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THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER AND ORGANIZATIONAL SECTOR ON
SELECTION DECISIONS AND SALARY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR UPPER LEVEL MANAGERIAL POSITIONS
IN A MANAGEMENT SIMULATION

A Dissertation Presented

by

BARBARA D. MANDELL

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February, 1988

Education

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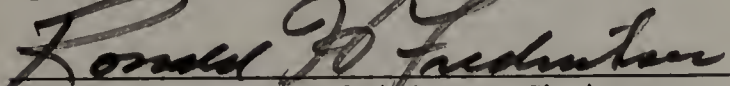
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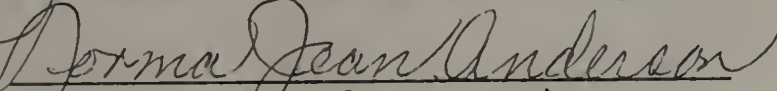
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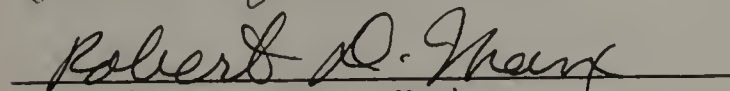
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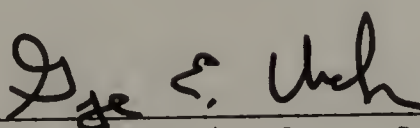
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DEDICATION

To Samuel and Clara

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing this dissertation has been a personal milestone, as well as a tedious, lonely and above all time consuming process. The completion of this document could not have been possible without the support, understanding and guidance from family, friends and the members of my dissertation committee. To these people I owe my deepest appreciation.

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I would like to thank my dissertation committee collectively for their willingness and flexibility in sticking with, what at times appeared to be, a long and complex process. I experienced many life

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Barbara Mandell

ABSTRACT

THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER AND ORGANIZATIONAL SECTOR
ON SELECTION DECISIONS AND SALARY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR UPPER LEVEL MANAGERIAL POSITIONS
IN A MANAGEMENT SIMULATION

February, 1988

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The purpose of this study was to examine the influence of gender and organizational sector (public/private) on the reactions to an applicant's résumé for an upper level managerial position.

The sample consisted of 179 managers or management trainers attending management development workshops or seminars. Subjects were employed in public sector, non profit organizations and private sector, for profit organizations. There were 101 males and 78 females

with work experience ranging from less than one year to over twenty years.

Subjects participated in a decision-making, pencil and paper exercise in which they were asked to assume the role of a personnel consultant and evaluate an applicant's résumé for a top managerial position. The organization sector and applicant's sex were manipulated in alternate versions of the decision exercise. Selection recommendations were made on the basis of a 6-point scale ranging from rejection of the applicant to hiring of the applicant with full benefits. Subjects who recommended hiring the applicant also indicated an appropriate starting salary on an 8-point scale with choices ranging from \$48,000 to \$62,000.

Two primary analyses were conducted. First the study examined the impact of applicant's gender and organizational sector of the available job on the hiring and salary recommendations offered by the subjects. Secondly the study examined the impact of the demographic characteristics of the sample population on the hiring and salary recommendations. An analysis of variance using the F ratio was employed to analyze the data. The factorial ANOVA was used to examine the independent main effects as well as the cumulative interaction effects produced by the combination of independent variables.

The results indicated that although organization sector had an impact on hiring recommendations, the sex of the applicant was not an

influencing factor. Typically respondents gave higher selection ratings in the public sector condition, while private sector applicants received lower ratings. But there was no significant difference in the hiring recommendations for male and female applicants in either the public sector or private sector condition. Salary recommendations were not found to be influenced by either the gender of the applicant or the organization sector. Similarly, the demographics of the subjects had little influence on the selection decisions and salary recommendations.

Results were compared with previous research. Implications for management training, organizational development and future research were discussed.

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- CHAPTER ONE -

INTRODUCTION

One of the significant changes to occur in our labor force in the last twenty years has been the rapid increase of women in the workplace. Although the number of women in the workforce has expanded considerably, from 18 million in 1950 to nearly 48 million in 1983, female workers are concentrated in the lower status job categories, primarily in clerical, sales and service positions (National Commission of Working Women, 1983). In 1984 the U.S. Census Bureau reported that the number of women in managerial and administrative jobs rose from 18.5 to 30.5 percent between 1970 and 1980 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1983), whereas the percentage of women in top-management positions as of 1985 was recorded at one percent (Galagan, 1985). Even though women have been entering the ranks of middle management for the last fifteen years, the majority of these opportunities have been found in areas that focus on traditional "female" concerns, such as education, social services, office management, personnel work and staff support positions (Kanter, 1977). Even in these traditional female occupations, those in top leadership positions are still more likely to be men. As of 1985, only seven percent of college and university presidents were women (Galagan, 1985).

The contrast is more striking in the areas of high finance and business. Only one company on Fortune's list of the 500 largest U.S.

industrial corporations, has a women chief executive, and that woman, Katherine Graham of the Washington Post Co., admits she got the job because her family owns a controlling share of the corporation (Fraker, 1984). More dramatically, when executive recruiters were asked to identify women who might become presidents or chief executives of fortune 500 companies, they were not able to submit one name (Fraker, 1984). Women have only 4 of the 154 spots in the 1984 Harvard Business School's Advanced Management Program, a 13 week course, to which companies send executives in line for top leadership positions, and the enrollments are similar at comparable programs at Stanford and at Dartmouth's Tuck School (Fraker, 1984). Given this information and the prognosis that by 1995 women will make up sixty percent of the workforce (Galagan, 1985), it appears that even though women will assume a majority role in the world of work, the leaders of our organizations will continue to be male.

Those facts presented point out the need to identify the causes for this phenomenon. For women who strive toward leadership careers and for organizations who strive toward equal representation within all levels of the organization, a number of questions need to be addressed. Non-profit and profit organizations alike need to determine those factors which are inhibiting women from obtaining executive positions and what strategies can be most effective in eliminating these barriers. Only when these issues have been resolved can organizations plan effective mechanisms for equalizing their top managerial roles.

Organization of Dissertation

The first chapter of this dissertation includes the rationale, purpose, general procedures and significance of the study, as well as definitions of terms used in the study and the limitations of this research project.

Chapter two provides a background and overview of the issues. Included is a review of the gender related research on women managers and career advancement.

Chapter three describes the methodology. The sample population, instrumentation, research design, statistics and procedures are presented.

In Chapter four the results of each hypothesis tested are presented, discussed and evaluated.

Chapter five presents a summary, conclusion, implications and suggestions for future research.

Problem Statement/Rationale

Despite progress at supervisory and middle management positions, women are rarely found in key leadership positions (Galagan, 1985). Explanations for this distribution and their accompanying remedies have vacillated from one controversial extreme to another (Fraker, 1984). At one extreme some maintain that women are the victims of blatant discrimination. At the other extreme some believe women lack the necessary abilities, traits and skills for leadership positions: they lack assertiveness, they don't know how to negotiate in the world

of work, or they have children and become more concerned with their families than their careers. These varied explanations are each supported by a body of research and have been the impetus for two distinct remedies.

Early (1965-75) psychological research, focusing on person-centered explanations for the absence of women in top management positions, suggest that female socialization practices encourage the development of personality traits and/or behavior patterns that are contrary to the demands of the leadership role (Riger & Galligan, 1980). Interpretation of such research generally supports the need for specialized leadership training for women in order to eliminate these deficits and remedy the low status of women in the world of work.

Early (1965-75) sociological research which focuses on the characteristics of the organization or work environment rather than inner traits and abilities as the determining factors in women's lack of managerial advancement, generally does not support the need for personal growth strategies for women (Kanter, 1979). Evidence from these situation-centered studies suggests the need for organizational reform strategies, such as strong affirmative action policies.

The validity of either of these explanations or the efficacy of their resulting remedies has been strongly criticized (Riger & Galligan, 1980). A review of both these bodies of early research on women managers leave many empirical questions. The findings of sociological research have been questioned due to the general lack of

control in field settings. Similarly, the findings of psychological laboratory research has been questioned, since these studies most often involve undergraduate students who have had limited experience in the world of work. Although the laboratory provides for greater control, generalizing from the artificial short term nature of these student subject experiments to working adults in on-going work situations is very difficult.

An analysis of the gender related research on women in management reveals an alternative and more likely explanation for the limited access of women to top managerial roles. This explanation also suggests the need for alternative remedies. A growing body of more recent (1975-1985) research suggests that the major barriers effecting women seeking leadership positions are not personal deficits, gender related traits or blatant discrimination, but are sex role stereotyping and the resulting job sex-typing. The interaction of these gender stereotypes, societal sanctioned roles, resulting self concepts and occupational sex-typing create internal and external barriers to the career options and choices of both men and women. Cultural attitudes and beliefs concerning men's and women's roles operate to encourage the perception of sex-typed psychological characteristics and to perpetuate sex-typed adult roles. Furthermore, girls and young women learn that there is a limited set of female appropriate occupations from which they must choose, and straying from these roles will result in societal sanctions. The interaction of these external and internal barriers reinforce the maintenance of

specific male appropriate vocations and female appropriate vocations. This phenomenon is known as occupational sex-typing.

Occupational sex-typing has had a major impact on female managers and their career advancement. Throughout history the managerial stereotype has been equated with the masculine image (Larwood & Wood, 1973, p. 37). Research has also substantiated that the feminine image is anithetical to management (Burrow, 1978; Bass, Krusell & Alexander, 1971); Bowman, Worthy & Greyser, 1965). Occupational sex stereotypes and their resulting gender bias have consistently been demonstrated in experiments dealing with personnal policies and the evaluation of women candidates for entry level and mid-management positions (Rosen & Jerdee, 1974a, 1974b; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975). A great deal of research has indicated that women are discriminated against in hiring, promotion, salary and benefits decisions (Cecil, Olins & Paul, 1973; Rosen & Jerdee, 1973; Dipboye, Fromkin & Wiback, 1975).

Although the research results support the existence of stereotypic biases toward women in management and the negative effects these biases have on the career advancement or women, it is important to note that most of this research was conducted over fifteen years ago when women were just entering the ranks of lower and mid-management.

Some writers have predicted considerable change in the attitude of younger generations and the varying effects of age, work experience and organizational factors on these attitudes and resulting behavior (Loring & Wells, 1972; Jelinek, 1977; Kanter, 1977). Similarly, other

writers (Terborg & Ilgen, 1975; Brown, 1979) have suggested the possibility of a socialization process that modifies the attitudes of persons in the world of work. This socialization theory suggests that as more and more women begin to obtain managerial positions and more information is obtained concerning women's actual performance, sex role stereotypes and the resulting biases in hiring and promotion practices diminish. Some of these same authors (Kanter, 1977) hypothesize that women will find more career advancement opportunities in service related organizations such as education and social services, institutions which have typically employed women, and the concept of women as organization leaders is more likely to be accepted.

In order to identify those conditions and strategies which will be most effective in assisting organizations who strive toward equal representation within their top managerial ranks, there is a need to investigate the interaction of gender and socialization in the work force, and the effect of this interaction on the career advancement of women in management.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the influence of gender and organizational sector (public/private) on the reactions to applicants' résumés for upper level managerial positions. Using a management simulation, this study attempted to identify the independent and interactive effects of gender and organizational sector on hiring and salary recommendations for a leadership position

within a public non-profit organization and a private for profit organization.

Although some research data indicates women have made gains in entry level and mid-management positions over the last twenty years, more of these gains have been found in public sector, non profit organizations (U.S. Department of Labor, 1983). Other research evidence indicates, even though women have been successful in obtaining mid-management positions, they are having difficulties breaking into the higher managerial echelons in both public sector and private sector organizations (Galagan, 1985). This study attempted to identify some possible causes for this distribution. Does gender have an impact on the evaluation of a candidate for an upper level management position? Do other factors such as work experience and gender of decision-makers have an effect on hiring and salary recommendations? Are women more often evaluated as appropriate candidates for a leadership position in a public sector organization, the arena in which women have traditionally been employed in great numbers, and a socialization process has had more opportunity to occur?

Significance of Study

The concept of women as organizational leaders is a relatively new phenomenon. Few studies have examined the effects of gender on the evaluation of candidates for top management positions. Those that have, primarily studied the responses of undergraduate students, an unrealistic sample. Furthermore, little evidence has been obtained as

to whether differences exist in the reactions to male and female candidates when organizational sector is a considered factor. Some authors (Kanter, 1977) have suggested that women will be evaluated more favorably for top management positions in public sector non-profit organizations, such as health and education facilities, since women have historically held professional positions in these areas. This study addressed these issues and examined the influence of gender and organizational sector on selection decisions and salary recommendations for top management positions, using a more realistic sample of practicing professionals in a management simulation.

The significance of this study is three-fold. First, for public and private sector organizations, who wish to have equal representation of men and women within their top managerial ranks, this study provides evidence as to the possible disparate responses which may or may not exist in the evaluation of male and female candidates for top managerial positions. Secondly, at the most general level, this study provides research evidence that may assist in the decision making process regarding the most appropriate type of organizational training and development interventions needed to ensure equal access for men and women to upper-level managerial positions. Thirdly, from a methodological standpoint, this study was unique in its use of a sample population of working professionals in a laboratory setting. By using a sample (X) of practicing professionals in a controlled laboratory setting, the classroom, this researcher attempted to lessen two of the deficits of previous research studies on gender related

factors: generalizability and control of research design. Results of psychological, laboratory, research on the effects of gender on management decisions have been based primarily on samples of undergraduate younger student populations, who have had limited experience in the world of work. Generalizing the interpretation of these results to a working population has been met with much criticism. By using a more realistic sample of working adult professionals, presently responsible for or in training for personnel decision-making, generalizing the results of this study to the general population of organization personnel decision-makers (M) may be less difficult. Although results of sociological research on gender related factors have been based on practicing managers, these studies most often used survey formats in a field setting, providing for less control in research design. By using the meeting room as a natural laboratory setting, this study provided for more control of the research process and more confidence in research findings.

Definitions

Terms used in this study are defined as follows:

upper level management position: a position above middle management in the organizational hierarchy which involves directing or leading a function of the organization

bias: a mental leaning or inclination; partiality; prejudice

stereotype: a fixed or conventional notion as of a person, group or idea held by a number of people, and allowing for no individuality or critical judgment

organization sector: a categorization of the administrative or executive structure of work groups, based upon economic terms, as in public non-profit structures and private for profit structures

management simulation: an exercise which imitates a true to life managerial situation.

Limitations

The limitations of this research project were similar to the disadvantages effecting many laboratory experiments. The laboratory setting, the classroom, lacks realism as compared to the naturally occurring organizational setting. The influence of the independent variables, gender and organizational sector, on the dependent variables, hiring and salary recommendations may have differing results in an organizational setting where a myriad of other independent variables impact upon subjects' behavior. Similarly the classroom setting may have solicited unwanted responses from the sample population. Evaluation apprehension and a preceived experimenter expectancy may have influenced the behavior of the subjects.

An additional limitation falls within the realm of

generalizability. Although the subjects in this study were working professionals, generalizations from the results of the study can only be attributed to a similar population of practicing managers, or supervisors participating in a management simulation within a classroom training exercise.

- CHAPTER TWO -

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE GENDER RELATED RESEARCH
ON WOMEN MANAGERS AND CAREER ADVANCEMENT

Background

The notion of executive careers for women is a relatively recent one in most organizations. Traditionally few women have been middle and upper managers in large American corporations and public institutions (Fitzgerald & Shullman, 1984).

While the affirmative action issues surrounding the expansion of career opportunities for women have been publicized by both corporate public relations departments and feminist groups, recent statistics do not show that women have been able to develop executive careers in most organizations. For example, at a major university that was surveyed recently, the absolute number of women in key administrative and faculty positions has increased over the last ten years. However, the proportion of women in these positions has decreased substantially over this period (Fitzgerald & Shullman, 1984).

Likely causes of women's continuing difficulties with finding recognition in the work place are widely held assumptions about the nature of women, the nature of the workplace and the appropriate relationship between them. These assumptions range from "A woman's place is in the home--or in the secretarial pool" to "Women are temperamentally unsuited for executive positions" (Fitzgerald & Shullman, 1984). In the 1965 Harvard Business Review survey (Bowman,

Worthy & Greyser) of 2,000 executives, more than 41 percent of the men surveyed reported that they were "anti-woman executive" in principle, often on the basis that serious work commitment would damage women's biological commitment to motherhood and family life. Many respondents said that women were temperamentally unsuited to managerial positions because they did not possess the hard-nosed temperament necessary for success.

Although such attitudes may have changed in the last twenty years, assumptions about the nature of women and their appropriateness for leadership careers are still pervasive and often form the basis of specialized career development programs for women aspiring to executive positions.

In 1978 the American Management Association conducted a survey of nearly 2,000 executives or top level managers to ascertain what needed to be done to enhance the advancement of women to leadership positions (Burrow). Lack of motivation and career commitment were frequently mentioned as reasons for the limited number of women in top level positions. Respondents mentioned women's commitment to their families and lack of specific career plans as major obstacles to women's career success. As recommendations for remediating these assumed deficits, formal career planning and personal skills training programs were most often cited. A majority of the respondents --85%--viewed the women in their organizations as having major deficiencies in relationship to organizational needs. Only 14% of the respondents cited organizational practices such as hiring and promotion procedures as

reasons for women's limited career success. It is interesting to note that those citing these deficits and making these recommendations were primarily men, with 88.5% of the respondents being male and only 11.5% being female.

A very different set of barriers and recommendations emerges from a similar and more recent Gallup survey of a population of 722 female executives (cited in Rogan, 1984). Only 3% of the respondents in this survey cited family responsibilities as serious obstacles in their careers. But over half of the women described reasons related to their sex; attitudes toward a female boss, slow advancement for women, lack of acceptance and not being taken seriously were frequent complaints mentioned by survey respondents. These female executives' recommendations for other women starting out in their careers were much different than those offered by their male counterparts in the AMA survey (Burrow, 1978). The advice offered by the female executives reflected three themes; first to obtain a solid education, secondly to work hard and take as much responsibility as possible, and thirdly to be assertive without being aggressive. Not one of the respondents mentioned the need for career development programs.

The discrepancies in these two sets of recommendations points out the need to examine the bases upon which career development interventions are justified. Until recently, research on management and careers typically examined white middle-class male subjects (Jelinek, 1977). The early studies on women in management or non traditional careers primarily sought to prove gender differences in

behaviors or discrimination in the work place. Psychological research being devoted to the former and sociological research to the latter. More recent research takes a broader view of the underlying mechanisms of career management such as multiple roles, sequential careers, sex stereotyping and assumptions underlying career choice in explaining adult career paths. The outcomes of this research presents a complex view of careers as well as valuable insights for both men and women. There is also strong evidence that the issue of women and careers is a rapidly changing phenomenon. With more and more women entering the workforce and obtaining positions in non-traditional occupations, the development of a single theory concerning women and careers is not presently evident (Osipow, 1983).

A review of the literature on women in management and careers reveals the common discussion of five gender related assumptions (Freston & Coleman, 1978; Fitzgerald & Schullman, 1984; Kellerman, 1984; Josetowitz, 1983; Fitzgerald & Betz, 1983). These assumptions not only form the basis or rationale for specialized skill training and career planning for women wanting to work in a leadership capacity, but also depict women as possessing vocational characteristics inferior to those of their male colleagues:

1. The process of career development for female managers differs from that of their male counterparts.
2. Women do not persist in their professional practice and will surrender their career advancement for marriage and family.

3. Women are less motivated to achieve and lack the confidence to seek executive careers.

4. Women, unlike men, do not develop specific plans and strategies to further their careers.

5. Women are not appropriate candidate for executive positions.

A discussion of each of these assumptions with an analysis of the related research follows.

Analysis of Gender Related Differences in the Process of Career

Development for Male and Female Managers

Assumption #1: The process of career development for female managers differs from that of their male counterparts.

Research devoted to studying gender related differences in the process of career development has yielded mixed results. Studies conducted have found both similarities and differences in the career development of males and females.

Studies demonstrating gender differences have examined such career variables as educational goals (Lewis, Wolins & Yelsma, 1967), career concerns (Greenhaus, 1971; Masih, 1967), vocational goals (Dole & Passons, 1972), work attitudes (Ace, Graen, & Dawis, 1972), vocational choices (Lewis, 1968), and concerns with status and prestige (Walsh & Barrow, 1971; Gribbons & Lohnes, 1968).

Studies demonstrating that males and females have the same career development process have examined such variables as occupational interest (Diamond, 1971), job orientation (Saleh & Lalljee, 1969),

personality characteristics (Helson, 1967), and adjustment problems due to choices of sex stereotyped occupations (Osipow & Gold, 1968; Roe & Siegelman, 1964).

Although a great deal of research has been devoted to the study of career variables and gender differences, the populations under study have typically been high school and college students. Making generalizations from the results of these studies is therefore of limited use in the study of comparisons between adult males and females who are already involved in a career choice and seeking a career advancement.

Research which has focused on the study of mature women has primarily examined the similarities and differences of women who are homemakers, women who work in traditional female fields and pioneer women (women who work in traditional male occupations). Although these studies, which dominated the investigation of women and careers during the 1970's, demonstrated significant differences among these three classifications on such variables as career orientation (Asten & Myint, 1971), occupation of father (Standley & Soule, 1974), career commitment (Nagely, 1971), work motivation (Wolkon, 1972), and parent child-rearing attitudes (Kriger, 1972), there has not emerged a single variable or pattern to adequately describe women's career development, and distinguish it from the career development of men, with the exception that women's lives will usually include concerns or decisions related to child rearing (Watley & Kaplan, 1971; Farley, 1970).

Research related specifically to women in management and career development, although limited and relatively new, has also yielded mixed results when analyzed in terms of gender differences. What has been even more significant, as a result of this research, has been the emergence, over time, of the changing career attitudes and concerns for both male and female managers. Based on their study of twenty-five successful women, Hennig and Jardim (1977) postulated gender related differences between male and female managers in attitudes toward careers and childhood experiences. These findings were contradicted by a similar study (Halcomb, 1979) of forty female managers, which demonstrate no similar identifiable variables in background or attitudes for the women interviewed. Although gender differences in concerns and attitudes were noted in a study of 3,000 Harvard Business School male and female graduates (Jelinek, 1977), substantial numbers of respondents, male and female, reported similar concerns with career progress. These concerns highlighted an underlying similarity far greater than apparent differences. For both sexes, job related problems centered on learning to do the job, and on coping with interpersonal difficulties.

Based on their research of female managers, Pat Freston and Kay Coleman (1978) hypothesized the career stages of women in management occupations. According to these authors, the first two decades after college are focused on marriage and families for females to a much greater degree than for males, and once the female has satisfied her affiliation needs she begins to clarify her career commitment. This

delayed career progression results in the entry of women into the field of management at a later period in their lives. The authors contend that men with management potential are usually identified in their twenties, whereas the average age at which a woman begins to turn full attention toward her career is 34 years. They conclude that these older women will exhibit different behavior patterns and interests and will therefore need specialized career development interventions.

Although the first attempt at a career development theory for female managers, this hypothesis of delayed career entry is not substantiated by statistical data. Robertson (1978) examined the profiles of the 1973 female graduates from the Harvard Business School. Five years after graduation all of the women were in the labor force working in management positions. Halcomb (1979) also found that the career patterns of the female executives she studies varied enormously, with some women beginning their careers early, some interrupting their careers for families, some maintaining a constant career growth and some beginning their careers later in life.

A more interesting trend visible in the more recent research concerns changes taking place over time, rather than sex related differences. In 1979 The American Council on Education (Astin, King, & Richardson) conducted a survey of nearly 200,000 college freshmen and compared their responses with those of their counterparts ten years earlier. Dramatic changes in student attitudes are apparent in this national profile. Over this ten year period women have become

more materialistic and ambitious. Moreover, these attitudes are reflected by changes in career plans. Fifteen percent of the women and eighteen percent of the men plan careers in business, as compared with four percent of the women and seventeen percent of the men a decade earlier.

This increase of women's interest in business has resulted in unprecedented gains in female enrollment in business and management courses. A study of enrollment patterns in the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (Fox, 1977) reveals that the 61 percent increase in total MBA enrollment from 1972 to 1977 was largely caused by a 338 percent female enrollment increase.

Further time related changes are demonstrated in the Jelinek (1977) on going study of graduates of the Harvard Business School. This survey found an increasing concern with non-traditional issues. For both sexes, balancing the demands of professional career against personal needs and family life is a major concern. Further analysis of this data also demonstrated that older respondents are more alike than different, regardless of sex; and younger respondents are more alike regardless of sex. The younger males are more like the younger females than either group is like their older same sex predecessors. Older graduates seem to have a more stereotypic separation of responsibilities toward home and children, with women devoting more time to home and family than men. However, both sexes of the younger sample spent typically more time with family than the older sample regardless of sex. Further corroboration of these changing attitudes

and behaviors was demonstrated by a survey conducted by Fortune (1976). In this study findings indicate that personal life was increasingly more important to male as well as to female executives.

Although the study of women and career development has not revealed substantial results to support the assumption that the process of career development for female managers differs from that of their male counterparts, there is growing evidence that attitudes and concerns of both female and male managers are changing over time. Any new research or theory on career development whether for men or women must include; the effects of nontraditional careers for both men and women, concerns of dual career couples, and growing interest for both men and women in balancing family and careers.

The assumption that women seeking advancement to executive positions will benefit from specialized career development interventions because their career process is so different from their male counterparts is not substantiated by the research. It would appear that today's male and female managers alike could benefit from career development sessions that include discussions on issues confronting dual career couples, balancing a career and family, and the difficulties and benefits both sexes experience as women become more numerous in non-traditional careers and men begin to be exposed to alternate non traditional career choices which diverge from the old model of total career involvement within a pattern of linear career advancement.

Analysis of Gender Related Differences in Career

Patterns of Male and Female Managers

Assumption #2: Women do not persist in their professional practice and will surrender their career advancement for marriage and family.

One of the major barriers to the career advancement of women to high level positions has been the perpetuation of generalizations about women as a group. Most of these generalizations are based on traditional concepts which have long ceased to have factual bases. For example, marriage and the attendant child bearing and rearing are often seen as preventing a woman from obtaining competitive employment, or as having unproductive consequences for the job itself due to excessive absenteeism or a high turnover rate. As demonstrated in the Burrow (1978) survey of 2,000 executives, reasons frequently mentioned for the low incidence of women in top management, and in support of specialized career planning for women, reflected concerns about childbearing, family commitments and career interruptions.

The assumption that women leave the workforce permanently to raise a family is not substantiated by available statistics. According to national statistics on the labor turnover rate, the net differences for men and women is insignificant. In 1968 the monthly quit rates averaged 2.2 percent for males and 2.6 percent for females in manufacturing industries (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971).

If, in the past, women typically married and left work permanently, that does not presently seem to be the case. Many women

have multiple careers, as workers, wives and mothers. If the choice in the past was either career or family, it is most frequently now a choice of timing (Halcomb, 1979). While it is true that many women leave work for childbirth, this absence is temporary for most. And, despite the break in employment, the average woman worker has a worklife expectancy of 25 years. The single woman worker averages 45 years in the labor force, as compared with 43 years for the male (Sawhill, 1972).

There is also evidence that an interrupted career pattern is as true for men as it is for women. A study by the U.S. Labor Department, based on 1970 census data noted that nearly one in three American workers changed careers in the five year period, 1965-1970 (Sommers, & Eck, 1977). Many men and a growing number of women leave organizations to start a small business, then return when, as statistically likely, the business fails (Dubin, 1956; Mayer & Goldstein, 1964).

This interrupted career pattern is also becoming more pervasive in modern times, as many workers, males and females, go back to school for training, or undertake a very different second career after lengthy involvement in a first (Jelinek, 1977). The evolution of alternative means of childcare and the house-husband, who stays home to take care of the children and household (Jelinek, 1977), has further demonstrated the need for a new understanding of adult career patterns for both males and females.

There is also growing evidence that younger generations of women aspiring to leadership positions have developed career and family plans quite different from those of their earlier counterparts. In the Jelinek (1977) study of male and female managers, 60% of the subsample women are married, while 81% of the men are married. Of those women who are married, the majority have no children. In a comparative study of 200,000 college freshmen (Astin, King & Richardson, 1979), goals identified as very important or essential by freshmen in 1979, compared with 1969, demonstrated some major changes in career and life plans. Raising a family was cited by 17 percent fewer women and 2 percent fewer men. Being well off financially was selected by 77 percent more women and 28 percent more men. Having administrative responsibility was considered significant by more than one-third of the women in 1979, as compared to less than one-sixth of the females in 1969.

Although recent statistics serve as an indicator to dispell the myth of women who desert their careers for family and home, other than the Jelinek study (1977), there are no in depth, longitudinal studies of the careers and family lives of female managers in the United States. However a longitudinal study of female managers was conducted in England. In the 1960's, Fogerty, Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) examined the careers and family lives of female directors and managers in corporations, the British Broadcasting System, and the Civil Service. They demonstrated that women provide many of the ablest candidates for high-level careers; women had a strong career

commitment and a capacity for job performance in the same range as that of men, but with a different life cycle and time-table of availability for work. Although Fogerty et al. (1971) did demonstrate a higher quit rate for female managers, primarily for childbearing purposes, the authors argue that it is economic and practical for employers to adapt to the different life cycle of women caused by the childbearing break in women's careers. These authors recommend measures to redesign senior positions and the career patterns that might lead married women to these positions. Their suggestions include institutionalized maternity leave, part-time work, flexible hours, relaunching, and accelerating back to the top to enable women to combine having children with a chance of promotion to top level positions. However an interesting twist did occur when this research team returned to study the progress of women managers ten years later. Contrary to their hypothesis, the researches found that during the late 1960's and early 1970's the quit rate of the female managers did not substantially exceed that of their male counterparts.

The generalization that women's careers are characterized by a high rate of absenteeism due to child care needs is also not substantiated by statistical research. The U.S. Department of Labor in 1971 (cited in Women's Bureau Bulletin, 1971) calculated that women lost an average of 5.9 days per year for absenteeism, while men lost 5.2 days. A more recent Public Health survey (W.E. Upjohn Institute, 1981) on work time lost revealed that women lost on the average 5.6 days as compared to 5.3 for men. Other studies conducted by Issues in

Industrial Society (1971) indicate that women lose somewhat less time than do men. Although all of these studies demonstrate that the net differences in rate of absenteeism for male and female workers is not statistically significant, assumptions concerning the inappropriateness of women for responsible positions due to a perceived high rate of absenteeism persist (Burrow, 1978).

As in the discussion of gender differences and career development, the construction of a single theory concerning career patterns is not possible. Statistics describing the employment patterns of working women are changing constantly and dramatically. In the last twelve years, the largest increase in the female workforce has been among women with children under three years of age (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1980). There is also growing evidence that many women are foregoing marriage and family for careers (Halcomb, 1979), and that dual career couples are making non traditional adjustments to childrearing responsibilities (Jelinek, 1977). These trends have resulted in an increase in the pattern of continuous participation in the workforce for women managers and other female professionals.

The experience of working women, has, in the past been demonstrably different from men, but recent statistics are showing a close in this gap (Brown, 1981). Women may leave jobs to bear children, and men may leave to start their own business, but both are returning within a short period to maintain a record of continuous employment. Women typically have multiple careers, as workers, wives,

and mothers. Each of these careers impose substantial demands which may well conflict with the demands of another role. Yet a growing body of evidence (Jelinek, 1977) suggests that these demands and conflicts are beginning to be similar for men. Present research (Jelinek, 1977) suggests a long term trend toward equality in parenting demands and household responsibilities, particularly in the growing number of dual career couples.

The assumption that women need specialized career development interventions because they do not persist in their careers can not be substantiated by the available research. Researchers (Halcomb, 1979; Josefowitz, 1983) examining the career patterns of female managers and executives have discovered multiple career patterns including continuous careers, careers interrupted for child-bearing, delayed careers and late entry career patterns. Although women may have a career break to bear children, they are returning to their careers in record numbers (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1980). There is also growing evidence that men experience a similar break in their careers for varying reasons (Jelinek, 1977; Kanter, 1977). It would appear then that career development interventions which explore varied career patterns and options is appropriate for both men and women who are striving toward career advancement. It also appears necessary that organizations begin to address the issues and problems faced by both male and female professionals as they attempt to balance family and career demands.

Analysis of Gender Related Differences in the Career

Motivation of Male and Female Managers

Assumption #3: Women are less motivated than men and lack the confidence to pursue executive careers.

Career development interventions are often recommended for women in line for top managerial positions as a means to bolster a perceived lack of confidence and motivation within the female personality (Burrow, 1978; Kaye, & Scheele, 1975; Riger & Galligan, 1980). Such personal growth interventions often base their premise on the popular psychological research of Matina Horner (1968), who concluded from her comparative study of male and female students, that the female subjects demonstrated an attitude she termed fear of success.

Horner (1972) argues that women had a motive to avoid success in intellectual competence or leadership potential because women view femininity and achievement as two desirable but mutually exclusive ends. Horner hypothesized that women are more likely than men to develop this motive, and the stories she asked 178 students to write; females responding to "Ann in medical school," and males responding to "John in medical school," did demonstrate that many more young women (65.6 percent) than men (9.1 percent) showed fear of success imagery.

Although the findings of Horner became very popular during the late 1960's and early 1970's, an analysis of her research yielded empirical weaknesses both in the validity of her measure and in the reliability of her study. Several researchers, in follow-up studies, have demonstrated that the scoring system, a code used to indicate the

presence or absence of a negative imagery, was based on inference and the subjective evaluation of the scorers (Robbins & Robbins, 1973; Patty & Ferrell, 1974). Additional research has demonstrated a low or nonexistent correspondance between fear of success imagery and achievement motivation (Horner, 1968; Sorrentino & Short, 1973), academic norms (Moore, 1971), career aspirations (Baruch, 1973), and school experiences (Pappo, 1972). These studies demonstrated that fear of success is not related in any consistent way to direct and indirect measures of achievement. They also raise serious doubt about the validity of the fear of success measure.

Serious doubt concerning the reliability of Horner's study (1968) has also been demonstrated. Many researchers have questioned whether Horner's (1968) technique measures what it purports to measure consistently. Several lead-in cues have been used in addition to the original "Ann/John in medical school," and the results have not supported the reliability of Horner's measure. There is considerable variation depending upon the cues used, suggesting that the stories written reflect the subjects' attitude toward the situation depicted rather than a stable personality characteristic of their own. In a number of studies both Ann and John cues have been given to both sexes (Alper, 1974; Feather & Raphelson, 1974; Levine & Crumrine, 1973; Robbins & Robbins, 1973) and these studies generally show that males write more "fear of success" stories to the female cue. Furthermore Alper (1974) and Grainger, Kostich, and Stanley (1970) found significantly less "fear of success" when Ann found herself at the top

of her nursing school" class than when she was at the top of her "medical school" class. And in one clever study, Katz (1973) found significantly less fear of success when the subjects were informed that half of Ann's classmates (in medical school) are women than when they thought all of Ann's classmates were men.

Reviewing these follow-up studies, we find little support for either the reliability or validity of Horner's original measure. It apparently does not reflect a stable and enduring personality trait, it is not differentially evident in women rather men, it is not related to indirect or direct achievement of women, and it does not predict performance. Moreover it is not consistently measured from study to study. An alternative explanation would suggest that what Horner (1968) saw as "fear of success" in women is actually a realistic response to the conflicts both men and women experience when they choose a career that has been sex-typed for the opposite gender.

Although Horner's (1968) thesis has not withstood the test of time, her fear of success concept remains popular today and often forms the basis of personal growth training for females aspiring to career advancement. And even though the populations studied by Horner, and the many researchers who followed in her tracks, were students, many authors have tended to generalize from Horner's undergraduates to all women.

In addition to the volumes of psychological research disputing Horner's original study, sociological research has also provided evidence to cast doubt on the fear of success concept. Field studies

conducted with adult populations at worksites have yielded data which indicates that people, men and women, have low aspirations when they think their chances for mobility are low. Research on auto workers, for example, has documented workers very limited interest in or hope for promotion in response to poor mobility opportunities (Guest, 1954; Chinoy, 1955; Blauner, 1964). In one company there was one foreman's job opening a year for 120 workers (Guest, 1954); in a plant observed by Chinoy (1955), there were ten to twelve foreman's positions for 6,000 workers. In assembly line plants, furthermore, there were relatively few skilled jobs to which the unskilled could aspire, and there were no career ladders of promotion (Blauner, 1964). In a similar study of workers in three meat-packing plants, Purcell (1960) showed workers to be negative about their chances for advancement, and many of them denied that they would even want a promotion. Surveys, too, have found a correlation between negative mobility perceptions and low aspirations (Bonjean, Grady & Williams, 1967).

In her in depth study on one company Kanter (1977), demonstrated that worker aspirations are not necessarily low to begin with, but they may be lowered as people encounter the realities of their job situation. In an attitude survey of nonexempts, hourly employees, the connection between realistic expectations and desires was demonstrated. Men's mean score on an overall measure of motivation to be promoted was significantly higher than women's, but so were the men's objective prospects for advancement. The men's scores on both desirability and likelihood tended to be higher, especially on those

items having to do with increased responsibility and managerial tasks. In comparison the women's scores on desirability and likelihood yielded a different picture. The women rated all of the items on desirability above the mean and tended to see all of them as more desirable than likely. This research indicates that although women may desire advancement, their motivation is dampened by a realistic analysis of the likelihood of promotion.

Based on her research, Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) proposes a situational response theory in explanation for the female "fear of success" psychological construct. Kanter hypothesizes that the pressures on people in token positions, a role which is traditionally dominated by the opposite sex, or in the case of the minorities by another race, generate a set of attitudes and behaviors that appear sex linked, in the case of women, but can be understood better as situational responses, true of any person in a token role. Kanter (1977) termed this response set "fear of visibility," a response to performance pressures in a token situation. Kanter's theory is supported by the previously reviewed psychological research, which replicated Horner's (1968) original study, using examples of settings in which women were not so clearly proportionally scarce (Alper, 1974; Grainger, Kostich & Stanely, 1970; Katz, 1973). Results of these studies failed to confirm the sex linked nature to the fear of success construct.

The assumption that female managers need specialized training for career advancement because they fear success, lack motivation or

leadership potential, does not receive support from research on female managers and executives. In an analysis of the profiles of male and female executives, Ritchie and Boehm (1977) developed a scoreable biographical data key to determine the validity of using biographical data from lower-level management men and women to predict management potential. The results of their study indicate that the same types of life experiences are predictive of subsequent managerial success for women and men.

Similar research on motives of individuals in management careers (Miner, 1974) has found no consistent differences in motivation between male and female managers. Later research by Donnell and Hall (1980) found the work motivation profiles of the female managers were more achieving than those of their male counterparts. These researchers compared the managerial behavior of nearly 2,000 male and female managers using tests on forty-three different scales. Women reported lower basic needs than men for pay, work environment, and strain avoidance, and higher needs than men for self actualization through opportunities for growth, autonomy and challenge. More females than males reported that they were not so challenged by their jobs as they might be, nor as they would like to be.

In their analysis of gender differences in work attitudes (Larwood & Wood, 1977; Adams, 1979; Brief & Oliver, 1976), researchers have demonstrated that female executives enjoy their success and hold the same expectations of their positions as male managers. The reasons women gave for being satisfied with their executive jobs are

similar to those given by men; solving problems, using their talents, and managing others (Larwood & Wood, 1977). While they share similar goals with men such as money, power, recognition, influence, respect and prestige, women place greater significance on achieving independence and integration of their personal and professional lives (Adams, 1979).

Whether termed "fear of success" or fear of "visibility," this response set also appears to be changing over time. Traditionally women have been reluctant to prepare for executive careers, since the dominant managerial model has been male (Brown, 1981), but significant shifts have been noted over the last ten years. In surveys conducted by the Roper Organization, since 1970, measured changes in attitudes and behaviors have been noted (Roper Organization, 1980).

In 1970, a minority of women (40 percent) approved of most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society. Ten years later (1980), women and men favor a change in women's status in equal numbers (64 percent). In 1980 women are more likely to be working and to be career oriented. Of the working women interviewed in 1980, 45 percent planned to make their jobs full-time careers, compared to 39 percent in 1970.

The Roper Polls (1980) also observed that as women have become more career-oriented, they have become more conscious of sexual discrimination in the workplace. In 1980 women are more aware of the difficulties of obtaining leadership positions. A significant number of full time working women (65 percent) perceive discrimination

against women when they attempt to obtain executive positions. Nearly half (48 percent) of the men also think women will encounter discrimination in seeking such a job.

One of the most interesting attitudinal changes noted in the Roper Survey (1980) is the image of the "boss". Two-thirds of the working women and men interviewed claimed that it made no difference to them whether they had a male or female boss. This figure represents an improvement from 1970, when only slightly more than half of this group stated it made no difference to them.

Although women have not yet reached executive level positions in great numbers, this changing attitudinal trend perhaps accounts for the hiring of large numbers of women into entry-level management positions, and the pursuit of professional careers for many young women. In the mid 1960's only one percent of entering managerial trainees were female. In 1975 women comprised 15 percent of beginning managers (Up the Ladder, 1975). In 1980 women comprised 24.6 percent of all managerial and administrative positions compared with 16 percent of 1970 (Roper, 1980), and in 1979 15 percent of female college freshmen planned careers in business, as compared with 4 percent in 1969 (Astin, King & Richardson, 1979). While these statistics are not yet visible in top level positions, some writers (Badaway, 1978) believe such statistical gains are reinforcing women's aspirations to achieve success in field and positions traditionally dominated by men.

The recommendation for career development interventions to

address or remediate the perceived "fear of success" construct or the assumed lack of female motivation to succeed in executive positions is not supported by available research. What may appear, initially, to be a gender related psychological characteristic emerges as a complex response set to social attitudes, and these attitudes appear to be changing as more and more women develop career commitments and enter the managerial ranks.

Analysis of Gender Related Differences in the Career Planning
and Strategizing of Male and Female Managers

Assumption #4: Women do not develop specific plans and strategies to
further their career advancement.

Although women as a group have made tremendous gains in the work force over the last fifteen years, these gains are not reflected in top level positions. Women are gaining ground in entry level and mid-management positions, but few women hold high level executive, administrative, or management jobs, and women only occupy about 3 percent of the 16,000 seats on the boards of the thousand largest corporations listed by Fortune magazine (Serrin, 1984).

In an on-going study of Harvard graduates (Jelinek, 1977), researchers found that women as a group seem less successful than the men. They rank below their male colleagues on salary (82% of the women in the sample had salaries of less than \$3,000 per month, while only 51% of the men fell into this category). As to level of hierarchy, 69% of the men were at upper to top levels of management,

while only 37% of the total sample women had reached these levels.

An often cited cause of women's continuing difficulties with career advancement is the assumption that women limit themselves by not planning their careers and developing strategies for success (Burrow, 1978). In the American Management Association Survey (Burrow, 1978) of 2,000 executives, respondents frequently explained the lack of women in top management positions by noting what they perceived to be a lack of career planning on the part of many women in their organizations. And to remedy this deficit the executives recommended career planning sessions for their female employees.

Similarly, Hennig and Jardim (1977) in their study of female managers analyzed why so many women are stalled in middle-management jobs instead of ascending to higher corporate levels. According to these authors, women see a career as personal growth, as self-fulfillment, as satisfaction, as making contributions, and as doing what one wants to do. While they contend that men want these same things, they describe the males' view of a career as a series of jobs, a progression of jobs, as a path leading upward, with concrete recognition and reward implied. Hennig and Jardim (1977) also contend that women lack a sense of game-playing behavior in comparison to men. Due to early socialization, according to these authors, women, unlike men, lack the skills necessary to compete, plan and strategize for career success.

More recent writing and research cast doubt on Hennig and Jardim's (1977) contentions. Based on their study of the roles and

their development in the lives of Black and White women, Bean and Wolfman (1979) conclude that many women have girlhood experiences that include competing, strategizing and planning. Girls have been members of dance, musical, athletic, school and political groups. And as members of these groups, they have learned how to set and accomplish goals, plan and strategize for success, and how to work with people and accomplish tasks.

Although Hennig and Jardim (1977) found that the successful women in their study reported having specific career plans and goals, similar studies have not yielded the same results. In a series of case studies of successful women administrators (Murningham, Wheatley & Kanter, 1978) researchers discovered that those women who have seen their careers advance significantly, did not account for their success by the setting of goals or career plans, but rather being in the right place at the right time, and taking advantage of the situation; and having both the opportunity and organizational structures which allowed them to accumulate power, visibility and credibility.

Similar results were found by Halcomb (1979) in her case studies of 40 successful women. In her interviews, Halcomb discovered a wide range of career planning patterns. Although a majority of these women admitted their careers had not been established through concrete career planning, many spoke of responding to opportunities with determination and immediate action.

Even though the above research does lend some support to the assumption that women, in general, do not develop specific career

plans, it is striking that the subjects of these studies had all reached top levels within their professions, and most of them seem to have done so by responding to opportunities. If successful women did not attain their success by specific career planning, we must question how important a factor career planning is to career advancement. We must also question how the successful female's career planning process compares to the career planning endeavors of the successful male.

In a comparative examination of the career aspirations of male and female employees in one company, Kanter (1977) concludes that for both men and women a desire and plan to advance is determined by the available opportunities. Kanter's research indicates that men and women alike develop career plans but these plans are shaped by the individual's expectations for future prospects. Each individual's plan or no plan is a realistic response to the available mobility and growth within an organization, determined by such matters as promotion rates, career paths and access to advancement. People low in opportunity resign themselves to staying at a particular level, limit their aspirations and generally do not value advancement. Kanter (1977) argues that women's lack of career planning is a realistic assessment and response to the career opportunities available, and that these same responses exist in men under similar conditions.

A number of sociological studies support Kanter's findings. In one study of nurses and teachers (Alutto, Hrebiniak, & Alonso, 1973) researchers found the women were more committed to their careers than the men, and saw more opportunity for mobility within their

organizations. Those with sponsors to aid their mobility had the highest commitment. In studies of blue-collar men (Chinoy, 1955; Purcell, 1960; Mayer & Goldstein, 1964) findings indicate that those men with low opportunity limit their aspirations and career plans. They seek satisfaction in activities outside of work, dream of escape, interrupt their careers, emphasize leisure and consumption, and create sociable peer groups in which interpersonal relationships take precedence over other aspects of work.

Similarly, psychological research has not found significant evidence to demonstrate gender specific behaviors in the area of career planning. Studies which have examined male and female decision making styles (Moreland, Harren, Krinsky-Monague & Tinsley, 1979; Lunneborg, 1978) have found no gender related differences regarding career decision making. Although these studies were conducted with samples of high school and college students, similar results have been gleaned from a study conducted with adult managers.

Harlan and Weiss (1980) in comparing a matched set of fifty male and fifty female managers employed in two retailing organizations in the same geographical area found a striking degree of similarity between men and women managers. Men and women were found to have very similar psychological profiles of high power and achievement needs, high self-esteem, and high motivation to manage. In addition both men and women experienced difficulty in understanding and planning their careers; obtaining balanced and useful feedback; and obtaining opportunities for new skill development. Although seeking sex-based

differences which might be predictive of managerial success, Harlan and Weiss (1980) instead found considerable similarities. They concluded:

. . . it appears women's experiences have been compared to a "successful male myth" rather than to men's actual experiences. This myth, founded on sex stereotypes, assumes that men are: highly successful; have well planned careers; receive excellent training and development; have good working relationships with other company employees, and encounter no problems on the road to top management, the position to which all men aspire. . . . In fact, men and women encounter more similarities than differences in barriers to career advancement. The primary difference faced is the existence of sex bias . . . (pp. 45-46)

As the research indicates career opportunities and the resulting career plans of women have been subject to sex bias (Gold, 1978), so does it indicate that opportunities and attitudes are changing with each subsequent generation. Although women managers, as a group, are less successful than men managers, recent data (Jelinek, 1977) reveals the differences are larger for the older populations than for the younger. Furthermore, studies of male and female managers (Harlan & Weiss, 1980) reveal that younger managers both male and female experience similar career issues.

There also appears to be no single career planning strategy to explain the success of female managers. In an analysis of the studies conducted by Hennig (1977), Crawford (1977), and Halcomb (1979) three distinct age groups and career planning strategies emerge in the description of female senior executives over fifty, middle managers thirty-five to forty-five years of age, and managers under thirty-five.

Many of the senior executives in these case studies started their

careers in an office relegated position, such as secretary, and achieved their success through considerable expertise, dedication, and hard work within a single organization. Most of these women did not have plans or strategies for career advancement, but succeeded through fortitude, desire to achieve and the fact that certain men in key positions acted as their mentors and fought for their promotions.

The generation of managers who are thirty-five to forty-five years of age generally reached managerial positions through other than secretarial routes, often through specialists positions. Most of these women did not begin to realize their career goals or formulate career plans until they had been well involved in the world of work and saw a career as a viable option. This generation seems more subject to what they consider to be discrimination against them in the promotion race. They are also the generation most heavily involved in the problems of combining family demands with the demands of their careers.

Managers under thirty-five have often entered the world of work via the same paths as their male colleagues, with crystalized career goals and optimistic career plans. These female managers were raised in a totally different social climate and have better access to career advancement. Moreover, in their pursuit for success, these younger female managers can turn to executive female role models and networks which were usually lacking for previous generations.

An analysis of the related research does not support the need for specialized career planning for women managers due to any gender

related variables. Although the research does not support the assumption that men and women differ psychologically as to how they plan careers, it does indicate that opportunities vary for men and women and that gender related biases exist, and these opportunities and biases interact with career aspirations and plans. Moreover research does indicate that opportunities, biases, and the resulting career planning strategies of women are changing with each generation. The value of any career planning program, whether for men or women, can only be determined by the manner in which it realistically addresses these three factors within the appropriate time frame.

Analysis of the Gender Related Differences in the Traits
and Abilities of Male and Female Managers

Assumption #5: Women are not appropriate candidates for executive positions.

One of the major barriers facing women who excel to top level management positions is the assumption that women do not possess those traits and abilities necessary to succeed in the executive role. In a 1965 survey (Bowman, Worthy & Greyser) of 2,000 executives 47 percent of the businessmen surveyed disfavored the idea of women executives and 55 percent felt that women, as women, were not qualified for management positions. Representative responses, often indicated for a woman to succeed in business she would need to be exceptional. Even those male executives who favored the idea of female executives saw

the need for additional training for women managers whereas the female respondents saw the need for equal opportunity.

The results of a more recent survey of nearly 2,000 executives (Burrow, 1977) seem to indicate an envolving change in the attitude toward female executives. In this American Management Association Survey, twelve years after the Harvard Business Review Survey (Bowman, Worthy & Greyser, 1965) only 13 percent of the male respondents disfavored the idea of female executives. Although these results appear to demonstrate an attitudinal change over time, more than half of the male executives interviewed in the AMA Survey saw major deficiencies in women in relation to leadership positions.

Whether or not these perceived gender difficiencies are true or imaginary, the components of many career development programs for women managers address this issue. Some programs (Scheele & Kaye, 1974; Willet, 1971) concur that women are in deficit and encourage women to develop male characteristics deemed necessary for executive success. Others deny that gender differences are a barrier to women's career success and instead focus on the discrimination women face in the workplace and methods for increasing the upward mobility of women (Norton, Gustafson & Foster, 1977; Rosen & Mericle, 1979). And some more recent programs (Sargent, 1981) examine those stereotypical barriers associated with male and female traits and encourage both men and women to develop a balance of "so-called" male/female behavioral traits which are now deemed necessary for effective leadership.

Although a few authors (Sargent, 1981; Josefowitz, 1980) are now discussing an androgynous model of management, the majority of career development programs offered to women in management still explicitly or implicitly depict women as needing special training (Kay & Scheele, 1975) in such areas as assertiveness and rationality.

There exists four major factors influencing the notion of specialized training for women in management and the assumption that women are not suited for executive positions: perceived gender related ability differences, sex role stereotyping, job sex typing and the identification of leadership with masculinity (Larwood & Wood, 1978; Rose, 1975). These factors do not operate independently but interact with each other to produce what appears to be the major obstacle to the career advancement of women managers.

Many sociologists and psychologists contend other than anatomical ones, there are no real differences between the sexes; apparent differences are the result of the individual's interaction with the social environment (Rose, 1975). Even though a number of studies have demonstrated significant sex differences in attitudes, interests, abilities, reaction to stimuli, styles of cognitive thinking, patterns of play and personality at an early age (Rose, 1975); there is also substantial evidence that children begin to develop their concepts of sex roles and appropriate behaviors before the age of five and that the differences found in attitudes, skills and behaviors may well be the result of this antecedent variable, sex-role concept (Rose, 1975). There is also significant evidence that biological and

physical differences are not directly related to behavior (Money, 1963, 1973; Weisstein, 1971). A large body of literature supports the view that behavior is subject to wide fluctuations based on one's experiences as well as one's inherent biological and physical make-up (Weisstein, 1971).

Although most of the research investigating the effect of gender on behavior has focused on infants and school age children, studies investigating adult behavior have revealed similar findings. In a review of the literature, Mishler (1975) found there are few documented innate sexual differences in abilities which would impose barriers to women's career development. Research related specifically to men and women in the field of management has also yielded similar results. In empirical studies seeking sex-based differences predictive of managerial success, results repeatedly indicate very few gender dependent differences (Donnell & Hall, 1980; Humphreys & Schrode, 1978; Harlan & Weiss, 1980). It is important to note here that very little of the research has used male and female samples of managers and comparative techniques to establish gender related variables predictive of managerial success. The research claiming gender differences most often is based on anecdotal records (Sargent, 1981) and personal interview or case studies (Henning & Jardim, 1977; Josefowitz, 1980; Halcomb, 1979). Generally speaking, those studies which use more empirical methods of investigation do not reveal significant sex related differences in skills or abilities required for executive success (Donnell & Hall, 1980; Harlan & Weiss, 1980;

Humphreys & Schrode, 1978).

In three recent comparative psychological studies, male and female managers were found to exhibit very similar profiles in attitudes, skills and behaviors. Harlan and Weiss (1980) studied a matched set of fifty male and female managers and found their sample to have very similar psychological profiles of high power and achievement needs, high self-esteem and high motivation to manage.

Decision-making profiles of female and male managers also show great similarities. Although slight differences in perceptions of difficulty, importance and preference do exist, generally, male and female managers focus on similar responsibilities. In an analysis of how male and female managers handled five types of business decisions, Humphreys and Schrode (1978) reported that women spent most time on task decisions, which are the easiest for them to make; followed by personnel decisions, which they prefer; then information decisions; then budgetary decisions, which they find most difficult and feel least important; then conceptual decisions, which they consider most important, taking the least amount of their time. Male managers also spent more of their time making task decisions; followed by information decisions, which are the easiest for them, then personnel decisions, which they consider the most important; conceptual decisions which they perceived as most difficult; with budgetary decision, which they least preferred, requiring the least amount of their time.

Although Humphreys and Schrode (1978) revealed more similarities

than differences in the male and female decision-making profiles, the female managers in their study rated conceptual decisions as most important and easiest, while the male managers considered personnel decisions most important. This finding contradicts some of the very assumptions that form the basis for special training programs for women, those being that women need special training in problem solving and decision making; and men are less "people" oriented than women. It is also interesting to note that both male and female managers spent equal amounts of time on task decisions and both least preferred budgetary decisions, which leads us to question some other commonly held assumptions about males being more task oriented than females and better able to handle mathematical and financial problems.

In a 1980 study (Donnell & Hall), designed to yield sex-based differences, the managerial behavior of almost 2,000 males and female managers was examined. The results of this study also found no significant differences. Participants were carefully matched male-female according to age, rank in organization, organizational type, and number of people supervised. Males and females in each sample were divided into high, average and low achievement groups. Types of organizations included: science and technology, manufacturing, semi-public personnel, sales, finance, human services, and government. Five dimensions of managerial achievement were studied: managerial philosophy, motivational dynamics, participative practices, interpersonal competence, and managerial style. No significant overall differences between males and females were found

in managerial philosophy, in the motivational profiles of subordinates, in the management of the organization's technical and human resources, nor in the participative practices managers employed to obtain results from their subordinates. In tests on forty-three different scales, Donnell and Hall (1980) detected only two overall differences between male and female managers. One pertained to interpersonal competence. Male managers were more open in sharing information with their colleagues. Subordinates also reported that they solicited and received more feedback from male managers than did the subordinates of female managers. The other difference found by Donnell and Hall (1980) related to motivation. The work motivation profiles of the female managers were more achievement oriented than those of their male counterparts. These authors concluded that these two differences were in direct opposition to the popular assumptions that female managers were more person oriented and less achievement oriented than male managers.

The results of these three studies raise questions about the validity of the use of career development interventions which focus on enhancing the confidence, motivation and decision making techniques of women seeking executive positions. As the research indicates, male and female managers are more alike than different in the skills and abilities they bring to managerial positions. If the assumption that women are not appropriate candidates for executive positions is not supported by the research, the value of career development interventions which stress personal growth training in the assumed

skill deficits of females must be questioned.

Research investigating gender differences in leadership behaviors has also not been able to yield conclusive evidence to support the assumption that men and women differ in leadership styles. Generally speaking, the research literature contains mixed results on sex differences in leadership (Bartol & Wortman, 1975; Bartol & Butterfield, 1976; Butterfield & Graves, 1984; Chapman, 1975; Chapman & Luthans, 1975; Day & Stogdill, 1972; Feild & Caldwell, 1979; Megargee, 1969; Muldrow & Bayton, 1979; Renwick, 1977; Rosen & Jerdee, 1973; Terborg, 1977; Wexley & Hunt, 1974; Denmark and Diggory, 1966; Eskilson & Wiley, 1976; Maier, 1970). Chapman (1975) reported that, contrary to popular opinion, female leaders are not more consideration-oriented than male leaders. Similarly, Day and Stogdill (1972) found that male and female leaders who occupy parallel positions and perform similar functions exhibit similar patterns of leader behavior. However, Denmark and Diggory (1966) indicated that men used power much more often than women to maintain work group conformity, and Eskilson and Wiley (1976) found that male leaders in their role-playing task groups concentrated significantly more on recognizable leadership behavior. Mair (1970) noted that when information is absent female leaders are less assertive than male leaders, but when tasks were more structured no differences between male and female leaders were found.

Though there are many inconsistencies, leader gender has generally been shown to be an important variable in laboratory studies

but not in studies conducted in field settings (Osborn & Vicars, 1976). An explanation for these mixed results may involve the methodological issue of laboratory experiments versus field studies. In laboratory experiments, the samples usually studied are students, who have not had actual management or leadership experience. These students, who are strangers to each other, interact together or with pencil-and-paper stimulus, for brief periods of time in contrived, controlled settings. The greater control possible in the laboratory not only makes differences due to gender easier to detect, but also makes them more likely to occur. The manipulated variable of sex may be one of the few things the subject has with which to make a discrimination. Cues about the situation are weak compared to the cue of leader sex. Subjects of research in field settings have more information available to them, particularly when the leaders and subordinates under study have been involved in actual long-term, on-going work situations, and gender may be less salient under these conditions (Field & Caldwell, 1979). On the other hand, the results from field studies are difficult to interpret because of the impact of situational variables that can not be controlled in natural settings.

The discrepancies in the results of laboratory and field studies and the importance of population sample is demonstrated by the studies of Graves, Butterfield and Powell (1983) and Graves and Butterfield (1984). The 1983 study investigated how leadership style, group performance and leader sex influenced attributions for organizational outcomes to such causes as the leader, subordinates, luck and

environment, using a sample of college undergraduates. Results found a very strong performance effect and a significant leadership style effect. Leader sex had significant effects on attributions to the leader and to luck. However when this study was replicated in 1984 (Graves & Butterfield), using a population of 97 working adults, many being managers or supervisors, leader sex seemed to have no effect on the causal attributions for group performance.

Despite such different results from various subject groups, much of the leadership research (Butterfield & Powell, 1981; Larson, 1982; Lord, Binning, Rush & Thomas, 1978; Phillips and Lord, 1981; Mitchell, Larson & Green, 1977) uses undergraduate samples in laboratory settings. More carefully designed research in both the laboratory and field is needed to consider the interaction of both person-centered and situation-centered variables.

There exists a growing body of research which suggests that the major barriers effecting women seeking leadership positions are not personal deficits or gender related traits but are sex role stereotyping and the resulting job sex-typing.

As defined by Polk (1974), men and women are viewed as behaving according to certain well-defined cultural and psychological processes. The term stereotype refers to a consistent pattern of values or behaviors that describes the most remembered set of beliefs or actions of members of the category being referenced. Because the stereotype often contains the most striking values and behaviors, it may accurately describe only a very visible minor segment of the

persons in a category. The stereotype has a great deal of value in providing a simplistic category definition, but it often is of no benefit in describing most individual cases. In fact, a stereotype can persist even after most of all of the individuals from which it was derived have disappeared. Stereotypes are forms of categorization that are applied in general use by some groups of people. This categorization results in defined roles and an expectation of proscribed behaviors and traits for the category in question. The stereotype and the resulting role expectation is recognized society wide, and is used for prediction of behaviors even by members of the group to which it is applied. Although few people expect a role player to behave exactly according to the stereotype for that role, a great deal of psychological and sociological evidence demonstrates that social pressure is applied to role occupants to insure that they do not break the proscriptive roles (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Gerard & Hoyt, 1974; Goldberg, 1968; Kiesler, 1973; Kristal, Sanders, Spence & Helmreich, 1975; Larwood, 1975; O'Leary, 1974; Nieva & Gutek, 1980), and that people in a society recognize the possibility of punishment or sanctions (Backman & Secord, 1968; Bem, 1972; Berman, 1976; Ireson, 1976; Maracek, & Mettee, 1972; Rosen & Jerdee, 1973; Deux & Taynor, 1973) for stepping out of proscribed roles and expected behaviors.

These stereotypes and role concepts are applied in the examination of masculinity, femininity and management. The following described research clearly suggests that male and female stereotypes

exist, and whether or not we accept these stereotypes personally, we recognize that others believe they exist and respond accordingly. Furthermore the research indicates that sex is a powerful indicator of the career options and choices of women, and finally, job sex-typing emerges as a major barrier for women seeking executive positions.

One of the best known studies of sex stereotypes (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz) was conducted in 1972. The researchers first asked a hundred college students to list characteristics, attributes, and behaviors on which they believed men and women to differ. Examining only those items that appeared at least twice on the initial list, a second group rated the extent to which they also agreed that the items were typical of an adult man or adult woman.

Analysis of the Broverman results yielded forty-one items each stereotypically differentiating men from women beyond any reasonable doubt. The men and women who completed the survey were in almost perfect agreement on the items. Further analysis shows that the stereotypic differences divided into two groups. Men were seen as being more competent than women but as having less warmth and expressiveness. Since twenty-nine of the forty-one differentiating items were favorable to the masculine, rather than the feminine stereotype, Broverman et al. (1972) concluded that contemporary American society more highly values masculinity than femininity.

This study indicates that we carry subconscious images, or stereotypes of a typical man and woman. And when we are asked to make

decisions regarding others based on generalities, we may call on the stereotype and apply it. It is then that the small or imaginary differences responsible for creating the stereotype have social consequence.

In this same study Broverman et al. (1972) also demonstrated that individuals, taken as an average, describe themselves, self concepts, along the lines of the stereotype for their sex, although in a slightly more neutral manner. For example, women describe themselves as religious, sneaky, emotional, dependent, quiet, and illogical, whereas men describe themselves as irreligious, direct, unemotional, independent, loud and logical. When asked to answer the question, "Who are You?", subjects responded with both role (a student) and concept (a woman). In response to a more searching question, "Now, who are you really?", however, the role response tended to drop out, and subjects used descriptors supporting the feminine or masculine self concepts. It appears from this research a person develops a self-concept that parallels the stereotype.

People also tend to behave in accord with their self concepts. As demonstrated by Backman and Secord (1968), the way in which a person defines herself or himself in part determines the types of roles that person prefers to undertake. Furthermore, when an individual is not performing in role, any difference between behavior and self concept may result in self-concept change in the direction of the behavior (Bem, 1972).

Research has also demonstrated that sudden changes in the basic

self concept are resisted and, when possible, avoided (Epstein, 1973; Shrauger, 1975). In order to avoid risking self-concept changes, individuals tend to prefer behaviors that agree with the established self-concept structure (Maracek, & Mettee, 1972). It appears logical then, as demonstrated by Ireson (1976) that women whose self concepts parallel the feminine stereotype often select common feminine roles. As described by Development/Self-concept Theory (Osipow, 1983) individuals develop images of the occupational world which they compare with their self-concepts in trying to make career decisions, and the adequacy of the career decision is based on the match between the person's self concept and the vocational concept of the career chosen.

Since it is generally agreed that self-concept plays an important role one's career choice (Osipow, 1983), individuals whose self concepts parallel gender stereotypic roles will choose careers defined by society as appropriate for their sex. As demonstrated by the research of Kanter (1977) both male and females make career choices as an adjustment to those options defined available and accessible by societal stereotypes. Therefore it is of little surprise that the career aspirations of young women continue to focus on stereotypically female occupations. Occupations in the educational and social services, nursing and clerical work were selected by 60 percent of the high school girls studies by Brito and Jusenius (1978). Harmon's study (1980) of women in their early 20's also found a continued orientation toward traditional female careers.

The strength of these societal pressures is demonstrated by the in depth longitudinal studies of a large sample of gifted California children (Terman & Oden, 1959). Terman and Oden's sample, originally obtained in 1921-22 consisted of 1528 children having measured IQ's equal to or greater than 135. Of the sample, 671 were girls, and 847 were boys: the follow-up study of this gifted group at midlife indicated that, as expected, the great majority of men had achieved prominence in professional and managerial occupations. They had successful careers as scientists, lawyers, physicians, and psychologists. In contrast to the men, the women were primarily housewives or were employed in the traditional female occupations. About 50 percent of the women were full-time housewives. Of those who were working full time, 21 percent were teachers in elementary or secondary school, 8 percent were social workers, 20 percent were secretaries, and 8 percent were either librarians or nurses. Seven percent of those working were academicians, 5 percent were physicians, lawyers or psychologists, 8 percent were executives, and 9 percent were writers, artists or musicians. For these women, their sex was a better predictor of their occupational pursuits in adulthood than were their capabilities as individuals. The results of this study indicate that perhaps these women were socialized to pursue set traditional roles regardless of their individual talents.

Although many women still choose traditional roles, more recent research indicates that perhaps societal restrictions and the resulting vocational self concepts are beginning to change. More and

more young women are pursuing nontraditional careers in medicine (AMA, 1977), dentistry (Farmer, 1980), engineering (Zuckerman, 1980) and management (Kaplan & Casey, 1980).

Even though women are beginning to make gains in prestigious fields, men and women still tend to apply stereotypic images to each other, and both tend to view the female stereotype as being in deficit. A study by Goldberg (1968) found that the mere labeling of passages from professional journals with the name of a female author was sufficient for the raters, female college students, to infer low competence to the authors. Since the results appeared even for passages concerning fields employing large numbers of women, such as dietetics and education; it seems that the feminine stereotype was being equated with incompetence across all occupations. Other studies have shown that subjects appear surprised when it is demonstrated that a woman does well; their reaction is often either that the woman is an exception (Pheterson, Kiesler & Goldberg, 1971) or that she was lucky (Deaux & Emswiller, 1973).

There is also evidence which suggests that gender is a major factor in the way that people view occupations. Occupational sex stereotypes, or normative views of the appropriateness of various occupations for males and females, is viewed as a major barrier to the career choices and advancement of women (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1983). A growing body of research indicates that children sex-type occupations at a very early age. Tremaine and Schau (1979) found that preschoolers identified occupational sex stereotypes. Gettys and Cann

(1981) found that children as young as 2 1/2 were able to identify masculine and feminine occupations. A number of studies (Frost & Diamond, 1979; Gettys & Cann, 1981; Schlossberg & Goodman, 1972; Tremain & Schau, 1979) demonstrated stereotyping in elementary school children. Studies (Looft, 1971; Siegel, 1973; Nelson, 1978) have also found that children tend to choose occupations that are sex-typed. Both boys and girls tended to make sex-stereotypic occupational choices, with girls indicating a more limited range of traditionally female occupations and boys indicating a wide variety of male dominated occupational preferences.

These occupational sex stereotypes perpetuate through adulthood. Pratt (1975) asked over 200 women to evaluate 18 occupational titles, using 26 semantic differential scales. The women consistently categorized occupations according to those in which women commonly worked and those in which women were less likely to be employed. Shinar (1975) found similar results using a male and female population. Sex stereotyping of occupations was found to be evident and similar across both sexes. The results of these studies have been further substantiated by follow-up research (Albrecht, Bahr & Chadwick, 1977; Panek, Rush & Greenwalt, 1977). It appears then that occupational sex-typing begins at a very early age and is also consistent and operable in adult populations.

The interaction of these gender stereotypes, societal sanctioned roles, resulting self concepts and occupational sex-typing create internal and external barriers to the career options and choices of

women. Cultural attitudes and beliefs concerning women's roles operate to encourage the perception of sex-typed psychological characteristics and to perpetuate sex-typed adult roles. Furthermore girls and young women learn that there is a limited set of female appropriate occupations from which they must choose, and straying from these traditional roles will result in societal sanctions.

Occupational sex-typing has also had a major impact on female managers and their career advancement. Throughout history the managerial stereotype has been equated with the masculine image (Larwood & Wood, 1973, p. 37). Research has also substantiated that the feminine image is antithetical to management. The existence of a male managerial model and the relationship between male/female stereotypes and the image of the manager has been established by many investigators (Burrow, 1978; Bass, Krusell & Alexander, 1971; Bowman, Worthy & Greyser, 1965).

Nineteen years ago, Harvard Business Review (Bowman, Worthy & Greyser, 1965) surveyed two thousand executives and discovered that 51 percent of the male executives believed women were temperamentally unfit for management. Although in the past decades managers have become more cautious about expressing such opinions, related attitudes seem to persist. In a 1971 survey (Bass, Krusell & Alexander) of male managers, researchers found stereotypic attitudes toward working women. In a more recent survey (Burrow, 1978) of 1800 members of the American Management Association, emotionalism, and lack of motivation, interest and ambition were frequently cited as reasons for women's

lack of advancement.

Occupational sex stereotypes have been demonstrated consistently in experiments dealing with personnel policies. For example, studies of managerial personnel decisions using both students and executives as subjects (Rosen & Jerdee, 1974a, 1974b; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975) found that males were preferred over identical female job candidates for challenging managerial or technical positions. On the other hand men and women were equally acceptable for routine positions.

When the respondents in a study conducted by Cecil, Olins and Paul (1973) were asked to rate a male and a female applicant on qualities they would look for in a white collar job, but with no specific job described, the participants chose traits that reflected their image of women performing clerical-secretarial roles and men in managerial roles. In a similar study conducted by O'Leary (1974) results of the Cecil, Olins and Paul study were confirmed. O'Leary (1974) also found that the male, not the female, sex-role stereotype coincided with the managerial model. The characteristics most commonly ascribed to the males comprised a competency cluster including such attributes as problem solving and decision making ability. Conversely, the qualities ascribed to the female reflected a warmth-expressiveness cluster including such characteristics as warmth and social skills.

A great deal of research has documented that women are discriminated against in hiring and promotion. Dipboye, Fromkin and Wiback (1975); Haefner (1977), Dipboye, Arvey, and Terpstra (1977);

and Zikmund, Hitt and Pickens (1978) have reported significantly higher ratings and stronger recommendations for male candidates than for female candidate having résumés identical except for sex.

In an interesting study conducted by Levinson (1975) pairs of male and female experimenters made telephone calls inquiring about 265 positions that had been selected from the classified advertisement sections of two large newspapers in a major Southeastern city. The positions were classified as male or female on the basis of their current statistical sex composition. The experimenters alternated making phone inquiries about each position. One experimenter made a telephone inquiry to a sex-inappropriate job, followed a short time later by a matched called from the other partner, a sex appropriate situation. All employer responses were recorded. An analysis of the recordings revealed that 35 percent of the calls resulted in clear cut discrimination, with the sex appropriate caller being invited to fill out an application or come for an interview, whereas the sex inappropriate caller was told the job was filled. An additional 27 percent of the calls were classified as cases of ambiguous discrimination, with sex inappropriate callers being discouraged from applying or the employers displayed concerns or surprise about the applicant.

Research has also demonstrated that occupational sex-typing is shared by both male and female managers. Schein (1973) tested 300 male middle managers and found that successful middle managers are perceived to possess characteristics more commonly attributed to men

than to women. Schein (1975) obtained the same results in a replication of this study sampling 167 female middle managers. Schein's results imply that female managers are as likely as male managers to make personnel decisions and evaluations with a bias in favor of men. Similarly, other studies (Muchinsky & Harris, 1977; Rose & Andiappan, 1978) have found no significant difference between female and male raters with respect to the dependence on selected sex roles and work stereotypes. More recently, Powell and Butterfield (1979) asked 684 business students at the University of Massachusetts to describe the concept of good manager. They hypothesized that the good manager would be seen as androgynous, possessing both male and female stereotypic traits. Contrary to their hypothesis the authors found that the subjects of both sexes rated the concept as overwhelmingly masculine.

Studies have also shown that sex-role stereotypes result in differential treatment of men and women in relationship to benefits, promotions and salary decisions. For example, Rosen and Jerdee (1973), hypothesized that stereotypes would lead to differential treatment of women on the job. Results of their study found that bank supervisors were more willing to promote a male than a female candidate, were more likely to select a male employee to attend a conference, and were more willing to approve a male supervisory's request to terminate a problem employee. An interesting aspect of this study was that Rosen and Jerdee (1973) also reported evidence that sex role discrimination operates to the disadvantage of males as

well as females; they found that their subjects judged a leave of absence to care for small children as significantly less appropriate when it came from a male employee than from a female employee. In an additional study conducted by these two researchers (Rosen & Jerdee, 1974) 235 male business majors rated a hypothetical female applicant as having less potential for the technical aspects of the job and for long service to the organization, and as less likely to fit in well in the organization.

Although, as stated previously, caution must be used in interpreting results of studies based solely on student populations, similar results have been found in study samples involving more realistic populations. One such study (Cash, Gillen & Burns, 1977) demonstrated that the more feminine looking a woman is the less likely she is to be considered an appropriate candidate for a managerial position. Cash, Gillen and Burns (1977) investigated the effects of candidates' sex and attractiveness on personnel consultants' judgments of qualifications, predictions of success, hiring recommendations, attributions of success and failure, and suggestions for occupational alternatives for candidates for masculine, feminine, and neutral jobs. Most of their major hypotheses were supported in that male candidates received more favorable personnel evaluations than female for masculine jobs, and females for typically female jobs. Highly attractive male candidates applying for masculine jobs received the highest rating on all variables, followed by a control male of unknown

attractiveness, and then an unattractive female. An interesting finding of this study was that, for the masculine job, the unattractive female candidate was more favorably evaluated on all the variables than her attractive colleague. This finding was substantiated by the research of Dipboye et al. (1977) and Heilman and Saruwatari (1979). Results of the Dipboye study (1977) indicated that whereas raters most often chose a highly qualified attractive male for a managerial position, the next most highly chosen candidate was a high qualified unattractive female. Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) hypothesized that female attractiveness would prove advantageous only for a nonmanagerial position. For an upper level managerial position, an attractive female candidate was hypothesized to be at a disadvantage. The data clearly supported their hypotheses for all dependent measures, including evaluation of qualifications, hiring recommendations, and suggested starting salary.

Direct evidence has also been provided by studies in identifying stereotypical bias toward the evaluations of females in leadership positions. Stevens and DeNisi (1980) administered the Women as Managers Scale (Peters, Terborg & Taynor), a measure of attitudes toward women in management positions, to 143 male and 373 female subjects and found that subjects with positive attitudes toward women were more likely than those with negative attitudes to attribute a hypothetical female manager's success to ability and effort and her failure to bad luck and a difficult job. Rice, Bender, and Villers (1980) found that West Point Cadets having traditional sex-role

attitudes reacted very negatively to a female leader.

Evidence also exists which suggests that behavior that is consistent with accepted sex-role behavior is evaluated more positively than behavior which is out of role. Women leaders are more positively evaluated if they are high on consideration behaviors rather than initiating structure behaviors. Haccoun, Haccoun, and Sallay (1978) had 30 male and 30 female management personnel rate the effectiveness of three different supervisory styles (directive, rational, or friendly) portrayed by male or female supervisors. The directive style was rated least favorable when it was displayed by female versus male supervisors. Rosen and Jerdee (1973) reported that male supervisors were evaluated more favorably than females where they utilized a reward style, whereas both males and females received higher evaluations where they employed a friendly-dependent style toward opposite-sex subordinates.

It appears, then, that although there are no clear-cut sex differences in management behaviors, both supervisors and subordinates believe that there should be such differences. Female leaders who exhibit behavior styles that mimic a masculine stereotype may be negatively evaluated for employing out of role behaviors. These beliefs are detrimental to a women's career because they may affect, not only evaluations and effectiveness of women's leadership efforts, but also the prospects of career advancement. Indeed, subordinate's and superior's perceptions that a leader's behavior is inappropriate may, in fact, be all that is required to make it

ineffective.

Although not explicitly stated early research appeared to support the assumption that women were underrepresented in the occupational world, particularly in the masculine oriented managerial ranks, because they lacked the drive, aggressiveness, and leadership ability required for success (Bond & Vinache, 1961; Horner, 1965; Maier, 1970). If this assumption were accurate, then negative attitudes towards women managers would be rationally justifiable on the basis that women are actually less capable than men. A study illustrative of early research in this area is that of Megargee (1969), who paired high-dominance subjects with low dominance subjects in a laboratory study of leadership. He found that high-dominance women were equally as likely as high-dominance men to assume the leadership role when the experimental pairs were of the same sex. Women were, however, far less likely to assume the leadership position when paired with a low-dominance male. Interestingly, these women often actually made the leadership decision, but made it in such a way that it did not threaten their appropriate sex-role.

In contrast to these early studies, more recent research suggests that women are similar to men in the skills and abilities important to managerial success, such as leadership behavior (Day & Stogdill, 1972) and decision accuracy (Muldrow & Bayton, 1979). Thus it seems inappropriate to offer a completely person-centered explanation (Riger & Galligan, 1980) of women's scarcity in the upper levels of management, or to design career development curriculum around such a

faulty notion.

Closely related to the notion that women lack the requisite managerial behavioral profile is the assumption that they also lack appropriate personality characteristics. In a pair of studies conducted by Schein (1973, 1975) male and female managers described successful managers as possessing characteristics more commonly ascribed to men, in general, than women, in general. These studies were further supported by a more recent study (Powell & Butterfield 1979) in which subjects of both sexes rated the concept of "good manager" as overwhelmingly male.

Whereas studies such as those of Schein (1973, 1975) and Powell and Butterfield (1979) assess sex-role stereotypes and then propose that such stereotypes will result in differential treatment of men and women, other studies investigate differential treatment and propose sex-role stereotypes as the causal factor. For example, the studies of Rosen and Jerdee (1973, 1974) hypothesized that stereotypes would lead to differential treatment of women on the job as evidenced by supervisors being more willing to promote a male than a female candidate (1973) and male business majors providing poor ratings to hypothetical female applicants (1974).

Whereas studies such as those above provide indirect evidence for the effects of stereotyping on women's careers, direct evidence is provided by the studies of Rice, Bender and Villers (1980), Terborg and Ilgen (1975), and Stevens and DeNisi (1980) which not only assess stereotypes but also demonstrate the effects stereotypes have on the

evaluation (Stevens & DeNisi, 1980) and discriminatory treatment (Terborg & Ilgen, 1975) of women.

Although the research results do support the existence of stereotypic biases toward women in management and the negative effects these biases have on the career advancement of women, some writers have predicted considerable change in the attitudes of younger generations (Loring & Wells, 1972; Jelinek, 1977). Although this area needs more research, the existent studies of future managers do not completely support this prediction. For example, the Powell and Butterfield study (1979) found business students of both sexes rated the concept of good manager as masculine. Similarly, in a sample of 200 undergraduates, graduates and 300 executives, Basil (1972) reported more prejudice against women among the students. A majority, 84 percent of the college men, as compared to 63 percent of the businessmen, believe that women, simply because of their sex, did not belong in management.

Somewhat different results were revealed in a study conducted by Schermerhorn, Snelson and Leader (1975). While male and female MBA students view the effective manager quite similarly, half of the males gave the concept of manager a distinctly masculine connotation, while the female students viewed the concept as sexually neuter. Perhaps what is indicated is a change in the roles younger women perceive as accessible, while male biases still persist. These biases were somewhat tempered in an additional finding of the same study. In a smaller sample of the Schermerhorn (1975) study, 35 percent of the

males and 41 percent of the females indicated that they were looking forward to a sexually integrated work situation with men and women as colleagues.

Some writers (Kanter, 1977; Brown, 1979; Terborg and Ilgen, 1975) have suggested the possibility of a socialization process that modifies the attitudes of persons in the world of work. Perhaps the more information and experience that individuals have, the less they see sex differences in actual behavior. Brown (1979) in her review of gender related leadership studies noted that there was a sharp deviation in the attitudes of managers and nonmanagers. Studies using students as subjects supported the traditional female stereotype, whereas studies of practicing managers were not supportive. Kanter (1979) suggests that as more and more women begin to obtain leadership positions and more information is obtained concerning women's actual performance the effect of sex role stereotypes diminishes.

Paralleling this socialization hypothesis is the contention by some commentators (Sargent, 1981; Kellerman, 1984) that the definition of effective management and leadership is changing from traits normally ascribed to the male role to one of a more sexually neutral nature. Michael Maccoby (1976) in The Gamesman claims that until recently the definition of managerial competence has excluded most feminine characteristics. The respected leader was the stereotypic male, competitive and power driven, whose personal feelings were submerged. He describes the emerging new leader as an individual, who combines compassion and idealism with entrepreneurial qualities.

In her book, The Androgynous Manager, Alice Sargent (1981) proposes a definition of leadership that includes stereotypic characteristics of both sexes. Sargent (1981) claims that effective leaders and managers need to use both logic (typically ascribed male characteristic) and intuition (typically ascribed female characteristic); need to recognize both facts and feelings, and be both technically competent and emotionally caring.

Additional writers (Wolfman, 1984) contend that the new manager needs to be a cooperative, person-oriented team member, and if we are to accept the assumption that women are characteristically more cooperative and person-oriented than men, then we must also logically conclude that the preferred future leaders in our society will be women. Burns (1978) also hypothesized that as the conception of leadership shifts to one of leaders engaging and mobilizing the human needs and aspirations of followers, women, will more often be recognized as leaders.

Although these writers do not cite studies to substantiate their claims, they do raise the need for additional research to determine if indeed this shift in the perception of leadership is actually occurring. Establishing the validity of this socialization view requires additional research of a longitudinal nature. Available research has yielded mixed results. As far back as the Harvard Business Review study (Bowman, Worthy & Greyser, 1965) results indicated that older more experienced managers showed a greater acceptance of women as managers. Similarly, in the Burrow study

(1978) the more experienced the respondent, either male or female, the more likely they were to believe there is no difference between working with male or female managers. Schein (1973) also demonstrated in her study of 300 male managers that the male sex-typing of the managerial job declines among old workers. Similarly, the studies of Graves, Butterfield, and Powell (1983) and Graves and Butterfield (1984) demonstrated that undergraduate students (1983) attributed the causal attributions for group performance to sex, whereas for MBA students (1984), with work experience, leader sex seemed to have no effect on how they perceived the cause of group performance.

Bass, Krusell, and Alexander (1971) presents results of a study of almost 2,000 lower, middle, and upper-level managers, which suggest that a socialization hypothesis may not be accurate. They reported that men who did not work with women had a higher regard for women, then men who did.

The discrepancies in the results of the research point out the need for further investigation of the interaction of generational attitude changes, and socialization in the work-force, on the stereotypic male managerial concept and the effect of this interaction on the careers of women in managment.

Summary

A review of the literature on women managers reveals the discussion of a range of common gender assumptions about the nature of women, the nature of the workplace and the appropriate relationship

between them. These assumptions, which are the likely causes of female managers' difficulties with finding career advancement in the workplace, generally fall into two broad categories. One category assumes that women and men differ in the process of career development. Women are viewed as lacking in the ability and skills to plan, negotiate and persist in their professional practice. Women, it is also assumed readily surrender their career advancement for marriage and family, and unlike men, do not develop specific plans and strategies to further their careers. A second category of assumptions generalizes that women lack the necessary prerequisite traits and characteristics to successfully carry out leadership functions. Women, it is assumed, are not appropriate candidates for executive positions.

Although these generalizations are based on traditional concepts, which more recent research indicates, have ceased to have factual bases, they continue to perpetuate in studies on women and management, and are often used in justification for specialized career development programs for women seeking leadership positions.

An investigation of the gender related research on the career processes, patterns, motivation and strategies of women managers yields no significant evidence to demonstrate gender specific behaviors or attitudes in the career development, work patterns, motivation and planning processes of male and female managers. Similarly, the research devoted to the skills and abilities men and women bring to leadership positions reveals a significant case of no

significant differences.

Although research evidence does indicate that women may interrupt their career for child rearing, there is also evidence that men exhibit similar career interruptions but for varying reasons; some to participate in the child rearing practices; many to start their own businesses or for educational purposes. Moreover, more recent research indicates an emerging similarity in the career profiles of younger male and female managers. With the evolution of; alternative child care methods, dual career couples and a growing concern for both men and women to balance career and family, has emerged a closing in the gap of gender specific work and family roles, which historically characterized male and female roles in American Society. For both sexes balancing the demands of a professional career against personal needs and family life is becoming an increasingly important issue.

Although early psychological research did indicate gender specific differences in the motivation, skills, traits and behaviors of men and women in leadership roles, thereby offering support to the need for specialized training for women managers, this early research has been criticized for research methodology flaws. Most often these studies involved students in laboratory settings, making differences due to gender easier to detect and also more likely to occur; and making generalizations to working adult managers difficult.

Findings of more recent psychological and sociological research, which more often uses practicing managers as subjects, suggests that men and women are similar in ways important to managerial success,

leadership behavior and decision accuracy. Even the abundance of studies related to gender differences in leadership style has yielded no conclusive evidence to support the notion that differences do exist. Findings of sex differences in work settings disappear when the influence of age, education, and experience of leaders and subordinates is controlled; when type of occupation, level within the organization, and extent of professional training are considered; and when actual rather than perceived leader behaviors are examined. Furthermore, even though men and women may differ in their preferences for specific behaviors, these differences need not produce differences in overall performance. There is no evidence to indicate that the stereotypic male managerial model is more effective than that of the stereotypic female model.

Further evidence indicates men and women may choose different leadership behaviors because they perceive that role sanctioned behaviors will be rewarded rather than because of their personality traits or early socialization. Thus, it seems inappropriate to offer a completely person-centered explanation of women's scarcity in the upper echelons of management, and to attempt to facilitate the career advancement of women by providing training and development interventions which focus on personal growth and the learning of perceived skill deficits.

What does emerge, from an analysis of the research, as a major obstacle to the career advancement of women managers is a complex interactive effect between societal gender stereotypes, perceived and

assigned appropriate roles, and occupational sex-typing. This interaction has a strong impact on female managers. Additional research substantiates that the managerial model is equated with the masculine image, and this sex role stereotyping frequently results in negative effects upon the career advancement of women managers.

It appears, then, although there are no clear-cut sex differences in managerial behaviors, both supervisors and subordinates, males and females alike, believe that there should be such differences. Women, therefore, may find themselves in a "catch 22" situation when serving in a leadership capacity. If women assume the traditional feminine role, they may be viewed as lacking in the necessary traits or characteristics for effective leadership, as defined by the masculine managerial model. On the other hand, if women assume the masculine model, they are viewed as being out of role and are evaluated poorly for out of role behaviors.

Research evidence does not support the efficacy of gender specific training and development programs, which view the major barriers effecting the career advancement of all women managers as being located in the differences between men and women as individuals: their upbringing; the tracks they were put on in school or at play; and innate personality characteristics. Whether one leans toward the more social or the more psychological side of the argument about the barriers effecting women managers, both add up to the assumption that the factors producing inequities at work are somehow carried inside the individual person. And even though the research

does not support this general assumption, career development programs which focus on self improvement continue to be very popular. These personal growth programs lead women to believe that the problem lies in their own psychology and not the constraints imposed by stereotypes, sanctioned roles, and the resulting effects on organizational opportunities.

Although career development programs for women, who recognize their personal needs in such areas as: assertiveness, how to be a manager, how to communicate more effectively, and how to make decisions, can meet a felt need by: boosting self esteem; offering useful skills; providing insights into the functioning of work situations; and providing a support system, none of them guarantees career advancement. There has been no follow-up research on the effects of such programs to determine if participants actually benefit in terms of career advancement. Indeed, personal growth programs for women managers have often been criticized for raising false hopes, for being too basic for successful career women, and more importantly, for reinforcing stereotypes about women's need for compensatory education to remedy their deficiencies before they are fit for executive roles.

Individual models of change also appear to ignore research evidence which indicates the range of differences among women, and the great overlap between men and women managers in their work behavior and attitudes. As we have seen in studies reviewed in this paper, what appear to be sex differences in work behavior, often emerge as responses to societal expectations and situational or structural

conditions within organizations. Individual or personal growth career advancement programs also absolve organizations from looking closely at their own structures or systems which perpetuate stereotypic, attitudes, and sex-typed roles for men and women.

What then can be done to enhance the career advancement of women managers? Since an investigation of the research clearly identifies the major barriers limiting the career advancement of women managers as societal gender stereotypes, perceived and assigned appropriate roles, and the sex-typing of leadership positions as male occupations, it appears, then, that interventions which address these barriers are what is needed.

Some authors (Kanter, 1977) recommend organizational reform strategies such as: objective hiring and promotion practices; strong affirmative action programs; career pathing strategies, which clearly define opportunities and the channels to pursue for obtaining leadership positions; changing the distribution of opportunities and power; reducing the salience of gender and associated stereotypes by increasing the amount of information on which decisions are based; sanctioning those who discriminate and tangibly rewarding those who sponsor women's entry into executive networks.

Other authors (Sargent, 1981) suggest that such organizational reform strategies are not enough. It is also important to move beyond the issues of placing women in "masculine" jobs, and to begin to establish forums in which men and women can examine career constraints, opportunities, and the societal barriers placed on both sexes. These

authors recommend androgynous career development programs for male and female managers, which encourage an honest dialogue and cooperative interaction rather than blame, defensiveness and separatism. The hypothesis for these androgynous programs is once male and female managers realize that both sexes are affected by society's role expectations, which restrict behavioral options, they can work toward more effective and less sex bias behaviors and attitudes. The content of such programs include: discussion about stereotypes for men and women; identification of the bases of power for women and men in organizations; identification of needs and goals for equal career development programs for male and female managers; identification of key skills and training needs of both male and female managers; determining motivating and restraining forces within organizations regarding androgyny; setting goals for developing androgynous behaviors in themselves, others and organizations.

Trends in research also support the need for new training and development interventions for male and female managers along with the need for new research methods, and questions to be addressed in future research.

Recent statistical evidence indicates more and more younger women are planning careers in management or administration and are looking forward to the same career advancement as their male counterparts. There is also evidence of the emergence, over time, of changing career attitudes and concerns for both younger male and female managers. If the stereotypic male myth of a hard driving, rigidly career oriented

manager ever did exist, there is evidence which suggests that men as well as women are beginning to share similar concerns about balancing families and careers.

Paralleling the trend of what appears to be a closing in the gap between the sexes in relationship to the career concerns of male and female managers is the evolution of a new concept of effective management and leadership. Until recently the respected leader was described almost entirely by stereotypic male characteristics. The new and evolving definition of the competent manager includes stereotypic characteristics of both sexes. More recent management literature contends the new manager needs to be both technically competent (typically ascribed male characteristic) and emotionally caring (typically ascribed female characteristic).

Trends in the research (Terborg & Ilgen, 1975; Brown, 1979) also suggest the possibility of a socialization process that modifies the stereotypic attitudes of persons in the world of work. Socialization Theory suggests that, as more women obtain leadership positions, more information is obtained concerning women's actual performance, and the effect of sex role stereotypes diminishes. Perhaps the more information and experience that individuals have, the less they see sex differences in actual behavior. Although there is a need for further research in this area, recent studies (Brown, 1979) do indicate that practicing managers hold less stereotypic attitudes toward female managers than student subjects.

Changing trends in the methodology of gender related research is

also yielding new evidence supporting the need for career development interventions which are based on more empirically sound evidence.

Early (1965-1975) psychological research, which generally supported the need for specialized career development "repair" programs for women managers, focused on identifying innate gender differences. The results of these studies often supported the notion that women were under represented in executive positions because they lacked the necessary "masculine" skills and abilities to succeed in leadership roles. The efficacy of this body of research has been questioned. Such psychological studies typically involve students as subjects performing contrived tasks with strangers in a laboratory setting. Although the laboratory provides for greater control, making differences due to gender easier to detect, it also makes such differences more likely to occur. The artificial short term nature of the experiment may increase the salience of ascribed roles, such as those related to gender, and may thus elicit responses based on role stereotyping.

Early (1965-1975) sociological research on women managers generally focused on discriminatory practices in hiring and promotion procedures in organizations. Although having less control in research design, these studies were typically conducted in field settings with practicing managers, who have more information available to them because of actual long-term involvement in on-going work situations. Results of early sociological research found sex differences to be less salient especially when the influence of age, education,

experience, type of occupation and level within the organization was controlled. Early sociological researchers generally voiced dissatisfaction with personal growth interventions for women managers and advocated for strong affirmative action programs.

More recent (1975-1984) sociological and psychological research has begun to examine the interaction of individual characteristics with the nature of the job, the organizational structure and the external environment. Psychological studies (Graves & Butterfield, 1984) are beginning to include more realistic subjects, practicing managers; and sociological research (Kanter, 1977) is beginning to exhibit more controls in measurement and procedural techniques. Results of these recent studies are providing evidence of the interaction of both person-centered and situation-centered variables. These studies are also a beginning of the establishment of an empirical basis for new training and development interventions, for male and female managers, which focus on the interaction of the individual with societal and organizational restrictions.

In order to truly identify the conditions which will be most supportive to the career advancement of women managers, there is a need for further investigation of attitude changes and socialization in the work-force, on the stereotypic male managerial concept and the effects of this concept on the career advancement of women managers. Although research evidence does not reveal significant differences in the skills and abilities men and women bring to leadership positions, it appears that society, in general, perceives these differences

should exist. There is a need to examine the effect these perceptions have on the hiring and promotion of women to upper level managerial positions.

- CHAPTER THREE -

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the interactive and independent effects of gender and organizational sector on the selection decisions and salary recommendations for upper level managerial positions. In order to investigate the effects of these variables on hiring and salary recommendations the following research questions were generated to guide this study.

Research Questions

1. With experience and ability held constant, what are the relationships between applicants' gender and the organizational sector (public/private) of the available job, and selection decisions and salary recommendations for a top management positions?
2. What are the relationships between decision-makers' gender, organizational sector (public/private) of employment, and years work experience, and selection decisions and salary recommendations for male and female managerial applicants with identical experience and ability?

Statement of Hypotheses

The hypotheses investigated in this research project were:

Hypothesis I

There will be no significant difference in hiring recommendations made by decision-makers in their assessment of male and female applicants for either a public sector or private sector upper-level management position as measured by a 6-point decision making scale.

Hypothesis II

There will be no significant difference in salary recommendations made by decision-makers in their assessment of male and female applicants for either a public sector or private sector upper-level management position as measured by an 8-point decision making scale.

In accordance with socialization theory, some authors have suggested: that decision-makers with more work experience will be less likely to have negative biases toward women in hiring and promotion practices (Brown, 1979). Women decision makers, more often than their male counterparts, will evaluate female candidates more positively for leadership positions (Schermerhorn, Snelson & Leader, 1975); there will be less negative bias toward women applicants for leadership positions in organizations such as public-sector, non-profits, which have traditionally employed women in lower and mid-management positions (Kanter, 1979). Each of these suppositions was examined in this study.

Hypothesis III:

Public sector experienced and less experienced decision-makers, as well as private sector experienced and less experienced decision-makers will demonstrate no significant difference in selection decisions and salary recommendations for male and female applicants being evaluated for an upper-level management position in the public sector or private sector organization.

Hypothesis IV:

Public sector male and female decision-makers, as well as private sector male and female decision makers will demonstrate no significant difference in selection decisions and salary recommendations for male and female applicants being evaluated for an upper-level management position in the public sector or private sector organization.

Sample

Decision-makers were 179 managers or management trainees attending management development workshops or seminars. Subjects were employed in public sector, non profit organizations and private sector for profit organizations. The sample consisted of 101 males and 78 females with work experience ranging from less than one year to over twenty years.

Procedures

A decision-making exercise (Appendix A) was administered to subjects during the course of a workshop presentation. In order to obtain a reliable response, the decision-making exercise was administered by the workshop presenters. These presenters were trained by the researcher in administration procedures. In addition, written directions and script (Appendix A) were provided to each workshop presenter detailing step-by-step instructions for the administration of the personnel decision-making exercise.

The decision-making exercise, a management simulation (Appendix A), required participants to assume the role of personnel consultant, and to evaluate an applicant's résumé for a top managerial position.

Independent Variables

In the main study two independent variables, organization sector and applicant's sex were manipulated in alternate versions of the decision exercise. Organization sector was manipulated by creating two statements describing the organization with an available position (Appendix A). In one version, the organization was described as a public sector, non profit health agency, providing medical insurance and services. In the other version, the organization was described as a private sector, for profit medical insurance company, providing health coverage and medical services. All other descriptors, including location, size, and number of clients/policy holders were identical. The position described was that of Director of Marketing

and Public Relations. The subjects reviewed the description of the organization and available position, with public sector subjects reviewing the public sector organization and private sector subjects reviewing the private sector organization.

Participants in each group next reviewed alternate versions of a completed standard résumé for a job applicant. The résumé included the following information: employment history, education, related professional experience, and personal data--name, age, gender, and marital status. Two levels of applicant's sex were created by varying the applicant's name (Judith or James) and gender (male or female) on the résumé. Half of the subjects in each group (public sector condition and private sector condition) reviewed a résumé from a female and half reviewed a résumé from a male with identical qualifications. Participants were randomly assigned to experimental conditions and were not aware that others were responding to alternate versions of the exercise.

Dependent Variables

Selection recommendations were made on the basis of a 6-point scale: (1) reject applicant; (2) prior to any further consideration, conduct a stress interview to determine applicant's career commitment; (3) prior to any further consideration, require leadership skills testing to determine applicant's leadership potential; (4) hire for a 1-year probationary period and review again; (5) hire immediately and offer a two year contract; (6) hire immediately and offer a two year

contract plus full coverage of medical insurance, life insurance and moving expenses. Subjects who recommended hiring the applicant also indicated as appropriate one of the following starting salaries on a 8-point scale: (1) \$48,000, (2) \$50,000, (3) \$52,000, (4) \$54,000, (5) \$56,000, (6) \$58,000, (7) \$60,000, (8) \$62,000. By using these forced-choice equal-appearing interval scales with an even number of possible responses in each scale, the researcher avoided the error of central tendency, the general tendency to avoid all extreme judgements and rate down the middle of a rating scale (Kerlinger, 1973).

Instrumentation (Appendix)

Experimental materials included:

1. Direction for administration of the personnel decision making exercise.
2. An identical job description and two versions of a statement describing a public sector and private sector organization.
3. Two versions (male/female) of a completed standard résumé.
4. A decision form, which obtained selection decisions and salary recommendations, also solicited from the subjects the following demographics: gender, years full-time work experience, and organizational sector of employment (public/non-profit, private/profit).

The experimental exercise was designed to be compatible with the employment interviewing practice of screening applicants' résumés prior to the job interview (Hakel, Ohnesorge, & Dunnette, 1970). To

insure authenticity of the research instruments the following steps were taken:

1. A standard marketing text (Kotler, 1982) was reviewed to obtain salary ranges and job responsibilities for the position of director of marketing and public relations.
2. A sample of 95 job postings with the title of director of marketing and/or public relations for either public sector or private sector organizations was collected. The sample was obtained from the employment section of three major newspapers in the Northeast over a one year period. The job postings were analyzed to ascertain the average required qualifications, job responsibilities and salary range.
3. Five executives/administrators, from both public sector and private sector organizations, with expertise and work responsibilities in marketing and public relations reviewed and provided input into construction of job descriptions, résumé and decision form scales.

In addition to the above steps, a pilot study was conducted using fifteen participants. Pilot study participants completed the decision-making exercise and evaluated the clarity and format of the research instruments. Revisions were made based upon pilot study data. To insure the salience of the independent variables, gender and organizational sector, pilot study participants were also asked to describe the applicant and organization of the available position after they completed the exercise. All fifteen participants used the

term male or female in their description of the candidate. Likewise fourteen of the fifteen pilot sample used the terms public, public sector or social service agency when they described the public sector organization; and private, business or company when they described the private sector organization.

Design

The combination of independent variables for the main study results in a 2 x 2 factorial design. The general design paradigm is:

| | |
|-------------|--------------|
| \boxed{r} | $x_{1a} y_1$ |
| | $x_{1a} y_2$ |
| | $x_{1b} y_1$ |
| | $x_{1b} y_2$ |
| | $x_{2a} y_1$ |
| | $x_{2a} y_2$ |
| | $x_{2b} y_1$ |
| | $x_{2b} y_2$ |

r = working professionals randomly assigned to alternate versions of a decision making exercise

x_1 = public sector, non-profit organization

x_2 = private sector, profit organization

a = male applicant

b = female applicant

y_1 = selection decision ratings

y_2 = salary recommendation ratings

By using this design the researcher was able to study the independent and interactive effects of the independent variables (organization sector and sex) on the dependent variables (selection decisions and salary recommendations).

By using a 3 x 2 factorial design the researcher will also be able to study the independent and interactive effects of the sample's demographic data on the selection decision and salary recommendations for male and female applicants.

Statistics

The hypotheses tested are stated statistically as follows for each measure:

$$H_a : M_e - M_c \neq 0$$

$$H_o : M_e - M_c = 0$$

M = mean measure

e = experimental group¹

c = experimental group²

α (alpha error) was set at .05

The sample statistic appropriate for a 2 x 2 factorial design is an analysis of variance using the F ratio. The effects of the sample's demographic data were analyzed using the same procedures.

- CHAPTER FOUR -

RESULTS

This study was designed to examine the influence of gender and organizational sector (public/private) on the reactions to applicants' résumés for upper level managerial positions. The primary investigation examined the impact of applicants' gender and organizational sector of the available job on the hiring and salary recommendations offered by the study participants in a management simulation. The secondary investigation examined the impact of the demographic characteristics of the sample population on the hiring and salary recommendations. The following chapter presents an analysis of each hypothesis as well as descriptive data obtained on the sample population. An analysis of variance technique was employed to analyze the data. The F ratio determined the variability occurring between each source of variance and the variability occurring within each source of variance. Since this experimental design examined more than one independent variable in the main study, a factorial ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) was used to examine the independent main effects as well as the cumulative interaction effects produced by the combination of independent variables. In the secondary investigation the analyses of variance of the independent and interactive effects of the sample's demographic data were analyzed using the same statistical procedures as outlined above. Tables are provided to depict these

relationships. The chapter concludes with responses to the research questions formulated at the onset of this investigation.

Statistical Analyses

Selection Decisions

Hypothesis 1. There will be no significant difference in hiring recommendations made by decision-makers in their assessment of male and female applicants for either a public sector or private sector upper-level management position as measured by a 6-point decision making scale.

The mean ratings over all respondents (N=179) for hiring decisions are reported in Table 1. Participants chose from 6 hiring recommendations listed on the response form in a rating scale format: (1) reject applicant; (2) prior to any further consideration, conduct a stress interview to determine applicant's career commitment; (3) prior to any further consideration, require leadership skills testing to determine applicant's leadership potential; (4) hire for a one year probationary period and review again; (5) hire immediately and offer a two year contract; and (6) hire immediately and offer a two year contract plus full coverage of medical insurance, life insurance and moving expenses. The numbered choices on the rating scale were used to calculate the mean ratings.

The mean selection ratings recommended by all participants was 3.49 with a standard deviation of 1.28. Based on the response format, this sample population typically recommended that 'prior to any

Table 1

Mean Ratings For Selection Decisions By Sex of Applicant's Résumé
and Organizational Sector of the Available Position

| VARIABLE | MEAN | STD. DEV. | N |
|-----------------------|------|-----------|-----|
| For Entire Population | 3.49 | 1.28 | 179 |
| Male Applicant | 3.43 | 1.19 | 86 |
| Public Sector | 3.55 | 1.18 | 40 |
| Private Sector | 3.33 | 1.21 | 46 |
| Female Applicant | 3.54 | 1.36 | 93 |
| Public Sector | 3.91 | 1.30 | 42 |
| Private Sector | 3.24 | 1.35 | 51 |

further consideration, leadership skills testing should be required to determine the applicant's leadership potential'. The mean ratings of the following sub populations were analyzed: study participants evaluating the male applicant's résumé; study participants evaluating the male applicant for the public sector position; participants evaluating the male applicant for the private sector position; participants evaluating the female applicant's résumé; participants evaluating the female applicant for the public sector; and participants evaluating the female applicant for the private sector positions. The range of mean ratings offered by these sub-populations was $R = .67$ with a high mean rating of 3.91 recommended by the sub population evaluating the female applicant to the public sector position and a low mean rating of 3.24 recommended by the sub population evaluating the female applicant to the private sector position. Translated to the decision making scale this indicated the typical selection ratings for each of the independent and interactive variables examined fell within the narrow range of the two middlemost consecutive hiring recommendations:

(3) Prior To Any Further Consideration Require

Leadership Skills Testing To Determine Applicant's

Leadership Potential

(4) Hire For A 1-Year Probationary Period And Review Again

Although the range of mean ratings indicated a slight tendency for respondents to recommend a higher selection decision for the female applicant to the public sector leadership position and a lower

hiring recommendation for the female applicant to the private sector position, an examination of the mean scores and standard deviations for each of the sub populations showed little variability within as well as between groups, indicating that the responses did not deviate significantly from the mean response across all variables. An analysis of the variance reveals this indication to be true. This relationship is depicted in Table 2.

Table 2

Analysis of Variance for Selection Decisions By Sex of
Applicant and Organizational Sector of the
Available Position

| SOURCE OF VARIATION | DF | MEAN SQUARE | F |
|-------------------------|-----|-------------|--------|
| Organization Sector (A) | 1 | 9.194 | 5.729* |
| Sex of Applicant (B) | 1 | 0.576 | 0.359 |
| A x B | 3 | 2.202 | 1.372 |
| Within | 175 | 1.605 | |

* $p < .05$

N = 179

A F ratio of 5.729 indicated a significant difference between the selection ratings for the public sector and private sector positions,

with higher mean ratings for the public sector applicants, but there was no significant difference between the ratings for the male and female applicant in either the public sector or private sector condition, ($p < .05$). Neither the main effect of the independent variable, sex of applicant, nor the cumulative effect of the interaction of the two variables, sex of applicant and organization sector, produced any significant differences in selection recommendations. Therefore, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. There was no statistically significant difference in hiring recommendations made by decision-makers in their assessment of male and female applicants' résumés for either a public sector or private sector upper-level management position.

Salary Recommendations

Hypothesis 2. There will be no significant difference in salary recommendations made by decision-makers in the assessment of male and female applicants for either a public sector or private sector upper-level management position as measured by an 8-point decision making scale.

The mean salary ratings over all respondents who recommended hiring the applicant ($N = 91$) are reported in Table 3. Those study participants who recommended hiring the candidate also indicated their salary recommendation on the response form. There were eight salary choices ranging from \$48,000 - \$62,000 in increments of \$2,000. Each salary choice was preceded by a number, 1-8 consecutively.

Table 3

Mean Ratings for Salary Recommendations by Sex of Applicant's Résumé
and Organizational Sector of the Available Position

| VARIABLE | MEAN | STD. DEV. | N |
|-----------------------|------|-----------|----|
| For Entire Population | 3.26 | 1.91 | 91 |
| Male Applicant | 3.10 | 1.83 | 48 |
| Public Sector | 3.08 | 2.08 | 24 |
| Private Sector | 3.13 | 1.57 | 24 |
| Female Applicant | 3.44 | 2.02 | 43 |
| Public Sector | 3.50 | 2.16 | 26 |
| Private Sector | 3.35 | 1.84 | 17 |

Participants indicated their choice by circling one of these numbers. The numbered choices on the rating scale of 1-8 were used to calculate the mean ratings.

The mean salary recommendation offered by the total sample population was 3.26. Transposed to the decision form this means the typical salary recommendation was $> \$52,000$ but $< \$54,000$. The range

of mean ratings = .42 with a high mean rating of 3.50 ($> \$52,000$ $< \$54,000$) offered by the sub population evaluating the public sector female applicant and a low mean rating of 3.08 ($> \$52,000$ $< \$54,000$) offered by the sub population assessing the public sector male applicant. This narrow range indicated there was little variability among the mean salary recommendations chosen by the sub population with the typical mean salary recommendation calculated for each sub population falling within two consecutive salary recommendations:

(3) \$52,000

(4) \$54,000

An examination of the mean ratings and standard deviations showed little variation within as well as between groups. On the average the salary recommendations within each sub population did not deviate from the mean of that population by any more than 2.16 levels on the decision scale. The highest Standard deviation that of 2.16 was reported for the group assessing the female public sector applicant and the lowest variability 1.57 was reported for the group evaluating the private sector male applicant. The analysis of variance for salary recommendations is presented in Table 4.

There were no statistically significant variations in the independent and interactive effects of the variables organization sector and sex on the salary recommendations offered by the study participants, therefore the null hypothesis is not rejected. There

was no significant difference in salary recommendations made by decision-makers in their assessment of male and female applicants for either a public sector or private sector upper-level management position.

Table 4

Analysis of Variance for Salary Recommendations by Sex of
Applicant and Organizational Sector of the
Available Position

| SOURCE OF VARIATION | DF | MEAN SQUARE | F |
|-------------------------|----|-------------|-------|
| Organization Sector (A) | 1 | 0.046 | 0.012 |
| Sex of Applicant (B) | 1 | 2.487 | 0.662 |
| A x B | 3 | 0.943 | 0.251 |
| Within | 87 | 3.757 | |

$p < .05$

N = 91

Demographic Data - Study Sample

The following section provides statistical analyses of the independent and interactive effects of the demographic data gathered

on the sample population. The influence of the respondents' gender, organizational sector of employment and years of work experience on the selection and salary recommendations was examined. Two demographic hypotheses were analyzed.

The sample population consisted of 179 managers or management trainees attending management development workshops, seminars or meetings. Eighty-two of the subjects were employed in public sector organizations and ninety-seven were employed in private sector organizations. To obtain a representative sample of managers and management trainees, seven sites in New England were chosen. The public sector sites included: a management development program for upper-level managers employed by Massachusetts State Offices, a management meeting at a social service agency in Western Massachusetts, a seminar for managers at a municipal hospital in Vermont, and a workshop for managers at a major university in Western Massachusetts. Private sector sites included: a management workshop series at a retail industry with sites located throughout New England, a seminar for managers at an insurance company in Massachusetts, and a management meeting at a manufacturing company in Connecticut. The sample consisted of 101 males and 78 females with work experience ranging from less than one year to over twenty years. To insure realism and credibility of the study, public sector respondents were assigned only the assessment of résumés for the public sector position, and private sector raters only rated private sector applicants. The study sample is described in Table 5.

Table 5

Frequencies and Percentages of Study Sample by Work Experience,
Gender and Organizational Sector of Employment

| Managers | Work Experience | | | | | | | | | | | | | | f | % |
|----------------|---------------------|--------|----------------|--------|-----------------|--------|------------------|--------|------------------|--------|------------------|--------|-----|-------|---|---|
| | LESS THAN 1 YEAR | | 1 - 5 YEARS | | 6 - 10 YEARS | | 11 - 15 YEARS | | 16 - 20 YEARS | | OVER 20 YEARS | | | | | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | | | | |
| Public Sector | | | 3 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 2 | | 1 | 30 | 16.8 | | |
| State Agencies | | | | 4 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 2 | | 29 | 16.2 | | |
| Social Service | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 10 | 5.6 | | |
| Hospital | | | | | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | | | | | | | | |
| University | | | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | 1 | 13 | 7.3 | | |
| Total | | | | | | | | | | | | | 82 | 45.8 | | |
| Private Sector | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Retail | 3 | 2 | 18 | 12 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 1 | | 2 | | 58 | 32.4 | | |
| Insurance | | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 22 | 12.3 | | |
| Manufacturing | | | | | 1 | | 6 | | 6 | | 4 | | 17 | 9.5 | | |
| Total | | | | | | | | | | | | | 97 | 54.2 | | |
| Total | 3 | 3 | 25 | 22 | 19 | 25 | 27 | 17 | 16 | 6 | 11 | 5 | 179 | 100.0 | | |

Hypothesis 3. Public sector experienced and less experienced decision-makers, as well as private sector experienced and less experienced decision-makers will demonstrate no significant difference in selection decisions and salary recommendations for male and female applicants being evaluated for an upper-level management position.

To analyze the effect of raters' years of work experience on the evaluation of applicants for a top management position, two categories were created, experienced and less experienced. The limits of the categories were modeled after those created in similar studies which employed work experience as an independent variable (Rosen & Mericle, 1979). Members of the sample population who reported to have full time (40 hours a week or more) work experience equal to or less than five years were placed in the less experienced category. Respondents who reported to have more than five years work experience were placed in the experienced professionals category. Fifty-three decision-makers fell within the less experienced category while one hundred twenty-six decision-makers fell within the experienced category. The total sample, 179 respondents, made selection recommendations, while only those who recommended hiring the applicant, 91 respondents, made salary recommendations. Private sector decision makers only rated private sector applicant résumés and public sector decision makers only rated public sector applicants. The mean ratings for hiring and salary recommendations of experienced and less experienced respondents is described in Table 6.

Table 6

Mean Ratings for Selection Decisions and Salary Recommendations
By Experience of Rater, Gender of Applicant and
Organization Sector

| Selection Decision | Public Sector Decision-Makers | | | | | | Private Sector Decision-Makers | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|------|----|-------------------------------|------|----|--------------------------------|------|----|-------------------------------|------|----|
| | Experienced Professional | | | Less Experienced Professional | | | Experienced Professional | | | Less Experienced Professional | | |
| | X | SD | N | X | SD | N | X | SD | N | X | SD | N |
| Applicants | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Public Sector | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Applicant | 3.60 | 1.19 | 30 | 3.40 | 1.17 | 10 | | | | | | |
| Female Applicant | 3.89 | 1.15 | 37 | 4.00 | 2.35 | 5 | | | | | | |
| Private Sector | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Applicant | | | | | | | 3.17 | 1.14 | 29 | 3.59 | 1.33 | 17 |
| Female Applicant | | | | | | | 3.40 | 1.45 | 30 | 3.00 | 1.18 | 21 |
| Salary Recommendation | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Applicants | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Public Sector | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Applicant | 3.00 | 1.94 | 18 | 3.33 | 2.66 | 6 | | | | | | |
| Female Applicant | 3.48 | 2.25 | 23 | 3.67 | 1.53 | 3 | | | | | | |
| Private Sector | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Applicant | | | | | | | 3.36 | 1.82 | 14 | 2.80 | 1.14 | 10 |
| Female Applicant | | | | | | | 3.63 | 1.80 | 13 | 2.25 | 1.89 | 4 |

The mean ratings indicated little variance in selection decisions and salary recommendations due to the work experience of the sample population. The range score for the mean selection decision = 1 with a high mean rating of 4.0 ('Hire For a 1-year Probationary Period and Review Again') offered by the less experienced raters for the female applicant in the public sector condition, and a low mean rating of 3.0 ('Prior to Any Further Consideration Require Leadership Skills Testing to Determine Applicant's Leadership Potential') recommended by the less experienced private sector raters in their assessment of the female applicant résumé.

A similar pattern emerged in examination of the mean ratings for salary recommendation. The range score was = 1.42 with high mean salary recommendations of 3.67 ($> \$52,000$ but $< \$54,000$) recommended by the less experienced public sector professionals assessing the female applicant, and a low mean rating for 2.25 ($> \$50,000$ but $< \$52,000$) offered by the less experienced private sector decision-makers to the female applicant. The mean scores also indicated a general tendency for higher mean selection ratings within the public sector condition as compared to the lower mean selection ratings within the private sector condition. This tendency did not appear to be significant in examination of the mean scores for salary recommendations.

An examination of the mean ratings appeared to indicate a tendency for the less experienced, as well as the experienced public sector professionals to offer higher selection and salary ratings to

the female applicant; a tendency for experienced private sector professionals to offer higher selection ratings and salary recommendations to the female applicant than the recommendations of their less experienced counterparts. However, these relationships did not prove to be statistically significant as is demonstrated in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 7

Analysis of Variance for Selection Decisions By Sex of
Applicant, Organization Sector and Experience of
Decision-Makers

| SOURCE OF VARIATION | DF | MEAN SQUARE | F |
|-----------------------------------|----|-------------|--------|
| N = 179 | | | |
| Sex of Applicant (A) | 1 | .550 | .340 |
| Organization Sector (B) | 1 | 8.184 | 5.059* |
| Experience of Decision-Makers (C) | 1 | .158 | .098 |
| A x B | 3 | 1.143 | .707 |
| A x C | 3 | 1.720 | 1.063 |
| B x C | 3 | .149 | .092 |
| A x B x C | 4 | 2.363 | 1.461 |

* $p < .05$

Table 8

Analysis of Variance for Salary Recommendations By Sex of
Applicant, Organization Sector and Experience of
Decision-Makers

| SOURCE OF VARIATION | DF | MEAN SQUARE | F |
|-----------------------------------|----|-------------|-------|
| N = 91 | | | |
| Sex of Applicant (A) | 1 | 1.685 | .440 |
| Organization Sector (B) | 1 | .001 | .000 |
| Experience of Decision Makers (C) | 1 | 1.962 | .512 |
| A x B | 3 | .501 | .131 |
| A x C | 3 | 1.108 | .289 |
| B x C | 3 | 5.294 | 1.381 |
| A x B x C | 4 | .499 | .130 |

$p < .05$

Once again, the variance by sector was indicated in the selection decisions with a high F ratio of 5.059 significant at the .05 level. Significantly higher selection ratings were offered by the public sector professionals. However, significance by sector in salary recommendations was not noted. Furthermore, the interaction of sector with gender of applicant or experience of decision makers did not

prove to be significant in selection decisions or salary recommendations. Nor was there any significant independent or interactive effects of the variables gender and work experience of the decision makers on selection decisions and salary recommendations. Although other studies (Bowman, Worthy & Greyser, 1965; Graves, Butterfield & Powell, 1983; Graves & Butterfield, 1984) demonstrated significance due to work experience in the evaluation of male and female candidates, this study does not support their findings. Therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected. Public sector experienced and less experienced decision-makers, as well as private sector experienced and less experienced decision-makers demonstrated no significant difference in selection decisions and salary recommendations for male and female applicants being evaluated for an upper-level management position.

Hypothesis 4. Male and female public sector decision-makers as well as male and female private sector decision makers will demonstrate no significant difference in selection decisions and salary recommendations for male and female applicants being evaluated for an upper-level management position.

Previous research (Schermerhorn, Snelson & Leader, 1975) indicated that women decision-makers, more often than their male counterparts, will evaluate female candidates more positively for leadership positions. However, the results of this study did not corroborate Schermerhorn's et al. findings. The mean selection and salary recommendations made by both public and private sector, male

Table 9

Mean Ratings For Selection Decisions and Salary Recommendations By Gender of Rater,
Organizational Sector and Gender of Applicant

| Selection Decision | Public Sector Decision-Makers | | | | | | Private Sector Decision-Makers | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|------|----|-----------|------|----|--------------------------------|------|----|-----------|------|----|
| | Male | | | Female | | | Male | | | Female | | |
| | \bar{X} | SD | N | \bar{X} | SD | N | \bar{X} | SD | N | \bar{X} | SD | N |
| Applicants | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Public Sector | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Applicant | 3.61 | 1.34 | 23 | 3.47 | .94 | 17 | | | | | | |
| Female Applicant | 3.47 | 1.06 | 15 | 4.15 | 1.38 | 27 | | | | | | |
| Private Sector | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Applicant | | | | | | | 3.30 | 1.21 | 33 | 3.39 | 1.26 | 13 |
| Female Applicant | | | | | | | 3.13 | 1.24 | 32 | 3.42 | 1.54 | 19 |
| Salary Recommendation | \bar{X} | SD | N | \bar{X} | SD | N | \bar{X} | SD | N | \bar{X} | SD | N |
| Applicants | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Public Sector | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Applicant | 3.07 | 1.82 | 14 | 3.10 | 2.51 | 10 | | | | | | |
| Female Applicant | 2.57 | 1.90 | 7 | 3.84 | 2.19 | 19 | | | | | | |
| Private Sector | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Applicant | | | | | | | 3.00 | 1.16 | 16 | 3.38 | 2.26 | 8 |
| Female Applicant | | | | | | | 3.18 | 1.54 | 11 | 3.67 | 2.42 | 6 |

and female respondents is reported in Table 9.

The range score for selection decisions by gender of raters = 1.02, with a high mean rating of 4.15 (> 'Hire For A 1 - Year Probationary Period and Review Again' < 'Hire Immediately And Offer A Two Year Contract') made by the public sector female decision-makers in their evaluation of the female applicant, and a low mean rating of 3.13 (> 'Prior to Any Further Consideration, Require Leadership Skills Testing To Determine Applicant's Leadership Potential' < 'Hire For A 1 - Year Probationary Period And Review Again') made by the private sector male raters in their assessment of the female applicant. The range score for salary recommendation = 1.27. A high mean salary rating of 3.84 (> \$52,000 < \$54,000) was made by the female public sector raters in their evaluation of the female applicant. A low mean rating of 2.57 (> \$50,000 < \$53,000) was offered by the public sector male decision-makers in their assessment of the female applicant.

A further examination of the mean ratings for selection decisions and salary recommendations by gender of the decision makers indicated a general tendency for female raters to offer higher selection and salary ratings than the male decision-makers. This tendency was most noted when raters were assessing the female applicant in the public sector condition. A mean selection decision of 4.15 was recommended by the female decision makers in their evaluation of the female applicant while male decision makers recommended a mean rating of 3.47. Similarly, a mean salary recommendation of 3.84 was made by the female raters for the female

candidate while male decision-makers recommended a mean salary rating of 2.57 to the female applicant.

A general tendency was also noted for decision makers to evaluate same sex applicants more highly than opposite sex applicants in both the public sector and private sector condition. An overall calculation of the mean selection ratings for same sex applicants, as compared to opposite sex ratings, yielded mean ratings of: 3.46 - male raters assessing the male candidate, 3.30 - male raters assessing the female candidate, 3.78 - female raters assessing the female candidate, and 3.43 female raters assessing the male candidate. A similar pattern was noted in the salary recommendations with mean ratings of: 3.03 - male/male, 2.88 - male/female, 3.76 - female/female, and 3.24 - female/male.

Although these tendencies were noted, an analysis of the variance yielded no statistically significant differences in the selection and salary recommendations when the variables sex of decision makers, sex of applicant and organization sector were considered. These relationships are described in Tables 10 and 11.

The only significance noted was the independent effect of the variable organization sector on the dependent variable selection decision. As documented earlier, public sector decision-makers made significantly higher selection ratings than private sector decision makers. However, the independent effects of the variables sex of applicant, sex of decision-maker and the interactive effects of the three independent variables did not prove to be significant.

Therefore the null hypothesis can not be rejected. Male and female public sector decision-makers as well as male and female private sector decision-makers demonstrated no significant difference in selection decisions and salary recommendations for male and female applicants being evaluated for an upper-level management position.

Table 10

Analysis of Variance for Selection Decisions by Sex of Applicant,
Sex of Decision-Maker and Organization Sector

| SOURCE OF VARIATION | D.F. | MEAN SQUARE | F |
|---------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| N = 179 | | | |
| Sex of Applicant (A) | 1 | .256 | .159 |
| Organization Sector (B) | 1 | 6.891 | 4.285* |
| Sex of Decision-Maker (C) | 1 | 2.519 | 1.566 |
| A x B | 3 | .909 | .565 |
| A x C | 3 | 2.579 | 1.604 |
| B x C | 3 | .100 | .062 |
| A x B x C | 4 | .922 | .573 |

* $p < .05$

Table 11

Analysis of Variance for Salary Recommendations By Sex of Applicant,
Sex of Decision-Maker and Organization Sector

| SOURCE OF VARIATION | D.F. | MEAN SQUARE | F |
|---------------------------|------|-------------|-------|
| N = 91 | | | |
| Sex of Applicant (A) | 1 | 1.210 | .317 |
| Organization Sector (B) | 1 | .103 | .027 |
| Sex of Decision-Maker (C) | 1 | 5.709 | 1.495 |
| A x B | 3 | .142 | .037 |
| A x C | 3 | 2.653 | .695 |
| B x C | 3 | .119 | .031 |
| A x B x C | 4 | 1.579 | .413 |

A final analyses of variance of the independent and interactive effects of the four independent variables (applicant sex, organization sector, decision-makers sex, and decision-makers years of work experience) under study in this investigation was conducted. The results are depicted in Table 12.

Two significant variances were yielded. The independent effect of the variable sector on selection decisions ($F = 5.729$), $p < .05$, was described earlier in the text with significantly higher selection ratings made across all respondents in the public sector condition than in the private sector condition. The second significant difference occurred in the cumulative effect of the three way interaction of the variables organization sector, decision-maker sex and decision-maker work experience on selection decisions. The mean ratings and direction of this relationship is depicted in Table 13.

An examination of the mean ratings revealed experienced and less experienced female decision-makers in the public sector condition, as well as experienced females in the private sector condition made significantly higher selection decisions than male decision-makers. However, the sex of the applicant's résumé did not influence these ratings.

Table 12

Analysis of Variance for Selection Decisions and Salary Recommendations
By Sex of Applicant, Organization Sector, Decision-Maker's
Sex, and Decision-Maker's Years Work Experience

| Source of Variation | df | F | |
|--|----|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| | | Selection Decision | Salary Recommendation |
| Applicant Sex (A) | 1 | .359 | .662 |
| Organization Sector (B) | 1 | 5.729* | .012 |
| A x B | 3 | 1.372 | .251 |
| Decision-Maker Sex (C) | 1 | 1.633 | 2.383 |
| Decision-Maker Years Experience (D) | 1 | .021 | .950 |
| A x C | 3 | 1.604 | .695 |
| B x C | 3 | .062 | .031 |
| A x B x C | 4 | 1.461 | .413 |
| A x D | 3 | 1.063 | .289 |
| B x D | 3 | .092 | 1.381 |
| A x B x D | 4 | 1.461 | .130 |
| C x D | 3 | 1.123 | .256 |
| A x C x D | 4 | .731 | .000 |
| B x C x D | 4 | 4.073* | .055 |
| A x B x C x D | 5 | 3.234 | .481 |

* $p < .05$

Table 13
Mean Ratings For Selection Decisions By Decision-Maker Years Work Experience,
Decision-Maker Sex and Organization Sector

| Selection Decision | Less Experienced | | | | | | Experienced | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|------|----|-----------|------|----|-------------|------|----|-----------|------|----|
| | Male | | | Female | | | Male | | | Female | | |
| | \bar{X} | SD | N | \bar{X} | SD | N | \bar{X} | SD | N | \bar{X} | SD | N |
| Applicants | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Public Sector | 3.00 | 1.22 | 5 | 3.90 | 1.73 | 10 | 3.64 | 1.22 | 33 | 3.88 | 1.12 | 34 |
| Private Sector | 3.46 | 1.44 | 24 | 2.93 | .83 | 14 | 3.07 | 1.06 | 41 | 3.78 | 1.66 | 18 |

Summary

The following two research questions guided this study:

1. With the experience and ability held constant, what are the relationships between applicants' gender and the organizational sector (public/private) of the available job, and selection decisions and salary recommendations for a top management position?
2. What are the relationships between decision-makers' gender, organizational sector of employment, and years work experience, and selection decisions and salary recommendations for male and female managerial applicants with identical experience and ability.

The results of this research project indicate that although organization sector has an impact on the hiring recommendations offered by decision-makers in their evaluation of identical male and female résumés in application for a top management position, the sex of the applicant was apparently not an influencing factor. Typically respondents gave higher selection ratings in the public sector condition, while private sector applicants received lower ratings. But there was no significant difference in the hiring recommendations offered for male and female applicants in either the public sector or private sector condition. Salary recommendations were not found to be influenced by either the gender of the applicant or the organization

sector. Similarly, the demographics of the decision-makers had little influence on the selection decisions and salary recommendations. Although public sector experienced and less experienced female professionals in their assessment of public sector candidates, as well as private sector experienced female professionals in their assessment of private sector candidates, made significantly higher selection ratings than the male professionals, gender of the applicant was not an influencing factor. Experienced and less experienced professionals did not differ significantly in their evaluation of male and female applicants in either the public sector or private sector condition. Male and female respondents employed in either public sector or private sector organizations did not differ significantly in their selection and salary recommendations for male and female applicants.

- CHAPTER FIVE -

DISCUSSION

This chapter presents a summary and discussion of the findings of this study. Implications of the results are discussed as well as suggestions for future research.

Study - Findings

The primary purpose of this study was to investigate the impact of gender on hiring and salary recommendations for a leadership position within either a public non-profit organization and a private for profit organization. Some research data indicate women have made gains in entry level and mid-management positions over the last twenty years, more of these gains have been found in public sector non profit organizations (U.S. Department of Labor, 1983). Other research has found, even though women have been successful in obtaining mid-management positions they are having difficulties breaking into the higher management echelons in both public and private sector organizations, and even when that break is made salaries obtained are frequently less than those offered to their male counterparts (Galagan, 1985). This study attempted to identify some possible explanations for the present status of women in management. Does gender have an impact on the evaluation of a candidate for an upper level management position? Do other factors such as work experience and gender of decision-makers have an effect on hiring and salary

recommendations? Are women more often evaluated as appropriate candidates for a leadership position in a public sector organization, the arena in which women have traditionally been employed in greater numbers?

The results of this study found no support for the hypothesis that gender is an influencing factor in selection and salary recommendations. Although organizational sector did influence selection decisions, no evidence of sex bias was found in either the public sector or private sector condition. Even though earlier research by Terborg and Ilgen (1975), Dipboye et al. (1977), and Rosen and Mericle (1979) demonstrated a general tendency to offer lower starting salaries to females compared to males, the results from the present study did not support these earlier findings. Gender of the applicant did not influence the salary recommendations made by the participants in this study in either the public or private sector simulations.

Similarly, no evidence was found to support the hypothesis that a women would be viewed as a more appropriate candidate for a leadership position in a public sector organization than in a private sector organization. The participants in this study did not differ significantly in their evaluation of the public sector and private sector female applicants.

Another objective of this study was to investigate the impact of the gender and years work experience of the study's participants on their salary and hiring recommendations. Previous research

(Schermerhorn, Snelson & Leader, 1975) had suggested women decision-makers would evaluate female applicants more highly than male applicants, and the more experienced an individual had in the world of work the less likely that person was to exhibit gender bias in the evaluation of a candidate for a leadership position (Graves & Butterfield, 1984; Graves, Butterfield & Powell, 1983; Bowman, Worthy & Greyser, 1965). In a comparison of the decisions of the male and female respondents in this study, no significant main effects were found. Similarly no significant main effects were found when comparisons were made based upon participants' years of work experience. Although public sector experienced and less experienced female decision-makers as well as private sector experienced females made significantly higher selection ratings than their male counterparts, the gender of the applicant did not influence their decisions. These higher ratings were offered to both male and female applicants.

Explanations For Research Findings

A great deal of research (Rosen & Jerdee, 1974a; Shaw, 1972; Fidell, 1970; Hobart & Harris, 1977; Rosen & Jerdee, 1974b; Cohen & Bunker, 1975; Cash, Gillen, & Burns, 1977; Fidell, 1970) has documented the degree to which women are discriminated against in selection and salary decisions. However, the results of this study do not corroborate these previous studies. Three possible explanations for this discrepancy are offered.

Socialization Theory

Socialization theory suggests the possibility of a socialization process that modifies attitudes in the world or work. Kanter (1979) contends that as more and more women obtain leadership positions and more information is obtained concerning women's actual performance the effect of sex role stereotypes diminishes. Much of the research concerning management and sex discrimination was conducted over fifteen years ago. This early body of research clearly demonstrated that the leadership role was sex-typed as a male occupation. However, a great many social, political and economic changes have occurred within the last twenty years. A significant number of women have entered the work force. Changes have occurred in the work and family roles of men and women. Non discriminatory laws and Affirmative Action regulations have been instituted in the work place. A great deal of literature both popular and academic, which focuses on the successes of women in management, has been published. The definition of effective leadership is changing from traits normally ascribed to the male role to one that includes stereotypic characteristics of both sexes. And a woman as part of a management team is no longer a rare sight. These occurrences have encouraged a change in the perception of organizational leadership as a designated male occupation.

The findings of the present study substantiate the contention that a socialization process has occurred. It is possible that over the last twenty years women have come to be viewed as capable and accepted leaders. Those gender biases which were documented in the

late 1960's and early 1970's may have diminished and a shift in the perception of leadership and gender appropriateness may have actually occurred. However, if we are to accept this socialization view and a present day gender neutral view of the competent leader, we also have to question the available statistics on women in leadership positions. As of 1985 the percentage of women in top management positions was recorded at one percent (Galagan, 1985).

Research Methodology

Study Sample. A second explanation for the results of this study lies within the research sample. Participants in this study may have been particularly enlightened with respect to making objective selection and salary decisions.

One of the major difficulties in conducting research within organizations is gaining access to those very organizations. A total of fifteen organizations had been approached to participate in this research project. Each organization leader or board of directors was informed of the context of the study. Of those fifteen organizations, seven agreed to participate. It is possible that the declining organizations feared some discrepancies within their own hiring and salary practices or within the responses of their management personnel. It must also be noted six of the seven participating organizations had active training and development programs for their management personnel. It is highly possible the sample population had been trained in the issue of discrimination in hiring and salary

recommendations. Perhaps the mere mention of the evaluation of applicant résumés, within the context of the decision making exercises, was sufficient to heighten managerial awareness of potential bias.

Another factor must also be considered in respect to the unique characteristics of this research sample. Although all those who participated in this study were working professionals with managerial responsibilities, very few of the participants would realistically be involved in selection and salary decisions involving top management personnel. The paper and pencil responses of the study sample may differ significantly from behaviors of those individuals charged with the responsibility of selecting upper-level managers.

Study Design. A third possible explanation for this study's results may be found within the research design. Previous research on the effects of gender on management decisions has been conducted through the use of one of two methods, either laboratory study or field study. The results of studies using these two methods have often been contradictory and both designs have been criticized. Laboratory studies have been criticized for being unrealistic and field studies, most frequently surveys, have been criticized for lacking empirical integrity. This study did attempt to alleviate some of the deficits of laboratory and field study through the use of a controlled simulation in operating organizations. Although this attempt was made, it is the opinion of this researcher that the study of those variables which effect hiring and salary recommendations involves the

study of complex interactions within unique situations, and such complex interactions can not be examined through the use of traditional research methods.

Results in Relationship to Previous Research

Parallels with Previous Research

The findings of this study generally paralleled the results of similar studies which employed sample populations of working professionals (Graves & Butterfield, 1983; Schein, 1975). Results of these studies generally found sex differences to be less salient especially when the influence of age, education, experience, type of occupation and level within the organization was controlled. These studies as well as the present study were conducted with samples of practicing managers, who have more information available to them because of actual long term involvement in on-going work situations. It is also possible such a population of working managers would be much more aware and concerned about the ramifications for discriminatory practices in hiring and salary decisions.

Contrasts with Previous Research

The results of this study differ from the findings of similar laboratory studies in which gender has been found to be a salient factor in the evaluation of managers (Larson, 1982; Butterfield & Powell, 1981; Philips & Lord, 1981; Lord, Binning, Rush & Thomas, 1979; Michell, Larson & Green, 1977). Such studies typically involved

student subjects with little experience in the world of work.

Although these laboratory studies provided for greater control in research methods, the artificial nature of the experiment may have increased the salience of ascribed roles related to gender, especially to an inexperienced population, and may thus have elicited responses based on role stereotypes. Such a process makes differences due to gender easier to detect; it also makes such differences more likely to occur.

Probably the most striking contrast noted with the results of this study is the difference between the present findings and a large body of research on discrimination in selection decisions which involved both student and working sample populations. These studies have demonstrated that women are discriminated against in hiring decisions. It has been shown that female applicants are less likely to be hired than identically qualified male applicants for technical and managerial positions (Rosen & Jerdee, 1974a), for scientific and engineering positions (Shaw, 1972), and for positions in education and research (Fidell, 1970). This pattern of sex bias has been found when selection recommendations are made by business students (Hobart & Harris, 1977), managers and administrators (Rosen & Jerdee, 1974b), campus recruiters (Cohen & Bunker, 1975), personnel consultants (Cash, Gillen & Burns, 1977), and psychology department chairmen (Fidell, 1970). However, as mentioned previously in this chapter most of these studies occurred over fifteen years ago, and many changes have occurred since then including changing attitudes towards women and

work. It is also possible that student populations as well as working populations have become much more knowledgeable about the social economic and political sanctions against overt discriminatory practices. It is most probable that a combination of these two factors can be viewed as operative causes for the discrepancies between earlier studies and the present research findings.

Future Research

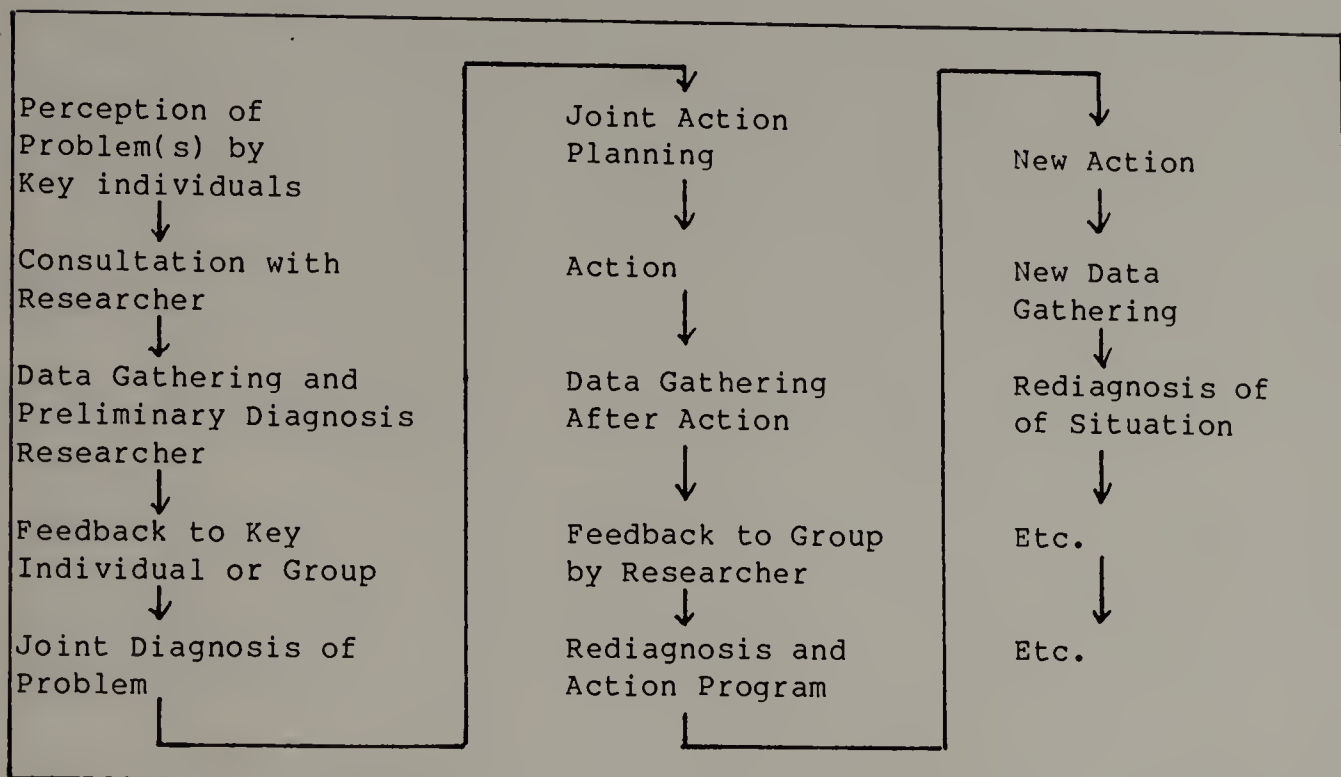
More research is needed which looks at the factors that influence the career advancement of women managers. Some writers (Boverman et al., 1972; Gerand & Hoyt, 1974; Larwood 1975; Nieva & Gutek, 1980; Bem, 1972; Rosen & Jerdee, 1973; Deux & Taynor, 1973) suggest the true identification of these factors will involve the examination of the complex interaction of individuals' self concepts, organizational systems and societal stereotypes. As noted earlier in this chapter, traditional forms of research have not been able to examine this complex interaction.

Action research, a more recent research model, may provide the necessary tool for examining complex interactions and designing interventions to solve problems in organizations. The action research model is a cyclical process which focuses on several main issues: heavy emphasis on data gathering using interviews, observations, questionnaires, and organizational performance data to identify problems and provide for a preliminary diagnosis; careful evaluation of results before action is taken; and the development of new

behavioral science knowledge which can be applied to problems in organizational settings, as opposed to the application of existing behavioral science knowledge (French, 1969). The action research process is described in Figure 1.

Figure 1

A Diagrammatic Model for Action Research



Adapted from W. French, (Winter, 1969). Organizational development: Objectives, assumptions and strategies, California Management Review, p.26.

Action research can be considered a diagnostic research design which is practical and directly relevant to an actual situation in a

work setting. Subjects are primarily individuals with whom the researcher is involved. It provides an orderly framework for problem solving and new developments. Empirically, it is flexible allowing for changes during trial periods, sacrificing control in favor of responsiveness and innovation (French, 1969).

Although this action research design has been critized for lacking scientific vigor because the internal and external validity are weak, objectives are situational, and there is little control over independent variables (Miller & Barnett, 1986), the model does provide a valuable tool for examining complex interactions and providing practical remedies to organizational problems. For future researchers examining the issue of women and leadership, action research may provide the means for not only identifying those factors which influence women in their career advancement but also identify those strategies which would be most effective in facilitating that advancement.

Implications For Management Training and Organizational Development

The impetus behind this research project was first to identify those factors which influence the career advancement of women in management and second to be able to recommend strategies and conditions which would be most conducive to the career advancement of women managers.

Recent statistics indicate there are presently few women in top

management positions (Galagan, 1985). Past and continuing debates ensue over the best way to remedy this distribution. The results of this study indicate that managers may be changing their perceptions about the appropriateness of women serving in top managerial roles. While it's too early to know if this change in perception will have an impact on actual hiring and promotion practices, this research as well as a growing body of research demonstrating changing trends, calls for a critical review of the present management development programs.

Personal Growth Models

During the 1960's and early 1970's, recognition of the trend toward greater diversity in the managerial workforce spawned debate among researchers over the best way to integrate the managerial pool. As these new women managers did not fit the stereotype of the effective leader, some researchers supported the need for "catch-up" training to ease their integration. Special career development programs, assertiveness training and leadership skills seminars specifically for women managers were developed in many organizations in keeping with this personal growth model.

Organizational Reform Models

Other researchers documented that women were often discriminated against in managerial recruiting, selection, training and promotion. Organization reform strategies that admonish discrimination and reward

sponsorship of women and minorities, such as affirmative action programs and changes in the distribution of opportunities and power, were adopted by many organizations in the 1970's. Many such programs are facing waning commitment in organizations no longer under the gun from federal mandates.

Criticisms

In recent years, personal growth models of changes have been frequently criticized for perpetuating the notion that the factors producing inequities at work are due to internal personality deficits and for reinforcing stereotypes about women's need to remedy deficiencies before entering leadership roles. By placing the responsibility for change on the female manager, personal growth models of training absolve organizations from looking closely at their own systems which perpetuate stereotypes, biases and sex-typed roles.

While organizational reform strategies have provided entry for many women managers, they have been criticized for providing preferential treatment or a reverse form of discrimination. Some attest that quota hiring or affirmative action goals can result in too-quick hiring of unqualified women managers. The "we-they" conflict sometimes generated by reform strategies may be responsible for an unwillingness of the members of an organization to work cooperatively toward organizational goals, and can serve to perpetuate discriminatory attitudes.

Both personal growth and organizational reform approaches to the

integration of a diverse top managerial population can be criticized for falling short of their mark. Neither approach will result in the development of a diverse management team that can work cooperatively toward common goals. It is the opinion of this researcher that those factors causing inequities in top management selection, promotion or salaries can not be ascribed to simply personal individual deficits or to overt organizational discrimination. And those strategies designed to remedy these inequities can no longer assume an "either-or" approach.

Recommendations for Management Training and Organizational Development

The distribution of women in top management is a result of a complex interaction of individual-personal factors, organizational factors and societal influences. Future training and development models for managers will need to consider this complex interaction. For organizations committed to diversity within their top management teams a new training and development model is needed which assumes a comprehensive integrated approach to management development, one which objectively assesses individual training and development needs and openly addresses organizational and societal issues effecting today's managers. Such a model will include an organizational commitment to diversity as well as a willingness to address those organizational practices, overt or subtle, which impede the career advancement of women or indeed any minority group. Such a model will include personal growth strategies based upon objective assessments and

organizational reform strategies based upon objective assessments. For organizations committed to diversity, this bias-free approach to the selection, training and development of top managers will provide for the identification of key competencies and development needs as well as provide a guide for redesigning both organizational systems and personal growth programs.

APPENDIX
RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

DIRECTIONS FOR ADMINISTRATION OF THE PERSONNEL
DECISION MAKING EXERCISE

*AFTER ALL PARTICIPANTS HAVE BEEN SEATED
RECITE THE FOLLOWING DIRECTIONS:

Say: You are about to take part in a management simulation. In this decision-making exercise you are asked to assume the role of a personnel consultant and evaluate an applicant's résumé for a top managerial position. You will need a pencil for this exercise. How many people need a pencil?"

*DISTRIBUTE PENCILS TO
THOSE PARTICIPANTS INDICATING NEED.

Say: "The purpose of this exercise is to examine consistency in hiring and salary recommendations. Your responses will be part of a research project. Your participation is voluntary. If you do not wish to participate, signify by raising your hand."

*EXCUSE THOSE WHO RAISE THEIR HANDS.

Say: "You will be working alone in this exercise, so I am going to ask you to separate your seats to insure you are not influenced by your neighbors response."

*CHECK SEATING PATTERN TO INSURE PRIVACY.

Say: "In this exercise you are asked to review a job description and an applicant's résumé then make your recommendations on a decision form. When you receive your packet read the directions then begin. Please do not write your name on the packet. Your responses will be confidential. There is no time limit, but the exercise should take about twenty (20) minutes. When you finish just turn your packet over."

*DISTRIBUTE PACKETS AS COLLATED
IN THE PRE-ARRANGED ORDER

Say: "You may begin."

*ALLOW TWENTY MINUTES
FOR EXERCISE COMPLETION

Say: "Anyone need additional Time?"

*IF MORE TIME IS NEEDED,
ALLOW ANOTHER TEN (10) TO FIFTEEN (15)
MINUTES THEN COLLECT PACKETS.

Directions

In this decision-making exercise, you are asked to assume the role of a personnel consultant and to evaluate an applicant's résumé for a top managerial position. You are asked to:

1. Review the Job Description.
2. Review the Applicant's résumé
3. Indicate your recommendations on the decision form.

Please do not write your name on this packet. Your responses will be confidential.

JOB DESCRIPTION

The Organization:

This is a large public sector, not for for profit, health agency. This community health organization, located in a major municipal area in the Midwest, provides medical coverage and a full range of health care services to over one million clients.

The Position:

Director of Marketing and Public Relations

This is an Upper-Level Management Position. Reporting to the president, the successful candidate will assume overall leadership of the Marketing and Public Relations Department. Responsibilities include:

- Serve as a key member of the executive team
- Direct the development and implementation of a market based strategic planning process, and development of formal marketing and business plans.
- Manage the market research and competitive analysis functions.
- Oversee the public relations function including media, community and financial relations; internal communications and publicity.

Depending upon quality and depth of experience, salary can range from \$48,000 to \$62,000.

JOB DESCRIPTION

The Organization:

This is a large private sector, for profit, health insurance company. This business, located in a major municipal area in the Midwest, provides medical insurance and a full range of health care services to over one million policy holders.

The Position:

Director of Marketing and Public Relations

This is an Upper-Level Management Position. Reporting to the president, the successful candidate will assume overall leadership of the Marketing and Public Relations Department. Responsibilities include:

- Serve as a key member of the executive team
- Direct the development and implementation of a market based strategic planning process, and development of formal marketing and business plans.
- Manage the market research and competitive analysis functions.
- Oversee the public relations function including media, community and financial relations; internal communications and publicity.

Depending upon quality and depth of experience, salary can range from \$48,000 to \$62,000.

RÉSUMÉ

Judith Marie Stratton
460 Marshal Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Home Phone: (612)297-8881
Office Phone: (612)296-8251

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY:

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| November 1983 to present | ST. PAUL MEDICAL CENTER/St. Paul, Minnesota <u>Assistant Director of Marketing</u> . Responsible for the development of marketing and strategic plans; assisted in the development of hospital promotion material and public relations program; coordinated research and market analysis functions. |
| May 1980 to November 1983 | (HIP) HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN OF GREATER DETROIT/Detroit, Michigan <u>Coordinator of Public Relations</u> . Managed a full corporate relations program including: media, community and financial relations; oversaw outside public relations agencies and consultants. |
| June 1976 to September 1978 | H.M. LONG & ASSOCIATES, INC./Minneapolis, Minnesota <u>Marketing Manager</u> . Directed the internal and external advertising and promotion of major pharmaceuticals and health care products. |
| October 1972 to June 1976 | BLUE CROSS AND BLUE SHIELD/Minneapolis, Minnesota <u>Marketing Support Specialist</u> . Identified user's needs; recommended and implemented means of attaining internal and external market information; evaluated research findings; drafted proposals and reports. |
| August 1970 to October 1972 | L. FORD BURROUGHS CORPORATION/Carbondale, Illinois <u>Customer Relations</u> . Part-time account coordinator in a financial institution; responded to customer problems and tracked customer information. |

EDUCATION:

Master of Science Degree, 1980
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois
Major: Business Administration
Minor: Marketing

Bachelor of Arts Degree, 1970
Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan
Major: Communications
Minor: Psychology

RELATED
PROFESSIONAL
EXPERIENCE:

Member, American Marketing Association
Member, Chamber of Commerce

PERSONAL:

Birthdate: November 2, 1948
Sex: Female
Marital Status: Married, two children
Health: Excellent

REFERENCES:

Available upon request.

RÉSUMÉ

James Adam Stratton
460 Marshal Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Home Phone: (612)297-8881
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EMPLOYMENT HISTORY:

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Member, American Marketing Association
Member, Chamber of Commerce

PERSONAL:

Birthdate: November 2, 1948
Sex: Male
Marital Status: Married, two children
Health: Excellent

REFERENCES:

Available upon request.

DECISION FORM

A. Based on your evaluation of the applicant, please indicate your recommendations.

Q-1 What is your hiring recommendation? (Circle number of your answer.)

- 1 REJECT APPLICANT
- 2 PRIOR TO ANY FURTHER CONSIDERATION, CONDUCT A STRESS INTERVIEW TO DETERMINE APPLICANT'S CAREER COMMITMENT
- 3 PRIOR TO ANY FURTHER CONSIDERATION, REQUIRE LEADERSHIP SKILLS TESTING TO DETERMINE APPLICANT'S LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL
- 4 HIRE FOR A 1-YEAR PROBATIONARY PERIOD AND REVIEW AGAIN
- 5 HIRE IMMEDIATELY AND OFFER A TWO YEAR CONTRACT
- 6 HIRE IMMEDIATELY AND OFFER A TWO YEAR CONTRACT PLUS FULL COVERAGE OF MEDICAL INSURANCE, LIFE INSURANCE AND MOVING EXPENSES.

IF YOU CHOSE RECOMMENDATIONS 1, 2 or 3, SKIP FROM HERE TO SECTION B.

IF YOU CHOSE RECOMMENDATIONS 4, 5 or 6, GO ON TO Q-2.

Q-2 What do you recommend as an appropriate starting salary for this applicant? (Circle number.)

- | | |
|------------|------------|
| 1 \$48,000 | 5 \$56,000 |
| 2 \$50,000 | 6 \$58,000 |
| 3 \$52,000 | 7 \$60,000 |
| 4 \$54,000 | 8 \$62,000 |

GO ON TO SECTION B.

→B. Finally, we would like to ask some questions about yourself to help interpret the results.

Q-3 Your sex. (Circle number of your answer.)

- 1 MALE
- 2 FEMALE

Q-4 Years of full-time (40 hours a week or more) employment. (Circle number.)

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| 1 LESS THAN 1 YEAR | 4 11-15 YEARS |
| 2 1-5 YEARS | 5 16-20 YEARS |
| 3 6-10 YEARS | 6 OVER 20 YEARS |

Q-5 In what type of organization are you employed? (Circle number.)

- 1 PUBLIC SECTOR, NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION
- 2 PRIVATE SECTOR, FOR-PROFIT BUSINESS
- 3 NOT EMPLOYED

Thank you for your cooperation.

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