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Editorial

This issue represents the culmination of two years of publishing. In that time we have had a special issue on Women and Politics, and have published contributions from Australia, Canada, Israel, New Zealand, United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Each issue has had its own distinct flavour. Each issue has also had a diverse range of contributions. A number of ground-breaking articles have been published, while several reviews have handled different aspects of the status of women in a number of fields. The diversity and depth of the contributions illustrates that the field of women and leadership is very broad, and that this journal is succeeding in its aim of publishing articles relating to women's participation in 'various work and community environments, leadership styles and forms, cross-cultural aspects of women at work and in leadership positions, women in management and education for leadership'.

This issue is no exception. Once again it has an interesting collection of articles. Sherry Moss, Russell Kent and Shawnta Friday initially draw our attention to the pattern of leader emergence in the historically female-stereotyped context of primary education in the United States of America. The results of their research reveal a contrary finding to previous research. Many prior studies found that masculine-typed subjects were more likely to emerge as leaders in initially leaderless group situations than feminine-typed subjects, while androgynous-typed leaders were also favoured over feminine-typed or other undifferentiated subjects. What is notable in this study is that while masculine and androgynous types were more likely to perceive themselves as leaders than other types (feminine and undifferentiated), others did not perceive them as leaders. The authors raise the issue of context as the main contributor to this contrary result, while also highlighting the need to explore further the variables of sex, sex-role and leadership context to gain a greater understanding of this complex issue.

A related, but different, aspect of women in management and leadership is examined by Carole Page and Marie Wilson. Their paper argues that managerial effectiveness is influenced more by gender issues than by sex differences in men's and women's management styles. Using the technique of Concept Mapping to tap practising managers' perceptions about effective management, the researchers found that men and women have similar perceptions about what is required but have different approaches on how they proceed. They conclude that sex or gender has nothing to do with the potential ability of either sex to be effective as managers. Instead, socially conditioned gender characteristics either enhance or reduce potential ability to be effective, and govern perceptions of effectiveness, with attributions based on stereotypical gender characteristics being falsely linked to sex characteristics. The researchers raise an interesting view of the 'glass ceiling' and the impact of organisational culture on a manager's progress: namely, that stereotypical thinking creates a 'glass ceiling' for the potential effectiveness of managers everywhere, and not just for women.

Andrew Hede and Elizabeth O'Brien follow-up earlier work of Hede's (IRWL, Vol.1, No.1, 1995) on managerial inequity in the Australian workforce by examining the Australian private sector in more detail. Employment data on 1228 firms was analysed over a six year period from 1990 to 1995. The results reveal that while the percentage of women in management in the private sector had increased
significantly over the period, women's representation in management in the overall workforce was essentially static and may even be decreasing. The authors conclude that the legislation requiring firms to comply with Affirmative Action reporting requirements is having a positive impact. However, they also raise a critical question: why isn't women's managerial representation improving in the overall workforce? Their research indicates that Australia, like other countries, is apparently making sporadic improvement in a number of areas but not in a general sense. Women still have a long way to go, then, before true equality in representation is achieved in the workforce.

Catherine Smith and Leonie Still also report on the Australian scene. However, their work looks at the opportunities women managers have for international assignments. This research arose out of the report of the Australian Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills [The Karpin Report] which indicated that Australian managers of the future would need, amongst other things, international management experience. As women are not being appointed to senior positions in Australia in any great numbers, the researchers were interested in learning whether women would face even higher hurdles in the future because of these changing criteria. The research found that women are not generally being given access to international careers. Moreover, those organisations who do send managers on international assignments tend to operate on outmoded assumptions and placement processes. It seems, then, that Australian women managers also face a 'glass border' as well as a 'glass ceiling' when it comes to planning a long-term career - a finding which goes against the spirit and intention of the Karpin Report.

Sandra Fielden and Marilyn Davidson then examine a new topic: the sources of stress in unemployed female managers. Much has been made in the literature, both popular and anecdotal, of the impact of unemployment on male managers. However, the impact of unemployment on female managers has been unexplored. Using qualitative and quantitative data to identify stressors, stress outcomes and moderating factors amongst the women managers, the researchers found that participants report significantly higher levels of job commitment than their employed counterparts, but significantly lower levels of ambition and self-confidence. Interestingly, discrimination is found in all stages of the recruitment process, with ageism being the main barrier to successful job search. These results hold import for the current trend for greater part-time work for women. A more positive conclusion: while the impact of job loss on female managers is substantial, by maintaining high levels of activity, social support and personal control they apparently are able to minimise the adverse effects of such deprivation.

Finally, Valerie Clifford presents a case study of a small business, a general practice, run on feminist principles of management. Many women have for a long time advocated that organisations would benefit from such principles. Clifford's study focuses on the structure and processes created to translate philosophy into actuality and how these work in practice. While the business certainly benefited from the feminist paradigm, the day-to-day dynamics also presented the same conflicts between work, home and self as found in large companies. However, the general practice, as described, offers a model of how an egalitarian, collaborative work environment may be put into practice and sustained. It also highlights the ongoing attention that needs to be given to how the team develops as the organisation grows.

Leonie V. Still,  
Editor
Sex Roles and Leader Emergence in a Predominantly Female-Stereotyped Environment: The Case of Primary Education in the United States

Sherry E. Moss, Florida International University, Russell L. Kent, Georgia Southern University, and Shawnta S. Friday, Florida International University, United States of America

ABSTRACT

Many studies have examined the effects of sex roles on emergent leadership in various contexts and under various task situations. Most of these studies have shown that masculine-typed subjects were most likely to emerge as leaders in initially leaderless group situations and some have shown that androgynous-typed leaders were more likely to emerge than feminine-typed or undifferentiated subjects. Though the types of tasks have been varied in some of these studies to include what were considered to be traditionally feminine tasks, traditionally masculine tasks and gender-neutral tasks, no study has examined the broader context within which these tasks take place. In this study, the pattern of leader emergence in the historically female-stereotyped context of primary education in the United States is examined. Contrary to findings in other contexts, results indicate that masculine and androgynous subjects are no more likely to emerge as leaders in this context than subjects in the other sex-role categories. The implications of these findings are noteworthy in the context of primary education in the United States, which is characterised by a majority of female teachers, but which has historically been managed by male principals and superintendents.

INTRODUCTION

The prevalence of initially leaderless group situations in organisations such as informal meetings, committees, task forces, and project teams, calls for the study of leadership as a dynamic social process during which an individual somehow adopts the role of leader (Hollander & Julian, 1969). Situations such as these give individuals the opportunity to demonstrate their leadership capabilities (Schneier &
Sex Roles and Leader Emergence in a Predominantly Female-Stereotyped Environment: The Case of Primary Education in the United States

Bartol, 1980). Those who are perceived as leaders in one group situation may be more likely to be labelled as leaders in other group situations, thereby enhancing the possibility of promotion to appointed leadership positions (Goktepe & Schneier, 1988). Thus, the process of emergent leadership in groups may have important implications for organisations in terms of the development of future leaders.

Since the abandonment of the trait approach to leadership research in the 1950s, due to conclusions made in several literature reviews noting an overall failure to find a single personality trait or constellation of traits that differentiated leaders from followers (e.g. Jenkins, 1947; Mann, 1959; Stogdill, 1948), a renewed interest in the relationship between personality traits and leadership has been inspired by two articles in the 1980s (Kenny & Zaccaro, 1983; Lord, DeVader & Alliger, 1986). Indeed, after reviewing the current state of the literature, George (1992, p202) concludes that:

“the prognosis for the utility of personality constructs for understanding the leadership phenomenon is more positive today than the rather dismal outlook portrayed several decades ago. Personality does seem to be important in regards to leadership as researchers from both the more micro and more macro sides of behaviour are increasingly acknowledging”

Bass, in his most recent update of the Handbook of Leadership, suggests that “it is reasonable to conclude that personality traits differentiate leaders from followers, successful from unsuccessful leaders, and high-level from low-level leaders” (Bass, 1990, p86). Criticisms of past leadership trait research, along with recent, more optimistic reviews of trait research, have intensified the efforts of researchers to identify those characteristics which predict who will emerge as group leaders. These attempts can be found in several recent works (e.g. Dobbins, Long, Dedrick, & Clemons, 1990; Kent & Moss, 1994; Moss & Kent, 1996; Spangler & House, 1991). Some of this research has focused on the sex of emergent leaders and more recently on the sex-role orientation of emergent leaders.

Sex Effects

Beginning with the classic Megargee (1969) study examining the effects of sex on leader emergence in laboratory settings, research has overwhelmingly shown that males have been more likely to emerge as leaders than females (Carbonell, 1984; Dobbins et al 1990; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Fleischer & Chertkoff, 1986; Nyquist & Spence, 1986; Wentworth & Anderson, 1984). While females may have slightly increased their chances of emerging as leaders since 1969, their chances were best when a feminine task was employed (Carbonell, 1984; Wentworth & Anderson, 1984) or when they were perceived by their male counterparts as ‘experts’ (Fleischer & Chertkoff, 1986).

Recent research in this area has begun to show that sex is a less significant factor in predicting leader emergence than it was in the past and that other variables may account for more variance than sex. For example, if one traces the research over time from Megargee’s original study to the most recent studies (e.g. Goktepe & Schneier, 1989; Kent & Moss, 1994; Moss & Kent, 1996), one will find that males were clearly the emergent leaders in early studies, but later studies have found no significant sex effects. Thus, it appears that over time, other variables have become better predictors of emergent leadership other than biological sex. More specifically, when examining gender effects in leadership research, several studies have shown that sex roles (i.e. as per Bem’s Sex Role Inventory) predict leader emergence better than sex (Goktepe & Schneier, 1989; Kent & Moss, 1994; Moss & Kent, 1996).
Sex Role Effects

Since Bem (1974) defined masculinity and femininity as two separate and independent dimensions of personality, many studies have examined differences between individuals classified according to her taxonomy as 'masculine' (those high in masculinity and low in femininity), 'feminine' (those high in femininity and low in masculinity), 'androgynous' (those high in both masculinity and femininity), or 'undifferentiated' (those low in both masculinity and femininity). Those who are high in masculinity can be described with phrases such as 'defends own beliefs', 'aggressive', 'ambitious', 'independent', and 'willing to take a stand'. Those who are high in femininity can be described with phrases such as 'gentle', 'compassionate', 'sensitive to the needs of others', and 'eager to soothe hurt feelings'. It is important in this study, as well as other studies using the various indices of masculinity and femininity (e.g. Bem, 1974; Bem, 1981; Spence & Helmreich, 1978), to understand that the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' are nominal labels and could be substituted with labels such as 'dominance and warmth', 'instrumental and expressive', or 'self-assertiveness and interpersonal orientations', respectively (Spence, 1984). Instead of being distracted by the historical and social connotations associated with the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine', we must remember that these two constructs represent trait clusters which are conceptually distinct from masculine and feminine social roles (Spence, 1984, pp. 12-13).

Only a few studies of the effects of sex roles on leader emergence have been conducted. Though the general pattern of results in these studies indicates that masculinity is a desired trait in leaders and that femininity is detrimental to leadership (Cann & Siegfried, 1987; Fagenson, 1990), there is still some ambiguity concerning the relationship between sex-role classifications and emergent leadership. In two studies conducted by Goktepe and Schneier (1988; 1989), results indicated that masculine-typed subjects (undergraduate business students) were significantly more likely to emerge as leaders in initially leaderless groups than feminine, androgynous, or undifferentiated types. In another study using similar methodology and undergraduate business students, Kent and Moss (1994) found that both masculine and androgynous subjects were more likely than feminine and undifferentiated subjects to emerge as leaders in initially leaderless groups. In a study of career achievement in working women, Wong, Kettlewell and Sproule (1985) found that masculine-typed women attained higher levels of career achievement than either androgynous, feminine, or undifferentiated women. Their results further indicated that masculinity was positively and significantly correlated with career achievement in women, but that femininity was significantly and negatively related to career achievement in women. Kapalka and Lachenmeyer (1988) examined the differences in supervisory versus non-supervisory males and females in several industries. Their results indicated that androgynous-typed subjects were more likely to be in supervisory positions than the other three gender-role types. Finally, Moss and Kent (1996) found that both masculine-typed and androgynous-typed subjects were perceived as leaders in initially leaderless groups of primarily working MBA students when the type of leader emergence measure used allowed for the possibility of multiple leaders. However, when students were forced to choose a single leader from their group, those most likely to be chosen were masculine-typed. Though these somewhat inconsistent results reveal the need for further examination of the effects of sex roles on leadership emergence, it is clear that masculinity (whether masculine only or androgynous) was related to leader emergence in all of these studies.
Leadership Context

Some of the research examining the relationship between either sex or sex roles and emergent leadership has incorporated variations in task type. For example, some studies have examined leader emergence in situations where a traditionally masculine task such as repairing machinery or investing an inheritance was used, where a traditionally feminine task such as planning a wedding budget was used, or where a 'gender neutral' task such as a class assignment was used (Carbonell, 1984; Goktepe & Schneier, 1989; Kent & Moss, 1994; Wentworth & Anderson, 1984). The results generally reveal that females will be chosen, or perceived, as leaders in historically feminine task situations and that males will be chosen, or perceived, as leaders when the task is either masculine or gender-neutral.

However, we have been unable to identify any study which has systematically examined the larger context or task environment in which the leader emerges. Just as tasks may be perceived as historically more masculine or feminine, organisational types, industries, or vocations may be stereotyped as more masculine or feminine (Beggs & Doolittle, 1993; Futoran & Wyer, 1986; Shinar, 1975). For example, stereotypically male-oriented fields include law enforcement, engineering, and professional medicine while stereotypically female-oriented occupations include nursing, primary education, domestic services, clerical, and food services (Betz, Heesacker & Shuttleworth, 1990; Bridges & Bower, 1985). Though many studies have examined the relationships between career choice or employee selection and sex-typed occupations (Betz et al, 1990; Bridges & Bower, 1985; Davis, 1987; Strange & Rea, 1983), we can identify no studies which examine the sex-role characteristics of those who emerge as leaders in female-stereotyped occupations.

We propose that the patterns of leader emergence may vary in different organisational or professional contexts due to their domination by one sex or the other. Research suggests that in professions such as nursing or teaching which have female majorities, qualities associated with the 'feminine' trait such as 'nurturing' and 'sympathetic' would be more valued in leaders than they would in historically male dominated contexts. Conversely, qualities associated with the 'masculine' trait such as 'assertiveness' and 'independence' would presumably be more valued in a male dominated context (Shinar, 1975; White, Kruczek, Brown & White, 1989). Therefore, we would expect that those valued qualities in a particular context would be more associated with leaders in that context.

While the valued qualities of leaders held by individuals in particular sex-stereotyped occupations may vary, and that this in turn might affect who dominates the leadership positions within the various occupations, it is noteworthy to examine the distinction between 'domination' of an occupation in terms of holding positions of authority versus 'domination' of an occupation in terms of one sex having numerical majority. The 'context' chosen for the present study was American primary education. Interestingly, while females have dominated this field in terms of sheer majority (particularly in elementary education), males have held the majority of the positions of status and authority in primary education. The following statistics support this statement. In 1992, women held 87 per cent of the teaching positions in elementary schools and 55 per cent in secondary schools. However, they held only 40 per cent of the Principal or Vice-Principal positions combined (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Elementary-Secondary Staff Information, 1995). For the position of Principal (only), 34.5 per cent were women at the end of the 1993-94 school year (includes both elementary and secondary schools). In addition, the female principals were in their positions only half as many years as the male principals - 5.6 versus 10.3 years, respectively - even though their possession of
advanced degrees (masters, PhDs, and education specialist) was comparable (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1995). However, according to several sources, these figures are up considerably since the early 1980s (Jones & Montenegro, 1991; U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Elementary-Secondary Staff Information, 1995), the number of female principals and administrators in the American public school system compared to the number of potential female administrators (the pool is assumed to be teachers in the system) is very skewed. It is noteworthy that women have fared considerably better in terms of advancement to principal positions in the American private school system (54 per cent), but the salaries of principals in private schools are only about 55-60 per cent of principal salaries in public schools (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1995). On a final note, it is clear that most of the progress of women advancing to leadership positions in the last decade and a half has been made at the elementary school level (Edson, 1995). As of 1990, only 21 per cent of the deputy/assistant/associate superintendent of school district positions and only 5 per cent of school district superintendent positions were held by women (Jones & Montenegro, 1991). Thus, although females have held the majority of teaching positions in elementary and secondary education in the American public school system, males have dominated the ranks of leadership positions. It therefore seems clear that 'maleness' is related to leadership emergence in this context. Preliminary research suggests that the pattern of under-representation of females in educational leadership positions may also be typical in other countries including The Netherlands and Canada (See Gill, 1995; Veenman, 1990).

The present study is an attempt to understand this phenomenon and to partially test the effects of sex-typed occupational context on the relationship between sex-role and leader emergence. One could argue, on the one hand, that individuals possessing 'feminine' qualities such as 'gentle' or 'sensitive to the needs of others' would be valued in the teaching profession, and that those possessing such qualities would be revered by colleagues who might elevate them to a position of authority. One could also argue, on the other hand, that an individual possessing 'masculine' qualities such as 'aggressive' or 'ambitious' will, in the long run, rise to a position of authority because they will be dominant over those around them. All evidence supports the latter. In addition, the career choice literature supports the hypothesis that women choosing 'traditionally female career' options (e.g. primary teaching) were more likely to be feminine-typed while those women choosing 'traditionally male career' options were masculine-typed (Strange & Rea, 1983; Wolfe & Betz, 1981). Thus, we would expect that females in the present sample would have higher femininity scores than females making 'non-traditional' career choices. This, combined with the evidence above which suggests a strong relationship between maleness and leadership in the American primary education context, makes it nearly impossible to hypothesise which sex-role category will be most associated with leadership among a group of primarily young women majoring in primary education in college. Since these are the subjects of the present study, it could be argued that the characteristics of those they identify as their leaders in their college classroom represent a proxy for the characteristics they will value in a leader when they assume teaching responsibilities in a primary school setting.

**METHOD**

**Subjects**

One hundred and eleven students enrolled in one of several undergraduate education courses at two South-eastern universities in the United States volunteered...
to respond to a questionnaire administered near the end of the course. All students in these courses were members of groups who were assigned course-related group projects to be turned in at the end of the semester. Members of the groups interacted throughout the length of the course. Of the 111 subjects, 105 were female and 6 were male. Six groups had one male member each. No group had more than one male member. Group size ranged from 3 to 5 members. There was a total of 34 groups, twenty-five of which had 3 members, four of which had 4 members, and five of which had 5 members.

Procedure
Subjects were assigned to groups at the beginning of the term in each class. They were assigned group projects which were to be turned in and presented at the end of the term. To complete the projects, group members had to interact for significant periods of time throughout the course term.

After turning in and/or presenting their group projects at the end of the term, but before receiving project grades, subjects were asked to respond to a questionnaire during class time. The questionnaire was accompanied by a brief cover letter explaining that the researchers were interested in students’ group experiences. The cover letter also assured subjects that their responses would be confidential and that they might learn more about the study by contacting one of the researchers.

Instrumentation
Students responded to the short form of the Bern Sex Role Inventory (Bern, 1981) which was chosen due to its psychometric superiority to the original BSRI (see Bern, 1981; Spence, 1984 for further information). The BSRI short form required respondents to indicate the extent to which 10 masculine adjectives or phrases and 10 feminine adjectives or phrases which were descriptive of themselves. Responses were measured on Likert scales ranging from 1 (never or almost never true) to 7 (always or almost always true). A masculinity score for each subject was derived by averaging the subject’s responses to each of the 10 masculine items (e.g. ‘dominant’, ‘assertive’) and a femininity score was derived by averaging the subject’s responses to each of the 10 feminine items (e.g. ‘affectionate’, ‘sympathetic’). Subjects were then allocated to one of the four sex role categories by determining whether their masculinity and femininity scores were above or below the sample median. In the present sample, masculinity scores ranged from 2.6 to 6.9 with a median of 5.00. Femininity scores ranged from 4.35 to 7.0 with a median of 6.00. Using the Bern methodology, subjects were assigned to one of the four sex-role categories.

Those scoring higher than 5.00 in masculinity and higher than 6.00 in femininity were classified as ‘androgynous’. Subjects scoring higher than 5.00 in masculinity and lower than 6.00 in femininity were classified as ‘masculine’. Subjects scoring lower than 5.00 in masculinity and higher than 6.00 in femininity were classified as ‘feminine’. And finally, subjects scoring lower than 5.00 in masculinity and lower than 6.00 in femininity were classified as ‘undifferentiated’.

The mean masculinity and the mean femininity scores for each of the four sex role categories are presented in Table 1. To ensure that subjects in each of the four categories were significantly different from each other, two analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were run. The first ANOVA indicated a significant overall difference between subjects in the four sex-role categories in terms of masculinity, F(3, 107) = 9.75, p < .001. Follow-up t-tests were conducted which indicated that masculine - and androgynous-typed subjects had significantly higher masculinity scores than feminine - and undifferentiated-typed subjects (all p’s<.001), but were not
significantly different from each other in masculinity. The second ANOVA indicated a significant overall difference between subjects in the four sex-role categories in terms of femininity, \( F(3, 107) = 15.996, p<.001 \). Follow-up t-tests were conducted which indicated that feminine- and androgynous-typed subjects had significantly higher femininity scores than masculine- and undifferentiated-typed subjects (all p's < .001), but were not significantly different from each other in femininity. These results indicate that masculinity and femininity scores for subjects in the four sex-role categories are appropriately and significantly different from each other.

Table 1 Number of Subjects in Each Sex-Role Category with Mean Masculinity and Femininity Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex-Role Category</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Androgynous</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5.54</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>6.52</td>
<td>.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.57</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>5.44</td>
<td>.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>6.42</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undifferentiated</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>111</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
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</table>

It is significant to note that the median masculinity scores in this study were very similar to those found in other studies of sex-role and emergent leadership but the median femininity scores were considerably higher. The median masculinity score was 5.0 and the median femininity score was 6.0 compared to 5.1 (M) and 4.9 (F) for undergraduate business students in Goktepe and Schneier (1988); 5.35 (M) and 5.23 (F) for working women in Wong et al (1985); 5.3 (M) and 4.7 (F) for primarily employed MBA students in Moss and Kent (1996); 4.97 (M) and 5.19 (F) for undergraduate psychology students in Gurman and Long (1992); and 5.09 (M) and 4.69 (F) for a combined sample of MBA and undergraduate students in Powell and Butterfield (1979). In these studies, the median masculinity scores range from 4.97 to 5.35 (this range includes the 5.0 obtained in this sample) while the median femininity scores range from 4.69 to 5.23 (this range does not include the 6.0 obtained in this sample). Clearly, the femininity scores obtained from the subjects in this particular female-dominated context are considerably higher than those from other types of samples.

In addition to the BSRI short form, subjects were asked to complete a questionnaire which contained four measures of leader emergence. Questionnaires were completed before subjects knew their grades on their class projects in order to avoid any confounding effects resulting from knowledge of performance. The first two measures of leader emergence used a three-item scale developed by Kent and Moss (1990). Prior usage of this scale has produced internal consistency coefficients ranging from .64 to .94 and the scale has had high convergence with other, more traditional measures of leader emergence (Kent & Moss, 1994). The three items on this scale asked respondents to rate the extent to which they and each of their group
members (1) assumed a leadership role; (2) led the conversation; (3) influenced group goals and decisions. Subjects responded on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from (1) never to (7) always. A self-perception measure of leader emergence (lead-self) was calculated by averaging each subject's responses to the three items. The internal consistency for lead-self was .83. The average rating on the three items provided by each individual's fellow group members served as the group measure of leader emergence (lead-group). The internal consistency for lead-group was .94. The third measure of leader emergence was obtained by asking subjects to rate the extent to which they would like each of their group members to be selected as the group leader (group-rate) (Dobbins et al., 1990). Subjects responded on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from (1) not at all to (7) very much. The final, and most traditional measure of leader emergence was obtained by asking respondents to write the name of the one group member, excluding themselves, whom they felt had been the group leader during the semester. Due to unequal group sizes, the percentage of times a particular individual was nominated by the group (rather than the number of times) served as the fourth measure of leader emergence (nomination). The intercorrelations for these four measures of leader emergence were all significant and ranged from .21 to .71 (Table 2).

Table 2 Correlations Between All Variables In The Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Lead-Self</th>
<th>Lead-Group</th>
<th>Group-Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>.0299</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>*(.756)</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>(.149)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
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<td>(.073)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(.257)</td>
<td>(.880)</td>
<td>(.023)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
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<td>.6535</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p-values in parentheses

RESULTS

Table 2 reports the correlations between all variables measured in the study. There were no significant correlations between femininity and any measure of leader emergence. There was a significant correlation between masculinity and self-perceptions of leadership, but not between masculinity and any of the other measures of leader emergence.

Table 3 shows the means and standard deviations of all leader emergence variables for each sex-role category. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to determine whether or not any overall differences between the four sex-role categories existed on the four measures of leader emergence. Wilks Lambda
revealed an overall multivariate significance, $F = 275.45$, $p < .011$. Univariate F-tests indicated that only lead-self had significant between-group differences, $F (3, 107) = 4.90$, $p < .003$. There were no other univariate differences between sex-role groups on any of the other three leader emergence variables.

Follow-up t-tests on the lead-self variable indicated that masculine and androgynous subjects had lead-self scores that were not significantly different from each other, $t = -1.22$, $p < .227$. Similarly, feminine and undifferentiated subjects did not differ significantly on lead-self, $t = -1.35$, $p < .227$. However, both masculine and androgynous subjects did have significantly higher lead-self scores than feminine subjects, $t = 2.14$, $p < .037$ and $t = 3.55$, $p < .001$, respectively. Androgynous subjects had higher lead-self scores than undifferentiated subjects, $t = 2.55$, $p < .014$, but masculine subjects did not, $t = 1.22$, $p < .228$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3 Means and Standard Deviations of All Leader Emergence Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self-Lead</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Androgynous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undifferentiated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DISCUSSION**

Consistent with other studies which have examined self-perceptions of emergent leadership (e.g. Kent & Moss, 1994; Moss & Kent, 1996), those who are high in masculinity (masculine and androgynous types) are more likely to perceive themselves as leaders than other types (feminine and undifferentiated). What is notable in this study is that others do not perceive them as leaders. In previous studies, subjects high in masculinity both perceive themselves, and are perceived by others, as emergent leaders (Kent & Moss, 1994). It would be interesting to follow the careers of these primary education students as they enter the profession to see if those now categorised as masculine and androgynous rise to positions of authority in the school system.

Unlike virtually every other study examining sex roles and emergent leadership, this study found no relationship between masculinity and any other measure of leader emergence. This may be attributable to the context in which the study took place. One possibility is that in a predominantly female environment, masculine personality characteristics are less predictive of leader emergence than in either male-dominated or gender-balanced contexts. Further, the possession of feminine attributes in a predominantly female context did not seem to significantly hinder leader emergence as it has in other studies (Cann & Siegfried, 1987; Fagenson, 1980; Wong et al, 1985). All correlations between the variable, femininity, and
Sex Roles and Leader Emergence in a Predominantly Female-Stereotyped Environment: 
The Case of Primary Education in the United States

various measures of leader emergence were not statistically significant. It seems that, in this sample, feminine characteristics play a neutral role. They are neither associated with, nor disassociated with, emergent leadership. Since the career choice literature seems to indicate that females choosing stereotypically female-oriented careers are higher in femininity than females choosing male-oriented careers, the fact that femininity does not seem to hinder emergent leadership is a good indicator to those feminine females who have entered the profession because of their desire to nurture children, but who also aspire to educational leadership positions.

In trying to reconcile the present results with the evidence concerning the number of males and females in teaching versus leadership positions in the American primary education environment, it could be argued that biological sex, rather than sex-role characteristics (i.e. masculine, feminine, androgynous, etc.) better predicts leader emergence. If this were the case (and we cannot conclude this from the results of this study), it would constitute evidence contrary to the most recent studies of sex-role and leader emergence in other settings. While most research from the 1960s and 1970s found that males were more likely to emerge as leaders than females, more recent studies have found sex-role to be a better predictor of leader emergence than biological sex (Goktepe & Schneier, 1989; Kent & Moss, 1994; Moss & Kent, 1996). In this study, sex-role does not predict leader emergence in initially leaderless groups. However, all other statistical evidence suggests that males dominate leadership positions in primary education in America.

Thus, it becomes clear that the present study does not represent the most robust test of the relationship between sex-role categories and leader emergence in this predominantly female-employed, but male-managed context. What would be a robust test would be to evaluate the sex-role characteristics, using the Bem Sex Role Inventory, of matched pairs of males and females in positions of leadership (i.e. assistant principals, principals, assistant superintendents, and superintendents) as well as the sex-role characteristics of matched pairs of males and females in teaching positions. Clearly, male teachers and male administrators in primary education would have to be well-represented in any sample which adequately addresses the issues raised in the present study. Our sample, being predominantly female, does not allow us to evaluate the relative roles of sex, sex-role, or the interaction between the two, in predicting who will emerge as a leader in this particular context. The hypothetical study described above would allow such comparisons.

In pursuing an understanding of the role of 'context', as defined by both the numerical distribution of males and females and the power distribution of males and females in a particular profession, it is important that we design studies which include other professions. For example, while primary education is numerically dominated by women but dominated by men in terms of power, the nursing profession (in the U.S.) has both numerical domination by women and power domination by women. Comparison of the sex-role categorisation of emergent leaders in these two contexts would be very interesting. Additionally, as the number of women who emerge as leaders in primary education in America grows, the factors which contribute to this growth should continue to be researched. Other related issues include the differing philosophies or styles of male versus female educational leaders, as well as educational leaders of differing sex-role categories, in carrying out their responsibilities. It seems that feminine educational leaders, for whom the nurturing and caring for students may have attracted them to the profession, may manage their responsibilities in a different manner than do masculine educational leaders, who might place their emphasis on the achievement-oriented outcomes of the schools they manage. Interesting evidence relating to this
point can be found in a study of female educational leaders in Newfoundland (Gill, 1995).

Perhaps this study has raised more questions than it has answered. However, these questions are fundamental to our understanding of emergent leadership in gender-stereotyped occupations. To advance our understanding of the dynamic processes underlying emergent leadership, it is important that we continue to explore the potentially important variables of sex, sex-role and leadership context.

Footnotes
1. All references to 'masculine', 'feminine', 'androgynous' or 'undifferentiated' refer to categories defined by subjects' scores relative to median masculinity and femininity scores on the Bern Sex Role Inventory.
2. The six males in the study were distributed across six groups, so excluding groups with a male member was deemed an unacceptable option since it would reduce sample size by almost 20 per cent. Sex effects were not rested as 6 males in a sample of 111 was deemed too small a sub-sample to test.
3. The original 60-item BSRI was revised to (1) maximise the internal consistency of the femininity and masculinity scales, (2) maximise the orthogonality between the two scales, and (3) eliminate several items on the femininity scale which had low social desirability ratings (i.e. 'yielding', 'shy') (Bern, 1981).
4. The purpose of the first ANOVA was to ensure that subjects categorised as masculine-typed and androgynous-typed had significantly higher masculinity scores than subjects categorised as feminine-typed and undifferentiated. The purpose of the second ANOVA was to ensure that subjects categorised as feminine-typed and androgynous-typed had significantly higher femininity scores than subjects categorised as masculine-typed and undifferentiated.

REFERENCES


Affirmative Action in the Australian Private Sector: A Longitudinal Analysis

Andrew Hede, Sunshine Coast University and Elizabeth O’Brien, Australian Catholic University, Australia

ABSTRACT

This study was designed to provide an assessment of women’s managerial representation in Australian private sector organisations. Data were obtained for 1,228 firms (with 100+ employees) over a six-year period (1990-1995) using their annual reports to the Affirmative Action Agency. Trends in women’s representation were analysed separately for different industries. The Managerial Inequity Index was used to estimate managerial representation while controlling for variation in women’s workforce participation across industries and over time. The effect of organisational size was examined to test previous evidence that women are better represented as managers in large organisations. However, no such relationship was detected. A comparison of the Affirmative Action Report data with official labour force statistics indicated that women’s managerial representation is increasing in private sector firms, but is static in the overall Australian workforce. This result suggests that affirmative action is having an effect in firms covered by the legislation and points to a need to extend the coverage to firms with fewer than 100 employees.

INTRODUCTION

Australia has a workforce characterised by sex segregation of three types based on industry, occupation and hierarchy, respectively. First, although women will soon comprise half the overall workforce they are mainly concentrated in a few industries, namely, Wholesale/Retail Trade, Health & Community Services, and Education (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996). Second, women are over-represented in some occupations (Clerks, Sales) and under-represented in others (Managers, Trades) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996). The third type of sex segregation sees women concentrated at the lower end of hierarchies in Australian organisations such that their representation decreases with increasing managerial level (Conroy, 1994). This latter segregation is often attributed to a ‘glass ceiling’ (Morrison, White & Van Velsor, 1987; Still, 1992), a metaphor which is misleading in that it incorrectly implies there is only a single barrier at the top and that it is plain sailing for women in management once they break through (Hede, 1994).

It is generally accepted that the reason for the three types of sex segregation in the workforce is entrenched discrimination over many years which has made it difficult for women to obtain employment in some industries and in some
occupational groups, and which has prevented their progression up managerial hierarchies at the same rate as men (Burton, 1994; Still, 1993).

Over the past two decades there has been considerable effort by Federal and State governments in Australia to eradicate discriminatory practices at work and to encourage equal opportunity in employment. Legislative provisions against sex discrimination were initiated by various jurisdictions in the late 1970s, and affirmative action legislation was introduced by the Federal Government in the mid-1980s (Poiner & Wills, 1991; Ronalds, 1987; Sawer, 1989). The latter legislation applies to all organisations with more than 100 employees and requires them to report to the Federal Government's Affirmative Action Agency on the implementation of measures designed to remove barriers to women's equality of opportunity in the workplace. The question is, to what extent have these laws produced changes in the employment status of women, particularly their prospects in management?

There have been few empirical studies which have attempted to assess the impact of equal opportunity and affirmative action initiatives on women in management in Australia. A recent study using official labour force statistics to track women's managerial representation in the overall workforce showed that while there was a significant increase in the decade from 1975 to 1985, there was no significant improvement over the decade to 1994 (Hede, 1995). Several studies have focused on the public sector where equity initiatives have been pursued with varying degrees of creativity and commitment across different jurisdictions (Conroy, 1994; Moore, 1994). However, there appears to have been only one major study of women managers in the Australian private sector (Still, Guerin & Chia, 1994). This study compared the results of a survey in 1992 with one conducted in 1984 (Still, 1986). Both surveys involved questionnaires mailed to the 'top' Australian commercial organisations across all industries, the 1984 useable sample comprising 239 companies (17.2 per cent response) with 140 companies in the 1992 sample (12.7 per cent response). The study focused on those companies which reported employing women in managerial positions (viz., 138 companies in 1984 and 124 in 1992).

The results indicated that women comprised 31.4 per cent of all employees in the 1984 sample but only 10.8 per cent of managers, the comparable figures for 1992 being 42.3 per cent and 11.8 per cent, respectively (Still et al., 1994). There was a clear effect of organisational size such that more than three quarters of the women managers in both surveys came from organisations with more than 1000 employees. The distribution profiles of women and men across the managerial hierarchy were found to be different, with women more concentrated at the lower levels in the two surveys. The proportion of women managers in senior positions decreased between 1984 and 1992 (from 2.5 per cent to 1.3 per cent). In both surveys women's average salaries were found to be lower than those of men at all managerial levels. These and other findings in the study led the investigators to conclude that 'the position of women managers in the private sector in Australia has regressed rather than progressed in the nine year period under review' (Still et al., 1994, p61).

A major problem with the study by Still et al. (1994) was the low response rate and the fact that the 1984 and 1992 samples could not be matched. The researchers warn that 'few generalisations can be made from the data regarding the status of women managers in all Australian commercial organisations' (Still et al., 1994, p49). The present study was designed using a different methodology in an attempt to obtain a more definitive assessment of the progress of women in
management in the private sector. Data were analysed from a sample of 1,228 organisations, comprising more than half of all private firms in Australia with more than 100 employees. These firms were tracked over a six-year period (1990-1995) using the Affirmative Action (AA) Report Database. The specific research questions addressed in the study were:

1. Has women's managerial representation increased in the Australian private sector covered by affirmative action legislation?
2. How do the different industries compare in terms of changes in women's managerial representation?
3. Have larger firms performed better in improving the representation of women in management?
4. How does women's managerial representation in the private sector compare with that in the overall Australian workforce?

METHODOLOGY

The database used in the present study was constructed from reports submitted to the Affirmative Action Agency (AAA). The Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Act 1986 requires all Australian private sector organisations with more than 100 employees to report annually on their affirmative action programme. Reports for each year are due by April in the following year. As well as information about affirmative action, these reports provide details of each organisation's employment profile, specifically, statistics on their total workforce by occupation, by gender and by employment status (part-time, full-time, casual). Occupation is reported using the Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO). The AAA classifies each firm in terms of its industry using the Australian Standard Industrial Classification (ASIC). The AAA further categorises each organisation by size bands ranging from 100-499 (Band 3), 500-999 (Band 2) to 1,000+ (Band 1).

The AAA reports for the four years 1990-93 were issued on microfiche and those for 1994 and 1995 were recently released on CD-ROM. For 1993 a total of 2,081 private sector firms submitted reports to the Agency by August 1994 (almost 99 per cent compliance), and these were subsequently placed on microfiche. In the 1994 reporting year the AAA received 2,175 reports from private sector organisations (95 per cent compliance), and in the 1995 reporting year it received 2,165 reports (97 per cent compliance) with most of these being placed on the CD-ROM.

The main reason for the discrepancy between the number of AAA reports available on microfiche and CD-ROM (2000+ companies) and the number of reports in our database (1,228 companies) is that not all companies could be tracked across all six years. Some companies ceased operations during the six-year period (or dropped below 80 employees - the minimum for reporting purposes), and some new companies were established after 1990. Also, a small proportion of companies did not submit a report for all six years and some companies did not submit a report to the satisfaction of the AAA. Only those companies which appeared across the six years were included in the AA Report Database.

To gather the data required for the research for the years 1990-1993, extracts from each of the reports on microfiche were photocopied. The first page of the report provided the basic information about each company including its name, industry group, and AAA reference number (essential for cross-matching the companies across the four years), and another page contained the employment profile. Data from these photocopied sheets were then entered into a number of spreadsheets. This then enabled the construction of basic frequency tables as well as more involved
proportional tables (showing the changes in management by gender, relationship to changes in total employment, size of company and industry). Separate spreadsheets were constructed for each industry and each size band within that industry. For each industry basic frequency and proportional tables were constructed on separate worksheets to the raw data. These worksheets were then linked to the worksheets containing the raw data which allowed the tables to be continually updated as new raw data was entered for each year.

All of the available reports for two years (1990 and 1993) were photocopied and the raw data entered into the spreadsheets. The companies from these two years were compared and those which appeared in both 1990 and 1993 were identified. Only the 1991 and 1992 reports from those companies identified in both years were then photocopied. The data from these two years was entered onto the spreadsheets and a gradual picture of an initial 1,461 companies over the four year period began to emerge.

The company employment profiles for 1994 and 1995 were entered into the database directly from the CD-ROMs. Once again, the number of matched companies decreased (from 1,461 to 1,228) as some of these companies were no longer required to submit a report, went out of business or failed to report (and were named in Parliament). Also, some of the reports could not be read from the CD-ROMs due to various technical problems and a small section of the alphabetically listed companies (beginning with the letter 'C') were missing from the CD-ROMs.

Approximately 1,600 companies were matched across the two years 1990 and 1993 (77 per cent of the 2,081 companies which reported in 1993). Of these, a total of 1,461 companies were identified across all four years (91 per cent of the matched companies and 70 per cent of the 1993 reporting companies). This figure was reduced to 1,228 companies with the inclusion of the 1994 and 1995 AAA reports from the CD-ROMs (77 per cent of the original matched companies and 57 per cent of the 1995 reporting companies). The employment profiles of these companies then formed the database on which this research is based. The AA Report Database covering 1,228 companies over the period 1990-1995 contains the most up-to-date data available from the AAA, as the reports for 1996 will not be accessible until mid-1997.

Limitations of the Methodology

There are a number of limitations associated with the use of the AAA reports to create an empirical research database on private sector employment. First is the reliance on self-reported data. In some instances the human resource manager or other person responsible for completing the form differed from year to year within the same company. This resulted, in a minority of cases, in fluctuations of the annual employment data that were sufficiently large enough to necessitate a call to the company concerned to verify the data. Such rare fluctuations were apparently due to the question being read in different ways by different individuals, for example, seasonal staff were sometimes classified as casual staff in one year and part-time in the next. Individual differences by those reporting in how they classified employees according to occupation would also contribute to random error in the data.

Second, each company was classified by the AAA as belonging to a particular size band on the basis of total employment of the parent company rather than of the respondent company. This meant, for example, that some subsidiary companies which should belong to Band 3 by virtue of their size (100-499 employees) were classified as belonging to Band 2 or Band 1 with their parent company. However, this classification 'anomaly' actually assisted in identification of companies across
the four years even if they had moved above or below the 100, 500 and 1,000 cut-offs at different points in their life cycle - no matter what the changes in total employment were, they were always classified as belonging to the same band. (Note that the reports on the AAA microfiche were sorted according to year and then according to band).

Third, the AA Report Database records both total employees and also those classified in the ASCO category 'Managers and Administrators'. It is this occupational category which provides the measure of managerial representation for the present research. However, this category does not include people who play a managerial role in their organisation but whose major occupation is listed in a different category such as 'Professionals' or 'Para-professionals'. Although this effect may produce a small under-representation of the true numbers of managers, use of the ASCO category should give a reliable basis for comparison across industries and over time.

The final limitation of the AA Report Database which needs mentioning is the 'human error' factor. Every effort was taken to minimise human error when entering the employment data (e.g. the spreadsheets were set up to automatically sum the figures that were entered for full-time, part-time and casual employees to give a total figure which could then be double-checked against the totals recorded on the report form). Nevertheless, there were errors such as the incorrect photocopying of the microfiche (blurred, unreadable copies or some companies missed altogether), problems associated with the CD-ROMs (as mentioned above), the incorrect entry of the company name, identification number, industry code number or band number which then made matching across the six years a very time-consuming and sometimes impossible task. Many of these errors were subsequently rectified but unfortunately some companies were excluded from the database.

Despite these limitations (some which were within our control and some beyond our control), we consider the AA Report Database to be a reasonably reliable and valid source of employment data on women in management. The various sources of error outlined above are minor compared with those typically encountered in social surveys and should not introduce any systematic biases into the data. The data for total employees and total managers were used for the present research.

RESULTS

Database Composition

Table 1 Comparison of Industry Distribution of Firms in AA Report Database (1990-1995) and Total AAA Reports for 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDUSTRY</th>
<th>AA REPORT DATABASE</th>
<th>1995 AAA REPORTS</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>13</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Construction</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
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</tr>
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</table>
Of the 1,228 firms in the AA Report Database, the Manufacturing industry comprises by far the largest proportion with 559 firms, followed by Wholesale/Retail (n=192) and Property/Insurance (n=132). The smallest industry groups are Agriculture (n=13) and Health/Education/Services (n=30).

Table 1 details the number of firms in the database for each of the industries, and also compares the distribution of the 1,228 firms in the database with the 2,165 firms reporting to the AAA in 1995. This confirms the overall representativeness of the longitudinal database. For most of the industries there is a close correspondence between the two sources, except for Manufacturing which is slightly over-represented in the database, and Entertainment/Recreation which is under-represented (Table 1).

Table 2 summarises the composition of the AA Report Database with total numbers of employees and managers across the various industries. In 1990, the 1,228 companies had a total of 1,155,115 employees of whom 429,728 (37.2 per cent) were women and 725,387 (62.8 per cent) were men.

<table>
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<tr>
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Of the 1.15 million employees, 930,885 (80.6 per cent) were full-time (281,963 women & 648,922 men), 57,347 (5 per cent) were part-time (46,788 women & 10,559 men), and 166,883 (14.4 per cent) were casual (100,977 women & 65,906 men). In
1995, there was a total of 1,125,668 employees in the 1,228 companies including 469,095 women (41.7 per cent) and 656,573 men (58.3 per cent). The 1.13 million employees comprised 794,492 (70.6 per cent) full-time workers (251,677 women & 542,815 men), 99,098 (8.8 per cent) part-time workers (80,028 women & 19,070 men), and 232,078 (20.6 per cent) casual workers (137,390 women & 94,688 men).

Managerial Representation

During the six years investigated the overall representation of women in management moved from 17.2 per cent in 1990, 18.5 per cent in 1991, 18.7 per cent in 1992, 19.5 per cent in 1993, 20.2 per cent in 1994, to 21.7 per cent in 1995 (i.e., women managers as percentage of total managers). Regression analysis indicated that there is a significantly positive trend over this period averaging 0.80 per cent per year (t = 9.14, p<.001). However, it is possible that this modest increase in women’s managerial representation in the private sector is due to an increase in women’s overall workforce participation - note that the representation of women in the total workforce increased from 41.4 per cent in 1990 to 43.1 per cent in 1995 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1990-1995).

Figure 1 Women’s Managerial Representation in Australian Workforce: Comparison of ABS Labour Force and AA Report Data

To control for this possible effect, Hede (1995) developed the Managerial Inequity Index which can be calculated for any demographic group such that if that group’s representation in management equals their representation in the workforce the index takes a value of 100. Values exceeding 100 indicate that the group is over-represented in management and index values of less than 100 indicate under-representation. In the case of women managers the index is simply calculated as the percentage of women managers divided by the percentage of women workers with the result expressed as a percentage.
The Managerial Inequity Index for women was 46.2 in 1990 which means that women’s representation in management was only 46.2 per cent of their representation in the workforce. However, by 1995 the index value had increased to 51.9, suggesting that there had been a small but real increase in women’s managerial representation. In fact, the increase in the Managerial Inequity Index over the six years was significant ($t = 4.55, p < 0.05$) (Figure 1 also plots the increase in the percentage of women managers and includes comparative Australian Bureau of Statistics data to be discussed later).

Comparison Across Industries

The AA Report Database lists the industry of each of the 1,228 firms using the Australian Standard Industrial Classification (ASIC; see ABS, 1993). Figure 2 plots the percentages of women managers in each industry over the six years 1990 to 1995. In terms of overall managerial representation, women are best placed in the Health/Education/Services industry where they comprise about half of all those in the Manager/Administrator occupational category. Women are also fairly well represented in the Entertainment/Recreation and Wholesale/Retail Trade industries where their representation exceeds 30 per cent (see Figure 2). The industries in which women’s managerial representation is worst, at less than 10 per cent, are Mining, Agriculture, and Construction. This picture simply confirms what is well known about the sex segregation of different industries. But what of the trends over the six year period?

Figure 2 Percentage of Women Managers in Private Sector By Industry and Year
(AA Report Data)

The trends for each industry were tested using linear regressions. It was found that the percentage of women in management increased between 1990 and
1995 in five industries, namely, Entertainment/Recreation (t=3.29, p<0.05); Wholesale/Retail Trade (t=4.15, p<0.05); Property/Insurance (t=3.01, p<0.05); Finance (t=5.17, p<0.01); and Manufacturing (t=4.52, p<0.05). Although an inspection of Figure 2 seems to suggest some fluctuation in several of the other industries, there are no significant decreases in the trends over the six year period, which means they can be considered static in terms of women's managerial representation.

The above analysis is based on percentages of managers who are women, with no account of the differences across industries in women's workforce representation which varies from as low as 12 per cent in the case of Mining to as high as 72 per cent in the case of Health/Education/Services (ABS, 1995). Using the Managerial Inequity Index to control for this variation, Figure 3 plots women's managerial representation for each industry. The first notable feature is that although women comprise about half the managers in the Health/Education/Services industry (Figure 2), they are in fact under-represented in management considering that they constitute the majority of employees in this industry. Specifically, the Managerial Inequity Index indicates that women occupy only about 60 per cent of the managerial positions that would be expected under equity conditions (Figure 3).

Figure 3 Managerial Inequity Index for Women in Private Sector by Industry and Year (Equity = 100) (AA Report Data)

As for trends in the Managerial Inequity Index, there are three industries where the linear regressions show significant increases in women's representation in management over the six years, namely, Wholesale/Retail Trade (t=4.2, p<0.05); Finance (t=4.2, p<0.05) and Entertainment/Recreation (t=3.3, p<0.05). The position of women in the other industries remained unchanged with the exception of Transport where their managerial representation decreased significantly (t=-3.0, p<0.05) (Figure 3).
Effect of Organisation Size

The present study was interested in testing the finding of Still et al. (1994) that women are better represented in management in larger firms, particularly those with more than 1000 employees. Indeed, the AAA has reported that larger companies tend to have superior quality affirmative action programs which should result in more opportunity for women to progress in management (AAA, 1995). The AA Report Database represents size in terms of bands as detailed above. The 1,228 firms are distributed as follows: 360 in Band 1 (1000+ employees), 178 in Band 2 (500-999) and 690 in Band 3 (100-499). Figure 4 plots women’s managerial representation in terms of both percentages and the Managerial Inequity Index. As can be seen from Figure 4, large firms in Band 1 are not superior on either indicator and, in fact, women appear to have better managerial prospects in Band 3 firms. Analysis of variance confirmed that the smaller Band 3 firms have significantly higher percentages of women managers ($F = 12.7$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.001$).

Figure 4 Women’s Managerial Representation by Firm Size
(Band 1 = 1000+; Band 2 = 500-999; Band 3 = 100-499)

As noted above, the AAA practice of classifying small subsidiaries under the band of their parent would have resulted in a number of small companies being incorrectly classified as Band 1. To check whether this effect explains away the present finding in relation to size, the analysis was repeated using actual numbers of employees in the 1,228 firms (some of which moved across size groups from year to year). Indeed, the percentage of women managers did increase with organisation size (viz., 36.8 per cent for 100-500, 39.5 per cent for 500-999, 43.2 per cent for 1000+). However, when workforce participation is controlled using the Managerial Inequity
Index, the relationship disappears and even appears to reverse (viz., 56.3 for 100-500, 55.6 for 500-999, dropping to 50.5 for 1000+).

Comparison with Australian Bureau of Statistics Labour Force Data

The AA Report Database covers only a portion of the Australian workforce, namely, private sector firms employing 100 or more people. Data on the total workforce are available via official statistics collected through the monthly labour force surveys conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). One methodological problem is that the Affirmative Action Agency has continued using the ASIC code to classify industries while the ABS changed in 1994 to the new ANZSIC coding system (ABS, 1993). To ensure comparability for the present research, the ABS data for 1994 and 1995 were converted from ANZSIC to ASIC categories.

Percentage and Managerial Inequity Index measures using ABS data were compiled over the six-year period of interest (ABS, 1990-1995) and are plotted in Figure 1 along with the comparable data from the AA Report Database. Generally, the ABS data show higher representation levels than the AA Report data indicating that women are better represented in management in the overall workforce than in private sector firms. The most notable finding, however, is that on both indicators of women's managerial representation, the ABS data reveal no increases between 1990 and 1995 in contrast to the AA Report data which show significant increases on both indicators as discussed above. Analysis by industry using linear regressions indicated that in none of the industries on either indicator was there a significant change in women's managerial representation with the exception of Health/Education/Services which showed a significant increase (t = 3.3, p < 0.05).

DISCUSSION

The main finding from the present study using the AA Report Database is that women's managerial representation in Australian private sector firms increased over the six years investigated. Significant improvement between 1990 and 1995 was detected in both the percentage of women managers (from 17.2 per cent to 21.7 per cent), and in the Managerial Inequity Index which controls for the increase in women's workforce participation (index increased from 46.2 to 51.9). While this improvement is significant it indicates that women's managerial position is still well short of being equitable - women still occupy only about half the management positions they would if their representation matched their workforce participation. Also, the database includes only those private sector firms which submit reports to the AAA. Firms which fail to report are more likely to be those which are not implementing employment equity and affirmative action programmes for women. The true situation for women in the private sector is, therefore, likely to be even worse than that reported here.

Analysis in terms of industry indicated that women are best represented in Health/Education/Services, where they occupy about half the managerial positions, and in Entertainment/Recreation and Wholesale/Retail Trade, where more than a third of managers are women (Figure 2). Although the simple percentages might suggest that women have achieved managerial equity in Health/Education/Services, when one controls for their high workforce participation in this industry it is clear that they are seriously under-represented (the Managerial Inequity Index value is only 60 which is well below the equity value of 100). By contrast, the Construction industry is a surprise in that although women comprise only a small percentage of overall workers (14 per cent), their chances of gaining a managerial position are as good as in the best industry,
Entertainment/Recreation (Figure 3). Further, the Managerial Inequity Index revealed that Finance is one of the worst industries for women managers, their true representation being only 30 per cent of equity (30/100) which is comparable to the worst industries, Mining and Agriculture (Figure 3).

Analysis by industry also indicated that the significant improvement in women’s managerial representation over the six years was confined to three industries, namely, Entertainment/Recreation, Wholesale/Retail Trade, and Finance. For these three industries both the percentage and Managerial Inequity Index indicators of managerial representation evidenced a significant increase (Figures 2 & 3). Two other industries showed an increase in terms of percentages (Property/Insurance and Manufacturing) but not in terms of the Managerial Inequity Index indicating that the apparent improvement was due to an increase in women’s workforce participation in those industries.

Comparison of the AA Report data with ABS labour force data indicated that women’s managerial representation is lower in the private sector than in the overall Australian workforce. For example, in 1995 women comprised 21.7 per cent of private sector managers as compared with 24.1 per cent for the whole workforce (the comparable values for the Managerial Inequity Index being 51.9 and 55.9, respectively) (Figure 1). The higher managerial representation for women in the overall workforce is clearly due to the contribution of public sector organisations which have been more proactive over a longer period in promoting equal opportunity for women.

However, while women’s managerial representation is lower in the Australian private sector it is improving at a faster rate than in the overall workforce. The present study showed that there has been a significant improvement between 1990 and 1995 in the private sector but that the position of women in management has been static overall (see Figure 1). There is even the possibility that the current trend is negative. Labour force statistics show that the percentage of women in management in the total workforce has fallen from 25.3 per cent in 1994 to 24.1 per cent in 1995 to 23.4 per cent in 1996 (ABS, 1996). Controlling for women’s increased workforce participation, the Managerial Inequity Index also shows a consistent fall over these three years from 59.6 to 55.9 to 54.2, respectively. Although it is not possible to determine whether this is a definite trend and whether it will continue, these data certainly confirm that there is currently no significant improvement in women’s managerial representation in the overall workforce. A more reliable trend can be obtained by conducting a linear regression based on the percentages of women in the managerial occupational category over eleven years from 1986-1996. The slope on this regression line indicates that women’s managerial representation is currently improving at the rate of only 0.15 per cent per year. Were this trend to continue, it would take women 177 years to reach equal representation!

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study used the Affirmative Action Report Database to track women’s managerial representation in the Australian private sector. Employment data on 1,228 firms were analysed over the six year period 1990-1995 in terms of the ASCO occupational category ‘Managers & Administrators’ and the various ASIC industry categories. The main findings can be summarised as follows:

1. The percentage of women in management in the private sector increased significantly over the six years (from 17.2 per cent to 21.7 per cent);
2. This increase was confirmed by the Managerial Inequity Index which controls for women's increasing workforce participation (from 46.2 to 51.9);
3. The percentages of women in management are highest in the Health/Education/Service, Entertainment/Recreation and Wholesale/Retail Trade industries;
4. Controlling for differing participation rates across industries, women's managerial representation is best in the Entertainment/Recreation and Construction industries and worst in Finance, Mining and Agriculture;
5. The improvement in women's managerial representation between 1990 and 1995 occurred mainly in the Entertainment/Recreation, Wholesale/Retail Trade and Finance industries;
6. Contrary to previous evidence, women's managerial representation does not increase with organisation size;
7. ABS labour force data indicate that women's representation in management in the overall workforce was essentially static over the six years investigated, and may currently be even decreasing.

What are the policy implications of the present findings? First, there seems to be clear empirical evidence in the present study that Australia's affirmative action legislation is having a positive impact. In those firms covered by the legislation and which comply to the extent of submitting reports to the Affirmative Action Agency, we have seen significant improvement in women's managerial representation over a six year period. Although managerial representation is only one indicator of women's employment status, it is considered a valid basis for longitudinal analysis and for assessing overall programme effectiveness. An important issue for future research and policy analysis is why some industries are showing improvement in women's managerial representation while others are static and one (Transport) even seems to be deteriorating. The present investigators are planning further analysis particularly in terms of the quality of different firms' affirmative action plans.

The present evidence of progress towards equity in firms covered by affirmative action must be set in context. The increase over the six years investigated, while statistically significant, is quite modest - women's managerial representation in those firms is still only half-way towards equity (as indicated by a Managerial Inequity Index value of 51.9 in 1995). More importantly, increased representation in the manager occupational category may mean nothing more than that women are being recruited into the lower ranks of management without any improvement in their progression in managerial hierarchies. Even in firms with award-winning affirmative action programs women's representation decreases sharply at the higher management levels such that there is still serious managerial inequity at the top (Affirmative Action Agency, 1996). A recent study of employee attitudes in one firm with exemplary 'espoused policies' on affirmative action found that only 38 per cent of women thought they had the same opportunities as men (Sheridan, 1996, p14-15). This study also found that two thirds of women and a third of men agreed that within their firm 'there is still a feeling that top positions should be held by men'. The present finding that affirmative action is having a positive impact on managerial inequity should not be seen as grounds for complacency but rather as an impetus for renewed effort - affirmative action can be effective but only if pursued vigorously by those who espouse equity in the workplace.

The crucial issue is what to do about the fact that women's managerial representation is not improving in the overall workforce. Considering that the public sector has generally been active in employment equity over the past decade, the likely 'problem' area is in firms with fewer than 100 employees, that is, firms that are
not currently covered by affirmative action legislation (note that the higher education sector is already covered but reports separately). The obvious implication is that the coverage of the Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Act should be extended. It would seem reasonable to suggest that firms with more than 20 employees should be required to implement and report on an affirmative action programme.

Such a suggestion may be greeted by employers with howls of protest against yet another government imposition. But women will continue to demand equality in employment, specifically, equality in managerial hierarchies. Perhaps it should not be left to governments to legislate in this area. It is so easy for employers to fulfil the letter of the law on equal employment opportunity and still persist with subtle forms of discrimination. Ultimately, it is a matter of changing attitudes of employers by demonstrating that discrimination is not only contrary to the espoused Australian ethic of a 'fair go for all', but it also prevents their firm from obtaining the maximum return from its workforce. Employer attitudes will change when they realise that firms which keep promoting less capable men over more capable women will eventually lose out in the productivity stakes to firms which implement equitable employment policies.

Footnotes

1. An earlier report of this research was presented at the Australian and New Zealand Academy of Management Conference, Wollongong, December, 1996. The authors acknowledge constructive comments by Associate Professor Catherine Smith and Dr Diane Summer.

2. The Affirmative Action Report Database project was initiated by Professor Andrew Hede (Sunshine Coast University) and developed in collaboration with Professor Craig Littler (University of Southern Queensland) and Dr Tom Bramble (University of Queensland). The database was compiled by Elizabeth O'Brien (Australian Catholic University) with data entry by various research assistants including Patricia Rowe (Queensland University of Technology) and Kate Pearce (Sunshine Coast University). Kate Pearce also provided valuable assistance with the analysis and presentation of data for the present study.

3. Linear regressions were used to test for trends over the six years investigated. Although this period is probably too short for reliable time series analysis and non-linear relationships are possible, a linear model is considered appropriate for tracking underlying trends in managerial representation in the workforce.

REFERENCES


Managerial Effectiveness: What’s Sex got to do with it?

Carole Page, Massey University and Marie Wilson, Auckland University, New Zealand

ABSTRACT

This paper argues that managerial effectiveness is more influenced by gender issues than by sex differences in men and women’s management styles. To argue this position, the literature on sex differences likely to influence effectiveness as a manager is summarised, the literature on gender issues is reviewed, and an empirical study conducted. This exploratory study was small, using groups of nine male managers, nine female managers, and a control group of nine non-managerial women. The study measured gender role identity, and compared the perceptions about what constitutes effective management in the current business environment. Concept Mapping (Trochim, 1989), a relatively new focus group research technique, was used to gather practising managers’ perceptions about effective management and compare them as visual representations of each group’s concept of effective management. Key findings were that, as predicted, the female manager group demonstrated a more androgynous gender identity than the non-managerial female control group, and the different sex groups demonstrated different concepts of effective management as predicted by the literature. The results provide evidence that men and women have similar perceptions about what is required, but have different approaches to how they go about it. It is argued that the differences are due not to sex differences, but to differential social conditioning of the sexes. Implications are discussed in terms of how gender role stereotyping enhances the perceived ability of men to be more effective than women, and at the same time reduces the potential ability of both sexes.

INTRODUCTION

Issues to do with women in management, and sex and gender-related issues in general, are recurrent themes in the literature. Efforts have been made to establish whether men and women have similar or different management and leadership styles (Kanter, 1977; Scott, 1986; Shipper, 1994). Where differences are found, whether one style is more effective than the other is of interest (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1995; Loden, 1985; Stanford, Oates, & Flores, 1995). Differences in employment conditions and career issues have also been investigated (Arthur, Hall, & Lawrence, 1989; Evetts, 1994; Tharenou, Latimer, & Conroy, 1994). Depending upon the perspective taken, differences are expected as a result of (1) sex differences determined by biological factors, or (2) conformity of male and female behaviour to socially constructed gender roles and gender related characteristics.

Most of the management research into sex and gender issues discusses the phenomenon of gender role stereotyping, and how this spills over into organisation politics, activities, and interactions of employees to govern behaviour and perceptions in organisations (Gethman, 1987; Nieva & Gutek, 1981; Russ & McNeilly,
1988). This is where the sex roles of men and women have become social gender roles, with associated gender-related characteristics, where occupations are appropriate to one sex and not the other (Christie, 1994), and where the sex of an individual determines appearance and behaviour of the sexes in social situations (Rambo, 1982, p458).

The impact of gender role spill-over (GRS) in organisations is usually discussed in terms of serious disadvantages to women, and to women managers in particular. There is particular concern over the issues that women managers must face, which men do not. By virtue of their sex, women managers face:

- Negative stereotyping of women and women's characteristics, whereby women are perceived to be psychologically and cognitively inferior to men (Kirk & Maddox, 1988; Mann, 1995; Tannen, 1995; Waring, 1988), where the skills and characteristics of women managers are discounted relative to men (Schaeff, 1985; Thorne & Henley, 1975), and where women are perceived to possess inherent traits which are inappropriate for managerial roles (Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Fagenson, 1990; Miller, 1986; Schein, 1973, 1975).

- Women being paid less for the same job (Jacques, 1987; Olcott, 1996; McGregor, Thomson, & Dewe, 1994).

- The 'Glass Ceiling Effect' where women's career paths are slower, and do not progress to the same levels as men (Burton, 1991; Davis, 1996; O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992; Olsen & Frieze, 1991; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Quinn, 1987), despite often being equally or more effective as managers (Flynn, 1994), more highly qualified (McGregor, Thomson, & Dewe, 1994), and more experienced (Waring, 1988, p42) than their male counterparts being promoted above them.

- Balancing the needs of home, family, and career (Berg & Hunter, 1990; Doyle, 1988; Erlich, 1989; Murray, 1987).

- Time involvement and timing can be problematic when managerial work involves long hours at the office, and when meetings are often scheduled at breakfast time or evening, making it difficult for women managers who are partners and mothers (Mann, 1995).

- Exclusion occurs when a peer group of male managers go for a game of golf, or on a night out, where a woman does not fit in well. Men talking about women (often in a condescending or derogatory way), and other male related subjects, also serve to exclude women. Having informal discussions while in the shower room at the club, or in the toilets, are also not options for a woman manager (Mann, 1995).

- Maternity issues and decisions about whether to have, or delay having, a family or not, as well as pregnancy and ongoing child care matters are concerns for women and not men i.e. the 'mummy track' debate (Cahoon & Rowney, 1991; Ehrlich, 1989; Schwartz, 1989; Wong, 1987).

- The need for coping strategies in order to operate within a male-created environment that is uncomfortable for, and sometimes hostile to, women as managers. Examples of coping strategies include the need to assume a more masculine approach, and/or repressing aspects of femininity which are regarded in a particularly negative way, (e.g. asking questions) (Pringle, 1994; Sargent, 1983; Watson, 1988). In a related sense, many women feel the need to 'look like a lady, act like a man, and work like a dog' before they are taken seriously as managers (Korndorffer, 1992).

- Sexual harassment and workplace ribaldry treats women as sex objects (Barrett, 1986).
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• Appearance is a different issue for women than it is for men. A woman must be careful not to dress suggestively, and ultra-feminine attire, such as chiffon and organza, is also inappropriate for women managers (Fritz, 1988).

• An overseas posting can also involve different issues for women in comparison to men; a single woman can be seen as being too vulnerable to be sent overseas, and a married woman could have domestic problems (Kirk & Maddox, 1988).

Apart from the unnecessary stress and angst these situation may cause women managers, it reduces their potential effectiveness as managers and leaders. Evidence suggests that corporations are losing good women managers who leave in frustration to start their own businesses, which they do particularly well (Crosthwaite, 1986; Jacobs & Hardesty, 1987). Unlike most previous research, the purpose of the present study is to explore not only the effects of GRS on women, but to also to discuss GRS as a phenomenon that reduces the effectiveness of both men and women managers. Further, the study begins to explore and measure the differential effect of GRS on men and women managers. This is accomplished by:

1. An investigation of the literature to establish real sex differences which are likely to influence managerial style;
2. An investigation of the literature to establish the effects of GRS on men and women as managers;
3. An empirical study to establish (i) whether men and women managers have different perceptions about what constitutes effective management practice in the 1990s, and (ii) if their perceptions are different, to what extent the difference can be related to the effects of GRS.

LITERATURE ON SEX DIFFERENCES

The sex of a foetus is determined at the time of conception. From birth, societal influences operate to either reinforce or moderate innate sex-related behaviour to shape gender-appropriate behaviour (Carlson, 1981; Le Vay, 1993; Lips, Myers, & Colwill, 1978; Parsons, 1980).

Aggression

A well established principle in neuroscience is that, without the timely intervention of the steroid testosterone, all human foetuses would be born female (Carlson, 1981; LeVay, 1993). It would seem that there exists a critical time band where, as a result of the Y chromosome (or steroid medication), testosterone levels rise to androgynise the brain. The outcome is to produce a characteristically male brain, which in tum drives sexual dimorphism and typical male sexual characteristics in terms of genitalia, facial hair, more muscular build, and so on. Without a rise in testosterone within that critical time band the foetus develops female brain organisation and female sexual characteristics by default, hence the need for testosterone to androgynise a female template.

A corollary of having a male brain and higher testosterone levels is more aggressive behaviour, where in all species the male is more aggressive (Carlson, 1981; Josephson & Colwill, 1978; Le Vay, 1993). Aggression has been categorised as being inter-male, inter-species, and sexual, where aggression is manifest in strategies of force and dominance. This is not to say that females are without aggression; the evidence on maternal aggression shows that females will attack much larger animals and kill to protect their young. It is more the case that male aggression is more generalised. There is, however, great individual difference where in some cases women can be more
aggressive than some men, but the fact remains that males, as a group, are predisposed to use more aggressive life-strategies than females. It also follows that women are predisposed to use life-strategies other than aggression unless their offspring are threatened.

Aggressiveness in a modern human context refers to an internalised need to be in a dominant position, and the idea that men will be more competitive about reaching a perceived position of superiority and dominance (Henley, 1977; Schaef, 1985; Tannen, 1995).

Cognitive Function

Neuropsychology and cognitive psychology have contributed to the understanding of male and female differences by establishing that males are superior to females on tasks involving configural (nonverbal, pictorial patterns) problem solving and creativity, in comparison to female superiority in verbal problem solving and creativity. In these disciplines problem solving is defined as finding a satisfactory method of reaching a goal when that goal is not readily available, and creativity is considered to be a subset of problem solving, where a mental set needs to be broken to find a solution that is both unusual and useful (Matlin, 1983, p6).

Once again it must be stressed that there is great individual difference and overlap between male and female performance in these tasks, and the differences are relatively small. Even so, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) state, "Female superiority on verbal tasks has been one of the more solidly established generalisations in the field of sex differences". (p75). Female brain organisation differs from male in that females have a larger corpus callosum (an inter-connective structure between the hemispheres), and have more right hemisphere language functions than males (Carlson, 1981; LeVay, 1993). Some believe that the better left-right hemisphere interconnection and right hemisphere involvement in language functions underpins female superiority with verbal material (Corballis, 1983, p97). Verbal differences emerge early, with girls developing language skills faster and earlier than boys, and having better articulation of words (Matlin, 1983, p366).

Memory functions (such as encoding and retrieval) and capabilities (such as capacity) do not differ between the sexes. However, memory content appears to reveal some differences where females are better with recall of verbal material and material with social content (Matlin, 1983, p361).

In all other aspects of human cognitive function and behaviour, there are no other established sex differences, with males and females showing the same range and level of human skills and characteristics. In summary then, the only sex differences likely to impact on management style or effectiveness are differences in aggressive predisposition, and in relative strength and weakness in cognitive strategies used to analyse information. The relative value of these characteristics is not of interest here - what is of interest is that both sexes have sex-linked characteristics useful to managerial effectiveness.

These innate sex differences are confounded by social conditioning where, from infancy, boys and girls are treated differently in order to train children for their adult roles (Blum & Smith, 1988). The following section discusses managers as human beings, in that basic human skills and characteristics common to both are differentially shaped from birth into 'gender appropriate', and dichotomised behaviours considered to be 'masculine' or 'feminine', and therefore appropriate to the perceived gender role. That is, human skills and characteristics become dichotomised into 'masculine' skills
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and characteristics, or ‘feminine’ skills and characteristics for no other reason than through social conditioning.

Social Conditioning

From infancy boys are encouraged in exploratory independent play, are generally given more freedom, engage in more rough-and-tumble play, reinforcing aggressive competitiveness for positions of social dominance (Santrock, 1983). As a result, boys and men interrupt others as a form of conversational dominance (West, 1979), create social situations where one is dominant and the other participants are subordinate or inferior (Fishman, 1983; Henley, 1977; Tannen, 1995), and spread out into available space as a form of spatial dominance (Henley, 1977). Girls are encouraged to express tender emotions, be co-operative, supportive, interdependent upon others, and show affection (Holmes & Stubbe, 1992; Santrock, 1983). Both sexes are discouraged from showing gender-inappropriate behaviour (Santrock, 1983, p237). It is in this manner that girls are prepared for motherhood and family duties, while boys are taught their roles as family breadwinners (Santrock, 1983, p221).

Childbearing capacity is universally associated with women being innately soft and nurturing in nature (O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992). While infants elicit a maternal nurturing, protective response in many women (LeVay, 1993, p68; Lips & Colwill, 1978, p29), it is not the case for all, and it does not follow that a maternal response is generalised to all matters, as social stereotyping would suggest.

The outcome of social conditioning is that boys and men have, and are restricted to, a characteristically ‘masculine’ set of behaviours and appearance, and a world-view that reflects a sense of superiority, self reliance, and self worth, especially relative to females. In contrast, girls and women have and are restricted to, a ‘feminine’ set of behaviours and appearance, a world-view that reflects an inferior social value relative to males, and a life strategy which subsumes any strong sense of ‘self’ within dependent relationships.

In effect, human society has created two completely different cultures for males and females (e.g. rituals, appearance, values), including different language patterns and word use between the sexes in every known linguistic community (Bodine, 1975; Campbell, 1992; Hass, 1979; Holmes & Stubbe, 1992; Tannen, 1995; Thorne, Kramarae, & Henley, 1983). Human societies everywhere, then, have spent millennia dichotomising and exaggerating the differences between the sexes, to socially construct artificial gender differences, and artificial gender-related work roles with ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ jobs (Christie, 1994).

As social beings, people interact with others, form impressions, and make judgements about each other on the basis of the stereotypical thinking of the culture. Males therefore begin with an advantage, given that those they interact with also believe in the inherent superiority of the male sex and all that goes with that. Conversely, being female puts women at an immediate disadvantage, and in an inferior position. Perceptions about relative superiority and inferiority in social relationships determines the manner in which the participants will interact, and the strategies that will be employed (O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992).

Studies in sociology, anthropology, and psychology have all converged in the findings that in social situations (such as in the work environment, Rambo, 1982, p458), human communications establish the participant’s power and status relationships early in the communication process, in order to determine how to behave under the given circumstances. Impressions are formed and judgements are made on the basis of how relationships are negotiated (Orosanu, Slater, & Adler, 1979; Tannen, 1995). The
sex of an individual, and aspects of demeanour and appearance are taken into account when establishing these relationships, and is where the real barrier to women as managers exists.

Even if false, societal conditioning has produced men whose demeanour portrays self efficacy and dominance, and whose appearance is linked with managerial and leadership ability. Even if false, it has produced women who are perceived to be followers of others, lacking in confidence, and inferior to men (Shipper, 1994). These are the ground rules of everyday social interactions and perceptions that are taken into organisations by the men and women employed there (Morrison & Glinow, 1990).

When stereotypical thinking is transposed over organisations, both men and women managers’ ability to be effective is reduced, and clearly more so for women.

Impacts of GRS on Both Sex Managers

**Men**

Organisations were created by men as a male domain from within a social construct that equated, and still equates, masculine skills and characteristics with positions of power and status, and the ability to be a manager and leader (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, & Schein, 1989; Christie, 1994; Gregerson, 1979; Rosener, 1990; Schaef, 1985; Schein, 1973, 1975; Watson, 1988). In this environment the traditional planning, leading, organising, and control model of management with authoritarian power over others was a comfortable style for men. GRS was helpful to males aspiring to managerial roles, as it was perceived that they had the right skills and characteristics, the right approach, and their appearance was right. For dichotomised reasons, the reverse perceptions were held about women.

Over time the business environment changed considerably, and the large hierarchical bureaucracies that had been created began to flounder in the face of high-tech international competition (Campbell-Hunt & Harper, 1993; Frater, Rose, & Stuart, 1993). The traditional management and leadership style was brought under scrutiny in this new dynamic environment (Broscow & Kleiner, 1991), and as the workforce became more educated, and multicultural. In this new environment, managers began to lose the power and control they once had, as people now became highly skilled, more aware of their rights, more demanding about good work conditions, with increasing pressure for more participative management and leadership styles (Edwards, Laporte, & Livingston, 1991; Jeffery & Ghislaine, 1986).

In the current business environment, effective management and leadership is associated with gaining the participation and involvement of subordinates through the ability to build mutually beneficial relationships, built upon the personal credibility and integrity of a manager (e.g. Kouzes & Posner, 1993). Communication, and the need to be communicative, is critical to this style of managing and leading, as are good interpersonal skills (Canning, 1990; Cockerill, 1989; Jacobs, 1989; Kanter, 1983). Men who cling to a stereotypical masculine approach to managing and leading (i.e. the command and control approach), will find that what was once effective has become ineffective, and at worst, damaging. It is in this way that the managerial effectiveness of some men is reduced by GRS.

**Women**

Originally, it was thought that women, because of their feminine characteristics, would be too soft and weak to manage or lead (Campbell, 1992; Hennig & Jardim, 1977; V. atson, 1988), and that managerial work would be in conflict with their primary role as mothers and wives (Fagenson, 1990). As well, few women aspired to managerial
roles, being also conditioned to believe they would not be effective (Chusmir & Durand, 1988; Shipper, 1994). Women who did undertake managerial roles tended to repress femininity and adopt a characteristically masculine management approach, even wearing masculinised clothing (Fritz, 1988). This androgynous coping strategy was not effective for women, who attracted criticism for being masculine, aggressive, and unfeminine (Lips, Meyer, & Colwill, 1987; Manis, Nelson, & Shedler, 1988). Women who did not adopt an androgynous approach fared less well, with a feminine approach being perceived to be even less effective (Berg & Hunter, 1990). Women as managers were, therefore, in a no-win situation as a direct result of GRS.

With regard to the perception that management roles conflict with a woman's primary gender-role; there can be no doubt that women managers can require maternity leave, or need time off to care for sick or elderly family members, at an inopportune time for the organisation. What tends to be forgotten is that it is society that has made the care of others an implicit gender role for women, one that has turned into a career disadvantage for women managers. The domestic circumstances of men and women are different, in that the females in the family act in that support role for men, which provides men with the freedom to give priority to work (Lips & Colwill, 1978; Marshall, 1989; Pringle, 1994). Men can also place organisations in difficult positions through personal reasons, but this is not rationalised as a sex-or gender-related issue and generalised to disadvantage men as a population.

In the current business environment there are still proportionally few women managers or business leaders in the large corporations, especially at senior levels (McGregor, Thomson, & Dewe, 1994; Still, Guerin, & Chia, 1994). Women managers tend to be found in the occupational sectors that fit a stereotypical view of woman as a nurturing care-giver, such as social services (Cull, 1992; O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992), or they are found in their own businesses, in which they are particularly successful (Hill, 1986; Lloyd, 1986). In the traditionally male occupational domains such as the police force and business management, senior positions are still predominantly held by men, and men are perceived to be more effective compared to women when in a superior roles (Cartwright & Gale, 1995; Wolff, 1996). The primary reason for this profile in management is that GRS is still negatively biasing perceptions about women as managers and leaders (Christie, 1994).

Increasingly, organisations are being encouraged to adopt a strategic perspective, competency-based model of management with human resource management as the pivotal factor (Becker & Gerhart, 1996; Delery & Doty, 1996; Iles, 1993; Youndt, Scott, Snell, Dean, & Lepak, 1996). While the traditional planning, leading, organising, and control model remains the cornerstone of most management texts (Bartol & Martin, 1991; Daft, 1997; Gilbert, Jones, Vitalis, Walker, & Gilbertson, 1995; Inkson & Kolb, 1995), there is now a need to recognise that different strategies and skills are required within these roles (Campbell-Hunt & Harper, 1993; Page, Wilson, & Kolb, 1994), and business leadership can no longer be considered as just another management role (Kotter, 1990a,b; Zaleznik, 1992). So, in addition to the traditional skills and techniques of management (such as planning, implementation, and evaluation), there is now more of an emphasis on the leadership of people.

Paradoxically, as a result of their social conditioning, it may be that the management style characteristically used by women as managers may provide women with an advantage in the current business environment (Adler & Izraeli, 1994; Campbell-Hunt & Harper, 1993; Stanford, Oates, & Flores, 1995). Women tend to take a participative approach, where the involvement of others is valued, and where individual interests are subsumed in the collective interest (Bass & Avolio,
Co-operation and support is gained by the development of mutually beneficial relationships in an environment of egalitarianism and valuing of people and their inputs (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Handley, 1991; Loden, 1985). The evidence suggests that women have better interpersonal skills than men (Henley, 1977; Tannen, 1995), and are more communicative with subordinates (Holmes & Stubbe, 1992). In effect, the literature is beginning to differentiate women’s style as being more transformational in nature, while men are described as being more transactional (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1995; Bass & Avolio, 1994).

It is, therefore, a pity that GRS still governs perceptions, and still reduces women’s potential to be effective as a manager, simply because their style of management is not ‘masculine’, and is therefore ‘feminine’, and discounted as being inferior. There are, however, signs that some aspects of this approach are too important, and too effective, to ignore.

As the threat of international competition has being faced, Western managers and their advisers have begun to realise the importance of involving employees in stimulating innovation, providing quality of product and service, and adding to the big picture jigsaw that is competitive advantage in the current business environment. As a result, more men are now adopting a more participative approach, although the cynical suggest that the participation of employees is still instrumental, as opposed to the mutually beneficial relationships built by women as transformational managers (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1995).

Summary

The literature review has shown that male and female infants are born with very few sex differences that are relevant to managerial roles. Males are predisposed to be more aggressive than females, and the sexes show differences in life strategies as a result of differential social conditioning of biological characteristics. Both sexes have the full range of necessary human skills and characteristics for managerial roles, with males showing an advantage with nonverbal material and females showing an advantage with verbal material. Both types of cognitive analysis are useful to managerial roles.

Social conditioning shapes male infants into becoming ‘masculine’ boys and men, and shapes female infants into becoming ‘feminine’ girls and women. Male aggressiveness is channelled into becoming individual competitiveness for dominance in social relationships, with dichotomised behaviour for females, who are trained to equalise social relationships (Schaef, 1985; Tannen, 1995).

Hence GRS in organisations reduces the potential effectiveness of both men and women as managers by restricting both sexes to specific sets of gender appropriate behaviours. The result is men who are not able to exhibit any approach or behaviour that has been categorised as feminine, and women who are unable to exhibit any approach or behaviour that is masculine.

The evidence suggests that after social conditioning both sexes have skills and characteristics of use in managerial roles, and that both approaches are effective according to circumstances. That is, at times managers need to be directive and even forceful, at other times they need the sensitivity and empathy of Mother Theresa. However, GRS is prohibiting managers from moving up and down these continua of human behaviour.

It also should be recognised that as a result of GRS, impressions and judgements about managerial effectiveness (both in formal appraisals and in subordinate perceptions) are being made more according to how well a man has
been masculine, and how well a woman has balanced being masculine and feminine, than on what is effective managerial behaviour (Edwards, Laporte, & Livingston, 1991). In effect, GRS is producing artificial and counterproductive behaviour in organisations.

GRS has an especially negative effect on women as managers, where women begin from a disadvantaged position in terms of a perception that they have less innate ability to be a manager and leader compared to men. They then remain in a disadvantaged position, despite evidence to the contrary. On the premise that both men and women managers have the full set of human skills and characteristics necessary for managerial roles, it can be argued that talent is being wasted by prohibiting the progression of women managers. Furthermore, women are being disadvantaged on distinctions that are no more than labels attached to different ends of behavioural continua which have become stereotypically masculine, or feminine, behaviour, but which in reality are just a range of human behaviour.

In circumstances where women are the primary, or only income earner (a massive growth area in Western cultures, Crouse, 1986; Doyle, 1988), these stereotypical beliefs are particularly damaging. They are damaging in that they firstly prohibit women's ability to earn an equal living, and secondly, it is therefore harder to financially support a spouse, or other care-giver, to assume domestic responsibilities.

GRS is a powerful negative force operating to mask and restrict effective managerial behaviour in many organisations. If the key to what constitutes effective management is to be found, the effects of GRS need to have some measurable parameters before the effects can be addressed. Even when identified, it will take generations before any significant change will be made, such is the extent of implicit acceptance of the way things are (Kaufman, 1986). In an effort to begin the inevitable process this study begins to measure the differential effects of GRS on men and women managers as a component of a study which examined whether men and women managers held different perceptions about what constitutes effective management in the 1990s.

METHOD

Managerial work in the 1990s still consists of the traditional technical skills of planning, organising, and control, and given that both men and women managers face the same set of universal factors and response options (Kanter, 1977, p4), it can be predicted that:

1. As a result of managerial experience, both groups will raise similar issues with regard to technical management skills, and place similar emphasis on relative importance of them.

From the introductory discussion a further three predictions can be made:

1. As a result of a biological predisposition towards aggressiveness shaped into a ‘masculine’ approach, the male group will demonstrate a more traditional approach, where power is over others, and where communication has a directive, instrumental approach.

2. As a result of gender role spill-over, the female group will hold a more androgynous sense of gender identity in a management situation, and will demonstrate the characteristically ‘feminine’ communication purpose and style that emphasises collectivism and the building of relationships.
3. The male group will have a masculine gender identity, as they are not required to change for a management situation, given that it is perceived to be a male job, requiring masculine characteristics.

Participants

As the study was to address gender issues, a group of male and a group of female managers were used, matched as far as possible on age, position, organisation size, and years of managerial experience so that, apart from gender, perspectives ought to be similar. Potential participants were drawn from the membership files of the New Zealand Institute of Management according to the matching criteria, and a letter sent out inviting them to participate in the research. Follow-up telephone calls produced a total of 14 female managers who agreed to participate. Male managers were then telephoned and screened for matched selection. Table 1 below shows the matching factors and the end matching of the groups after cancellations and no-shows. It can be seen that overall, the nine males had more years managerial experience than the females, and there was no male match for the small company, middle management female manager.

Table 1: Participant Composition According to Sex of Manager, Company Size, Management level, and Years Of Managerial Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company Size</th>
<th>Small</th>
<th>Small</th>
<th>Large</th>
<th>Large</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Management Level</td>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Experience</td>
<td>1-5 6-10 11+</td>
<td>1-5 6-10 11+</td>
<td>1-5 6-10 11+</td>
<td>1-5 6-10 11+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2 1 1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nine non-managerial female volunteers served as the control group for the female managers. Inclusion criteria for this group were: no managerial experience, and within the same age range as the female manager group.

Procedures

Concept Mapping

Concept Mapping, developed by Trochim (1989), was originally developed as a planning and evaluation tool using cluster analysis and multi-dimensional scaling of statements to represent a group's ideas about a concept. The concept is represented visually as a map of statement clusters indicating each cluster's relative importance to the overall concept, and with clusters shown in spatial relationship with each other. This method has been used in a variety of research settings including tracing the career paths of women scientists (Simpson, 1994), mapping the outcomes of adventure-based management training (Kolb, 1994), mapping organisation culture (Shepard & Kolb, 1994), assessing ecological impacts upon an environment (Logie, 1996), and the previous management effectiveness study by Page, Wilson, and Kolb (1994). The idea of visually representing a management group's ideas about a concept is not new, being considered a means to provide coherence and depth for discussion (Lane, 1992).

Concept Mapping was chosen as the research method because it avoids the problems with self report (Shipper, 1994) and avoids the subjective nature of interview and other focus group techniques, both in data collection and in content analysis. For example, the parameters of the issue are not determined by a researcher, the procedure ensures it is not possible for a researcher to bias the
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responses of participants, analysis and interpretation is not bound by a researcher's beliefs and opinions, but is objective and statistically derived. The reliability of Concept Mapping has been assessed in an analysis of 34 studies, and found to be sound (Trochim, 1993).

Data collection for Concept Mapping consists of a standardised process of (i) selecting participants; (ii) conducting a brain-storming session to generate the statements encompassing the ideas the group perceives to constitute the concept under discussion; (iii) having each participant rate each statement in terms of its importance to the overall concept; (iv) and having each participant sort the statements into related groups. Each group member rates each statement on a scale of 1= neither adds nor detracts from good management, makes no difference; 2= unimportant, non-essential, but could assist in some cases; 3= helpful to good management, desirable; 4= important to good management, most good managers have this; 5= critical to good management, an absolute necessity. This study added two statements to the sorting data, being the terms 'male' and 'female', to see whether the groups sorted or rated these terms differently with regard to perceptions about effective management. Ideally, the data is then analysed, the map generated, and taken back to the group to label the clusters in the map.

In management research the logistics of assembling exactly the same group of managers twice is often not feasible, in which case the research team interprets and labels according to the cluster contents. In this study the four members of the research team (two psychologists, two psychologist/management), independently interpreted and labelled the maps, then reached a consensus decision as to a title for each cluster.

Bern Sex Role Inventory (BSRI)

The BSRI assesses the extent to which an individual identifies with 'masculine' or 'feminine' gender characteristics, to yield a 'feminine', 'masculine' or androgynous gender score. The BSRI is comprised of 20 feminine, 20 masculine, and 20 neutral adjectives, with respondents required to circle a number between 1 (never, or almost never true) to 7 (always, or almost always true) in relation to the extent that they identify with each adjective. The masculinity and femininity scores of the BSRI indicate the extent to which a person considers masculine and feminine personality characteristics to be descriptive of themselves. The androgyny score (femininity minus masculinity) indicates the relative amounts of masculinity and femininity that a person includes in his or her self-description. These scores represent a person's gender role. The BSRI is a particularly good instrument for the purpose of this study, in that it is extremely stereotypical in content.

Each participant completed the BSRI during a break in the concept mapping session when the statements were being prepared to bring back to the group for rating and sorting.

Data Analysis

Bern Sex Role Inventory (BSRI)

Each individual score was calculated by finding the average score for masculine and subtracting this from the average score for feminine (thus if a respondent scored more highly on the masculine items than on feminine items, then the resulting androgyny score would be negative. The neutral items are ignored. The average score was then derived for each group.
A Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA by ranks was then used to test the null hypothesis that there was no difference between male and female managers, and no difference between the female managers and female non-managers. At (p<0.05) the obtained KW score needed to be >3.84 to reach significance.

Concept Mapping

Concept Mapping data is subjected to a hierarchical cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling procedure designed by Trochim (1989) specifically for concept mapping.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Group Gender Characteristics

It was predicted that the male group would demonstrate a masculine identity, whereas the female group was expected to demonstrate an androgynous identity. As predicted, the male group yielded a masculine score (-1.19). The female manager group mean score fell within the androgynous range (-0.28), with the difference between groups reaching significance (KW = 5.90; p<.05), indicating a significant gender identity difference between the groups. The female control group average was +0.21, which is also androgynous, although it is closer to feminine than the female manager group, a difference that reached significance (KW = 4.52; p<.05). Although the difference was small, these results support previous findings that professional women score significantly higher than non-professional women on the androgynous to masculine scale (Sargent, 1983).

As it stands, the prediction that women managers would be more androgynous than a non-managerial female control group was correct. The difference in gender identity between the two female groups was measurable, and reached significance. It is tempting to speculate that the difference between the scores represents a measure of GRS, but such a measure requires further refinement. Until a study is conducted where both sex participants complete the BSRI once as managers and again as ‘self’, or in a ‘gender appropriate’ role, the issues to do with personal gender identity, and whether or how gender related behaviour needs to change according to occupational role, remain confounded.

In terms of this study, an objective was to establish the possibility that women managers still need to adopt masculinised attitudes and behaviours that are different to those they have been socially conditioned to use, whereas men do not. This objective has been met, in that compared to another group of non-managerial women, women managers demonstrated a more masculinised gender identity that is thought to be related to the GRS effect. This group of women managers have to some extent repressed or rejected a feminine gender identity to avoid negative perceptions, and have assumed masculine beliefs deemed appropriate for a managerial role.

Concept Mapping Results

Concept Maps

Before moving on to discuss the concept mapping results it would be useful to first explain what concept maps show, and what that actually means. To recap, the participants brainstormed what they considered to constitute ‘good management in the current business environment’ as a group, generating a number of statements. Each statement was then rated as to its importance to the overall concept of good management by each participant, and the items sorted into what each person
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considered to be related groups. The statements, their ratings, and the groupings for each participant were entered into the concept mapping programme (Trochim, 1989), to produce a ‘map’ of each group’s concept of good management.

The islands, or clusters, draw together the statements most often sorted together and distance statements that were hardly ever, or never, sorted together. The size of the cluster indicates the degree of variance with which the items contained within the cluster were sorted into other clusters as well, so that small dense clusters indicate general group agreement, while large clusters with widely spaced items are more ambiguous issues for the group. The distance between clusters indicates the extent to which items contained within those clusters were often sorted together, implying conceptual similarity (close proximity), or were hardly ever or never, sorted together, implying conceptual dissimilarity (distanced). The depth of colour indicates the rated importance of a cluster (an average rating of the items contained within the cluster), with black depicting high importance, moving through lighter shades to indicate reducing importance.

Counter-intuitively, central clusters do not indicate a central or key issue, but indicate that the items within that cluster were often sorted with many other surrounding items, indicating that this could be a cluster containing items associated with many others, or a bridging cluster.

Female Manager Statements Discussion

It was predicted that both groups would have similar perceptions about the more technical managerial skills relating to planning, organising and control mechanisms. As it happened, both groups focused on personal skills and characteristics to the extent that there is inadequate evidence to compare.

The statements contained within each cluster, their individual ratings of importance, and cluster scores are provided in Appendix 1, with statements rated between 1.56 (‘male’) and 4.89 (‘good people skills’) in importance. The next lowest rated statement was ‘female’ (1.67), indicating that being male or female did not rate as being an important issue to the overall concept of management for this group. The discounting of gender becomes clearer when it is seen that the next lowest rated statements were ‘do the do’, or operational (3.0), ‘understand international markets’ (3.11), and ‘understand trade-offs’ (3.22). Note also that for this group, the two gender-related items were separated out by themselves and marginalised between a cluster representing self management and another representing self development and ongoing learning. Most other issues were rated at 3.50 or over. Apart from sex, the female manager group therefore considered most issues to be important in the concept of good management.

This group replicated the Page, Wilson and Kolb (1994) finding of good management being about personal skills and characteristics, with an inward focus on people, and a devaluing of an international awareness. The group raised issues about needing an international perspective, and being market driven, etc, but then rated these statements as being helpful and desirable, but not overly important or critical. It would seem that the more immediate external environment (‘good market awareness’ (4.56); ‘customer focused’ (4.78)) is more important than the more global, international scene (‘understand international markets’ (3.11)). Note also that at 3.67 the ‘external orientation’ issue and ‘understand international markets’ were amongst the overall lowest ratings. This means out of 99 statements generated, only 5 referred to matters outside the organisation, with an overwhelming inward focus on organisation systems and people, and on the personal skills and characteristics of a
manager. In essence, this group replicated the finding of an inward focus by New Zealand managers in the original study, in every way.

**The Female Manager Map**

The analysis produced 19 clusters for the female group. Appendix 1 shows that the lowest rated cluster was Sex/Gender at 1.61, and the highest was Subordinate Communication at 4.63.

*Figure 1 Female Concept Map*

The map shows the female managers' concept of effective management can be represented as four (disregarding the Gender cluster as a non-issue) distinct, yet linked, areas or aspects of management. These are:

1. The four clusters in the left-hand quadrant of the map entitled Factor Balancing, Business Acumen, Internal Operations Focus, and Thinking Ahead Strategically are somewhat distanced from other clusters, and an examination of the statements within the clusters reveals this area to be about issues to do with the 'here and now' linked to the future. There is a sense of focus on the internal workings of the organisation as they relate to strategy.

2. Moving to the right, the five clusters, Create Vision & Change, Act Appropriately, Experienced Based Learning, Ongoing Learning, and Pulling It Together, can be interpreted as an attitude of evolution of thinking and behaviour underpinned by the importance of learning.

3. In the upper right-hand corner the three clusters Communicate Vision, Motivation of Others, and Value Others are all about communication, building co-operative relationships, and establishing rapport with others,
based on the valuing of others. This segment shows a flow between communicating the organisation vision and motivating others to become involved with the vision, based upon a valuing and rewarding of the input of others. The fourth cluster entitled Accountability is linked to this area and denotes a sense of accountability for oneself when in a position of managerial power. This group of managers has, therefore, demonstrated the typical management communication style attributed to women managers, and considered to be most effective in the current business environment. The links between communicating vision, the empowerment of others, and valuing of participation also reflect current thought on effective management practice in general.

4. The fourth and final segment to be discussed contains Subordinate Communication, which was the highest rated cluster in the map. The other four clusters in this segment are Good Listener, Credibility, Positive Attitude, and Self Management. This segment of the map depicts issues primarily to do with subordinate communication, where effectiveness is considered to lie in a manager’s ability to convey warmth, and inner strength and stability as a person, in addition to perceived credibility as a manager. The statements found in these clusters echo Kouzes and Posner’s (1993) contention that credibility, integrity, and trust are critical in the leadership of people. They also convey a sense of Rippon’s (1996) idea of ‘E.Q.’, where emotional and psychological strength and stability are critical.

Overall, the female managers couched many statements in terms used in the literature to describe the effective leadership style now required. In contrast, relatively few statements related to the terms associated with the traditional management and leadership approach, with the statements relating to a masculine approach perhaps reflecting either adopted masculine strategies, or what have been found to be effective. Not only were all the effective leadership issues raised, but were also linked and related in a manner that would be predicted by a non-traditional approach.

Discussion now turns to the male map, which will be followed by a general discussion about the conceptual similarities and differences in the maps, and the implications for effective management.

Male Manager Statements Discussion

The statements contained in the male map clusters, and ratings of cluster importance are presented in Appendix 2. Statements were rated between ‘able to type’ (1.44) and ‘leadership’ (4.89).

Out of 99 statements, only six were rated at 4.50+, or as being critical to effective management, and only 38 per cent were considered to be either important or critical (a rating of 4-5) compared with the female group, who rated 60 per cent of their statements as being important or critical, indicating a gap between male and female managers’ perceptions about the importance of many issues to do with effective management. Marlow, Marlow and Arnold (1995) also found that women perceived issues to do with management to be more important than men did. Their study examined men and women managers’ perceptions about career development, and found that while they agreed on what the criteria were in career development, everything was more important to women than men. This may reflect the need for women managers to pay extra attention to everything they do, and the need to do it all a little bit better than men (Cauldran, 1995).
The six clearly most important or critical issues for the male group were:

- Leadership (4.89)
- Good communicator (4.78)
- Being strategic (4.67)
- Being innovative (4.67)
- Receptive to change (4.67)
- Integrity (4.56)

The statements generated by this group were more orientated towards a traditional management approach where there is a focus on oneself and status, taking an individualistic perspective. There is a sense of concern about the impact and influence of the manager on others (i.e. doing to, directing, controlling), rather than for the benefit and value of others.

This is in contrast to the female group, where 26 per cent of the statements related to the benefit (e.g. rewards, recognition, development) of others, versus the male managers 5 per cent related to the benefit of others. It would seem that, despite their more androgynous gender identity, the women in this study were still using the feminine approach they have been conditioned to use.

It is interesting that the male managers sorted gender with 'intelligent' (4.00), 'emotional stability' (3.56), and 'seeks continuous improvement' (4.44), although this is difficult to rationalise. The name eventually given to the cluster was Intellectual Growth, which ignores the gender factors completely. However, it needs to be noted that males did actually consider gender to be related to more issues than the females did, given that the female group marginalised gender by itself. It is also worthy of note that both sexes, while not considering sex to be an important issue, rated their own sex more highly than the other (Males: M 1.89, F 1.56; Females: F 1.67, M 1.56), indicating both groups were discriminating a difference.

Once more there is a lack of importance attached to managers having an external orientation, with an emphasis on the manager's personal characteristics and abilities in relation to managing others within the organisation.

The Male Manager Map

This group's map has 17 clusters, with the highest rated cluster being Adaptability at 4.31, which has a sense of doing the best one can with change. Customer Negotiation was also important at 4.19, where verbal skills in customer relationships and negotiation are most important, perhaps reflecting a sales orientation in this group. The lowest cluster was Written Communication (2.31).

The first most notable difference between this map and the female map is the separation of aspects of management, where only four clusters are closely related to each other. These four clusters are Impact Within The Organisation, Team Leadership, Controlled and Consistent, and Self Reliance, where the focus is on people management through the personal characteristics of a manager. In this case meaning 'being independent', 'having guts', 'being suspicious', 'being sceptical', and a need to 'be respected' within the organisation. The group demonstrates a more controlling influence than the female group, with issues such as 'measure what people are producing' (3.67), 'measure staff's ability' (4.00). Remember also that being non-traditional (2.89) was not highly valued. Leadership is related to leading by example (4.11), and being respected (3.89), with a need to be supportive (3.67) and caring (4.00).
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Figure 2 Male Concept Map

A major segment within the male managers' map is concerned with thinking and knowledge. Clusters are Strategic Thinking (4.04), Free Thinking (3.65), Innovation (3.89), Broad External Perspective (2.93), and Keeping Up-To-Date (3.83). Not surprisingly, issues regarding free thinking are closely linked to innovation, and are somewhat related to strategic thinking. Although this group related strategic and free thinking with keeping up-to-date (e.g. 'understand business they are in' (4.11), 'comprehension of what is read' (4.33)) or a broad external perspective (e.g. 'understand the economy of the country' (3.00), 'international perspective' (3.11), 'wide general knowledge' (2.78), the relationship is not close.

The communication segment is interesting for the noticeable devaluing of written communication (2.31), for which we have no explanation other than managers tend to have secretaries to perform the typing function and correct grammatical errors, and so on, made by a manager. It is, however, rather surprising that issues to do with communication and interaction that were rated as being important (e.g. 'good listener' (4.11), 'management by walking around' (3.63)) are somewhat distanced from people management issues.

The final segment to be discussed is the one containing the clusters which link and bridge other clusters, and which carries a theme about change. The clusters are named Intellectual Growth (3.09), Adaptability (4.31), Multifocused (3.78), and Bridging (3.02). There is a connection between the Customer Negotiation cluster ('external customer empathy') through the Multifocused cluster ('customer driven') to Keeping Up-To-Date, which may suggest that a customer focus and knowledge gained from customers is related to keeping up-to-date with understanding the business. Apart from this, the positioning of these clusters suggests that the group
sorted these issues into a number of different groupings, and are therefore
interrelated with the surrounding clusters, but not sufficiently to be placed in a
particular cluster. For example, there will be issues in the Intellectual Growth
cluster that were often sorted with the issues contained in both the Keeping Up-To-Date and
Strategic Thinking clusters, but not enough to be placed in either of those clusters.
According to Kotter's (1990) classification, overall, this group's concept fits more
with the planning, organising, and control functions of traditional management
roles.

General Discussion

There is evidence that male and female managers hold different perceptions about
the issues involved in management and leadership, with the groups following the
predicted gender trends. Most of the issues raised by the female group, and the
manner in which these issues were linked and interrelated, were closely aligned
with current thinking on effective leadership, and in particular, a transformational
style of leadership that values, involves, and empowers others (Alimo-Metcalfe,
1995; Bass & Avolio, 1994). The male group reflected a typically masculine approach,
and fit the transactional style which Alimo-Metcalfe (1995) and Bass and Avolio
(1994) discuss as typifying a male approach, where subordinate performance is
based on transactions, and where transactions are based on a manager's positional
power.

Both groups demonstrated a lack of external focus, were inward-looking, and
emphasised personal skills and characteristics as being most important to good
management, which replicates earlier findings. This is despite the fact that the
original Page, Wilson and Kolb (1994) study focus question was 'what constitutes
good management', whereas the focus question in the present study added 'in the
current business environment' to open the concept out further.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the female manager group having an androgynous gender identity, over one
third of the statements generated for concept mapping were clearly related to a
characteristically feminine management style, with very few characteristics that were
clearly masculine. In particular, the female managers stressed the valuing and
nurturing of others, and personal characteristics to do with relating sensitively to
others. Given that this group had rejected more feminine characteristics than
masculine yet still produced a 'feminine' conceptual picture, it is indicative of the
power of social conditioning, and suggests that this influence warrants further
attention.

The study has found evidence to suggest that male and female managers
have similarities in their perceptions about 'good management', in that both groups
raised issues to do with people management, communication, and strategic vision
and so on, but there are differences in their approaches to conducting those activities
that are probably gender-based. More specifically, the approach predicted and found
for women was communication for the purpose of relationship building, and for
men was communication for an instrumental purpose.

When linked with current thinking on the distinctions between management
and leadership, it may be that the women's approach is more appropriate for
effective leadership in the current business environment, and the masculine style
more appropriate for management functions. A larger study is required to re-address
these issues, where personal gender identity, extent and direction of gender role
stereotyping for occupational role, and the need for change in personal gender characteristics, can be compared for men and women, and where transactional and transformational styles are directly addressed for comparison.

While this study has added to the process of articulating some of the requirements for managerial effectiveness in the current business environment, and has begun to demonstrate the relationships between some of the issues and major linking themes, there is still a long way to go. Participant numbers were small, and it may be that the significant effects and trends described will disappear in a larger study. On the other hand, if these findings were to be supported, this line of research could produce huge benefits to organisations and providers of management development and education. This would be in terms of a better understanding of managerial roles in the current business environment, a better understanding about different approaches to management and leadership, and a better understanding of women managers' place within management.

The answer to the question set in the title 'Managerial effectiveness: What's sex got to do with it?' is paradoxical. Sex has nothing to do with the potential ability of either sex to be effective as managers. Socially conditioned gender characteristics either enhance or reduce the potential ability to be effective, and govern perceptions of effectiveness, with attributions based on stereotypical gender characteristics falsely linked to sex characteristics.

If the goal of nations (e.g. Porter, 1985), industries (Wakelin, 1987), and large multinational organisations (Glaze, 1989; Greatrex & Phillips, 1989) is to up-skill managers and gain a competitive advantage through increased managerial effectiveness, it needs to be recognised that stereotypical thinking has created a 'glass ceiling' for the potential effectiveness of all managers everywhere, not just women.

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Loden, M. (1985). Feminine leadership, or how to succeed in business without being one of the boys. USA: Times Books


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### APPENDICES

**Appendix 1 Female Statement List And Cluster Ratings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subordinate Communication</th>
<th>Accountable</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communicative (4.78)</td>
<td>Understand (4.56)</td>
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<td>Good judgement (4.78)</td>
<td>Understand impact on others (4.11)</td>
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<td>Macro view of organisation (4.22)</td>
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<td>Ability to make final decisions for the good of the business (4.75)</td>
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<td>Good market awareness (4.56)</td>
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<td>Think strategically (4.56)</td>
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<td>Learn from mistakes (4.44)</td>
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<td>Accept responsibility for bad decisions (4.11)</td>
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<td>Establish short term goals so people understand where they are (3.78)</td>
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<td>Work as a team (4.33)</td>
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<td>Know how to make good hiring decisions (3.89)</td>
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<td>Create environment for risk taking (3.67)</td>
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<td>Make people believe in vision (3.78)</td>
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<td>Understand self and impact on others (4.11)</td>
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<td>Walk the talk (3.44)</td>
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<td>Flexible (4.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good planner (4.44)</td>
<td>Ethical (4.56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time management (4.56)</td>
<td>Honesty and integrity (4.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent (4.11)</td>
<td>Assertive without being aggressive (3.89)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cluster Average: 4.08

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Good Listener</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female (1.67)</td>
<td>Good listener (4.44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (1.56)</td>
<td>Be approachable (3.75)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cluster Average: 1.61

Cluster Average: 3.96

Cluster Average: 4.10
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Create Vision And Change</strong></th>
<th><strong>Internal Operations Focus</strong></th>
<th><strong>Factor Balancing</strong></th>
<th><strong>Pulling It All Together</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Create a vision (3.67)</td>
<td>External as well as internal focus (3.67)</td>
<td>Don’t lose sight of what is happening around them (3.89)</td>
<td>Learn from failures (4.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implement a vision (3.56)</td>
<td>Focus on quality (4.11)</td>
<td>Understand trade-offs (3.22)</td>
<td>Financially astute (4.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manage change (4.33)</td>
<td>‘Do the do’ / operations base (3.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Multi-disciplined (4.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set objectives (4.22)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Good networks (3.56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cluster Average: 3.56</td>
<td>Cluster Average: 3.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cluster Average: 3.94
Cluster Average: 3.59
### Appendix 2 Male Group Statement and Cluster List With Ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adaptability</strong></td>
<td>Receptive to change (4.67) Performance driven (4.44) Accept mistakes and learn from them (4.11) Take hard decisions (4.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average:</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Productivity Of Subordinates</strong></td>
<td>Build culture (3.63) Measure what people are producing (3.67) Establish right role for people (4.33) Measure staff ability (4.0) Recognise and reward performers (4.44) Grow/develop people (4.0) Select people who will create legitimate innovative ideas (4.11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average:</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Impact Within Organisation</strong></td>
<td>People skills (4.33) Able to delegate (4.44) Able to manage up (3.56) Role model (3.67)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average:</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Innovation</strong></td>
<td>Innovative (4.67) Emotional drive (3.67) Curious (3.33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average:</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Multi-Focused</strong></td>
<td>Broad managerial experience (3.44) Juggle lots of balls/issues at same time (3.78) Customer driven (4.11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average:</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Team Leadership</strong></td>
<td>Leadership (4.89) Supportive (3.67) Leads by example (4.11) Not a 'cold fish' (2.44) Genuinely concerned about people (4.0) Team player (3.44)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average:</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Customer Negotiation</strong></td>
<td>Customer empathy (external) (4.44) Speak good English (3.89) Good negotiator (4.22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average:</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strategic Thinking</strong></td>
<td>Lateral thinker (3.89) Sees new opportunities (4.33) Prepared to take risks (3.78) Think short term (3.67) Sees total picture (4.22) Strategic (4.67) Bit of a visionary (4.11) Reduce complexity to simple issues (3.44) Think long term (4.22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average:</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interpersonal Skills</strong></td>
<td>Good listener (4.11) Customer empathy (internal) (4.25) Good communicator (4.78) Management by walking around (3.63) Sack people (3.22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average:</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Keeping Up To Date</strong></td>
<td>Comprehension of what is read (4.33) Know laws relating to business environment (3.44) Comprehension of what is read (4.33) Understand the business they are in (4.11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average:</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Controlled And Consistent</strong></td>
<td>Decisive (4.33) Stickability and persistence (4.11) Focused (3.89) Punctual (2.44) Ethical (4.0) Not a 'missile gone haywire' (3.89) Loyalty (3.56) Respectful (2.89)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average:</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Free Thinking</strong></td>
<td>Nontraditional (2.89) Not restricted to conventional thinking (3.67) Entrepreneurial in the right sense (3.89) Analytical (3.89) Logical (3.89) Gut feel (3.56)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Average: 3.73</td>
<td>Cluster Average: 3.65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creates enthusiasm in others (4.25)</td>
<td>Intuition (3.75)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respected (3.89)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persuasive/sells ideas (4.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Able to manage down (3.89)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Self Reliance**
- Flexible (3.78)
- Independent (3.11)
- Open (3.76)
- Guts (3.79)
- Not solipsistic (3.0)
- Suspicious (2.67)
- Sceptical (3.22)

**Cluster Average: 3.33**

**Bridging**
- Healthy (3.22)
- No 'knock out' factors (2.75)
- Suit the right size (2.0)
- Succinct (2.78)
- Facilitate change (4.22)
- Self control (3.11)

**Cluster Average: 3.02**

**Written Communication**
- Good grammar (2.67)
- Read quickly (2.33)
- Able to type 70wpm (1.44)
- Technology literate (2.75)
- Computer literate (2.33)

**Cluster Average: 2.31**

**Intellectual Growth**
- Intelligent (4.0)
- Emotional stability (3.56)
- Seeks continuous improvement (4.44)
- Female (1.56)
- Male (1.89)

**Broad External Focus**
- Understanding of economics (3.0)
- Understanding of the economics of the country (3.0)
- Predict the business environment 8 years out (2.67)
- Wide general knowledge (2.78)
- World experience (3.0)
- International perspective (3.11)

**Cluster Average: 2.93**
Breaking the Glass Border: Barriers to Global Careers for Women in Australia

Catherine R. Smith and Leonie V. Still, Edith Cowan University, Australia

ABSTRACT

The identification and placement of managers who can meet the business challenges at both local and international level is critical to the success of a company’s approach to international operations. Considerable North American and British research shows that, while organisations may be prepared to promote women into their domestic managerial hierarchy, only a small percentage of women currently have access to international careers through expatriate management appointments. This article reports on a recent Australian survey of the selection, placement and management development of women for international placements. Findings suggest that women represent only a small percentage of expatriate appointments, and are better qualified than their male counterparts. Women expatriates work in similar functional areas to men but their postings are geographically different. Women are in less risky locations, and less commonly posted to Asia, an important trading partner for Australian business. Preparation for international assignments tends not to be integrated into formal management development processes and, as a result, organisations fail to capitalise on women’s strengths in the global arena.

Businesses are increasingly operating within an international environment where the human and financial costs of failure are more serious than the domestic arena, and expatriate failure is reported to be a persistent and recurring problem for multinational corporations (Scullion, 1994). The successful implementation of global strategies depends heavily upon the existence of an adequate pool of nationally and internationally experienced managers with a diversity of talent. Adler (1993a, p55) has argued that “the option of limiting international management to one gender is an arm-chair ‘luxury’ that no company can afford”. Given the need to develop global teams with a variety of different perspectives and leadership competencies (Limerick & Cunnington, 1993; Dunphy & Stace, 1992), barriers to the appointment of women expatriates have become a critical issue for consideration by management practitioners and academics.

Recent research has found that internationally successful Australian organisations do not experience the expatriate problems highlighted by the international literature, because these firms are generally not multinational corporations and therefore do not face the same complex issues (Yetton & Craig, 1995). Yetton and Craig found that, because few of the internationally successful companies send employees overseas, they do not require the same skill levels required by multinational corporations. However, research for the Australian Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills found that Australian managers tend to have a cultural mindset which fails to recognise the need for
changes in management styles, and values homogeneity (Barraclough & Co., 1995). This suggests that the management development process is not viewed by senior management as a strategic issue, and that it is “haphazard, unsystematic and uncoordinated” (Barraclough & Co., 1995, p573).

The success or failure of an international assignment depends on the sensitive handling of the various phases of expatriation, including selection, training, ongoing support and repatriation, with total family involvement vital at all stages of the process. Premature repatriation is a common and costly problem, which may be caused by the expatriate’s inability to adjust, their personal or emotional maturity, their inability to cope with larger responsibilities, or family problems (Tung, 1982; Schuler, Dowling & Smart, 1988). However, while the most significant cause of failure is the spouse’s inability to adjust (De Cieri, Dowling & Taylor, 1991), selection efforts still tend to focus primarily on technical competence (Mendenhall, Dunbar & Oddou, 1987; Stone, 1991).

Management in the international arena was a major focus of a recent Australian Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills (1995), commonly referred to as the Karpin Committee, after the name of its chairperson. Commissioned in 1992, the task force reviewed the country’s preparation of managers for work and leadership. Its final report identified globalisation as the most significant environmental trend affecting Australian managers. Research for the Task Force confirmed that the manager of the future would require international experience, language capabilities, experience of managing cross-culturally, and an understanding of cultural nuances pertaining to social, economic and political relationships overseas (Boston Consulting Group, 1995).

The Karpin Report argued that businesses should capitalise on the benefits of gender diversity, as a key lever for enhancing global competitiveness. Within the Australian private sector fewer than 3 per cent of women occupy senior management positions, and the number appears to be declining (Still, Guerin & Chia, 1994). If Australian business is to tap the full range of business potential, then women managers need access to, and experience in, senior national appointments and international placements, as an integral component of management development.

GENDER DIVERSITY IN GLOBAL MANAGEMENT

Women have traditionally represented a small proportion of expatriates. Adler (1984) reported that women constituted less than 3 per cent of overseas appointments by North American organisations. They were estimated to make up 5 per cent in 1992, 10 per cent in 1993 and 12 per cent in 1994, with an expected rise to 20 per cent by the year 2000 (Swaak, 1995). Women expatriates tend to work in large companies, predominantly in the banking, electronics, petroleum and publishing industries (Dowling & Schuler, 1990). A disproportionate number work in English-speaking countries (Antal & Izraeli, 1993).

The international human resource management literature has given scant attention to women as expatriates, probably because international assignments have long remained a male preserve. Adler and Izraeli (Adler, 1987, 1993a, 1993b, 1994a; Adler & Izraeli, 1988, 1994) have found that, while organisations may be prepared to promote women through their domestic managerial hierarchy, few women are given opportunities to expand their career horizons via access to international careers.
Reasons for the existence of the 'glass border' (Mandelker, 1994) include stereotypical assumptions about women as managers. Organisational culture may affect the numbers of women chosen for overseas assignments, with taken-for-granted assumptions that equate management with masculine leadership styles, thereby forming a blind spot (Adler & Jelinek, 1986). Rather than deliberately exclude women, companies may not even contemplate the possibility of considering them (Adler, 1994b) and, despite formal equal employment opportunity policies, informal policies and practices may adversely affect women (Harris, 1995; Smith & Hutchinson, 1995). Because of the uncertainty associated with international appointments, managers tend to select those most similar to themselves, which may discriminate against women, who are often perceived as different and unpredictable (Antal & Izraeli, 1993).

Women may miss out on international appointments because they lack mentors, role models and sponsorship, or access to appropriate networks (Adler, 1987; Harris, 1993; 1995), all of which are commonly available to promising men. McCauslan and Kleiner (1992) contend that women need teamwork skills, which men tend to learn early and keep exclusive. Furthermore, women's employment concentration in the service industry, and in particular staff functions such as human resource management, may further limit their international career prospects (Hall & Bright, 1994).

A common organisational assumption is that career velocity is a reliable indicator of top managerial potential. Despite family commitments, men tend to have continuous career paths, while women are more likely to have interrupted careers, which may be interpreted by some employers as a lack of ability or commitment. This may in turn discourage women, reducing their confidence and ambitions. Chusimir and Fronczak (1990) found that women see fewer opportunities in international management than men believe are available for women, and this negative perception further reduces the likelihood of their being considered for an international assignment.

Companies may presume that women in dual-career relationships do not want an international posting, or that such women would incur partner-related problems on international assignments (Adler, 1987; Antal & Izraeli, 1993). Perversely, they may also be reluctant to send single women, assuming that they are more vulnerable than men to harassment, security risks and other dangers. Thus myths prevail about women's availability, suitability and preferences for international appointments, alongside organisational misconceptions that foreigner prejudice will render women ineffective (Adler, 1987; Harris, 1993). However, studies show that women expatriates experience discrimination less from foreign countries' cultural prejudices than from Western expatriate men (Adler, 1987; Stone, 1991; Westwood & Leung, 1994). In reality, because there are so few, women may be automatically assumed to be exceptionally able, with high visibility and memorability, and therefore accorded special treatment in business dealings (Adler, 1987; Napier & Taylor, 1995).

Australian research on women's careers has tended to concentrate on employment status, barriers to entry to managerial positions, and strategies to overcoming the glass ceiling in senior appointments (Still, 1993; Sinclair, 1994; Smith, Crowley & Hutchinson, 1994), with a dearth of empirical research on international management appointments of women. In 1995 the authors were commissioned by the Australian Research Council to investigate the organisational and cultural
barriers to women managers' global placements. This article reports on findings from an exploratory survey undertaken as part of a larger research project.

METHOD

The survey involved gathering baseline data on the number of women currently employed as expatriates in Australian private sector organisations. An expatriate was defined as someone employed by an organisation on an international appointment, in a country other than Australia, for six months or more. A questionnaire sought to identify organisational attitudes to international placements of women, as well as organisational policies and practices commonly associated with the recruitment, selection and management development of expatriates.

Early in 1996 an eight-page questionnaire was piloted and then mailed to Human Resource Managers of the Top 1000 Australian companies by employee size, with a cover letter explaining the purpose and context of the research. The survey asked for details of the industry, location, functional areas, and job levels of male and female expatriates, together with their marital status and educational levels. Details of organisational staff development processes were sought, and respondents were asked to rank the management competencies and criteria considered important for international appointments. The survey also requested detailed information about premature repatriation and the employment of women as expatriates, and included questions designed to test attitudinal support for common myths surrounding the employment of expatriate women, using Likert scale responses.

A response rate of 24.7 per cent was achieved. Three quarters of respondents (n=186) had no expatriate appointments, but several of these companies expressed an interest in the survey, reporting that they anticipated making international assignments in the future. Sixteen per cent of respondents (n=40) had only male expatriates and 9 per cent (n=21) had both male and female expatriates in post.

RESULTS

Categorised in accordance with the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) industry classification, employers of expatriates were predominantly in the manufacturing industry (50 per cent), followed by finance/property/business services (16 per cent) and resources/mining (15 per cent). Thirty eight per cent of the sample of employers of expatriates had fewer than 1,000 employees; 36 per cent employed 1,001-3,000; 16 per cent employed 3,001-10,000; and only 10 per cent employed more than 10,000. The number of expatriates employed by companies in the sample totalled 1,239, of whom 6 per cent (n=78) were women.

Expatriate Appointments

By industry classification, the majority of women expatriates were employed in the finance/property/business services sector (50 per cent), with less predominant representation in the manufacturing industry (18 per cent), wholesale and retail trade (12 per cent), communication (10 per cent), and resources/mining (6 per cent). Male expatriates worked predominantly in the manufacturing industry (35 per cent) and finance/property/business services (32 per cent). Sixteen per cent were employed in resources/mining, 7 per cent in communication and 6 per cent in the wholesale/retail trade.

Women expatriates were employed predominantly in companies of 1,001-3,000 employees (44 per cent), while 23 per cent worked in smaller companies of up
to 1,000 employees. Equal proportions (16 per cent) of women worked in organisations of 3,001-10,000 and over 10,000 employees. Their male counterparts were also predominantly employed in organisations of 1,001-3,000 employees (44 per cent), with 27 per cent working in companies of over 10,000 employees and similar proportions in companies of up to 1,000 (15 per cent) and 3,000-10,000 (14 per cent). Note that, because not all sample respondents stated their organisation size, this analysis is based on the figures which were provided.

By function, expatriate women were employed predominantly in Finance/Accounting (48 per cent), with smaller representation in Information Systems (13 per cent), Engineering (9 per cent) and Marketing (9 per cent). For men, Finance/Accounting (29 per cent) was the most common function, followed by Engineering (23 per cent), Production (14 per cent), Marketing (12 per cent) and Information Systems (4 per cent). In accordance with the ABS occupational classification of management, women constituted 6 per cent of all expatriate managers in the sample, with 4 per cent at senior management and 7 per cent at middle management levels. Within all other ABS occupational job classifications, men and women appeared to be equally represented in proportion to their numbers of total expatriates.

Based on information known to survey respondents, the vast majority (70 per cent) of women expatriates were single, and none of these had family dependants. Of their male counterparts, 18 per cent were single, the majority of whom (93 per cent) had no dependants. Less than a third of women expatriates were married, compared with over three-quarters of men, while 27 per cent of married women had dependants, compared with 79 per cent of married men. Professional qualifications represented the highest level of education for the majority of both male and female expatriates. Only 2 per cent of women had secondary schooling completion as their highest level of education, compared with 12 per cent of men. In contrast, 26 per cent of women expatriates had a postgraduate degree, compared with 12 per cent of men.

Eight per cent of expatriate destinations were unspecified by respondents. From the countries specified, the most common assignment for Australian expatriates was in Asian countries (50 per cent), followed by 19 per cent in English-speaking countries of Britain, North America and New Zealand, 10 per cent in continental Europe and 2 per cent in Africa. Women constituted 4 per cent of all Asian placements, 12 per cent of assignments in English-speaking countries, 9 per cent in continental Europe and 7 per cent in Africa. No women were reported to be working as expatriates in the Middle East or South America, although 5 per cent of expatriates were employed in these areas.

Employment of women as expatriates

Nineteen per cent of companies reported that women had refused opportunities for international appointments. The most common reason was reported to be family commitments, closely followed by dual-career issues of spouses, and dissatisfaction with the position or location offered. Most companies provided no cultural adaptation preparation or other types of support specifically for women expatriates, although several reported that their briefing did cover issues specific to each expatriate’s individual circumstances. However, one company reported giving more careful pre-transfer support and counselling to women, while another reported providing women with more liberal leave policies before and after the assignment.

Based on their experience of employing women, just over a third (38 per cent) of all respondents reported that no country was inappropriate for women expatriates. However, Middle East countries such as Saudi Arabia and the Arab
Emirates were most commonly identified (31 per cent) as locations inappropriate for women expatriates, followed by Japan (14 per cent), and India and Pakistan (10 per cent).

Only one organisation identified any particular advantage it had experienced as a result of employing expatriate women, citing the choice of a woman facilitating acceptance by the Pacific Islands community. By contrast, 18 per cent of respondents had experienced difficulties while employing women expatriates. Factors commonly cited were dual-career conflicts, family commitments, host-country attitudes towards women, maternity leave overseas, and adaptability. However, there appeared to be no difference between men and women in terms of the reported failure rates of expatriate appointments.

Responses concerning attitudes to, and support for, women as expatriates showed that just over half (53 per cent) of respondents disagreed with the statement, most women do not want international appointments, although 39 per cent were uncertain. Fifty-nine per cent disagreed with the statement, organisations prefer not to send women on international appointments, and 33 per cent were uncertain. Half (51 per cent) of the sample companies disagreed with the statement, foreign prejudice renders women expatriates ineffective, but 41 per cent were uncertain. Although two-thirds (66 per cent) of respondents disagreed with the statement, women face resistance from head office when seeking international management appointments, 10 per cent agreed.

Over three-quarters (78 per cent) disagreed with the statement, women are acceptable in international business in certain roles, but not in top management appointments, with 18 per cent uncertain and 4 per cent in agreement. Almost three-quarters (73 per cent) of respondents disagreed with the statement, given a male and female candidate of equal merit, it is still preferable to appoint a man as an expatriate, while 10 per cent agreed. Half of the sample companies (51 per cent) agreed with the statement, women expatriates are inappropriate for certain countries, while 18 per cent disagreed.

Staff development processes

Over half of expatriate employers in the sample (56 per cent) reported that they considered international assignments to be important for a senior management career, although 70 per cent did not include overseas experience as part of formal staff development programmes. Likert scale responses indicating the importance attached to management competencies for expatriates showed that functional/technical skills were identified by all companies as important. Communication skills were identified by almost all (98 per cent) as important, followed by management experience and organisational skills (96 per cent each), cultural sensitivity (94 per cent) and networking ability (91 per cent). Language skills were considered the least important (61 per cent).

Ranking of criteria for selection of expatriates were primarily the employee's emotional maturity, followed by employee willingness to relocate, their ability to cope with greater responsibility, their spouse's willingness to relocate, their family circumstances, and formal qualifications. Rated much less important were experience of living in another country, previous international experience, age and marital status. Gender was cited as of least importance.

Over three quarters (77 per cent) of companies in the sample identified potential for international appointments through performance appraisal, while management development programmes and career counselling were used by 45 per cent and 31 per cent of companies respectively. Few employees (91 men and 8
women) were currently participating in programmes directly oriented towards international placement.

Expatriate selection methods included internal advertising (used by 53 per cent of companies), candidate self-nomination (47 per cent), external advertising (12 per cent) and a recruitment agent (8 per cent). However, over three quarters (77 per cent) relied on an informal approach to preferred candidates. No respondents reported using psychological tests for expatriate selection. Thirty-nine per cent of companies included spouses as part of the formal selection process, two of whom tested the spouse for cultural adaptability.

Family involvement and support

Pre-appointment support for expatriates included an orientation trip to the country of destination (provided by 71 per cent of companies), language training (55 per cent) and cultural adaptation training (55 per cent). For spouses, such support included a reconnaissance trip (provided by 56 per cent of companies), cultural adaptation training (50 per cent) and language training (47 per cent). For expatriates’ family members, support included cultural adaptation training (provided by 35 per cent of companies), language training (26 per cent) and an orientation trip (19 per cent). Less than a third (30 per cent) of organisations in the sample assisted an expatriate’s spouse to find work in the new location through networking, educational and job search assistance, and occasionally by employing the spouse in the company.

Ongoing support for expatriates while overseas included accommodation (provided by 98 per cent of companies), regular updates about the company (68 per cent), regular updates about Australia (53 per cent), financial support for schooling (45 per cent) and domestic services (37 per cent). Mentoring was the least mentioned support, offered by just under a third (31 per cent) of companies in the sample. Repatriation support in the form of a guarantee of continued employment of the expatriate was provided by just over two-thirds (69 per cent) of companies. Sixty per cent offered debriefing, 47 per cent offered rebriefing on the organisation, 29 per cent engaged the services of repatriation experts, and 26 per cent offered counselling support.

DISCUSSION

In private sector organisations, Australian women expatriates appear to be less well represented than their North American counterparts, and still face a ‘glass border’. One can only speculate on whether this border is disappearing, since this survey appears to offer the first snapshot of such women. Because women’s representation in international appointments appears to be greater than in senior management positions nationally, this might suggest grounds for cautious optimism. However, although the survey findings suggest that gender is regarded by Human Resource Managers as of little consequence in the selection process, the percentage of women expatriates is very small. Moreover, mirroring the national context, women appear to be concentrated at middle rather than senior management levels. This contradicts the high degree of employer support accorded in the survey to women in senior management appointments overseas.

Postings differ for women and men in geographical terms. Women tend to be concentrated in the ‘safer’ (i.e. less risky in terms of posting) English-speaking countries of the UK, North America and New Zealand, whereas men are located more commonly in Asian countries, which constitute increasingly important trading
partners for Australian business. While the survey reveals reasonably strong employer support for women as expatriates, a marked reluctance to send women to the Middle East, India and Pakistan is apparent. Yet companies can ill afford to take the high moral ground in pursuing equal employment opportunity policies for women in international assignments, by sending them to countries where women's status and acceptance is low, if such a move is likely to jeopardise business opportunities. However, employer reticence to send expatriate women to Japan is more surprising, given the literature which confirms that traditional attitudes to such placements are misplaced (Adler, 1987; Napier & Taylor, 1995).

While female and male Australian expatriates tend to work in similar sized companies, their industry representation differs. Women expatriates are concentrated in the finance/property/business services sector, while men are located predominantly in both manufacturing and finance/property/business services. Women are less well represented than men in resources/mining, an industry traditionally of great significance to the Australian economy. However, this comes as no surprise, given the very small proportion of women in the sector generally (Smith et al., 1993). Although women and men predominate in the Finance/Accounting function, women appear to have a higher representation than men in Information Systems, a function which is growing rapidly in importance to business.

Women expatriates appear to be better qualified than their male counterparts, suggesting that, as in the national arena (Marshall, 1984; Still, 1993), expatriate women have to be particularly well qualified to reach prestigious managerial levels. It is conceivable that organisations take extra care to ensure that women are appropriately qualified to operate in other cultures, to minimise the risks traditionally associated with international appointments. This is critical if, as the international literature indicates, female expatriates are presumed automatically by host country nationals to possess exceptional calibre (Napier & Taylor, 1995).

The finding that the great majority of women expatriates are single supports other research that, unlike men, women in senior positions are much more likely to be divorced, or to have never married (Still, 1993). Single status may reflect the demands of a corporate career culture which militates against women forming long-term personal attachments, due to the complexities associated with dual careers and multiple roles (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1980; Lewis, 1992), which are compounded by an international posting. Reasons given to employers by women for refusing international appointments suggest the need for organisational consideration of more flexible work and family policies, not only in response to child care responsibilities but also to elder care. Even though most women expatriates appear to be single, they may well incur additional responsibilities for ageing relatives, as people live longer and women tend to assume the greater share of elder care.

It is interesting to speculate why companies appeared to be more knowledgeable about the educational qualifications and marital status of women expatriates than those of men. This could be due to the small number of expatriate women, making it easier for Human Resource Managers to be conversant with their personal details. Alternatively, companies may be more diligent in ascertaining women's marital status, to minimise the likelihood of premature repatriation, which commonly arises from spousal failure to adjust (Black & Stephens, 1989). Although spouse involvement in selection for international relocation has been identified as a critical factor in ensuring a successful placement (Brett & Stroh, 1995; Smith, 1994), such involvement appears rare. This suggests there is room for improvement in organisational procedures which take greater account of the work/family nexus, by
While the research shows that many companies consider international appointments necessary for a senior management career, preparation for expatriation rarely appears to be integrated into management development processes, and few employees are participating in programmes targeted towards overseas work. Although mentoring is particularly important for women's career development (Dreher, 1990; Kram, 1985; Limerick, Heywood & Daws, 1994), it appears to be rarely provided for expatriates. This suggests that, in the absence of mentors as role models, the potential for women to have increased representation in developmental positions such as overseas assignments, may be somewhat limited. This would appear to run counter to the Karpin Report prescriptions that women's talents must be harnessed, and that international placements will play an increasingly important role in the development of tomorrow's managers (Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, 1995).

Expatriation recruitment and selection processes appear to be haphazard rather than systematic, with a reliance on informal approaches to preferred candidates. Such ad hoc methods are likely, even if unintentionally, to perpetuate indirect discrimination in favour of men as expatriates, who have traditionally been regarded as the obvious choice for overseas postings. Instead, formal systems for evaluation of potential candidates would be more conducive to discarding stereotypical assumptions, thereby encouraging greater diversity in the recruitment pool. Because of the kudos associated with international assignments, and their significance for senior management development, overseas appointments therefore need to become an integral element of systematic staff development programmes, to which all employees have equal access and support.

Although foreign language skills have been identified as critical for senior management careers (Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, 1995), these do not appear to be regarded by employers as critical competencies for Australian expatriates. This suggests support for the view that Australian organisations underestimate the complexities of operating in an overseas environment (Stone, 1985). However, employers do appear to attach importance to expatriates' interpersonal skills such as effective communication and cultural sensitivity, which are capabilities commonly attributed to women (Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, 1995). Judging from the number of women currently employed as expatriates, however, these abilities do not appear to have been capitalised upon by Australian companies. Many appear uncertain about women's acceptability and inclination for, and potential effectiveness in, expatriate appointments, despite their apparent rejection of the view that foreign prejudice renders women expatriates ineffective.

CONCLUSIONS

While the results of this exploratory survey are of limited generalisability, due to the relatively low response rate and small sample size, they do suggest some trends in respect of selection, placement and development for international assignments. The Karpin Report identified the profile of tomorrow's senior manager as either male or female, with a graduate or postgraduate qualification, and a wide range of ethnicities and citizenships. S/he would be the product of a major development programme, with a global focus derived from regular travel and domicile in two or more countries. This survey suggests that Australian companies are making little
progress towards this end, and multicultural experience, gender diversity, and expatriate preparation have not yet become integral components of management development programmes. Therefore, Australian business has yet to embrace the ingredients necessary for the global change process.

The cultural barriers which militate against senior management appointments for women nationally also appear to operate in the international arena. Explanations for this 'glass border' are being explored in detailed interviews with employers of expatriates, as part of the larger research project. Yet, because global competition is increasingly intense and a diversity of perspectives is likely to be beneficial for business success, organisations now need to capitalise on the benefits that women offer to international assignments.

The international management literature confirms that women can and should play a more significant managerial role in diverse national cultures, and greater employer familiarity with this literature might result in a reconsideration of the risks associated with overseas placements of women. Companies therefore need to abandon outmoded assumptions and placement processes, and choose the best person for the job on the basis of merit, even if this challenges the customary appointment of men as expatriates. If Australian companies do not offer women access to global career development, their careers will be limited to the national arena, thereby restricting the achievement of their full potential, with long-term implications for effective business functioning.

Footnotes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented in the refereed paper stream at the Australian and New Zealand Academy of Management Conference, Sydney, December 1996, where it was joint winner of the Best Paper Award.

REFERENCES


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Sources of Stress in Unemployed Female Managers: An Exploratory Study

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ABSTRACT

This pioneering study is a qualitative investigation into the overall impact of unemployment on female managers (attending Executive Job Clubs), an area which to-date has received no specific attention. Qualitative and quantitative data was gained from in-depth interviews with 27 unemployed female managers, recruited from 7 Executive Job Clubs (representing 100 per cent of female members), identifying stressors, stress outcomes and moderating factors experienced by interviewees. Participants reported significantly higher levels of job commitment than their employed counterparts, but significantly lower levels of ambition and self-confidence. Discrimination was encountered at all stages of the recruitment process, although ageism was perceived as the main barrier to successful job search. These findings suggest that the impact of job loss upon female managers is substantial, experiencing both psychological and financial deprivation, but by maintaining high levels of activity, social support and personal control, they appear to minimise the adverse effects of such deprivation. Recommendations are made to both Executive Job Clubs and the Employment Service.

INTRODUCTION

In 1994 women accounted for 49.5 per cent of the United Kingdom (UK) workforce (Employment Gazette, 1994) and a third of all UK managers were women (Davidson, 1996). Yet an extensive review of the literature has revealed that the research into the effects of unemployment on women is minimal and to date there has been no research into the effects of unemployment on female managers. In order to fully address this issue, the exploratory study described in this paper aims to provide qualitative and quantitative data gained from in-depth interviews with unemployed female managers, which will form the basis for the implementation of a larger scale quantitative study comparing the experiences of both unemployed female and male managers.

The effects of unemployment on blue-collar workers have consistently been identified, with unemployed people experiencing higher levels of depression, anxiety and general distress together with lower self-esteem and confidence (Chen, Marks & Bersani, 1994; Rowley & Feather, 1987; Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988; Wooton, Sulzer & Cornwell, 1994). However, employment still appears to be intrinsically linked with masculinity, resulting in few studies of women's unemployment. Although those studies show no significant difference between unemployed men and women in terms of self-esteem, hostility and personal distress, they have found that unemployment is experienced differently by each sex (Stokes & Cochrane, 1984; Leana & Feldman, 1991).
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Women report higher levels of self-satisfaction and 'acceptance by others' than their male counterparts, but experience significantly more guilt as the length of their unemployment increases. In contrast, although men experience higher levels of paranoid hostility and self-criticism than women throughout unemployment, they report increasing levels of social contact and marital satisfaction.

Previous research has shown that women may be faced with additional sources of stress during unemployment, and the denial of the importance of work in women's lives often results in non-supportive social 'support' and an undermining of self-worth (Ratcliff & Brogden, 1988). Where work is central to an individual's self-image, as it is for many female managers, the effects of this denial may be traumatic (Billing & Alvesson, 1993). In contrast, it has often been proposed that women will actually experience less stress than men during unemployment because the work/family interface, which is a major source of stress for working women, is removed (Newell, 1993). This approach has been used to devalue the worth of women's employment but research does not support this view. Schwartzberg and Dytell (1989) found that although work overload was an important predictor of psychological well-being for both employed and non-employed women, the latter experienced additional stress from perceiving their role as non-challenging. Without the challenges women experience in their work they may be deprived of the 'hardiness' which may protect them from sources of stress, such as role overload, during employment (Kobasa, Maddi & Kahn, 1982). This coping strategy known as 'hardiness' is a personality construct, which is thought to moderate the relationship between stress and ill-health, with 'hardy' individuals being less likely to suffer mental or physical ill-health during times of stress (Kobasa, 1979). Thus, if employment is removed, through job loss, women may find themselves exposed to additional sources of stress at a time when their ability to cope with those stresses is eroded. This could have a serious effect on both women's physical and psychological well-being during unemployment.

Until the late 1980s the number of unemployed British managers was relatively low, but job loss through economic pressures and structural changes is increasingly affecting this occupational group, especially middle managers (White, 1991). Much of the work performed by middle management has been eroded by information technology and down-sizing and, because many have few or no formal qualifications, they are particularly susceptible to redundancy. Although managers have historically enjoyed better employment conditions than clerical or blue-collar workers, recent developments may have diminished those benefits. Long notice periods and access to pensions had offered some degree of financial security for managers but, as their positions change, they are becoming increasingly disposable and hence more vulnerable to job loss (White, 1994).

Several studies have looked at the impact of unemployment on male managers with mixed findings. Swinburne (1981) found that male managers did experience the same phasic reaction as blue-collar workers although more slowly. In contrast, Hartley (1980) revealed that the self-esteem of male managers did not decline during unemployment and suggested that the responses of unemployed managers are more complex and more varied than those anticipated. More recent research into the personality of unemployed managers has produced further evidence that unemployed male managers do experience greater anxiety than their employed peers (Brindle, 1992). These studies also recognised the importance of individual differences in unemployed managers' reactions to unemployment, including both demographic and personality factors, and that those reactions had a significant impact upon subsequent experiences and well-being.
A major determinant of well-being during unemployment is the experience of job search, and an individual's attributional style in dealing with unsuccessful job search (Ostell & Divers, 1987). Those who make behavioural attributions (for positive and negative events) generally have better mental health than those who make characterological attributions. A behavioural style is where a person tends to believe that their actions are responsible for the outcome of a particular situation, whereas a characterological style is typified by judgements attributing the causation of events to the character rather than the actions of an individual (Ostell & Divers, 1987). In addition, Vinokur and Caplan (1987) found that social support can counteract the effects of unsuccessful job search on mental health. However, this is based upon the assumption that social support is indeed positive support, which may be true for unemployed men but which would appear to be untrue for unemployed women (Ratcliff & Brogden, 1988).

Female managers tend to make behaviour attributions when they are successful and characterological attributions when they are unsuccessful (Rothblum & Cole, 1988). This would mean that they are more likely to suffer greater negative effects from unsuccessful job search than unemployed male managers, who tend to make characterological attributions when they are successful and behavioural attributions when they are unsuccessful.

Female managers experience many barriers to advancement when they are employed and it is predicted that they will experience even greater barriers to re-employment. The main barrier to unemployed women managers is the perception that 'male = manager' (Sheridan, 1994). In the United States (US) in 1979, 3 per cent of American managers were women, and by 1994, this figure had risen to over 44 per cent. Even so, despite affirmative action legislation, American female managers are still finding the 'glass ceiling' difficult to shatter at senior executive level, where women hold only 5 per cent of management positions - a percentage that has hardly changed in the last decade (Mattis, 1994). Even though the number of women managers is rising, management is still seen as a male dominated profession in which women are marginalised by a masculine model of the successful manager (Schein & Mueller, 1992; Orser, 1994). This is supported by findings that many women managers are either androgynous or masculine in their gender-role orientations with highly egalitarian views of women's role in society (Sachs, Chrisler & Devlin, 1992). Thus women are not only constrained by male power but also by women's own attitudes to the male model of management (Apter & Garnsey, 1994).

Job and gender stereotypes mean that women are most likely to be managers in those occupations which are still seen as traditionally female, such as catering and retail (Davidson, 1996). Unemployed female managers, unlike unemployed male managers, have to contend with the 'think manager, think male' stereotype during their job search. They also have less access to formal and informal business networks and are less skilled at playing the 'network game' (Still & Guerin, 1986). There are also less likely to obtain a salary commensurate with their previous experience and education (Stevens, Bavetta & Gist, 1993). These factors may be sources of additional stress for unemployed female managers, affecting self-image and self-worth, playing a significant role in their experiences of unemployment.

In addition to prejudice and sex stereotyping, unemployed female managers also have to cope with other specific sources of stress which have been isolated as unique to female managers. These include overt and indirect discrimination from employers and organisational climates; feelings of isolation; and being placed in the role of 'token women' (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). It is possible that these barriers to re-employment not only make job search more stressful for unemployed female
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managers but may mean that they could be less successful in their job search activities than their male counterparts. Previous research has also shown that, not only are female managers faced with unique sources of stress, they also react differently in terms of stress outcomes (Davidson, Cooper & Baldini, 1995). Stress-related illness tends to manifest itself in terms of physical ill-health for male executives, whereas for female executives some studies have indicated that it is more likely to develop into mental ill-health (Cooper & Melhuish, 1984). The predictors of mental and physical ill-health are often dissimilar for men and women and, even though female managers are more likely than male managers to adopt positive coping strategies, female managers are at a greater risk from mental and physical ill-health as a result of the unique stresses they face (Davidson, Cooper & Baldini, 1995). Some studies have found female managers to have significantly higher type A coronary prone behaviour scores than male managers (e.g. Davidson & Cooper, 1983), whereas other more recent comparative studies have found no significant differences (e.g. Davidson, Cooper & Baldini, 1995). This is obviously an area which requires further investigation in order to explore these discrepancies.

Therefore the aim of this study was to investigate the overall impact of unemployment on female managers, as identified by unemployed female managers themselves in the form of confidential in-depth interviews. The sample was drawn from unemployed female managers who had joined Executive Job Clubs (EJCs) in the North of England, a free government-run scheme for executives and university graduates. In the UK a high majority of unemployed male and female managers join Executive Job Clubs as a tool to facilitate re-employment (Employment Service, 1994). These clubs provide access to job search facilities and guidance in a supportive environment, enabling individuals to secure suitable professional employment in the shortest possible time.

In addition to this qualitative data, quantitative data was obtained by distributing valid and reliable indices, (i.e. amended sections of the Occupation Stress Indicator (OSI) (Cooper, Sloan & Williams, 1988), to each interviewee. These quantitative scales measured the stress outcomes of unemployment on female managers in terms of psychological, physical and behavioural effects, as well as the individual variables of Type A coronary prone behaviour and coping abilities. This data was then compared with OSI normative data held for employed female graduate middle managers (Davidson, Cooper & Baldini, 1995). At the present time, this is the closest matched OSI sample normative data for our interview sample (63 per cent of the interviewees were university graduates, with a wide variety of subject degrees, and almost 75 per cent had previously held middle management positions).

METHOD

Participants

During 1995, 27 unemployed female managers were recruited to voluntarily participate in the study from seven of the sixteen Executive Job Clubs in the North of England (it should be noted that five EJCs had no female members who had previously held managerial positions). None of those approached refused to participate in the study, thus this number constituted 100 per cent of the total population of unemployed female managers who were members of the seven Executive Job Clubs included in the study.

Table 1 presents the demographic details of the 27 interviewees. Participants ranged in age from 23 to 56 years, with a mean of 40 years. Ten were single, one cohabiting, ten married and six divorced. Thirteen participants had children but only
five had responsibility for school-aged children to 18 years, three were married and two were divorced. Participants had attained a range of educational qualifications, from ‘O’ level (High School certificates taken at age 16) to post-graduate level, in a variety of subjects including Information Technology, Law and Social and Economic History, with a total of 17 participants having gained university degrees.

Table 1 - Unemployed Female Managers Demographic Details by Management Level (n = 27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management Level</th>
<th>Junior (n = 2)</th>
<th>Supervisory (n = 4)</th>
<th>Middle (n = 20)</th>
<th>Senior (n = 1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age Range</td>
<td>23-29</td>
<td>43-48</td>
<td>33-54</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Non-dependent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Dependents</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous Salary</td>
<td>£10,000-</td>
<td>£10,000-</td>
<td>£10,000-</td>
<td>£18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>£12,000</td>
<td>£17,500</td>
<td>£54,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Experience</td>
<td>1-4 years</td>
<td>2.5-23 years</td>
<td>3.5-25 years</td>
<td>23 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Staff</td>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>2-5</td>
<td>2-400</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Unemployed</td>
<td>6-12 mths</td>
<td>3-24 mths</td>
<td>1.5-36 mths</td>
<td>48 mths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary Level Sought</td>
<td>Lower than previous</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Same as previous</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Higher than previous</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Search Location</td>
<td>Local (15 miles)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>County-wide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nation-wide</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participants had been unemployed between 6 weeks and 4 years, with a mean duration of 10.2 months. Thirteen had been made redundant, eleven had resigned, one had taken voluntary redundancy and two had reached the end of their contracts. Participants were seeking a range of positions, from Care Assistant (i.e. caring for the elderly) to Business Manager. Four had formerly held supervisory posts, two had held junior management posts, twenty had held middle management posts, and one had held a senior management post. These positions had been in a range of organisations, including both the public sector e.g. the Health Service and Central Government, and the private sector e.g. Financial and Retail industries. Previous salaries ranged from £10,000 (US $15,000) (junior manager) to £54,000 (US $81,000) (middle manager), with a mean of £18,500 (US $27,750).

Indices

Qualitative data was obtained using a semi-structured interview questionnaire and quantitative data from an OSI amended questionnaire. Questions were designed to obtain in-depth information of direct relevance to the specific aims of the study. The final interview questions were developed from participants responses recorded during five in-depth pilot interviews and the literature review and set out in seven sections as follows:
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1. **Demographics** - this section was used to gain factual details of participants' personal situation, their previous employment, their current employment situation, qualifications, and the direction of their job search activities.

2. **Job Loss** - this section was designed to establish the circumstances under which participants had lost their previous job and whether or not participants had experienced previous unemployment. Questions were used to investigate participants' feelings in relation to their job loss experiences and to determine deprivation they had suffered following job loss in terms of job satisfaction, social contact, status and purpose.

3. **Unemployment** - this section was designed to investigate the financial and emotional effects of unemployment. Questions looked at participants' perceptions of unemployment and of their role as an 'unemployed person'. In order to establish a balanced view of the effects of unemployment, in addition to questions looking at areas of negative affectivity (e.g. finance), participants were asked about the positive aspects of unemployment. Interviewees were also questioned about their perceptions of male managers' reactions to unemployment and whether or not their experiences of unemployment would have been different if they had been male.

4. **Family/Friends** - this section was designed to determine the structure of participants' social support networks. It looked at the reactions of participants' partners (if relevant), family (i.e. parents, siblings and/or children) and friends to their situation, and whether or not they perceived that those reactions would have been different if they had been male. It also sought to establish the degree of emotional support available to interviewees and the role of family or friends who were in a similar employment position.

5. **Activities** - this section was designed to investigate participants' use of time. It looked at how the sample structured their time, what activities they pursued and their social interactions. It was also used to investigate the women's feelings regarding their daily situation and the degree to which their social contacts fulfilled their personal needs.

6. **Job Search** - this section was designed to investigate the diversity of participant's job search, their use of networks, and the barriers they had faced in their search for employment. It looked at the type of positions the unemployed women managers were applying for in relation to their qualifications, previous salary level and their interview experiences. It also investigated the difficulties experienced during their job search activities and whether or not they believed that those experiences would have been different if they had been male.

7. **Self** - this section was designed to investigate how participants felt about themselves and to establish any psychological, physical or behavioural changes resulting from their experiences of unemployment and job loss. It was also used to establish the degree of control interviewees felt over their situation and who they felt responsible for that position. The occurrence of other major stressful life events was also investigated in order to ascertain their potential influence over participants' psychological and physical well-being.

**OSI Amended Questionnaire**

This was used to establish a quantitative measure of the stress outcomes of unemployment on female managers, in terms of psychological, physical and behavioural effects. This was in the form of a self-administered questionnaire adapted from the Occupational Stress Indicator (OSI) developed by Cooper, Sloan and Williams (1988). The OSI in its total format consists of six scales, each of which provides a number of subscale scores, from a total of 167 items, using Likert-type rating scales. These scales measure stress elements, individual differences and strain effects,
providing independent variables (sources of pressure, Type A behaviour pattern, perceived Locus of Control, and the uses of strategies to cope with Stress) and dependent variables (current state of mental and physical health, and job satisfaction).

The OSI was originally devised to provide a comprehensive analysis of work stress among white collar workers and has been used extensively as a diagnostic tool. In order to use the OSI with unemployed female managers references to current employment were excluded from the questions. The scales measuring Current State of Health, Type A Behaviour Pattern and Coping with Stress, as described in Appendix 1, were used to form an amended version of the OSI. However, because of the intrinsic nature of work based stress within the OSI, the scales measuring Sources of Pressure, Perceived Locus of Control and Job Satisfaction could not be satisfactorily adjusted and were excluded from the amended version of the OSI. The scales and subscales of the Occupational Stress Indicator have been found to demonstrate high levels of reliability and validity (Robertson, Cooper & Williams, 1990), and the three scales used in this study have particularly high reliability and validity (Robertson, Cooper & Williams, 1990; Kahn & Cooper, 1991).

PROCEDURE

Interviews

Based on content analysis of the pilot interviews, the interview format questionnaire was amended and the final version formulated. Individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with 27 unemployed female managers at seven Executive Job Clubs in the North of England. In addition, quantitative measures of physical and mental health, Type A Behaviour patterns and coping strategies were obtained using an adjusted Occupational Stress Indicator.

Potential participants were initially approached by their Executive Job Club leader, who formalised the interview arrangements. All interviewees were briefed on the purpose of the investigation and issues of confidentiality, before their informed consent to participate was obtained. The interviews were approximately one hour in duration and were conducted at Executive Job Clubs. These were tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed.

Analysis

The systematic method of content analysis was used to provide analysis of responses to the main semi-structured interview questions. This method allows open-ended questions to be coded, enabling the determination of the group's psychological state, the reflections of cultural patterns within the group to be identified, and the auditing of communication against the study objectives (Weber, 1990).

Quantitative analysis was performed on the data obtained from the stress questionnaire. Responses were scored in accordance with the scoring method laid down for the individual scale and sub-scales of the Occupational Stress Indicator (Cooper, Sloan & Williams, 1988). The scores were then compared against the OSI scores held for female middle managers and unrelated t-tests were applied to the data (Davidson, Cooper & Baldini, 1995).

RESULTS

Qualitative Interview Content Analysis

Job Loss

Redundancy was the main cause of job loss, and the majority of participants believed that their job loss was unrelated to their age, sex or origins, although four did believe
that they would not have lost their jobs if they had been male. The loss of work was a negative experience for all participants who expressed feelings of devastation, emotional upset, self blame and complete shock. One woman in her mid-forties commented that she was “in such a state of shock it was like being stoned”. Although seven participants described their initial reaction as a sense of relief, they subsequently experienced negative emotions similar to those of other interviewees. As one participant recalled, “My first reaction was relief, I knew it was coming for six months. Then I felt very upset...I have gone through all the emotions”.

Two thirds missed work colleagues most from their working lives, with many missing a sense of personal worth and achievement from “doing something worthwhile”. This sense of loss was summed up by one female who said, “everything stops...it stops your life...it changes your life completely”. Although money was mentioned by six participants, only two said that it was what they missed the most about working. Both of these women were single, and solely dependent upon their own salary. They were each suffering extreme financial hardship; one participant had lost her house and the other was facing repossession.

Unemployment

Half of the those interviewed said that the worst thing about being unemployed was the lack of money; “it’s not having enough money to do what you want or the financial security to plan for the future”. For others it was the loss of personal worth, the lack of purpose, the uncertainty, or the isolation. Unemployment was financially ‘a struggle’ for the majority, with one third suffering severe financial deprivation. One single parent with dependent children commented that she was “constantly worried about how to feed the children”.

Two thirds of the sample had very negative feelings about unemployment, experiencing fear, stigma and frustration. The other third felt “OK most of the time”, with one woman experiencing better health because of the release from stress that she had been under at her previous job. Half of participants felt no stigma in being labelled as unemployed, but half mentioned that they would avoid referring to themselves as unemployed, either by describing themselves by their former position or saying that they had been made redundant. As one woman in her late twenties explained, “it’s a status thing, if you say you are unemployed you are the lowest of the low”. Nevertheless, the majority did not feel responsible for their situation and saw positive aspects of being unemployed. For example, having more time was seen as a benefit that allowed participants to see friends/family more often and afforded them with an opportunity to assess their lives and develop personally.

All subjects thought that unemployment was different for men and women, believing that being out of work was worse for men. Many thought that men still felt that they should be the breadwinner and suffered greater psychological effects because of their perceived inability to fulfil this role. As one single woman in her early forties observed, “We are locked into an illusion men have traditionally believed that they need to be breadwinners and that it is their main responsibility...but it just an illusion”. Some saw unemployment as more degrading for men because of the “male ego”, with others claiming that women “just cope better”. One married interviewee commented, “Men are not as mature in their outlook.. they don’t cope as well...they bottle things up and get more depressed. Women have their feet firmly on the ground...they are more realistic and cope better”.

The majority of those interviewed believed that unemployment would be experienced differently by a man of a similar age and occupation to themselves. Many thought it would be worse for the men for a number of reasons: “they take it more
personally”, “it is harder for men to get work”, “there is a greater stigma for men”, and because “women are more adaptable”. The general feeling of participants was summarised by one women who observed that, “men aren’t prepared to widen their job search, whereas women settle for less”. In contrast, a small number of participants thought unemployment would be easier for the man because they felt it would be easier for men to get work. One woman in her early forties believed that this was “because men have more access to networks through colleagues so they can concentrate on getting a job...women have to find the jobs first”.

In general, unemployment was seen as easier for women by two thirds of interviewees, with women being seen as more versatile than men and thus able to cope better with unemployment. Those who saw unemployment as harder for women all believed that this resulted from the discrimination faced by women, arising from a lack of recognition of women’s need to work. As one married participant remarked, “it means a lot to me to be out of work...but women’s quest for work just isn’t taken seriously”. Discrimination was also given as the main reason why participants believed that, had they been male, they would not still be unemployed.

Family/Friends

The majority of single women believed their financial situation would be different if they had a partner, with half believing that they would also feel more fulfilled. As one female in her thirties commented, “you feel a failure in a lot of ways, if you had a partner at least you wouldn’t have failed in that way as well”. Two thirds of married women described their partners as very understanding and supportive. However, half had found their unemployment situation to be destructive to their partnership. As one woman remarked, “It’s like walking on eggshells...my husband has taken the brunt of it”.

The families of only one third of the sample were described as supportive. Many family members were seen as unsupportive or even glad because it made life easier for them. A woman in her late twenties commented, “My family think it is so easy to find work...they have no comprehension, they just don’t understand what it’s like”. Two thirds believed that their families would have reacted differently if they had been male, proposing that they would have been more helpful and understanding because their family members viewed male work as more important.

The friends of the majority of those interviewed were described as very helpful, supportive and understanding, believing that they would have reacted the same had they been male. Unemployment had not affected the relationships of two-thirds of participants, but a small number had lost friends because of their situation.

Seventeen had friends or family who were unemployed but this was not always viewed as helpful. For example, a woman in her mid-forties observed that having an unemployed friend had not been beneficial for her, “…it’s like a mirror and it makes it more painful”. Over two thirds maintained that they had someone to talk to about their experiences, but just under one third reported that there was no one they could talk to about their feelings and experiences, despite having access to family and friends.

Activities

The majority of participants had no difficulty occupying their time and many said that rather than having too much time they actually had too little. A small number did occasionally find they had nothing to do, a situation they found either depressing or disturbing. Participants engaged in a number of activities, summarised in table 2, and the majority planned their time to a degree.
Table 2 - A Breakdown of the Daily Activities of Unemployed Female Managers
(n = 27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>No. of participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeing Family/Friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading/Watching TV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Chores</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate Study</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary Work</td>
<td>(mainly) Advice Work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unemployment had negatively affected the social lives of over half of the women, a situation mainly due to a lack of financial resources but was also linked to the loss of contact with work colleagues: “Most of my friends were at work...I have always had friends at work...I didn’t have time to make friends outside of work”.

Over a third had very active social lives, and a small number had experienced improved social lives since losing their jobs. Just under half of those interviewed were happy with the level of social contact they experienced, but the remainder would have liked more. Certainly, the negative effect of unemployment on many of the women's social lives was aptly illustrated by one subject in her late forties who said, “It’s embarrassing when you can’t go out because of a lack of money. When you keep saying no, people stop asking”.

Job Search

A third believed that they had not been successful in their job search because of their age, with the remainder either blaming a lack of confidence, a lack of suitable positions, or a lack of suitable qualifications or experience. The majority appeared hopeful and believed that it would take them between one to three months to find employment, despite being unemployed for an average of 10.2 months, with only a small number anticipating it taking in excess of six months. However, many were concerned that they were still out of work, and one woman in her late forties commented, “I'm feeling less optimistic and getting more nervous...it is not as easy as I thought it would be to get another job”.

Half felt that the most difficult aspect of finding work was getting an interview, followed by a lack of confidence, finding a job that is fulfilling, going to interviews and completing application forms. Less than a third had used their contacts from previous positions in their job search activities, but none of these were felt to have been effective.

The main barrier perceived by participants to re-employment was believed to be age (regardless of the participant's own age), followed by a lack of confidence, a lack of relevant training/ experience gender and a lack of suitable employment. Just under half believed that it would be easier for them to get a job if they were male, even though the Sex Discrimination Act, 1975 clearly states that employers must not discriminate, directly or indirectly, on the grounds of sex. One woman remarked that at a recent interview the male interviewer had told her, “It's not that we are sexist, but we really do think a man would be better for this job”. Another asserted, “It's harder for women because men don't like women to be successful”. A woman, who was single and in her late forties, observed that women faced discrimination not only from employers but also from the Employment Service Job Centres. She said, “I was asked
by a young man at the Job Centre if I had thought about part-time shop work. I was so angry, he wouldn’t have asked me that if I had been a man”.

Two thirds of the sample had applied for jobs of a lower level to their previous position for which they were overqualified, reporting that they would not have applied for such positions if they had been male. Furthermore, the other third believed that there would be a wider range of positions available to them if they were male, a view illustrated by the following quote, “If I was a man I wouldn’t just apply for jobs in traditionally female industries or organisations”. In contrast, two of the participants who said they would not apply for different positions if they were male commented that, rather than affording more opportunities, it would be more restrictive to be a man. Half of those interviewed had moved for work in the past, and many were prepared to move should their work require it. Moreover, two thirds described themselves as ambitious/career minded, at least to some degree, as one participant in her mid-thirties remarked, “I like a challenge and need to feel that there is a point to my work, but I’m not ambitious to the point of all else”.

All of the sample had completed application forms which had asked about their marital status, and even recalled receiving an application form, for a council position, which asked if she was pregnant. Less than one third had completed application forms which did not include questions on marital status or children and several had been asked questions relating to either their marital or parental status at an interview. Indeed, one woman in her mid thirties challenged the interviewer about these questions, but the interviewer said that he was not aware of the legislation. “I didn’t get the job”. In addition, another woman had been questioned about her future plans with regard to marriage, while another in her late twenties had been asked “What does your boyfriend think about you applying for this job?”. When she replied that she did not have a boyfriend the interviewer asked her why not.

Just over a third of participants described their interview experiences as being quite good, but others described their interviews as disappointing and frustrating, reporting feelings of nervousness and panic, especially when they were faced with all male panels. Many women said that they would like more feedback regarding their interview performance, as they were not sure where they were going wrong However, the majority who competed with male candidates, strongly believed that they had faced different questions than their male counterparts because of the substantial gender bias of certain questions. In all known outcomes, the male interviewees were ultimately successful. A number of participants suggested that this was because many industries are still male dominated with male interviewers, with employers feeling that it is more important to give men work.

Self

All participants described their feelings since losing their jobs in negative terms, with the majority reporting that they had experienced a loss of confidence, frustration and anger, a loss of self-esteem, feelings of worthlessness and feeling upset, depression and anger. A woman in her early fifties commented, “I frequently experience deep, black depressions that can last for days”. Over half said that they had experienced emotional ups and downs, as illustrated by one female in her late twenties who said, “It has been very up and down. Some days you feel brilliant and other days you think that you’re never going to get out of this situation...it can get really bad”. The majority maintained that they felt better than when they first lost their job; as one observed “It was such a big shock, your whole life changes...it’s like starting again...it’s frightening at first but I’m feeling better now”. The majority of women interviewed felt in control of their situation, and although a third felt responsible for their situation only a small number
believed that they were to blame. Most participants placed blame elsewhere, with the
greatest blame being placed upon the government or the general economy, followed
by their last employer, themselves, and their spouses. The behavioural changes
experienced by participants since losing their jobs are summarised in Table 3.

It should be noted that the increase in cigarette consumption was reported to
result from the lack of opportunity to smoke at work because of non-smoking policies.
In addition, those who reported a decrease in alcohol consumption reported that this
was due to a lack of social life.

Table 3 - Behavioural Changes of Unemployed Female Managers (n = 27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behaviour</th>
<th>Same</th>
<th>Less</th>
<th>More</th>
<th>Fluctuating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smoking (n=8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Consumption (n=22)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiredness</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleep</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of those interviewed described themselves as physically healthy, with
some reporting that they felt more healthy than they had when working. Only four
participants had experienced a significant illness over the previous months, which they
described as being stress related, including nerves, asthma and eczema.

Table 4 - Unemployed Female Managers' stress Questionnaire scores compared with
Female Middle Managers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale Variables</th>
<th>Unemployed Female Managers (N=27)</th>
<th>Female Middle Managers (N=30)</th>
<th>t - test</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current State of Health</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Health</td>
<td>56.07</td>
<td>14.86</td>
<td>57.17</td>
<td>10.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Health</td>
<td>29.59</td>
<td>10.46</td>
<td>31.77</td>
<td>8.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type A Behaviour Pattern</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude to Living</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style of Behaviour</td>
<td>22.37</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>20.60</td>
<td>3.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambition</td>
<td>17.44</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>19.40</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement</td>
<td>10.81</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>12.30</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping with Stress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Support</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted Task Strategies</td>
<td>17.78</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>17.03</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logic</td>
<td>29.12</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>27.27</td>
<td>3.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Relationships</td>
<td>12.44</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>12.23</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effective use of Time</td>
<td>17.41</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>15.80</td>
<td>3.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement</td>
<td>14.93</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>15.40</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>24.02</td>
<td>2.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

note: Probability values are for two-tailed tests
One had been prescribed beta-blocker drugs by her doctor because of the panic she experienced during interviews and two had attended counselling sessions, with one female in her early thirties commenting, "I can't cope with the depression...I need someone to help me through all of this". One third had experienced a major stressful event in the past twelve months, other than losing their job, which had had an important effect upon them. These included bereavement, separation, and family difficulties.

Quantitative Comparison of OSI Scores of Unemployed Female Managers with Employed Female Middle Managers

In comparison with the OSI scores of employed female middle managers (Davidson, Cooper & Baldini, 1995), unemployed female managers scored significantly lower on the Type A Behaviour Pattern subscales 'Style of Behaviour' (p<0.05) and 'Ambition' (p<0.05), but scored significantly higher on the 'Attitude to Living' subscale (p<0.01). They also scored significantly higher on the 'Task Strategies' (p<0.05) of the coping with stress subscale indicating a greater tendency toward the type of behaviour measure by a particular subscale. No significant difference was found between the current state of health, mental or physical, of unemployed and employed female middle managers (Table 4).

DISCUSSION

Job Loss

The unemployed female managers interviewed in this study reported a wide range of circumstances that had resulted in the termination of their last job. Just over half had not been involved in the decision which had led to their employment being terminated. Previous research would suggest that those who have the least personal control over their job loss i.e. those who had been made redundant, would experience greater distress during unemployment than those who had chosen to leave their jobs voluntarily (Swinburne, 1981). The findings of this study do not provide support for this theory. All of the unemployed female managers interviewed described their reaction to unemployment in negative terms, regardless of the way in which their previous job ended.

In general, previous research has indicated that women tend to be discarded in times of recession in preference to men. Certainly, the findings of this study would suggest that female managers do perceive this form of discrimination, but only to a limited degree. The majority attributed job loss to external conditions, such as government policy or the economic climate, rather than to personal characteristics, such as age, sex or origin. This does not mean that female managers are not subjected to discrimination by employers, only that they do not perceive, or wish to recognise, such discrimination should it exist. This may be a defence mechanism which, by attributing causality externally, protects the self-identity of female managers following job loss.

Job loss deprives individuals of many of the latent consequences of employment, such as purpose and self-identity, and female managers reported that unemployment had deprived them of several latent functions that had previously been provided by employment. Challenging activities, social interaction and personal worth were consistently cited as the aspects of work that unemployed female managers felt most deprived of. The sense of loss experienced by unemployed female managers, resulting from the deprivation of these latent consequences, was for the majority quite profound. Less than a third of respondents referred to the loss of the manifest
Sources of Stress in Unemployed Female Managers:  
An Exploratory Study

consequences of employment i.e. earnings. This does not necessarily indicate that money is unimportant to unemployed female managers, but it does indicate that work means much more to female managers than just a source of income.

Unemployment

Just over half of the female managers interviewed in this study reported that the worst aspect of unemployment was the loss of the latent consequences of work, including purpose, social support and personal worth. The remainder felt that the worst aspect of unemployment was the loss of the manifest consequences of work i.e. income. The evidence would suggest that, as there is currently no adequate substitute for these latent consequences of employment, their removal through job loss would adversely affect psychological well-being. However, in comparison with employed groups, female managers do not appear to be adversely affected by unemployment in terms of mental and physical well-being. This apparent lack of negative effect may be responsible for some of the conclusions reached in previous studies, which have argued that the well-being of women is not related to their employment status (Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988). An alternative explanation may be that the well-being of female managers is adversely affected by unemployment but that effect is counteracted by other variables e.g. the implementation or increased use of coping strategies.

The loss of the manifest consequences of employment would also be expected to have an adverse effect on the mental and physical well-being of unemployed female managers. The majority of the unemployed female managers interviewed in this study were the main 'breadwinner' in their households. This resulted in primary life style deprivation for just under a third of respondents e.g. loss of home and persistent debt, and secondary life style deprivation for all but three respondents e.g. loss of holidays and leisure activities. However, the financial deprivation resulting from unemployment does not appear to affect the well-being of female managers. The consequences of financial deprivation on the well-being of unemployed female managers may again be masked by other factors which produce conflicting influences on well-being. It has been recognised that the effects of unemployment are determined by a complex set of variables that can exacerbate or reduce its impact. Therefore, in order to identify these variables and their effects on the mental and physical well-being of unemployed female managers, further research is required. Future research should not only consider the impact of these variables but how they interact with deprivation, in terms of both manifest and latent consequences.

Previous research has indicated that an important influence on the psychological well-being of male managers during unemployment is their ability to maintain relatively high levels of self-esteem (Hartley, 1980). This ability may arise from a perception of the self, not as an unemployed person, but as a manager looking for work. Just under half of the unemployed female managers interviewed in this study did not identify themselves as an unemployed person but described themselves by their former position. Thus, unemployed female managers may be able to sustain higher levels of self-esteem by maintaining the status and personal identity that their previous employment had afforded.

A determining factor in the acknowledgement by unemployed female managers of their situation may be the extent to which they feel responsible for their situation. Three quarters of those who felt responsible for their situation described themselves by their previous position. Past research had suggested that self-blame can be psychologically destructive (Swinburne, 1981). Thus, the results of this study may indicate that the perpetuation of a managerial self-image could, in addition to
maintaining self-esteem, be a defence mechanism which protects unemployed female managers from the adverse effects of self-blame.

The majority of unemployed female managers believed that men were less able to cope with unemployment than women. This perception, regardless of its accuracy, may serve to increase the self-esteem and self-worth of unemployed female managers. Previous research has shown that the importance of work in the lives of women continues to go unrecognised (Billing & Alvesson, 1993). Viewing men, and their ability to cope with unemployment, in a negative light may be a defence mechanism which enables female managers to view themselves, and their ability to cope with unemployment, in a more positive light. This may be one of the factors responsible for the maintenance of mental well-being in unemployed female managers. However, although believing they were better able to cope than men, unemployed female managers did recognise that job search was more difficult for female managers because of the discrimination they faced. A number of research studies have consistently shown that one of the main barriers to employed women managers is the perception that ‘male = manager’ (Schein & Mueller, 1992). The findings from this study would suggest that this barrier is just as great for unemployed female managers with over two-thirds believing that, had they been male, they would not have remained unemployed.

The discrimination female managers face because of the ‘male = manager’ stereotype is perhaps another reason why women benefit from viewing unemployed men in a negative light. In their present position they can do little to challenge the stereotype, but they can maintain their own self-esteem and self-worth by discrediting men’s ability to deal effectively with stressful situations, such as unemployment. By viewing themselves as more effective they may be better equipped to deal with job search rejection and thus minimise the effects of rejection on psychological well-being.

Family/Friends

The partners of the unemployed female managers interviewed in this study were, in general, understanding and supportive towards their partner. This does not support previous research, which has shown that the spouses of unemployed women actually prefer them to be out of work (Ratcliffe & Brogden, 1988). However, it is unclear whether the support received by unemployed female managers from their partners arises from a genuine understanding of their need to work or from a more self-serving standpoint e.g. increased family income. In contrast, the families of respondents tended to offer little in the way of emotional support, a situation which interviewees perceived as being related to their gender, believing that, had they been male, their families would have had a greater understanding of the role of employment in their lives and would thus be more supportive. Other studies would suggest that the negative feedback received by unemployed female managers from their families would adversely affect psychological well-being, both in terms of self-worth and mental health. However, this effect may be negated by the support received from partners and friends.

The majority of unemployed female managers interviewed in this study received substantial support and understanding from their friends, a reaction that was not felt to be dependent upon the fact that they were female. These findings do not support those of previous studies, which have suggested that unemployed women are significantly more likely to receive support from their family than from their friends, and may arise because of the difference in occupational level i.e. managerial as opposed to non-managerial. The families of unemployed female managers may have difficulty identifying with their situation and their job search activities. In contrast,
friends are more likely to be similar in terms of occupational status and therefore in a better position to offer emotional and instrumental support.

It is recognised at a time when individuals are in greatest need of social support, job loss may remove some of the most beneficial sources of support. Just under one third of the subjects in this study did not have anyone with whom they could discuss their feelings and experiences. This would suggest that the support offered by friends and/or family is either ineffective or inaccessible. This may be precipitated by the individuals themselves if they do not feel that their family and/or friends understand their situation. Alternatively, it may stem from their need to maintain a self-identity which reflects their desire to be perceived as an employed person.

Activities

The unemployed female management interviewees engaged in a wide variety of activities, including daily exercise and the pursuit of hobbies. All were actively engaged in job search and just under half participated in activities which they ascertained would further their chances of employment i.e. further education and work experience gained through the voluntary sector. Less than a quarter reported carrying out domestic chores as part of their daily activities. This may not necessarily be because they do not engage in housework, rather it is so integral to their lives that they do not separate it out as an activity.

The majority of the unemployed female managers interviewed felt that their time was fully occupied, with over half believing that they had did not have enough time in which to pursue their activities. The time limitations experienced by unemployed female managers may arise through an actual lack of time in which they feel able to pursue their interests. Alternatively, it may be a defence mechanism which allows unemployed female managers to maintain a sense of personal worth by perceiving their life-style as demanding and fulfilling, which provides a structure for daily activities and allows personal objectives to be set. These findings would suggest that unemployed female managers actively seek to maintain the latent consequence provided by employment during unemployment. This may reduce the adverse effects of job loss on psychological well-being, allowing unemployed female managers to maintain better mental and physical health.

These findings are contrary to those of previous research, which have concentrated upon unemployed men. Past studies have suggested that keeping active after job loss becomes increasingly more difficult and the ability to maintain daily structure and a level of meaningful activity decreases (Swinburne, 1981). The results of this study indicate that unemployed female managers do not decline into a state of inactivity as unemployment progresses. This may be because they are more self-structuring and self-directed than unemployed men and thus more able to achieve a sense of valued purpose, or it may be dependent upon the type of activity pursed. Previous studies have indicated that men are much more likely to concentrate on problem-focused activities i.e. behaviours that attempt to directly eliminate the source of stress such as job search, whereas women are much more likely to concentrate on symptom focused activities i.e. behaviours that attempt to eliminate the symptoms of unemployment such as seeking social support (Leana & Feldman, 1991). Nevertheless, unemployed female managers appear to take a more balanced approach, pursuing both problem-focused and symptom-focused activities. This may enable female managers to deal more effectively with the sources of stress they experience during unemployment, thus minimising the adverse effects of unemployment on mental and physical well-being.
It has been argued that the symptom-focused activity of seeking social support is the most important factor in determining the mental health of women during unemployment (Ratcliff & Brogden, 1988). However, although almost half of the unemployed female managers interviewed in this study reported a decrease in social activity no significant difference was found between the levels of social support reported by unemployed female managers and employed female graduate or middle managers. This would suggest that it is not the level of social support that is important to unemployed female managers, but the quality of the support available to them. This is further supported by the finding that, although preferring more social contact, it was not the level of contact that was most important but the type of social interaction i.e. unemployed female managers desired the wider social contact only found at work.

Job Search

Previous studies have consistently identified the perception that 'male = manager' as the main barrier to the progression of female managers (Sheridan, 1994; Orser, 1994). However, only two of the unemployed female managers interviewed in this study perceived gender as the greatest barrier to successful job search. In addition, none of the respondents believed that their gender was responsible for their lack of success in their job search activities. This does not necessarily mean that the 'male = manager' stereotype does not affect the ability of unemployed managers to secure work. It may indicate that unemployed female managers do not perceive that they are subjected to this stereotype or they choose not to acknowledge its presence. This is also indicated by the finding that only just over a third of respondents believed that it would be easier for them to obtain employment had they been male. This denial may be an important defence mechanism, which serves to protect the self-confidence and motivation of unemployed female managers during their job search activities.

Contrary to the findings of other studies, age was perceived as the greatest barrier to re-employment by over half of the unemployed female managers interviewed in this study (Schein & Mueller, 1992). The perception of this barrier does not appear to be dependent upon the individual's own age, with all ages being affected. Although ageism is a serious form of discrimination, it does not categorise people to the same extent as gender discrimination, and tends not to be specifically linked to managerial occupations. It may therefore be less threatening to the occupational identity of unemployed female managers than gender discrimination.

A lack of self-confidence was also perceived as a substantial barrier to successful job search, and was reflected in the level of position applied for by respondents. The personal status and self-worth, generated by paid employment at a management level, appears to be a major component of the self-confidence of female managers. When this component is removed, through job loss, the self-confidence of female managers appears to decline rapidly. The majority of unemployed female managers interviewed in this study reported experiencing a lack of confidence during unemployment. This lack of confidence may also be manifest in other barriers to successful job search perceived by unemployed female managers e.g. a lack of experience or qualifications.

The majority of unemployed female management interviewees had not only widened their job search in terms of the level of position applied for, but also in terms of the occupational areas in which they sought positions. This willingness to consider alternative positions to those previously held, demonstrates the strength of their commitment to finding work and their ability to take a flexible approach to job search. This approach provides unemployed female managers with the opportunity to explore alternative career directions, an opportunity that was being utilised by over half of the
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respondents. In addition, whilst two thirds of unemployed female managers did not believe that their gender restricted their opportunities, it was felt that they would have been more restricted had they been male.

Female managers are subjected to both direct and indirect forms of discrimination which serve to prevent their progress throughout the recruitment process. Although many of the unemployed female managers interviewed in this study did not consciously restrict their job search activities because of their gender, they did experience difficulty in progressing through the various stages of recruitment. It could be argued that these difficulties do not necessarily result from discrimination, either direct or indirect, but from high levels of competition and inappropriate applications. However, the flexible approach taken by unemployed female managers to job search would suggest that their lack of success is due to more than just competition and unsuitable vacancies.

It is widely accepted that questions relating to marital or parental status on application forms can lead to discrimination, either direct or indirect, and all of the unemployed female managers interviewed in this study had completed application forms which asked about marital and parental status. Although this practice is discouraged by the Equal Opportunities Commission, even those who actively promote themselves as equal opportunity employers e.g. councils and government agencies, often continue to include these questions on their application forms. In addition, a third of respondents had been asked questions relating to their marital and/or parental status at an interview, with many believing that their answers had negatively affected the outcome of the interview.

Almost half of the sample believed that the most difficult aspect of finding work was getting to the interview stage, and previous research has suggested that women are prevented from reaching the interview or short-listing stage because of the ‘male = manager’ stereotype (Orser, 1994). This stereotype is particularly prevalent in male dominated industries, where almost all of those involved in recruitment decisions are men. The majority of the interview sample, who were not applying solely to female dominated areas, believed that they would have received more interviews had they been male. The findings of this study may indicate that unemployed female managers are being filtered out of the recruitment process because of the perception that the ideal manager is male. This form of discrimination, although most likely to be indirect, serves to maintain the status quo and consequently the ‘male = manager’ stereotype.

It has also been suggested that women are overlooked for managerial positions because they are seen as lacking the ambition needed to succeed, resulting in them being viewed as unwilling or unable to be organisationally mobile. However, over half of those women interviewed in this study described themselves as ambitious/career minded at least to some degree, almost half of respondents had moved for work in the past, and over fifty per cent of those with partners would be willing to move if necessary. These findings would again suggest that unemployed female managers are facing discrimination in the employment market-discrimination which not only means that their chances of successful job search are reduced, but also increases the level of rejection they have to face during unemployment.

The difficulties experienced by the unemployed female managers, rather than arising from an internal lack of ambition or commitment, appear to arise from external prejudices and an unwillingness to provide unemployed female managers with equal opportunities during the recruitment process. Although many of those who had attended interviews had reported a mix of both male and female interviewees, the women reported that the men who were shortlisted with them were more successful,
being offered jobs twice as often as female candidates. In addition, the successful male candidates tended to be older than the unemployed female managers who had applied for the position. This may indicate that ageism has less of an impact on male job search than on female job search.

**Self**

All of the unemployed female managers interviewed in this study described their feelings since unemployment in negative terms, regardless of the manner in which their last job ended. The majority had experienced frustration, anger, feeling upset, a loss of confidence, a loss of self-esteem and feelings of worthlessness. In addition, almost two thirds had experienced anger, depression, fear, nervousness and crying more than usual, with half experiencing shock, guilt and loss of control. Other studies have suggested that the negative emotions experienced during unemployment are key determinants of physical and mental well-being (e.g. Warr, Jackson & Banks, 1988). However, the negative emotions experienced by unemployed female managers were not constant, but were frequently interceded by more positive emotional states. These positive emotions may arise from the positive approach taken by unemployed female managers to their situation, serving as a defence mechanism which minimises the adverse effects of negative emotions on mental and physical well-being.

The majority of unemployed female managers felt in control of their situation at the time of the interview, although many had experienced a loss of control during their time out of work. According to previous studies, individuals with an internal locus of control perceive less stress and are less likely to suffer psychological distress than those with an external locus of control, and have also been found to display higher levels of self-confidence (Ostell & Divers, 1987). However, the majority of unemployed female managers interviewed had experienced a decrease in self-confidence, an effect which was for some quite profound. Thus, an internal locus of control may protect the mental and physical well-being of unemployed female managers from the adverse effects of unemployment but it does not necessarily protect their self-confidence. In addition, other studies have suggested some external orientation may be beneficial during the early stages of unemployment by shifting the responsibility for job loss away from the individual (Lefcourt, 1982). However, almost two thirds of those who felt in control did not feel responsible for the situation, indicating that the perceived responsibility for job loss and locus of control can be differentially located. These findings suggest that locus of control and perceived responsibility may act as separate defence mechanisms during unemployment, rather than being the same mechanism previously assumed.

Job loss can cause reactions not only at an emotional level but also at a behavioural level, characterised by increased use of tobacco, alcohol, drugs and/or food. None of the unemployed female management interviewees in this study reported increases in their use of alcohol or drugs, although a decrease in alcohol consumption was reported by a small number of respondents because of the poor social life. The main reported behavioural changes were in terms of exercise and eating habits. Over two thirds of respondents took more exercise than when working and, although only one third ate more, almost half had gained weight since losing their jobs. This may arise because, in general, unemployed female managers may be less active, mentally and physically, than when working and have more opportunity to 'snack' between meals.

Another behavioural change experienced by unemployed female managers was in relation to the amount of sleep they required. Although the majority of those interviewed found it easy to relax, over half were more tired and needed more sleep...
than they had when working. For many this increase in tiredness arose from the disrupted sleeping patterns they had experienced since job loss. Research by such authors as Cooper and Melhuish (1984) has suggested that changes in sleep patterns are often experienced in times of stress, thus the changes experienced by unemployed female managers may result from the increased levels of stress experienced during unemployment.

Comparison of OSI Scores for Unemployed Female Managers with Employed Female Middle Managers

Unemployed female managers obtained significantly higher scores (0.05) on the ‘task strategies’ subscale of the Coping with Stress scale than employed female middle managers. This supports the findings from the previous comparisons, indicating that unemployed female managers are very active in organising and planning their time. In addition, unemployed female managers also scored higher (0.1) on the ‘home relationships’ subscale of the Coping with Stress scale than employed female middle managers. This again highlights the use of time by unemployed female managers as a means of coping with their situation.

Job commitment is measured by the ‘attitude to living’ subscale of the Type A Behaviour Pattern scale, for which unemployed female managers obtained significantly higher scores than employed female middle managers (0.01). This would suggest that unemployed female managers have a greater job commitment than employed female middle managers. However, this is not supported by the findings for the ‘involvement’ subscale of the Coping with Stress scale, which indicated no significant difference between the levels of job commitment for each group. This may arise because of conflicting measures within the ‘involvement’ subscale, which looks at both job commitment and acceptance of the situation. Unemployed female managers may score higher on job commitment but lower on acceptance than employed female middle managers. Further investigation is required into these two aspects of the ‘involvement’ subscale in order to determine the effects of unemployment on the job commitment and situational acceptance of female managers.

Unemployed female managers scored significantly lower on the ‘style of behaviour’ and ‘ambition’ subscales of the Type A Behaviour Pattern scale (0.05) than employed female middle managers. This would suggest that unemployed female managers engage in less Type A Behaviour and have lower achievement needs than employed female middle managers. In addition, no significant difference was found between the scores of unemployed female managers and employed female middle managers, on the ‘mental health and ‘physical health’ subscales of the Current State of Health scale. It could be argued that these findings support previous studies which have advocated that the effects of unemployment on women are minimal because they are better able to adjust. Even so, previous research of this nature has assumed that, because women display better mental health during unemployment than men, they lack work commitment (Stokes & Cochrane, 1984). This assumption is clearly untrue for unemployed female managers who, as the results of this study show, appear to have a very strong commitment to work.

An alternative explanation for these findings is that female managers are affected by unemployment, in terms of the mental and physical well-being, but these effects are offset by the removal of other stresses which are specific to working women, i.e. multiple role strain (Leana & Feldman, 1991). Unemployment provides women with the opportunity to spend more time with their families and reduces the demands placed upon them. However, only five of the unemployed female managers in this
study had responsibility for children under the age of eighteen, and over half of the women interviewed lived alone.

A more appropriate explanation for these findings may lie in the mental and physical health of employed female managers. Davidson, Cooper and Baldini (1995) found that graduate managers displayed significantly better mental health than the normative population but obtained similar scores for physical health, thus the findings from this study may indicate a significant decrease in the mental health of unemployed managers. Other investigators have also shown that stress-related illness experienced by female managers tends to be manifested in terms of mental ill-health rather than physical ill-health (Cooper & Melhuish, 1984). Thus, female managers are unlikely to experience a decrease in their physical health during unemployment, a supposition which is supported by the findings of this study.

ORGANISATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Employment Service

The findings of this study indicate that unemployed female managers face many barriers during their job search activities. These barriers are found not only in the recruitment procedures of potential employers, but also in the Employment Service's attitude to unemployed female managers. Stereotypes relating to women and women's work still appear to influence the attitudes of Employment Service staff toward unemployed female managers. These attitudes are fuelled by the 'male = manager' stereotype, and may affect the approach taken by staff towards unemployed female clients who have previously held managerial positions. This may result in those clients experiencing feelings of anger, disdain and alienation.

Unemployed female managers face many sources of potential discrimination during job search, and consequently they have to deal with rejection at all stages of the recruitment process. The findings of this study would suggest that the self-confidence of unemployed female managers is adversely affected by their experiences during job search, because of the difficulties they face in seeking employment. If unemployed female managers are to be more successful in their job search activities they need to maintain their self-confidence. This cannot be achieved if unemployed female managers are usually required to be out of work for six months before they are officially eligible to join Executive Job Clubs.

In addition, unemployed female managers do not have opportunities equal to those of unemployed male managers because of the direct and indirect discrimination that they face from potential employers. Therefore, if unemployed female managers are to be successful in their job search activities they also need greater access to the types of job search facilities afforded by EJCs. Thus, the findings of this study would suggest that unemployed female managers would benefit substantially from gaining earlier access to EJCs.

Executive Job Clubs

The above recommendation to provide unemployed female managers with earlier access to EJCs is supported by the success rate of those women who have attended EJCs. EJC leaders commented that unemployed female managers were more adaptable and better presented than their male counterparts, so they tend to get jobs quicker. However, it was noted that unemployed female managers tend to undersell themselves, applying for low level positions because of their increased chances of success.
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Unemployed female managers reported that they gained a great deal of emotional and instrumental support from attending EJCs, yet all of the EJCs contacted reported low intake rates for unemployed female managers, i.e. approximately 10 per cent to 15 per cent of each intake group. As one third of UK managers are now women (Equal Opportunities Commission, 1994), this figure appears to be significantly lower than would be anticipated. Low intake levels may arise from inadequate or poor publicity which does not go far enough in dealing with the ‘male = manager’ stereotype. This may result in unemployed female managers perceiving EJCs as ‘male’ organisations, and because of the low number of women attendees they are indeed male dominated. Consequently, unemployed female managers not only face barriers to job search erected by employers, but also face barriers erected by those organisations specifically designed to help them. Further investigation is required if the reasons for low intake levels are to be established and effective ways of increasing the intake of unemployed female managers explored.

Recommendations for Future Research

The findings of this qualitative study are an indication of the sources of stress experienced by female managers during unemployment, but they have also raised many questions. In order to answer these questions further research is required into these sources of stress experienced by unemployed female managers, and the ways in which those stresses are manifested in terms of psychological, physical and behavioural outcomes. Further investigation is also required into the effects of moderating factors, such as locus of control, social support, self-esteem, length of unemployment, demographics and job search experiences on stress outcomes.

It is the intention of the authors to conduct a more extensive quantitative study, based upon the findings of this study, surveying a large sample of unemployed managers by questionnaire in order to investigate the overall impact of unemployment on both male and female managers. This research will be conducted throughout England, comparing the sources of stress, moderating factors, and stress outcomes experienced by unemployed female and male managers. Particular attention will be given to the identification of differences in the job search experiences of male and female managers, and how those differences affect stress outcomes. The findings of this research will be used to make recommendations to organisations, including the Employment Service, of ways in which the stresses faced by unemployed managers might be alleviated/reduced. Thus, increasing the opportunities of male and female managers for job search success, whilst minimising the negative impact of job loss on their physical and mental well-being.

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and educational expectancies on the stress-related affect of adult job losers. In
Appendix 1 Current State of Health

The Current State of Health scale consists of two subscales, mental and physical ill-health, with higher scores indicating poorer health. These two aspects of well-being are measured using six-point Likert-type scales of symptom frequency:

1. ‘Mental Ill-Health’ taps a range of cognitive aspects of strain.
2. ‘Physical Ill-Health’ looks at the somatic symptoms of anxiety and depression.

The Type A Behaviour Pattern scale consists of three subscales (excluding the broad Type A subscale) with higher scores indicating a greater tendency toward Type A Behaviour Patterns:

1. ‘Attitude to Living’ measures attitudinal aspects of Type A behaviour including confidence and work commitment.
2. ‘Style of Behaviour’ assesses the behavioural aspects of Type A such as time pressure and abruptness of behaviour.
3. ‘Ambition’ measures aspects of achievement needs.

The Coping with Stress scale consists of six kinds of stress-coping strategies with higher scores indicating greater use of coping strategies. Respondents are asked to rate the frequency with which they use each one:

1. ‘Social Support’ looks at respondents’ use of various informal and formal social support networks.
2. ‘Task Strategies’ looks at how individuals organise their time and plan ahead.
3. ‘Logic’ addresses respondents’ adoption of an unemotional and rational approach to their situation.
4. ‘Home Relationships’ looks at respondents’ use of time to dissipate stress.
5. ‘Effective use of Time’ measures aspects of respondents’ organisation in terms of priority setting and assistance from others.
6. ‘Involvement’ looks at individuals job commitment and acceptance of their current situation.
Case Study

A Case Study of a Feminist Small Business. Theory into Practice.

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a case study of a small business, a general practice, that is run on feminist principles of management. It focuses on the structure and processes created to translate philosophy into actuality and how these have worked in practice. The study illustrates the equal value the women place on their public and private lives, their desire for a nurturing work environment and their emphasis on egalitarianism and collaboration in the work setting. The doctors also wanted their ideals to flow through into the quality health care they provided for their patients. The need for constant attention to team building and team maintenance when working collaboratively, the questioning of the principle of egalitarianism in connection with employer-employee relationships and varying leadership styles in changing situations are some of the issues that arise.

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on a small business delivering primary health care in New Zealand. The general practice is run by four women doctors on feminist principles so issues of the financial side of the business, patient satisfaction and the health and welfare of the doctors and staff are considered to be of equal importance.

Medical training equips doctors to attend to the medical needs of their patients but leaves them to discover the world of small business on their own. In New Zealand the government financing of general practice, through subsidies of patient visits, has meant that maximisation of income is achieved by seeing as many patients as possible per day. This has led to an average appointment time of eight minutes and a reluctance of doctors to make home visits. It also has repercussions on the type of medicine practised and the relationship between doctor and patient, with general practitioners at times being perceived as skilled technicians focusing on the bio-or biopsychosocial aspects of medicine (Campbell & Howie, 1992; Risdale, Carruthers, Morris & Risdale, 1989; Roland, 1989; Wilson, 1989).

Organisation theory, in the 1960s, emphasised goals, rationality and efficiency (Miles & Snow, 1978; Silverman, 1972; Thompson & McHugh 1990). The limited approach of systems theory to organisations has been complemented by the development of interest in the human side of organisations and the interaction of the organisations with their environment (Miles & Snow, 1978; Silverman, 1972; Thompson and McHugh 1990). Workers' involvement with, and behaviour towards, their work place is affected by their involvement with other organisations. Silverman
(1972) acknowledged that to understand gender the conjunction with organisations such as the family is crucial, and Cunnison (1966) illustrated this in her study of women garment factory workers. The orientation of women to their families as well as their work contrasts with the primacy men give to their careers (White & Cooper, 1992). Marshall (1984) illustrated how women have the same motivations to work as men but practical difficulties explain why they do not translate this into action. Women accept the impossibility of separating their private lives from their paid work lives as women still carry the main responsibility for the maintenance of family life (Dobson, 1993; O'Regan, 1992; Pringle & Collins, 1996). This has led, over the past two decades, to women leaving large organisations, more often than men, to set up their own businesses so that they can arrange their own work environments and work practices. These businesses have succeeded more often than those established by men (Auster, 1988; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; van Auken, Rittenburg, Doran & Hsieh, 1994; Welsh, 1988). While first generation women entrepreneurs were seen as forced through economic pressure to set up their own businesses, the second generation entrepreneurs have been seen as acting to fulfil their needs for achievement, independence and control rather than financial rewards (Gregg, 1985; Lee-Gosselin & Grise; Neider, 1987; Olsson, 1992). Women are seeing a small, stable business and balance between their professional and personal lives as important, and the need for challenge as greater than the need for promotion (Lee-Gosselin & Grise, 1990; White et al., 1992). Women general practitioners often work sessionally in male-run practices, and Lorber (1993) found that women medics could only be in control of how they practised medicine by working in their own practices. Marshall (1984) questioned society's values about work and the nature of life in large organisations, and Lee-Gosselin and Grise (1990) saw women as calling for recognition of the legitimacy of their differing perspectives.

While Contingency Theory highlighted the adaptation of organisations to their environment, the Strategic Choice Approach emphasised the power of managers in designing appropriate structures and processes for the organisation (Child, 1972; Schreyogg, 1980). Miles and Snow (1978) noted that the type of environment that managers could enact were constrained by their existing knowledge of alternative organisational forms and their beliefs about how people can and should be managed. These points are crucial in theories of women in leadership roles. Management theory presents a continuum of leadership roles. At one end managers are seen to be competitive, rational, objective, analytic and strategic, and to view power in terms of formal organisational positions and concentrated at the top. At the other end managers are seen to be collaborative, intuitive, subjective, egalitarian and concerned with a quality product and to view power as shared within groups (Applebaum & Shapiro, 1993; Hawken, 1996; Olsson, 1992). Stereotypically male managers are seen to operate in the former fashion and women in the latter. The type of structures and processes that are constructed for each model would be different. Weeks' (1994) study of Women's Health Centres showed women developing a group-centred model of leadership while Craddock and Reed (1993) illustrated the problems women met trying to transform an existing hierarchically structured health clinic to one based on a holistic model of health, where staff offering different types of help to clients were equally valued by the professionals themselves.

This paper describes the structures and processes of a general practice established by four women doctors to give them control over their work environment, in terms of the relationship of their work to the rest of their lives, and their practise of health care.
METHOD

To study the practice (the Aurora Health Centre) it was necessary to negotiate attachment to the team. After approaching the doctors a series of meetings were held between the Aurora staff, with and without my presence. My proposal was accepted in the spirit that it would be part of the doctors' and staff's self reflection on their professional practise, that the doctors and staff had a right not to co-operate at any stage if they chose, and that no material would be published without their permission. At each stage my involvement with the practice was at the team's invitation. Their willingness to involve me in all aspects of the practice demonstrates their commitment to the ideals on which the practice was established.

During my year's attachment to the Centre I observed the practice in progress by spending time in the waiting room, the reception area and the office. I read documentation about the practice including past minutes, business plans, newspaper reports and articles written by the doctors. I conducted individual interviews with the doctors, all staff members and an external facilitator who has worked with the group since its inception. These interviews were taped and transcribed and their scripts returned to the interviewees. Further interviews were held where staff wished to amend or elaborate on their scripts. I also held group discussions with the doctors. I attended the weekly practice meetings, educational evenings, conflict resolution meetings and social events. I also ran a patient survey through questionnaires given out at reception and interviews arranged by the receptionists.

All the material, plus my own field notes were entered on the NUD*IST computer program and subjected to a content theme analysis. Papers resulting from the analysis were circulated among the doctors and staff and time allocated at practice meetings and doctors' meetings to discuss and negotiate the content. This has resulted in two joint conference presentations with the doctors as well as other papers (Clifford, 1996; Clifford & Cocks, 1996; Mcilroy & Clifford, 1996). The analysis also resulted in the team holding further meetings to review and institute new organisational processes and to draw up a five-year strategic plan. This paper focuses on the themes that arose about the philosophy, structure and processes of the organisation.

THE PRACTICE

The practice was established in 1991 by four women general practitioners and one receptionist. They set up a new practice rather than buying an established one so that they were not bound by the existing expectations of colleagues and patients. After four years of existence it was deemed to be a 'success' in that it had survived its first three years and had a full patient list and patient satisfaction was high (Clifford & Cocks, 1996). By 1995 it had thirteen staff plus an attached physiotherapy unit. The ideals of the practice echo those found in other feminist organisations: (1) to give equal value to their work lives and their home lives, (2) to have control over their work environment and work practices, and (3) to give good quality medical care (Davidson & Cooper, 1992; Hawken, 1996; Nathan, 1996; Olsson, 1992; O'Regan, 1992; Still, 1996; Weeks, 1994; White et al., 1992). This paper evaluates the structure and processes of the practice in terms of giving the doctors control over their work environment and work practices. The success of the practice in terms of allowing the doctors a balanced life is dealt with in Clifford (1996), Mcilroy and Clifford (1996) and the quality of medical care in Clifford and Cocks (1996).
The four doctors all worked part-time, offering the equivalent service of two full-time doctors. The doctors arranged their hours to suit their personal schedules e.g. starting at 9.15 am so that a child could be taken to school, swapped sessions to help each other out and covered for each other’s holiday periods. As in Marshall’s (1984) study of women managers, when at the Centre the doctors were fully committed to their patients but they did not want to be 24-hour a day doctors, “our families and our interests outside medicine are equally important to us”. (Doctor). The doctors saw their private lives as “valid and valuable” (Doctor) and talked about putting boundaries around their work and making the workplace flexible to allow a life alongside work.

In the same way as Mary O’Regan (1992), on setting up the New Zealand Ministry of Women’s Affairs, had considered that people spend a large amount of their life in the work place and needed to be cared for within it, so the doctors wanted to establish a nurturing environment, one which involved caring for each other and being aware of each other’s needs (and that of all the staff at the Centre). The doctors wanted to work as a team of people, respecting each other’s skills, working co-operatively and on an equal basis. Similar values were held in the Women’s Health Centres studied by Weeks (1994). Trust and honesty were the words often used to describe the environment. The staff affirmed that the atmosphere at the Centre was very supportive, caring and accommodating to the requirements of their personal lives. The doctors were conscious of looking after their own health and well-being as well as that of their patients.

For their patients the doctors wanted to provide quality medical care at an affordable price. Quality care, for them, included patients having a chance to explain what they wanted to say and being listened to, having access to the most appropriate care for them whether medical, counselling or information. They wanted to create a caring, comfortable environment for patients going to their doctors and offer a holistic approach. They wanted to be less hierarchical with their patients, to explain choices to them and involve them in the decisions about their treatment.

THE ORIGINAL PROCESSES

At the Centre all the staff are considered to be on an equal footing and each respected and valued for the contribution they make to the whole project. The doctors take responsibility for different administrative aspects of the practice such as the wages and employment contracts and the building, while the staff take responsibility for their area of work (e.g. reception, nursing). The partners have had to learn to trust each other to get on with their delegated responsibilities and not to interfere if they feel things could have been done a different way.

Yes you have to rely on other people, and sometimes you have to say well “I wouldn’t have done it that way”, but can I live with it and if the answer is yes, I can live with it, you shut up even if you would have done it a different way (Doctor).

All staff are invited to the weekly practice meetings, which are the hub of communication in the practice. With mostly part-time staff, good communication is essential and the doctors are aware of the important strategic roles the full-time nurse and full-time receptionist play in communication channels. The agenda for the meetings is accumulated over the week in the minutes book to which all staff have access. The agenda is a hotch potch of clinical, financial, staffing, organisational, equipment, surveys and charity request items, and is frequently too long for the one hour allowed for the meeting. The meeting serves the function of bringing the staff
together socially and keeping everyone in touch with the numerous issues involved in running a business and a health service. It allows many decisions to be made at short notice. O'Regan (1992) discussed the need for weekly meetings to keep communication channels open and to stop comments being passed unconstructively behind the filing cabinet.

The Practice has also variously held monthly business/financial meetings for the doctors and regular clinical peer review meetings for the doctors and nurses. Social gatherings were also held periodically.

Early on the doctors drew up a Business Plan and a set of Ground Rules. The Ground Rules, effectively, became part of the job description for each position at the Centre. The Ground Rules include such things as honesty, confidentiality and caring.

Decision making is on a consensus basis, which was described by the staff as a process by which everyone was involved in discussion and felt that they had had their views heard and, even if they did not agree with the final decision, they felt that they could live with it (a process described by Stanford, Oates and Flores (1995) as participative leadership). If issues cannot be resolved at the weekly meeting further time is allocated.

Workshops have been held intermittently with an outside facilitator. The first one, before the practice opened, focused on team building and the contribution each person could bring to the practice. Subsequently they have been used to resolve emotionally charged issues. These meetings have had the effect of dissipating emotional tensions that have built up over the year as people have got progressively more tired and new issues have had to be confronted. Two of the doctors attend regular individual supervision sessions outside the practice as they feel that this is necessary for them to be able to meet the emotional demands of the Centre.

The first level is probably anybody who has got an issue, we try and sort it out directly with the others involved I suppose. If those people felt it should be discussed at the meeting, we go to the meeting, and then if the issues still weren't resolved then we'd probably organise a separate time to actually look at that issue specifically. If that wasn't sufficient then what we have done on several occasions in the past is that we've actually invited an independent person to come in and help us resolve issues. And that has been really effective... When the four of us were first setting up the business she looked into how we might work together and drew out some very interesting characteristics about each of us that we didn't know about each other ... get people working in a much more cooperative sort of way. (Doctor)

THE DYNAMICS

An essential part of the day-to-day running of the Centre, and the communication system, is the weekly meeting. The ground rules make a commitment to practice meetings having equal importance to clinical work, to punctuality and investing time to resolve issues. All the staff attested to the importance of the weekly meetings in the running of the practice and for staying in touch with each other. In reality the weekly meetings were placed at the end of a busy week when people were tired and demands on their time had built up. No-one in the practice was in the habit of taking a lunch hour so this was not an automatically available time slot. The meetings turned out to be very fluid affairs with attendance and punctuality waxing and waning, overfull agendas that could not be done justice in an hour, patient appointments ran late, food had to be fetched and consumed and the staff be back

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‘on deck’ at the end of the hour. There were no regular items on the agenda e.g. a practice manager’s report, nurse’s report. So, despite requests for some of these they eventuated only peripatetically. Part-time staff who attended infrequently found it difficult to claim space for their issues. The pressure on the Friday meeting had led to them being more task orientated and less a time for social contact.

To expect a one hour meeting (which is frequently less) to fulfil the function of meal break, socialising and business is perhaps too idealistic and may need to be reconstituted. The lack of time and energy for further meetings meant that staff were becoming out of touch with each other’s opinions and feelings. The doctors now only met irregularly and the clinical meetings had stopped. Investing time in the future development of the practice had proved difficult in the past year. A strategic planning exercise was not followed through for a whole year and plans that demanded more commitment of time, especially evenings and weekends, were not being addressed.

I think it’s really great that we have our weekly meetings ... we all know we have got to be on time, we all know we need to all listen, but what happens sometimes is that we get so busy that I’ll sometimes find they don’t, I might not mention the things that help everyone hold everything together. We just run out of time, it’s not like I feel we fail, it’s just because we need to just keep looking at those things, just keep tightening up those things we’ve all said are important (Staff).

We need a monthly business meeting as well as Friday meetings as they are too overloaded (Doctor).

The problems of communication between a predominantly part-time staff brings up the question of the emotional level at which the Centre operates. On one level the doctors have to maintain their relationship which was described by the facilitator as a marriage of

...four really strong people who really want to make sure that communication systems are good and I think it is like any marriage, I think they are just constantly working on it ... every now and again they have a bit of a blow out, like we all do in any of our relationships and that they need to go back and have a really good look at the basics again.

On another level the partners are trying to maintain relationships of equality, honesty and trust throughout the Centre. These ideals require knowing each other really well and this arises from spending quality time together, which becomes increasingly difficult as more people are involved.

The philosophy of equality for all was eagerly embraced by all the staff when the practice was small but is now being queried as the practice grows larger. All of the staff were enthusiastic about working at the Centre but three of the part-time staff did not think in terms of equality of staff. They did not know that they could attend the weekly meetings, have their say on issues or put items on the agenda. They saw themselves as employees with bosses, although benign bosses.

The issue of equality was thrown into relief in 1995 by the appointment of a part-time practice manager. At the beginning of the year one of the doctors expressed apprehension about the post affecting the power balance in the practice and this became an issue as responsibilities for jobs shifted, or did not shift as expected, and processes became disrupted. James and Saville Smith (1992, p40) describe ‘processes shaping the exercise of power’. As discussions took place about lines of responsibility, basic philosophies began to be questioned.
I wonder how real it was to start with, when we weren't busy. Now we can be consensual but the doctors are the partners and they are the ones who have the most to gain out of this practice, 'cos it is theirs. A consensual/communist philosophy maintains that everyone gets the same amount out of the business. I don't... I have just become more aware that the doctors are the financial partners and my commitment doesn't have to be on the same level and I have come round to thinking that it shouldn't be... the doctors have to take on board now the responsibilities of employers (Staff).

Staff began to redefine decision making in the practice and see the four partners as being equal in having the financial responsibility for the business but themselves as paid employees. They began to question the weight given to their opinions and to withdraw from decision making. However, this situation was not sustained as the staff realised that all the decisions would affect their working environment and relationships and it was in their interests to be involved with them.

As awareness of the employer-employee relationship grew, views differed as to the advisability of trying to run a business and hold all employees as friends.

I think that it is really difficult to establish a relationship with staff that is almost on an equal footing without causing practical problems in dealing with issues that arise. And my feeling has been in the last few weeks that that has reached a stage at times where decision making has almost become impossible for the partners because of concern about staff-response, staff feelings about being involved or not in the decision making...the practical side is, those people are always going to receive salary. The partners are not always going to receive a profit and so some decisions are their responsibility and theirs to be made... if you are going to try and have that sort of relationship there still needs to be a boundary and maybe the way of dealing with that is to make it more firm, that there is actually an agreed thing that beyond this point these are our responsibilities as the employer (Staff).

I still think it is really good having a consultative decision making process, it works really well. I just think you need to delineate somewhere where the decisions are really the responsibility of the employers (Staff).

The doctors' responses to these developments have been ambivalent, on the one hand withdrawing into doctor-only meetings, to decide how they feel about things and what they want out of the situation, and on the other putting extra time and effort into involving staff. It has also led to the redefining of jobs and responsibilities and the restructuring of reporting procedures.

...how much do we delegate and how much we retain control ... delicate balance (Doctor).

The questioning of equality in the practice reflects on the idea of consensus decision making. This is now seen as a very time consuming process and relying on the complete honesty of the participants. Time is one thing that has been at a premium at the Centre and honesty requires a high degree of emotional involvement.
... but I have some sense that some of the things we have had conflict over have got papered over and may well re-emerge. I don’t think that’s because we’re particularly bad at it or whatever, I sort of think that is human nature. And I think conflict resolution, you may come out with an answer but it’s seldom to everybody’s satisfaction and I think we’ve put a lot of emotional effort and energy into quite a lot of our conflict resolution and our work in general ... I think it has potential to bond and also the potential to split us asunder. I doubt that all male practices do much of it and if they do I suspect they do it in quite a different way (Doctor).

If we take on a new member of staff, everyone’s view is listened to ... like a receptionist will be there, a nurse, a doctor to do the interview ... but more and more I think as doctors we have seen that the actual bottom line is, we set up to be completely equal with the staff who work here, and increasingly for me there is realisation that we are not. That there are differences, and there are times where we can either choose to take the power or the responsibility. We actually already have and actually said “we want this person, and we see your concerns, but this is the person we are going to have” (Doctor).

We do try hard to be consensual, but I actually found that I had never worked in an environment where we try to do that so hard and it is actually incredibly difficult to do (Staff).

The facilitated meetings at the Centre have been held annually and seem to be a time for re-evaluation and team building. The staff find the meetings very draining because of the high level of emotional contact that they demand. Some of the staff feel that these meetings should be regular scheduled events, once or twice a year and others feel that they are not necessary, that the Centre does not need to function on this emotional level.

But it seems quite a good idea to get together about once a year. Winter seems a better time, because I think people are more likely, to be having difficulties in winter, if you’re not feeling well, or the weather’s foul or you’re overtired. Things seem to be a little more down and I think it’s important people make contact emotionally from time to time. I would quite like us to actually have a time, at least once a year where we actually talk about how we’re all feeling about things (Doctor).

It was really useful, really good because there was some really powerful feelings, powerful emotions happening, and that was a good focus for the open expression of them, for listening to each other, for hearing. For feeling respected and for being able to come to some resolution (Staff).

This level of emotional involvement is very demanding. As staff leave and are replaced by fresh faces, and as new positions open up and change people’s jobs, relationships need constant attention and adjustment, and the way the Centre approaches team building and maintenance may need to be addressed. Structures need to be in place to ensure the cohesion of the team and that working processes are overt. Work needs to be done in collaborative teams and the whole unit needs to be involved (Traquair, 1993; Walker, 1993).

I suppose I don’t know how to (tell them). It is the whole start. It is easy to start sounding bitchy about it and then things come right and it is okay so I get cowardly and think ‘oh what the hell’ ... (Staff).

The main thing that has changed as we have got bigger is that we don’t meet so often as we are busier and normally resist it (Doctor).
The original team worked together to build the practice discussing and exploring their philosophies and suitable organisational structures, making an open declaration of, and commitment to, those ideals. As new members join the team their acceptance of the philosophy of the Centre may not be grounded in practical experience of those ideals. The Centre may need to address the induction of new staff in terms of their philosophy and practice and in terms of getting to know the person and the person getting to know the team. They may also need to consider whether it is necessary to sustain the present level of emotional involvement for the practice to function on its philosophical base. Focusing on systems and procedures may remove some of the interpersonal tensions, allowing criticisms to be directed to the processes rather than to the personality.

THEORY INTO PRACTICE

This case study illustrates the practicalities of working at the 'feminist' end of the leadership style continuum, with beliefs in equality, democracy and collaboration, of prioritising work and family and producing a good quality service. In this example, the doctors wanted to produce a doctor-centred and a patient-centred practice. It portrays the development of a small business by a group of like-minded people. The women not only agreed with how they wanted to organise and run their lives, but also on how they wanted to practise medicine. The need for support and validation when working against the societal norm cannot be over-emphasised and is reflected in references to a critical mass of 33 per cent of women being required on male dominated teams for women's ideas to gain any consideration (Marshall, 1995). Perry (1993) wrote about identifying the allies within, working with those people to build up a base to develop new ways of working or to try out new ideas.

The three goals of the doctors are intricately intertwined; achievement in one area affecting success in another. The women set up a new practice so that they could introduce an alternative model of general practice. The doctors portray Olsson's (1992) second generation women entrepreneurs who were seen to establish their own businesses in order to satisfy their needs for independence and control rather than being primarily motivated by financial rewards. The doctors had recognised that, initially, setting up the business would be time consuming but had aimed towards their work load lightening, and their remuneration increasing, by the end of the first three years. This goal has not been achieved and now that the initial challenge and satisfaction of establishing the business has subsided the financial basis of the practice is more focussed on figures such as on the pay levels of locums and the remuneration levels in other (male) general practices. The doctors have found that to achieve their first ideal, of giving equal value to their home and work lives, they must be able to afford to work fewer hours in order to be able to contain their work time. Earning more per session would allow them to buy in more staff to spread the work load. Part of the role of the practice manager has been to relieve some of the administrative burden from the doctors, but this still does not give them the hours and flexibility that was their goal. They have found running the practice to be more expensive than anticipated, and the advice they received that 55 per cent of the business income would go on overheads, has turned out to be true. They have also found the paper work involved with patient care to require them to spend extra sessions at work, outside of their surgery hours, and these are not income-generating hours.

The delimiting of work time is also problematic in relation to the style of management and environment chosen by the women. Consensus decision making and establishing a nurturing environment are all very time-intensive and require
input out of ‘office hours’. There is, therefore, a conundrum between the structures and processes chosen and the desire to contain work involvement.

Collaborative work requires constant attention to team building and team maintenance to keep the commitment and involvement alive (Opie, 1996; Weeks, 1994). At the Centre the weekly meetings and social events are an important part of the relational and business processes. Some of this work went on serendipitously with the use of the external facilitator and appeared to have been vital in establishing the team and the team’s continued coherence. However, there are no in-built review mechanisms or induction processes for new staff, for team roles and commitment. As staff change and teams enlarge this is an important process.

Regular reviews are necessary in a participatory model of management such as this to ensure that the mechanisms in place are adequate to sustain the process. The case study illustrates a subtle, and unintended, shift from a participative model of management, involving joint decision-making, to a consultative model, where staff are consulted and then the managers make the decision (Stanford et al., 1995). As situations are continually in a state of flux, vigilance is needed to recognise when processes are being subverted and for participants to consider whether this is a change that they want or not. The comments of some of the Aurora staff indicated an inability to use existing structures effectively to deal with the concerns that arose and that a change of model might be acceptable but that it needs to be overt and agreed. The annual facilitated meetings, although not constituted as such, may have provided a forum for periodic reflection on practice and may need to be recognised as such and formally instituted.

The egalitarian philosophy espoused at the establishment of the Centre needs to be reconsidered. There is a fundamental difference in the position of the doctors and the staff vis-a-vis the financial ownership of the business and, therefore, ultimately in terms of responsibility for the practice. The power in the hands of owner-managers is well described in Riordan and Riordan’s (1993) study of small family businesses where some decisions made in the interest of the family were not necessarily in the interests of the business. The Aurora doctors could make decisions that suit their life style choices rather than ones that maximise business efficiency. Ramsey (1977) also described cycles of control where, during periods of financial constraint any movements that have been made towards worker participation in management are withdrawn but that at all times management retains control of the situation. Similarly in Aurora the owner-managers have ‘chosen’ the rules and can change the rules if they please. In this situation there may be occasions when democratic leadership styles and decision making may or may not be appropriate and that a variety of styles needs to be available to the group with a mechanism for deciding when the various processes will be used. Marshall’s (1995) women managers described changing their leadership styles to suit the situation.

Practising principles of equality and consensus decision making are shown to be very consuming of time and emotion, and the consumption is contingent on the size of the organisation. The idea that the size of work units is important was taken up by Kanter (1977) where she described the possibility of fluid organisational structures, which were relatively flat and decentralised, that distributed responsibility around employees arranged in project teams. There may well be a size at which a small business is too big to practise participative decision making and needs to work in devolved units. To a certain extent this was already a pattern at Aurora where the physiotherapists worked as an independent unit within the Centre and the nurses and receptionists had a large degree of autonomy over their own
work schedules and procedures. The possibilities of these work units within the organisation could be further explored.

The doctors at Aurora have provided the quality medical care they envisioned. The patient survey showed high levels of satisfaction, particularly in the relational and holistic health areas deemed important by the doctors. However, as the doctors become more focused on the financial side of the business and discuss ways of increasing income, some of their medical practices come into question. As general practitioners in New Zealand receive government subsidies according to the number of patients they see each day, allowing patients fifteen minutes rather than eight-minute appointments immediately halves their potential income. These, and other practices, that potentially reduce income are recognised by the doctors but at present are seen as 'non-negotiable' in terms of their vision of patient care (Clifford 1996). However, even within their desired medical practices there are efficiency gains that could be made that would increase income and could be addressed by the doctors, such as ensuring that they saw ten patients per session (their target break-even number) and doctors and nurses charging for all the visits as per schedule.

The doctors will constantly need to confront their ideals and reaffirm or renegotiate them. They can accept the status quo, introduce more efficiency into their business practice or make changes to their medical practise.

*If we go out of business, we do nobody a favour. I actually think we can't have all that we wanted, like we wanted to have a low cost service to patients, one of quality service to patients, want to give patients time, equally wanted to have time for ourselves and we wanted a reasonable remuneration from that. And I don't think you can have all of those things (Doctor).*

CONCLUSION

The goals of Aurora to promote health and well-being among its staff and its patients reflects the female paradigm of employment offered by Marshall (1984). The paradigm suggests that women start from themselves, their own identity, and look at their options. Their choices are guided by their needs for self-fulfilment, personal development and to be stretched fully by stimulating and challenging work. The paradigm emphasises women's desires to maintain opportunities for personal satisfaction and growth while recognising their commitments to other areas of their lives.

The literature suggests that small businesses allow women more freedom to directly shape the organisation and gain satisfaction from their innovations, their work, their colleagues and the balance in their lives (Thomson, 1992). However, this case study has shown that small businesses present the same conflicts between work, home and self as found in large companies. Aurora offers a model (as did the inaugural New Zealand Ministry of Women's Affairs (Nathan, 1996) of how an egalitarian, collaborative work environment may be put into practice and sustained. The study highlights the ongoing attention that needs to be given to team building and team maintenance especially as the organisations grows.

At the same time there are issues of power present in the case study that would be relevant to a number of organisations (with male or female managers). The position of the doctors as owner/managers with an employed staff brings into question the egalitarian philosophy espoused for the practice. Ultimately the responsibility for the business resides with the owner-managers and so there may be
a line beyond which participative procedures may be unsuitable and different styles of management are required.

The challenge for Aurora is to continue to change, adapt and grow in a swiftly changing health service delivery environment, while retaining their commitment to a female paradigm of employment, egalitarian and collaborative work structures and processes and high standards of patient-centred health care.

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank all the staff at the Centre for trusting me with this project and for their time, co-operation and friendship as it has developed.

REFERENCES


Case Study: 
A Case Study of a Feminist Small Business. 
Theory into Practice


This is a disturbing, somewhat depressing, but essential book. It is refreshing that the glitz of optimism (cf. Smith & Blum, 1988) so often present in women in management research does not appear, although the book is 'written with a sense of hope' (p. 8). I agree with the author that the book has a sense of 'breaking silence' (p. 330). The resulting text is fascinating, complex, engaging and will be influential for many years.

The book sketches aspects of sixteen women's lives who leave or move on from middle or senior management positions in public and private sector organisations. The spotlight is on the women's experience of organisational life, the dilemmas, and resultant decision to move on from the organisation. The women left or were pushed to new life openings.

The stereotypical reasons for women moving out of corporate life were not supported; only two left for family-related reasons. Rather the reasons were multi-faceted and presented often as a cumulative combination of events. For eleven of the women, a major force was a masculine senior management culture which was often hostile. The research participants (variously) disliked the atmosphere of potential punishment and feared the 'the rough play of big boys'. Other contributing factors were: the presence of organisational conflicts and a lack of recognition (such as not being accepted as a woman board member), and that the job became untenable or lacked opportunity. "I got the car and the salary, I was a director. I was bored to tears" (Kathie). The movement was often coupled with a positive desire to have space and/or a different lifestyle, one that was less driven, with the opportunity to foster relations.

There is a recurrence of issues of identity, the incongruity between the women's inner and outer life. This psychological (and emotional) schism was not always conscious. Many women believed in the facade of rationality and gender-neutral organisations and that professional and effective work would be rewarded. The exposure of the facade and the resultant learning for these women takes a variety of paths. They all come to a decision point of leaving, often through the accumulation of relatively small events, ill health precipitating a decision, or a crisis in the organisational work such as a new unsupportive boss or a company takeover. Many women stayed longer than perhaps they should have, but one is taken with the energy of these women, 'trying to transform the received work as they operate' (p319). At various times in the reading I, too, sat back tired by the immense energy of these women, and in admiration of their level of persistence and survival in difficulty and often blatantly discriminatory environments.

Assimilation and various levels of adaptation are present in women's stories. The remedy often suggested is for women to try less hard and become more self-protective and distanced, and yet the dilemma here is that adopting this approach 'reduces the opportunity for organisations to become places of fuller being' (p.2). As Marshall writes, "I believe that, for the moment, many women have to live with their potential marginality in organisations" (p.328).
The power of the book comes primarily from the women's stories, carefully and craftily edited by Judi Marshall who is an accurate and elegant writer. She writes with an 'attitude of faithfulness' (p.31) and respect. The representation of the women's stories are checked and ensuing changes from the participants are also recorded at the chapter end. The addendum to update the reader is a welcome innovation as, by then, we are well and truly engaged with each woman's frustrations and challenges. The power in writing of women who tell their own stories resonates even after one has stopped reading. Marshall's writing does not fall into the trap of trying to construct a coherent whole. As a result the complexity of the women's sense-making process is accurately presented, such that the diversity within and between each experience is clearly transmitted.

A welcome feature of Marshall's writing, characteristic of lived feminist inquiry, is the placement of her own research process and the personal impacts as part of the whole text. The author's voice of interpretation does not dominate and rather we are invited to reflect and engage with the contexts, 'notice your reactions...catch your assumptions in action' (p.18).

The language is occasionally congested and difficult to interpret, e.g. 'are organisations with more person-appropriate shapes and heartful fit at their hearts possible?' (p.321). Another minor point was that it was disconcerting to have no chapter numbers and not always page numbers to guide the reader's sense of place in the book. These comments seem trivial in the context of the achievement of this book.

After the stories, an analysis is yearned for, the desire for assistance in making sense and seeking some hope or affirmation of change. True to Marshall's honest representation, this is not glibly given. The reflective comments after each section are helpful. The more extended analysis at the end of the book is a welcome and excellent section. More distilled sense-making is continuing from the author (Marshall, 1996) and we look forward to developing theoretical analyses of the experiences of these women who have lived beyond/above the glass ceiling.

References


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Published by Prentice Hall, London and Sydney, 1995.
Paperback ISBN 0-7450-0281-1, 246 pages, £13.95

The primary focus of this book is sexuality in an organisational context; not just gender issues, but the interface of sex, gender, politics and power. It has, as the authors suggest, been an 'invisible' subject for organisational theorists and organisational behaviour scholars. With this book it has come out of the dark
recesses of corporate culture. The book is divided into three sections of eight chapters and one final postscript chapter to update this revised volume (originally published in 1987).

The first section provides background material, including chapters on sexuality and organisational behaviour, definitions and the like; followed by perusal of the literature, past and present; and then the difficulties and approaches to research methodology in this ‘dynamic’ and subtle subject area of study. The second section examines ‘power and dialectics’, exploring the issues of sexuality and power, the organisational construction of sexuality and the sexual construction of organisations - the latter providing a very useful distinction of the interface between sexual and organisational behaviour. The final section deals with a new formulation of these interfaces; organisation sexuality. This chapter focuses on the all-pervading nature of organisational sexuality in terms of ideology, language, imagery and the like. The authors conclude with their own perspectives from a male and female stance. Other issues are raised in the postscript, particularly from an organisational theorist’s point of view (e.g. feminism and Foucault; patriarchy and sexuality).

This book provides a scholarly and conceptual insight into the issues surrounding sexuality and organisations. It is not intended for the practising manager, but for academics concerned about a dimension usually ignored in the context of organisational life. It will be particularly appealing to organisational sociologists and theorists whose focus is on macro issues. It is interesting to note that this book attempts to explore a relatively taboo topic, even though Freud in his book ‘Civilization and Its Discontents’ acknowledged the power, as the authors rightly point out, of the links between sexuality and civilizations. “Since man does not have unlimited quantities of psychical energy at his disposal, he had to accomplish his task by making an expedient distribution of his libido. What he employs for cultural aims he to a great extent withdraws from women and sexual life”. What goes round, comes round!

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"Roses and Rust: Redefining the Essence of Leadership in a New Age", by David Clancy and Robert Webber.

This book, which in its title hints that it is offering a new age perspective, sets out to inspire and to call to action. The authors begin with the premise that in the current economic climate many organisations are in deep crisis and ultimately will not survive if they do not find new ways to operate. We are told that the only way to save our organisation is to radically change our beliefs about it. The authors go as far as to say that a paradigm shift, akin to that seen with industrialisation, is required. They spell out clearly and enthusiastically (and repetitively) what this revolution in our attitudes should be. The old, destructive, production-focused way of thinking is that the organisation is like a machine that can be taken apart, fixed, put back together and basically controlled by the manager. The new, successful way of thinking regards the organisation as a garden, capable of life and growth and full of mystery and possibility, where futures are preferred rather than defined. Machines rust and roses grow.
The book centres around the concepts of the Critical Leader and Vital Connection. The Critical Leader assists her or his people to become the best they can be - there is none of the old-style peering over the shoulder. Instead, minimum critical specifications are set and people are trusted to get on with their jobs. This approach respects and fosters Vital Connections among people which give the organisation the energy and commitment it needs to survive and flourish. Although the authors are using new terms, they are reaffirming much that has been said in modern organisational literature. Perhaps their contribution lies in engaging the reader using metaphor and religious-like enthusiasm and faith.

The ten chapters seem to have arbitrary headings which can be confusing for the reader who is trying to piece together a story. Rather than focusing on a new idea in each chapter, the role of the Critical Leader and the effect of Vital Connections are spelled out. The reader is left in little doubt as to what these terms mean and the constant repetition can be a bit annoying. Although the meaning of the concepts becomes clear, what they mean in practice does not. There are too few practical examples and translating the concepts into leader behaviour is difficult. When illustrations are used the material is more interesting and seems more relevant.

Some of the ideas presented are more radical and perhaps less palatable to many leaders and academics. They also lead to contradictions. In the chapter on "Knowing", it is suggested that "the search for proof and reality must be stopped [and]...you simply must trust that it feels right". The suggestion is to cease collecting and deciding on information through measurement and instead to use intuition. The practical difficulties of such an approach probably make it unworkable and this assertion also highlights a number of contradictions in the book. On a number of occasions we are told that there is no single best way to conduct ourselves as leaders and then we are told that most of the ways we probably do conduct ourselves are flawed and will lead to the demise of the organisation. Rather than saying intuition would be a useful adjunct to measurement they tell us to get rid of measurement altogether. This approach narrows, rather than broadens, choices which contradicts the often stated aims of the garden organisation - growth and adaptation.

In summary, the book is patchy - there are some very inspiring moments and pulling together of ideas, but it often ends up in dogmatic repetition. It suffers from an undisciplined style and is prone to contradict itself. Despite these criticism, Roses and Rust has some relevant and thought-provoking ideas that are often in step with other contemporary well-known writers in the area. The authors make good use of other writers' ideas and this makes the book more interesting. It is suitable for anyone to read, but might find a niche market with readers who are already committed to a 'people-oriented' leadership focus. Academics who work with industry may feel it is worthwhile as another interesting book to add to their library.

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"Time and Change: The Political Memoirs of Canada's First Woman Prime Minister", by Kim Campbell.
Published by Doubleday Canada Limited, Toronto, Ontario.
ISBN: 0-385-25527-5, 433 pages, CAN$34.95

The political zeitgeist is one that is constantly changing. There are challenges for every individual, whatever their capacity, regardless of their locale. The general
public is privy only to information available through media coverage that is subject to journalistic interpretation. Unfortunately, for the political figure, this can be a mixed blessing. Often the message published is not truly reflective of the views of the politician or can be half-truths.

In Time and Change, The Right Honourable Kim Campbell, PC, QC gives readers an intimate glimpse into the life of a high profile female political figure. Her political career began as a member of the Vancouver School Board in 1983. She was then elected to the British Columbia Legislature before entering federal politics. Having served on three levels of government (municipal, provincial and federal), she rose to make her ultimate mark in Canadian history on June 25, 1993 when she was sworn in as Canada's first female Prime Minister.

Biographies are usually restricted to observations and research, but here we have, in Kim Campbell's autobiography, a first-hand candid perspective of the life of a major player in Canadian politics. This work focuses on her accomplishments and the challenges of her various roles in government in chronological order, highlighting her many "firsts" as a female representative. Campbell moved quickly from the British Columbia Legislature, to a Member of Parliament, and an appointment as the Minister of State for Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It was her appointment as the first female Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada that directed nationwide attention to her. In 1993, a new appointment as the first female Minister of National Defence and Minister of Veteran's Affairs led to her leadership drive for the Progressive Conservative Party. This resulted in her becoming not only leader, but the first woman Prime Minister of Canada. A crashing defeat in the October 1993 general election led to Kim Campbell's resignation as the leader of the party in December, 1993.

The role, and the significant contributions Kim Campbell made in the above positions, are examined throughout the book. Aboriginal land claims, abortion, gun legislation, the implementation of 'inclusive justice', and equality in the workplace are just a few of the topics addressed in her diverse political career. One of the most significant events she highlights is her role as Prime Minister in the G-7 Summit in Tokyo in 1993.

What brought the greatest reaction of political pundits within Canada was her analysis of campaigns for both the leadership race and general election. It is rare to be given such a behind-the-scenes perspective. Campbell does well to convey her full range of emotions while describing the complex logistics and personal toll of running a campaign. Reference is briefly made to her family at the beginning of the book, but little is said of her personal life during her political tenure.

Kim Campbell clearly conveys her convictions and visions for the country within the context of her career. Her resignation concluded a short, yet significant ten year contribution to Canadian politics. Honoured in 1993 as the Canadian Woman of the Year, and winner of the 1994 Woman of Distinction Award, Campbell currently pursues lecturing and radio host positions in Vancouver.

Time and Chance provides a well-written and enlightening introduction to Canadian politics. Kim Campbell provides an understanding of the challenges facing women in leadership roles in modern democracies particularly with multi-media attention. This book can be enjoyed equally by the political novice or the seasoned political observer.

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Based on 32 interviews with present and former femocrats, Inside Agitators supplements the more institutional analyses of the femocrat phenomenon with descriptions of changing workplace culture (one femocrat entering a workplace where 'they only had women as secretaries who had decent cleavages and you could throw paper clips down them' - p137); the sexual politics of the workplace; and the support offered by and dissension within the ‘feminist mafia’. The femocrats shared skills and knowledge to become skilful bureaucrats who adapted structures to better serve women’s interests (for example, the hub and spokes model, the women’s budget statement, gender equity indicators, redefining women’s issues as mainstream issues). The femocrat strategy is captured in Eisenstein’s (p82) memorable analogy of ‘feminist judo’, using the force of the State against itself.

Where Sawer (1990) implies femocrats were reformers, some of Eisenstein’s respondents described themselves as revolutionaries, but saw a role in state intervention to ‘bring women to the threshold’ of revolution (Elizabeth Reid) or for the ‘winnable issues’ (Denise Bradley) (p76-77). Where Yeatman (1990) suggests they sold-out collectivist interest (particularly over the plan to garnishee non-custodial parents’ wages at source), Eisenstein’s respondents (p102-108) provide a more nuanced account of how they struggled to maintain outcomes for women in an increasingly economic reductionist environment.

A key theme in the analysis, and one which becomes stronger in the later chapters, concerns the articulation of difference in femocrat policies and practices. Unlike pure liberal feminists, femocrats embraced and documented difference. Women’s difference was defined as disadvantage and programmes were produced to redress it. Women’s difference was defined as something which should be recognised and rewarded; for example, different management styles, caring work in the community and the home. Because of their own diversity of class origins, femocrats embraced socio-economic difference, working on issues which affected a broad range of women, like childcare, education and work, forging links with the trade union movement and welfare non-government organisational sector in the process.

However, femocrats were much less successful in negotiating ethnic and cultural differences. Their whiteness might have contributed to their success: they only had to negotiate gendered difference in entering the bureaucracy (p206). But they often failed to see the special needs and representational issues that concerned Indigenous Australian and many Non-English Speaking Background women. There were stories of racism and ignorance, of judging women in terms of white western indices of progress (p112-114). While femocrats were comfortable asserting women’s (positive) differences from men, some were more anxious about asserting the positive value of cultural difference, for example, in an educational system where only one set of standards betokened success (p120-121). Thus the femocracy was a ‘representative bureaucracy’ in a more narrow sense than is often assumed. Femocrats represented women like themselves: from a range of socio-economic and European ethnic backgrounds. Now that Indigenous Australian women are finding their own forms of representation, some are choosing to work with femocrats when it suits their ends (p208).

Inside Agitators reads a little like the ‘rise and fall of the femocrat phenomenon’. Where the ‘social compact’ of the century’s duration underwrote the
claims of women from representative bureaucracy, the increasing dominance of
economic rationalism from the 1980s signals its demise. Corporate managerialism
focuses on the bottom line and measurable outcomes, although some of Eisenstein's
respondents suggest the policy is much less coherently enforced than the rhetoric
indicates (p187). The original meaning of femocrat has, however, been lost. A
femocrat is no longer required to have special expertise, given the presumption that
a manager can manage anything - fish, pears, women's issues (p194). Thus
advertisements for EEO positions in the Commonwealth in 1991 did not include the
requirement to know anything about EEO principles (p192).

The 'end of the era' is more seriously signalled by the decline of the women's
movement. Eisenstein sees the women's movement as both the source and the
strength of femocracy. It added political pressure to bureaucratic pressure. Without
it, Eisenstein sees no future for 'a small group of reformers within the bureaucracy'
(p215), although I would suggest a very large mass movement will be required to
shift the power of global capitalism which forms part of her concluding scenario.

Inside Agitators is written from Eisenstein's perspective - as a United States
academic, a social democrat with a commitment to justice and equity beyond a
narrow middle-class white-defined women's movement, and an ex-femocrat. It is
nonetheless, or rather all the more, a fascinating ethnography of powerful and
thoughtful women who occupy a unique place in Australian feminist and political
history.

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"Rosa: A Biography of Rosa Townsend", by Beryl Hackner.
Published by University of Western Australia Press, Perth, Australia, 1994.

Beryl Hackner's Rosa is a welcome contribution to the history of women and the
labour movement in Western Australia. The story of Rosa Townsend, Australian
Labor Party stalwart and long-time organiser with what is now the Federated Liquor
and Allied Industries Employees Union, is another piece of the jigsaw that feminist
historians have been trying to both deconstruct and reconstruct in the last decades.
Although Beryl Hackner does not claim an overtly feminist stance, her biography of
Rosa challenges the invisibility of women in public life and contradicts mythologies
about women's political apathy and lack of commitment to union activity.

Rosa, the daughter of Liz and Bill Foster, was named after Rosa Luxemburg;
a reflection of their commitment to socialism. The Foster family arrived in Western
Australia in 1923 as part of the Group Settlement Scheme. This was a joint venture of
the British and Western Australian governments whereby British migrants were
given low-interest loans and expected to 'settle' the forested south-west of the state.
The scheme was both a public and personal tragedy for many. Beryl Hackner notes, "It is not surprising how few were the success stories to emerge from that bush which so relentlessly resisted the efforts of the underfunded and unskilled migrants who strove to tame it" (p.7).

The biography follows Rosa’s life through the Depression, the War, a disastrous marriage and her political and union activities, as well as her fierce devotion to that peculiarly masculine religion, football.

It is the story of a very remarkable, yet very ordinary, woman. Remarkable people are also ordinary people. One of the things which stop ordinary women doing remarkable things is that they have been fed the myth that remarkable women don’t have ordinary lives/dilemmas etc. What shines through Rosa’s story is that like all women her life is balanced, uneasily at many times, between contradictory and conflicting discourses. Here is a woman who was the only female union organiser in Western Australia when she first started working for the Hotel, Club, Caterers Industrial Union of Workers (H.C.C.). She showed wonderful courage, strategic ability and plain ‘sassiness’ in dealing with difficult employers and union management. Yet here is a woman who endured years of physical and emotional abuse from her husband; who left and returned several times because she believed she must still love him. Here is the story of many of us. She is real.

So what does this biography have to contribute to our understanding of leadership? Does it help us to reconceptualise leadership and challenge the masculine paradigm? Does it yield insights into the strategies women can utilise? Rosa Townsend and her wonderful mother, Liz (Fossy) Foster, were women of courage. Rosa’s courage came from her heart, her experiences and her passionate concern for social justice. Rosa’s success as a leader did not come as a result of distancing herself from others, creating a heroic space for herself above the ordinary people. Her success came from being connected to them in a real sense, and she bemoaned the loss of contact when union dues were no longer collected on site. Her success as a leader also came in her connection to her heart. It led her to a merry and tragic dance with the men in her life, but it led her to speak with courage about injustice and corruption. She never lost touch with working class origins, she didn’t have to cultivate her political passion through the surrogate parentage of ‘intellectual play’ at university. Maybe that is what differentiated her generation of Labor stalwarts from the ‘claret socialists’ of the new corporate state. This is the important contribution to our rethinking of leadership. Her success came from her passion, her connectedness and her authenticity - her ordinary courage.

Rosa’s life is also a testament to the importance of play. Our capacity to play and to enjoy ourselves, as developmental and adult psychology tell us, enriches our learning and our ability to access ‘desire’. Her ‘wildness’ as a child and her wholehearted enjoyment of football, dancing and ‘having a good time’, is a timely example for some of us who are unthinkingly sucked into the puritanical constraints of being a woman in public life.

What does her story tell us about strategy? Rosa was silenced by an education system which failed her to such an extent that she refused the position of secretary of the union, and pre-selection for a Labor seat on the grounds that she wasn’t educated. But it is clear that in large areas of her life she retained the capacity ‘to speak one’s mind by telling all one’s heart’. How did she manage this?

Clearly two women were mentors and models for Rosa: her mother Liz, and Cecilia Shelley, State Secretary of the Hotel, Club, Caterers Industrial Union of
Workers (H.C.C.). Her mother's valiant address to the crowds on the Esplanade at the culmination of the Frankland River March in 1932, her provision of soup for the destitute children and itinerants - even when she was in dire poverty - her insistence that Rosa seek union support against her unfair dismissal from one of her early jobs, all attest to her courage.

Cecilia Shelley not only secured financial compensation for the unfair dismissal, but also gave Rosa advice about where to get her next job - vital support in the Depression! Cecilia was not known as the 'Tigress of Trades Hall' for nothing and her role as leader of the Albany Bell tea-rooms strike in the 1920s was legend. She was to come into Rosa’s life again in the 1960s when Rosa became an organiser for H.C.C. Cecilia was initially wary, for this was the time of the Democratic Labor party's attempts to infiltrate the union movement. The caution disappeared, however, when Rosa’s socialist pedigree was established and Cecilia discovered she was 'Fossy's' daughter.

In conclusion, I found the rewritten transcriptions of interviews with Rosa, a 'muffled' way of hearing her story. However, what keeps the reader engaged is the energy and extraordinary tenacity of the subject. Rosa is an important contribution to the 'anti-heroine' discourse on leadership. What Rosa Townsend’s life shows us is that leadership is about courage, about remaining connected to the cause and your heart and about ‘struggling for small decencies’ to quote Catherine Stimpson.

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"Women and the European Labour Markets", by Anneke van Doorne-Huiskes, Jacques van Hoof and Ellie Roelofs.

The aim of the book is to present and analyse gender inequalities in the labour markets of the European Union (EU). The book revolves around three main themes. The first concerns factual information about women’s positions in the labour markets of the 15 member-countries; the second refers to economic and sociological explanations of the persisting inequalities between men and women in labour markets; the third is about the types and effectiveness of policy measures adopted by the European Union for the promotion of employment opportunities for women.

The book contains 14 chapters: the first six are devoted to a discussion and analysis of the situation, and the changes that have occurred in relation to women’s participation in the European labour markets. Issues related to labour force participation rates, types of employment, occupational segregation and differences in earning and career patterns between men and women are extensively discussed and analysed. A separate analysis with regard to these issues is made for women belonging to ethnic minorities.

Chapter 7 presents a theoretical analysis of gender inequalities in labour markets. An attempt is made to formulate a simple model of behaviour that explain these inequalities by integrating economic and sociological points of view. As a result of the theoretical analysis the conclusion is drawn that institutional factors play an important role in determining the degree to which a society could be characterised as 'gendered'. On the basis of this conclusion the suggestion is made
that policies to improve women’s position in the European labour markets should primarily aim at changing various aspects of the existing institutional frameworks.

The six chapters that follow are devoted to issues related to policies and positive action programmes promoting equal opportunities for women in the European Union. Specific measures and programmes that have been adopted for promoting the integration of women in the labour market are presented and analysed. Special attention is given to positive action measures that have been used in certain countries to reduce the strain on employed women who have young children. A separate chapter is devoted to the presentation and discussion of the legal instruments available at the EU level for the promotion of equal opportunities for women.

A separate chapter is also devoted to an examination of the position of women within the trade unions and the extent to which women can use the channel of these unions to gain more influence on policy-making in the social field.

The book ends with a chapter reviewing the developments in women’s position by linking them to general changes in the labour markets in the various member countries. The conclusion is drawn that women in the European Union have made progress on certain important issues but at the same time there are many fronts where the situation has not changed much since 1980.

The book is a valuable source of information about the position of women in the EU labour markets and about recent developments in European policies and strategies to promote equal opportunities for both sexes. It is a well-written book with a good balance between factual information and theoretical analysis and an approach which is multi-disciplinary. One shortcoming is an occasional lack of depth and the omission from the bibliography of some chapters, important articles, books or documents related to the issues discussed. Also, one can detect a somewhat limited perspective, which could be attributed to the fact that all contributors to the book come from the same country. A book of this nature would be more interesting and more informative if it had contributors from several European countries, who could have pooled together a richer and more diverse amount of information. However, despite these minor shortcomings, readers will find it interesting and useful, particularly those who are unfamiliar with the issues related to women’s position in the labour markets. The book could be very useful as a supplementary text for courses in women’s studies.

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Published by The Feminist Press, City University of New York, New York, United States of America, 1995.
Cloth ISBN 1-55861-110-X, 310 pages, Price $35.00

This book is a lengthy and comprehensive global coverage of women in political life, in five parts. Part One looks at the reality of politics for women in Australia and New Zealand, Germany, China, India, Bulgaria, Palestine, and Israel. Part Two focuses on personal testimonies and includes brief profiles of women leaders from Margaret Thatcher and Simone Veil on the right to feminist leaders such as Mary Robinson, President of Ireland. Part Three moves into a discussion of ways and means and includes the question of quotas for women candidates for office. Part Four focuses on

One of the most important questions facing feminists throughout the world is the place of women in the political arena, in particular in mainstream politics. For some women, the issue seems straightforwardly one of equality. Women must be enabled, through a quota system if necessary, to take their place in political life, eventually in equal numbers with men. In many western countries, women’s political aspirations are promoted by organised groups such as women’s political associations. Proponents of this position are likely to be middle class, educated and articulate.

There is an alternative view which abhors mainstream politics, regarded as prime sites of patriarchal domination. Women are called on to boycott political parties and concentrate on promoting alternative politics with bottom up rather than top-down structures and ideology. The Greens, as well as radical feminists, tend towards this view.

There is, however, a third view, put forward by many Third World women, and in the developed world, by working class women. Women in these categories are, by virtue of necessity, primarily strategists, as well as, or rather than, ideologists. Their view of politics, therefore, is also likely to be pragmatic, tactical and strategic. Above all, they look to women in political life to produce practical results - more jobs, better wages, not only for women, but also for low-income men.

A book on women in political life is crucial at this point in the international feminist agenda. The United Nations Decade was over ten years ago. Many women have just returned from Beijing, the largest ever gathering of women at a UN Conference, with an exciting, complex, and very demanding Platform for Action. We need dedicated, informed and feminist politicians of both sexes. And we need all the information and strategic thinking we can obtain if the Platform is to be implemented rather than disappear into the woodwork, which largely happened to the Forward Looking Strategies agreed ten years ago at Nairobi.

Unfortunately, the subject of this review, “A Rising Public Voice”, is disappointing in that respect. The book contains a wealth of useful and even inspiring information about the world’s women leaders. From the poorest and most oppressed backgrounds living in some of the poorest countries in the world to dynastic figures like Indira Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto, the pages resound with frequently moving stories of how individual women have risen to the pinnacles of political power.

For me, the most interesting accounts related to third world experiences. The Indian case study and that of the ANC in South Africa, in particular, are useful because they describe the impact of women in politics on the lives of women in those countries rather than individual women leaders, although these are also featured.

Perhaps that gives a clue to my overall disappointment in the book. Such a mass of information, but rather less analysis. One cannot blame the writers of the individual chapters. They have done their job well. I cannot help wondering, however, how clear their brief was, because there is no main unifying theme to the book other than the very general sub-title of the book itself, “Women in Politics Worldwide”.

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By now, anyone in the women's movement and many outside it, have a fair idea of the problem of women in politics. We all know women are discriminated against. We all know that there are, and have been, some remarkable women leaders, especially, as the book points out, in Asia. It is useful to know that women are still lagging far behind men in political leadership, even in regions like Scandinavia.

I think, however, that what many of us want to tackle now, after twenty years of international lobbying on gender issues, is more fundamental. Several questions spring to mind, some of which are addressed in the introduction and essays in the book, but in insufficient depth.

1. What are the forces which keep women from political power? How can they be tackled?

2. What evidence is there that women are better off with women leaders rather than with sympathetic or feminist male leaders? Nevertheless, it remains to be demonstrated (and one would have hoped that a book like this might have tackled this question more systematically) the extent to which women politicians actually fulfil their potential as women's leaders. Many of them would deny that that is their role anyway. Others may start off with hopes and fall by the wayside under the pressure of sexist colleagues which raises the key question "What do we expect of women prisoners of patriarchal institutions?"

3. What is the role of the State? Might it not be more in women's interests to have pro-women state ideologies than to have more women politicians who operate under State ideologies which discriminate against and even place extra burdens on women through gender-blind policies?

4. Where do men come into the picture? For many women, particularly those living in poor countries, or those in rich countries living at the margins, the sex of their political leaders is not so important as their commitment to the needs and interests of women and their families. In any case, how are women to gather more male allies in politics?

A final quibble: a book of this length and density really should have an index.

Pauline Eccles
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