MASCULINITY AND LEADERSHIP INEQUITIES
AN EXAMINATION OF THE WAYS IN WHICH MASCULINE CULTURAL
NORMS UNDERLIE THE BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S
LEADERSHIP ACQUISITION

A Dissertation
Submitted to
the Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Executive Doctorate of Business Administration

---

by
Jodi Ecker Detjen
May 2021

Examining Committee Members:

Leora Eisenstadt, Advisory Chair, Legal Studies
Crystal Harold, Human Resources Management
Kathleen Voss, Human Resources Management
John Deckop, External Member, Human Resources Management

ABSTRACT

Research clearly shows that increasing the number of women in leadership positions yields financial benefits for the organization. Despite this, there has been limited upward movement in the percentage of women in senior leadership positions. Although some research has extensively examined this from the perspective of bias against women, few studies have examined the linkage between masculine identity and talent decision-making choices. Using a mixed methods approach, this dissertation deepened existing research through two studies focused on four aspects of masculine cultural norms and how they implicitly create barriers against women's career ascension. Study One examined whether individual masculine identities play a role in creating these barriers through a qualitative interview study of ten male executives. The study found that masculine cultural norms were evident but were being perpetuated and reinforced by organizational culture and historically defined processes instead of individual masculine identities. These norms are rapidly changing due to larger societal, cultural shifts. Study Two shifted the focus onto processes, examining the relationship between these masculine culture attributes and the processes within the organization to determine the extent to which they create barriers specifically around promotion processes. Study Two evaluated these relationships through a large-scale survey study and found that masculine culture norms negatively affected fairness perceptions of promotion and developmental assignments for everyone – regardless of gender.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The business case for increasing the number of women in leadership has been made extensively. For example, in the top twenty percent of financially performing companies, women constitute thirty-seven percent of senior leadership, whereas, in companies in the bottom twenty percent, women hold only nineteen percent of senior leadership roles (DDI, 2015). McKinsey reports that companies in the "top quartile for gender diversity on executive teams were 21 percent more likely to outperform on profitability and 27 percent more likely to demonstrate superior value creation" (Chin et al., 2018). Despite these business advantages, women are not catching up. The percentage of women in leadership has barely changed over the last decade (Pew, 2015; Catalyst 2019), and McKinsey estimates that it will take a century before there is equity (Ellingrud et al., 2016). In other words, neither our children nor our grandchildren will experience equity, but our great-great-great-grandchildren might!

Although business leaders say they care about this issue, they do not fully comprehend its dimensions. Seventy-one percent of senior male leaders and seventy-seven percent of senior female leaders say gender diversity is a high priority (Huang et al., 2019). But eighty-eight percent of men think that women have as many opportunities at the company level as men (McKinsey 2018). In other words, although leaders say women need to be in leadership, they do not recognize the problem in their own companies,. As a result, most companies invest in check-the-box solutions such as sending women employees to a women's conference or giving an annual $2,000 to a

women's affinity group to host monthly meetings (Detjen and Abelli, 2017). Some companies provide gendered solutions such as flexible work schedules just for mothers, which stigmatize the benefit and diminish the perceived value of female employees (Detjen and Abelli, 2017; Bird, 2015). Without this inclusion, The damage from homogeneity-based decision-making will persist if women continue to be excluded from decision-making, and the bias embedded in the systems causing these economic, physical, and emotional impacts will go unchecked.[1]

This research has two main objectives: (1) to determine how this reported business benefit can be realized by closing the gender talent gap and (2) to determine how women's voices can be incorporated into leadership to make them integral to the business decisions that impact our societies. Realizing equity is one way to enable the drivers to be met. But there are many possible factors impacting organizations' failure to achieve parity:

- Intentional and implicit bias, both of which have been extensively researched.

- Structural and systemic issues, which have been extensively researched in relation to the impacts (e.g., how the systemic approach towards resumes triggers bias even when it tries to limit bias (Foley and Williamson, 2018).

- Personal, ego-driven, and identity-based obstacles have had less research focus.

---

[1] For example, see the continued under-funding of medical research on women (Clayton and Tannenbaum, 2016), biased outcomes based on gender such as the introduction of the Apple Credit Card which gave men significantly higher credit than women (Elsesser, 2019), sexist algorithms (Li, 2019), or inaccurate performance evaluations (Cecchi-Dimeglio, 2017).

This research focused on filling the research gap presented by the third category. Specifically, I examined the role masculine identity plays in informing male executives' views of themselves and how their views are represented in their behaviors and the behaviors of the organization.

Research Question

There has been substantial research on the barriers women face in leadership and in the pathways to leadership, especially the implicit assumption that leaders must be male (Heilman, 2012, summarizing research). Likewise, there has been significant and growing research on masculine identity. Masculinity has been defined in "contemporary western cultures, [as] … rich, White, heterosexual, tall, athletic, profes- sionally successful, confident, courageous, and stoic" (Berdahl et al., 2018, p. 426). However, only a few studies have examined the linkage between the behaviors that seek to confirm a male leader's masculine identity with his decision-making choices.[2]

Research Study One expanded on this preliminary research and investigated whether masculine identity is a root cause of gender-stereotyping in leadership decisions. The original research question focused on whether male leaders perpetuate gender-stereotypes to protect their male identities, such that their identity is not threatened by women in lower levels of power but is directly threatened once women have decision-making authority. Does male leaders' need to prove their masculine identity limit their ability to embrace gender parity in their processes and decision-making?

---

[2] A recent special issue in the Journal of Social Issues, edited by Berdahl et al. (2018) examined the role masculine identity has in using work as a mechanism for proving "themselves as 'real men' (422). This paper will build extensively on this research.

The findings of Study One suggest that masculinity barriers in the workplace are located in organizational cultures and not in individual identities. These findings lead to a refined research question for Study Two: Do gendered organizational cultures (as defined by Masculinity Contest Culture [MCC] elements) limit male (and female) managers' ability to embrace gender parity in their organization's processes and decision-making?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research from sociology, gender studies, masculinity studies, organizational behavior, leadership, psychology, economics, law, and business has sought to find the elusive answer to the dilemma of why women are not equally represented in leadership. This interdisciplinary approach offers different perspectives on the complex systems problem (Senge, 1990) of gender inequity and enables solutions to be developed by "getting on the balcony" in order to see the larger organizational system in play (Heifetz et al., 2009). This literature review weaves these different perspectives together, analyzing how bias exists at three levels—the individual level, the structural group level, and the systemic group level—and leads to male resistance to including women as leaders. This literature review summarizes major research on factors that lead to gender inequity in leadership with the ultimate aim of building on existing research by adding an additional factor at play.

Individual Bias

Individual aspects of gender discrimination comprise a large area of study exploring how bias underlies gender inequity in organizations. Bias can be explicit and intentional, meaning that individuals explicitly seek to discriminate against one another for overt and named reasons or implicit and invisible to the person holding the beliefs. Those who intentionally discriminate or treat others unfairly based on biases due to characteristics outside those necessary to complete a particular task (such as race, gender, or disability) will continue to exist within organizations. Increasingly, these are being

managed through a variety of tools, including both legal- (e.g., Title VII and other laws (Diversity Best Practices, 2009)) and compliance-focused policies (McKinsey, 2018).

In contrast, implicit bias is more prevalent and difficult to manage with existing tools because individuals are usually unaware of the underlying biases motivating their decisions (Albiston, 2009; Bertrand et al., 2005; Kahneman, 2003). Although bias is an inherently human part of decision making (Kahneman, 2003; Krieger, 1995), it is often made invisible behind a patina of purported rationality. Historically, this patina has been drawn from early management theory based on Taylorism (Kanter, 1977), making resulting decisions appear objective when in fact they are biased.

Social categorization theory explains how people make immediate (implicit) assumptions using stereotypical belief systems based on external indicators such as gender or race (Taylor, 1981), which are integrated within decision-making processes. These indicators are invisible and as such hidden within the decision-making process itself. In general, because people feel attracted to those that are similar to them, these biases are then exacerbated in organizational processes such as hiring and promotion (Auster & Prasad, 2016). Albiston (2005) notes how implicit gender bias is portrayed in business today "reflects early-twentieth-century assumptions that the normative worker is a male breadwinner with a stay-at-home wife, and that women only work for 'pin money' until they marry and have children" (19, citing Folbre 1991; Frank & Lipner 1988; Fraser & Gordon 1994; Glenn 2002; Okin 1989; Pateman 1988). Albiston also comments that both employees and the law assume that these structures are a "fact" rather than based on underlying assumptions.

One way this manifests is through how gender acts as "an indicator of competence" (Gorman and Kmec, 2009, 1432) that manifests as "decision-makers consider [potential] candidates' record of performance" (1432). This is "noisy" because it is not necessarily directly related to an individual but is inferred based on implicit gender biases (Joshi & Knight, 2015). Decision-making bias is exacerbated by gender because it is used as a proxy to determine effectiveness. Thus, gender bias simplifies decision-making. For women, this negative-competency gender signal can result in the phenomenon of "prove it again," where managers ask women to continually reprove their value (Williams & Dempsey, 2014). In essence, women have to consistently re-signal competence because the gender bias assumption of ineffectiveness overrides other performance indicators. It can also cause those that are the object of stereotypes to internalize the stereotypes and invest less in their skills (Becker, 1993) or behave in ways that conform to the expected stereotype (Detjen et al., 2013).

This embedded bias is further amplified by uncertainty. For example, when decision makers are faced with increased uncertainty and time constraints, they rely on other ways to increase the confidence in their decision (Bertrand et al., 2005). In these cases, "decision-makers are likely to give less weight to candidates' performance records and more to social characteristics, including gender. Consequently, at higher organizational levels, the performance standard for inferring ability is likely to be more lenient for men and more exacting for women, creating a more marked advantage in performance expectations for men" (Gorman & Kmec, 2009, 1434) because the risk is

higher. [3] This could explain why women are more likely to be promoted when the

organization is in a precarious position where the risk of a negative outcome is already

high (Ryan and Haslam, 2007). The higher the organizational hierarchy, the more

discretion, and uncertainty.[4]

Ironically, labeling a culture a meritocracy is another form of bias. Meritocracy is

defined as a system where "everyone has an equal chance to advance and obtain rewards

based on their merits and efforts, regardless of their gender, race, class, or other non-

merit factors" (Castilla & Benard, 2010, 543). Research suggests labeling an organization

as a meritocracy worsens bias against women (Castilla & Benard, 2010). Those who are

deemed meritorious look similar at the top of organizational leadership, rationalization of

their position defends their identity. The usual rationalization is that women "choose" not

to go into senior leadership positions (Sealy, 2010), which justifies the merit frame

without saying women are less capable. The myth of choice suggests that women and

minorities are not in leadership because of their choosing or self-selection.

---

[3] Decision-makers use models to help with their decision making around role placement (Fiske, 2013). For men, when the model includes stereotypical masculine qualities, it can signal positive-competency, making "male candidates seem better suited for the position. In particular, role-incumbent schemas typically include specific abilities and skills, some of which may be stereotypically associated with men or women. Skills can be cognitive and technical ('hard') or interpersonal and motivational ('soft')" (Gorman and Kmec, 2009, 1432-33, citing Zebrowitz, Tenenbaum, and Goldstein 1991; Eagly and Karau 2002; Gorman 2005; Moss and Tilly, 2001).

[4] Therefore, there is a larger reliance on trust which homogeneity infers (Kanter, 1977). Gorman and Kmec found that the "increasing-disadvantage pattern" which women fall into (i.e. Prove-it-again) appears mostly in larger organizations with a clear career trajectory (Gorman and Kmec, 2009, 1465). Interestingly, when a company hires someone externally, they rely on another company's criteria, assuming that the other company has already vetted the competency, decreasing uncertainty. Gender bias becomes the default criteria because it is inherently more trusted since men are considered the default leaders.

Groups: Structural Barriers

Structural barriers within groups constitute an additional factor that can cause biased decision-making or in-group discrimination. For example, a team with only one woman may disregard her opinion or interrupt her more than her male teammates (Chira, 2017). Masculine identity reinforces these barriers where "Managers tend to carefully guard power and privilege for those who fit in, for those they see as 'their kind'" (Kanter, 1977, 48). This "prevalence of favoritism toward members of the focal individual's group, or in-group" (Gorman and Kmec, 2009, 1433) impacts trust and decision making. Called "homosexual reproduction (Kanter, 1977) (also called homosocial reproduction or homophily), "men reproduce themselves in their own image" (48).

Homophily is when people are "attracted" to others based on similar characteristics. This reproduction of similar characteristics becomes replicated in groups. Homophily, defined initially by Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954), is comprised of two types: status-based (based on ascribed status) and value-based (based on similar values and beliefs). As noted above, this status is often imbued via demographic indicators such as gender or race. Holgersson (2013) calls this homosociality, which becomes hegemonic, enforcing masculine gender norms to exclude women and other non-conforming men who do not want to be punished. It is reinforced through "storytelling, humor and banter" (456). The privileged group then defines and reinforces the norms by acting as

gatekeepers, often using micro-aggressions to discount a woman's expertise or silence her to indicate who is in charge (Harding et al., 2017).[5]

In acknowleding structural barriers, businesses often respond with calls for more diversity, which can create problematic inequities. For example, teams often react to calls for more diversity by introducing a single member of the out-group, called a token. In groups, the demographically token member is more prominent, more closely evaluated, and more likely to be categorized according to stereotyped norms (Taylor, 1981). The token experiences micro-aggressions at a far higher rate than non-token women. These microaggressions suggest to the token that they will be unlikely to receive career opportunities (McKinsey, 2018). Increasing team diversity can be a complex issue as more demographic diversity can yield more conflict (Jiatao & Hambrick 2005) because common norms may be more difficult to establish, resulting in reduced process effectiveness (Stahl et al. 2010, Shemla et al. 2016). This same diversity can also create a wider network providing a broader range of organizational connections beneficial to the team (Kleinbaum et al., 2013; Reagans et al., 2004, 106, citing Bantel and Jackson, 1989; March 1991; Ancona and Caldwell, 1992; Pelled, Eisenhardt, and Xin, 1999; Reagans and McEvily, 2003). This tradeoff of increasing demographic diversity can be challenging to overcome.[6]

---

[5] For example, Holgersson (2013) finds that competence is signaled by similarity in her study of Swedish board members. She suggests that homosociality is "embedded not only in the process of recruiting managing directors, but also in the structure of management careers" (463).

[6] I would argue, based on my decades of work with teams, that internal relationships are actually easier to fix within teams whereas external network strength is more difficult to achieve. Team conflict can be managed but usually is not (Webber et al., 2019). This may suggest that if teams more consciously managed their conflicts resulting from demographic diversity within the team, they would be able to benefit from the wider network advantage demographic diversity provides.

Finally, there is also pressure on people in the privileged in-group to help one another. This pressure exists because "social proximity can mitigate informational frictions, thereby enabling transactions to take place that are otherwise inhibited" (Haselmann et al., 2018, 1639). This behavior is costly: Haselmann et al. studied how members of a professional, highly reputable, and influential business club significantly increased their within-group lending. Yet, this lending generated a return of 4.37 percentage points lower than what would have occurred outside the group. The in-group process reduced the profit. While homophily within groups provides some initial benefit, it comes at a long-term cost to the effectiveness of the team and its ability to make wider connections that foster innovation.

Groups: Systemic Bias

Whereas structural barriers refer to the obstacles created within groups, these groups also operate within a larger system that codifies and structures decisions about organizational processes, policies, and even essential assumptions of what matters at work, magnifying the negative impacts of homophily in practice. For example, hiring interview processes are often highly biased. Companies use forms, ask interview questions, and discuss results with interviewing teams. However, research suggests that without a standardized process built to avoid bias, bias is inherent within the process and works against hiring women and minorities (Bohnet, 2016; Watson and Detjen, 2021). These underlying biases become ingrained in organizational processes and group decision-making, institutionalizing structural barriers. Chamorro-Prezmuzic (2019) notes that "subjective evaluations rule and perceptions trump reality" (4), meaning that bias is

inherent in the system. Although there is a movement to change this in the hiring process, the promotion and evaluation process has built-in bias and is not adequately adapted.

These assumptions manifest in gender pay gaps. Pay differentials are based on the previously discussed assumption that gender evokes capability. This stems from a historical bifurcation of men's and women's labor. Braunstein (2008) highlights how economist Gary Becker has evaluated the division of labor at home and notes the price women pay in the workplace for their at-home work. Becker says "the housework responsibilities" of married women are a key factor in gender earnings differentials (Becker 1985, 535), but Braunstein (2008) astutely highlights that Becker uses the word responsibility instead of choice. Framing this economic situation as a responsibility signals that the gendered role allocation of housework is "natural" rather than showcasing that it is simply the way society has differentiated labor – an assumption – that can be changed. It also misses the key question of why society has deemed "responsibility" as "free" rather than as something with economic value. This perception of the bifurcation of responsibility between work and home persists despite the substantial shift in women's career expectations. The economics literature highlights how the concept of agency shifted women's career expectations in the 1960s and 70s. This shift increased women's expectations about careers as a lifetime pursuit and increased women's participation in the workforce. It also aligned career as an integral part of women's identity (Goldin, 2006). Today, women report that career is important at a rate similar to men (EY, 2015; Detjen et al., 2013).

Laws have been enacted to attempt to break apart this systemic bias. Law bounds behavior. However, Albiston (2005) shows that although laws such as the Family

Medical Leave Act (FMLA) cannot change these perceptions by themselves, they can facilitate broader change because they indicate that the fundamental assumption is just an assumption, thus enabling society to adapt the perceptions around the laws. Because these perceptions are in flux, the boundaries of laws are difficult to enforce. Discrimination law generally requires the behavior to be defined as intentional. Thus, when managers are given more discretion on personnel decisions such as promotion, hiring, or pay, the discretion allows bias to infect unchecked decisions, creating more leeway for individual managers to discriminate (Thompson Ford, 2014; Elvira & Graham, 2002; Reskin & McBrier, 2000). This makes the legal boundaries of discrimination very difficult to prosecute. Krieger (1995) concurs, noting how cognitive bias is embedded in decision-making but has not been incorporated into how the law is adjudicated, making it very difficult to find evidence of discrimination.[7]

The systemic bias is in part reinforced by how performance is rewarded (i.e., rewards indicate effectiveness, and those that are well-rewarded are typically promoted into leadership). Rewards often reflect the assumptions that hours equals productivity and that work should be all-consuming. These assumptions make any women (or men) who seek a more flexible work schedule less valued in terms of promotability and pay (Padavic et al., 2016). As Becker (1985) described, because women seek the flexible

---

[7] Albiston (2009) furthers this argument in the context of pregnancy and parenting. With regards to pregnancy, courts allow employers to fire pregnant workers if they aren't firing them because they are pregnant. Albiston frames the courts' view as an assumption that pregnancy reduces a female employee's productivity. The courts in essence accept face-time as a proxy for productivity and therefore do not question the assumption underlying that argument. Courts frame the constraints of work for working women as a choice – yet again highlighting that it is an individual problem and an assumption due to women's unique responsibilities rather than reframing the systemic assumptions that create the constraint.

work schedule more, it results in gendered rewards, including the ability to move into leadership positions. This "Put work first" assumption (Berdahl et al., 2018) explains much of the wage differential (Goldin, 2014; Weeden et al., 2016). Goldin (2014) highlights the growth in this gap as an increase in the winner-take-all reward system, especially prevalent in jobs where there is a premium on competition, precisely the type of work in which women often struggle due other constraints. Thus, women are paid less and viewed as less able (and willing) to do what is required to move into leadership, despite the lack of benefit to the organization in increased productivity (Weeden et al., 2016). There seems to be systemic and financial benefit to longer hours that only accrues to a few, predominantly men. This work structure is so normalized that any deviation is considered an individual problem, not a systemic one (Albiston, 2005, citing Drimmer 1993; Hochs- child 1997; MacKinnon 1989; Okin 1989; Oliver 1990; Pateman 1988; J. Williams 1989, 2000). This structure is exacerbated by a preponderance of men married to stay-at-home wives at executive levels. Women married to men who "overwork" are more likely to quit (Cha, 2010) furthering the promotion process and associating promotion with men.

However, forces are pressing for change. Goldsheider et al. (2015) note that rather than fixing the current societal role structure and attitudes, these structures are in transition. They describe the first gender revolution as women going to work. When women first went to work, they had to continue working at home because their male partners expected them to. But when women went to work *en masse*, this expectation shifted because women were less willing to do the home shift (at least compared to previously). They find that younger and more educated fathers are increasingly taking on

homecare. That is, the historical bifurcation of work as a "'male' place" and home as 'female'" (218) is shifting the fundamental values (we could call them assumptions) of who should do what, based solely on gender. Even men are beginning to highlight the damage that this work structure causes, what Alexis Ohanian, founder of Reddit, calls "hustle porn" and the glorification of overwork (Gee, 2019).

Another systemic driving factor builds on Albiston's (2005) point about the role of changing societal norms. Multiple practitioner studies on Millennials and Generation Z illustrate the changing nature of these norms. Deloitte notes how Millennials want companies to improve society and help employees (Deloitte 2019). They want to work in a diverse environment and be fairly rewarded for their work (Pfau, 2016, IBM Institute for Business Value, 2015). Ernst and Young (2015) find that seventy-two percent of Millennials have quit due to excessive hours and sixty-six percent due to insufficient flexibility, indicating Millennials want work to be structured differently. Millennials are also keenly aware the social contract has changed and that workplace loyalty to employees is gone. Thus, they are less willing to give up their lives for employers (Ng et al., 2010).

Millennial and Generation Z heterosexual men see gender and ethnicity obstacles at rates equal to diverse groups, whereas men 45 and older tend not to see these barriers (Krentz et al., 2019). Another change is that Millennials are more likely to be in a dual-career relationship and have grown up in a household where their mother worked (Harrington et al., 2017). These two factors suggest that Millennial men are more likely to help at home and Millennial women to hold jobs with more responsibility (McGinn et al., 2015). These shifts combine to nudge societal norms around gendered roles towards

more equity. Thus, despite the seemingly entrenched systemic barriers, large generational shifts are exacting pressure to change.

<center>Masculine Identity</center>

Some research has been done on the role masculine identity plays in creating these biases and barriers. Gender identity seems to be defined in childhood and then becomes an invisible, embedded part of one's identity – and a frame through which the world is processed and understood (Terjesen et al., 2009). The male identity is socialized as opposite to femininity: "The construct of masculinity ideology involves the endorsement of male role norms that prescribe toughness, status, and … anti-femininity as essential components of masculinity" (Kilianski, 2003, 40). Kimmel (2004) talks about masculinity as "a man in power, a man with power, and a man of power" (85). Bird (1996) defines masculinity as "not-feminine" (125). She highlights three areas of masculinity, all of which contribute to the "separation and distinction" of identity from other men and, most importantly, women: suppression of emotions, competition, and "the sexual objectification of women" (122-3). Brown (2012) discusses how realizing masculinity requirements mean men hide feelings of shame and vulnerability such that men have to prove their worth even more. The penalty for violating these norms is a loss of status. Kimmel (2004) suggests that "Manhood is demonstrated for other men's approval" (87) and notes that proving manhood is "one of [society's] props" (87).

In summary, Gorman and Kmec (2009) find that masculine skills are "more likely to be part of the role-incumbent profile when the role carries high status or authority because prevalent cultural beliefs associate status and authority with men" (1436, citing Eagly & Karau 2002; Lucas 2003; Ridge-way & Correll 2004). This becomes

definitional; that is, it becomes an invisible part of the job definition itself, disadvantaging women because of the masculine-equals-competent signal described above.[8] Kanter calls this the "masculine ethic" and discusses how historically, managerial skills such as problem-solving and decision-making were associated with men (Kanter, 1977). Berdahl et al. (2018) expand on this conflation of masculinity and dominant organizational norms by defining four dimensions of masculine identity as exemplified within the organizational culture, what they label "Masculinity Contest Cultures" (MCC):

1) "Show no Weakness": "a swaggering confidence that admits no doubt, worries, confusion or mistakes, as well as suppressing any tender, feminine emotions" (Berdahl et al., 2018, 433)

2) "Strength and stamina": "associates achieving workplace respect and status with being the "sturdy oak": physically strong and athletic, with endurance and stamina (e.g., ability to work long hours without breaks), even in occupations that involve mental rather than physical labor" (Berdahl et al., 2018, 433).

3) "Put work first": "becoming a 'big wheel' by brooking no interference with work from any outside or personal sources, such as family obligations, not taking any breaks or leaves" (Berdahl et al., 2018, 433).

---

[8] Even when the role itself changes, such as when companies implement less hierarchical processes (i.e. less traditionally masculine, whereby for example, people are encouraged to seek help in their work and idea generation), Ashcraft (2005) has found there is pressure to reframe the situation to maintain masculine identity. For example, when airlines implemented more empowerment in flight crews to increase voice and safety, male pilots framed this in paternalistic terms indicating they were in charge and this process was designed to keep them in charge while motivating those on the team. Men have to work at it and "often seem preoccupied with the creation and maintenance of various masculine identities and with the expression of gendered power and status in the workplace" (Collinson & Hearn, 1994, 8, citing Willis 1977; Knights 1990; Collinson 1992). Further, women poised to take on these roles often feel they must choose to sacrifice part of their feminine identity as they assume the masculine identity associated with the leader-equals-male stereotype (Sealy, 2010).

4) "'Dog-eat-dog": "characterizes the workplace as a hypercompetitive or gladiatorial arena where winners dominate and exploit the losers; rivals must be crushed ("give 'em hell") because others cannot be trusted" (Berdahl et al., 2018, 433).

These dimensions serve to perpetuate hegemonic masculinity, enabling men who embody them to dominate in leadership.

Finally, as Vandello and Bosson (2013) describe, masculine identity is precarious. Similar to women having to "prove it again," a masculine identity requires work to preserve, has negative impacts for men's mental health and likely has negative impacts on women within organizations..[9]

Homophily is further embedded within a culture by the conflation of masculine norms with corporate culture. As noted above, according to Berdahl et al. (2018), MCC norms are reinforced because they become embedded as part of the culture, creating a "zero-sum competition played according to rules defined by masculine norms" (429). Kuchynka et al. (2018) suggest that this zero-sum mindset results in binary thinking whereby men assume that "gains made by women must come at men's expense" (544) and results in defensive and even aggressive behavior to protect the status quo.

Identity is "how people see themselves and what is important to them given their needs and desires. Consistent with symbolic interactionism and its immediate descendent, identity theory (Burke, 1991, 1996; Stryker & Statham, 1985), identity is based on meaning in the form of behavioral expectations, with special emphasis on 'meanings and

---

[9] As noted here, there is a growing body of research focusing on masculinity. However, there has been very limited research connecting masculinity to gender disparities in leadership roles in the workplace.

expectations one attributes to oneself in a role (and that others attribute to one)' (Burke, 1996, p.142). Thus, identity reflects priorities that guide actions across situations and over time (Stets, 2006)" (Farmer & Van Dyne, 2010, p. 504). The role of a leader carries certain expectations and responsibilities, aspects that result in certain behaviors such as holding someone accountable for meeting a deadline. In addition, the need for individuals to seek more identification with work seems to be increasing (Ashforth et al., 2008). Billig and Tajfel (1978) describe this as social identity, "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (63). Social identity is further deepened by "role occupancy [which] provides structural cues that activate self-schemata associated with the role (Lord et al., 2001), and this activation is especially strong for identities that are psychologically central" (Farmer & Van Dyne, 2010, p. 511). Growing research on social identity complexity suggests that there are "nested identities, [where] the meanings attributed" to one's identity tend to merge (Ashforth et al., 2008, p. 358) and is stronger at a more localized level such as a team or role (Ashforth, 2016) suggesting that perhaps masculinity is not the primary driver blocking change within biased processes.

Conclusory Comments

Academic scholarship has extensively described the role discrimination plays - both intentional and implicit - in preventing women's equity in the workplace. In-depth research has also studied the embedded bias in systemic and structural barriers that contribute to and exacerbate workplace inequity. However, it is unclear from the research

whether a core underlying aspect of masculinity constitutes a contributing obstacle, preventing senior leaders from making significant, substantive changes towards gender parity. As described above, scholars have constructed and hypothesized about the role of masculinity in the workplace but have only begun to study its impact through qualitative interviews and surveys of senior leaders. This research builds on multiple works which examined the role of masculinity and changing workplace norms. For example, Padavic et al. (2016), examined senior male leadership resistance when confronted with knowledge that their approach to Work-Life Balance initiatives was gendered. Berdahl et al. (2018), edited a special issue in Social Issues on Masculine Contest Cultures and Ashcraft (2005), evaluated the resistance of airline pilots when their masculine identity was "threatened" with the empowerment of decision-making. Although generational attitudinal shifts have been documented and may contribute to a partial alleviation in the systemic barriers to gender equity, the impact of the shift on masculinity in workplace decision-making remains an open question and maybe a further area of research for this project. Given these generational changes, an examination of masculine identity and its impact is particularly warranted since younger generations are generally more open to about their gender identities and biases, so they change themselves and positively impact society or the organization in which they work. This research initially examined whether masculine identity has a role in creating resistance behavior to equity actions by senior leaders. However, while the original proposition focused on individual masculine identity, the findings suggest that more of a focus on organizational identity and culture is required.

Research Proposition

To identify the underlying reasons why women have been excluded from leadership, this research first tested the role of masculine identity on male leaders. Study One did not find that masculine identity propelled the persistence of MCC norms finding instead that these norms were embedded in culture and processes perpetuated MCC behaviors. Study Two examined this relationship further by testing the following proposition: Do gendered organizational cultures (as defined by MCC elements) limit male (and female) managers' ability to embrace gender parity in their organization's processes and decision-making?

CHAPTER 3

STUDY ONE

Methodology

Research Philosophy

Because of the limited research done on masculinity as it relates to decision making, promotion, and workplace culture, the research approach was interpretative. The author has over thirty years of business experience focused on organizational change, which enables her to "speak the same language as the people being studied" (Myers, 2013, 39) and creates a context to allow for more effective interpretation. Specifically, the research approach focused on "social critique, whereby the supposedly restrictive and alienating conditions of the status quo are brought to light" (Myers, 2013, 43) and seek to identify phenomena that can shed light on why women are not making it to the top echelons of power.

Research Approach

The research approach was a mixed methods study to further develop the nascent field of masculinity research and its relationship to organizational leadership. The research sought to answer "questions about both the complex nature of phenomenon from the participants' point of view and the relationship between measurable variables" (Williams, 2007, 70).

To do this, there were two stages of research using a mixed methods approach (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004), focused on Greene et al. (1989)'s development approach to enable a deeper understanding of factors at play and which increases "the

validity of constructs and inquiry results by capitalizing on inherent method strengths"
(259) . Study One used a qualitative study followed by Study Two which was
quantitative whereby "the results are used to help select the sample, develop the
instrument, or inform the analysis for the other method" (259). Both methods investigated
the phenomenon of the role of MCC norms on leaders and organizations.

Study One focused on gathering the experiences of senior male executives, and
the relationship between masculine identity, masculine culture and leadership. By
focusing on the aspects of culture and leadership that have already been defined in
previous research as male (Berdahl et al., 2018; Glick et al., 2018), the author has
inductively enabled the theory to arise from the interview analysis.

In Study One, the approach was a qualitative interview study. The study was
originally designed to focus predominantly on the finance industry in order "to provide
in-depth insight into a phenomenon, … selecting a small but informative sample"
(Williams, 2007, 70) of the phenomenon of masculinity in culture. However, the
researcher had difficulty finding sufficient numbers of participants in the finance
industry. She then expanded the search to cover multiple industries and successfully
interviewed ten executive leaders enabling her to reach saturation of themes (Hagaman &
Wutich, 2017),

The researcher conducted one-hour qualitative interviews in which she asked
senior, male leaders about their culture and leadership approach at their companies. The
researcher analyzed these interviews to determine whether there was a cultural barrier
based in masculinity norms and to determine if there were underlying assumptions related
to performance based in gender bias.

Strategy and Research Design

Study One focused on male executives because across industries, men dominate senior leadership ranks. The industries represented in the study include:

Table 1.		
Interviewee Industries and Associated Percentage of Women in Leadership		
Industry	No. of Interviewees	Percent of leadership held by women
Chemical	1	12.8% (Tullo, 2017)
Commercial Banking	2	4% (Firestone, 2019)
General Finance	1	30.7% (Catalyst, 2019b)
Insurance	1	30.7% (Catalyst, 2019b)
Investment	1	4% (Firestone, 2019)
Oil and Gas	1	17% (Catalyst, 2019c)
Science	1	22% White women and 4% Women of Color (AWIS, 2019)
Technology	2	24% (White, 2019)

Study One used semi-structured one-hour interviews of ten male executives in various types of companies ranging from non-profit private equity firms, large multi-national investment banks, and large insurance/pension funds. The companies ranged in size from mid-size to large multi-nationals.

A semi-structured approach was chosen to enable "the interviewee to talk freely and tell … everything that he or she considers to be important" (Myers, 2013, p.123) using the IRB-approved interview guide (refer to Table 2) as a guide. The questions were chosen based on four sources:

1) A framework from the literature review based on the MCC (Berdahl et al., 2018; Glick et al., 2018)

2) Conversations with Joel Gershenfeld,[10] an experienced researcher who has extensive experience with large-scale systems change

3) A study done on masculine culture norms and change (Ely and Meyerson, 2010)

4) A framework for uncovering hidden assumptions called Immunity to Change (Kegan and Lahey, 2009). The questions related to this framework were not used due to insufficient time.

The approach was discussed and validated in conversations with four experts: Joel Gershenfeld as noted above, Robin Ely,[11] a leading expert in gender research, Michael Kimmel,[12] a leading expert in masculinity research and Lisa Lahey[13] who developed the Immunity to Change framework in conjunction with Robert Kegan. The researcher employed indirect questioning to minimize social desirability bias (Fisher, 1993).

Questions were grouped by three main areas based on the literature review: the role of fit (Rivera, 2012) and homophily (Holgersson, 2013), masculine culture context norms (Berdahl et al., 2018; Glick et al., 2018), and resistance due to masculinity (Ashcraft, 2005, Kuchynka et al., 2018).

---

[10]https://www.brandeis.edu/facultyguide/person.html?emplid=39367aa9b387b4d46a95956f614c8a82139d774d

[11] https://www.hbs.edu/faculty/Pages/profile.aspx?facId=7287

[12] http://www.michaelkimmel.com/

[13] https://mindsatwork.com/who-we-are/

The target interviewee in Study One was male because males represent the largest percentage in leadership (see Table 1), remain in the pipeline as women leave (Huang et al., 2019) and as a result, are the ones who typically make promotion decisions. In addition, as leaders, they role model the culture that either enables or creates a barrier for people looking to be promoted (Sealy & Singh, 2010). Study One asked questions derived from the research-based construct around MCC characteristics defined by Berdahl et al. (2018) and Glick et al. (2018) specifically to identify the related underlying assumptions.

Table 2.

Interview Questions

Model Construct	Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Role of "fit" (Rivera, 2012)
 	
& Homophily (Holgersson, 2013)
	1. In your organization, if a new person joins the team, how would you describe "how it works around here"?
	     a. If not sure, prompt with how decisions get made, who has the most power, how influence is "done",
	     b. What behavior is rewarded?
	     c. For what behavior and/or actions are the biggest rewards given?
	     d. What type of people get promoted
	     e. What happens to effective people who don't get promoted.

Masculinity Context Norms Berdahl et al., 2018; Glick et al., 2018) • "Show no weakness" • "Put work first" • "Strength and stamina"	2. Experts report that there are certain characteristics that predominant in senior leadership. I want to understand what they mean to you. 1. How does strength manifest in senior leadership? 2. What does self-sufficiency mean (i.e. asking for help)? 3. Resilience? 4. Sacrifice? Especially in relation to family obligations? 5. Competitive?

• "Dog eat dog"	6. Ambition?
	3. What assumptions are made around these characteristics?
Resistance due to Masculinity (Ashcraft, 2005)	4. Imagine if your leadership team were 50% women and 50% men. What would change?

Study One: Data Collection and Analysis Methods

Data Collection

The author identified interviewees for Study One through her network. The author reached out to personal contacts across industries and connections gathered from a Women on Boards Alumni meeting at which she spoke in Fall 2020. In addition, from this initial pool, she utilized the snowball sampling technique (Creswell and Poth, 2017) by starting with the initial interviewees or contacts and then asked for recommendations of others who were willing to interviewed. The author conducted the interviews from November 2019 through February 2020.

The author recorded and transcribed Study One interviews wherever possible using Zoom or Voice Memo (iPhone). Zoom has a built-in transcription service. For Voice Memo recordings, an online service Temi.com was used. As expected, one interviewee did not give permission to be recorded. In this case and as a backup for all interviewees, the author typed notes in Word. Even when the interview was transcribed, there was a typed backup. Three interviews were conducted in person, one on the phone and six using Zoom with video.

The interviews were cleaned and edited for correctness, comparing the written notes with the transcription where possible. Validation using the audio recording was unnecessary as using the transcription plus the backup notes was sufficient to edit accurately.

Data Analysis

Coding was completed in two cycles with one "hybrid cycle that lies in between them" (Saldana, 2016, 68). The author used the analysis tool NVIVO, a qualitative data analysis software by QSR International, to do thematic text analysis. As Campbell et al. (2013) suggest, the primary investigator (researcher) determined the meaningful units (i.e. the sections of the interviews that need to be coded). For cycle one, the primary investigator identified 225 codes using an eclectic approach that combined descriptive and In Vivo coding (Saldaña, 2016). From this list, in between cycle one and two, the primary investigator organized the codes into thirty-two thematic categories. The second cycle of coding used Axial coding to "strategically reassemble data that were 'split' or 'fractured' during the Initial Coding process (Strauss & Corbrin, 1998, p. 124)" (Saldana, 2016, p. 244). The primary investigator identified 503 coded phrases across the interviews.

Interrater reliability and agreement were assessed using the following process:

1) Campbell et al. (2013) recommend a minimum sample of 10% of the meaningful units; thus, the primary investigator used Excel to select a random sample of 20% of the interview passages yielding 102 coded phrases.

2) The primary investigator produced the code book of thirty-two thematic codes to share with a peer DBA student[14] who independently assigned the codes to the passages. Initial interrater reliability was low as expected at 30.2%. The primary investigator used the simple calculation based on the criteria outlined by Campbell et al. (2013).

3) Campbell et al. (2013) note that in research where "coding requires great sensitivity not only to obvious meanings but also more subtle meanings" (306), a negotiated agreement method can be used to help reconcile differences. The primary investigator and peer coder walked through the 102 passages and negotiated the codes. Using this approach, intercoder agreement rose to 87.7%.

4) After agreement, the primary investigator applied the agreed upon coding approach on the remaining texts.

Similar to how Dekas et al. (2013) approach coding, the primary investigator analyzed the thematic categories from the coding process by percentage (i.e. how often they appeared in the interview transcripts) and the number noted by interviewee.

Using an iterative process, the final step in analysis integrated the summaries by code, interviewee and the included theoretical aspects as defined in the literature. The primary investigator did some clustering (Miles et al., 2020) to further group the themes in line with the research. For example, "show no weakness" (Berdahl et al., 2018), clustered together codes under the themes of emotional intelligence, strength, culture and leadership.

---

[14] David Brown, Jr., Temple University DBA 2021

Findings

Three major findings emerged from the interviews. 1) There was widespread

evidence that the four MCC norms are in place and are being practiced and reinforced to

an extent. More specifically, senior leaders were practicing three of these norms in part

and were particularly practicing the "work as primary" norm which they deemed as

essential to their organizational success. 2) Contrary to the original proposition, these

behavioral norms did not seem to be related to protecting the leader's individual

masculine identity as much as they related to the leader's buy-in of the organizational,

cultural norms which were built from masculine norms. But, 3) the norms were changing

due to exogenous factors that were reducing these behaviors, particularly related to

Millennial attitudes, views of women in leadership and a cultural shift in the definition of

effective leadership. There was evidence that change is afoot.

Finding I: Reinforced Masculinity Contest Norms Are Widely Evident

In this study, MCC norms (Berdahl et al., 2018) were evident but were not fully

displayed. Of the four norms ((1) "Show no weakness," (2) "Strength and stamina," (3)

"Put work first," and (4) "Dog eat dog,"), Norm (3) was strongly in evidence while

Norms (1), (2) and (4) showed a shift in definition from the original definition.

1. "Show no weakness"

Berdahl et al.'s (2018) definition of "swaggering confidence" (433) was not as

evident as expected. Instead, there was a consistent theme that asking for help is

important, even necessary to be successful. The following quotes exemplify this theme:

> What we do as part of this sort of onboarding process is reinforce
> the fact that if you have a problem, you're never going to get in
> trouble. If you ask for help soon in the process, the only time you're

ever going to get in trouble is if you delay asking for help. (P3, Investment Executive).

Can't possibly have all the answers –sometimes vulnerability (in a good way) and humility go together – if you don't have humility it's hard to work in any professional services business. (P2, Former Oil and Gas Executive).

There was also a strong emphasis on experimentation and fostering an open culture:

There's a place for shaping things and being imaginative and trying to do special things… If you show something new, people are willing to take a look at it. You can create your room if you really believe in something. (P9, Science Executive).

Like many organizations now, we work in a very open-door environment. So, the vast majority of our workspace is trading-desk-like situations. (P5, Commercial Banking Executive).

Being open and transparent and being fact-based. Never been driven by politics and power. (P4, Finance Board Member).

In addition, instead of the MCC characteristic of suppressing more feminine emotions,

some executives valued caring and vulnerability:

It's not a transactional relationship. You care, you show care. You're authentic, you care. You're, you know, you're grateful. (P8, Technology Executive).

There was also significant evidence that strong egos (the "swagger") were not

welcome and were in fact being managed out.

Really gotta be super stars to overcome the ass side. We don't permit it – no matter how commercial – if they are a complete jerk – clearly people say that guy is a horse's ass. (P1, Commercial Banking Executive).

If I say something inappropriate to anybody on my team or anybody else's team, I get taken aside and then I get to come back, sit down with everybody that was in earshot of that and hear my apology. Um, hear me walk back my statements and hear me basically go in front of a, you know, it's a penance, right? And so that happens. If it happens once, okay, if it happens twice and we've got a problem, it happened three times and you're going to start to see the personal ramifications of that bad behavior. (P3, Investment Executive)

There's been one that we've been able, I think that I've been able to coach and train and save, but for the most part, over the last three years we've had three people [that had to be let go]. So for the people who we fought through with this, ultimately only one of them has stayed and made a remarkable transformation. The other three we actually moved out of the business. (P10, Technology Executive).

Leaders who aren't like that [not open and collaborative]: they're not effective, they create a bad climate and culture, people don't trust them. People view them as trying to create an empire, an ulterior motive. People who operate that way get exposed. (P6, Insurance Executive).

But it wasn't always something that leaders were taught. Vulnerability and reducing the swagger was a skill that some leaders had to learn.

Vulnerability was hard to show [in my old company]. People would make assumptions that someone was strong because they didn't show the vulnerability… I've had to learn how to demonstrate some level of vulnerability, I've had to learn how. (P4, Finance Board Member).

Many aspects of "showing no weakness" were still alive and well, admiring a leader that "admits no doubt, worries, confusion or mistakes" (Berdahl et al., 2018, p. 433) but were tempered with more traditional feminine characteristics such as support and compliments:

I think from a strength attribute perspective, the most valuable response to a stressful scenario is almost a Navy seal analogy. So if somebody's shooting at you or throwing grenades at you, the calmer you become, the more able you are to make good decisions. And the more able and willing other people are to perform around you because they're not concerned about whether or not you're nervous. Their job becomes easier because they can focus on the task at hand and solve the problem. And so the truly great leaders, when stressful situations present themselves become more calm, not less, become more supportive, not harried, become more complimentary, not less so, because that instills trust and confidence of the people around them because ultimately their job is to make everybody else better. (P1, Commercial Banking Executive).

But the recognition that vulnerability is required was tempered by a fear that a leader "can't go too far or you might 'coddle'" (P8, Technology Executive). Especially in

an MCC industry culture such as technology, leaders believed women have to show

"more edge" (P8, Technology Executive) than the men in order to get ahead career-wise.

The value of suppressing one's feelings was still very much embedded in some

organizational norms:

> You're not going to do it. You've got to show why you are so
> deserving and after, when you are disappointed, then the
> conversation – all about who made it [got promoted] and why didn't
> it everyone? The promotions happen and there's an enormous month
> of pain where all the people who were hopeful and didn't make it
> are figuring out who's staying and who's leaving [and asking
> themselves] is this going to work or not. Brutal month. A bunch time
> talking people off the ledges. To help them make a decision and not
> necessarily to stay – is someone so grieved and can't stand it? Time
> for you to leave. You get a month to grieve and go crazy – put the
> boots back on and go back to battle. If you're keep whining they will
> ask you to leave. If you can't get over this, it's time to go. If you're
> bitter – if you complain, the firm will scoop you right out. (P1,
> Commercial Banking Executive).

However, while there was still some suggestion that the non-emotional strong

"man" is required, most organizations seemed to recognize the damage it is doing and

were working to change that behavior. They were in fact, increasing the expectation that

openness and vulnerability are required leadership behaviors.

2. "Strength and stamina"

Strength and stamina showed up somewhat but there seemed to be a change in

how it is being defined. Half of the interviewees discussed resilience and perseverance in

relation to strength as exemplified by the quote:

> It really is the ability to see things through and not let deterrence or
> obstacles, get in your way, and the ability to have a longer view.
> (P10, Technology Executive).

This compared with several interviews who discussed strength in masculine terms:

> Really no, I'd rather you push yourself, mentally, physically push
> yourself to the edge. But, you know, if you go over that cliff, you

know, fine, there are plenty of people here, they're going to pick you back up. (P8, Technology Executive).

[Success requires] a lot of great effort – [you] don't have to be a genius, [After giving work everything] - you wake up and it's changes your life 20 years later. (P1, Commercial Banking Executive).

Additionally, masculinity and strength were evident in how some behaved and were rewarded:

Speaking loud, fast bold decisions. Very kind of masculine strengths. I'm the loudest, the smartest. Whatever. The young man that came in to take over for the COO role – just the way he would talk in meetings – black and white – no discussion, we should do this, blah blah blah. There was little discussion about options and uncertainties. (P2, Former Oil and Gas Executive)

One interviewee specifically discussed how a traditional definition of masculinity and strength epitomized his former company. But, when he left to become a CEO, he made a conscious decision *not* to emphasize this attribute.

Those people who were self-sufficient made it. The problem was we had, you know, out of 10 people we threw in the water, nine drowned and one made it out. So it's an attribute that, you know, I almost feel like we had, but we're trying to get away from a little bit. (P10, Technology Executive).

The way the interviewees described strength was shifting away from the Berdahl (2018) definition, becoming more in line with more mainstream discussions around Grit (Duckworth, 2016) and Resilience (20 Best Resilience Books For Creating Mental Toughness).[15]

---

[15] Note: recent research is now questioning the value of these attributes (Spicer, 2018) but they are still very evident in mainstream managerial discussion.

3. "Put work first"

The incidence of the "put work first" norm was overwhelmingly evident across all the interviews. Even when there was a recognition of flexibility in how people did their work (e.g. "do what you need to do as long as you get the work done" (P6, Insurance Executive)), there was a clear expectation that work would be a priority. This expectation was more likely as people progressed in the hierarchy: "[You] have more work alcoholics as you get higher" (P6, Insurance Executive). At the upper levels, it was simply definitional of the role: "I would say that the time that you dedicate to the company is arguably the largest sacrifice that people have to make" (P7, Chemical Manufacturer Executive).

For the finance and technology industry interviewees, as Reid et al. (2018) finds, an extreme form of commitment was required:

> This woman who's worked for me is in a real position of authority and power hasn't yet made partner – has everything it takes to [be] commercial – she has [two young children] and her husband [has a job where he is not well-paid]. Her mother is ill. She's trying to figure out how to make this work. My co-lead [told her] you've gotta get through the next 5 years. From a point of caring, he was being brutal and honest, he told her you will continue to rise and you will be successful but you gotta get from here to there. Staff up [at home], do whatever it takes but don't walk away. Hire as much help as you can. But she's at this breaking point. (P1, Commercial Banking Executive).

Others were more tempered in their description, understanding that people have lives:

> We build the systems. Whether it's a customer issue where we've had engineers who have had to work 24 hours straight. We try and scope that in the context of the corporate values. There are going to be times when sacrifices are required. Recognize these times and be prepared for it. In return, you're going to get a company that's very flexible in terms of taking as much vacation as you want, or having personal time to go do stuff. And so that's kind of a pact we have

with our employees that there's going to be times of need and [vice versa]. (P10, Technology Executive).

But the assumption of work-first was often unquestioned. One interviewee went out of his way to ensure that anyone he hired conformed to this norm: "I set up interviews particularly on the weekends to see if [the interviewee] would do that because I don't think our lives are around a nine to five perspective, you always got to be kind of thinking about it" (P8, Technology Executive).

The sacrifice required went unquestioned and was considered part of the role for many:

> Everything seems urgent and needs to be done immediately and to focus on the important things becomes really difficult. You don't have time to think for 10 minutes so they're constantly reacting to stuff. (P9, Science Executive).

> We lived [internationally] and the amount of birthdays I've missed for my kids, you know, I regret that now, but those are the sacrifices, you make. (P8, Technology Executive)

> If you're starting in banking, I'm willing to make it at the expense of family and kids. At [the] expense of a lot of things. (P1, Commercial Banking Executive).

Nonetheless, across of all the interviews, there was a suggestion of a shift happening.

Some organizations were further along and embedded it into their culture:

> I work really hard – not smartly – bigger sacrifice in [my previous company] was family. But [at my current company], it is very, very different. [Senior leadership] are living the balancing - truly trying to get balance into their lives. (P4, Finance Board Member).

> We do a really, really good job at work life balance. We support all kinds of work arrangements. We're very virtual and getting more at working from home. My BU [business unit] has multiple locations – quite a bit. The expectation as a culture is if you have to leave and do something with your kids it's ok. (P6, Insurance Executive).

There was also an increased recognition of the cost/benefit of work-life balance.

But I also try to keep a balance in life so that you keep a clear brain when it comes to the important decisions and not necessarily never go on vacation (P9, Science Executive).

I think you feel overwhelmed when you're involved in everything. I think you feel mostly behind and I think I've been able to translate some of this [freedom by doing less work] into more strategic thinking more strategic planning and more focused activities that can have a bigger impact on the business. (P10, Technology Executive).

But a mismatch between behavior and words appeared in many of the interviews as well. Many interviewees said that work-family balance mattered but then chose to be "all in" at work. They seemed aware that they needed to, at a minimum, pay lip-service to the idea but had not fully adopted it as a behavior. The expectation of "Put work first" seemed to be still in evidence despite a shift in awareness of the importance of balance.

4. "Dog eat dog"

Competition as a cultural norm was still evident in many of the interviews:

We were the fighter you don't want to face because keeping us when we never go down. That that's how I think about that one. (P10, Technology Executive, speaking about how his firm responds to external competition).

Definitely frowned upon to denigrate other people. That's not the way it works. At the same time, you know, there are only so many seats. (P1, Commercial Banking Executive).

I think that the people who are doing well – can't have 100% of your people promoted – need solid contributors and who view themselves that way. (P6, Insurance Executive).

There was also some suggestion of staving "off the threat of femininization" as organizations shift what is valued (Ashcraft, 2005). One interviewee masculinized collaboration noting that they practice "extreme collaboration" (P8, Technology Executive). However, this was not the norm. Most interviewees spoke of these changes

positively and mirrored the wider business trend of a significantly increased role and importance of collaboration at work (Adams, 2013; S. M. Lee et al., 2012).

This shift was evident across the interviews, where eight interviewees mentioned collaboration as integral to their culture, suggesting that there is a shift towards a more feminine style described in research as nurturing, encouraging, participative and collaborative (Weinberg et al., 2019). Interviewees used words like consensus, gaining buy-in, involvement, learning together, participatory, "succeed together" (P10, Technology Executive).

Additionally, interviewees spoke of the importance of emotional intelligence as integral to effectiveness:

> Importance of the soft skills – leadership and management – commercially leading a business of scale and size requires [emotional intelligence]. (P1, Commercial Banking Executive).

> [We want people with] emotional stability and consistency. (P10, Technology Executive)

> She's very good at taking constructive feedback … we do her review with her based on 360 feedback, not the board making judgments, we take the data we've got from the review process. She wants to learn and she's curious. (P4, Finance Board Member, speaking about the CEO's effective leadership skills).

Additionally, interviewees highlighted an increased awareness and value on supporting and developing people

> But you also have to help coach them … to me coaching that person, helping them with growth and development, whether your individual contributor or leader. (P8, Technology Executive).

> How you give people the opportunity to grow. (P7, Chemical Executive).

> She [the CEO] started to give people an opportunity to do things they hadn't done before and gave them freedom to ask why they were doing things. (P2, Former Oil and Gas Executive).

So while competition was evident simply because there are limited promotional opportunities within organizations, there was a transition towards – and a vocalized need for - leadership skills that are not based in competition.

Finding II: Complex identities prioritize organizational and

leadership identity – not masculine identity

The initial proposition of this exploratory research was to determine the extent to which masculine identity itself was a primary driver for the MCC elements. The interviewees did not exhibit behavior indicating they felt "particular pressure to prove themselves as "real men" (Berdahl et al., 2018). In fact, what was clearer was that organizational identity seemed to matter and that the individual identity was conflated with the organization's identity. Scott et al. (1998) note that "identity is shaped by and revealed through discourse" and that many aspects of identity may be institutionalized (e.g., roles) and thus located in places other than memory or cognition (e.g., established common rules, rituals, handbooks, plaques, etc.)" (304).

Some sought out organizations where they could be who they were and were accepted for that:

> In this role that I've been in now for three and a half years. I met the CEO, I spent 25 times with the CEO [before joining]. So that was thorough for him and thorough for me and that relationship was probably the most important relationships because it was kind of like I didn't want a big ego CEO, [I want one] who's, authentic transparent and such that I could come to and say, you know, WTF. (P8, Technology Executive).

Further, the longer one is in the role (which was the case in these interviewees who averaged twenty-four years in their leadership role), "role expectations are internalized such that they then function as a subtle form of control" (Farmer & Van Dyne, 2010, p. 505). The interviews showcased integration of their organizational and

individual identity throughout. Evidence of their masculine identity was not overtly

evident but their roles as leaders representing organizational norms and representing the

characteristics of ideal leadership were evident. The role seemed to matter more than the

masculine identity in part because their role was "psychologically central" (Farmer &

Van Dyne, 2010, p. 511) evidenced by these interviewees, all of whom seemed to show

an element of pride as they described their leadership experience.

Across all interviews, the attributes they described as important to their personal

leadership style were also used as they described their organizational cultures.

Interviewees described the characteristics of their personal leadership style using words

like "participatory," "engaged," "communicative," and "transparent." These words then

appeared as they described how the organization operated.

For some, the organizational culture drove some interviewees to make sacrifices

in who they were:

> I have never put any time into any charitable entity – board,
> meetings at school, anything in the community, zero. I don't know
> if it's healthy. [It was] time I didn't have. Came at cost of taking
> care of yourself. You realize very quickly whatever spare time – it
> was kids and family. Expense of sleep – haven't slept more than 5.5
> hours for 15 years, for a long time 4 hours – if you're going to get
> all the work one, gotta have to make those choices if you want. (P1,
> Commercial Banking Executive)

Others subsumed their identity in order to garner the rewards

> People who did what CEO wanted in a quick way regardless of
> means or methods were rewarded… They were happy to be told
> what to do. (P2, Former Oil and Gas Executive).

Overall, the interviewees seemed to identify with the role and the expectations of

that role. These expectations seemed driven by the culture rather than internally driven by

a need to maintain their masculine identity. They "buy-in", even "build the culture" (P10, Technology Executive) and then perpetuated it in how they operated.

Finding III: There Is Change Afoot: Effective Leadership and

Changes in Values are Shifting Organization Norms

Although numerous organizations appeared to be rife with MCC norms, there was also a shift that was widely evident across the interviews. There is a change in the definition of what is valued from the larger society driving a willingness – even motivation – to change the culture to make the organization more effective. There are four aspects to this change: (1) the larger societal value shifts, (2) an increased awareness of the impact of bias, (3) a shift in Millennial attitudes, and (4) a shift in what effective leadership looks like. There was some resistance to these shifts but the pressures to change seem to be larger than the resistance.

Cultural Shifts in What is Valued

What matters to organizations has been moving away from a command control structure to one in which effective leadership, people, and learning are emphasized. This was seen across the interviews.

Strong emphasis on New Leadership Values

> Leaders who aren't like that [not open and collaborative]: they're not effective, their org has a bad climate and culture, people don't trust them. People view them as trying to create an empire, an ulterior motive. People who operate here that way get exposed. (P6, Insurance Executive).

> Go back to the old CTO and all we did was have players who had not demonstrated that they could work collaboratively and those ended up leaving the company. Sometimes one player changes the entire dynamic, Where we are today [is because of] a series of

decisions [to get the] right people to move on. (P7, Chemical Executive).

STRONG EMPHASIS ON PEOPLE

We, we have like these five pillars of tenants of what we want to measure and people was on the right side. We're trying to prioritize everything we actually moved into the left because I mean, you know, every company starts with people. People are the most important asset. If you have the right people on your team, then everything else becomes a little bit easier. (P8, Technology Executive).

This is going to be a very understanding company to understand your personal situation and what you need to be happy and satisfied felt and, you know, I think, is a smaller company, we've been able to deliver on that and something we do try and deliver on and, you know, in return, I think we did some really passionate employees. (P10, Technology Executive).

EMPHASIS ON LEARNING

But we also learned from the areas where we have to get better at. Learning culture. You know the industry we're playing in, you constantly have to learn, adapt and, have tenacity. You need a mindset to take the time and energy to learn new things, whether that's tools to better enable you or ways to do things. (P8, Technology Executive).

Acknowledgment of Bias and the Value Shifts

As part of these newer cultural expectations, there was increased recognition that

bias matters and that the organizational culture needs to adapt:

The firm is so about promoting women –don't want to be a white guy [right now]. (P1, Commercial Banking Executive).

I don't even think that way. I need to be sensitive in my organization – it's not something I've ever had an issue with – our women [dominated] leadership team – that's great – that's the way it should be. Different perspectives and viewpoints. Want a team that represents our customers. (P6, Insurance Executive).

I was expanding my team. Didn't want to hire the arrogance that comes with [Ivy schools] so ended up with 5 white guys from [from a non-Ivy school]. HR asked me what I wanted on my team – and I said I only want you to hire women and people of color. People

pushed back on me and said so now you're biased against white people? But if I have 5 guys [from the non-Ivy school] they all think the same – why do I need 5 of them? I only need 1. Two of [the guys] pushed me to hire this woman [from the non-Ivy school]. I didn't want to hire her because she didn't show the grit, the drive – but they said, look, just take her to dinner. So I invited her to my house for dinner with my wife and daughter and she told a story that brought me to tears. I hired her. That bias was in me. (P5, Commercial Banking Executive).

Dramatic Attitudinal Shift of Millennial and Gender Attitudes

Another major shift evident in the interviewees was that there are exogenous factors such as shifting attitudes[16] causing a shift in the impacts of the MCC. Further, there is increasing pressure on organizations to consider multiple stakeholders which is also shifting cultures.

Millennial attitudes are becoming more gender-open, and there is increased importance on life outside of work:

At my current company, it's very, very different. The CEO had her 2nd child this year. One of the other partners had her 1st child a year ago. They [the female leaders trying to find balance] have absolutely been encouraged. They're living the balancing truly trying to get balance into their lives. (P4, Finance Board Member).

I had another woman on my team, you got pregnant and she came to me and said we have terrible maternity benefits. I went to the woman who had become head of people and I went to the head of legal and they said, we agree we need to improve this. What they came back with apparently was not good, but she said, look, what am I going to do? I'm about to leave. And it's okay. Right? It's slightly below market, but it's not as bad as it was. Right? So that was another issue that we clearly had not kept up with. I think those issues for particular for millennials are actually very important. (P3, Investment Executive).

---

[16] For example, 61% percentage of Millennials and 62% of Generation Zers think increasing diversity is important, 79% percent of both think that financial responsibilities should be shared between genders (Parker et al., 2019).

And the pressure of social responsibility weighed large on the leaders, in part being

driven by Millennials and in part due to larger conversations taking place more widely in

society (Schwab, 2019).

> Good business means do the right thing the right thing for the pop of the world and the situation of the world. And planet. (P9, Science Executive).

> What does capitalism mean? What is for your constituents? It is going to be a real challenge in the next couple years. As you think about successful companies and how they navigate that. (P10, Technology Executive).

Effective Leadership Definition is Shifting

The final change was a shift in the perception of what makes effective leadership

(A. Lee et al., 2018; Srivastava et al., 2006; Weinberg et al., 2019) evidenced by the

interviewees who defined effective leadership in line with current research. For example,

the incidence of collaboration and consensus was evident across almost all the

interviewees. Three interviewees consciously set out to build organizations that were

dramatically different from their previous companies that had far more masculinized

cultures.

> One of the things I was going to do when I set up this company – I wasn't going to be prescriptive. I was clear on strategy, I always took input, whenever I was in a new role, My first 3 months I would literally talk to everyone in the organization – what I found – there were a set of common themes then I can decide action. I chose to take a different approach. A lot of time, 4 – 5 of us working on values – so really happy about those values – are still part of the organization – having the real conversation in the room – challenge and be challenged. Have become part of the culture. (P4, Finance Board Member).

> And is more open to shifting the power dynamic: I did a 360 last year. And, you know, one of the key development things for me is because we're a mid- sized company, is that unfortunately when I'm participating in something I end up being the focal point and unduly influence the outcome. So what we've tried to do with a lot of these

processes is figure out where I can be removed. And when I need when I need to come in or not come in and it's been something I think we've been consciously working with the staff and if I'm not the authority on it and then anything else I tried to remove myself from. And so this was, you know, things on product development or was marketing program decisions. (P10, Technology Executive)

The third interviewee (P9, Science Executive) was helping the culture shift to a blend of accountability and financial accountability with sustainability, both for the climate and the people that work there.

Some Resistance to Change

Resistance did appear, especially as a "reluctance … to give up features of organized life that help keep painful anxieties at bay" (Krantz, 2001, p. 3).

This upset a number of people on the management committee saying, so are you saying hire a woman as opposed to the best possible candidate? And he said, of course, I'm not saying that right. But I think there are a lot of very talented women that we could hire from. (P3, Investment Executive)

But leaders were mixed in terms of integrating these values into their culture

The senior level haven't bought in and aren't living the values for a long time. wish we'd get rid of people quicker. (P6, Insurance Executive)

And when fear showed up or performance faltered, those that were not completely bought in reverted back.

He had gone through a renaissance but when things got tough went back. Great guy – early days – he was – spent a lot of times as a group [on defining] the kind of company and values and the behaviors we would value. But fundamentally deep down he didn't trust people. The more pressure the CEO got, the more controlling and centralizing he became – reverted to type under stress. (P3, Oil and Gas Executive).

But overall, this resistance seemed to be noted as something bad. When the interviewees were describing the resistance, their tone indicated that they were judging it

negatively. Instead, they seemed to have internalized a definition of leadership that was more in line with the research noted above.

Discussion

Rather than being based in masculine identity, the MCC cultural norms evidenced in this study seemed to be based in legacy systems that are actually in transition. The executives interviewed, for the most part, seemed to be in widespread support of the changes to the workplace which lessened the evidence of three of the MCC cultural norms. In addition, these executives seemed to encourage the changes in their employees, peers and hires.

Three MCC aspects of "Show no weakness", "Strength and stamina" and "Dog-eat-dog" (Berdahl et al., 2018, 433-4) appeared to be moderating. Rather than "Show no weakness" (433-4), these organizational leaders wanted people to ask for help, be more vulnerable, and more effectively use emotional intelligence. Further, these leaders were moving those that are more egotistical out of the organization because they are no longer seen as contributing to organizational effectiveness. "Strength and stamina" (433-4) was also being redefined to be more in line with mainstream business conversations around resilience and grit – neither of which are gender-based. Finally, "Dog-eat-dog" was slightly more evident in the interviewees, especially in the more traditionally male industries such as commercial banking or technology but even there, was not evident in all the interviewees in those industries. Internal competition appeared to be slowly being replaced by collaboration and the need to have people work together significantly more often.

While the other three aspects of MCC's norms seemed to be shifting, the "work first" norm appeared more entrenched – but only at the upper levels. The "work first mentality" (433-4) was pervasive across the interviews and seemed difficult to dislodge: at least six interviewees valued it as a core behavior in their organizational success. Given that it is increasingly becoming a key barrier to women's equal pay and ascension (Goldin, 2014), this seems to be one of the most important assumptions to dislodge.

The second finding, suggesting that MCC norms are not based in individual masculine identity, was that the behaviors observed in the interviews were based more in how leadership is defined within their organizations. For example, one leader (P4) worked in a very MCC-based company for much of his career, but when he started a new company, he deliberately sought to create a culture that was more open, transparent, less work-first and in general, a more congenial place to work. The interviewees' description of their identities revolved more around the impact they could and did have rather than their need to support a masculine identity. Although individual masculine identity was not evidenced in the interviews, there was widespread suggestion that the current organizational processes that promote and reward behavior reinforce MCC norms.

These norms were being changed because these leaders were responding to exogenous factors driving organizations to change their cultures. The last several decades have brought significant change in what is valued in terms of new leadership values especially an increased emphasis on people and a renewed interested in learning. These changes meant that organizational leaders were less interested in the more ego-based aspects of "winning" internally and more on bringing people together effectively so that the organization could "win" externally in the market.

This shift has, in part, been driven by a change in values by the Millennials (the largest generation in the workforce currently (Fry, 2018)) and Generation Z (Parker et al., 2018) which value a more balanced life-style, increased voice in their work, flexibility, more participation in decision making, and more gender and racial equality (Parker et al. 2018). Definitions of effective leadership have responded with marked movement towards more participative, collaborative, and less command-control leadership approaches, most of which are considered to be more traditionally feminine. These changes had been internalized by the interviewees as they spoke of them in terms of their personal strengths in effective leadership.

Altogether, these exogenous factors were pushing these organizational leaders to shift how they think about leadership, which, in turn, was changing the way their organizations worked and operated, presenting a strong motivation for organizations to remove or dramatically reduce the impact of MCC on their processes.

As a result, rather than being driven by individual leaders seeking to validate or reinforce masculine norms, Study One suggests male leaders are instead adapting and reinforcing organizational norms. Organizational culture and processes seem to be the underlying structure for these behaviors, suggesting that changing the culture would in fact initiate changed behavior. Given that the leaders studied here had already adapted to exogenous pressures for reducing the impact of MCC norms, perhaps changing the culture would be easier than changing each person's unconscious bias individually.

Study One suggests that changing leaders' behavior can change the culture by role modeling effective leadership, making it more accessible for anyone who is capable to ascend to leadership: "leaders who are brought in with a purpose actually. And the

purpose is to change the old culture, but not to completely destroy it" (Science Executive, P9). Because of Study One's strong indication that leaders are responding to new definitions of effective leadership which diminish the MCC norms and in fact seek to be create a legacy that views them as effective leaders, Study One also suggests that research examines the negative impact MCC norms have on the culture. If organizational cultures that are strong in MCC are negative, then there will be an increased motivation for leaders to change the culture to ensure they are enacting effective leadership.[17]

---

[17] Note: this in fact came out of the researchers consulting work (Detjen and Watson, 2020) whereby senior leaders were shown the negative impact of their behavior and overtly sought to change it precisely because they wanted to be viewed as a "good leader".

CHAPTER 4

DISSERTATION RESEARCH STUDY

Study One found that male leaders were enacting existing organizational norms and wider business norms around effective leadership, and suggested that culture and processes, rather than individual identity, drove the ongoing endurance of MCC attributes. Therefore, the dissertation research shifted focus onto processes, examining the relationship between MCC attributes and the processes within the organization, adapting the research question to: *Do gendered organizational cultures (as defined by MCC elements) limit male (and female) managers' ability to embrace gender parity in their organization's processes and decision-making?*

Huang et al. (2019) has identified that if the "broken rung" of promoting women to the first level of management were fixed such that "women are promoted and hired to first-level manager at the same rates as men, we will add one million more women to management in corporate America over the next five years" (14). This study focused specifically on promotion and activities that enhance promotion and their relationship to persistent MCC cultural norms.

This study's findings should enable organizational leaders to identify the extent to which their cultural attributes are negatively impacting women's ability to advance into management and senior leadership positions. Once identified, organizations can then seek to determine ways in which these attributes can be adapted, removed or reframed in order to remove this barrier. Study One's findings that leaders are increasingly open to more gender equal attitudes could help this process.

Study Two used a positivist survey approach using previously validated constructs from the procedural justice, gender and MCC literatures. Data was collected from a cross-section of industries, company sizes, title levels and genders.

Hypotheses Development

The literature review for Study One indicated that three levels of bias (individual, structural barriers at the group level, and systemic bias) contribute to barriers to women's ascension into leadership. Research also indicates that promotions result from career opportunities such as challenging work and training and development (McCall et al., 1988) and that these opportunities are reduced due to perceptions around gender (Hoobler et al., 2014). Other research identifies gender barriers in allocation of relocation assignments, exclusion from informal networks and receiving developmental assignments (Lyness & Thompson, 2000). Silva et al. (2012) found three aspects mattered most for women's advancement: they have experience on highly visible projects, in holding mission-critical roles and in gaining international experience.

MCC characteristics add another layer whereby masculine identity becomes represented within organizational culture norms, conflating the definition of leadership with maleness. Research also supports the idea that men face more negative consequences when allocating rewards equitably if it violates the male-as-manager stereotype (Caleo, 2018) thus suggesting that in MCC cultures, rewards such as promotion of women may be less likely to occur.

Measuring this directly would require an analysis of a single or multiple organizations' Human Resource data to determine the extent to which the following information is impacted by gender: the velocity of promotion, how decisions are made,

and which rewards and opportunities are offered. This information is very challenging to gather both because of privacy concerns and because much of this information is not formally measured or gathered.[18] Instead, as a proxy, this study uses procedural justice measures to determine the extent to which MCC elements make perceived fairness in organizational procedures less likely. Study One suggested that culture and process were the ways in which MCC norms were being perpetuated; procedural justice examines "the fairness of the process by which outcomes are determined (Lind & Tyler, 1988)" (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001, p. 280). Study One also indicated that masculine identity was less of a predictor of behavior than expected thus suggesting that perhaps men may be negatively impacted by MCC cultures as well.

Procedural justice measures help evaluate organizational value systems and can help examine whether the interests of employers and employees "equally serve both constituents" and are effective (Konovsky, 2000, p. 491). Berdahl et al. (2018) discuss how MCC norms create winners and losers suggesting that MCC elements will negatively impact procedural justice measures. In addition, the study also measured the extent to which gender impacts respondents' experiences in receiving developmental opportunities for advancement.[19]

---

[18] Note, the researcher gathers this information for consulting research projects but it is restricted from research use by confidentiality agreements.

[19] From the author's consulting research (Detjen and Watson, 2020), findings suggest women perceive that they are receiving the promotional opportunities but when asked whether they are receiving specific opportunities (such as stretch assignments), the actual occurrence was lower for women; thus, allocation of opportunities was gendered.
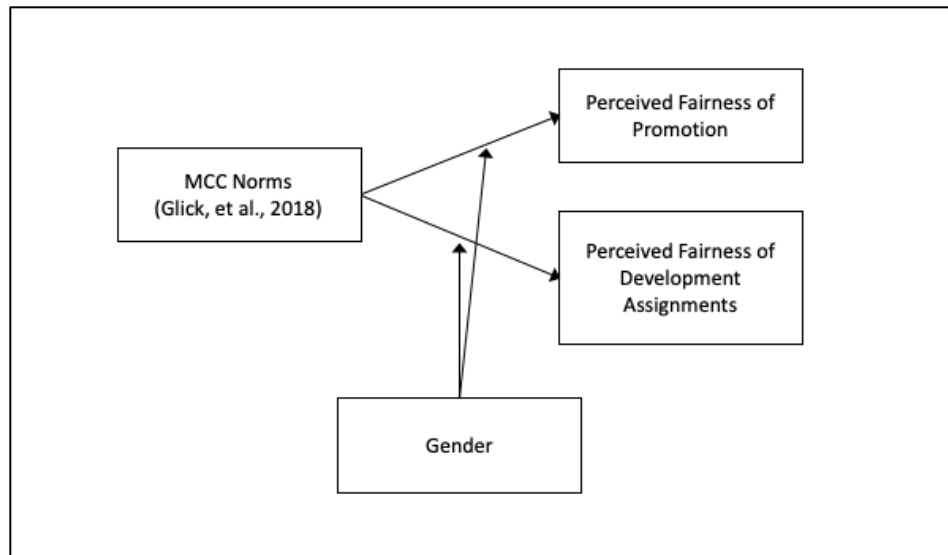
Figure 1. Research Conceptual Model.

The dissertation study examined whether MCC increases the perception that it is more difficult for women to receive the opportunities that enable promotion. The researcher examined justice "across multiple decision making events" (Colquitt & Shaw, 2005, p. 119), specifically, the relationship between procedural justice perceptions related to developmental/promotional decisions and MCC. Figure 1 illustrates this relationship.

To test this, two hypotheses were submitted for further analysis:

Hypothesis 1: There is a negative relationship between firm MCC and procedural justice perceptions related to (a) promotion and (b) opportunities for developmental assignments.

Hypothesis 2: Gender will moderate the negative relationship between firm MCC and procedural justice perceptions related to (a) promotion and (b) opportunities for developmental assignments, such that these negative relationships will be stronger for women.

Methodology

The research study used a quantitative analysis of the relationships between MCC and procedural justice perceptions around promotions and developmental assignments and experiences of opportunities that lead to promotion. Participants were expanded beyond those identified for Study One, including participants across genders, organizational levels and industries.

Method

Participants

The Bureau of Labor Statistics (2019) identifies 64,218,000 civilians working in Management, Professional, and Related occupations with another 2,297,000 civilians working in Sales Related occupations. Using Cochran's formula for calculating sample size, at a 95% confidence interval, a sample of 385 participants is required to get a representative sample (Checkmarket, n.d.).

To achieve this target sample size, a survey was conducted in two steps. Step one was through a Qualtrics survey. Participants were solicited using the following approaches 1) the Boston Club,[20] a women's network of which the author is one of over 500 members, 2) LinkedIn, 3) Twitter, 4) the author's personal network for distribution, and 5) selected members of the 2021 DBA cohort who work in medium to large sized organizations or who have extensive contacts. This first round of solicitation yielded 244

---

[20] https://www.thebostonclub.com/

responses of which 126 were invalid due to survey incompletion. To increase the participant sample size the researcher engaged the services of a survey panel.

The second round of solicitation used a gender balanced panel with ages 23 - 65 from Survey Monkey, yielding 384 responses. The two approaches yielded a total of n=502 responses. The researcher combined the two survey outputs, translating results of matrix questions to ensure uniformity in data presentation.[21] The final merged sample was evaluated using an ANOVA analysis and found that the mean differences between surveys were not significant for either dependent variable (Promotion Fairness: F=3.03, p =.08; Development Assignment Fairness: F=.10, p=.73). The final merged sample had the following characteristics: 55.8% female, 67.3% worked at their organization for over three years, 61.6% were supervisors, 25.4% worked at small organizations under 100 people, 39.8% worked at larger organizations over 1000 people. There was a wide industry representation including: 17.7% in education, 17.1% in healthcare/biotech/ pharma, 10% in technology/software, 7.8% in banking/finance and 5.6% in consulting, with other industries represented in smaller percentages. In general, respondents were stable in their jobs holding on average 1.93 jobs in the last five years (S.D.: 1.01). Most respondents (70.8%) were at managerial level or above. The average supervisory tenure was 4.06 years (S.D.: 2.85). Respondent ages were varied: The age ranged from 5% in the 18-24 age group, 33.9% in the 25-34 age group, 28.5% in the 35-44 age group, 22% in the 45-54 age group, 10.2% above age 54 and .2% declining to answer. Demographically, the survey differed slightly from the BLS (2019 data shown in

---

[21] The survey used several matrix questions. Qualtrics and SurveyMonkey output matrix questions differently. The researcher combined the two survey outputs to ensure uniformity in format using Excel.

parentheses), with 67% reporting as White (v. 79%), 5.6% African American or Black (v. 9.6%), 7.4% Latinx or Hispanic (v. 10.1%), 13% Asian (8.7%), 1.6% Middle-Eastern, Native American/Alaskan Native, or Pacific Islander (not reported on BLS), 2.8% multi-racial (not reported on BLS), and 2.2% declined or didn't list. 11% had completed some college or Associates Degree, 47.2% a Bachelor's degree, 31.7% a Master's Degree and 8% a Doctorate or above.

Measures and Procedures

The survey utilized a combination of direct and indirect questions to understand the perceived justice of these events (Colquitt & Shaw, 2005). This research used "Proactive research questions [which] seek to link characteristics of a decision-making event to assessments of fairness" (Colquitt & Shaw, 2005, p. 132). As seen in Figure 2, the findings appear to be generalizable in that comparing means yielded expected results (Straub et al., 2004). Traditionally more masculine industries such as Energy and Construction had the highest MCC means (3.90, 3.85, respectively).[22] The four lowest industries were Food and Hospitality, Consulting or Business Services, the Military, and Utilities (3.07, 3.03, 3.03, 3.01 respectively). Less traditionally masculine industries such as Government, Education and Not-for-Profit were in the middle range (3.44, 3.41, 3.39 respectively).

---

[22] Scale is from 1 = *Not at all true of my work environment* to 7 = *True of my work environment;* the higher the number the higher the level of MCC norms
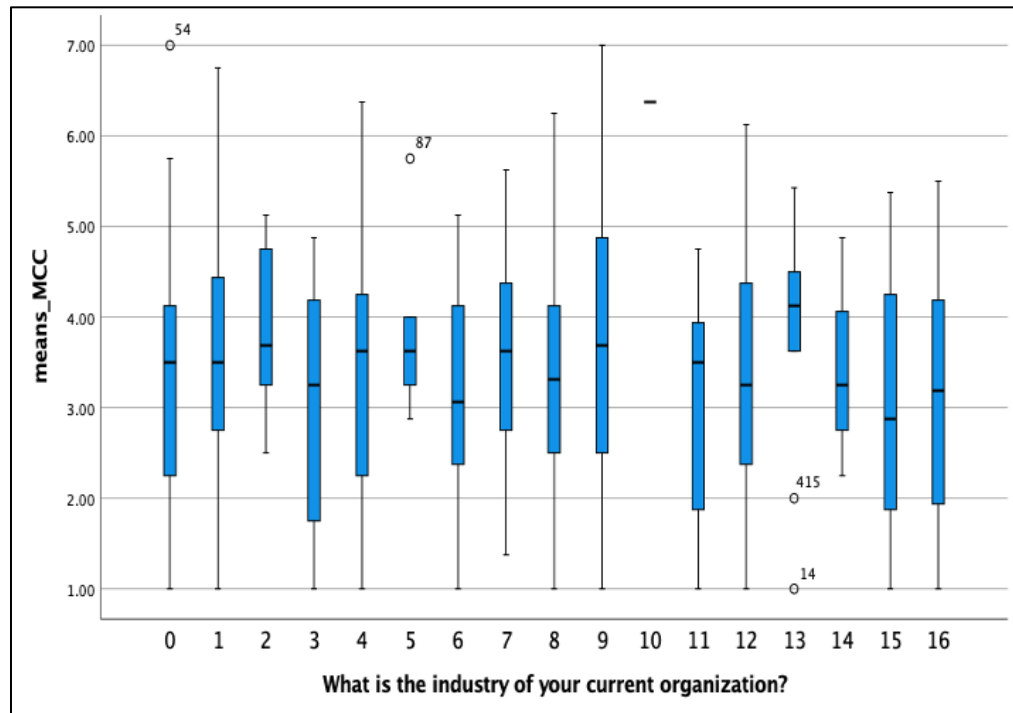
Figure 2. MCC Means Compared across Industries.

0 - Null Case, 1 - Banking and Finance, 2- Construction, 3 – Consulting or Business services, 4- Education, 5 – Energy, 6- Food and Hospitality, 7 – Government, 8 -Healthcare, Biotech or Pharma, 9-Insurance, 10 – Manufacturing, 11- Military, 12 – Not-for-Profit, 13 – Technology or Software, 14 – Telecommunications, 15 – Utilities, 16 – Other (open answer)

The full list of questions can be found in Appendix B. Appendix C outlines the constructs and variables.

The dissertation study survey included 15 scaled questions (excluding demographics) to ensure that respondents did not speed through questions and that the time required (13 minutes or less) increased the likelihood of response and survey completion (Chudoba, n.d.). The measures used a 7 – point Likert scale as noted in Appendix C. The researcher added an option for open-ended comments at the end of the survey offering the opportunity for respondents to comment, asking: "Do you have any additional thoughts or comments related to promotions or developmental assignments?"

57

This addition enabled a limited amount of qualitative analysis to draw out nuances. Since promotion is related directly to the level of experience of the respondent, the researcher controlled for organizational level, supervisory tenure, work experience and the number of jobs held in the past five years. The questions were built from the MCC, procedural justice and gender literatures using validated questions across three areas. Hinkin (1998) suggests 4 -6 items per theoretical construct. Three areas were covered, measuring:

MCC Norms. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which their organization's culture followed MCC norms using Glick et al. (2018)'s validated eight-item scale. Sample questions include "Taking days off is frowned upon" and "If you don't stand up for yourself, people will step on you." The scale ranged from 1 = *Not at all true of my work environment* to 7 = *True of my work environment* (sample α=.84). The eight-item scale was then combined into a single item for analysis.

Promotions. Participants were then asked questions related to procedural justice in promotions (Colquitt & Rodell, 2015) using an adapted scale from Lemons & Jones (2011). Questions pertained to consistency of application, existence of bias, accuracy, ethical and moral nature of decisions, and overall whether these decisions are considered fair. The scale ranged from 1=*To an extremely small extent* to 7 = *To an extremely large extent* (sample α=.905).

Developmental Assignments. Participants were then asked questions related to procedural justice in terms of allocation of development assignments (Colquitt & Rodell, 2015) using an adapted scale from Lemons & Jones (2011 Questions pertained to consistency of application, existence of bias, accuracy, ethical and moral nature of decisions, and overall whether these decisions are considered fair. The scale ranged from

1=*To an extremely small extent* to 7 = *To an extremely large extent* (sample α=.919). In addition, participants were asked which types of development assignments their company offered and which they received using scales adapted from King et al. (2012) and Ragins and McFarlin (1990).

Opportunity for Advancement. Finally, participants were asked the role their manager plays in providing opportunities for advancement using a scale developed by Huang et al. (2019). Participants selected from a nine-item checklist that covered aspects such as navigating organizational politics to helping to manage career paths.

Control Variables. This study also incorporated control variables to adjust for their influence on the results. These demographic variables included organizational tenure, organizational size, organizational level, supervisory tenure and number of jobs (last five years).

Multiple linear regression was used to examine the relationship between the independent variable (MCC characteristics) and the dependent variables as moderated by gender. SPSS was used for all regression and descriptive analyses. Excel was used for analysis of managerial support indicators.

<div align="center">Results</div>

Common Method Variance

Bias is a factor in analysis. Common Method Variance (CMV) is one type of bias that could occur. Chang et al. (2010) describe CMV as occurring when both the independent and dependent variables are collected from the same survey source which was the case here. The researcher conducted exploratory factor analysis (Podsakoff et al.,

2003). No single factor accounted for more than 50% of the variance, indicating that bias

is not problematic for this survey (Fuller et al., 2016).

Relationship Between Perceived Fairness and MCC

Table 3 details the Pearson Correlation coefficients and descriptive statistics for

each of the scaled items. In support of hypothesis 1, MCC culture norms are negatively

related to the extent to which promotion and assignments are deemed fair. All indicators

for promotions and assignments were significant. There was also a slightly stronger

correlation between MCC norms for development assignments (.37, *p<.001*) than for

promotion (.32, *p<.001*). A strong relationship between perceived unfairness and

development assignments also exists meaning that if someone perceived that the

promotion process was unfair, they would most likely also think similarly about the

development assignment process.

Table 3. Scale Means, Standard Deviations, Partial Correlations between Promotion and Development Fairness scales, MCC combined.

	Variable[a]	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Organizational Tenure[a]	5.18	1.70	-							
2.	Organizational Size[b]	2.16	.79	.10*	-						
3.	Organizational Level[c]	4.34	1.83	-.20**	.03	-					
4.	Supervisory Tenure	4.03	2.86	.34**	-.06	-.23**					
5.	Number of Jobs Past 5 years[d]	1.93	1.01	-.45**	.01	.08	-.15**				
6.	Gender[e]	.56	.50	.11*	-.09*	.14**	-23**	.01			
7.	MCC	3.40	1.36	.10*	.10*	-.03	.08	.06	-.03		
8.	Promotion Fairness Combined	4.10	1.30	.01	-.03	-.06	.12*	-.01	-.05	-.32**	
9.	Developmental Assignments Fairness Combined	4.21	1.29	-.05	.00	-.04	.07	.01	-.06	-.37**	.80**

Note. [a]N=473
[b]1 = < 100 employees, 2 = 100-999 3 = 1000+
[c]1 = C-suite, 2 = Senior VP, 3 = VP, 4 = Senior Manager, 5 = Manager, 6 = Entry
[d] 1 = 5, 5 = 5+ years
[e] 1=female, 0 = all others
**$p < 0.001$, * $p<.05$,

Gender as a moderator

The researcher examined the difference between MCC reporter by gender. Women reported an MCC mean of 3.37 (S.D. 1.38) compared with all others reporting an MCC means of 3.43 (S.D. 1.32) indicating only a small difference. To test Hypothesis 2 that gender moderates the relationship between MCC and the perception of promotion and developmental assignment fairness, the researcher administered two hierarchical regression analyses, first with promotion fairness as the dependent variable and secondly with developmental assignment fairness using a three-step process: First, the researcher entered the control variables of organizational tenure, organizational size, organizational level, supervisory tenure and number of jobs (last five years). The control variables accounted for only 2% of the variance in promotion fairness (R^2=.02, F=1.92, *p=.09)*. and 1% in developmental assignment fairness (R^2=.01, F=1.25, *p=ns)*. Second, the researcher entered the dummy variable, Gender (coded with female = 1 and all others = 0) and MCC values. These variables accounted for 9% of the variance in promotion fairness (R^2=.11, F=8.25, *p<.001)* and 14% in developmental assignment fairness (R^2=.15, F=11.97, *p<.001)*. 3) Third, the researcher entered the interaction variable, MCC variable times Gender. This interaction accounted for 1% of the variance in promotion fairness (R^2=.11, F=7.60, *p<.001)* and 1% in developmental assignment fairness (R^2=.16, F=10.82, *p<.001)*.[23] The interaction variable was not significant at the 95% confidence level for promotion fairness (b=.09*, p=.08)* and not significant at all for development assignment fairness (b=.08, *p=ns)* Table 4 describes this analysis. Figures 3

---

[23] Note that the *p* value here relates to the F statistic indicating model fit.

and 4 illustrate that the relationship is in the expected negative direction despite the lack

of statistical significance (i.e., fairness is perceived more negative the higher the MCC).
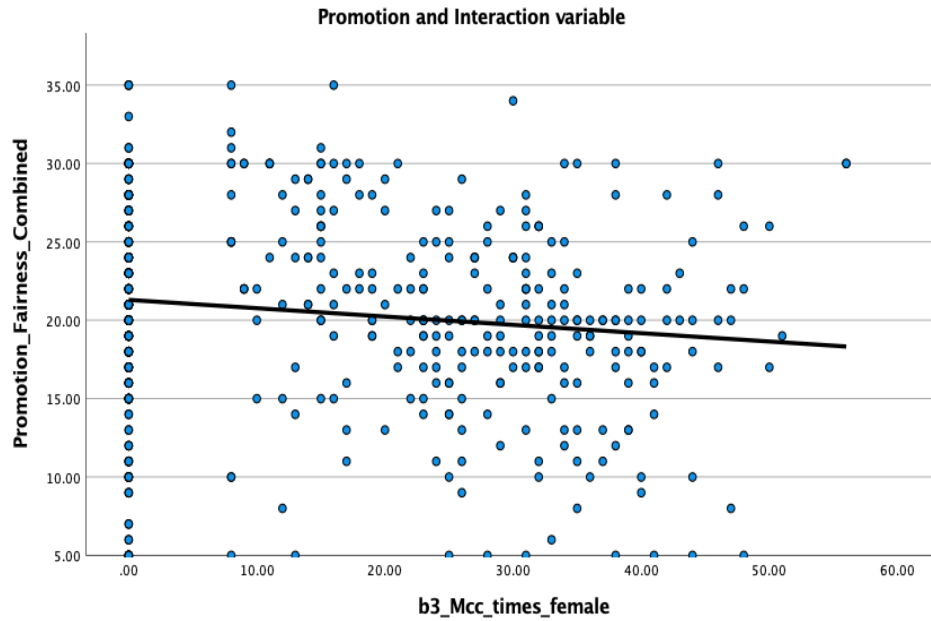
Figure 3. Plot of Promotion Fairness and Interaction Variable MCC times Gender
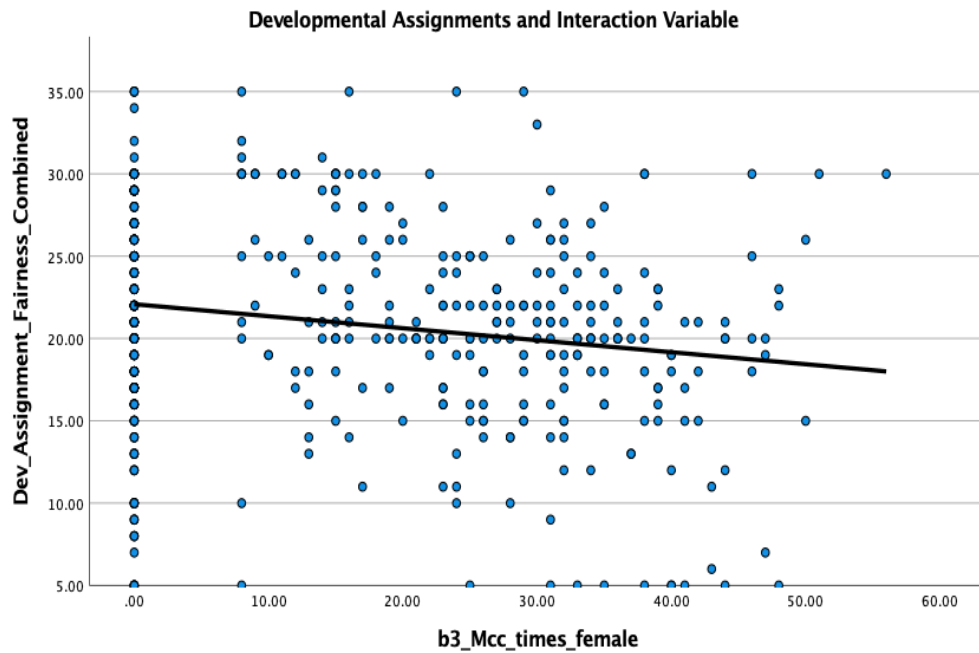
Figure 4. Plot of Development Assignment Fairness and Interaction Variable MCC times
Gender

Gender did impact supervisory tenure such that men had been supervisors (mean = 4.78, S.D. = 2.80) for 1.28 years longer than women (mean = 3.50, S.D. = 2.76).

The results demonstrate that the partial regression coefficient for the interaction variable was not significant at the 95% confidence level for either promotion fairness (*b=.09,p=.08)* or developmental assignment fairness *(b=.08, p=ns).* Hypothesis 2 was not supported. Subsequent analysis controlling for the two largest industries, healthcare and education was not significant.

Table 4. Hierarchical Regression Results for Testing Moderation Effects of Gender on Promotion and Developmental Assignment Fairness

Variable	Dependent Variable = Promotion Fairness Combined[2]						Dependent Variable = Dev. Assignment Fairness Combined[3]					
	b	SE	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	b	SE	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F
Level 1				.02	.02	1.92†				.01	.01	1.25
Constant	22.06	1.82	12.16***				22.55	1.84	12.34***			
Organizational Tenure	-.23	.21	-1.10				-.38	.21	-1.81			
Organizational Size	-.17	.37	-.44				.13	.38	.33			
Organizational Level	-.19	.17	-1.15				-.13	.17	-.75			
Supervisory Tenure	.28	.11	2.45**				.22	.11	1.94†			
Number of jobs, last 5 years	-.16	.33	-.49				-.09	.32	-.28			
Level 2				.11	.09	8.21***				.15	.14	11.97***
Gender[1]	-.18	.59	-.31				-.57	.58	-1.00			
MCC Combined	-.18	.03	-6.84***				-.23	.03	-8.69***			
Level 3				.11	0.01	7.60***				.16	.01	10.82***
MCC x Gender	.09	.05	1.75†		`		.08	.05	1.59			

Note   † $p<.10$ ** $p<.05$
*** $p< 0.001$
[1]Female = 1, All else = 0
MCC = Masculine Contest Culture
[2]n=485
[3]n=476

Gender differences across managerial support

Managerial support is defined as support provided by managers whereby they help the employee effectively manage their career path. Huang et al.(2019) found that when managers help navigate organizational politics or help employees manage their career path, employees are 2.3 and 2.9 (respectively) times more likely "to think they have equal opportunity for advancement" (24). To evaluate whether there were gender differences in this support, using Excel analysis, the researcher examined the percentage difference by gender across the nine measured areas. As illustrated in Figure 5, the difference in responses across the nine managerial support questions yielded three areas in which there was more than a 30% difference.

These were then analyzed using an independent t-test, none of which were significant: My manager *"Helps me navigate organizational politics"* ($Percent_{men:}$: 40.2%, $Percent_{women}$: 29.3%, $Percent_{difference}$: 31.4%, t=-1.09, p=.28)*, "Gives me business development support",* ($Percent_{men:}$: 27.8%, $Percent_{women}$: 18.9%, $Percent_{difference}$: 37.8%, t=-1.00, p=.32)*,* and "*Provides opportunities for me to experience projects with key clients or products*" ($Percent_{men:}$: 24.9%, $Percent_{women}$: 17.9%, $Percent_{difference}$: 32.9%, t=-1.47, p=.14).

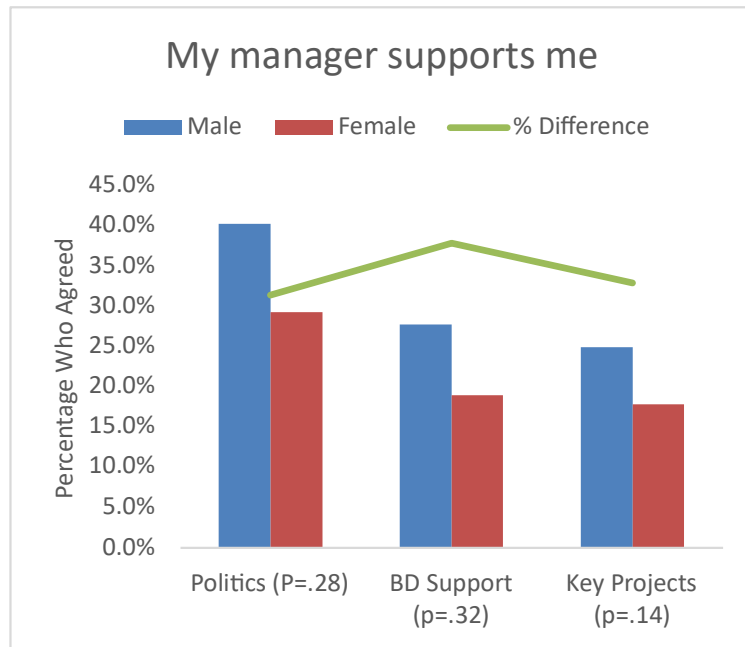Figure 5. Managerial Support Comparison Men v. Women.

While not significant, this suggests that there may be a difference in how men and women experience managerial support. It is also consistent with client work the research has completed which had similar findings (Detjen & Watson, 2020). This area is one in which further study could tease out the extent to which these differences are evident in workplaces.

Discussion

This study focused on the relationship between MCC cultural norms and their impact on perceived fairness of both promotions and development assignments. The analysis suggests that MCC cultural norms do indeed negatively affect perceptions of fairness of both the promotion and developmental assignment process. The higher the level of MCC cultural norms, the more likely that employees perceive the promotions and development assignment process to be unfair. Developmental assignments were perceived more negatively than promotions. MCC cultural norms make *everyone* feel the process is less just. Fairness in the process matters. MCC cultural norms negatively impact that perception. Perceived lack of fairness in procedural justice negatively affects job satisfaction, how supervisors are evaluated, conflict in the workplace, trust in management and intention to leave (Alexander & Ruderman, 1987). Previous research has found that perceived unfairness in promotions can negatively impact organizational commitment and job satisfaction (for example, Parker & Kohlmeyer, 2005; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). The negative impact suggests that MCC norms damage employees' commitment to performance and have long-lasting impacts. Yet when employees perceive equal opportunity and fairness, "they are happier with their career, plan to stay at their company longer, and are more likely to recommend it as a great place to work" (Huang et al., 2019, 22). The result? Organizations with strong MCC norms are very costly.

When controlling for supervisor tenure, these findings suggest that the longer someone is in a supervisory position, the greater their perception of fairness positively

increases within MCC norms. This intuitively makes sense as supervisors are the ones

giving the promotions and development assignments. Interestingly, since women had

been supervisors for a shorter tenure than men, we would expect to see a larger upward

impact on MCC, but this was not evident because the impact of supervisory tenure was

not large overall.

The regressions were not negatively moderated by gender. This could suggest that

women believe these aspects to be fair when they may not be. The researcher has found

this in her consulting work for a service business (Detjen and Watson, 2020) whereby

female employees believed that they were getting the opportunities for promotion and

developmental assignments but when compared with what they actually had received,

they had not in fact gotten these opportunities. It could also suggest that women are more

likely to leave organizations with strong MCC norms. For example, research consistently

reports that women leave technology at a far higher rate than men (Elberfeld et al.,

2019)[24]; given the high MCC score for technology, women may be leaving technology

because of the MCC norms. We may see the opposite in consulting which has made

significant strides in integration.[25] Even if MCC cultures do not more negatively impact

women, this research does suggest is that MCC cultural norms negatively impact

everyone's perception of fairness in the two processes.

---

[24] According to Elberfeld, et al. (2019), women 56% of women leave technology by mid-career.
Technology was in the top three highest MCC mean at 3.82.

[25] See for example, Accenture's goal for gender parity by 2025.
https://newsroom.accenture.com/news/accenture-sets-goal-to-achieve-gender-balanced-workforce-by-2025.htm

Overall, this suggests that MCC norms negatively affect fairness perceptions in both the promotions process and the development assignment process. Breaking down some of the aspects of MCC norms can help explain why. One key attribute of MCC cultures is the experience of being "in" v. "out" (Berdahl et al., 2018). Van Prooijen et al. (2004) find that being excluded exacerbates the experience of procedural injustice. MCC cultures, because they bifurcate people into "in" and "out" groups, may therefore increase the perception of procedural unfairness. Solving this challenge may be complicated because men may assume that gains of women (the "out" group) come at a cost to the men in the "in" group, framing any change as a zero-sum-game (Kuchynka et al., 2018).

The more negative perception of development assignments compared with promotions could result from the more personal nature of developmental assignments. When asked about promotions, respondents may be answering the questions about perceived fairness based on their own experiences or based on their view of others' experiences. They can see who is promoted and make determinations about the fairness of such decisions based on what they know of other workers' abilities and inabilities. However, when asked about developmental assignments, respondents likely answer based solely on their own experiences. They are unlikely to know about co-workers' specific assignments or opportunities and thus can only answer based on their own experiences. If there is greater perceived unfairness around developmental assignments, that may be a more accurate picture of workers' perceptions overall.

The check box responses around managerial support add more nuance to the findings. Here, we find a gender difference especially in three main areas of managerial

support. Receiving managerial help in navigating organizational politics, with business development support and with project opportunities were all lower for women than men. Although not statistically significant, these results are suggestive of a deeper challenge for women. These experiences also align with the researcher's consulting research (Detjen and Watson, 2020), which found that women were less likely to receive business development support and project opportunities. In the researcher's consulting practice with service industries, the velocity of promotion is higher for those that bring in business, are in front of clients, and are able to politically maneuver to garner more resources. Other research finds that the self-managed aspect of service industries require women to self-advocate, meet proactively with managers for project allocation and share achievements (Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2008). The findings in this study align with prior research suggesting that the enablers for promotion may be diminished for women. This area could be researched further to understand the impact and significance in more depth.

In addition, qualitative responses from the survey suggest that promotional processes are sometimes quite variable and subjective. Respondents reported experiencing variable and non-transparent managerial styles leading to a lack of consistency around decisions on and opportunities for promotion and developmental assignment allocation. One respondent reported that skilled employees had left their organization because of an over-emphasis on diversity hiring versus performance. Another respondent explained that the lack of "a formal process for identifying and selecting people for promotional opportunities … is detrimental to motivating employees." Interestingly, the the lack of formal process was a key argument in the

Dukes v. Walmart case in which plaintiffs alleged a "classic subjective employment system in which management level employees … are provided with little guidance on how to make their decisions and instead rely on their own beliefs and discretion to hire, promote, and establish salaries. It is well documented that such a system can lead to discriminatory results when the managers are men who likely rely on stereotypes for their decisions." (Selmi & Tsakos, 2015, 816).

Other respondents described how "relationships with management," "personality," nepotism, politics, a single person's viewpoint or a bureaucratic seniority process skew promotional decision making. Supporting respondents' observations, research describes the way in which gendered institutional processes (Mackay et al., 2010) and men's inability to see processes that privilege men (Mujtaba & Sims, 2011, McIntosh, 2007) impact power, norms and distribution of privilege (such as promotions).

Other qualitative comments highlighted the fact that individuals who are self-drivers, "who don't wait for a developmental assignment, but instead seek out and make their own opportunities within the organization" may be part of the challenge as well. Women are less likely to use impression management to increase others' perceptions of them and are less aggressive in their career than men (Bolino & Turnley, 2003; Singh et al., 2002). Others expressed the notion that the promotion question itself is ill-suited for small organizations, flat organizational structures or industries such as higher education.[26]

---

[26] When the researcher controlled for industry, there was no impact. As noted above, controlling for organizational size had no impact.

One participant highlighted a key point: the lack of transparency in many of these types of processes. MCC norms tend to prioritize values that may negatively impact transparency, including "*admitting you don't know the answer looks weak*" and "*you're either 'in' or you're 'out'*" (see Appendix B). Overall, the comments were overwhelmingly negative and highlighted the large number of challenges inherent within the processes themselves that decrease the perceptions of fairness. The comments do not indicate a specific relationship with MCC cultural norms but, given the strength of the correlation, do suggest that perhaps these challenges are exacerbated in MCC dominant cultures. This is an area for future research.

This supports Hypothesis 1 which suggests that MCC cultural norms negatively impact how employees experience their organization's promotional processes and allocation of developmental opportunities. This study supports the findings from Study One that these norms emerge not from male leaders' own masculine identities but rather from senior male leaders practicing MCC cultural or organizational norms, also limiting the possible impact of social desirability bias.These findings suggest that organizations could be developing and promoting less fairly, especially where MCC norms hold sway. More importantly, perhaps, in workplaces dominated by MCC norms, employees perceive significant unfairness in promotion and development opportunities with its own substantial and negative impact on the workplace culture and long-term productivity.

In conjunction with Study One, which found that senior male leaders were practicing MCC cultural norms, these findings suggest that organizations could be developing and promoting less fairly, especially where MCC norms hold sway. More

importantly, employees perceived significant unfairness in promotion and development opportunities. When employees perceive unfairness, there are long-term substantial and negative consequences on workplace culture and organizational commitment (Parker & Kohlmeyer, 2005; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002, Alexander & Ruderman, 1987).

There are a number of promising areas for future research. First, looking beyond perceptions of fairness in promotion processes, future research could examine the relationship between MCC cultural norms and assumptions around merit within the culture as identified by Castilla and Benard (2010). Additionally, it would be worthwhile to explore in more depth is the lack of gendered impact on MCC cultural norms and perceived unfairness. Given the substantial literature on gender bias, in part described in the literature review chapter, it is surprising that the MCC effect is so small. Further research can explore different industries in more depth to see if that effect changes when an industry itself exhibits more MCC norms (see discussion of policing cultures in Rawski & Workman-Stark, 2018). It could also be that women are more likely to leave organizations with dominant MCC cultures, choosing to adapt their career by moving to an organization with a less dominant MCC culture (Matos et al., 2018).

Studies One and Two combined suggest that organizational culture has a strong impact on decision making processes. Specifically, Study One suggested that leaders were not enacting MCC cultural norms because of their masculine identity but rather because the MCC norms are embedded in organizational processes. Study Two supports this by suggesting both that culture creates perceptions of unfairness and likely negatively impacts productivity and that culture and processes are potential levers for positive

change. The good news here is that a focus on process changes within promotional

processes and allocation of developmental assignments would be positive levers for

changing these processes to be more gender inclusive and would yield happier, more

satisfied workforces overall. In other words, if culture and processes can be adapted to

be more inclusive, less biased behavior may result. Study One illustrated that leaders are

reinforcing organizational norms. Thus, if leaders change the norms and processes to

become more transparent and fairer, behavioral change (and relatedly perceptions of

fairness) will follow. The leaders in Study One seem to recognize this shift even though it

was not fully expressed in MCC terms. A focused effort on changing cultures to reduce

the MCC effect would benefit everyone inside those organizations, not just women.

CHAPTER 5

GENERALIZABILITY AND LIMITATIONS

There are several limitations to this research, including concerns regarding generalizability. Study One only researched one gender's attitudes at a certain level of organizational hierarchy. As a result, perspectives from women, others across the gender spectrum and employees at other levels were not be evident. In addition, the small sample size of Study One by nature, limited the extent of the findings.

The dissertation study sought to overcome these limitations by broadening the sample to other genders, industries and levels within organizations adding to its generalizability. The dissertation study was limited by its use of perception of unfairness to measure the actual incidence of promotion and opportunities for which there is a small risk of a difference in outcome. The breadth of industries in both studies could also limit the ability to discern the extent to which gender plays a part in MCC cultural norms. As was seen in the industry analysis, industries that are predominantly male for example, were higher in MCC cultural attributes. Studying such industries more deeply may yield greater understanding of the impact on women in those industries or a conclusion that women in those industries are, in fact, more likely to leave. Future studies could explore whether there is a correlation between MCC norms and the percentage of women in an industry and in senior leadership for that industry.

The dissertation study was also limited by the nature of scaled/multiple choice questions which can naturally limit answers but is required for a larger sample size.

Longitudinal research would be able to supplement this research and provide more in-depth details of how MCC cultural norms impact these processes and the impact of any process changes made to overtly reduce these norms.

A final limitation is that the study was conducted during the COVID pandemic. Although the sample size was of professional working people who were less affected by the pandemic, there may still have been impacts resulting from the need to work from home, the lack of childcare and greater impact on female workers, and the overall stresses on personal lives. A subsequent study to confirm these results would be helpful to alleviate this concern. Similarly, it would be useful to explore the impacts of the #MeToo movement, specifically the extent to which self-censoring is impacting the results.

Taken together, Studies One and Two should provide another layer of understanding as to how masculine culture norms are reinforced, the extent to which they are changing, the role of leadership and culture on maintaining them and finally the impact on organizational decision making about who is capable of leading.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION

There is significant literature describing the ways in which women are discriminated against as they progress into leadership. Additionally, there is substantial literature discussing the ways in which sex-stereotyping of leadership impacts women's career growth and supporting the notion that simply being male (especially white male) signals leadership. The gap seems to be in determining whether this stereotype is perpetuated by male leaders in order to protect their male identity, whether explicitly or implicitly and whether there are other reasons for the stereotype's continued power such as embedded organizational culture norms and processes as seen in this study.

Women are almost fifty percent of the workforce (Catalyst, 2019) yet lag in leadership positions in every industry. They lag even more significantly in predominantly male industries such as finance and technology (Catalyst, 2019b, 2019c). This research has identified a key reason why this gap persists: Masculine culture norms are embedded within the culture itself. These research findings suggest that more of a focus on organizational identity, culture and processes is required. This research extends the literature around MCC norms, examining their impact on promotions, a specific process area that is problematic for women moving into leadership. Taken together, Studies One and Two provide a deeper understanding of the impact of masculine culture norms, how they are reinforced, the extent to which they are changing, the role of leadership and culture on maintaining them and finally the impact on organizational decision-making about who is capable of leading. Based on these findings, the researcher hopes that

organizational leaders will begin to truly change their processes to be more inclusive and

transparent, benefiting everyone in the organization, not just women.

REFERENCES

20 Best Resilience Books For Creating Mental Toughness
https://positivepsychology.com/resilience-books/

Adams, J. (2013). The fourth age of research. *Nature*, *497*(7451), 557–560.
https://doi.org/10.1038/497557a

Albiston, C. (2005). Bargaining in the Shadow of Social Institutions: Competing
Discourses and Social Change in Workplace Mobilization of Civil Rights. *Law &
Society Review*, 39(1), 11-50. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1555119

Albiston, C. (2009). Institutional Inequality. *Wisconsin Law Review*, 2009(5), 1093–
1167. Retrieved from
http://search.ebscohost.com.libproxy.temple.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lgs&
AN=502083260&site=ehost-live&scope=site

Alexander, S., Ruderman, M. The role of procedural and distributive justice in
organizational behavior. *Soc Just Res* **1,** 177–198 (1987). https://doi-
org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1007/BF01048015

Ashcraft, K. L. (2005). Resistance Through Consent?: Occupational Identity,
Organizational Form, and the Maintenance of Masculinity Among Commercial
Airline Pilots. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 19(1), 67–90.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0893318905276560

Ashforth, B. E., Harrison, S. H., & Corley, K. G. (2008). Identification in organizations:
An examination of four fundamental questions. *Journal of Management*, *34*(3),
325–374. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206308316059

Ashforth, B. E. (2016). Distinguished scholar invited essay: Exploring identity and
identification in organizations: Time for some course corrections. *Journal of
Leadership & Organizational Studies*, 23(4), 361-373.

Auster, E., & Prasad, A. (2016). Why Do Women Still Not Make It to the Top? Dominant Organizational Ideologies and Biases by Promotion Committees Limit Opportunities to Destination Positions. *Sex Roles*, 75(5–6), 177–196. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0607-0

AWIS. (2019). AWIS Member Leadership Survey, 2018-2019. Retrieved April 13, 2020, from https://www.awis.org/awis-member-leadership-survey-2018-2019/

Becker, G. S. (1985). Human capital, effort, and the sexual division of labor. *Journal of labor economics*, 3(1, Part 2), S33-S58.

Becker, G. S. (1993). Nobel lecture: The economic way of looking at behavior. *Journal of Political Economy*, 101(3), 385. https://doi-org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1086/261880

Berdahl, J. L., Cooper, M., Glick, P., Livingston, R. W., & Williams, J. C. (2018). Work as a masculinity contest. *Journal of Social Issues*, 74(3), 422-448.

Berger, J., Cohen, B., & Zelditch, M. (1972). Status Characteristics and Social Interaction. *American Sociological Review*, 37(3), 241-255. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2093465

Bertrand, M., Chugh, D., & Mullainathan, S. (2005). Implicit Discrimination. *American Economic Review*, 95 (2): 94-98. DOI: 10.1257/000282805774670365

Billig, M., & Tajfel, H. (1973). Social categorization and similarity in intergroup behaviour. *European journal of social psychology*, *3*(1), 27-52.

Bohnet, I. (2016). *What works*. Harvard University Press.

Bolino, M. C., & Turnley, W. H. (2003). More Than One Way to Make an Impression: Exploring Profiles of Impression Management. Journal of Management, 29(2), 141–160. https://doi.org/10.1177/014920630302900202

Braunstein, E. (2008). The feminist political economy of the rent-seeking society: An investigation of gender inequality and economic growth. *Journal of Economic Issues,* 42(4), 959-979.

Brown, B. (2012). Daring Greatly. New York, NY: Gotham Books.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2019). *2019 Current Population Survey, Characteristics of the Employed* [Data set, Table CPSAAT09]. Employment status of the civilian noninstitutional population, 1940s to date Statistics. U. S. Department of Labor. https://www.bls.gov/cps/tables.htm#charemp

Caleo, S. (2018). When distributive justice and gender stereotypes coincide: Reactions to equity and equality violations. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *48*(5), 257–268. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12510

Campbell, J. L., Quincy, C., Osserman, J., & Pedersen, O. K. (2013). Coding in-depth semistructured interviews: Problems of unitization and intercoder reliability and agreement. *Sociological Method & Research*, 42(3), 294-320.

Castilla, E. J., & Benard, S. (2010). The Paradox of Meritocracy in Organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 55(4), 543–576. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.2189/asqu.2010.55.4.543

Catalyst. (2019). Quick Take: Women in the Workforce-United States. Retrieved June 26, 2019, from https://www.catalyst.org/research/women-in-the-workforce-united-states/

Catalyst. (2019b). Quick Take: Women in the Workforce-Women in Financial Services. Retrieved June 27, 2019, from https://www.catalyst.org/research/women-in-financial-services/

Catalyst. (2019c). Quick Take: Women in the Workforce- Quick Take: Women in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) Retrieved June 27, 2019, from https://www.catalyst.org/research/women-in-science-technology-engineering-and-mathematics-stem/

Catalyst. (2019d). Quick Take: Women in the Workforce-Women in Financial Services. Retrieved April 13, 2020, from https://www.catalyst.org/research/women-in-energy-gas-mining-oil/

Cecchi-Dimeglio, P. (2017). How Gender Bias Corrupts Performance Reviews, and What to Do About It. *Harvard Business Review Digital Articles*, 2–5. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxysuf.flo.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bth&AN=124065777&site=ehost-live

Cha, Y. (2010). Reinforcing Separate Spheres: The Effect of Spousal Overwork on Men's and Women's Employment in Dual-Earner Households. American *Sociological Review*, 75(2), 303–329. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122410365307

Chamorro-Prezmuzic, T. (2019). As Long as We Associate Leadership with Masculinity, Women Will be Overlooked. *Harvard Business Review*.

Chang, S., Van Witteloostuijn, A., & Eden, L. (2010). From the editors: Common method variance in international business research. *Journal of International Business Studies, 41*(2), 178-184. doi:http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1057/jibs.2009.88

Checkmarket. (n.d.) *Sample size calculator*. https://www.checkmarket.com/sample-size-calculator/

Chin, S., Krivkovich, A. & Nadeau, M-C. (2018). Closing the gap: Leadership perspectives on promoting women in financial services. *McKinsey Insights*. https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/financial-services/our-insights/closing-the-gap-leadership-perspectives-on-promoting-women-in-financial-services

Chira, S. (2017) The Universal Phenomenon of Men Interrupting Women. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/14/business/women-sexism-work-huffington-kamala-harris.html

Chudoba, B. (n.d.). *How long should a survey be? What is the ideal survey length? | SurveyMonkey*. Retrieved July 5, 2020, from https://www.surveymonkey.com/curiosity/survey_completion_times/

Clayton, J. A., & Tannenbaum, C. (2016). Reporting sex, gender, or both in clinical research? *JAMA*, 316(18), 1863-1864.

Collinson, D., & Hearn, J. (1994). Naming men as men: Implications for work, organization and management. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 1(1), 2-22.

Colquitt, J. A., & Rodell, J. B. (2015). Measuring Justice and Fairness. In R. S. Cropanzano & M. L. Ambrose (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Justice in the Workplace* (Vol. 1, pp. 187–202). https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199981410.013.8

Colquitt, J. A., & Shaw, J. C. (2005). How Should Organizational Justice Be Measured? *Handbook of Organizational Justice*, 113–152.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2017). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches. Sage publications.

DDI, Conference Board. (2015). Ready Now Leaders: Cultivating Women in Leadership to Meet Tomorrow's Business Challenges. DDI and the Conference Board. Retrieved from URL https://www.ddiworld.com/DDI/media/trend-research/global-leadership-forecast-2014-gender-subreport_tr_ddi.pdf?ext=.pdf

Dekas, K. H., Bauer, T. N., Welle, B., Kurkoski, J., & Sullivan, S. (2013). Organizational citizenship behavior, version 2.0: A review and qualitative investigation of OCBs for knowledge workers at Google and beyond. *Academy of Management Perspectives,* 27(3), 219-237.

Deloitte. (2019). Deloitte Global Millennial Survey 2019. Retrieved from https://www2.deloitte.com/global/en/pages/about-deloitte/articles/millennialsurvey.html

Detjen, J. & Abelli, H. (2017). Overcoming Unseen Obstacles: How to Get More Women Into Leadership Positions. Skillsoft and Orange Grove Consulting.

Detjen, J., Waters, M., Watson, K. (2013). *The Orange Line: A Women's Guide to Integrating Career, Family, and Life*. Newton, MA: JMK Publishing.

Detjen, J. & Watson, K. (2020). *Gender and Inclusion Survey Findings.* Unpublished Manuscript.

Diversity Best Practices. (2009). Policy and Legal Compliance. *Diversity Primer* (pp 31 – 60). Diversity Best Practices: Online. https://www.diversitybestpractices.com/sites/diversitybestpractices.com/files/import/embedded/anchors/files/diversity_primer_chapter_03.pdf

Duckworth, A. (2016). *Grit: The Power of Passion and Perseverance*. Simon & Schuster.

Eagly, A. H., Wood, W., & Diekman, A. B. (2000). Social role theory of sex differences and similarities: A current appraisal. *The developmental social psychology of gender*, 12, 174.

Elberfeld, J, Chiu, C., and Walton, W. (2019). *CAPITAL ONE Case Study: Closing the Diversity Gap*. Anita Borg. https://4b7xbg26zfmr1aupi724hrym-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/AnitaB-TEF2019-CaseStudy-CapitalOne-FINALv02.pdf/

Ellingrud, K, Krishnan, M. and Madgavkar, A. (2016). Miles to go: Stepping up progress toward gender equality. McKinsey Global Institute.

Elsesser, K. (2019). Maybe The Apple And Goldman Sachs Credit Card Isn't Gender Biased. Retrieved from https://www.forbes.com/sites/kimelsesser/2019/11/14/maybe-the-apple-and-goldman-sachs-credit-card-isnt-gender-biased/#7ba1c0001518

Elvira, M. M., & Graham, M. E. (2002). Not Just a Formality: Pay System Formalization and Sex-Related Earnings Effects. *Organization Science*, 13(6), 601–617. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.1287/orsc.13.6.601.499

Ely, R. J., & Meyerson, D. E. (2010). An organizational approach to undoing gender: The unlikely case of offshore oil platforms. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 30, 3–34. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.1016/j.riob.2010.09.002

EY. (2015). Global Generations: A Global Study on Work-Life Challenges Across Generations. Published by EYGM Limited

Farmer, S. M., & Van Dyne, L. (2010). The Idealized Self and the Situated Self as Predictors of Employee Work Behaviors. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *95*(3), 503–516. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0019149

Firestone, K. (2019). When Will We See More Gender Equality in Investing? *Harvard Business Review Digital Articles*, 2–5. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxysuf.flo.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bth&AN=135652532&site=ehost-live

Fisher, R. J. (1993). Social Desirability Bias and the Validity of Indirect Questioning. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *20*(2), 303–315. https://doi-org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1086/209351

Fiske, S. T. (Ed.) (2013). SAGE Library in Social Psychology: *Social cognition* (Vols. 1-4). London: SAGE Publications Ltd doi: 10.4135/9781446286395

Foley, M., & Williamson, S. (2018). Does anonymising job applications reduce gender bias? Understanding managers' perspectives. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 33(8), 623-635.

Fry, R. (April 11, 2018). Millennials are the largest generation in the U.S. labor force. Accessed April 16, 2020 from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/04/11/millennials-largest-generation-us-labor-force/

Fuller, C. M., Simmering, M. J., Atinc, G., Atinc, Y., & Babin, B. J. (2016). Common methods variance detection in business research. *Journal of Business Research*, *69*(8), 3192-3198.

Gartner. (n.d.). *Information Technology: Gartner Glossary*. https://www.gartner.com/en/information-technology/glossary/smbs-small-and-midsize-businesses

Gee, K. (2019). Reddit Co-Founder Alexis Ohanian Warns Always-On Work Culture Creating 'Broken' People. *Wall Street Journal*.

Glick, P., Berdahl, J. L., & Alonso, N. M. (2018). Development and validation of the masculinity contest culture scale. *Journal of Social Issues*, 74(3), 449-476.

Goldin, C. (2006). The quiet revolution that transformed women's employment, education, and family. *American Economic Review*, 96(2), 1-21.

Goldin, C. (2014). A Grand Gender Convergence: Its Last Chapter. *American Economic Review*, 104 (4): 1091-1119. DOI: 10.1257/aer.104.4.1091

Gorman, E. H., & Kmec, J. A. (2009). Hierarchical rank and women's organizational mobility: Glass ceilings in corporate law firms. *American Journal of Sociology*, 114(5), 1428-1474.

Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J., & Graham, W. F. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational evaluation and policy analysis*, *11*(3), 255-274.

Groves, K. S. (2007). Integrating leadership development and succession planning best practices. *The Journal of Management Development, 26*(3), 239-260. doi:http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1108/02621710710732146

Hagaman, A. K., & Wutich, A. (2017). How Many Interviews Are Enough to Identify Metathemes in Multisited and Cross-cultural Research? Another Perspective on Guest, Bunce, and Johnson's (2006) Landmark Study. *Field Method*, *29*(1), 23–41. https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X16640447

Harding, N. H., Ford, J., & Lee, H. (2017). Towards a Performative Theory of Resistance: Senior Managers and Revolting Subject(ivitie)s. *Organization Studies*, 38(9), 1209–1232. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.1177/0170840616685360

Harrington, B., Sabatini Fraone, J. & Lee, J. (2017). The New Dad: The Career-Caregiving Conflict. Boston College Center for Work and Family. http://thenewdad.org/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/BCCWF_The_New_Dad_2017.163101956.pdf

Haselmann, R., Schoenherr, D., & Vig, V. (2018). Rent Seeking in Elite Networks. *Journal of Political Economy*, 126(4), 1638-1690.

Heifetz, R., Grashow, A., Linksy, M. (2009). *The Practice of Adaptive Leadership: Tools and Tactics for Changing your Organization and the World*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business Press.

Heilman, M. E. (1995). Sex stereotypes and their effects in the workplace: What we know and what we don't know. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 10(6), 3–26.

Heilman, M. E. (2012). Gender stereotypes and workplace bias. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 32, 113-135.

Hinkin, T. R. (1998). A brief tutorial on the development of measures for use in survey questionnaires. *Organizational Research Method*, 1, 104-121.

Hogg, M. A. (2006). Social identity theory. *Contemporary Social Psychological Theories*, 13, 111-1369. https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=8Jzkgbq2vYwC&oi=fnd&pg=PA111&dq=social+identity+theory+defined&ots=436Y6GJsk5&sig=vcOLZtoUw4pVMG7aGVdOdk2bE2E#v=onepage&q=social%20identity%20theory%20defined&f=false

Holgersson, C. (2013). Recruiting managing directors: Doing homosociality. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 20(4), 454-466.

Hoobler, J. M., Lemmon, G., & Wayne, S. J. (2014). Women's Managerial Aspirations: An Organizational Development Perspective. *Journal of Management*, *40*(3), 703–730. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206311426911

Huang, J., Krivkovich, A., Starikova, I., Yee, L., & Zanoschi, D. (2019). *Women in the Workplace 2019*. San Francisco: Retrieved from McKinsey & Co. website: https://www. mckinsey. com/featured-insights/gender-equality/women-in-the-workplace-2019.

Ibarra H (1992) Homophily and differential returns: Sex differences in network structure and access in an advertising firm. *Admin. Sci. Quart*. 37(3):422–447.

IBM Institute for Business Value. (2015). Myths, exaggerations and uncomfortable truths: The real story behind Millennials in the workplace. Retrieved from https://www.ibm.com/downloads/cas/MWX5YXPE

Jiatao LI, & Hambrick, D. C. (2005). Factional Groups: A New Vantage on Demographic Faultlines,Conflict, and Disintegration in Work Teams. Academy of Management Journal, 48(5), 794–813. https://doi-org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.5465/AMJ.2005.18803923

Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed method research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational researcher*, 33(7), 14-26.

Joshi, A. (2014). By Whom and When Is Women's Expertise Recognized? The Interactive Effects of Gender and Education in Science and Engineering Teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 59(2), 202–239. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839214528331

Joshi, A., & Knight, A. P. (2015). Who Defers to Whom and Why? Dual Pathways Linking Demographic Differences and Dyadic Deference to Team Effectiveness. *Academy of Management Journal*, 58(1), 59–84. https://doi-org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.5465/amj.2013.0718

Kahneman, D. (2003). Maps of Bounded Rationality: Psychology for Behavioral Economics. *American Economic Review*, 93(5), 1449–1475. https://doi-org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1257/000282803322655392

Kang, S. K., DeCelles, K. A., Tilcsik, A., & Jun, S. (2016). Whitened Résumés: Race and Self-Presentation in the Labor Market. Administrative Science Quarterly, 61(3), 469–502. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839216639577

Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Kegan, R., & Lahey, L. L. (2009). *Immunity to change: How to overcome it and unlock potential in yourself and your organization*. Harvard Business Press.

Kilianski, S. E. (2003). Explaining heterosexual men's attitudes toward women and gay men: The theory of exclusively masculine identity. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 4(1), 37-56. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.4.1.37

Kimmel, M. S. (2004). Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame, and silence in the construction of gender identity. *Race, class, and gender in the United States: An integrated study*, 81, 93.

King, E. B., Botsford, W., Hebl, M. R., Kazama, S., Dawson, J. F., & Perkins, A. (2012). Benevolent Sexism at Work: Gender Differences in the Distribution of Challenging Developmental Experiences. *Journal of Management*, *38*(6), 1835–1866. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.1177/0149206310365902

Kleinbaum, A. M., Stuart, T. E, & Tushman, M. (2013). Discretion Within Constraint: Homophily and Structure in a Formal Organization. *Organization Science*, 24(5), 1316–1336. https://doi-org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1287/orsc.1120.0804

Konovsky, M. A. (2000). Understanding Procedural Justice and Its Impact on Business Organizations. Journal of Management, 26(3), 489–511. https://doi.org/10.1177/014920630002600306

Krantz, J. (2001). Dilemmas of Organizational Change: A Systems Psychodynamic Perspective. In L. J. Gould (Ed.), *The Systems Psychodynamics of Organizations* (pp. 133–156). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429483387-7

Krentz, M. Dean, J.,Garcia-Alonso, J., Brooks Taplett, F., Tsusaka, M., and Vaughn, E. (2019). *Fixing the Flawed Approach to Diversity*. BCG.

Krieger, L. (1995). The Content of Our Categories: A Cognitive Bias Approach to Discrimination and Equal Employment Opportunity. *Stanford Law Review*, 47(6), 1161-1248. doi:10.2307/1229191

Kuchynka, S. L., Bosson, J. K., Vandello, J. A., & Puryear, C. (2018). Zero-Sum Thinking and the Masculinity Contest: Perceived Intergroup Competition and Workplace Gender Bias. *Journal of Social Issues*, 74(3), 529–550. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.1111/josi.12281

Kumra, S., & Vinnicombe, S. (2008). A study of the promotion to partner process in a professional services firm: How women are disadvantaged. *British Journal of Management*, *19*, S65-S74.

Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Merton, R. K. (1954). Friendship as a social process: A substantive and methodological analysis. *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*, 18(1), 18-66.

Lee, A., Willis, S., & Tian, A. W. (2018). Empowering leadership: A meta-analytic examination of incremental contribution, mediation, and moderation. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *39*(3), 306–325. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2220

Lee, S. M., Olson, D. L., & Trimi, S. (2012). Co-innovation: Convergenomics, collaboration, and co-creation for organizational values. *Management Decision*, *50*(5), 817–831. https://doi.org/10.1108/00251741211227528

Lemons, M. A., & Jones, C. A. (2001). Procedural justice in promotion decisions: Using perceptions of fairness to build employee commitment. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *16*(4), 268–281. https://doi.org/10.1108/02683940110391517

Li, M. (2019). Addressing the Biases Plaguing Algorithms. *Harvard Business Review* Digital Articles, 2–5. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxysuf.flo.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bth&AN=136668403&site=ehost-live

Lyness, K. S., & Thompson, D. E. (2000). Climbing the corporate ladder: Do female and male executives follow the same route? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *85*(1), 86–101. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.85.1.86

Mackay, F., Kenny, M., & Chappell, L. (2010). New Institutionalism Through a Gender Lens: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism? International Political Science Review, 31(5), 573–588. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512110388788

Matos, K., O'Neill, O. (Mandy), & Lei, X. (2018). Toxic Leadership and the Masculinity Contest Culture: How "Win or Die" Cultures Breed Abusive Leadership. *Journal of Social Issues*, *74*(3), 500–528. https://doi-org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1111/josi.12284

McCall, M. W., Lombardo, M. M., & Morrison, A. M. 1988. The lessons of experience: How successful executives develop on the job. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books

McGinn, K. L., Ruiz Castro, M., & Lingo, E. L. (2015). *Mums the word! Cross-national effects of maternal employment on gender inequalities at work and at home*.

McKinsey. (2018). *Women in the Workplace 2018*. McKinsey and LeanIn.org.

McIntosh, P. (2007). White privilege and male privilege. *Race, ethnicity and gender: Selected readings*, 377-385.

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2020). *Qualitative data analysis: A method sourcebook*. 4th. ed: Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mujtaba, B., & Sims, R. (2011). Gender Differences in Managerial Attitudes Towards Unearned Privilege and Favoritism in the Retail Sector. *Employee Responsibilities*

& *Rights Journal*, *23*(3), 205–217. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.1007/s10672-010-9162-y

Myers, M. D. (2013). *Qualitative Research in Business and Management* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Sage,

Ng, E. S., W., Schweitzer, L., & Lyons, S. T. (2010). New generation, great expectations: A field study of the millennial generation. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), 281-292. doi:http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1007/s10869-010-9159-4

Padavic, I., Ely, R. J., & Reid, E. M. (2016). Explaining the Persistence of Gender Inequality: The Work–family Narrative as a Social Defense against the 24/7 Work Culture. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 0001839219832310.

Parker, R. J., & Kohlmeyer III, J. M. (2005). Organizational justice and turnover in public accounting firms: A research note. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, *30*(4), 357-369.

Parker, K, Graf, N. and Igielnik, R. (January 17, 2019). Generation Z Looks a Lot Like Millennials on Key Social and Political Issues. *Pew*. https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2019/01/17/generation-z-looks-a-lot-like-millennials-on-key-social-and-political-issues/

Pew. (2015). Pew Social Trends. http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/01/14/women-and-leadership/st_2015-01-14_women-leadership-1-05/

Pfau, B. N. (2016). What do millennials really want at work? The same things the rest of us do. *Harvard Business Review*, 7.

Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., Lee, J. Y., & Podsakoff, N. P. (2003). Common method biases in behavioral research: a critical review of the literature and recommended remedies. *Journal of applied psychology*, *88*(5), 879.

Ragins, B. R., & McFarlin, D. B. (1990). Perceptions of mentor roles in cross-gender mentoring relationships. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 37: 321-339. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/0001-8791(90)90048-7

Rawski, S. L., & Workman-Stark, A. L. (2018). Masculinity contest cultures in policing organizations and recommendations for training interventions. *Journal of Social Issues*, *74*(3), 607-627.

Reagans, R., Zuckerman, E., & McEvily, B. (2004). How to make the team: Social networks vs. demography as criteria for designing effective teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 49(1), 101-133.

Reid, E. M., O'Neill, O. A., & Blair-Loy, M. (2018). Masculinity in Male-Dominated Occupations: How Teams, Time, and Tasks Shape Masculinity Contests. *Journal of Social Issues*, *74*(3), 579–606. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12285

Reskin, B. F., & McBrier, D. B. (2000). Why Not Ascription? Organizations' Employment of Male and Female Managers. *American Sociological Review*, 65(2), 210–233. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.2307/2657438

Rhoades, L., & Eisenberger, R. (2002). Perceived organizational support: A review of the literature. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *87*(4), 698–714. https://doi-org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1037/0021-9010.87.4.698

Rivera, L. A. (2012). Hiring as cultural matching: The case of elite professional service firms. *American Sociological Review*, 77(6), 999-1022.

Ryan, M. K., & Haslam, S. A. (2007). The Glass Cliff: Exploring the Dynamics Surrounding the Appointment of Women to Precarious Leadership Positions. *Academy of Management Review*, 32(2), 549–572. https://doi-org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.5465/AMR.2007.24351856

Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage.

Schriesheim, G. A., Powers, K. J., Scandura, T. A., Gardiner, G. G., & Lankau, M. J. (1993). Improving construct measurement in management research: Comments and a quantitative approach for assessing the theoretical content adequacy of paper-and-pencil survey-type instruments. *Journal of Management*, 19, 385-417.

Schwab, K. (December 1, 2019). Why we need the 'Davos Manifesto' for a better kind of capitalism. *World Economic Forum*. https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/12/why-we-need-the-davos-manifesto-for-better-kind-of-capitalism/

Scott, C. R., Corman, S. R., & Cheney, G. (1998). Development of a structurational model of identification in the organization. *Communication Theory*, *8*(3), 298-336.

Sealy, R. (2010). Changing perceptions of meritocracy in senior women's careers. *Gender in Management*, 25(3), 184-197. doi:http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1108/17542411011036392

Sealy, R. H., & Singh, V. (2010). The importance of role models and demographic context for senior women's work identity development. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 12(3), 284-300.

Selmi, M., & Tsakos, S. (2015). Employment discrimination class actions after Wal-Mart v. Dukes. *Akron L. Rev.*, *48*, 803.

Senge, P. M. (1990). *The Fifth Discipline: the Art and Practice of the Learning Organization*. New York: Doubleday/Currency.

Shemla, M., Meyer, B., Greer, L., & Jehn, K. A. (2016). A review of perceived diversity in teams: Does how members perceive their team's composition affect team processes and outcomes? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 37, S89–S106. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.1002/job.1957

Silva, C., Carter, N. M., & Beninger, A. (2012). *the Promise of Future Leadership: Highly Talented Employees in the Pipeline*. www.catalyst.org

Singh, V., Kumra, S., & Vinnicombe, S. (2002). Gender and impression management: Playing the promotion game. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *37*(1), 77-89.

Spicer, A. (2018). When to Stick with Something — and When to Quit. *Harvard Business Review Digital Articles*. https://hbr.org/2018/09/when-to-stick-with-something-and-when-to-quit

Srivastava, A., Bartol, K. M., & Locke, E. A. (2006). and Performance Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article : EMPOWERING LEADERSHIP IN MANAGEMENT TEAMS : EFFECTS ON KNOWLEDGE SHARING , EFFICACY , AND PERFORMANCE. *Academy of Management Journal*, *49*(6), 1239–1251. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20159830

Stahl, G. K., Maznevski, M. L., Voigt, A., & Jonsen, K. (2010). Unraveling the effects of cultural diversity inteams: A meta-analysis of research on multicultural work groups. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 41(4), 690–709. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.1057/jihs.2009.85

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1986) The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, 5, 7-24.

Taylor, S. E. (1981). A categorization approach to stereotyping. *Cognitive processes in stereotyping and intergroup behavior,* 832114. https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=wM9WCgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA83&dq=Shelley+E.+Taylor,+A+Categorization+Approach+to+Stereotyping,+in+COGNITIVE+PROCESSES+IN+STEREOTYPING+AND+INTERGROUP+BEHAVIOR&ots=x7IbIkQySt&sig=6SY86nKy-Cp0K_pN9Z4M7p5PvU8#v=onepage&q&f=false

Terjesen, S., Sealy, R., & Singh, V. (2009). Women directors on corporate boards: A review and research agenda. *Corporate Governance: an International Review*, 17(3), 320-337.

Thompson Ford, R. (2014). Bias in the Air: Rethinking Employment Discrimination Law. *Stanford Law Review*, 66(6), 1381–1421. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com.libproxy.temple.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=96976414&site=ehost-live&scope=site

Tullo, A. (2017). Women in the chemical industry 2017. *Chemical and Engineering News*, 95(36), 16-18. Retrieved April 13, 2020, from https://www.cio.com/article/3516012/women-in-tech-statistics-the-hard-truths-of-an-uphill-battle.html

van Prooijen, J.-W., van den Bos, K., & Wilke, H. A. M. (2004). Group Belongingness and Procedural Justice: Social Inclusion and Exclusion by Peers Affects the Psychology of Voice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *87*(1), 66–79. https://doi-org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.87.1.66

Vandello, J. A., & Bosson, J. K. (2013). Hard won and easily lost: A review and synthesis of theory and research on precarious manhood. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity,* 14(2), 101–113. https://doi-org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.1037/a0029826

Watson, K. & Detjen, J. (2021). *The Next Smart Step: How to Overcome Gender Stereotypes and Build a Stronger Organization*. Waltham, MA: Charlesbridge.

Webber, S. S., Detjen, J., MacLean, T., & Thomas, D. (2019). Team Challenges: Is Artificial Intelligence the Solution? *Business Horizons, 62*(6), 741–750. https://doi-org.ezproxysuf.flo.org/10.1016/j.bushor.2019.07.007

Weeden, K. A., Cha, Y., & Bucca, M. (2016). Long work hours, part-time work, and trends in the gender gap in pay, the motherhood wage penalty, and the fatherhood wage premium. RSF: *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences,* 2(4), 71-102. doi:http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.temple.edu/10.7758/RSF.2016.2.4.03

Weinberg, F. J., Treviño, L. J., & Cleveland, A. O. (2019). Gendered Communication and Career Outcomes: A Construct Validation and Prediction of Hierarchical Advancement and Non-Hierarchical Rewards. *Communication Research*, *46*(4), 456–502. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650215590605

White, S. (2019). Women in tech statistics: The hard truths of an uphill battle. Retrieved April 13, 2020, from https://www.cio.com/article/3516012/women-in-tech-statistics-the-hard-truths-of-an-uphill-battle.html

Williams, C. (2007). Research method. *Journal of Business & Economics Research* (JBER), 5(3).

Williams, J. & Dempsey, R. (2014). *What Works for Women at Work: Four patterns working women need to know*. New York, NY: New York University Press

APPENDIX A

UNDERLYING THEORIES

Table 5.		
Underlying Theories to be Used in Research Project		
Masculine Contest Culture	Masculine norms fall into four characteristics: 1) "Show no Weakness" describes behavior where men suppress emotions and exude confidence that is often exaggerated. 2) "Strength and stamina" describes behavior where a man can persevere through difficult physical and mental situations. 3) "Put work first' describes a myopic career view where all other aspects of life are secondary or even non-existent in terms of priorities. 4) "Dog-eat-dog" describes behavior that is highly competitive and has a winner-take-all mentality.	Berdahl et al., 2018.
Social Identity Theory	People identify themselves in relation to their membership within a group and how its defined. It "addresses phenomena such as prejudice, discrimination, ethnocentrism, stereotyping, intergroup conflict, conformity, normative behavior, group polarization, crowd behavior, organizational behavior, leadership, deviance, and group cohesiveness"	Hogg, 2006, 111, summarizing the extensive research on this theory, Tajfel & Turner, 1986
Categorization Theory of Stereotyping	Stereotyping depends in part on the comparisons against which the object (or person) is being categorized, the extent to which the stereotype is well known (and gender is universally stereotyped), and the extent to which there is an associated value (negative or positive) with that category. It also de-personalizes the individual by associating the person with the stereotype (or prototype)	Taylor, 1981
Lack of Fit	The perception that an out-group member is not a match (or "fit") for the in-group (e.g. at the team or organizational leadership levels).	Heilman, 1995

Table 5 (continued)		
Status Characteristics Theory	Demographics signal status and hierarchy and are used as proxies for decision making, especially in male-dominated industries.	Berger et al., 1972, Joshi, 2014
Social Role Theory	A theory that states that men and women are prescribed a role based on their gender and are penalized then they step outside that role. These roles change over time in line with changing societal expectations. These roles also impact individuals' self-perception and identity.	Eagly et al. (2000), summarizing the extensive research, based off Eagly's early research
Social Cognition Theory	How communication influences and impacts how people interpret the social aspects of their lives such as persuasion and decision-making.	Summarized by Fiske (2013)
Social Identity Complexity	Social identity complexity suggests that there are "nested identities, [where] the meanings attributed" to one's tend to merge (Ashforth et al., 2008, p. 358).	Ashforth et al., 2008

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONS

Instructions: Consider the culture where you work. The following questions will ask to what extent these attributes are exhibited in your organization.

1. Admitting you don't know the answer looks weak
2. Expressing any emotion other than anger or pride is shown as weak
3. It's important to be in good physical shape to be respected
4. People who are physically smaller have to work harder to get respect
5. To succeed you can't let family interfere with work
6. Taking days off is frowned upon
7. You're either "in" or you're "out" and once you're out, you're out
8. If you don't stand up for yourself, people will step on you.

Procedural Justice Related to Promotions

Instructions: Consider the procedures related to how promotions are made in your organization. The following questions will ask your opinion about the processes and procedures related to promotional decisions in your organization.

1. The procedures used to decide who is promoted in my organization are applied consistently.
2. The procedures used to decide who is promoted in my organization are free from bias.
3. The procedures used to decide who is promoted in my organization are based on accurate information.
4. The procedures used to decide who is promoted in my organization uphold ethical and moral standards.
5. Overall, the procedures used to decide who is promoted in my organization are fair.

Developmental Assignments

Instructions: Which of the following types of assignment or opportunity does your

company use to develop employees?

1. A task requiring me to learn significantly or very unfamiliar responsibilities
2. A task requiring me to start something radically new in the organization or make strategic changes in the business/organization
3. A task requiring me to fix major problems created by a predecessor
4. A challenging task requiring me to deal with subordinates who lack adequate experience and are resistant to change
5. A high-stakes task in which there was pressure from senior managers, high visibility, clear deadlines, and responsibility for key decisions
6. A large task including responsibility over multiple functions, groups, products, or services
7. A task that requires me to interface with important groups outside the organization, such as customers or other organizations
8. An unusual task that requires me to influence peers, higher management, or other people over whom I have no direct authority
9. A novel task that requires me to work with people from different cultures or with institutions in other countries

Procedural Justice Related to Developmental Assignments

Instructions: Consider the procedures related to how developmental assignments are

made in your organization. The following questions will ask your opinion about the

processes and procedures related to deciding who will be offered developmental

assignments.

1. The procedures used to decide who is offered developmental opportunities and assignments in my organization are applied consistently.
2. The procedures used to decide who is offered developmental opportunities and assignments in my organization are free from bias.
3. The procedures used to decide who is offered developmental opportunities and assignments in my organization are based on accurate information.
4. The procedures used to decide who is offered developmental opportunities and assignments in my organization uphold ethical and moral standards.
5. Overall, the procedures used to decide who is offered developmental opportunities and assignments in my organization are fair.

Extent to which opportunities for advancement have been received

Instructions: Consider the extent to which you are getting the support and experiences required for promotion in your organization. The following questions will ask your opinion about the degree to which you have experienced support or sponsorship around developmental assignments.

To what extent does your manager or organization

1. Help me navigate organizational politics
2. Advocate for new opportunities for me
3. Give me opportunities to manage people and projects
4. Give me business development support
5. Provide opportunities for me to experience projects with key clients or products
6. Provide opportunities for me to showcase my work
7. Provide opportunities for leadership training
8. Help me manage my career path
9. I have the sponsorship needed to advance my career.

Developmental Assignments

Instructions: Which of the following types of assignment or opportunity have you been offered?

1. A task requiring me to learn significantly or very unfamiliar responsibilities
2. A task requiring me to start something radically new in the organization or make strategic changes in the business/organization
3. A task requiring me to fix major problems created by a predecessor
4. A challenging task requiring me to deal with subordinates who lack adequate experience and are resistant to change
5. A high-stakes task in which there was pressure from senior managers, high visibility, clear deadlines, and responsibility for key decisions
6. A large task including responsibility over multiple functions, groups, products, or services
7. A task that requires me to interface with important groups outside the organization, such as customers or other organizations
8. An unusual task that requires me to influence peers, higher management, or other people over whom I have no direct authority
9. A novel task that requires me to work with people from different cultures or with institutions in other countries

CONSTRUCTS AND INDICATORS

Scale	Item	Measurement Scale	Author
Table 6. *Constructs and Indicators*			
	INPUT VARIABLES - Independent		
MCC Scale			Glick et al. (2018)
Show no weakness	Admitting you don't know the answer looks weak	1- not at all true of my work environment, 2 – somewhat not true of my work environment 3 – Slightly not true of my work environment, 4 – neither true or untrue of my work environment, 5 – slightly true of my work environment, 6– somewhat true of my work environment , 7 – true of my work environment	Scales adapted to be 7 points.
	Expressing any emotion other than anger or pride is shown as weak	1- not at all true of my work environment, 2 – somewhat not true of my work environment 3 – Slightly not true of my work environment, 4 – neither true or untrue of my work environment, 5 – slightly true of my work environment, 6– somewhat true of my work environment , 7 – true of my work environment	
Strength and Stamina	It's important to be in good physical shape to be respected	1- not at all true of my work environment, 2 – somewhat not true of my work environment 3 – Slightly not true of my work environment, 4 – neither true or untrue of my work environment, 5 – slightly true of my work environment, 6– somewhat true of my work environment , 7 – true of my work environment	
	People who are physically smaller have to work harder to get respect	1- not at all true of my work environment, 2 – somewhat not true of my work environment 3 – Slightly not true of my work environment, 4 – neither true or untrue of my work environment, 5 – slightly true of my work environment, 6– somewhat true of my work environment , 7 – true of my work environment	

Scale	Item	Measurement Scale	Author
	Table 6. **(continued)**		
	INPUT VARIABLES - **Independent**		
Put Work First	To succeed you can't let family interfere with work	1- not at all true of my work environment, 2 – somewhat not true of my work environment 3 – Slightly not true of my work environment, 4 –neither true or untrue of my work environment, 5 – slightly true of my work environment, 6– somewhat true of my work environment , 7 – true of my work environment	
	Taking days off is frowned upon	1- not at all true of my work environment, 2 – somewhat not true of my work environment 3 – Slightly not true of my work environment, 4 –neither true or untrue of my work environment, 5 – slightly true of my work environment, 6– somewhat true of my work environment , 7 – true of my work environment	
Dog Eat Dog	You're either "in" or you're "out" and once you're out, you're out	1- not at all true of my work environment, 2 – somewhat not true of my work environment 3 – Slightly not true of my work environment, 4 –neither true or untrue of my work environment, 5 – slightly true of my work environment, 6– somewhat true of my work environment , 7 – true of my work environment	
	If you don't stand up for yourself, people will step on you.	1- not at all true of my work environment, 2 – somewhat not true of my work environment 3 – Slightly not true of my work environment, 4 –neither true or untrue of my work environment, 5 – slightly true of my work environment, 6– somewhat true of my work environment , 7 – true of my work environment	

Table 6.			
(continued)			
Scale	**Item**	**Measurement Scale**	**Author**
	OUTPUT VARIABLES - Dependent		
Procedural Justice in Promotions			Adapted from (Colquitt & Rodell, 2015)
	The procedures used to decide who is promoted in my organization are applied consistently.	1= To an Extremely Small Extent, 2 = To a Very Small Extent, 3 = To a Small Extent, 4 = To a Moderate Extent, 5 = To a Large Extent, 6 = To a Very Large Extent, 7 = To an Extremely Large Extent	Scales adapted to be 7 points.
	The procedures used to decide who is promoted in my organization are free of bias.	1= To an Extremely Small Extent, 2 = To a Very Small Extent, 3 = To a Small Extent, 4 = To a Moderate Extent, 5 = To a Large Extent, 6 = To a Very Large Extent, 7 = To an Extremely Large Extent	
	The procedures used to decide who is promoted in my organization are based on accurate information.	1= To an Extremely Small Extent, 2 = To a Very Small Extent, 3 = To a Small Extent, 4 = To a Moderate Extent, 5 = To a Large Extent, 6 = To a Very Large Extent, 7 = To an Extremely Large Extent	
	The procedures used to decide who is promoted in my organization uphold ethical and moral standards.	1= To an Extremely Small Extent, 2 = To a Very Small Extent, 3 = To a Small Extent, 4 = To a Moderate Extent, 5 = To a Large Extent, 6 = To a Very Large Extent, 7 = To an Extremely Large Extent	
Overall	Overall, the procedures used to decide who is promoted in my organization are fair.	1= To an Extremely Small Extent, 2 = To a Very Small Extent, 3 = To a Small Extent, 4 = To a Moderate Extent, 5 = To a Large Extent, 6 = To a Very Large Extent, 7 = To an Extremely Large Extent	

Scale	Item	Measurement Scale	Author
Table 6. (continued)			
	OUTPUT VARIABLES - Dependent		
Development Assignments	Types of developmental opportunities and assignments	1- A task requiring me to learn significantly or very unfamiliar responsibilities 2- A task requiring me to start something radically new in the organization or make strategic changes in the business/organization 3- A task requiring me to fix major problems created by a predecessor 4- A challenging task requiring me to deal with subordinates who lack adequate experience and are resistant to change 5- A high-stakes task in which there was pressure from senior managers, high visibility, clear deadlines, and responsibility for key decisions 6- A large task including responsibility over multiple functions, groups, products, or services 7- A task that requires me to interface with important groups outside the organization, such as customers or other organizations 8- An unusual task that requires me to influence peers, higher management, or other people over whom I have no direct authority 9- A novel task that requires me to work with people from different cultures or with institutions in other countries	Adapted from (King et al., 2012; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990)

Scale	Item	Measurement Scale	Author
Table 6. (continued)			
	OUTPUT VARIABLES - Dependent		
Procedural Justice in Developmental Assignment Allocation			Adapted from (Colquitt & Rodell, 2015)
	The procedures used to decide who is offered developmental opportunities and assignments in my organization are applied consistently.	1= To an Extremely Small Extent, 2 = To a Very Small Extent, 3 = To a Small Extent, 4 = To a Moderate Extent, 5 = To a Large Extent, 6 = To a Very Large Extent, 7 = To an Extremely Large Extent	Scales adapted to be 7 points.
	The procedures used to decide who is offered developmental opportunities and assignments in my organization are free of bias.	1= To an Extremely Small Extent, 2 = To a Very Small Extent, 3 = To a Small Extent, 4 = To a Moderate Extent, 5 = To a Large Extent, 6 = To a Very Large Extent, 7 = To an Extremely Large Extent	
	The procedures used to decide who is offered developmental opportunities and assignments in my organization are based on accurate information.	1= To an Extremely Small Extent, 2 = To a Very Small Extent, 3 = To a Small Extent, 4 = To a Moderate Extent, 5 = To a Large Extent, 6 = To a Very Large Extent, 7 = To an Extremely Large Extent	
	The procedures used to decide who is offered developmental opportunities and assignments in my organization uphold ethical and moral standards.	1= To an Extremely Small Extent, 2 = To a Very Small Extent, 3 = To a Small Extent, 4 = To a Moderate Extent, 5 = To a Large Extent, 6 = To a Very Large Extent, 7 = To an Extremely Large Extent	
	Overall, the procedures used to decide who is offered developmental opportunities and assignments in my organization are fair.	1= To an Extremely Small Extent, 2 = To a Very Small Extent, 3 = To a Small Extent, 4 = To a Moderate Extent, 5 = To a Large Extent, 6 = To a Very Large Extent, 7 = To an Extremely Large Extent	

Scale	Item	Measurement Scale	Author
	OUTPUT VARIABLES - Dependent		
Opportunity for Advancement	Managerial Support	• My manager helps me navigate organizational politics • My manager gives me opportunities to manage people and projects • My manager gives me business development support • My manager provides opportunities for me to experience projects with key clients or products • My manager gives me opportunities for leadership development • My manager provides opportunities for me to showcase my work • My manager helps me manage my career path • I have the sponsorship needed to advance my career	(Huang et al., 2019) Adapted from (Groves, 2007) Adapted from (Huang et al., 2019)

Table 6.

(continued)

Table 6.			
(continued)			
Scale	**Item**	**Measurement Scale**	**Author**
	OUTPUT VARIABLES - Dependent		
Development Assignments		1- A task requiring me to learn significantly or very unfamiliar responsibilities 2- A task requiring me to start something radically new in the organization or make strategic changes in the business/organization 3- A task requiring me to fix major problems created by a predecessor 4- A challenging task requiring me to deal with subordinates who lack adequate experience and are resistant to change 5- A high-stakes task in which there was pressure from senior managers, high visibility, clear deadlines, and responsibility for key decisions 6- A large task including responsibility over multiple functions, groups, products, or services 7- A task that requires me to interface with important groups outside the organization, such as customers or other organizations 8- An unusual task that requires me to influence peers, higher management, or other people over whom I have no direct authority 9- A novel task that requires me to work with people from different cultures or with institutions in other countries	Adapted from (King et al., 2012; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990)

Table 6. (continued)		
	Item	**Measurement Scale**
Demographics		
	What is your age?	
	What is your gender identity? (MODERATOR variable)	1 – male, 2 – female, 3 – nonbinary 4- transgender female 5 – transgender male 6 gender non-conforming 7 – prefer not to answer 8 – not listed (open answer)
	What is the highest level of education you have completed?	1 – Less than High School, 2 – High School, 3 – Some college, 4 – Associates Degree, 5 – Bachelor's Degree, 6 – Master's Degree, 7 – Doctoral Degree, 8 – Beyond Doctroal Degree, 9 – Other (open answer)
	How do you racially identify?	1 – White or Caucasian, 2 – African American or Black, 3 – Latinx or Hispanic, 4 – East or South-East Asian, 5 – South Asian, 6 - Middle-Eastern, 7 – Native-American or Alaskan native, 8 – Pacific-Islander or Native Hawaiian, 9 – multi-racial 10 – Prefer not to answer, 11 – not listed (open answer)
	Workplace tenure (CONTROL variable)	Type in number of years including less than 1 year
	Supervisory tenure (CONTROL variable)	Type in number of years including 0
	Company Size (CONTROL variable)	1 – fewer than 100 employees, 2 – between 100-999 employees 3 – 1000 or more employees (Gartner, n.d.)

	Item	Measurement Scale
	Work experience (CONTROL variable)	Definition of Job Levels • L1—C-suite level executives and presidents: CEO and his or her direct reports, responsible for company operations and profitability (board members are not included in our primary analyses) • L2—Senior vice presidents: Senior leaders of the organization with significant business unit or functional oversight • L3—Vice presidents: Leaders of the organization who report directly to senior vice presidents • L4—Senior managers/directors: Seasoned managers with responsibility for multiple teams and discrete functions or operating units • L5—Managers: Employees who have management responsibility over a store, team, or project • L6—Entry level: Employees who carry out discrete tasks and participate on teams, typically in an office or corporate setting (field employees like cashiers or customer service representatives are not included in our primary analyses) (Huang et al., 2019) Other
	Number of jobs held in the past 5 years (CONTROL variable)	1 – 1 job, 2- 2 jobs, 3- 3 jobs, 4- 4 jobs, 5+ - 5 or more jobs
	Current industry of organization	1- Banking and Finance, 2- Construction, 3 – Consulting or Business services, 4- Education, 5 – Energy, 6-Food and Hospitality 7 – Government, 8 -Healthcare, Biotech or Pharma 9-Insurance, 10 – Manufacturing 11- Military, 12 – Not-for-Profit, 13 – Technology or Software, 14 – Telecommunications, 15 – Utilities, 16 – Other (open answer)

** Note: at the end of the survey, there was an option for open-ended comments. Respondents were not be required to answer the questions which enabled them to skip a question if it did not apply.