharan countries of applying herbal and other astringent agents in the vagina to cause dryness, heat and tightness. A large variety of agents are believed to achieve these effects and today both traditional and non-traditional drying agents are used before or between acts of sexual intercourse to give men dry sex enjoyment (Scorgie et al. 2009). A study carried out by Brown et al. (1993, cited by Hugo 2012) found that about 30 different substances, mostly leaves and powders, were used by Zairian women in the practice of dry sex. Some of the herbs were crushed and inserted into the vagina for several hours and removed on commencement of sexual intercourse. Powders made from bark, stems, or roots of plants, usually mixed with salt or fine sand, were also found to be used in dry sex practices. In another study by Vos (1994, also cited by Hugo 2012), Zimbabwean women were found to use chemicals such as copper sulphate and fertilizers to dry out the vagina before and during sexual intercourse. Hugo (2012) also cited the study of Beksinska et al. (1999), which found additional methods used in dry sex practice, including vaginal douching with water, soap or antiseptics, drying the vagina with cloth or paper, and the insertion of stones into the vagina. Pharmaceutical products such as talcum powder, *Vicks* (used as cold and flu remedy), "love drops", alum, disinfectants and household bleach were also found to be used in dry sex practices.

The cultural practice of dry sex makes women more likely to transmit and more vulnerable to acquire the HIV infection. Although the evidence is not entirely conclusive, some studies cited by Halperin (1999) suggest an association between these often mucosal abrasive practices and an increased risk of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections due to them causing bruises and tears in the genital tract during sexual intercourse. Hugo (2012), citing the study on dry sex and HIV risks in Zaire by Brown et al. (2003), argued that genital lesions caused by a sexually transmitted infection (STI) and resulting from dry sex could increase the risk of HIV transmission as they are likely to promote the passage of the pathological organisms that cause AIDS. The study also demonstrated a correlation between the insertion of substances for dry sex with pelvic inflammatory disease and increased bacterial vaginitis, which in turn has been associated with increased risk of HIV infection. Dry sex practices were not always favoured by the respondents in the studies cited by Hugo (2012). The respondents complained about lower abdominal pain, vaginal swelling, cuts or abrasions, internal bruising, itching, male and female genital sores, pain during intercourse and internal infections (Hugo 2012).

Another culture of violence against women takes the form of female genital mutilation (FGM) or female circumcision, which is still practiced on women in many parts of Sub-Saharan African countries. The Nigerian National Baseline Survey in 1998, for instance, established that FGM affected 40.5 % of women in that country (WILDAF 2002). The terms female genital cutting (FGC) and FGM both describe the cultural practice of partially or totally removing the external female genitalia. The partial form of FGC is when only the clitoris is removed. The full or most severe form of FGC is when all external genitalia are removed and the vaginal opening is stitched nearly closed. Only a small opening is left for urine and menstrual blood. This latter form is often referred to as infibulation, which leads to extensive tearing and bleeding during sexual intercourse (Bacquet-Walsh et al. 2009). In Sub-Saharan African countries, the practice is often referred to as "circumcision" to link it to male circumcision, which is also prevalent in many parts. However, some scholars argue that the word can hide the serious physical and psy-

chological effects of cutting women's genitalia, and fails to show the differences between the different types of cutting. Thus, a number of international organizations have accepted "female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C)" as a compromise and point out that the practice is in violation of women's human rights (Bacquet-Walsh et al. 2009). In other words, female genital mutilation is considered harmful, often having a huge impact on the health and wellbeing of the victims whose human rights are violated. For example, bleeding resulting from the circumcision often leads to the need for blood transfusions with unscreened, possibly HIV-contaminated, blood. Crude procedures often allow the use of unsterilized instruments for several patients in succession; these practices also carry high risks of HIV transmission. Governments in Sub-Saharan African countries should thus pursue policies that prevent such sexual violence against women, alter cultural expectations of subservience in sexual matters and encourage women to discuss sexual mores and risks with their husbands or sexual partners.

Consistent with many of the literature reviewed earlier, the National AIDS Council (2010), stated that women are most at the risk of HIV infection due to gender-based economic inequalities, sexual harassment and violence at work, limited access to education and health services, and the different social roles assigned to men and women which affect behaviour and the capacity of the women to protect themselves from the virus. UNAIDS (2010a, b) added that women in Sub-Saharan African countries are vulnerable to HIV infection not because of their individual behaviour, but because of the stigma and discrimination they face. In addition to harmful cultural practices, women in Sub-Saharan African countries also experience stigma and discrimination which impacts adversely on their wellbeing.

Women with HIV or AIDS are known to be stigmatized and treated very differently from men in societies where the former are economically, culturally and socially disadvantaged (AVERT 2012a, b). People generally suffer stigmatization when others devalue them because

they are associated with a certain disease, behaviour or practice. More often than not, those who are stigmatized experience discrimination (ICRW 2012). According to an International HIV and AIDS charity, AVERT (2012a, b), HIV-related stigma and discrimination refers to prejudice, negative attitudes, abuse and maltreatment directed at people living with the disease. Some scholars have posited that higher levels of stigma are experienced by women diagnosed with HIV, and that HIV-related stigma negatively affects the lives of those living with the disease (Wolitski et al. 2009).

Finally, HIV-related stigma and discrimination remain widespread, especially in Sub-Saharan African countries, leading to violations of fundamental rights at work, including denial of access to employment and unfair dismissal (ILO 2012). Mbonu et al. in their study 'Stigma of People with HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa' found that the cultural construction of HIV/AIDS, based on beliefs about contamination, sexuality, and religion, plays a crucial role and contributes to the strength of distancing reactions and discrimination in society. The study also found that stigma prevents the delivery of effective social and medical care (including the use of antiretroviral therapy) and also enhances the number of HIV infections (Mbonu et al. 2009). The next section discusses the nature of HIV-related stigma and discrimination specifically suffered by working women in Sub-Saharan African countries.

Nature of HIV-Related Stigma and Discrimination Suffered by Working Women

HIV-related stigma and discrimination is widespread in Sub-Saharan Africa and the workplace is one of the core environments where the fundamental human rights of workers living with the disease are commonly violated (ILO 2012). A Canadian sociologist, Erving Goffman (1968), describes stigma as referring to "any bodily sign designed to expose something unusual or bad about the moral status of the signifier". Some

scholars define stigma as an undesirable or discrediting attribute that a person or group possesses that results in the reduction of that person's or group's status in the eyes of society. Mbonu et al. (2009) posited that the term stigma is applied more to social disgrace, and is generally recognized as an attribute that is deeply discrediting in that it reduces the bearer from a whole and normal person to a tainted and discounted one. For example, an individual meeting someone living with HIV may construct a stigma theory, which is an ideology to explain the inferiority status of the HIV sufferer and to account for the danger s/he represents, sometimes rationalizing an animosity based on other differences. Everybody (including healthcare professionals) is prompted to construct a stigma theory, since medical models recognize certain conditions such as HIV/AIDS as stigmatizing. Thus, when an individual is labelled as living with HIV, the very label itself has the power to "spoil the sufferer's identity" (Goffman 1968). This prompts some scholars to describe stigma as a label that associates a person with a set of unwanted characteristics that form a stereotype that is affixed to him or her (Jacoby et al. 2005). Labelling and stigma are social constructs and concepts deriving from the interactionist sociological perspective and used to inform medical practice with a view to articulating the idea that the experience of being sick has both social as well as physical consequences. For example, Byrne (1999, citing Gallo 1994) explains that patients who have been labelled begin to perceive themselves as different, which may result in self-stigmatization.

Once stigmatised, the person living with HIV, for instance, is made to fit one of a limited number of stereotypes of incurable and infectious disease and becomes effectively isolated. This may have prompted one scholar to challenge the use of the term stigma, positing that the mark of shame should reside not with the stigmatized individual, but with those who behave unjustly towards him or her (Sayce 1998). Goffman (1963) identified two main types of stigma: discredited and discreditable. A discredited stigma is a clear mark that is easily noticeable. The discredited are those individuals whose stigma is already known or is immediately known, such as wheelchair or white-cane users. Other people easily notice them as different and inferior.

The main challenge faced by discredited individuals is dealing with reactions to their stigma and seeking acceptance despite their stigma. They have to continually live with the social effects of their stigma, and so tend to socialize more with others who share the stigma or tend to form stronger support networks with people like them. The discreditable individuals on the other hand, have to struggle with whether and when to reveal themselves, and also guilt for accepting treatment that they would be unlikely to receive if the other knew of their stigma. This is probably the reason why Goffman (1963) says that discreditable stigma is a secret stigma, not readily apparent, and must be found out along the way. Some examples of discreditable stigmas might be HIV/AIDS, mental illness, epilepsy or sexual orientation (Spillers 2012).

Stigma frequently leads to discrimination when a distinction is made against a person culminating in the person being mistreated on the basis of the distinction or the perception that they belong to a distinctive group such as people with HIV/AIDS, homosexuals or prostitutes. In drawing a distinction between stigma and discrimination, Mbonu et al. (2009), citing Gilmore and Somerville (1994), posited that for any act to be considered discriminatory it must be acted out externally, while stigmatization can be overt or constitute libel, slander or defamation of the persons who are stigmatized. Stigma on grounds of HIV infection includes prejudice that may lead to active discrimination directed toward individuals either perceived to be or actually infected with HIV and the social groups and persons with whom they are associated. Since not all stigmatizing attitudes result in overtly discriminatory behaviours, stigma can be external, which refers to the actual experience of discrimination, or internal which is the shame associated with HIV/AIDS and fear of being discriminated against (Mbonu et al. 2009). Thus, stigma and discrimination are used in this chapter alongside each other.

The ILO has recommended that there should be no discrimination against or stigmatization of workers on the grounds of real or perceived HIV status (ILO 2010a, b). In 2011 the United Nations General Assembly pledged to develop national legal and policy frameworks to protect the workplace rights and dignity of people living with and affected by HIV and AIDS (UN 2011). Scholarly evidence shows that these goals remain unrealized, and many people living with HIV/AIDS continue to suffer discrimination in both the community in which they live and in the place where they work (Uys et al. 2009).

Working women are subjected to violence as a direct result of stigma and discrimination. For example, sex workers are mostly vulnerable to workplace violence from their clients, brothel owners or other controllers, law enforcement officials, intimidating partners, their families, neighbours, and fellow sex workers (UNESCO 2012, citing Pinheiro 2006). Women form the bulk of domestic workers and are vulnerable to workplace violence as they work and live in isolation from their own families, and are often mistreated by their private employers. Women migrant workers are also vulnerable to workplace violence from their employers and are often at higher risk of HIV as they often have limited or no access to HIV prevention and health-care services (UNESCO 2012 citing D'Souza 2010 and ILO 2009).

As discussed earlier, women in Sub-Saharan African countries are often economically, culturally and socially disadvantaged. They are outside the structures of power and decision-making, denied the opportunity to participate equally with men in their community, and subject to punitive laws, norms and practices that exercise control over their bodies and sexual relations. These disadvantages are in addition to the traditional beliefs and practices which undoubtedly provide the basis for discrimination and stigmatization against women living with HIV/AIDS in general. The authors of UNAIDS 2000 (citing De Bruyn 1999) identified five factors as contributing to HIV/AIDS-related stigma and discrimination:

1. the fact that HIV/AIDS is a life-threatening disease;
2. the fact that people are afraid of contracting HIV;
3. the disease's association with behaviours (such as sex between men and injecting drug use) that are already stigmatized in many societies;
4. the fact that people living with HIV/AIDS are often thought of as being responsible for having contracted the disease;
5. religious or moral beliefs that lead some people to conclude that having HIV/AIDS is the result of a moral fault (such as promiscuity or "deviant" sex) that deserves punishment.

In a Ugandan study cited in UNAIDS (2001), the high mortality from AIDS felt across the whole of Uganda fuelled anxiety and prejudice, culminating in stigma and discrimination against those groups mostly affected by HIV/AIDS. The study identified a range of issues relating to stigmatization and discrimination in the workplace. It was reported that some companies tested prospective employees prior to offering them appointments while others were reportedly requiring workers to take an HIV test before sending them on what were considered to be expensive training courses. Still other companies were said to test workers opportunistically, assigning lighter jobs to those who tested positive.

A recent global study with the support of the ILO provides a snapshot of the nature of HIV-related stigma and discrimination in the workplace. The study reveals that HIV-related stigma and discrimination directly impede access to work by people living with the disease. In the Sub-Saharan African countries of Kenya and Zambia, 40 % of people living with HIV/AIDS lost their jobs or source of income during the 12 months preceding the study. Over the same period 27 % of respondents in Nigeria were refused the opportunity to work and 45 % lost their jobs or sources of income. In Kenya, 28 % had their nature of work changed or were refused promotion due to their HIV status. The study concluded that most people living with HIV are able and willing to work (GNP 2012) but these findings show that HIV-related stigma and discrimination deny many people the right to do so;

thus undermining their ability to secure and retain employment, and damaging their employment and career progression. HIV-related stigma and discrimination remain the biggest impediments to individuals either seeking to attain decent work or to continue working. The rights of all people, including women of Sub-Saharan Africa, to earn a living and social participation through work are enshrined in both the 'International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights' (UN 1966) and Article 23 of the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' (UN 1948), and the rights to "productive employment and decent work for all" are specifically named as a target for Millennium Development Goal 1 (UN 2011).

Unauthorized disclosure of HIV status forms part of the nature of the stigma and discrimination of those who remain in employment. For example, 26 % of workers in Kenya and 27 % from Nigeria and The Gambia reported having their HIV-positive status disclosed to employers or co-workers without their consent (GNP 2012). Disclosure without consent is a breach of the right to confidentiality (UNAIDS 2000). This fear of disclosure also results in avoidance of HIV testing and hinders the uptake of other HIV/AIDS interventions. In a study carried out in Botswana and Zambia, cited by Asante (2007), it was found that fear of further disclosure and subsequent stigma and discrimination were the key reasons for the low uptake of voluntary counselling and testing to prevent mother-to-child transmission of HIV disease. This author believes that disclosure should be a personal choice and employers have a duty to make disclosure feel like a safe event, where the benefits clearly outweigh any potential risks. Much as it is important for employers to promote openness about HIV status, it is equally important to protect the human rights of employees affected by the disease. Individual employees need to be assured that the result of an HIV test is confidential and that decisions about disclosure will be decisions that they themselves will make. Workers living with HIV should also be able to choose the circumstances in which they disclose their HIV-positive status. Unless the current stigma and discrimination associated with HIV/AIDS is seriously addressed,

any policy of routine or mandatory testing could even prove to be counter-productive by driving people away for fear of being tested (Asante 2007). Tragically, the fear of stigma and discrimination resulting from disclosure may make some women prefer to remain ignorant of their HIV status or to keep it a secret (UNAIDS 2000).

Another factor to consider in the argument against unauthorized disclosure on the workplace is that, once disclosed, such information travels back to the workers' communities, culminating in further stigma and discrimination. For example, in many Sub-Saharan African communities the lives of individuals and their families are closely intertwined with others. The same people have lived closely together, often as members of the extended family, for several generations. Inside the extended families, caregivers may be very concerned about contracting HIV through casual contact, and outside they fear the gossip that can greatly affect everyone's social standing. Neighbours and other customers, for instance, may refuse to purchase food stuffs from someone associated with HIV (Muyinda et al. 1997). This can devastate a family's chances of economic survival in communities where there is no safety net of public services. It is not surprising, therefore, that the US Census Bureau has projected that by 2010 life expectancy will fall from about 60 years to around 30 years in the worst affected countries, and that the rate of population growth will stagnate or turn negative for some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (USB 2000). A five-country study in the southern and eastern African countries of Lesotho, Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland and Tanzania confirmed that stigma and discrimination impact on the wellbeing of people living with HIV, and found that interventions to reduce stigma resulted in reductions in reported stigma and increases in self-esteem (Uys et al. 2009).

The ILO considers HIV/AIDS a major threat to the world of work and posits that HIV/AIDS is affecting the most productive section of the labour force. In terms of access to employment, the global study (GNP 2012) found that during the 12 months prior to the study, 27 % of the respondents from Nigeria 23 % from Kenya and

17 % from The Gambia had been refused the opportunity to work. Men and women reported relatively similar frequencies of refusal of employment or work opportunities because of HIV status. For example, Nigeria had 30 % men and 25 % women. Similarly, The Gambia had 17 % men and 16 % women, while in Kenya the figures of 21 % for men and 24 % for women showed that women were more likely to have been refused employment or work opportunities. The evidence of studies reviewed above show that Sub-Saharan African women face HIV-related stigma and discrimination culminating in loss of employment, denial of work opportunities, and unauthorised disclosure of HIV status for those still in employment. The following section examines the impact that this stigma and discrimination has on working women in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The Impact of HIV-Related Stigma and Discrimination on Working Women

The denial of a woman's right to work due to her HIV/AIDS status delivers no advantage. Instead, it weakens states' social capital while destabilizing families, communities, business, and national economies (GNP 2012). The disclosure of women's HIV status without consent is a breach of their right to confidentiality. Both denial of employment opportunities and unauthorized disclosure of the HIV status of women can impact directly on their wellbeing (UNAIDS 2000). For example, they often lose community support and may be isolated within the work environment and their family, hidden away from others, or made to eat alone in staff canteens. In the community, the entire family may be sanctioned simply by association or because one member is infected by the disease. There is no safety net of public services in the underdeveloped countries of Sub- Saharan Africa. Thus, women living with HIV/AIDS are often found living in abject poverty (Nyblade et al. 2003).

Negative impacts include displacement, poverty, and depression. In a South African study, for instance, one in five of HIV positive men and women had lost a place to stay or a job because of disclosure of their HIV status (Simbayi et al. 2007). Loss of employment or means of income effectively places the women in poverty, especially in Sub-Saharan African countries where there are usually no welfare policies. For example, the loss of income due to HIV-related stigma and discrimination has a direct impact on the expenditure of household budgets on drugs to manage their ill-health (Muna 2012). This view is reinforced by a Ugandan study, which demonstrated that HIV-related stigma and discrimination affected a household's expenditure by four times greater than a non-affected household (Nabyonga-Orem et al. 2008). Similarly, a study of households in South Africa found that the households' economies and HIV/AIDS were related and occurred against a background of increasing poverty. The study also found that households caring for family members with HIV/AIDS were poorer than their non-affected neighbours (Bachmann and Booysen 2004). Another study carried out on households in Chad by Wyss et al. (2004, also cited by Muna 2012) found that costs at household level attributable to HIV/AIDS totalled US$836 per case. More than half of total costs (56 %) were expenditures on health care, and funeral costs contributed 16 %. The study also found that households caring for an HIV/AIDS family member relied more often on borrowing and the selling of household assets to meet expenditures. Muna (2012) added that the high expenditures incurred by those living with HIV/AIDS, the majority of whom were women, leads to poverty which interferes with school attendance of children, withdrawal of savings, and selling household items.

Scholarly evidence shows that women living with HIV/AIDS receive fewer social supports and are more depressed than men living with HIV/AIDS (Cederfjäll et al. 2001). One study found that 29 % of a sample 113 of HIV-positive adults aged 45 years and older had moderate to severe depression and 31 % had mild depression (Heckman et al. 2003).

Without proper care and support, the impact of the disease will no doubt be profound on the wellbeing of the working women living with

HIV. A study by Adedimeji and Odutolu (2007) demonstrated that care and support affect the wellbeing of those living with HIV/AIDS either through their effects on the function of the immune system or through the effects on self-care activities and other illness behaviours. This can be problematic for many women living with HIV, given the stigma and discrimination that is attached to HIV/AIDS. The study also found that constant worries, stress and anxiety contribute to a poor quality of life for those living with the disease. A recent study of social support and the psychological wellbeing of people living with HIV/AIDS in Ghana posited that the provision of social support structures would enable people living with HIV/AIDS to cope better with the disease. The study added that the provision of support could also reduce the impact of the stigma and discrimination of people living with the disease and encourage open discussion about HIV and free disclosure of one's HIV status. It could also lead to a sense of satisfaction, fulfilment, and hope and encourage social inclusion, which would limit the impact of the disease and enhance the well-being of those living with the disease (Asante 2012).

Folasire et al. (2012) found that the availability of care and social support from family members and close friends were major determinants of the Quality of Life (QOL) of those living with HIV. In other words, in the absence of care and support working women living with HIV will experience a lower quality of life. In the same study (citing the World Health Organisation), QOL is defined as the individuals' perceptions of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, standards, expectations and concerns. This definition places emphasis on the importance of an overall subjective feeling of well-being pertaining to aspects of morale, happiness and satisfaction. It relates to both an adequacy of material circumstances and as to how satisfied an individual is with these circumstances of life, and is therefore an important component in the evaluation of the well-being of people living with HIV and AIDS (Folasire et al. 2012).

The study also found that the desire for care and support predisposed the willingness to disclose information about an individual's HIV status. Where support is not expected, information about the HIV-positive status is withheld. However, Folasire et al. (2012) noted that provision of care and support are largely influenced by the prevailing cultural values and norms amongst the people who are burdened with the task of providing care for those who are ill. In Sub-Saharan African countries, and indeed most developing countries, such care is usually provided only by close relatives of those living with HIV/AIDS – who consider it a moral and cultural obligation to take care of their own. However, some of those living with HIV and interviewed in their study reported that they were isolated and rejected by both their community and family members. In other words, the level of care received by those living with HIV/AIDS is not universal. This is attributable to the level of ignorance that surrounds HIV and AIDS (Folasire et al. 2012).

In an attempt to minimise the impact of HIV related stigma in the workplace, UNAIDS (2003) calls for a workplace policy that will provide a framework for enterprise action to reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS and related stigma and discrimination. An effective workplace policy must provide a distinctive opportunity to confront discrimination and stigma using workplace-based anti-discrimination policies which demonstrate that people can live and work with HIV. Similarly, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) suggests that every workplace should have an AIDS policy and programme, which should include three main components: prevention; treatment, care and support; and protection from stigma and discrimination (ILO 2005a, b). The ILO contends that the disease has a marked impact on workers, their families and dependents, enterprises, and national economies. It adds that discrimination and stigmatization against both women and men living with the disease threaten fundamental principles and rights at work, and undermine efforts to provide prevention, treatment, care and support (ILO 2010a, b). It is not surprising, therefore, to note that as early as 2001 the organisation took steps to deal with HIV-related stigma in the

workplace and came up with the 'ILO Code of Practice on HIV/AIDS and the World of Work'. The Code of Practice was adopted by the ILO Governing Body and launched at the UN General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS, New York in June 2001 where it was accepted as the authoritative guide for responding to HIV in the world of work. The document provides guidelines for the development of policies and programmes on HIV and AIDS in the workplace. In 2010, the ILO produced the 'Recommendation concerning HIV and AIDS and the World of Work', 2010 (No. 200), which was adopted at the International Labour Conference in Geneva, Switzerland. The aim of Recommendation No. 200 was to strengthen the impact of the ILO Code of Practice. The Conference also adopted an accompanying Resolution concerning the promotion and the implementation of the 'Recommendation on HIV and AIDS and the World of Work', 2010.

The ILO subsequently called on governments, employers' and workers' organizations to take measures in or through the workplace to reduce the transmission of HIV and alleviate its impact by ensuring actions to prevent and prohibit gender-based violence and discrimination in the workplace (ILO 2013; UNESCO 2012). Thus, the ILO Code of Practice on HIV/AIDS and the World of Work and the subsequent recommendations became the recommended basis for workplace policies in Sub-Saharan African countries. Reviews of the literature have shown that many governments of countries in that region have encouraged businesses and organizations to develop workplace programmes which should aim to:

1. Contribute to a reduction in HIV infections through enhanced prevention and focus on behaviour change among employees;
2. Improve the quality of life for workers infected with and affected by HIV and AIDS through care, support and treatment initiatives;
3. Mitigate the socio-economic impact of HIV and AIDS on workplaces and surrounding communities (SANASO 2005; NAC 2010; WCGSA 2013).

According to ILO a growing number of companies are implementing the workplace policies and programmes (ILO 2005a, b, p. 5), which are vital in the national response to HIV related stigma and discrimination. However, this statement refers to global response as in Sub-Saharan African countries, very few organizations appear to have developed strategies to combat stigma and discrimination in the workplace and an equally small number have begun to define the responsibilities of employers towards employees with HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS 2000). A recent UN report has shown that despite the recommendations, the Sub-Saharan Africa region remains the most heavily affected by the global HIV epidemic. The report added that women remain disproportionately impacted by HIV related stigma and discrimination, accounting for 58 % of all people living with HIV in the region (UNAIDS 2012a, b).

A study of stigma and discrimination against people living with HIV by Feyissa et al. (2012) found that higher levels of stigma and discrimination against people living with HIV were associated with lack of in-depth knowledge on HIV and orientation about policies against stigma and discrimination. The study recommended that employers should ensure support through providing employees with clear policies and guidelines and the provision of appropriate training programmes on the management of HIV/AIDS in the workplace. Thus, the following section will propose workplace policy and programmes aimed at minimising the impact of HIV related stigma and discrimination on women working in formal organisations in Sub-Saharan African region.

Workplace Programmes to Minimise the Impact of HIV Related Stigma and Discrimination on Women in Sub-Saharan African

Overwhelming evidence from studies reviewed for this chapter proved that HIV related stigma and discrimination are a persistent problem in

Sub-Saharan African countries. The studies also found that stigma and discrimination have had a profound impact on the wellbeing of mostly working women. Some examples of stigmatizing and discriminative attitudes towards working women documented in the studies include breach of confidentiality through unauthorised disclosure of test results, unlawful dismissal, violence and isolation. The evidence also shows that stigma and discrimination prevent the delivery of effective treatment and care to women living with HIV, increases their vulnerability to HIV infection, and prevents them from interacting with their work colleagues, their families and the communities in which they could normally expect to feel complete and be useful members of society (Nyblade et al. 2003; Louwagie et al. 2007; Makoae et al. 2008; GNP 2012).

One study has shown that the key reason why stigma and discrimination persist in Sub-Saharan African countries is the lack of in-depth knowledge of HIV and AIDS. The study found that an incomplete understanding of HIV in Sub-Saharan African countries results in actions that effectively stigmatize people living with the disease. The researcher posited that people inadvertently perpetuate stigma and discrimination because such stigmatizing attitudes and actions are considered normal. The study also found that despite the deep-rooted causes of HIV related stigma and discrimination in the three Sub-Saharan countries studied and the extensive impacts, people often do not recognize when their words, actions, or beliefs are stigmatizing or discriminatory towards people living with the disease (Nyblade et al. 2003). A similar study conducted on HIV- and AIDS-related stigma and discrimination in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Zambia by the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) found, among other things, that the main cause of stigma and discrimination is lack of knowledge (ICRW 2003). Another study established that in Sub-Saharan Africa, ignorance related stigma and discrimination undermine efforts for HIV treatment and prevention (Louwagie et al. 2007).

Similarly, UNAIDS (2007, citing ICRW 2005) reported general lack of awareness and knowledge of stigma and discrimination and their harmful effects on people living with HIV. In referring to women, many scholars have argued that the issues of stigma and discrimination and their impact on women and other vulnerable groups are still poorly understood (Duffy 2005; Parker and Aggleton 2003). It is plausible, therefore, to argue that working women living with HIV in Sub-Saharan African countries will continue to suffer the impact of HIV related stigma and discrimination as long as ignorance exists among employers, work colleagues and the larger community. Thus, given the nature of HIV related stigma and discrimination, their prevalence, seriousness, and their negative impact on the wellbeing of working women living with the disease in Sub-Saharan African countries, this author proposes workplace policy and programmes to minimise the impact on women working in the formal organisations for which literature is available.

The Aims and Objectives of the Propose Workplace Policy

The proposed workplace policy must start with a clear rationale such as an introductory remark that outlines why the organization wants to have a HIV and AIDS policy which should link to existing employers' policies and practices. The key principles which should underpin every HIV/AIDS policy and programmes are consultation, inclusivity and full participation of all stakeholders. There should be a general policy statement, which would highlight the major aim of minimising the impact of HIV related stigma and discrimination on women and other vulnerable employees of the organisation living with the disease.

The objectives of the workplace policy should include the follow:

1. To create awareness of HIV and related stigma and discrimination and their harmful impacts on women and other employees living with the disease; and
2. To promote respect for human rights, and equality and dignity of employees living with HIV.

Introduction to the Proposed Programmes

The essence of policy's aim and objectives is to help both the management and employees to clarify what is expected of them in line with the policy. To achieve these aims and objectives, this author proposes participatory training programmes to modify both management and employees attitudes towards women and other employees living with HIV while giving them practical knowledge to ensure that the rights of employees living with the disease are respected and their support needs within the work environment are met where possible.

The proposed workplace programmes should be developed based on the aims and objectives of the workplace policy. The programmes should provide a framework for action to promote the rights of all employees and minimise the impact of HIV related stigma and discrimination on the wellbeing of the women and other vulnerable employees living with the disease.

Programme 1

Description

Unfortunately, HIV/AIDS is an emotive issue and, when it comes to creating awareness and knowledge, cultural and religious views often conflict with science. For example, in many Sub-Saharan Africa countries, both culture and religion forbid sex before marriage, and sex education in schools is often prohibited. Thus, many women are unaware of the dangers of HIV and the availability of the means to protect themselves from HIV infection until they have already left school and are in work. This introductory programme should thus be focused on all employees, which would allow direct interaction between employees living with HIV and their co-workers to dispel myths about people affected by HIV. Its focus should be on activities that create awareness of HIV/AIDS issues and encourage dialogue, interaction and critical thinking.

Aims

1. To present overview of the HIV/AIDS policy and explore participant thoughts, beliefs, and attitudes about HIV and AIDS in the workplace.
2. To raise awareness about HIV and AIDS and ensure that all employees understand how the virus will affect them and their families.

Objectives

1. To understand the importance of recognizing their own biases, prejudices and fears related to HIV and AIDS, and how their attitudes can negatively influence and impact on their interactions with women and other employees living with the disease;
2. To understand issues of stigma and discrimination in the workplace and their impact on women and other employees living with HIV;
3. To understand the causes and consequences of HIV related stigma and discrimination and imagine the feelings of people who are infected with the disease;
4. To understand what can be done at the workplace to ensure that women and other employees living with HIV are not stigmatised or discriminated against;
5. To understand employees' rights in relation to HIV testing and disclosure of status and to identify the employers' role in ensuring a non-discriminatory and a safe working environment;
6. To understand the ways in which people become infected with HIV, how they deal with it in their daily lives and understand best practice for prevention of HIV transmission in the workplace;
7. To empower women and other employees living with HIV by making them aware of their right to privacy and confidentiality during delivery of services, especially during counselling, physical examinations, and handling of their medical records and other personal information;

8. To empower working women and other employees affected by HIV to express their views freely and their right to negotiate safe sex, avoid violence, go through HIV testing and counselling and disclosure of HIV status;

9. To support all employees living with HIV to learn how to live positively without passing on the virus to other employees or anybody else. The social and emotional aspects of their learning should include how to maintain a healthy level of self-confidence and self-esteem; and

10. To teach women in particular living with the disease how social, biological, economic and cultural factors make them more vulnerable to the disease.

Programme 2

Description

The scholarly evidence reviewed earlier shows that in Sub-Saharan African countries people livings with HIV have had their human rights violated by their employers and work colleagues (Nyblade et al. 2003; GNP 2012). Thus, programme 2 should focus on a human rights sensitivity training programme for managers, supervisors and team leaders who are in position to protect the rights of women and other employees living with HIV/AIDS. The training of the officers should incorporate non-discrimination, informed consent, confidentiality, and stigma and discrimination reduction. UNAIDS (2010a, b), citing the studies by Pronyk et al. (2006) and Phinney (2008) states that measures taken "through the world of work to promote gender equality and women's economic empowerment increases the bargaining power of women to negotiate safer sex" (UNAIDS 2010a, b, p. 4). The report further cited the UN World Survey on the Role of Women in Development (2009) and suggested the inclusion of women at decision-making levels, in work-related groups and organizations such as trade unions. The report argued that such measures could help women gain better access to their rights, including sexual and reproductive rights, and lower their vulnerability to HIV infection (UNAIDS 2010a, b).

Aims

1. To protect human rights and dignity of people living with HIV such as those relating to unauthorised disclosure HIV status, unfair dismissal, and protection against violence and intimidation; and

2. To promote equality and non-discriminatory relationships between employees living with HIV and those without.

Objectives

1. To understand the duty of management to create a supportive environment so that employees living with HIV are able to continue working under normal conditions in their current employment for as long as they are medically fit to do so (WCGSA 2013);

2. To understand that all testing programmes established at the workplace must be the subject of appropriate consultation with employees or representative organizations and must be subject to independent and objective evaluation and scrutiny;

3. To understand that all testing must comply with generally accepted international standards on pre- and post-test counselling, informed consent, confidentiality and support;

4. To understand the duties of employers not to use the results of epidemiological studies as a basis for discriminating against women or any class of employee in the workplace;

5. To understand the duties of employers not to use HIV testing as a prerequisite for recruitment, access to training or promotion;

6. To understand the duties of all employers to recognize the sensitive nature of HIV and AIDS and undertake to handle all matters relating to employees' HIV status with the utmost discretion and privacy. However, where employers operate a philosophy of

openness, employees living with HIV should be encouraged to be open about their HIV status (Nyblade et al. 2003);

7. To understand the right of all employees living with HIV not be dismissed or denied appropriate alternative employment opportunities merely on the basis of HIV infection. There should be collective agreement, which would establish conditions or grounds for dismissal (Nyblade et al. 2003);

8. To understand the duty of all employers to recognise the importance of consultation, inclusivity and encouraging full participation of all stakeholders as key principles which should underpin every HIV/AIDS policy and programme;

9. To empower women and all vulnerable employees living with HIV to stand up against any form of stigma or discrimination from anyone including their employer and work colleagues;

10. To empower working women and other employees affected by HIV to know their rights and laws in the context of the epidemic and draw them down into concrete demands in terms of gender equality, non-discrimination on basis of HIV and other social status, elimination of violence against them by work colleagues, protection against unauthorized disclosure of their HIV status and protection of their rights of access to HIV prevention, treatment, care and support;

11. To empower working women and other employees affected by HIV to demand that a procedure be in place for dealing with stigmatization, discrimination, victimization and harassment through the application of normal organizational disciplinary and grievance procedures; and

12. To provide access where possible for accurate, appropriate, understandable, and unambiguous information related to health.

Finally, to be effective in minimising the impact of stigma and discrimination on the wellbeing of working women, both employees and employers must be aware of the HIV and AIDS policy and programmes. All employees must be allowed an opportunity to contribute to the develop-ment, implementation, monitoring and regular review of both the policy and programmes. These would enable the employees to have ownership of the policy and programmes and at the same time allow employers control over what is going on with regards to mistreatment of women and other vulnerable employees living with HIV in order to take timely action to protect the vulnerable and punish offenders in accordance with disciplinary policies and procedures of the organisation.

Conclusion

Much of the studies reviewed for this chapter paint a rather grim picture of increasing HIV infection and deeply-embedded stigma and discrimination against working women living with the disease in sub-Saharan African. As noted earlier, the sub-region bears an inordinate share of the worldwide HIV burden with women constituting 60 % of those living with disease in the region (WHO 2012). As referred to earlier, although the global rate of new HIV infections has decreased, the total number of people in sub-Saharan Africa living with the disease, especially women, continues to rise (UNAIDS 2006, 2010a, b).

Some emerging evidence from the studies reviewed for this chapter suggests that working women living with HIV in Sub-Saharan African countries face stigma and discrimination. Stigma and discrimination are complex phenomena; the experiences of Sub-Saharan Africa have shown that these are deeply intertwined with complex cultural beliefs and practices. For example, in a study of HIV related stigma in three sub-Saharan African countries, Nyblade et al. (2003) found that both women and men are stigmatized for breaking sexual norms for their gender. However, gender-based power imbalances make it easier for women to be blamed. Other scholars have argued that in many Sub-Saharan African countries, HIV/AIDS is widely seen as a consequence of sexual immorality or immoral behaviours, thus, people living with the disease are viewed as irresponsible and blamed for acquiring the disease. In some cases,

the disease is perceived as a punishment given by God or ancestors to perpetuators of sins like prostitution, promiscuity, injecting drug or practising homosexuality. The scholars added that many people in Sub-Saharan countries considered themselves as very religious and good people and have strong moral values. They believe, thus, that a religious person with strong moral values should abstain from sex until marriage and that those who acquire HIV/AIDS through sexual activity or promiscuity bring disgrace to themselves and their families. These views often form the basis of stigma and discrimination against people living with HIV (Ayranci 2005; Chijioke et al. 2005).

As noted earlier, stigma and discrimination are also found to prevent the delivery of effective treatment and care to women living with HIV and increase their vulnerability to HIV infection and prevent them from interacting with their work colleagues, their families, and their communities. For example, experiences of disclosure by some working women and their subsequent stigma and discrimination often provide a strong incentive for others not to disclose in order to avoid negative or targeted maltreatment by their employers and co-workers (Makoae et al. 2008; GNP 2012; Hale and Vazquez 2011). Similarly, some scholars argued that many people avoid having anything to do with people living with HIV culminating in some infected persons often conceal their HIV-positive status because of the stigma associated with the virus. The scholars added that some of them continue to have unprotected sex, thereby infecting more people and spreading the dangerous disease (Ohene-Sakyi et al. 2010).

In addition, many of the studies reviewed earlier identify social isolation, ridicule, unauthorised disclosure of the HIV status, termination or refusal of employment on grounds of HIV status, and many more examples of HIV related stigma and discrimination against working women. The studies show that the impact of this stigma and discrimination on the wellbeing of working women includes depression, anxiety, poverty and displacement. Importantly, the studies also found that ignorance culminating in fear and prejudice lie at the core of HIV/AIDS-related stigma and

discrimination (Hale and Vazquez 2011; Haspels et al. 2001; Asante 2007; Simbayi et al. 2007; Adedimeji and Odutolu 2007; GNP 2012; AVERT 2012a, b; Folasire et al. 2012). In the light of the overwhelming evidence, this author argues that working women in sub-Saharan African countries will continue to suffer from the impact of HIV related stigma and discrimination as long as ignorance exists among employers, work colleagues and the larger community.

The scholarly findings cited above are astounding and provoked many international organisations to a call for action regarding workplace policy interventions to stop HIV related stigma and discrimination. However, these policy recommendations were largely targeted on global organisations (ILO 2005a, b, 2009; UNAIDS 2010a, b). Given the nature of HIV related stigma and discrimination, their prevalence, seriousness, and their negative impact on the wellbeing of working women living with the disease in Sub-Saharan African countries, this author thus proposes workplace policy whose overriding aim it is to minimise the impact of HIV related stigma and discrimination on women working in the formal organisations for which literature is available. To achieve the policy aim, this author recommends workplace programmes to raise awareness of issues concerning HIV and AIDS in the workplace and to promote the wellbeing and rights of women and other employees living with HIV.

Since everyone is potentially at risk of contracting HIV, it is imperative that the future programme should incorporate preventive activities targeting all employees, including middle and senior management (NAC 2010). The HIV and AIDS awareness programme should go beyond educating working women living with the disease, but should include preventive efforts such as providing condoms for their partners and making testing facilities available and accessible to work colleagues who are not affected by the disease. The awareness programme should also link the HIV programme to treatment and care programme. This is the wellness aspect of the workplace programme, which would consist of helping employees living with the disease to access

treatment either direct or through referral and general support such as providing information on available treatment, helping with future plans, counselling, work and home-based care (UNAIDS 2007). This author also recommends that any future programme aimed at the minimisation of HIV-related stigma and discrimination should seek to reduce the lack of certainty by providing information on how HIV is not transmitted in the workplace including building skills pertaining to social interaction with employees living with the disease (Bos et al. 2008). In other words, workplace programmes should aim to impart knowledge that it is only in very rare circumstances that HIV infection can be transmitted through normal workplace interaction, and thus it poses no immediate health risk in the workplace (Gable et al. 2007).

Finally, this author will further recommend involvement of all employees at the developmental stage and constant monitoring and evaluation of any workplace policies and programmes as these are vital for their efficiency and effectiveness.

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Part VII

Epilogue

Feminist Eudaimonia: A Research Direction

Jiyun Wu and Mary L. Connerley

When Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle contemplated eudaimonia (meaning human flourishing), it is doubtful that women were part of the consideration. In fact, it is possible that women may not have been considered as being endowed with "daimons"—potential excellences that are the vital building blocks of eudaemonia (Norton 1976, p. 32). More recently, when psychologists further pursue the concept of eudaemonia, with an emphasis on human fulfillment or self-realization (e.g., Ryff 1989; Maslow 1943), their approach is generally gender-neutral, with tacit acknowledgement, particularly among contemporary psychologists, of the existence of daimons in women. Indeed, recent research on eudaimonia has generally not been gendered; that is to say, relatively little scholarly attention has been given to the unique difficulties, challenges, and barriers that women face with regard to eudaimonia, still an elusive term for most women and a bold dream for many.

Eudaimonia is not the outcome of an individual's lone enterprise, but predicates on opportunities available to one in accordance with one's possession of necessary resources, such as education and social networks (c.f. Ryff and Singer 2008). The allocation of these resources, to a great extent, is determined by factors, such as the nature of a society's political and economic structures, racial and ethnic demographics, and gender ideology. An unequal allocation of societal resources implies unequal allocation of opportunities for members to achieve their self-realization. In this regard, women suffer a disadvantage, compared with men, in varying degrees across countries in the world. When women are deprived of education or are socialized to receive a STEM-deficient education, they are deprived of the crucial human capital that many men possess and can leverage in an increasingly technology-driven age; when they are taught to play their gender roles well—to mainly be good mothers and wives and to seek jobs traditionally held by women—they are deprived of financial capital that could allow them to enjoy economic autonomy and well-being, while at the same time, they are also deprived of social capital that could allow them access to the more privileged, traditionally men's world. Finally, when they do start to step into the men's world, thanks to the civil rights movement in the west and legislation and public policies in many parts of the world, they find themselves often hampered by a lack of what could generally be termed psychological resources, due to the traditional roles they have played – male-oriented organizational norms and reward systems,

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(lingering) conventional gender role expectations, bias, overt and covert discrimination, and sometimes even harassment; the glass corporate ladder for them, if they do put their feet on it, seems to be particularly treacherous. In short, in a world where women constitute a significant portion of the labor force and where they increasingly strive for equality, the path to flourishing at the workplace for today's women seems markedly tortuous; the resources accorded to them are socially constricted.

In particular, modern organization arose when women's sphere of life still remained mostly at home and men became its main participants, who helped shape its ethos, values, and norms. On top of these are persistent traditional gender role expectations and stereotypes, which often render the modern workplace averse to women who aspire to realize their full potential. For instance, women are often expected to work 5-day, 8-h uninterrupted schedules; and they are evaluated based on standards used for men, who, to a great extent, can detach themselves from child rearing and other family responsibilities. These male-oriented, family-unfriendly work norms and standards reinforce the traditional chasm between men and women. Under these work norms and standards, many aspiring women "fail" in the traditionally male-dominated organizations — to become associates in law firms, surgeons in hospitals, or executives in corporations. Although in recent years, many companies have introduced family-friendly policies and programs, which have helped to address work-family conflicts, traditional gender role expectations persist and women continue to be main bearers of various family responsibilities, which means that although their work has been made less stressful – a step in the right direction indeed – in terms of career advancement, they can still be left behind by men who, for the most part, can stay undisrupted by family responsibilities. Further, for those who somehow manage to overcome work-family conflict, modern women still face various obstacles at the workplace, in terms of career advancement: they have to prove themselves by overcoming the stereotype of lack of competence in traditionally male-held jobs; and they often need to navigate a predominantly male-dominated world, guided by male-oriented behavioral protocols and with few upward social ties or female role models, leading to the familiar glass ceilings and glass cliffs. In worse situations, they may face exclusion, sexual harassment, or psychological violence, thanks to traditional gender ideology.

Consequently, the path to eudaimonia for women at the workplace seems to be more difficult than that for men, due to the unique challenges and barriers they face. Hence, women's eudaimonia warrants special scholarly and public policy attention. Yet, despite its humanistic and social import, there seems to be generally a void in scholarly research in this regard in happiness/well-being/quality-of-life studies; the limited amount of research on QOL of women has largely focused on their emotional well-being (c.f. Sirgy 2012, pp. 487–502). Yet, hedonic-well-being, which sometimes is equated with emotional well-being, and eudaimonic well-being are distinct, though related, constructs (Vitterso et al. 2010; Kesebir and Diener 2009; Sanjuan 2011; c.f. Sirgy 2012 and Sirgy and Wu 2009); each may have its unique antecedents and consequences. As a result, we propose feminist eudaimonia as a promising direction for research. By feminist eudaimonia, we assume that women possess what ancient Greek philosophers call daimons (potential excellences), as men do, and we aim for increasing opportunities for the realization of daimons in women. The central task, therefore, is to uncover various macro, meso, and micro factors that hinder or create opportunities for women's flourishing, with a view to spurring public action for a more equitable society, in terms of the distribution of its members' eudaimonic well-being.

Feminist eudaimonia, therefore, extends feminism, whose focus has primarily been understanding gender inequality, with an eye to promoting women's rights and interests. Revolutionary and far-reaching in its scope and influence, feminism

has nevertheless stopped short of contemplating and advocating equality in eudaimonic well-being. Yet a society cannot be truly equal, if "the highest good" (i.e., eudaimonia) is not equally distributed in it, even if other political and social equalities have been achieved. We therefore further branch out feminism and propose equity in eudaimonia as another worthy goal for feminism and as a fertile area for scholarly exploration and public policy debates and enactment. Hence, feminist eudaimonia builds on existing women's studies and studies of gender issues in various disciplines; yet the new object of equity in eudaimonia for women calls for a new set of research questions, specifically,

- What are the philosophical justifications for feminist eudamonia? Will a society with a more equitable distribution of eudaimonic well-being be more desirable?
- What does eudaimonia or a fulfilled life mean for women?
- Will women's eudaimonic well-being contribute to their affective well-being and overall life satisfaction?
- How do we operationalize and measure women's eudaimonic well-being?
- What are the major social, political, economic, and cultural barriers for women's eudaimonia in different societies? How can we overcome those barriers? In which areas have we made progress and in which areas do we need to work more?
- What are the unique challenges for marginalized women, such as minority women and women from lower economic social strata, to achieve eudaimonic well-being?
- How does patriarchal gender ideology impact women's acquisition of critical human resources, such as education and social capital? How does it impact women's identity and choice of jobs and careers? How does it impact women's sense of self-worth and competence? How does it impact women's progression in career?
- What are the psychological and social psychological threats to women aiming for eudaimonic well-being?

- What more can a society do to make traditionally male-dominated jobs more available to women?
- How can a society and its organizations help re-distribute child-rearing and other family responsibilities more equitably between men and women so that women are not disadvantaged with regard to the time needed to achieve career success?
- How does modern bureaucracy help/impede women's fulfillment at the workplace? What sort of barriers exists in organizations in different societies for women to achieve career advancement/success? How can an organization become more women-friendly, in terms of its culture, reward systems and policies?
- What can a society and its organizations do to make leadership positions more available to women or to make it easier for women to advance in their careers?
- How can modern organizations help overcome overt and covert discrimination against women?
- What can the media do to promote women's eudaimonic well-being? How can the media help enact new gender/genderless norms?
- What can our education systems do to help prepare women to achieve eudaimonic well-being in different societies? How can our education systems in different societies help fight against patriarchal gender norms?
- What can women themselves do to help enact a reality that will be less hostile to them, in terms of eudaimonic well-being?
- Which public policies have been successful? Which public policies have been less effective? What can we learn from both successful and less successful policies? What more public and organizational policies are needed to enhance women's eudaimonic well-being?

In summary, feminists have come a long way in fighting against gender inequality. Yet feminism's mission will not be accomplished until women can truly flourish in all societies. The various issues explored in this book related to working women in different societies reveal that there is still a long way to go before we achieve

equity in eudaimonic well-being for women. It is our hope that feminist eudaimonia could serve as a unifying force that enlivens much of existing research in multiple disciplines related to various disadvantages, inequalities, and barriers for women in different societies and that it guides and invigorates future research and action, for it is, we believe, moving feminism forward in a promising direction.

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Index