GENDER AND ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE:

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MARGINALITY AND WOMEN'S CAREER SUCCESS

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Abstract

Feminist and management literature (Kanter, 1977; Burton, 1991; Hede 2000) has chronicled the deep stirrings felt by women excluded from choices and marginalised from power in many organisations. This thesis aimed to investigate the experiences of marginality for women who work in organisations and to explore the associations between marginality and career success, and between marginality and quality of work variables such as stress and role conflict. The research used a model that encompasses a version of fit, whereby stress is viewed as a mis-fit between an individual's personal values and the 'environmental' supplies available to fulfil those values (Edwards, 1996; Code & Langan-Fox, 2001). This is a shift away from models that focus on appraisals of demand versus capacity (such as Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Tenets of marginality theory (Park, 1928) and gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) were key points of reference. These theories support the proposition that individuals who experience greater congruence between their own gender identity and that of the organisational culture will experience less occupational stress and higher quality work outcomes (including career success). Marginality was operationalised as the degree of incongruence between individuals' self ratings of gender related characteristics and values, and ratings of gender related characteristics and values of the organisational culture. Marginality was conceptualised as both shaped and constructed by the individual–cultural relationship, positioned within a wider social, political and ideological context.

The thesis used two studies to explore first the nature of marginality, and then its hypothesised antecedents, effects and their mediators. Three Australian private sector organisations participated in a qualitative study in Study 1 (EducOrg, MetalOrg, and ComputerOrg) and two private sector organisations participated in a quantitative study in Study 2 (ComputerOrg and InsurOrg). Study 1 involved conducting interviews with senior managers across organisations (metal, computing, and education service industries) and Study 2 involved a survey completed by a total 150 participants drawn from both the computing organisation, and from a newly recruited organisation from the insurance sector.

Interviews were semi-structured around topics related to gender and career development. The survey in Study 2, the design of which was informed by findings from Study 1, comprised gender and values scales, as well as quality of work indices such as stress and job satisfaction measures.

The results in Study 1 appeared to confirm the existence of gendered phenomena in the three organisations studied. Gender polarisation processes appeared to perpetuate exemplars of the 'good' manager as masculine, positioning women as deviant within the organisational culture. For women to deviate from the dominant management style involves risk, and many women found themselves with less freedom than expected to move at the 'contact zone' between masculine and feminine behavioural modalities.

Study 2 provided an opportunity to test the hypothesis that psychological resources and marginality, would significantly mediate stress. As hypothesised, women experienced greater degrees of marginality than men. However, marginality was experienced differently in each of the organisations studied. Findings in both organisations participating in Study 2 suggested the factor that distinguished the organisations on levels of marginality appeared to be perceptions of the existence or non-existence of nurturing values and practices *in the organisation*.

It was hypothesised that perceptions of psychological resources (self-efficacy, locus of control, self esteem) and social support resources (network position, and availability of mentors) would be predictors of marginality and occupational stress. Findings supported this in part. Four of the psychological resource variables significantly mediated the effects of marginality. They were positive and negative affect, self-esteem and mentoring experiences. As expected, psychological and social support variables were also significant predictors of occupational stress factors, though their impact differed according to the particular stress factor.

Overall the findings provided some evidence to support the framework of gender marginality developed in this thesis: that marginality, mediated by psychosocial resources, will have adverse effects on perceptions of career success

and occupational stress. It was concluded that further research to address the limitations and implications of this thesis, in order to consolidate understandings of the gender differences on career success for women, is worthy of consideration.

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Declaration

This is to certify that:

(i)   This thesis comprises only my original work;

(ii)   Due acknowledgement has been made in the thesis to all material used; and

(iii)   This thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, inclusive of tables, appendices, references and footnotes.

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Giuseppina Palermo

25/07/2005

GENDER AND ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MARGINALITY AND WOMEN'S CAREER SUCCESS

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THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND SUMMARY

Overview

The 'facts' about women in management, at one level, are easily grasped. Women, generally, remain under-represented at managerial levels. Occupational segregation means that a narrower range of occupations and management positions are available to women compared with men. There is also a lack of parity in pay and conditions between men and women at the same levels (Still, 2002).

Feminist and management literature (Kanter, 1977; Burton, 1991; Hede 2000) has chronicled the deep stirrings felt by women excluded from choices and marginalised from power in many organisations. This exclusion has been reflected in structural outcomes for women such as discrimination in promotion and the impenetrability of the glass ceiling: invisible barriers through which women can see positions of power, but cannot attain them. Across the last three decades Australian feminists have tackled the issue of women's employment status using a range of strategies including campaigning for such practices as equal pay for work of equal value, merit-based selection processes, targeted professional development opportunity programs for women, and paid maternity leave. However, there have been mixed assessments in Australia of the effects of equal opportunity legislation, and Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) and Affirmative Action (AA) programs, which constitute major workplace interventions (Poiner & Wills, 1991; Burton 1991; Hede 2000; Probert, 2002).

The woman in management 'problem' requires solutions that go beyond structural interventions. What is clear is the need to position EEO strategies and programs within a wider program of change management in organisations. Therefore, a better understanding of the organisational cultural features that determine marginality is a critical step for moving these debates forward.

Debates about women's experiences in organisations have been plagued by flawed conceptions of sex and sex-roles, and the nature of gender identity. Although the thesis will review the development of these conceptions, particularly

in the sex-role and feminist psychology literatures, the following definitions are an important precursor to an informed discussion.

Sex is descriptive of the biological aspects that differentiate males and females, and forms the basis of a social classification system called gender. Gender identity is descriptive of self expressions of being 'male' or 'female'. Sex-role is the expression (that is, operationalisation) of gender-identity at any point in space and time (Bem, 1981; Spence & Sawin, 1985).

The extensive sex-role research has comprised the measurement of an individual's sex-role, which could be masculine, feminine or androgynous (defined as a mix of masculine and feminine). These measures have then been used to test hypotheses about differences between genders and subsequent effects on a variety of outcomes (Bem, 1981; Bem, 1993; Lippa, 1995; Major, Carnevale, & Deaux, 1981; Deaux & Major, 1987; Bem & Lenney, 1976, Bem, Martyna, & Watson, 1976; Spence & Helmreich, 1978, Spence, Helmreich, & Holahan, 1979; Frable & Bem, 1985; Frable, 1989). However, for the purposes of this thesis, a broader view of gender identity is adopted that focuses on the intra-relationships among sex-roles operating in identity formation in workplace contexts. This broader definition of gender identity better considers more critical conceptualisations of gender as mutable and context dependent (Connell, 2002; Deaux, 1985; Chodorow, 1995; Shweder & Bourne 1982; Unger, 1990; Unger & Crawford, 1993). These views challenge the conception of gender identity as a 'thing', and instead suggest that gender identity is a 'process'.

This broader definition of gender identity is also useful in its application to wider organisational cultural processes. Culture is defined as gendered when descriptive of the set of beliefs about men and women and the nature of relationships between men and women (Acker, 1990; Probert, 2002). Therefore, gender identity, when applied to organisational culture, is descriptive of the predominant beliefs or ideologies about sex-roles and their relationships that are inherent within cultural values, mores and processes (Acker, 1990). This research proposes that organisational cultures in Australia are predominantly gendered towards favouring masculinity and replicating hierarchies of male dominance and

female subordination (Still, 2002; Rosenberg, Perlstadt, & Phillips, 1993). The gendered organisation therefore positions women on the margins of power and status.

Early writings on marginality in cultural psychology (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935) focussed on markers of difference that define group affiliation, such as ethnicity, race, or disability. It is proposed here that the exclusion women experience in organisations parallels the experience of marginality as discussed in this cross-cultural literature. However, gender is the marker of difference, whereby masculinities and femininities define group affiliation. As a consequence, processes that result in discrimination, prejudice and marginalisation are embedded and activated through gendered processes already existing in organisational culture. Two psychological questions of importance then are, how do individuals in organisations understand this complex gendered environment, and what are the consequences of marginality for the individual and the organisation?

This thesis aims to investigate the experiences of marginality for women who work in masculine organisations and to explore the associations between marginality and career success, and between marginality and quality of work indices such as stress and role conflict. The thesis explores the links between marginality and sources of stress by using a model of stress that accommodates difference. It uses a model that encompasses a version of fit, whereby stress is viewed as a mis-fit between an individual's personal values and the 'environmental' supplies available to fulfil those values (Edwards, 1996; Code & Langan-Fox, 2001).

Tenets of marginality theory (Park, 1928) and gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) are used as key points of reference. These theories support the proposition that individuals who experience greater congruence between their own gender identity and that of the organisational cultures will experience less occupational stress and higher quality work outcomes (including career success).

Summary of the thesis structure

In Chapter 1, the introduction centres on the problem of women's limited career success compared with men in organisations. I argue that this problem can be better articulated through an understanding of how gender is constructed within people, cultures and organisational structures. Models of career development are reviewed and evaluated for their treatment of gender issues in the development of life stages in general. It is argued that models of career development need to pay greater attention to conceptualisations of self and the impact on career motivation and choices, particularly in the forging of vocational identity across private and public spheres for women.

Chapter 2 reviews studies on gender and career development and success. Four gender models are discussed. At an individual level, gender and self-identity are explored as both states and processes. At an organisational / structural level of analysis, processes, inter-relationships and culture within organisations are explored to investigate how gender biases influence and construct sex inequality. These levels of analysis are explored simultaneously, with the inquiry likened to a lens (akin to that conceptualised by Bem, 1981), that focuses in and out around the same point in space and time.

In Chapter 3, marginality is conceptualised in relation to tenets in cultural psychology. Here I draw parallels to gender theory (discussed in Chapter 2). It is argued that, when individuals in a given situation are conscious of the incongruence between values that define their gender identity and those that define the organisational culture (being a gendered culture), marginality is experienced as a state. This is contrasted with the descriptions of marginality as a social process, more commonly referred to in feminist literature. The chapter concludes that an investigation of mediators and effects of marginality may inform strategies to assist women to understand barriers to career success.

Chapter 4 presents a critical review of studies that investigate mediators and effects of marginality, such as stress, psychological resources, power, influence and social support mechanisms. Due to the difficulty inherent in unravelling the effects of gender and power, a review of research and theoretical perspectives on

power is included. Research is presented that shows that network theory provides a system for operationalising forms of power while transcending conventional dualisms in definitions of power. Finally, the chapter reviews research that investigates sources of stress for women in organisations. The research establishes that marginality may be a unique stressor for women, and concludes with a recommendation that alternative models for conceptualising stress are required that consider 'difference' as a potential source of stress.

Chapter 5 describes the methods employed to conduct Study 1. Management staff across three organisations (ComputerOrg, MetalOrg, and EducOrg) were interviewed. Interviews were semi-structured around topics chosen to elicit managers' views of the impact of gender on career development. Findings suggested that gender impacted on men and women differently at individual, structural and cultural levels in the hierarchical organisations studied. Themes elicited from the illustrative analysis are discussed in light of prior research findings.

In Chapter 6, the methods deployed in Study 2 are described. Employees from two organisations (ComputerOrg and InsurOrg) were surveyed to further investigate the issues identified in Study 1. Marginality was operationalised as the difference in responses on gendered traits and values when describing oneself versus describing the organisation. Multiple (hierarchical) regressions and multiple analyses of variance were conducted to test hypotheses. A structural equation model was conducted to test the effects of marginality on career success satisfaction. Results suggested that marginality, particularly from feminine domains, had an adverse effect on stress and career success satisfaction for all participants. They suggested that rather than marginality being mediated by psychological and social support resources, marginality in fact acted together with these variables to exacerbate occupational stress and decrease career success satisfaction.

In Chapter 7, results from the two studies are discussed together in the light of past research. The nature of marginality and its effects are discussed to determine theoretical and practical implications for women's experiences of

'fitting' into masculine organisational cultures. Change models that incorporate 'small wins' proposed by Meyerson and Fletcher (2000) are advocated for their utility in targeting individual and cultural / structural processes simultaneously.

PART I

CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

CHAPTER 1

WHY AREN'T WOMEN LEADING?

The proliferation of popular magazines aimed at working women attests to the isolation and sense of marginality expressed by so many [women]..such women have a strong and urgent need to know about each other's experiences and that these experiences reflect a continuing fundamental inequity in the reality of women's work lives (Sheppard, 1992, p. 166).

1 Overview

This chapter describes the problem this thesis seeks to address: the experience of marginality for women who work in masculine organisations. An overview of Australian trends and research findings in relation to differences between men's and women's career outcomes is presented. A review of the literature about career development is presented. The chapter concludes by suggesting that models of career development need to pay greater attention to the role of the gendered self in the formation of vocational identity and its impact on career motivation and choices, particularly in the forging of vocational identity across private and public spheres for women.

1.1 The problem

The impetus for this research was a question about the Australian management landscape: why is there a noticeable lack of women in the upper echelons of management in most organisations, in particular, in the private sector? As Eva Cox asked: Why aren't more women leading? (Cox, 1996).

In Australia, the labour force participation rate for women, and traditional family structures, dramatically changed in the late part of last century (Sinclair, 1998). Decisions not to have children for approximately 20 percent of the female population of childbearing age were more likely to be determined by career and job-related factors than ever before (Poole & Langan-Fox, 1997).

This year, 2004, marks the twentieth anniversary of the Australian Federal Sex Discrimination Act (1984). This landmark legislation aimed to promote equality between women and men, eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex, and eliminate sexual harassment. However, the facts about women and work tell another story. Persistent occupational segregation means that a narrow range of occupations and management positions tend to be available to women compared with men, resulting in women remaining underrepresented at managerial levels (Equity Statistics, 2004). Whilst women's representation in management in the public sector compares favourably with other similar countries, there has been no improvement in the private sector, and possibly a decline in representation since 1986, particularly in Australian companies not covered by the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act (1999)(Equity Statistics, 2004; Hede, 2000; Still, 2002)

Women comprise 44 percent of the Australian labour force (ABS, 2002; 2003) and comprise nearly 50 percent of the graduates in business and law fields of study (Poole & Langan-Fox, 1997). Female students in higher education in Australia tend to perform better, with greater success rates, passing a greater proportion of their units than males in almost all subjects. This is true even for those subjects in which there are low levels of female participation (DEST, 2002). Yet starting salaries for women graduates are still lower than their male counterparts (GCA, 2003).

Clearly remuneration practices are failing to promote benefits to 'smart' women. The reasons for this have been the focal points of inquiry for many organisational theorists (Kanter, 1977; Chusmir, Koberg, & Stecher, 1992; Griscom, 1992; Gutek, 1988; Gilligan, 1982). According to Poole and Langan-Fox (1997), factors that influence women's labour force participation comprise a combination of life course events and historical factors that influence private lives and public policies. These factors include: age and timing of child rearing; family size; legislation, such as childcare; increasing labour force participation rates for men; and the extent to which women will care for the elderly.

These factors are still difficult to explain in the context of the higher rates of promotion that women have enjoyed in recent years. Of those employees who had worked with their current employer for a year or more in November 2002, approximately 12.5 percent of men and 14.7 percent of women had been promoted or transferred in the last 12 months (ABS, 2002). This appears to suggest a lack of a correlation between promotion rate and increased status and salary for women. In a study of 395 American middle managers, Tsui and Gutek (1984) discovered that even when women were higher in merit (as measured by an increase of percentage of base salary) and had a faster promotion rate, they were still lower in the organisational hierarchy. Earlier Stewart and Gudykunst (1982) had found similar results in their study of employees of a national financial institution, even after accounting for effects of length of tenure, age, and years of education. These findings are supported by researchers such as Tharenou (1997) and Powell and Maniero (1992) who state that although women are given promotions, those promotions are essentially hollow and create a misleading appearance of increasing opportunity and responsibility for women in organisations. Lyness and Judiesch (1998) found that relative to men, women were more likely to be promoted than hired into management positions. Although women in their study received more management promotions than their male counterparts, women in higher levels of the management hierarchy received fewer promotions relative to men at comparable levels. Therefore, promotions 'up' the hierarchy for women do not appear to ensure entrée into the upper echelons of organisational hierarchies.

In an Australian study by Still (1993), reasons offered by women themselves for limited career success included the poor skills of male supervisors, especially their inter-personal communication, the lack of a critical mass of women in senior management, the need to be unfeminine and adopt stereotypically male behaviour, and the perception of lack of similarity or fit in a male orientated organisational culture. Even though there has been an increase in the number of women entering the labour force, occupations remain largely sex segregated, and sex segregation is one aspect that remains consistent across countries (Equity Statistics, 2004; Gutek, 1988). Once hired, women are often

placed in sex segregated positions that do not traditionally track to positions in the upper echelons of the management hierarchy (Jackson, 2001). It seems that as women have moved into the work force, the emphasis has been on assimilating them into a male dominated work culture (Sargent, 1981). Assimilation, however, obscures the potential limitations of the cultural system that underpins these work practices (Jackson, 2001). The status quo is not disrupted because assimilation seeks to reinforce current mores and cultural traditions, hence perpetuating them unexamined.

Stereotypes about women, such as that they are less productive and less committed to the organisation and labour in general, influence attitudes which subsequently influence recruitment and promotion of women into management (Gutek, 1988). Nieva and Gutek (1980) found that women are more likely to be subjected to negative evaluation bias when the required level of inference in the job is high (that is, level of uncertainty is high, or routine is low), when job requirements result in roles that are incongruent with preferred sex-role orientations, and when the woman is highly competent. Women's experiences of career success need to be considered within the context of gendered power relations. The metaphor of the glass ceiling is often used to describe invisible barriers through which women can see positions of power, but cannot attain them. Whilst career success for women goes beyond conceptions of higher hierarchical positions (as will be extrapolated in Section 1.2.1), an investigation of women's encounters with the glass ceiling must also examine factors that contribute to the lack of career success for women in organisations.

1.2   Models of career development and success

In order to understand factors that influence women's career advancement it is useful to review briefly formulations of the career path, that is, the life journey which marks transitions towards attainment of positions of power. The next section explores models of career development, and how they differ for women and men. Additionally an inquiry into sex differences in career success and attainment sheds some light on why more women are not leading.

Prior to the relatively recent emergence of career as a concept, adulthood was seen as a time of relative stability, after the rapid change and development evidenced through childhood and adolescence (Gutek & Larwood, 1987). Today, notions of career usually encompass a whole adult life cycle as an individually perceived sequence of work related events over that time. However, while Schein's (1978) earlier work stated that career development 'is the focus on the interaction of the individual and the organisation over time' (p.2), career today is portrayed more as the interaction between the individual and many organisations over time. It is a lifelong process involving aspects such as development of self concept, interests, values, all levels of decision making, choices, and explorations and evaluations of education, work and leisure opportunities (Gutek & Larwood, 1987).

1.2.1   Theories of career development

Investigations of the existing theoretical frameworks of career development reveal their inadequacy in accounting for women's experiences of career development and success. The following review of models of career development will show that they fail to account for women's experiences because they fail to incorporate the influence of gendered self-concepts. I will argue that the treatment of concepts such as gender identity in gender theory (as explained in Chapter 2) may shed some light on choice making and motivation toward vocational identity for women across work and family, in both public and private spheres.

Models of career development have been mainly influenced by Erikson's (1968) theory of life cycle development and by Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee's (1978) staged theory. Erikson's theory suggests that psychological development involves an interaction between genetically based factors and institutionalised social practices that become the bases for identity formation, or the theory individuals have about themselves. Cultural aspects of the environment within which each stage of the self-concept develops both influence and may be influenced by behavioural intervention and agency. In this way, the individual can overcome obstacles to achievement through their own efforts.

Marcia (1966; 1989) developed identity-status theory to further Erikson's model. Formulation of identity status is characterised by progressive development shifts, therefore progression does not stop when desired 'identity' is achieved. A conferred identity 'happens' as an individual becomes aware of their own characteristics and their position in the world. Constructed identity begins to develop as the individual makes decisions about who to be, with which groups to associate, which interpersonal values to espouse, and which beliefs to adopt.

Driver (1994) criticised Erikson's (1968) model on the basis that it viewed career choice as a once in a lifetime event. Driver identified four basic concepts held by individuals about their careers:

(1) steady-state, where career choice is made once a life-time and results in lifetime commitment to an occupation;

(2) linear, where career activity continues throughout life as individuals move up the occupational ladder;

(3) spiral, where career choice evolves through a series of occupations, with each new choice building on past skills and developing a new repertoire of skills; and

(4) transitory, where career choice is almost continuous with individuals changing organisations and jobs over one to four year intervals, with variety being a salient feature.

Although the spiral and transitory categories were new contributions from Driver, they assume continuity of career, and that career developing over time from an ever-enhancing set of cumulative experiences and skills. According to Poole and Langan-Fox (1997), this model fails to explain the reality of careers for most people, and is especially deficient in respect of women. This is true particularly in relation to consequences of organisational downsizing, and life events such as child raising that result in career interruptions for women. These and other life events may require managers to reframe careers, take a lateral or downward move or change career altogether. It also requires retraining after returning to work from career breaks related to family activities, or taking less senior roles in order to balance home and family demands.

Super (1984) claimed that career theory patterns for men were applicable to women as long as they accounted for marriage and child rearing. Super also suggested that there were no differences in the part the self-concept plays in male and female career development. However, according to Osipow (1983), there are sufficient differences in the career development processes of men and women to warrant distinct theories, particularly in the context of inequality between the sexes in career opportunities. According to Gutek and Larwood (1987), the distinguishing features of women's careers are: differential expectations for men and women regarding sex-appropriateness of jobs; husbands' and wives' willingness to accommodate each other's careers; and that women face more constraints in the workplace (including sexual harassment and discrimination).

Astin's (1984) model of career development for women focused on the differential effects of socialisation on career aspirations for females and males. She suggested that socialisation directs women to consider only a limited set of occupational choices by shaping women's aspirations, and motivations towards their achievements. This limited range is also a corollary of women's work expectations being diminished as they recognise the constraints they are confronted within the workplace. Therefore, motivation impacts on the structure of opportunity in the work sphere for women, reducing expectations and career choices. The structure of opportunity relates to trends connected with the institutions of family, education, and work that produce work expectations. These trends include longevity, decline in birth rate, increase in divorce rates, proliferation of non-traditional lifestyles, and codification of women's rights.

In an earlier study, Nieva and Gutek (1981) had distinguished between the career choices women make and the occupations they finally work in. While career choice rests on personality factors and motivation, the consequence of that choice is often determined by demographic and economic forces, as well as social forces, such as pay, convenience, home responsibilities, and attitude of spouse.

In formulating a model specifically for women's career development, Poole and Langan-Fox's (1997) study of Australian women confirmed the importance of socialisation, structure of opportunity and expectations. As expected, sex

differences were found in career choice, socialisation and structure of opportunity. However, Poole and Langan-Fox refuted Astin by showing that socialisation influences motivation, rather than motivation leading to shaping of opportunity (Poole & Langan-Fox, 1997). Their results did not support Astin's hypothesis that vocational expectations would be particularly important in shaping later career attainment. Rather, social variables such as financial constraints in the family influenced occupational expectations and college and university attainment.

While establishing the importance of structural factors on career choices for women, career development theorists also highlighted the importance of individual factors. At the individual level, Powell and Maniero (1992) suggested that women's career development involves a more complex range of choices and constraints than exist for men. Powell and Maniero argued that in addition to achievement, women are faced with issues of balance, connectedness and interdependence. At any point in time women may place primary emphasis on family and personal relationships outside of work, place primary concern on career and personal achievements at work, or try to strike some sort of balance between the two. They are likely to be concerned with both career and others at all times, but at any point in time they place different degrees of emphasis in their actions and decisions on both career and others. Powell and Maniero contended that most organisations had not developed practices that help women to balance concerns for career and concerns for others.

Women may define success in career by how they feel about their career, rather than the extent to which they progress up the organisational hierarchy. In attempting to strike a balance between their relationships with others and their personal achievements at work, women seek some level of personal satisfaction in both realms. Adams (1984) found that the desire to fulfil both occupational and interpersonal roles appeared to be particularly true of high achieving women. They had high expectations of both home and work and therefore sought occupations that would accommodate both. Forging vocational identity may therefore be more complex for women than for men.

Powell and Maniero (1992) developed a metaphor of career development as 'Cross Currents in the River of Time' (see Figure 1). This is a useful conceptualisation of the factors that affect women's career development. On the upper bank is success in career, on the lower bank, success with relationships. The authors ask us to imagine concern for career as a current that pushes women towards the upper bank, and concern for others as a current which pushes them to the lower bank. This approach represents individuals as located somewhere along a continuum reflecting the relative emphasis on career and relationships at any point in time.

Emphasis on Career
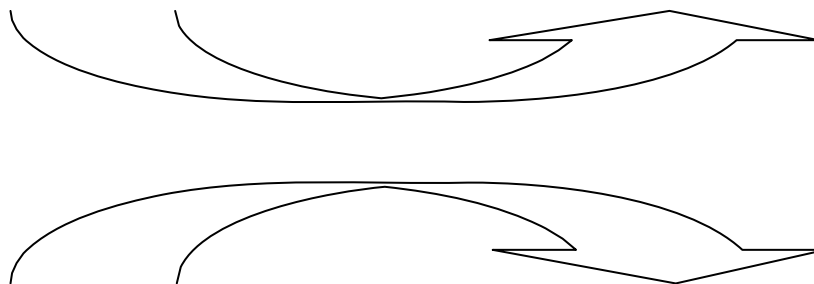
Emphasis on Family and relationships with others

Figure 1

Cross currents in the river of time (adapted from Powell and Maniero, 1992).

In the river of time model, sub-spheres of family and career are interlinked. Most organisational cultures do not accommodate or value this continuum. For example, most work cultures assume that someone else other than the worker is taking care of the family (Lewin, 1984). Interviews conducted by Davidson and Cooper (1983) highlighted that the career-family dilemma was a major source of stress for female junior managers. In a more recent qualitative study, Poole and Langan-Fox (1991) found that role conflict regarding work and family was not reserved for married women with children, as a number of women interviewed were unmarried and yet still had concerns about 'biological clocks'. In her work on analysing the 'managerial gender gap' Cannings (1991) stated that women's earnings are penalised by their disproportionate responsibilities for work in their family homes. In a particular organisation she found that subunits within the

organisation that had less power also had the lowest salaries, and individuals employed in these areas had greater responsibilities for household work. Not surprisingly, these individuals were also women. For women, marriage and children are viewed as 'burdens' by management in hierarchical organisations, due to the assumed heavy commitment to domestic duties conflicting with duties at work. On the other hand, marriage and children are seen as 'assets' for men (Gutek, 1988). This may explain the resistance evident in organisational cultures to initiatives that help women overcome barriers to career advancement. Jackson's (2001) study of female middle managers' perceptions of the glass ceiling revealed that most women did not believe that their organisations had successfully implemented workplace and work-family balance initiatives. Examples of these initiatives included mentoring, career development feedback, and flexible hours for managers and company-supported childcare.

1.3   Home-work nexus: The influence of family roles

As discussed earlier, career success for women may be linked to experiences of success in multiple domains. Career decisions for women may be influenced by a plethora of emotional issues, such as 'pride in achievement, love and concern for children, as well as complexities of the marital (or primary) relationship' (Poole & Langan-Fox, 1997, p. 175). Poole and Langan-Fox (1997) found that women's lives were also more prone to external forces, such as partners in home life, and individuals in powerful positions. Hence their lives attracted potentially more conflict, pressure, ambivalence about family and career, and more constraints from multiple sources (including their own self concept variables) than men.

> *The influence of family and procreation is a very powerful, external factor in contributing to perceptions of success, achievement and life satisfaction. But how women themselves negotiate and redefine expectations and constraints is also a very powerful factor in constructing life pathways (Poole & Langan-Fox 1997, p. 197).*

Poole and Langan-Fox (1991) suggest that satisfaction in relation to multiple roles may be linked to: spillover (whereby the demands of one role

overflow into demands of another); independence of life domains; conflict; instrumentality (one role is a means to obtain a desired end in another); and compensation. According to Role Accumulation Theory (Sieber, 1974), the conflict that arises from having a multiplicity of roles may be compensated by the rewards inherent in role accumulation, in addition to increases in privileges, resources and self-esteem. The theory also suggests that the buffers against failure that multiple roles provide may alleviate role strain. That is, failure in one role may be buffered by success in another. In a review of the literature on the impact of family roles on work, Nieva and Gutek (1981) concluded that the impact of family roles for women was to reduce their involvement in the labour force, and lower career attainment. Role Accumulation Theory would suggest that family roles therefore compensate for the failure in work roles.

In an Australian study (Langan-Fox, 1996) investigated the impact of the demands of women's multiple roles on their levels of work satisfaction and occupational stress. Findings indicated that despite competing demands on women resulting from home and career conflicts, the most significant factors in women's stress came from their aspirations to do well in their career coupled with frustration at their perceived lack of promotion and progress. Therefore, qualitative aspects of role accrual (that is, the particular roles occupied by women) may be more predictive of role strain and stress than quantitative aspects of role accrual (that is, the actual number of roles occupied). These findings further Role Accumulation Theory in a generative sense by suggesting that conflict between career and family arises from complex relationships with other occurrences in women's lives.

Together, Astin's and Powell and Maniero's models place emphasis on individual and structural factors, first in terms of influences on choices that lead to vocational identity, and second in terms of organisational processes that determine possibilities for advancement. Powell and Maniero's metaphor of the 'river of time' is a useful one in that it incorporates both levels of analysis, placing conflicts that arise for women in relation to home and career choices along a continuum of time and space.

1.4 Notions of career success

Traditional theories of career development imply that a series of jobs over time represent some progress in career, such as ascending the hierarchy, an increase in salary, or some sort of formal recognition (Gutek & Larwood, 1987). This view of career development is hierarchical in its very definition and is unlikely to be appropriate for people who perceive success in other ways. Studies have shown that women are more likely than men to judge their career success by subjective measures, such as satisfaction with present job or perceived opportunities for advancement (Powell & Maniero, 1992; Langan-Fox, 1996). Career success for the individual may be defined as both being able to live according to one's hierarchy of personal values and to make a contribution to the world of work, therefore emphasising both psychological aspects of success and external measures of success (White, Cox, & Cooper, 1992).

Key subjective criteria for success for women's careers include self-esteem and self-efficacy. Successful women interviewed by White et.al. (1992) included both criteria in their descriptions of aspects of their own careers. In addition, the women also cited early challenges as integral to their career development. Almost all the women could identify a significant event or turning point they felt had made an impact upon their working lives. They also attributed their success to being centrally located with relation to core functions or management teams within their organisations. Success was also attributed to breadth of experience, which is attained by moving between functions in an organisation or across different organisations.

While self-efficacy may be an important determinant of success, the literature suggests that men predict more success for themselves (Poole & Langan-Fox, 1997). Women are less likely to experience themselves as successful and promote themselves publicly in this way. In the prologue of her book of interviews with successful Australian women, Liz Bryski (1999) explains that nearly all the women she spoke to expressed concerns about being set apart from other women by the label 'successful'. The author wonders whether the response would have been the same had she extended the invitation to men, and provides

her own reply: 'I doubt it' (Bryski, 1999, p.4). In Poole and Langan-Fox's (1997) study, affect variables predominated evaluations of perceived successfulness. These included, for example, external perceptions related to self-image, and 'being admired'. Therefore, self-concept may be an important determinant of perceptions of career success.

1.5   Incorporating gender conflict in perspectives on career development

Archer (1989) found no differences between women and men in occupation, sex role preference, and orientations to social expectations. However, sex differences were found in relation to family and career priorities. She surmised that women may be attempting to define themselves in more life domains than men do. This causes conflict for women who desire roles in both family and career domains.

Similarly, Still (1993) surmised that women have to work in an environment that is alien to them, and that they live in two cultures. This predicates identity issues that for women differ from those of men. She identified identity issues particular to women as including: adaptation to a masculine model; successful integration of both models (that is, masculine and feminine); rejection of masculine model; constant ambivalence; and adoption of multiple identities. This raises a number of questions: What constitutes 'masculine' and 'feminine' models for women in male dominated work environments? How do women who do not successfully integrate both gender models experience this conflict? And how does this conflict affect vocational self-concepts and subsequent choices?

Additional pressures related to identity may be more salient for women because of its association with social pressures. According to Poole and Langan-Fox (1997) attitudes towards women and work, and how they go about the integration and management of work-family roles, are quite variable across Australian society and more susceptible to public scrutiny. Women's life paths act as reflections for society's moral conscience, its virtues and its core values. These reflections are bounded by economic situations and underpinned by cultural and social aspirations (Poole & Langan-Fox, 1997). Therefore, it is not surprising that two opposing ideologies are apparent in current discourses about women and

work: the work mystique, and the feminine mystique. The changing nature of self for ambitious and achieving women is still portrayed as bound within the social aspirations of a dominant culture that has privileged men at work. Therefore, women face a reverse type of bombardment than that espoused during the sexual revolution of the 1970's: that women are undermining their femininity by pursuing careers and that the work (that is, in the public sphere rather than within the home or domestic sphere) is not necessarily good for women or institutions within societies such as the family unit. Probert (2002) refers to the Australian 'ideology of domesticity' that demonises 'selfish career women' (p. 14) yet constrains the availability of child care outside the home, for example, through the lack of real government funding for childcare and education for children under 3 years. This constraint is evidenced by Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) figures that show Australia trailing OECD countries in relation to expenditure on early childhood education as a proportion of gross domestic product (OECD, 2003).

1.6   Summary

This section had chronicled marginality as the experience of women excluded from choices and marginalised from power in many organisations. This exclusion is reflected in structural outcomes for women such as discrimination in promotion and the impenetrability of the glass ceiling. How models of career development differ between men and women is discussed in terms of the factors that contribute to career motivation and choice in relation to vocational identity. Social processes that construct opportunities and expectations interact with individual factors and organisational factors within workplaces, which in themselves are important sites for the production and reproduction of the social world. Recent feminist studies have also revealed that they are major sites for the social construction of gender (Adkins, 1994; Pringle, 1988).

The next section explores the literature on gender and career success to examine how gender impacts on the formulation of vocational identity and choices. The chapter also critically reviews studies that show how these effects manifest within the individual, at the level of organisational culture, subsequently

advancing experiences of marginality. Kezar (2000) found that political, social cognitive, and cultural models were especially significant in explaining change in organisational cultures. Whilst suggesting that it is especially important to mobilise strategies for cultural change by seeking to change people's perspectives or mind maps, Kezar concludes, unsurprisingly, that many aspects of the change process remain elusive. It is contended therefore that a better understanding of the organisational cultural features that determine marginality is also critical for moving debates about gender and career forward.

CHAPTER 2

GENDER AND CAREER SUCCESS: LINKS TO MARGINALITY

2 Overview

The review of theories of career development in Chapter 1 suggests that the development of women's careers differs from that of males. Powerful social forces affect not only women's choices but also their perceptions of success in career and life.

This chapter explores the relationships between marginality and career success by firstly reviewing literature on the nature of marginality, followed by a review of studies on gender and career success. At an individual level, differences between men and women, and their conceptualisations of self related to career success, are critically reviewed. Evidence of processes that perpetuate gender differences at an organisational level, and heighten marginality for women within organisation, are also reviewed. The construction of gender is discussed and its contribution to career success for women in managerial positions is analysed.

2.1 Introduction to marginality theory

This section reviews the commonly used definitions of marginality and its outcomes at an individual and societal / group level. It discusses some of the factors that contribute marginality from a societal level and relates these to organisational level processes.

Marginality theories explain the socio-cultural relations and variations within a given society across many levels of social life, including national, local, public and private (Sergeeva, 2003). These relations are formed via self identification, which includes identification with a group or sub-group via affiliations across gender, ethnicity, industry and economic characteristics. Marginality occurs where an individual can lay claim to belonging to two cultures which are never completely fused (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1995; Wilson, 2002). Marginal people therefore exist along

the border of two cultures, identifying themselves with both whilst insisting on the maintenance of their own system's norms and values (Sargeeva, 2003). They are often perceived as subordinate, an outsider or deficient in the mainstream society (Alfred, 2001). Marginality in this context becomes a bi-product of disrupted identity. This disruption can occur at the individual or group level and is seen as psychologically undesirable (Park, 1928, Stonequist, 1961). The disruption that marginality theorists claim is critical for the state of marginality has many characteristics that are akin to psychological conflict as described by self-identity theorists. Therefore, whilst marginality theories are silent on the exact nature of knowing this disruption, theories of sexual and racial difference offer an important insight via discussions about consciousness. Consciousness of identity disruption is necessary for a negative psychological outcome to marginality (Geisforder Feal, 2002). There is no conflict if one is unaware of the dual identification across two cultural groups. The role of gender conflict in self-identity development is discussed in more detail in Section 2.4.

2.1.1   Is marginality an intrinsically negative state?

Sargeeva (2003) believes that marginality is important for human existence. Park (1928) suggests that marginal people influence a society and / or social system because the very presence of ambiguous identity (being on the border of two cultures and accepting neither) makes these individuals more prone to innovation and strategies for change. Sargeeva (2003) explains that people in marginal groups are "internally and externally contradictory and their actions potentially have many vectors. At the same time they exhibit a higher than average negative [internal conflict and decreased mental health] and positive (high creative activeness) features" (p.6). She demonstrates that paradigm shifts are produced out of a "process of changing axiological landmarks" as a result of closely knit cultures struggling for supremacy at the boundaries of marginal spaces (p.9). She suggests that marginal subcultures are best placed to produce change and innovation because it brings together border cultures.

Integral to this view is the understanding that marginality is not separate from the mainstream but is in effect a correlate of it. It implies a social situation

that is perceived in relation to another situation considered as central (Vidas, 2002). Therefore outcomes for marginal groups and their associated social systems could be positive rather than negative under certain conditions.

The prognosis for marginality for the individual may not be so optimistic. Marginality theorists suggest that characteristics of the marginal person are deemed to be low self-esteem, impoverished social relationships and isolation, and negative emotional states due to the resultant disjointed personality. Managing the complexity of dual reference points generates ambiguity, identity confusion and normlessness (LaFromboise et.al., 1995). Sargeeva (2003) suggests that conflict of values orientation occurs when two systems co-exist and compete "inside one personality...in the end this produces psychic and emotional maladjustment" (p.10). These views of personality appear to rely on uni-dimensional perspectives of personality and maladjustment. These assumptions require testing and do suggest that psychological theories of personality may have much to contribute to our understanding of the health outcomes of marginality for individuals.

Marginality theorists themselves debate the intrinsically negative effects of the 'disjointed personality'. A useful construct to this end is biculturalism. According to Alfred (2001), biculturalism refers to the interplay between two cultures, whereby subordinate groups can empower themselves through positive self-definition, and in doing so, both resist oppression and maintain their cultural identity. Bicultural experience requires that individuals create fluid patterns of social interactions, relationships and structures for mobility between two cultural contexts. Bicultural experiences that help people navigate their many cultural worlds can explain how marginality can be a positive attribute. In her study of five black women, Alfred (2001) suggested that the women's self-identification as marginal was seen by them as a positive attribute and symbolic of their survival against oppression.

The policies that social systems pursue in relation to marginality are a contributing factor to the experience of marginality by individuals (Sergeeva,

2003). These policies can be applied to gendered processes in organisational systems / structures, for example:

- Society opposes marginality: the organisational culture is characterised by a lack of tolerance for difference and diversity;

- Society legalises / regulates marginality: individual contracts discourage transparency and 'legitimises' the lower levels of women's starting salaries compared to men's starting salaries for the same job role;

- Society ignores marginality and the influence of marginal peoples: organisational culture is characterised by a lack awareness of gender inequalities of policies and practices, and organisational values are bereft of values of equality and minimising inequalities.

This study will attempt to show how marginality occurs across gendered cultures within organisational contexts. Therefore the next sections discuss the construction of gender as masculinities and femininities, and its implications for self and organisational identity.

2.2 Gender differences and sex differences - any difference? A need to clarify definitions

Sex and gender are complex descriptive and prescriptive processes. They are both internalised and communicated to others (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990). There is confusion in the psychological literature on the operationalisation as well as conceptualisation of gender. It is necessary, therefore, to define the concepts of sex and gender clearly. For the purpose of this study, sex is conceptualised as relating to biological aspects which differentiate males and females. Sex forms the basis of a social classification system – gender. Gender identity conceptualises the ways in which the self experiences 'being male' and 'being female' (Spence & Sawin, 1985). Sex-role is an expression of gender identity at any point in space and time, and can comprise many femininities and / or masculinities. Gender is a process rather than descriptive of something we are

(Unger, 1990). It is empiricist modes of thinking that force us to see gender as an entity rather than as a process (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990).

In the literature, labels such as masculine and feminine have been used extensively with little regard to their actual meaning, or utility. Often it is assumed that being masculine is the same as not being feminine (that is, they are dichotomous and unidimensional / bipolar) when other researchers such as Bem (1974) have argued and demonstrated that masculinity and femininity are independent dimensions. Gender is used in contrast to terms like sex and sex difference for the explicit purpose of creating a space in which socially mediated differences between men and women can be explored apart from biological differences (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990). Measuring gender differences must involve the measurement of processes or dynamics rather than statics. Masculinity and femininity are then defined as gender relevant aspects of a person's self concept or self image (Lewin, 1984).

In the sex role literature (Bem, 1974; Bem, 1981; Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrautz, Vogel, 1970; Spence & Helmreich, 1978), masculinity and femininity have been defined as clusters of socially desirable attributes stereotypically considered to differentiate males and females. These attributes define psychologically the core of masculine and feminine personalities (Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

2.2.1   Measurement of femininity and masculinity

Thinking about sex role identity has developed substantially in the last thirty years. Constantinople (1973) reviewed major measures of masculinity-femininity (M-F) since the 1930s and found several untested notions in the nature of the construct. These were, first, that M-F was best defined in terms of sex differences in item response, and second, that M-F was a single bipolar dimension and therefore adequately measured by one score. Traditional formulations of adjustment suggested that adoption of the sex roles appropriate to the individual's sex was developmentally desirable. Deviations from culturally sanctioned sex role behaviour were considered maladaptive (Worrell, 1978). Masculinity and

femininity were assumed to be in some way inherent in the individual, to be at least partially determined by biological factors.

A significant contribution in the conceptualisation of femininity and masculinity came from Bem, (1974) who developed a new sex role inventory (Bem Sex Role Inventory; BSRI) which treated M-F as two independent dimensions. In this regard, a person could be characterised as masculine, feminine or androgynous (a combination of masculinity and femininity), regardless of sex. Bem operationalised masculinity as an instrumental orientation, a cognitive focus on getting the job done; and femininity as an expressive orientation, an affective concern for the welfare of others.

Respondents on the BSRI were defined as sex typed (whereby there is a significant difference between M and F scores), cross sex typed (whereby sex-role orientation is not aligned to biological sex), or androgynous (whereby M-F scores are equally high). To achieve an androgynous categorisation on the BSRI, respondents' Femininity scale score was subtracted from their Masculinity scale score. If the difference was small, and their scores on both scales were high, they would be classified as androgynous. If the difference was small but their scores on both scales were low, they would be classified as undifferentiated. Therefore, androgynous individuals were not motivated to keep their self concept and behaviour consistent with the cultural standards related to gender appropriateness.

The concept of androgyny which began with the development of the BSRI (Bem, 1974) was a significant yet short lived development in sex role theory. Although the concept of androgyny was problematic, this early work did challenge long held assumptions about masculinity and femininity.

As Bem (1993) herself notes, the concept of androgyny 'challenged gender polarisation in psychology and in American culture as almost nothing up to that time had done' (p.120). It also challenged assumptions that masculinity and femininity were core dimensions of human personality (rather than stereotypes) and that norms of mental health denoted that men were masculine and women were feminine. However, critiques of androgyny emerged very quickly in so far as it became 'a dirty word among so many feminist theorists' (Bem 1993, p. 123).

By emphasising masculinity and femininity as complementary, androgyny did not adequately move away from androcentricism or acknowledge the existence of gender inequality within constructs of femininity and masculinity. Despite the fall from favour of androgyny, a vast amount of generative work followed around the concepts of masculinity and femininity.

Theoretical interest in the socially desirable and undesirable components of masculine instrumentality and feminine expressiveness led to the development of additional scales for the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Heilbrun (1976) revised M and F scales from the Adjective Check-List by identifying items that discriminated between college males identified with masculine fathers and college females identified with feminine mothers. Antill, Cunningham, Russell, & Thompson (1981) devised an Australian sex role scale from the Personal Description Questionnaire (PDQ). Unlike the BSRI, the PDQ scales comprised negative as well as positive traits, due to the rationale that gender identity incorporated negatively valued as well as positively valued attributes.

Sex role researchers have since conceptualised masculinity and femininity as being bidimensional traits along a continuum, so that an individual may exhibit both masculinity and femininity respectively (Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Bem, 1974). Sex role researchers have associated the instrumental/agentic and expressive/communal domains with masculinity and femininity respectively (Bem, Martyna, & Watson, 1976; Parsons & Bayles, 1955).

Critiques of sex role approaches have suggested that to label some social behaviours as feminine and others as masculine, because they are culturally ascribed primarily to females and males respectively, obscures the essential human quality of behaviours and the capacity of any person to learn virtually any response under the appropriate conditions (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990). It may be more helpful to instead conceptualise gender identity as a complex mixture of traits, roles, and behavioural preferences influenced by situational demands (Spence, Deaux, & Helmreich, 1985). Masculinity and femininity are then defined as gender relevant aspects of a person's self concept or self image

(Lewin, 1984). This view is not contrary to Bem's gender schema theory. According to Bem (1981), gender is context dependent as individuals may adopt masculine identities or modalities in some instances, and feminine modalities in others, regardless of their sex.

As evidenced in the preceding discussion, the major contribution of Bem's work has been in conceptualising femininity and masculinity as independent dimensions. However, sex role scales have been plagued with problems of internal consistency, and more importantly, validity. Therefore, the theoretical and practical relevance of sex typing, above other characteristics such as values and attitudes, is as yet unclear.

2.2.2 Criticisms of sex role scales

> *If you want to know more about femininity, inquire from your own experiences of life, or turn to the poets (Freud, 1961, v.22 p.135)*

Sex role researchers have noted problems with assumptions inherent in the conceptualisation of M-F as a bidimensional construct. Scales measuring masculinity and femininity have largely been created empirically with authors differing on their definitions of sex roles. Some anomalies inherent in sex role scales were asserted by Rowland (1980). These include: sex role stereotyping interacting with social desirability; item discrimination on the basis of sex, but not on the basis of gender identity within sex; and the influence of demographic factors which have not been investigated, such as race, ethnicity, social class, geographical location, education and age. In a factor analysis of several M-F scales conducted by Palermo (1992), the items 'masculine' and 'feminine' both loaded on the same bipolar factor which was interpreted as an indicator of the knowledge that one is male or female.

A review of sex role literature by Spence and Helmreich (1980) found minimal relationships between M-F scores obtained from the BSRI and PAQ, and sex role attitude and behaviours that are applicable to the agentic/communal domain. Trait views of behaviour assume that people carry around a stable set of characteristics that influence their behavioural responses in consistent ways. It

may be probable that traits can predict behaviour, especially if situational constraints are ambiguous. However, it is unlikely that femininity and masculinity are stable dimensions.

As early as 1978, Kelly, Furman, and Young factor analysed items in BSRI, PAQ, PRF ANDRO, and ACL. Only 30 percent of respondents were found to be categorised the same by all four inventories. They suggested that the loss in variance and reduced predictability across these scales may be a factor of the scoring of four sex role categories instead of treating scales scores as continuous variables.

Bernard (1981) found that sex role identity may rest on a complex, multidimensional pattern of factors that may not be fully assessed by bidimensional scales such as the BSRI. In an earlier study conducted by Palermo (1992) four well known sex role scales were subjected to a factor analysis that extracted seven factors: Agency, Communion, Ego Ascendancy, Emotionality, Activity, and Sex. The factor solution supported that found by Coan (1989) and provided evidence for the multi-dimensionality of M-F.

Most studies examining the relationship between career achievement and gender identity have used instruments which may not be appropriate in the context of work. Using sex role scales (self report measures) without stipulating the context in which the self reports are to be made (that is, home or work) may have oversimplified the effects of gender on career achievement. Individuals may exhibit different behavioural modalities in different situations they are presented with (such as home versus work), and even across different situations within the same context.

Chusmir and Koberg (1989) found evidence for dual sex role conflict when people described themselves in two domains: work, and in home / social settings. They suggested that rather than behaving according to a single gender identity, individuals may have different images, one descriptive of their at-home situation, and another of their at-work situation. The researchers administered the Sex Role Conflict Scale and the BSRI, asking individuals to 'think about how you would identify yourself when you are in a home or family situation', then again 'describe

yourself at work, doing your job...' They found that sex role conflict was not related to gender or level in the organisation as expected. Both men and women perceived themselves as having a higher feminine gender identity at home than at work, but a similar masculine identity in both situations.

According to Lips (1991), self-report measures of gender may not be internally inconsistent as they rely upon an accurate conscious awareness of gendered aspects of the self-concept. Clinical observations as well as empirical studies indicate that both men and women may have deeply implicit beliefs and emotional investments in their sex membership, evidenced by the avoidance of cross-sex behaviour by sex typed individuals more so than cross-sex typed, undifferentiated or androgynous individuals (Pedhauzer & Tetenbaum, 1979; Bem, 1987). However, individuals may still be unable to articulate or even recognise occasions when their membership is undermined. It is unclear whether this awareness increases as gender salience increases. Nonetheless, the evidence available that links sex role typing and gender ideology would suggest a positive correlation.

A major flaw with sex role research has been that sex role scales do not take into account significant features of the psychology of women. Researchers (Antill et. al., 1981; Spence et.al., 1979) have reported problems with the internal consistency of femininity scales. In these studies, femininity showed non-significant correlations with the dependent variables and most sex role inventories quote the femininity scale as having the least internal consistency. Femininity scales use descriptors such as passive, childlike, gullible and flatterable. These are not descriptive of positive feminine attributes and do not bare resemblance to socially desirable traits. It is not surprising therefore that Antill et al. (1981) found femininity to be negatively correlated with self esteem for women in their study.

2.3   Review of literature on gender and career success

Generally, the literature on women and career success proposes four models to account for women's career advancement in comparison to men (Nieva & Gutek, 1981; Fagenson, 1990). The four models are:

a) gender-centred, or individual model, which purports that women lack the characteristics required to fulfil management roles (due to socialisation differences from men);

b) sex role model, which espouses that norms for sex appropriate behaviours and attitudes shape a woman's experiences in organisations, and that she is judged negatively for violations of traditional sex-role prescriptions;

c) structuralist model, which suggests women are faced with discriminatory structures and processes within organisations that ultimately impact on individual behaviour leading to individual behaviour in turn reflecting these structures (Kanter, 1977); and

d) inter-group model, which focuses on relationships between male and female groups that involve perpetuating stereotypes about group members, and attributions of status and power.

Studies using these models are critically reviewed in sections 2.2.1 to 2.2.4.

2.3.1   The gender-centred model

The gender-centred perspective asserts that women do not possess the skills or behavioural characteristics to perform competently in managerial roles. It attributes women's weaknesses to the cause of their lower status positions at work and in the world. Nieva and Gutek (1981) explain that this model is often used by men in the workplace, and reflected in attitudes, perceptions and beliefs about women in management. Kanter (1977) describes several stereotypical roles that are often imposed on women managers. The 'mother' requires women to be passive and nurturant, fulfilling a mothering or counsellor role. This often results in the added responsibility of shouldering personal or organisational confidences. The 'pet' involves subjecting women to patronising comments as she fulfils the

role of 'decoration', and may serve as a valued prize amongst male superiors. The 'seductress' requires women to be viewed as a sexual objects. The 'seductress' role heightens the potential for incidences of sexual harassment. Kanter, (1977) argues that these stereotypes are defences that arise from men's insecurities about their own masculinities in relation to women. They serve to keep women from becoming a threat when they are perceived to be competing with male co-workers.

2.3.2   The sex-role model

The sex role model focuses on sex-appropriate behaviour and attitudes that are defined by society (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). The model proposes that women have sex role characteristics that are not compatible with management roles. These incompatibilities and qualities include passivity, emotionality and dependence, and are informed by traditionally passive feminine stereotypes. They are in opposition to characteristics or behavioural skills deemed necessary for fulfilling the managerial role, which is traditionally informed by masculine stereotypes such as dominance, aggression, rationality and independence (Schein, 1973). Expectations derived from stereotypes of female roles, such as nurturer and supporter versus achiever, are attributed to women at work. Therefore, women may be seen to be incapable of a full range of activities, and instead assigned 'softer', more sex appropriate roles.

Brenner, Tomkiewicz, and Schein (1989) replicated a frequently cited study performed by Schein (1973), which involved asking participants to describe the 'ideal woman', 'ideal man', and a 'good manager', using a list of personality traits (from sex role scales). They found that males were more likely to use the same adjectives when describing the 'ideal man' and the 'good manager', while females tended to describe the 'good manager' with adjectives used to describe both the 'ideal man' and the 'ideal woman'. These findings indicated that male middle managers still adhered to male managerial stereotypes while female middle managers did not sex type managerial jobs. Another replication by Heilman, Block, Martell, and Simon, (1989) produced the same findings. Stereotypes held by male managers about women appear to be deeply rooted and resistant to change. The correspondence between descriptions of women and successful

managers had increased since Schein's 1973 study and Heilman and colleagues' 1989 study. However, the later study showed that women were still regarded as conforming less to the conception of 'successful manager' while men were regarded as more closely aligned to this conception.

There is considerable evidence that indicates that women and men in management actually have similar aspirations and values, personality traits, job-related skills and behaviours (for example, Donnell & Hall, 1980, matched 2000 pairs). Dobbins and Platz (1986) conducted a meta-analytic review of 17 studies conducted between 1970 and the publication of their study in 1986. They examined sex differences in leadership effectiveness, defined as subordinate ratings of satisfaction and leadership effectiveness. The researchers failed to find any evidence of differences between female and male leaders.

Despite lack of evidence, the sex role characteristics possessed by individuals continue to be used as predictors of how well people will fare in organisational settings. The possession of feminine characteristics, such as showing empathy, understanding and warmth, has been viewed as being detrimental to career, while possession of masculine attributes, such as being independent, tough minded, confident and dominant, with a capacity to set aside personal emotional considerations, have been viewed as beneficial (Fagenson, 1990; Lazarus and Folkman, 1992; Israeli and Adler, 1994).

It follows that for men who aspire to senior management positions, their perceptions are that a 'good' manager is equated with being 'masculine' (Schein 1973; Brenner et al., 1989; Heilman et.al., 1989). This masculine ethic regards those traits assumed to belong to men as prerequisites for effective management. This reproduces a 'manufacturing of consent' that underpins the masculine hegemony pervasive in many organisations. Hegemony refers to the ideal representation of the interests of the ruling class in any given social context as universal interests. Processes, procedures and beliefs are manipulated to promote the ends that meet these seemingly universal interests, and sanction the means for achieving them, while alternative ways of seeing and being are excluded

(Marshall, 1998). For women then, to deviate from this dominant management style involves risk (Powell & Butterfield, 1989).

Women in management may feel compelled to adopt traits and behaviours traditionally associated with males in order to succeed in organisational cultures (Powell & Butterfield, 1989). In a study by Davidson and Cooper (1983), one of the greatest sources of stress for the 96 female managers interviewed was their own and other's expectations. Expectations of female managers were informed by stereotypical notions of how women and managers, should behave. In other words, the women in the study recognised as stressful the pressure to conform to masculine modes of behaviour. This source of stress may have particularly powerful impacts for women in male dominated or hegemonic masculine cultures. In an Australian study, Gardiner and Tiggerman (1999) found that women tended to behave more similarly to men in male-dominated industries than to men in female-dominated industries.

As Miriam Lewin (1984) has noted, the stereotyping of feminine nature as domestic and submissive has supported the economic, social and cultural division of labour. As a consequence of these pervasive images, women in management may experience sex role conflict. The psychological literature discusses unique sources of stress for women, in relation to their greater sex role conflict, particularly due to work versus family pressures. The sex role model incorporates the component of 'sex role spillover': that is, the inappropriate spillover of other female roles, such as wife and mother, to the workplace (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). Even though employment has become an important and necessary component of women's lives, women are still socially expected to prioritise domestic demands over their work lives. Interrupted work patterns and part-time employment still characterise the labour force activity of many women who attempt to design their work around family roles. Males, who are instead expected to meet work demands before family responsibilities, do not make the same adjustments (Nieva & Gutek, 1981).

Gender centred and sex role models tend to attribute responsibility to the individual in an attempt to explain women's limited career advancement in

comparison to men. In doing so, they are in danger of blaming the victim or viewing women as hopeless or weak in the face of social structures. They ignore the external influences that create individual differences and do not account for influencing factors in the contexts that individuals operate within (Nieva & Gutek, 1981).

2.3.3   The structuralist model

Conversely, the structuralist perspective postulates that it is elements of the organisational structure that are impediments to women achieving in their careers (Kanter, 1977). These include processes such as job recruitment and entry procedures, job assignment, relationships between formal and informal groups, and training and promotion (Fagenson, 1990). This model seeks to explain women's behaviours and motivations as a consequence of work structures (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). It suggests that women's expectations and aspirations are often low because of the lack of opportunity provided by work structures. Therefore, the low aspirations of women, in effect, reflect the adjustments women must make to the reality of having to integrate into traditionally masculine situations. Pressures for women arise from their being designated as tokens, and therefore highly visible, as well as being isolated from informal networks and power bases. A consequence of token status is that women workers are often faced with heightened discrimination, sexual harassment, wage inequities and limited career success (Yoder, 1991).

In an examination of the function of an individual's sex and hierarchical level in an organisation, Fagenson (1990) found that femininity was related to a person's sex while masculinity was related to an individual's level in the power hierarchy. In support of the structuralist perspective, perceptions of masculine attributes were related to an individual's level in the organisational power hierarchy. Upper level men and women reported possessing more masculine attributes than did individuals at the lower levels.

Three possible reasons for the relationship between masculinity and status within an organisation were offered by Fagenson. First, that management is congruent with the masculine role. Therefore, individuals who exhibit masculine

traits will be attracted to, and will more likely acquire, management positions (Powell & Butterfield, 1979). Second, that a senior position itself causes individuals to develop these traits (Steinberg & Shapiro, 1982). And third, perhaps it is that individuals within management roles identify with the dominant group who are largely male (Barnett & Baruch, 1978). In support, Sachs, Chrisler, and Devlin (1992) analysed biographic and personal characteristics of 95 female managers. They found that most of the women were masculine or androgynous (as measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory: (Bem, 1974), and that most reported having male role models.

Sex discrimination is embedded in the cultural values that permeate organisations (Mills & Tancred, 1992). The assumed dichotomies such as reason-emotion and activity-passivity accorded to males and females respectively, are mirrored in organisational processes which emphasise rationality and hierarchy while seeking to suppress qualities, such as nurturance and inclusiveness, more often associated with home and family.

2.3.4   The inter-group model

A fourth model put forward to explain women's inequality in the workplace is defined as inter-group, and states that simply by virtue of group membership, male and female interactions tend to be characterised by factors that make between-group differences salient (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). Stereotypes exaggerate within group similarities while maximising between group differences. They provide the mechanisms by which organisations gender their members. Not only do principles of social homogeneity and similarity apply to create gender as a basis for group identity, but these relations are also constructed hierarchically. Stereotypic masculine characteristics are viewed as the norm in the workplace, and define 'worthiness', from which deviations are defined as deficit or 'other'.

The gender centred, sex role, structural and inter-group models share a common tenet; that gender is constructed. They differ on how this occurs, but acknowledge the effects of this gendering on career outcomes.

The theories of self have been influential in developing concepts about gender and gender identity, particularly in relation to how individual and cultural factors manifest in gender differences between men and women. The next section reviews theories on the development and construction of gender identity and psychological identity in general.

2.4   The role of gender in the developing self

As discussed in Chapter 1, it is proposed that an understanding of women's career development requires an understanding of the gender differences inherent in identity development in general (White et.al., 1992; Powell & Maniero, 1992; White, 1995; Langan-Fox, 1996). The next section reviews the literature on the construction of self concept and identity, and how conceptions of self differ for women and men. It explores perspectives that explain sex typing, that is, the psychological process by which males and females predominantly express 'masculinity' and 'femininity' (Bem, 1985).

In psychological theories, the self is portrayed in two main ways: as a state and as a process. State conceptualisations view the self as an entity, a 'thing'. They represent the self as a cognitive structure that is experienced and measurable through individual outcomes or behaviours (Kohlberg, 1966; Bem, 1981). Process theories conceptualise the self as an outcome of interpersonal and social interactions and two resulting models of self are described through this process of interactions. The Self-in-connection model represents the self as inherently linked to social structures rather than as a distinct entity within a social milieu (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982). The Self-in-relation model denotes that self is constructed in a way that allows it to be related to other selves (Sampson, 1993). These different perspectives on psychological identity development are discussed in relation to their impact on conceptualisations of gender differences.

2.4.1   From psychodynamic beginnings to cognitive conceptualisations: self as a schematic entity

2.4.1.1   Bakan's analysis

In a philosophical treatise, Bakan (1966) conceptualised two 'fundamental modalities' of all individuals: agency and communion. Agency is descriptive of a person as an individual and manifests itself in self-protection, self-assertion, and self-expansion. Communion is descriptive of the individual person as existing in some larger grouping of which they are a part. Communion manifests itself in the sense of being at one with other people.

> *Agency manifests itself in the repression of thought, feeling, and impulse; communion in the lack and removal of repression... Agency manifests itself in the urge to master; communion in unconditional cooperation (Bakan, 1966, p.15).*

Also highlighted in Bakan's analysis was the corresponding ascendancy of agentic values over communal values. Sexual differentiation is seen as a reflection of the agentic impulse. Agency inevitably operates to divide itself from the communal, and when the division occurs it leaves 'more of the agentic and less of the communal in the male, and more of the communal and less of the agentic in the female' (Bakan, 1966, p.152). Therefore, while men and women have both modalities, the majority of women are more communal than men, and men are more agentic than women.

Bakan insisted on working with unconscious abstractions inasmuch as they are beyond 'idolatory…the elevation of a preliminary concern to ultimacy' (p.2). Bakan believed that of ultimate concern is the quest for meaning at its depth. However, once the focus is turned towards the means by which such knowledge is derived, or manifested, then the answer, or absolute, obscures the need for further inquiry. Interestingly, sex role researchers borrowed Bakan's conceptualisations of agency and communion and set about to operationalise these abstractions in the most idolatrous way imaginable. They linked concepts of instrumentality to agency and expressiveness to communion (Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Parsons & Bayles, 1955). They referred to masculinity comprising

instrumental traits (for example, getting the job done, assertiveness, competitiveness) and femininity as comprising expressive traits, (such as, concern for others, nurturance, sensitivity). Cognitive theorists situated these modalities in the self as a schematic entity.

2.4.1.2 Gender schema theory

Psychological theories such as gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) acknowledge that men and women are not qualitatively different kinds of people. Gender is conceptualised along a continuum that is constructed, and therefore dynamic. Bem (1981) suggests that sex typing results from the fact that the self concept is assimilated into the gender schema. A schema is an affective / cognitive structure that is created to lend meaning and coherence to one's experience. The nature of the structure of schema determines how information is processed (Fiske, 1991). Gender identity is an internalised schema that makes up part of the general identity schema, which is a representative aspect of the self. The schema is formed in an iterative process with society, whereby individuals understand themselves, and their relationships with others and society.

Traits, competencies and values are linked to the general (or global) identity schema through roles modelled within a reference group or culture to which the individual subscribes, and through which social learning processes are activated (Leonard, Beauvais, & Scholl, 1999). The reference group includes those members of one's primary group (such as family) and learnings from the primary group are reinforced by the individual's culture. Individuals who desire to be identified with the reference group through a specific identity will attempt to model their behaviour accordingly. Once established, these traits reinforce the identity and become the basis of social feedback regarding one's relative attainment and performance of these attributes. Roberts and Donahue (1994) found that the success or failure of the reference group as a whole becomes a source of feedback for the individual. This has implications for women in management who may shape their expectations of success, and therefore their career motivations, on the basis of feedback from other 'successful' women, whom they may perceive as 'languishing' below the glass ceiling.

The gender schema is also linked to a structure of value priorities. Rather than comprising a neutral knowledge structure, the gender aspects of a person's self concept comprise a set of beliefs with evaluative connotations (Feather, 1984). Therefore, an individual who describes him or herself in terms of masculine attributes, such as assertiveness and independence, will also tend to perceive these attributes as desirable and important qualities for people in general. Similarly, an individual who describes her or himself in terms of feminine characteristics, such as empathic and loving, will also perceive these characteristics as valuable qualities for people in general.

The gender schema may therefore act as a prescriptive standard by which individuals regulate their behaviour according to social definitions of femaleness and maleness (Bem, 1981). So, rather than being a passive receptor of information, the self is capable of taking in and assimilating new information as an active agent in society. The self is subject to powerful socialising forces, particularly those informed by, for example, hegemonic systems of knowledge (Gagne & Tewksbury, 1999). Therefore, stereotypes inform self schemata related to gender, which in turn inform schemata related to social categories that include management and leadership roles.

In the 'communal' self schemata, importance is placed on others in defining the self. One's individuality and uniqueness is a result of one's configuration of relationships. Therefore, there is a tendency to connect with others through affection, commitment, dependency, obligation, and responsibility. Most women will develop schemata of themselves as understanding and caring, loving and nurturant, considerate and sensitive. A mode of processing in which one is sensitive to the interpersonal environment may be related to what Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) have referred to as 'women's ways of knowing'. 'Connected knowers' begin with an interest in other people and they learn through empathy with these others. They believe that knowledge comes from experience, and therefore develop strategies, such as taking another's point of view, for gaining access to other peoples' knowledge.

2.4.1.3 Cultural theory

Cultural theorists have represented Bakan's fundamental modalities as individual ideologies, rather than as states that are inherent within the individual (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). According to Kashima, Kim, Gelfand, Yamaguchi, Choi, and Yuki (1995) individuals construct self along three dimensions: individualistic, collective, and relational. Individualists give priority to their own individual goals above those of the collective. Collectivists see no distinctions between their individual goals and the collective's goals, or if they do make a distinction, they subjugate their own goals to the good of the collective (Triandis, 1995). The relational dimension refers to the relationship between the individual and other individuals, whereby the self is construed through its relationship to other selves (see Belenky et.al., 1986).

Markus and Oyserman (1989) furthered Bakan's conceptualisation of the individuals develop a system of distinct self schemata. They suggested that in agentic self schemata, individuality is achieved through the delineation and maintenance of the boundaries between the self and other individuals. This may explain why it is imperative for men's vocational identity that they find an independent occupational role (White et al., 1992). It follows then that the motivation for career may not be as fundamental for women's self-concept because individuality in the communal self schemata is achieved through developing and maintaining relations with others. However, research does not support this position.

In a study of 48 women in the UK who had all achieved extraordinary levels of career success, White et. al. (1992) found that 75 percent of the participants had in fact made conscious decisions to have a career, and that this was one of the main factors linked to individual differences in vocational identity development. Rather than reflecting a sense of identity in communion with others, the high achieving women focussed on career achievement as a source of satisfaction.

This raises the question about whether the women in White et. al.'s study were characteristically non-conforming (that is, agentic) in relation to their gender identity. Considering that their level of career success was unrepresentative of

most women, it is open to speculation whether they were also unrepresentatively highly individualistic women. These issues remain unresolved because although the participants were asked their views on feminism as a measure of gender identity, the researchers did not measure self reported perceptions of masculinity and femininity.

It is probable that women develop modalities which are autonomous or separate. Yet when agentic schemata are developed in the context of connectedness, women may depend on the evaluations of others more so than would men in their manifestation of agency. In the same vein, men may develop schemata that are connected, but if these schemata are developed in the context of separateness, they may assume a different form. For example, when viewing the self as connected, the connection may involve an exchange between two separate entities rather than the interdependence of these entities. Therefore, men and women may experience or express communion and agency in different ways (Bakan, 1966; Markus & Oyserman, 1989). This suggests that while women are capable of adopting masculine behaviours, and men are capable of adopting feminine behaviours, these behaviours will 'look' and 'feel' different. However, it is unclear how divergent cross-sex gender schemata may manifest in gender differences in vocational identity or career success.

2.4.2   Social aspects of the developing self: Self-in-connection

Social Learning Theory (Mischel, 1970) views gender identity to be the consequence of socialisation through modelling of significant others. Chodorow (1978) proposed that women are more relational and empathetic than are men and that these gender differences are apparent because women are largely responsible for early child caring. She further proposed that mothers and daughters, unlike mothers and sons, experience a sense of similarity with one another. As a result, in defining themselves women learn to focus on and value relationships more so than do men (Chodorow, 1995).

Similarly, for Gilligan (1982) women's sense of self is rooted in experiences of relationship and connection, so that moral action to women is evaluated through principles of caring. Women come to understand themselves through

attachment, relationship, and interdependence with others. Gilligan proposed that male and female moral development patterns focus on different values. Men's development begins with separations and leads to individuation emphasising achievement and accomplishment, akin to Bakan's notion of agency, eventually exploring connection with others and finally viewing others as equally important as their self. Women, in contrast, begin their development with values of connectedness and nurturance, akin to Bakan's notion of communion, eventually exploring separation and individuation and viewing their self as equally important as others.

This experience of self-in-connection, which often translates to dissolution of individuality, is claimed to be the empirical experience of women by theorists such as Miller (1976) and Gilligan (1982). In a study of 84 white males and females Lykes (1985) found that women, particularly those working at the lower levels of the organisational hierarchy, were more likely to perceive the interrelation of self and others, and the impact of social experience, as self defining. Social individuals were described as active and involved in circles well beyond family and neighbourhood. They described work as one vehicle of such involvement. Many of the activities they participated in reflected a sense of their commitment to social change through collaborative or collective action. In contrast, men tended to describe their current communities in terms of physical characteristics and not in terms of human relations and interconnections.

Miller (1991) supports Gilligan's focus on affiliation and attachment as the fundamental building block of the development of self-in-connection. However, she is critical of the conclusion that for a girl, individuation of self is beyond the scope of her development.

> *The literature tends to suggest that because she is the same sex*
> *[as mother], the girl cannot develop an internal view of self;*
> *that is, that boys develop a sense of self because they separate*
> *themselves from the female caretaker. This is truly an incredible*
> *notion. (Miller 1991, p.14)*

She suggests that these notions ignore the complexity of the interaction between caretaker and infant. Growth occurs within emotional connections, not separate

from them, and so instead, the care taking role inevitably facilitates the development of a separate, internal self.

Miller further suggests that girls do develop a sense of agency. However this is described as the girl's capacity to perceive and use 'her powers in all ways' (p. 20) and this agency is learnt through relationship. However, due to particularly strong messages about sex appropriate behaviour in adolescence, girls begin to incorporate a sense that they are not free to use these powers to act.

> *Her sense of self as an active agent – in the context of acting*
> *within a relationship and for the relationship – has been altered*
> *to some degree along the way by a sense of a self who must*
> *defer to others' needs or desires. (Miller 1991, p.20)*

As a consequence, males and females may differ on conflicts of interpersonal relationships. In a study that investigated moral reasoning and sense of self, Lyons (1983) found that both men and women were likely to describe themselves in terms of their relationships with others, but that they differed in the form of their descriptions. For females, sense of self-in-relation to others revealed a preoccupation for 'doing good for one another'. Relationships were described as a given and perceptions of their abilities were described in terms of making or sustaining connections. However, males described their sense of self-in-relation to others in terms of obligations and commitments, and self evaluations were comprised of their skills in negotiating and interacting with others. McGowen and Hart (1990) confirmed Lyon's findings in that women in their study showed more conflict about interpersonal relationships, with job happiness and satisfaction being related to relationship factors for women.

2.4.3 The female advantage?

As discussed earlier, perspectives that emphasise difference in self-development for women assert that a shared past, in child rearing and caring, is a major determinant of an individual's current behaviour. Self-in-connection theorists have often used this proposition to claim the presence of essential characteristics for all women which lead to social advantages (Unger, 1989).

Calas and Smircich (1993) proposed that women's experiences with their families and communities could transmute to a powerful force for organisational change. They suggested that women's skills in communication and cooperation, affiliation, attachment, and their orientation toward power as a transforming force, were critically needed human resource skills in organisations. In her study of four female executives, Helgesen (1990) argued that the 'integration of the feminine principles into the public realm offers hope for healing' wounds caused by 'warrior values' that necessitate competitiveness in organisations yet lead to a sense of alienation and separation (p. 255).

These applications call for the 'female advantage', and the valuing of 'essential' women's qualities in the workplace. However, they reconceptualise female characteristics in a more positive and therefore equal form. While at first this seems a reasonable strategy for improving women's positions in the face of subjugation and discrimination, there is also a danger that the emphasis on essential qualities also creates an illusion of opportunity and equality for women in management. Suggesting that the position of women will be improved by elevating currently undervalued characteristics or qualities, avoids a critical examination of the underlying processes and assumptions that sustain hegemonic power bases. These include processes that impact on men and women differently, such as socialisation impacting on the level of opportunity (as discussed in Chapter 1) to maintain power bases in the possession of men (Calas & Smircich, 1993). In addition, arguing for the 'special' position of women is unsustainable because it requires epistemological assumptions that cannot foresee change to dominant social relations that advantage women (Crawford, 1989, p.135). The next section discusses the processes of gender polarisation within the larger social and political context as they impact on gender identity at an individual level of analysis.

2.4.4   Gender as mutable and context dependent

The previous section has outlined the importance of development of self in forging vocational identity, behavioural styles, and preferences for roles, leading to subsequent career choices for women, and therefore subsequent career success.

This development occurs through the interaction of social forces on cognitive structures within the individual and through the learning or modelling processes that occur through interactions between individuals. A series of questions then arise. How fixed is the self, through development of schemata and the socialisation processes that relate to gender identity? How prescriptive is gender identity in its relationship to sex? Are women always more communal than men, and men always more agentic than women? And how does this polarisation in identity apply to women in management, who are in cross-gendered situations due to their involvement in traditionally male dominated domains?

Maccoby (1990) suggests that gender self concept varies across situations due to the varying nature of 'other' and the terms on which we interact with other people across contexts. According to Deaux and Major (1987), gender is activated when it is a central part of the self concept, or when contextual cues make gender salient. This challenges the gender-centred model which defines gender identity as involving universal and stable characteristics. In their study on gender identity across contexts, Smith, Noll, and Bryant (1999) found that both males and females measured lower on masculinity and femininity scores in the social context (going out with friends, a party), as opposed to work or home contexts. These findings suggested that in a situation that is more anonymous (for example, in an audience of strangers) one's gender identity may not be highly relevant. Hence, with gender aspects of the self concept deactivated, anonymous behaviour, not surprisingly, appears to conform to sex stereotypic assumptions much more than behaviour that one is made accountable for. Therefore, individuals in sex neutral situations may be less likely to describe themselves according to gender role stereotypes.

In a review by Unger (1989), various contexts were identified in which gender-related effects are more likely to appear. The first of these was that the individual is a member of a minority group within society. It may be possible that statistical deviance heightens the expectation of role deviance. Hence, women in male dominated environments are likely to be more closely scrutinised for out-of-role behaviour (Powell & Butterfield, 1989). The second context identified was one in which there was an element of public scrutiny of social behaviours. Gender

stereotypes are more likely to inform individual behaviour, and be used to evaluate behaviours for conformity to sex-appropriate expectations when behaviour occurs in a public setting. Third, sex-role appropriate behaviours were more likely to be changeable according to the expectations of the individual with whom interaction occurs (as surmised by Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). A person's attractiveness also determines attributions of gendered characteristics, with attractive males and females perceived as more likely to possess sex appropriate gender characteristics and lack of attractiveness being associated with perceptions of social deviance.

Gender identity may be situational in nature, but it may not be possible to generalise about gender identity beyond the individual. Chodorow (1995) asserts that an individual's psychological context is important. She challenges researchers who have defined gender solely in terms of cultural, linguistic, political or social constructions, and reminds them that there are individual psychological processes in addition to these other relations that construct gender for individuals. She disregards the determinist viewpoint of the self as fixed in place and time. Instead she argues for the autonomy and creativity of consciousness, and places individuals as choice makers, with the 'power to act'. Gender is experienced by the individual at an emotional level. Therefore, there is no fixed universal core of psychological meanings across individuals within a given sex.

Chodorow's (1978) earlier work identified female and male patterns of construction of gender as linked to relationship with mother. She emphasised the contribution of these relationships to ideology and organisation of gender (such as ideologies of devaluing the feminine). However, she later argued that this is not the same as claiming that gender identity is directly internalised and fixed within an individual's environment regardless of the individual's psychological reality of these social and cultural forms (Chodorow, 1995).

> *Part of the tenacity of gender is its personal individuality: to understand and address fully any individual's gender identity requires investigation of the unique confluence of personal and cultural meaning. (Chodorow, 1995, p. 524)*

Chodorow's (1995) conception of gender individuality is complementary to Bem's (1981) notion of gender schemacity, where the gender schema is seen as a prescription or guide that operates on motivation, leading to modified behaviours that conform to external (cultural, social, political) prescriptions of masculinity and femininity. The contribution that Chodorow makes, however is to incorporate the individual's active experience of these motivations as a mediator of the expression of masculinity and femininity.

2.4.5 Gender in patriarchy

Theorists such as Sandra Bem and Rhoda Unger have attempted to incorporate the influence of structural factors on individual behaviour by recognising that gender is experienced within patriarchy. Bem (1993) explains the process by which gender differences are constructed within a society that is androcentric. Androcentrism is the privileging of male experience and the 'otherising' of female experience so that the female is held in a relative and negative position to the male (Bem, 1993, p. 41). Beauvoir (1949) referred to the relationship between men and women not as one characterised by dichotomous concepts of positive and negative respectively, but rather that 'man', generalised to 'human being' represents both positive and neutral positions. In contrast, 'woman' only represented the negative when measured by limited criteria referenced against an absolute masculine human type. According to Bem (1993), androcentricism is a more useful concept than patriarchy because it 'goes beyond telling *who* is in power to tell *how* their power is culturally and psychologically reproduced' (Bem, 1993, p. 40-41).

Gender polarisation occurs with the use of perceived differences based on biology as an organising principle for social life. Bem (1993) conceptualises this process as involving the construction of cultural lenses that individuals gradually internalise, motivated by a need to construct self identity that is congruent with the lens. This process of enculturation is unconscious and therefore leads to perspectives on gender such as biological essentialism (espoused by gender centred approaches) which rationalise the existence of these lenses by arguing the difference they create is natural and inevitable. Gender polarisation defines

different scripts for men and women, and denotes deviation from scripts as problematic: 'unnatural or immoral…or as biologically anomalous or psychologically pathological' (Bem, 1993, p. 81). Therefore, what is constructed is a seemingly natural link between sex of the body and both personality and sexuality.

Findings from a suite of studies that have used sex role inventories (Bem, 1981, 1993; Lippa, 1995; Deaux and Major 1987; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem et al., 1976; Spence & Helmreich, 1978, Bem, 1985; Frable, 1989) demonstrate that sex typed individuals are: faster when endorsing sex appropriate attributes; more likely to cluster information in gender groups; more likely to organise other people into feminine and masculine categories; highly attentive to cultural definitions of gender appropriateness; more likely to avoid gender inappropriate behaviour and to choose behaviours more consistent with their own gender; and in the case of males only endorse sexist language. These findings demonstrated that sex-role congruency is more important for sex typed individuals because it informs individual choices and behaviours.

In her study on sex typing and ideology, Frable (1989) proposed that gender dispositions, that is, sex typing of individuals, related strongly to attitudes and discriminatory behaviours, especially for males. Findings showed that sex typed individuals indicated sex-stereotyped beliefs, whereas cross-sex typed individuals were more egalitarian. Sex typed subjects (as measured by the BSRI) were least likely to discern real differences between a high performing (based on criteria that was stable across groups) male and female applicant, whereas all other groups indicated that the women performed better than the men. This supports the view that sex typing is related to a gender ideology, or the belief system that divides the social world into the dichotomy comprising male and female. It also suggests that sex typed individuals develop a more ready use of gender lenses to process information about the world (Bem 1981). And as discussed earlier, there is evidence to suggest that sex typing is situational, rather than a dispositional and constant across contexts.

Unger (1989) similarly explains the 'invisible' social frameworks that directly affect behaviours along dimensions we describe with the use of masculine and feminine traits. She argues that because stereotypes are a fundamental part of consensual reality, and there are many more negative perceptions of females than males outside traditional role prescriptions of domesticity, a double bind is created for women. Unger theorises that women are subjected to 'double binds': that is, perspectives of the world based on the need to construct perceptions congruent with consensual reality. Women attribute negative evaluations to themselves. They take forms such as: that women are less able to cope with managerial pressures; or that they are not adept in the intellectual or political demands inherent in the job. The double bind produces a shield between the social reality of these stereotypes and their cause in social structure. In attempting to construct perceptions that align to this social reality, women believe these negative evaluations to be true of them. Therefore they attribute any negative consequences, such as limited promotion opportunities, to individual inadequacies rather than the structural biases inherent within a given organisational context. This wider social context, Unger contends, is necessary for understanding individual behaviour. Conversely, individual behaviour is defined as meaningless outside a social context.

Postmodernist influences on research into sex differences have reflected broader views of gender, defined as a multifaceted and conceptually complex construct. Gender has been identified as a 'master status', a means of maintaining power bases (Jenkins, 2000). A master status predicts dominant behaviour more strongly than another, more specific status, such as occupation. It is via this process that the 'women's difference' arguments, for example, have been appropriated within the management literature. The appeal of these ideas stems from their implications for revaluing feminine qualities in various activities, including management. Calas and Smircich (1993) suggest that the 'women's difference' perspectives incorporate a patriarchically defined 'female' into traditional managerial activities and their instrumental orientation. The rhetoric maintains intact, and indeed strengthens, traditional managerial ideologies. It is the 'female constructed under patriarchy who is given voice and presence', merely

extending the female role thus defined from the private home to the public workplace. The presence of women is encouraged not to further the number of women in senior positions within the status hierarchy. It is encouraged to make offices 'more pleasant, peaceful, homelike places' (Calas and Smircich, 1993, p.77). So it would seem that the female advantage within the context of patriarchy may not be to women's advantage after all! Instead it is more plausibly advantageous for men than for women.

2.4.6   The self in social structure: Self-in-relation

Having established that theories of gender formation need to accommodate structural factors, including the socio-political context, this section discusses theories of self-in-relation to the social structure. According to Shweder (1995), the self is not perceived as autonomous and separate to the social but an integral aspect within the social:

> *The idea of a context free environment, a meaning free stimulus event, and a fixed meaning, are probably best kept where they belong, along with placeless spaces, eventless time, and squared circles on that famous and fabulous list of impossible notions (Shweder, 1995, p.49)*

The 'social' implied in theories of self-in-connection reflects a representation of the social world devoid of power dynamics. They describe the social as repressive structures that constrain women's full development, and reduce women to being helpless in the face of monolithic social forces (Lykes, 1985). Models such as that proposed by Gilligan (1982) describe two separate entities as connecting. In doing so the self-in-connection model perpetuates an underlying assumption of individualism in that two separate, autonomous selves inter-relate. Therefore, self-in-relation theorists argue that these perspectives are merely a female version of an individualistic model of self (Shweder & Bourne, 1982).

The construction of self occurs in a political context, influenced by power differentials across groups and between individuals (Sampson, 1993). Constructing self in this way focuses on the 'you' that fulfils 'my' needs. It fails

to model the dialogical aspect of human existence: that which occurs between individuals. This blankets out the dimension of power apparent in the construction of self and 'other' and therefore helps perpetuate relationships of power (Sampson, 1993).

Sampson (1993) argues that the relational dimension of self construal provides a platform for viewing gender differences as a constructed defence for the 'containment' of self. Difference and the construction of the 'other' (that is, not like me) is essential for boundary maintenance and individual integrity. According to Sampson, individuals construct the other as opposed to becoming enmeshed. Every construction has a dominant group, the constructors and those who are constructed (as serviceable 'others'). While women may be considered 'human', men have always been and remain the implicit standard for judging moral reasoning, competency, mental health and normality (Gilligan 1982; Miller, 1976). Sampson suggests that the development of psychological theories about self identity has been based on a dominant view of self as autonomous. Interpersonal theories, such as object relations, and cognitive models, have treated the 'other' as the backdrop or scene upon which the main performer's actions are played out. They ignore the construction of the 'other' by the figure as an integral aspect of the developing self (Sampson, 1993). They ignore the socio-historical contexts within which selves are constructed. Instead they have emphasised autonomy and individualism as the norm for healthy self development and actualisation.

2.5   Chapter summary and conclusion

This chapter has reviewed research concerned with the effects of gender identity on career advancement. The review has reflected on four models characterised as gender-centred, sex role, structuralist, and inter-group.

According to the gender centred and sex role models, women don't have what it takes to succeed in managerial roles because of biological and social factors that influence both the extent of their abilities and appropriateness of their behaviours. While self-in-connection theorists emphasise differences between men and women, they advance the valuing of 'special' feminine qualities as a

solution to women's inequality. Gender schema theorists separate notions of gender from biological sex by construing femininity and masculinity as independent dimensions. They claim that sex typed individuals will see the world, including its structures, through gendered lenses, and that these views permeate organisational and social structures. While the operationalisation of gender identity through sex role measures has proven problematic, the potential for gender schema theory to elucidate effects of gender lenses on behaviour and attitudes is irrefutable.

Structuralist theorists hold that women have the qualities necessary for success in managerial positions, but inter-relations and structures in organisations are biased against them. Self-in-relation theorists emphasise the role of broad social and political forces in the construction of difference between the sexes and proclaim that a solution lies, first, in understanding the dialogical (and therefore enmeshed) nature of human behaviour, and then in setting about to change these relations.

To investigate gender identity untangled from notions of biological sex, this study utilised a framework which incorporated the gender schemacity model within a structuralist model. Gender schema theory can be applied to varying levels of analysis: individual, interpersonal, and structural. The model has two strengths. First it adequately explains gender identity as an internal cognitive process experienced by the individual. Second, it explains gender identity as a social process through which gender polarisation both constructs the social world and is constructed by the individual.

At an individual level of investigation, gender and self-identity can be explored as both states and processes, leading to investigations in identity, values and sex role processes, and the relationship of each to career development and success. At a structural level of analysis, processes, inter-relationships and culture within organisations can be explored to investigate how gender biases influence and construct gender inequality, and the consequences for women and organisations of these effects. In this research, these two levels of analysis are explored simultaneously, with the inquiry likened to lenses, akin to the cultural

lenses described earlier by Bem (1993), focussing in and out around the same point in space and time (see Figure 2). Therefore, factors that influence women's careers are conceptualised within both micro and macro processes. Gendered processes inherent in organisational culture impact on the individual, as do individual sex role orientations and values related to gendered self concepts. These individual factors in turn are developed and reframed by inter-personal processes such as group affiliation and power dynamics within the organisation.
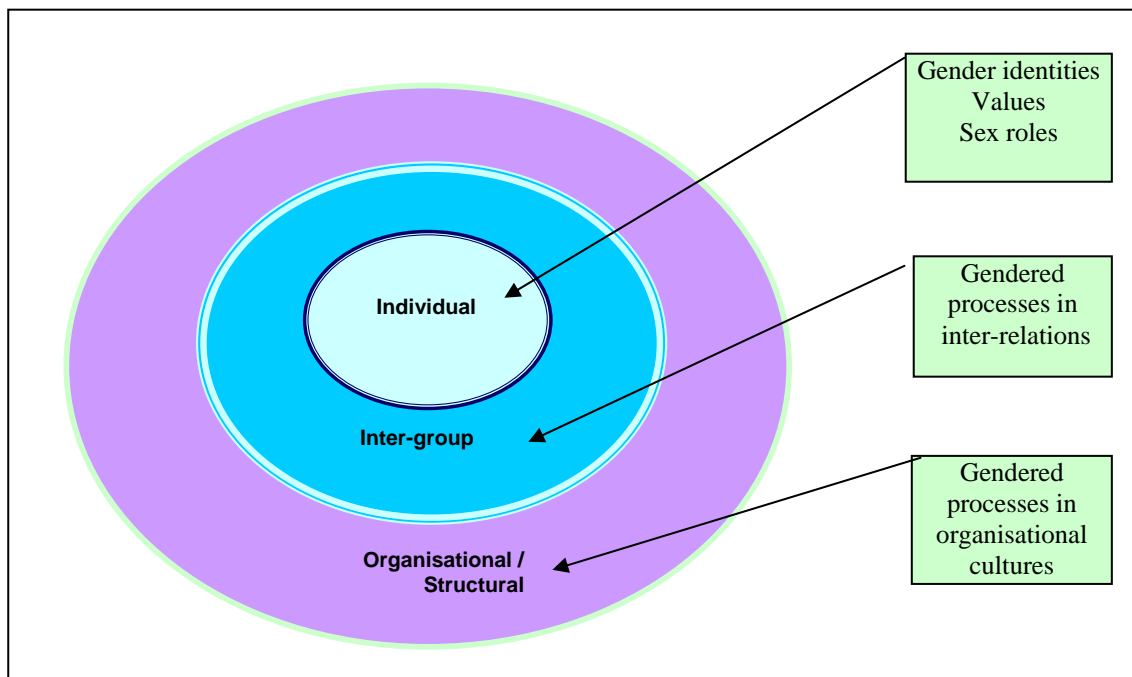
Figure 2

Multi-dimensional lens model (adapted from Bem, 1993) of factors influencing women's career success

The very nature of this study, with its focus on marginality for women in management, emphasises effects of gender difference, thus presenting a paradox for feminist research, as highlighted by (Kitzinger, 1991). The paradox arises as a consequence of emphasising 'difference'. Such an emphasis may further perpetuate gender stereotypes. On the other hand, the framework includes an investigation of the construction of gender polarisation processes at the systems level which may diminish emphasis on individual sources of 'difference'. The

operationalisation of difference at individual and structural levels simultaneously will be further discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUALISING GENDER AND MARGINALITY IN ORGANISATIONS

3   Dealing with difference: A question of fit

How do organisations and individuals deal with perceived differences between men and women? The previous sections have highlighted the ways in which sex differences are constructed and interpreted – but how are these differences experienced and what are the consequences to the individual and organisation for that experience?

To measure an individual's sex-role against that of another may merely perpetuate a self-fulfilling prophecy. Researchers may well find that femininity is detrimental to certain aspects of effective management, as discussed in Chapter 2. However, the root cause for this detriment may be that the organisational climate espouses masculine values and traits as valuable in that context. So it is not surprising that 'masculine' individuals 'fare better'. Rather than concluding that masculinity is a prescription for career success, it is just as likely that 'masculine' individuals resonate with the current organisational climate that values masculine attributes.

The masculine hegemony of current Australian business culture is not sustainable. Productive diversity is an Australian federal government policy that has focussed more particularly on the way race and ethnicity are managed within employment. Traditionally it has advocated the more productive use of diversity in this sense, through for example, the use of second languages in work places and other strategies to tap into culture knowledge and networks to assist business interactions in the diverse marketplace (Bertone, Leahy, & Sinclair, 2000). This policy is a response to the richly diverse population within Australia contrasted with the white Anglo-Saxon male population that still predominantly manage the Australian workforce (Sinclair, 1998).

While a detailed investigation of the value of productive diversity in business is beyond the scope of this thesis, suffice to say that there is a growing awareness from industry and business of the challenges of globalisation and the proliferation of borderless organisations. Flatter structures within organisations that are more reliant on functional teams has also emphasised the importance of heterogeneous work cultures that avoid problems of group-think and decreases in productivity due to conflict, high turnover and absenteeism (Burton, 1991). These challenges highlight the need to better understand processes that ameliorate marginality and instead foster tolerant and inclusive organisational cultures.

The conceptual framework used in this study incorporates the individual's system dynamics (that is, sense of self) and the role of social system dynamics (that is, social context) in shaping processes that impact on the gender related aspects of self-concept. It focuses on the organisational culture as inherently comprising gendered processes that become the basis of barriers to women's progression in organisation hierarchies. The next section discusses the way in which gender polarisation processes operate in 'gendered' culture in organisations.

3.1   The gendered culture

Organisations serve two main functions: distribution of power
and the control of uncertainty (Hofstede 1983, p. 64).

An organisational culture may be defined by the relatively enduring quality of an organisation's internal environment which distinguishes it from other organisations (Katz, 1987). Work culture is a socially constructed ideology and practice with which workers stake out a relatively autonomous sphere of action on the job, created as workers confront the limitations and possibilities of their jobs. It includes notions of a good day's work and satisfying and useful labour (Goode & Simon, 1987).

For the purposes of this study, gendered culture is defined by a particular ideology about sex difference in values, attitudes and behaviours prevalent in a given organisational culture. The concept of gendered culture comprises a set of

beliefs about men and women within a given context, the nature of relationships between the sexes and how they are constructed, and the processes by which public (denoted by work) and private (denoted by the home) spheres are allocated to legitimate domains for men and women (Probert, 2002).

> *To say that an organisation is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, expectation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine (Adler & Izraeli, 1994, p.12).*

According to Probert there has been little change in the gendered culture at the level of social policy in Australia since the 1950's. While the notion of working mothers is now strongly endorsed, the care of children is still the sole responsibility of women. Social policy initiatives such as parental allowance and tax incentives to support mothers who stay at home have had little effect on the behaviour of most Australian families.

Joan Acker's (1990) assertion that gender is a constitutive element of social structure has been enormously influential. In trying to conceptualise gender away from the possession of an individual, it is helpful to conceptualise an organisation as being gendered, that is, having a gender 'identity'. Therefore, organisational gender identity is defined by processes apparent within the organisation that relate to the expression of stereotypic notions of masculinity and / or femininity. Gendered processes refer to a distinction between males and females reflected through what people say, do, and how they think about their daily activities (Acker, 1990). A corollary to a 'gendered processes in organisation' model is that organisations will inevitably reproduce gender divisions. Complex organisations manifest gender discrimination in cultural values associated with maleness (masculinity), which are favoured characteristics in many organisations (Mills & Tancred, 1992). The assumed dichotomies such as reason-emotion, activity-passivity accorded to males and females respectively, are mirrored in organisational processes that emphasise rationality and hierarchy while seeking to suppress (feminine) emotions associated with home and family.

Gendered processes explain the hierarchy of male dominance and female subordination replicated in institutions, organisations, languages and practices (Rosenberg et.al., 1993). This hierarchy of male dominance is illustrated through beliefs that privilege the lifestyles of men, such as that successful managers must prove their worth early in their careers, that breaks in career indicate a lack of organisational commitment or that being the last person to leave at night demonstrates exemplary organisational commitment. According to Fiske (1995) gendered stereotypes flourish where there is pressure to fit to a particular image and where stereotypes prescribe how certain groups should feel or behave.

If we accept the view that organisational cultures are gendered, then how do we identify the 'extent' of gendering within an organisation? Britton (2000) argues that defining features of the gendered organisation are the extent to which the organisation is male or female dominated, and the extent to which the organisation is described and conceived in terms of discourses defined as masculine and feminine. According to Acker (1990), 'gendering' occurs as a product of the construction of divisions, such as of labour, space, and power, along gendered lines; through constructions of symbols and images that perpetuate and reinforce these divisions; as a reflection of gender stereotypes in organisational identities, such as leadership roles; and though the differential impact of processes on women and men, leading to discriminatory practices.

Ferguson (1984) argued that bureaucratic (that is, hierarchical) organisations by their very nature are inherently gendered. Their structures and mode of operation 'feminise' objects they come into contact with. This feminisation is evident in the depoliticising and privatising of aspects of women's traditional roles to those organisational members with less substantial power bases in organisational bureaucracies (such as administrators and secretaries). However, Britton (2000) disputes Ferguson's notion of an *a priori* gendering of all hierarchical organisations. She explains that this assumption has implications for the politics of change in that:

> *conceptualising organisations in this way could prevent us from*
> *seeing avenues through which we could improve current*

> *organisational environments to foster a less bureaucratic and*
> *thus less oppressively gendered future (Britton, 2000, p.422).*

The other danger of such a perspective is that it may lead to obscuring settings where gender is less salient.

As discussed previously, gender salience is an important determinant of the appearance of sex related effects (Unger, 1989). Ely (1995) compared the perceptions of traits necessary for career success and gender identity of women lawyers in firms that were both sex-integrated (defined as 15 percent or more female partners), and male dominated (defined as five percent or fewer female partners). Findings suggested that in comparison to sex-integrated firms, females in male dominated firms articulated more rigid gender differentiations along stereotypic dimensions of masculinity and femininity, had less positive evaluations of feminine stereotyped traits, and were less likely to succeed in comparison to their male counterparts. Her research indicates that 'gendering' within the law (that is, the masculisation of the law) is less salient in contexts where there are more women in powerful positions.

It is plausible that organisations may exhibit a variety of cultures and yet still be located within a corporate patriarchy, characteristic of bureaucratic organisations (Cassell & Walsh, 1997). Gendering in organisations is systematic which suggests that it is both durable as well as being subject to change. Alvesson (1998) suggests that ideas about masculinity in organisations should be revisited, particularly in contexts where organisational contingencies do not facilitate its success. Exemplary cases of this are found not only in female dominated occupations but also in certain modern sectors of business, such as knowledge intensive or innovative sectors. He suggests that new discourses advocated by corporate practitioners include terms like creativity, intuition, flexibility, flattened hierarchy and team building. This signals a move away from traditional ideas of masculinity.

However, what Alvesson fails to resolve is the problem of gender paradox that these new discourses create, as they are created within a wider social context (that is, patriarchy) that does in fact facilitate the success of masculine cultures. In

this context, it is more plausible that these discourses mask underlying value hierarchies that are still resistant to change. Contingencies in discourses about new masculinities call for different ways of working, but instead, for individuals in managerial roles, gender relations seem only to again advantage dominant forms of masculinity in organisational cultures. So while new masculinities may develop and flourish at times, larger patriarchal contexts appear to remain constant.

In this research I propose that the experience of value incongruence may be a determinant of perceptions of career success for women in hierarchical organisations. I also propose that women's recognition that their values are incongruent with the organisational culture in which they work may result in feelings of marginality that impact on self-concept. Organisations are places where women and men handle their dual presence in cross-gendered universes of meaning (Gherardi, 1994). This requires focus on what matches and what clashes with the organisation's culture, particularly at the meeting point between cultures. Cross-cultural research has typically been focussed on core aspects of culture rather than on its periphery, as suggested by Hermans and Kempen (1998). However, it is the cultural processes at the meeting point or 'contact zone' between masculine and feminine cultures that may provide the locus of marginality for women in non-traditional roles.

It is at the contact zone that both men and women negotiate meaning, develop strategies and adapt behaviour aligned with gendered expectations. This phenomenon is explained in the French term 'bon-ton', meaning what is 'in tune', tasteful, and in compliance with the dictates of etiquette. Gherardi (1994) claims this is an acquired skill and an organisational fact. It is the process whereby occupations are sex typed, or labelled and perceived as being 'fit' for one sex over the other (Gutek, 1988). It is the process whereby women are perceived as tokens, which leads to enhanced visibility, polarisation, and assimilation of tokens into pre-existing stereotypes (Kanter, 1977). Studies that have investigated gender differences in career success have not asked a crucial question: what happens when the gender related aspects of self for an individual are not 'bon-ton' with gendered values espoused by the organisation?

The previous section has reflected on gender identity as an antecedent to the processes of exclusion that women may experience in organisational hierarchies. How is that exclusion experienced by women when they are cognisant of the effects of gender on their career outcomes? Feminists make numerous references to marginalisation of minority groups, such as women in non-traditional occupational fields, and the marginalisation of women from organisational hierarchies as a cause of the glass ceiling effect. Marginality is equated with processes of exclusion. However, marginality, as experienced, as a state, is not adequately theorised in the feminist literature. The following section utilises marginality theory from cultural psychology and draws on gender schema theory to produce a framework that is applicable to women's experiences of marginality in organisational hierarchies.

3.2   Conceptualising marginality as lack of fit

In the next section I develop a model of gender marginality, by combining elements of marginality and gender schema theories, that operationalise marginality as incongruence between gender identities at the individual and the organisational cultural levels. This conceptualisation may be more applicable for women in the workplace than those offered by such theories of Person-environment fit. I explore each of these in turn and then draw parallels between marginality theory and gender schema theories to conclude that the problems of women's advancement can be seen at least in part as lack of fit across differing gendered cultures. Marginality is thus defined as incongruence between individuals' perceptions of their gender related selves and their perception of the gendering within their organisations. For women in management, marginality occurs on the juncture between individual gender identity and organisational gendered culture. This is where gender conflicts (in terms of masculinities and femininities) are established and internalised.

As argued previously, notions of self are embedded in social arrangements. Individuals from dominant groups in society are likely to experience a sense of self, and gendered self, that is more congruent with the dominant and pervasive view of self in that culture. In Australia, this pervasive view comprises

autonomous, individualistic and masculine characteristics. Women, who constitute a less powerful group, be that in society in general or in non traditional work contexts, such as managerial positions, are more likely to perceive contradictions between assumptions of autonomous individualism and their social experiences (Lykes, 1985). They are also more likely to grapple with experiences of discrimination due to their group membership. Membership of an oppressed group may not be the same as membership of a minority group. Feminists and other social activists appear to be aware that society is unjust and yet believe that they can affect change (Unger 1989). However, it is unclear how these propositions apply to women in organisations if they experience incongruence without perhaps the (raised) consciousness required to make such informed attributions.

The concept of congruence was developed in the Person-environment fit literature (initially proposed by French, Rodgers, & Cobb, 1974), and refers to the fit, match, agreement, or similarity between two distinct constructs (Edwards, 1991). Person-job fit implies that the person and job operate as joint determinants of individual and organisational outcomes. Studies have looked at the effect of fit, in terms of person-employee desires, psychological needs, goals, values, interests and preferences, on outcomes such as job satisfaction, coping, adaptation, health, and performance and so on. Commensurate measures of the person and job are usually required and then a single index or algebraic combination of the two measures is formulated. (For a review and critique of congruence indices see Edwards, 1991; 1994; 1996). Value congruence has been investigated in terms of congruence between subordinates and supervisors, rather than between the individual and organisation as is being proposed here (Edwards, 1991). Sutherland, Fogarty, and Puthers (1995) found that congruence contributed to the prediction of stress and strain. However, this prediction depended on the measure of congruence used. In general the researchers found evidence supporting the relationship between various consequences of congruence (vocational leisure, skill utilization) and well being (occupational satisfaction, anxiety, burnout, self-esteem), with greater congruence being related to a greater sense of well being.

Social psychology informs us that a person's self perceptions of uniqueness and similarity are changeable (Frable, 1995). False consensus research indicates that people emphasise their similarity to others when stating their opinions but emphasise their uniqueness when describing their abilities (Marks, 1984; Campbell, 1986). Research also informs us that extreme uniqueness is aversive and typically leads the individual to establish a more acceptable mid-point. In a study by Maslach (1974), individuals made to feel very unique tried to conform, by using short unrevealing comments and looking away when talking.

Marginality theory proposes that individuals who live at the juncture of two cultures, and can lay claim to belonging to both cultures, may be considered marginal people (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1995). Theorists further suggest that marginality contributes to psychological conflict, a divided self and disjointed personality. Characteristics of the marginal person are deemed to be low self-esteem, impoverished social relationships and isolation, and negative emotional states. The common assumption of marginality theory is that living in two cultures is psychologically undesirable because managing the complexity of dual reference points generates ambiguity, identity confusion and normlessness (LaFromboise et.al., 1995).

Marginality theory has principally been applied to cross-cultural problems, both social and geographical. However, there are many parallels that may be drawn from these investigations of individuals, such as migrants 'straddled' across two cultures (Bailley, 1998), and the juncture at which women in management 'span' cross-gendered universes of meaning in the workplace (Gherardi, 1994). According to Bailley, Park's notion of marginality cuts through the complexities of differing levels of social reality by placing the individual 'at the same time [within] the local and the global existence, with relevant proposals at both levels' (p.291). Women in organisations who have reached managerial levels, while being central to their identification as successful women, may experience lack of power and marginality due to their relative positions with the male dominated structures in the upper echelons of the organisational hierarchy. Marginality theory is not incompatible with the notion that marginality, as a state,

is situational. As Bailley (1998) points out, 'almost every centre can be another centre's periphery' (p.293).

Women in management, particularly senior management, are forced to deal with predominantly masculine values in organisational cultures. Due to the relatively fewer numbers of women in management, particularly at senior levels, women may feel that they are indeed unique, especially when they are treated differently from their male colleagues. This may lead them to feel the need to reconceptualise their core self-concepts, as Frable (1995) has argued, resulting in conflicts concerning reconceptualising their gender-related self-concept. Similarly Rokeach and Rokeach (1989) have argued that the most important determinant of change to both behaviour and cognition are value discrepancies that permeate and threaten self-perceptions and self-cognitions. They conclude after a lengthy treatise:

> *Thus, in the final analysis, I have come to view the problem of*
> *attitude change and behaviour change as being ultimately linked*
> *to the problem of how changes are brought about in the self*
> *(p.297).*

The process of redefining one's self from a unique or marginal position may account for the findings of Leonie Still (1993) who interviewed Australian women managers and found that the 'lack of fit' experienced by women in a male orientated organisational climate resulted in the need to be unfeminine and adopt stereotypically male behaviour. LaFromboise et.al. (1995) suggested that differences in worldview and value conflicts may be primary sources of stress for bicultural individuals. The individual, having internalised the conflict, may attempt to find an integrated resolution. However, the difficulty in finding this resolution may result in a motivation to fuse the two cultures as a stress-reducing solution. Following this line of reasoning, the proposed effects of marginality for women may include limited career success and heightened stress for individuals marginalised within organisations (LaFromboise et.al., 1995).

This perspective is in contrast to those espoused by earlier theorists such as Park (1928) who asserted that the product of this type of bicultural interaction

benefits individuals in the long term through the acquisition of heightened independence and 'wisdom', and that this in turn is beneficial to society as a whole. Goldberg (1941) and Green (1947) alluded to the benefits of biculturalism by suggesting that marginality is only uncomfortable or disconcerting if the individual internalises the conflict between the two cultures in which they reside.

Parallels can be drawn between marginality theory (Park, 1928; Bailey 1998) and gender schema theory (Bem, 1981; Unger, 1989; Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1991; Lykes, 1985), particularly as they apply to women in management in organisations. If we assume that through socialisation and stereotyping processes women present with expressions of femininity, then we can argue that when confronted with hegemonic masculinity their experiences may mirror those of members of different cultures. Women and men interact in spheres that are traditionally sex typed, as 'men's' domains (such as organisational management), or 'women's' domains (such as the home). It is the recognition of the differing subjective values across these two spheres, masculine values of domination and control versus feminine values of co-operation and relationship, that may lead women to internalise this conflict and seek to alleviate it. To do so within this context may require one of two modes of resolution: a conscious reconceptualisation of the individual's self-identity, or securing change to gendered relations in the organisation.

Individual perceptions of marginality may be linked to what is commonly known in cultural psychology as cultural competence (LaFromboise, et.al., 1995). Theorists believe that human behaviour is not just the product of cultural structure, individual cognitions and affective processes, biology and social processes, but is in fact a result of the continuous interaction among all of these factors. Therefore, in order to be competent across cultures and feel a sense of efficacy across cultural contexts, an individual would need to:

a) possess a strong sense of personal identity;

b) have knowledge of the beliefs and values of the culture;

c) communicate clearly in the language of the given group;

d) perform socially sanctioned behaviour;

e) maintain active social relations within the cultural group; and

f) negotiate the institutional structures of that culture.

Therefore, within an Australian male dominated organisational hierarchy, cultural competence may include: 'being a good bloke'; having a few drinks at the pub after work; displaying sporting prowess or knowledge, ideally at a game like football rather than chess; being aggressive, competitive and ambitious; and knowing who to go to in order to 'get things done' (that is, negotiate the formal hierarchy).

For women in masculine organisational environments, a determinant for success may require being culturally competent in both feminine and masculine modes of behaviour. The alternation model of second-culture acquisition assumes that it is possible for an individual to know and understand two cultures (LaFromboise, et.al., 1995). The model assumes that it is possible for an individual to have a sense of belonging in two cultures without compromising his or her sense of cultural identity. The alternation model has parallels in gender schema theory which purports that individuals can be both masculine and feminine, that is, androgynous (Bem, 1974).

The alternation model further implies that individuals who can alternate their behaviour appropriately between two targeted cultures will be less anxious than a person who is assimilating (becoming absorbed into the culture that is perceived dominant or more desirable), or undergoing the process of acculturation (that process by which the individual becomes a competent participant in the majority culture, while always being identified as a member of the minority group) (LaFromboise, et.al., 1995). However, this is contrary to evidence reported in sex role studies which does not support an androgyny model for psychological well being or career success, but instead points to masculinity as being beneficial (Fagenson, 1990).

Women in management do not represent a homogenous group and therefore cultural competence may also be linked to differences within groups as well as between groups. Women may have differing self-perceptions related to identifying with the reference group 'woman', for example, and this may in turn

influence their perceptions of marginality. Therefore, the extent to which women manifest the typical 'features' of their primary reference group may also reflect on processes of second culture acquisition (Ferdman, 1995).

The concepts of alternation or acculturation are useful, however they are based on a dichotomous view of cultures at the group level. Cultures are seen as static systems, in which individuals move back and forth depending on a variety of influencing variables (Ferdman, 1995). These models assume that the source of motivation for this movement occurs at the group level rather than the individual level. This view fails to incorporate the influence of individual motivation and the structure of opportunity that particularly shapes career choices for women, as discussed in Chapter 2. Ferdman (1995) suggests that acculturation and alternation models would benefit from incorporating concepts that represent individual variation in the way the 'juncture' or contact zone between cultures is handled, as well as the way individuals construct notions and perceptions of cultures.

Gender schema theory may be useful in advancing models of cultural competence for women in management. The importance given to gender issues for formulating and reformulating 'self' may be related to the importance assigned to a given group. Individuals may view themselves as members of many different groups at once, but may also vary the weight they assign each group according to the gender prescriptions therein. For women in management, group memberships may span across the multiple roles, including within their own department, within the organisation at large, within their homes, and within the wider community in which they live. However, the importance of affiliation to the group 'women' may also vary in importance across these situations. For example it may be less important in work situations where the 'manager' role denotes a more masculine prescription for behaviour. However, the affiliation with the group 'women' may also be made salient for women who fulfil both 'manager' and 'mother' roles, particularly if both are central to concepts of self. It follows that this conceptualisation of multiple group identities could also incorporate the connections and interrelations among the various components (Ferdman, 1995).

It is unclear how these models may apply to cultural competence in organisational cultures for women, nor what effect each may have on the subsequent effects of marginality such as stress or job satisfaction. However, the psychological resources an individual has available may mediate the effects of marginality, and this may differ for women and men.

Researchers have found evidence of characteristics consistent with marginality as defined here leading to discrimination in qualitative aspects of their analyses. In a study utilising in-depth interviews and a national survey, Davidson and Cooper (1983) proposed that discrimination in a 'male organisational climate' acted to limit ambition for women, creating job dissatisfaction with work and mobility problems. In another study involving in depth interviews, Sheppard (1992) found isolation and discrimination to be recurring themes in women's descriptions.

3.3   Chapter summary and conclusion

This chapter conceptualised gender marginality as a determinant in career advancement for women in hierarchical organisations. Marginality was defined as the result of an internalised conflict due to incongruence between an individual's own gender identity and that of the organisational culture.

Marginality conceptualised in this way focuses on the problem of women's limited career success as largely due to a lack of fit across differing cultures: that is, gendered cultures. There are several questions of interest. How do women actually cope with marginality at the juncture of these cultures? What are the effects of marginality and are these direct effects? Do concepts of cultural competence and acculturation help to ameliorate marginality, or are psychological resources and social support structures of greater importance?

CHAPTER 4

POWER, GENDER AND MEDIATORS OF CAREER SUCCESS

4   Overview

Following from the discussion developed so far, individual psychological resources and social support structures at the individual's disposal should mediate the gender marginality for women in organisations. I will show through a critical review of the literature that variables considered as important mediators of marginality are: self-efficacy and self esteem; locus of control; general emotionality and affectivity; informal network position; and mentoring experiences. Preceding this however, I shall critically review the literature on gender and power. Power can be viewed as both an outcome and determinant of the effects of marginality, and these effects are often difficult to unravel.

4.1   Influence and position power as determinants and mediators of career success

The bases are loaded with men (Sherif, 1982, p.390)

The next section reviews the literature on power and influence with a view to explaining gender differences in power that have applicability to the work context. In the literature, power is conceptualised in individual, structural and dialogical terms. This section concludes by arguing that power within a dialogical relation best explains the experience of marginality for women, and can be operationalised by individuals' relations to others within a social influence network. Network theory provides an opportunity for operationalising forms of power while transcending conventional dualisms in definitions of power within or outside the individual. This then leads to investigations of factors that influence the dialogical relation, such as mentoring.

It is difficult to tease apart the effects of gender and status on career success for women. This is because forms of power may be viewed as both determinants

and outcomes of marginality in organisations. According to Pfeffer (1992), individuals are prone to fundamental attribution error. Not only is power attributed on the basis of personal characteristics, but often the characteristics we believe to be sources of power are almost as plausibly the consequences of power instead (traits such as being articulate, socially adept, competent, self-confident). For example, individuals are likely to be more articulate and socially competent when they are in positions of power. Kanter (1977) maintains that gender traits and other characteristics that are often cited as causes of women's subordinate status are better understood as resulting from subordinate positions in organisations. This is because organisational structures have been constructed in ways that exacerbate or exploit gender differences. Therefore, there are real consequences for women who have limited experiences in more powerful positions.

Individuals in positions of power or influence have greater opportunities (for example, mastery experiences through performance accomplishments) to build a repertoire of psychological resources in their jobs (Nelson, Quick, Hitt, & Moesel, 1990). Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1990) argued that whether an individual's behaviour reflects femininity and masculinity (M-F) may depend more on their position in the social hierarchy than on gender. Therefore, M-F traits may be responses to situations that reflect social position and access to resources. To understand the reasons why women have not, in the main, broken into upper echelons of power hierarchies, it is important to examine gendered dimensions of the mechanisms through which power is acquired, sustained and employed in organisations. The next sections review theories of power and how they apply to gendered culture in organisations. Finally power is unravelled from gender effects by defining it as a relational property of network constellations in hierarchical organisations.

4.2   Theories on forms of power

Theorists who have attempted to define, operationalise and highlight instances of power are mainly found in two camps; the individualists and the structuralists (Ragins, 1995). Individuals emphasise personality differences

between men and women as explanations of differences in power and sex. Power is viewed as an individual's ability (real or perceived) to influence others, or have power 'over' others. Individualists equate forms of power with 'who you are'. Conversely, structuralists emphasise the structural / interpersonal barriers that explain the under representation of women in positions of power in organisations. They equate forms of power with 'what you have' in relation to others. They view forms of power as properties of larger social systems, whether that is within societies, institutions, and organisations or between individuals. Power is viewed as: a) part of the dynamic and reciprocal interaction in interpersonal relationships; b) the property of the structure or organisation that involves control over persons, information and resources; or c) a socio-political relation of society that influences organisational, interpersonal and individual levels of activity (Jenkins, 2000).

4.2.1   Power as an individual attribute

Early power theorists (Winter, 1973; McClelland, 1975; Stewart, 1982) perceived power as a motivational concept 'within' the individual, linked to achievement and affiliation. The 'power motive' is the ability or capacity of an individual to produce (consciously or unconsciously) intended effects on the behaviour and emotions of another person. This defines power devoid of a context where interpersonal interactions are occurring. At an individual level, power motivation and associated feelings and behaviours can occur without interaction with another person, because they can occur solely with exertion on inanimate, physical objects in the environment. However, this is problematic because we can observe that power within interpersonal interactions is relative, and situational. A 'dominant' partner may be dominant in only some situations and not others (Jenkins, 2000).

More recently motivation theorists have challenged notions of inherent sex difference in power motive. According to Winter and Barenbaum (1985) 'power, responsibility and gender are wrapped in a rich mythology' (p. 335). Myths include that men are more interested in acquiring power than women, or that men and women differ in their styles of seeking and exercising power. According to

Jenkins (2000), this is more a consequence of the power literature deriving its initial measurement of power related constructs from men and male populations.

> *Assumptions related to male cultural status, male-dominated institutional roles, and stereotypically male behaviour in relationships pervade these constructs, infusing popular conceptions of 'power' with a gender-specific flavour distasteful to many women (Jenkins, 2000, p. 477).*

In relation to achievement motivations, such as motivation towards being visible to others, getting positions of formal social power and pursuing power-related careers, research (Stewart & Chester, 1982; Brief and Oliver, 1976; Davidson & Cooper, 1983) has found that women and men were more similar than different in their actions. However, it is likely that individuals at different levels of hierarchies within organisations experience power differently (McClelland, 1975). This is particularly important for women because they often occupy positions lower in structural power (Jenkins, 2000).

There are important limitations in the research on achievement motivation (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). Often research has not adequately controlled for job activity and rank when investigating sex differences. It may be misleading to compare women in non-managerial positions with men in managerial positions. Additionally, research has often only investigated differences between men and women while ignoring gender identity as a determining influence in motivation and behaviour, particularly career related choices and behaviour. Powerful individuals influence the values, assumptions and ideologies of the organisation's culture, and create a self-fulfilling prophecy of behavioural expectation. Power in the organisation as a socially constructed phenomenon is defined by the powerful. Power becomes a gendered concept because definitions of power are based on androcentric perspectives (Adler & Izraeli, 1994). Societal values and beliefs regarding power relationships are internalised by the organisation. Organisational culture supports and shapes the power holders of the organisation. Therefore, power holders use an ethnocentric perspective to define and develop criteria for successful performance.

Although men and women may not differ on their motivation towards power or achievement, there is evidence to suggest that women and men differ on their beliefs, values and attitudes towards power. Women may find some forms of power distasteful, as the notion of power 'over' is equated with masculine modes of behaviour such as dominance, competition and exploitation (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989; Jenkins, 2000). Griscom (1992) argues that power-for reflects a more feminine perspective. Miller (1976) has argued that women's concern for others, and their more communal orientations, may position them to locate power within relationship, and be more inclined to distribute benefits of power, rather than being motivated to seek more power (that is, in terms of financial wealth and hierarchical position) than men. Therefore, women may seek vicarious achievement through others, and may support other's advancement with, or rather than, their own (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989).

4.2.2 Power as a structural attribute

Individualist views of power (the power motive, feeling powerful and individual beliefs about power) describe power from the standpoint of the powerful, and obscure the dynamic and relational nature of power in social roles and structures (Jenkins, 2000). Yet structural determinants of power are an important consideration in producing behavioural outcomes.

French and Raven (1959) perceived power as influence based on external factors. Social power was defined as potential influence of an individual: measured by their maximum potential to influence others based on several external factors such as legitimacy and expertise. Forms of power manifest as relations, between individuals or between structural units for instance, rather than as a characteristic 'possessed' by a person. Based on social exchange theory, dependence is what makes exchange an integral part of a social relationship (Bacharach & Edwards, 1980). Power is a function of dependence. That is, the power of a person is a function of the other person's dependence on that person. Without dependence on others there would be no need for exchange because individuals would be able to act in isolation. The amount of dependence is based

on the value placed on the relationship outcome or outcomes, and the availability of alternative outcomes (Bacharach & Edwards, 1980).

Structuralist contingency theorists posit that power is a function of dependence on desired contingencies, such as workflow centrality (how central an individual is in the overall processes involved in achieving day to day goals), and control of resources and routinisation (degree of coping with, and prevention of, uncertainty) (Fombrun, 1983; Hickson, Hinnings, Lee, Schneck, & Pennings, 1971; Hinnings, Hickson, Pennings, & Schneck, 1974). Bacharach and Edwards (1980) and Smith and Grenier (1982) also view structural determinants of power as important, and describe power in terms of three distinct sources: capacity to sanction; control of significant sources of uncertainty; and strategic position in a web of exchange relationships (for example, influence network). Strategic Contingencies theorists focus on structural sources of power and are not concerned with psychological attributes of members as explanations of power differences.

Position power, or organisational rank, is an obvious structural indicator of power (Fombrun, 1983). However, women tend to occupy positions lower in organisational rank than men, and also enter organisations at lower levels (Morrison & Von Glinow. 1990). According to Tharenou (1997a), favourable starting opportunities lead to managerial advancement; therefore women's initially lower level placements result in limited career success. In a review of the literature she found evidence to suggest that career advancement was determined in part by where in the hierarchy women start, and how long they stay there.

Due to the greater complexity in the development of women's vocational identity (discussed in Chapter 1), the emphasis on success in multiple roles may influence the importance placed on early career decisions. This may have adverse effects on the attainment of position power for women. White et.al. (1992) asserted that the centrality of career had important implications for subsequent career success. For example, of the women who had been opposed to planning their careers (stressing the importance of being flexible and remaining open to opportunities), over 50 percent suggested that this lack of planning had caused

them to make a 'slow start', consequently leading them to spend too long a time in one position rather than to move up through the organisational hierarchy.

Blau and Alba (1982) state that power is a function of relations both among people and organisational sub-units. The job dependency model of power, first defined by Emerson (1962), states that dependency and power share an inverse relationship. Therefore, individuals who are in a position where other individuals rely on them are considered powerful. This definition can be applied to relative job dependency level, where jobs that predicate a reliance on other individuals for information and resources can be considered to be less powerful than jobs that are inherently more autonomous in relation to organisational resources (Mainiero, 1986). The power of a department or sub-unit may be conferred by the number of other sub-units affected by the issues and workflow pertinent to the department, or the weight to which a given subunit affects the decision making process within the organisation (Hicksen et. al., 1971).

Therefore, the relational power of the organisational unit within which an individual is placed will have immense influence on career success and development opportunities (Pfeffer, 1992; Jenkins, 2000). A low ranking position within a powerful department may be more influential than a high-ranking position within a department with little power. Women tend to be segregated in departments or subunits that have less position power, such as functional and support units (Hicksen et. al., 1971; Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). This may prevent them from gaining access to positions of power above glass ceilings. Similarly the level of power within the job individuals occupy may also be a determinant of the use of influence strategy. In a field study by Mainiero (1986), findings suggested that individuals in highly dependent or powerless jobs were more likely to use acquiescent influence strategies than individuals in powerful jobs. Women in highly dependent jobs were found to be more likely to acquiesce than men.

According to Expectations State Theory (Eagly, 1983) people have different expectations about the status of women that are generalised across behaviours and situations. The analysis of power has implications for gender issues because men

and women are distributed into social roles differently, and therefore are not equal in their ability to acquire contingencies. Eagly (1983) explains that individuals who are linked to a set of mutual role obligations are very often unequal in power. The social norms associated with hierarchical roles confer legitimacy on these inequalities of power and status. For example, the early conceptual literature on power cites myths that women do not need power or should not have power (Miller, 1991). When legitimacy is established, the individual higher in the hierarchy is perceived to have the right to exert influence and expect that influence to have an effect on those lower in the hierarchy. Men tend to occupy higher status roles, and women tend to occupy lower status roles in society. However, even when women are higher in status, processes of conferring legitimacy may be more complex due to social stereotyping and sex role attributions that do not associate power with women.

As a result people perceive women as more easily influenced by men (Sagrestano, 1992a; Sagrestano, 1992b; see Eagly, 1983, for review). Eagly and Wood (1982) found that the perceived likelihood of compliance was increased by the presence of a male rather than a female communicator. The researchers claimed that participants made judgments based on an implicit theory of how behavioural compliance manifests in the workplace. Both men and women share this implicit theory. According to this theory, power to induce compliance is related to status, and women will comply more than men because they are believed to have lower status than men. In a study by Eagly (1983), formal status inequalities were found to be a major determinant of compliance and identified sex differences.

Researchers of power have found that women and men differ in the strategies they use to influence others. Direct, bilateral strategies are used more by men, and indirect and unilateral strategies are used more by women (Falbo & Peplau, 1980). Reward, coercion, legitimate information, and expert power are more associated with men, while helplessness, false information, nagging and sexuality are more likely to be associated with women (Falbo, Hazen, & Limmon, 1982). Men frequently expect compliance with their influence attempts and are therefore able to use direct bilateral influence attempts. Women use indirect,

unilateral strategies that do not require cooperation from others because they are less likely to expect compliance.

People with power choose strategies typically associated with men, and those without power use strategies typically associated with women (Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980; Sagrestano, 1992b). Sagestrano (1992b) found that women and men did not differ in their reports of using feminine strategies, but that women tended to avoid masculine strategies. Therefore, men feel freer to use a wider range of strategies to influence others. Conversely, there are detrimental effects for women who employ strategies that deviate from gender role stereotypes. In addition, evidence suggests that women were evaluated more favourably when they employed weaker means of upward influence strategies (Kipnis et. al., 1980; Tepper et. al. 1993; Falbo, et.al., 1982). Ragins & Sundstrom (1990) found that the use of power bases typical of the opposite sex resulted in negative interpersonal consequences for men and women. Women using expertise and men using helplessness were liked less, perceived as less competent, and seen as less qualified.

A major limitation of influence studies is that they have been conducted in artificial lab settings (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). According to Nieva and Gutek (1980), women receive negative evaluations when individuals rely on inference. Therefore, this will have an effect on the outcomes of studies that rely on participants' inferred judgements. They found this gender bias was less prevalent in field studies where participants' evaluations were based on actual performance of, for example, women's management skills.

Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky (1992), in a meta-analysis of studies in gender and leadership, found that women in management positions were devalued relative to their male peers, when leadership was carried out in a 'masculine' style. This suggests that even when women behave in the same way as their male colleagues, they may be penalised for using majority forms of power. And yet, these evaluations may not be related to effectiveness in organisations. There is little evidence that certain strategies or forms of power are more effective than others. However, because power bases associated with men are perceived to be

more effective for acquiring power in managerial roles, women's advancement may be limited whether they use power strategies congruent with gender stereotypes or not. Even when women progress within their organisational hierarchy in terms of position power, they may still be limited in their use of majority forms of power.

Ragins (1995) contends that structure and inter-group power relationships reflect the values and characteristics of the dominant power group of white, able-bodied, heterosexual males. Therefore, the limited range of power strategies available to women may significantly impact their accessibility to dominant power groups on one hand, and on the other hand, may perpetuate disempowering inter-group dynamics, and may contribute to women's marginal position in the upper echelons of management hierarchies.

Sexist behaviour is most likely to occur where power is supported by instrumental and social cliques (Rosenberg et.al., 1993). Dominant members (in this case, men as defined by dominant status) are punished if they support a member of the sub-dominant group (women). The sub-dominant group is kept in place by being labelled sub-standard and by being ascribed to sex appropriate sex roles (Marshall, 1984). According to Fiske (1995), attention follows power: people pay attention to individuals who control their outcomes and therefore attention is directed up the hierarchy. Stereotyping is more likely when people are distracted or when their cognitive capacity is limited. 'The powerless are stereotyped because no one needs to, can, or wants to be detailed and accurate about them' (Fiske, 1995, p. 445).

However, in the case of women attempting to break into the upper echelons of the organisational power hierarchy, power dynamics may serve a more deliberate purpose. Women become threatening to men as they near senior management because they are perceived as wanting to change the dominant climate, whether or not this is so. While female secretaries fit into the hierarchy, managerial women, by their very presence, expose the gendered subculture to commentary and critique. Research involving in-depth interviews of 24 women found that those who made it into the upper echelons attributed their success to

their male bosses who negated common misconceptions about women's capacity for power, and to their degree of comfort with the exercise and pursuit of power (Still, 1993).

Women are marginalised because they are perceived to be unfamiliar with the organisational protocol, and therefore may feel like 'foreigners' to the dominant group (Ragins, 1995). This is why women are often advised to 'play the game' to advance in organisations. However, consequences for women who do 'play the game' may be different from those of their male counterparts. In addition, this strategy places the burden on the individual and does not recognise the pervasiveness of gendered processes inherent in organisational structures, processes and procedures. It also counters the promotion of diversity within cultures by avoiding an examination of the gendering of these underlying power relations.

4.3   Section summary

The perspectives reviewed so far emphasise individual behaviours and structural or cultural domains as providing differences in power for men and women. In the individual domain, power is defined as a motivational drive that influences behaviour and is a function of situational factors. In the structural and cultural domains, power is defined as a relation inherent in social exchanges, and a function of dependency based on the level of control over contingencies. Ragins (1995) proposes that factors within these domains operate interdependently, in that a change in one domain affects other levels. For example, attitudinal and behavioural changes affect culture, while culture simultaneously affects attitudes and behaviours. It follows then that women in non-traditional roles may have benefited from changing attitudes towards women in general. However, attitudes towards women in management are influenced by organisational cultures that perpetuate stereotypes of women in general. Therefore, while there may be greater opportunities for women to access positions within the management hierarchy, the cultural and social expectations placed on women operate to simultaneously limit women's opportunities. These forces operate in opposition, contributing to

marginality for women within organisations, limiting career opportunities and success.

4.4   Power within a dialogical relation

According to Griscom (1992) the theories of power reviewed previously reflect dualistic values, where the individual is split from the social context. This split occurs when the individual is discussed and context ignored, or when the individual and society are treated as separate phenomena, interacting with each other but not integrally part of each other. This view is akin to self-in-relation theories discussed in Chapter 2. Griscom (1992) argues that interactionist models of power (which look at context and person) are still dualistic formulations:

> *One can discuss person and society as separated phenomena, interacting with each other but not integrally involved. Interactionist models look at different levels of analysis - individual, interpersonal and societal, and focus on the linkages between levels. However, the metaphor of linkage connotes discrete entities that are to be connected. This may remain dualistic as it continues to split persons from social structures (Griscom, 1992, p. 390).*

Griscom says rather, that gender, race, class and sexuality function as large structural patterns of unequal power relations.

For Jean Baker Miller (1976), power is defined as the capacity to make full development possible: a fusion between instrumentality and connectedness. According to Griscom, (1992) these views transcend conventional dualisms of dependence and independence to a notion of interdependence. Brinton Lykes' (1985) view of social individuality reflects a dialectical understanding of the individual and the social, grounded in the experience of social relations inherently characterised by inequality of power. This perspective brings social structures into the equation and allows for the contradiction between mutuality and inequality. This is evidenced between women themselves at different levels of the organisational hierarchy, where women in managerial positions deliberately

distance themselves from other women (sometimes referred to as Queen Bee Syndrome).

Therefore, social power is more than a relation: it is a relational process embodied in and between persons and groups of persons, developing and changing over time. Griscom (1992) offers recommendations for developing a theory of power that defines power in relational terms. First, power should be defined as more than coercion and force. The brief review of the literature here makes clear the need to define multiple meanings of power in what Griscom refers to as 'a multiplicity of power' (p. 405), in terms of the microstructural and the macrostructural simultaneously:

> *The personal is political; in little nonverbal micro interactions between women and men, whole sociocultural structures of dominance are imposed and reinforced (p.406).*

Second, in order to be truly relational, power needs to be defined as a dynamic process that occurs over time.

In order to operationalise power in non-dualistic terms, while reflecting on the nature of power in terms of interrelations between individuals, power in this research is perceived in terms of influence within social relations. Structural sources of power reflect properties of the social system rather than individual attributes. However, power is manifested through behavioural actions. Therefore, the study of power requires the study of behaviour. It follows then that power is simultaneously conceived within micro and macro processes. The organisational structure provides the context (macro) within which individuals operate to acquire and exercise power (micro). Two contexts in which power may be presented are in the dimensions of authority and influence. This study will focus on influence as a form of power in an attempt to avoid dualistic formulations that usually accompany conceptualisations of power as authority.

Authority usually calls for subordinates to acquiesce without question. In contrast, influence implies subordinates do not suspend their critical judgement or willingness to act on the basis of their inclinations (moral or rational). Influence consists of efforts to affect organisational decisions indirectly, while authority

makes final decisions. Influence may be multi-directional whereas authority usually flows downward. Influence taps into forms of power that operate at multiple levels. It is the dynamic, tactical aspect of power relationships which can best be investigated in organisations through interpersonal relationships within informal networks (Bacharach & Edwards, 1980).

Network theory provides a system for operationalising forms of power while transcending conventional dualisms of defining power within or outside the individual. A study of network constellations is a study of inter-relationships and therefore more closely resembles Griscom's notion of relational power. The following section provides a review of the research on women and networking within organisations as a way of illuminating how power mediates, and determines, marginality for women in managerial roles.

4.5 Informal networks as mediators of the effects of marginality

Informal networks have long been a focus of attention for many feminist researchers (Kanter, 1977; Moore, 1990; and Dreher and Ash, 1990) as a determinant of women's career success. They have suggested that it is the differing patterns of inter-relationships displayed by women and men that contribute to the differences in securing positions of power in the upper echelons of management in organisations (Stackman & Pinder, 1999). In a study that drew on national surveys from 1971 to 1981 in the USA, West Germany and Australia, Moore (1988) found that women who had reached high status positions in corporations were isolated in comparison to their male counterparts. They were less integrated in informal discussion networks and outside the influential 'central' circle (dominant coalition). Due to the importance of informal networks in advancing career success, Moore inferred such isolation to be detrimental to women's performance.

In Still's (1993) survey of problems encountered by managerial women in their organisations, exclusion from the 'old boy's network' was cited most frequently as a barrier to success and promotion. In factors identified as aiding promotion, male managers were more likely to report personal skills (such as communication, getting along with others) as being important, while female

managers emphasised networks. Significantly, the most cited hindrance to promotion was organisational attitudes, described in organisational and individual terms, such as discriminatory practices, and sexism caused by 'being a woman in a man's world'.

A basic tenet of network theory states that relative power can be inferred by the pattern of social relations (Bacharach & Edwards, 1980). An analysis of the power relations amongst conscious actors or groups of actors, where interaction is the key ingredient, may help us understand organisational politics, and the gender biases inherent in these relations.

> *The theoretical value of concentrating on the influence structure as opposed to the authority structure [that is, the formal organisational hierarchy], is that it offers a more complex, political picture of the organisational system (Bacharach & Edwards, 1980, p. 205).*

A network is a set of personal linkages among a defined set of people and characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved (Tichy, Tushman, & Fombrun, 1979). Therefore, pertinent questions become, 'who' are the key actors, and 'where' are the key actors positioned?

Network analyses highlight factors associated with power, such as centrality and proximity, and have been used extensively in studies of power (Burkhardt & Brass, 1990). I propose that the network structure within an organisation can highlight marginality by those positioned at: a) a greater distance from the central clusters in a network (centrality), or b) a greater distance from influential people within the organisation (proximity). An individual's position within the network can identify the roles people play in the network, such as, liaison, gatekeeper, bridge to another group, or isolate / marginal (few ties to the rest of the group). Network position can also illuminate the ways in which organisational processes control information and knowledge as a source of power (Fulk & Boyd, 1991). Findings by Krackhardt (1990) showed that an individual's centrality in the friendship network within the workplace was significantly related to their level of power and salary, after controlling for the effects of position within the

organisational hierarchy. In support of the importance of centrality as a determinant of power, Brass and Burkhardt (1993) found that centrality and position power, together with their power behaviours, related independently and significantly to perceptions of an individual's power within the organisation.

Individuals perceived as having important (or powerful and influential) friends within their expressive networks may gain important advantages. Individual cognitions of another individual's network structure may be more important than the actual structure itself. Findings from a study by Kilduff and Krackhardt (1994) showed that being perceived to have a prominent friend in an organisation boosted an individual's reputation as a good performer in relation to their job role performance, but that actually having such a friend had no significant effect on perceptions.

Findings suggest that women are less able to use networks as instrumental resources while men benefit more from the diverse and extensive networks they use in finding jobs and advancing their careers (see Miller, 1976; Gilligan, 1982; Chodorow 1978, Moore, 1988; Baker, 1994). Building peer networks is critical for both career and organisation success. It encourages serendipitous events to occur where individuals may maximise opportunities through chance encounters, and therefore maximise potential opportunities for career success (Baker, 1994). This is important for both males and females, but paramount for women in management in particular.

However, studies that have concluded that women lack skills required to penetrate and use peer networks may have missed an important factor. Sex differences appear to be more salient within men's informal networks. In a study of informal social networks, Brass (1985) found that there were in fact two networks operating within the organisation he studied, one whose reference group was women, and one whose reference group was men. He found that women were more central than men to the organisational network as a whole but less central to men's networks. They had less contact with the dominant coalition, which comprised men, and were perceived as being less influential. An interesting

finding was that women who worked in integrated workgroups (men and women) had more access to the dominant coalition (and therefore more influence).

Centrality within both network types may enhance career development, in that relationships between individuals in the workplace may be simultaneously instrumental and expressive. Two types of networks are identified in the literature: instrumental and expressive networks (Ibarra & Andrews, 1993; Ibarra, 1993; Krackhardt, 1992). Instrumental networks comprise work colleagues who assist and are essential for the individual to perform job-related tasks, whereas expressive networks comprise ties with friends. Expressive relationships are characterised by higher levels of trust than relationships that are exclusively instrumental (Krackhardt, 1992).

The reasons for women's inability to use networks as instrumental resources are puzzling. Both intuitively, and from the findings on expressive and kin networks, one would conclude that women should be advantaged by their dispositions toward interpersonal relationships. Researchers who have studied general personal networks of men and women in the field have argued that women are more disposed to maintaining more expressive ties to kin, and receive more emotional support than masculine individuals (Miller, 1976; Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Stackman & Pinder, 1999; Burda, Vaux, & Schill, 1984; Ashton & Frueher, 1993).

However, the contrary is apparent when applying similar field studies to the workplace. Stackman and Pinder (1999) suggest that it is the very disposition towards establishing strong expressive ties that may impede women's penetrability in workplace networks. They suggest that because women tend to develop more intense expressive ties than men, this affects network size, with women being more likely to have a lesser number of actual ties than men. They also suggested that because men tend to develop network ties on the basis of activities (such as sports), their networks will be larger and more divergent in nature, possibly including bosses as well as subordinates. Stackman and Pinder (1999) found that women's expressive ties included more women than men, and

they had fewer ties in comparison to men. Women's expressive ties also reflected lower density and less frequency of contact among network ties.

Structural factors within organisations are an important determinant of position, size and centrality of networks. These factors need to be considered when investigating causes for dissimilar social structural locations in instrumental networks for women and men (Ibarra & Andrews, 1993). Due to the disproportionate number of men as compared to women in positions of power and influence in organisations, it would be likely that men's expressive work networks would be more diverse in relation to hierarchical rank and range. This could be further compounded by the tendency for both sexes to prefer same sex expressive ties, where women's networks predominantly feature women, and men's networks predominantly feature men (Stackman & Pinder, 1999). In Stackman and Pinder's study, men comprised more than 50 percent of both men's and women's instrumental networks, and the proportion of homophilous ties among men was significantly higher than those among women.

As long as men preserve the symbols, values and practices of masculine culture in senior positions in organisations, one can expect detrimental effects for women in that hierarchy. Organisational structures perpetuate the marginalisation of women, by excluding them from valuable information and discussions that arise in influential social networks, which are in themselves constructed to be impenetrable to women. The studies reviewed in this section highlight the need to view work place influence networks as complex and divergent constellations of inter-relations. However, the perspective that cannot be substantiated in this research is that women lack networking skills. In addition, most of the research that investigates networks and use of networks does not include separate analyses for males and females. Little research has been conducted on relationships between gender, networks and power. It is suggested that research that consolidates understandings of gender difference on social networks within organisations is worthy of further consideration.

4.6   Mentoring as a mediator of the effects of marginality

Marginality experienced by women managers may be further heightened by a lack of accessible mentors willing to initiate them into influential social networks in the workplace (Ragins & Cotton, 1991; Still, 1993). A mentor is a high ranking influential member of the organisation who has advanced experience and knowledge and who is committed to providing upward mobility and support to a particular junior member's career (Ragins & Cotton, 1991). Kram (1983) stated that mentoring fits into a model of psychological development, where the primary task of early adulthood is initiation, and middle adulthood is reappraisal. Mentoring is therefore beneficial for both parties. Still (1993) reported that career women's needs in mentoring comprised two functions: a career function (sponsoring, coaching, providing visibility and advice), and a psychosocial function (being a role model, friend, counsellor, emotional support, source of acceptance).

There is strong evidence to suggest that mentoring is related to career success: individuals with mentors receive more promotions; advance at a faster rate; and report more career satisfaction (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Fagenson, 1989). Stewart and Gudykunst (1982) investigated the differential factors influencing the hierarchical level and number of promotions of males and females within an organisation. They found that the best predictors of hierarchical level for women were the number of meetings with supervisors, and a friend's assistance. Therefore, mentoring is an important determinant of career success and may lesson the effects of marginality by providing coaching and particularly insights into the development of political skills and strategies (Ragins, 1995).

4.6.1   The suitable protégé

There are a number of factors that may lead mentors to 'select' particular protégés over others. Being selected as a protégé is a conscious process, which may be facilitated through organisational policies. However, ultimately, it is a decision made by the mentor, the individual with the balance of power in the mentor-mentee relationship. Factors such as visibility and competence may be

determinants of whether an individual will be deemed a 'suitable candidate' by a potential mentor (Henning & Jardim, 1977).

Ragins and Cotton (1991) conducted a factor analytical study to identify the barriers to mentoring. Results indicated that women perceived the presence of more barriers than did men. However, men and women did not differ on taking an assertive role in initiating relationships or in their views about who is responsible for making the first move. Kram (1983), in a review of phases of mentor relationships, concluded that in most cases there was a balance of initiation on both sides; that is, from the mentor and potential protégé. However, Ragins and Cotton (1993) found that the women they studied across three organisations anticipated more drawbacks to becoming a mentor and were less likely to be mentors themselves. Drawbacks included positioning themselves alongside their protégé's failures, lack of time, and feeling unqualified for the role. Given that the protégé's performance reflects directly on the mentor's competence, the risk of negative exposure is greater for women mentors who are more likely to also be underrepresented (and therefore more visible) in the managerial ranks of their organisations (Ragins & Cotton, 1993; Ragins, 1995).

Therefore, due to the shortage of potential female mentors, women may find it more difficult to initiate mentoring relationships. Cross sex relationships may be more difficult to initiate than same sex relationships. Kram (1983) and Baker (1994) suggested that this is due to the 'similarity principle', where people tend to prefer and associate with others who are appraised as similar to themselves. Similarity may be based on characteristics such as social class, ethnicity, religion, age, as well as gender and sex. This suggests that when selecting a suitable candidate to mentor, senior executives may 'select' on the basis of similarity, and therefore more men will be mentored than women, and of the men who are selected, perhaps more 'masculine' men will be selected. In this way, the psychological profile of the senior management team is self-perpetuated.

The dynamic created by sexuality in the workplace may also hinder opportunities for cross sex mentor relationships. Ragins and Cotton (1991) found that women were more likely to report that male mentors were unwilling to

mentor them, and that co-workers would disapprove of the relationship. Women initiating cross sex mentor relationships may be unsuccessful due to the perceived potential threat of sexual involvement, or unfounded rumours underpinned by a prevalent ethos of affairs between powerful men and subordinate women (Sinclair, 1998). This may be compounded by the high visibility women in managerial roles attract due to their token status (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). Davidson and Cooper (1993) found that women managers had additional burdens in negotiating the use of their sexuality in office politics and career success. Theorists on power have connected organisational power with men's sexuality, and contend that male sexual imagery pervades organisational perspectives, processes and structures in terms of language, metaphors and work practices (Ragin, 1995). For women there may be less access to many potential settings for initiating such relationships (such as networks), or fewer opportunities for mobility (for example being involved in lead projects) (Ragins & Cotton, 1991).

4.7   Section summary

The review presented in this section highlighted the issues surrounding the conflation of power and gender. This conflation can occur across individual and structural domains, where individuals are ascribed characteristics on the basis of perceived group membership, and where individuals in turn accommodate these ascriptions in changing gender self-schemas. Network theory transcends dualistic notions of individuals 'interacting' with their environment. A corollary of network theory is that influence networks are both constructed by, and help shape, individual cognitions and behaviour. Therefore, social support infrastructure, such as mentoring experience, can be an important lever to achieving status and power within an organisation. These propositions are made against a backdrop that recognises the gender polarisation processes inherent in mechanisms that create and perpetuate power and influence in organisational cultures. An investigation of mentoring relationships taken together with network theory can highlight barriers for women in career advancement. It can also unearth the mechanisms that lead to power acquisition, and the gendered processes inherent within these mechanisms.

CHAPTER 5

EFFECTS OF MARGINALITY

5   Overview

In order to understand the extent to which marginality impacts on individual well being and career success, the following section provides a causal model of stress that is not based on traditional views of load versus work, but is instead based on incongruency. I propose that because the organisational and individual factors that impact on career success for women in management are inextricably interrelated, the effects of marginality will manifest through stress symptoms in the individual. Models of stress are reviewed and critiqued in order to understand the antecedents of stress and its symptomatology.

5.1   Models of stress

Lack of career progress for some women may be contributing to significant increases in stress experienced by women in management. Research by Comcare (Commonwealth Government's workers' compensation and occupational health and safety agency) in incidences of occupational stress, indicated that women were over-represented as a population of those lodging claims for occupational stress (Bull, 1996). Workplace stress is a response to workplace and management processes, exacerbated in an environment of considerable change (Bull, 1996). Stress is both damaging to the effectiveness and efficiency of organisations, and has significant individual consequences that affect job satisfaction, absenteeism, anxiety and depression (Long, Kahn, & Schutz, 1992).

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) defined psychological stress as a relationship between the person and their environment that is appraised by the individual as exceeding their resources and endangering the person's well being. Therefore, stress outcomes are not merely attributable to an imbalance between demand (known as load), and an individual's capacity to respond, but more so a factor of perceived load versus perceived capability. This model of stress is outlined in Figure 3. Perceived demand also includes the anticipation of adverse

consequences arising from failure to cope with demand. However, perceptions of load may differ for women in management roles compared to males as they are subjected to pressures to work harder and prove themselves against their male peers (Davies-Netzley, 1998). Davidson and Cooper (1983) found that the women
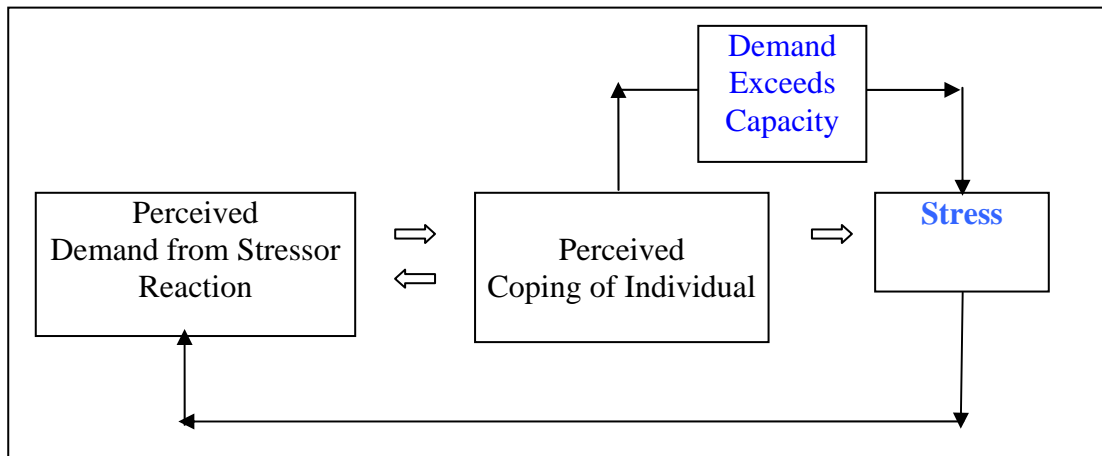
managers in their study frequently cited symptoms of stress, such as anxiety, fatigue and sleep disturbances.

Figure 3

Relationship between perceived demand and individual coping resources

Further highlighting the inadequacy of the traditional stress model, Cotton (1996) argued that the reporting of stress is an outcome of a more interactive and dynamic system of variables that cannot be reduced to the linear model outlined in Figure 3. Mitchell (1996) points out that the word 'stress' is a term appropriated from engineering, which denotes the effects of strain or force on an object. He questions the effectiveness of the linear model of stress outcomes by suggesting a direct relationship between the size of 'load' and subsequent psychological dysfunction (the stress reaction).

Factors that need to be considered in a model of stress include personality style, occurrence of events, perceived support, concurrent personal pressures and other organisational factors (Cotton, 1996). Folkman and Lazarus (1998) also suggested that antecedent conditions such as motivation (for example values, commitment, goals) and beliefs about self are important factors. More recently

research on stress has incorporated these variables in multidimensional designs (see Hart, Wearing, & Griffin, 1996; Code & Langan-Fox, 2001).

The stress literature, while emphasising individual personality and organisational characteristics as being determinants of stress, relate these only to characteristics that are associated with 'work'. Mitchell (1996) argued that employment is more than 'work', and therefore the individual's deeper levels of psychological functioning should be incorporated in models of stress. He argued that an individual's value structure, unconscious processes, sense of meaning (and therefore self-concept), are also important factors, yet they have been ignored in many studies in the stress literature. Furthermore, researchers have equally overlooked important organisational characteristics, such as social status and power, and the construction of meaning within organisational cultures and subcultures.

Murphy (1996) found that high levels of stress were correlated with low organisational effectiveness, low job satisfaction, conflict between home / work demands, and poor coping skills. However, stress tended to be lower in organisational units that encouraged individual empowerment, career planning and inter-unit cooperation. Therefore, it appears that while organisational and individual characteristics are inextricably linked as antecedents of stress, so too are organisational and individual symptomologies.

Research on sources of stress has focussed predominantly on individual personality characteristics defined at the trait or dispositional level (for example Type A Behaviour pattern, Locus of Control, Dispositional Optimism, Negative Affectivity) (Code & Langan-Fox, 2001). Researchers have also conceded, however, that sensitivity to stress at the individual level is typically triggered by organisational factors (Cotton, 1996). However, little attempt has been made to investigate the effects of other levels of personality such as motivation and goals. According to Code and Langan-Fox (2001), evidence suggests that organisational constraints that prevent goal attainment have a negative impact on individual well being, thereby adversely impacting on stress vulnerability. Therefore, congruence between goals and behaviour, and motives and behaviour may be fundamental to

the experience of occupational stress. It follows then that congruence between the structure and organisation of personality at the individual level, and the workplace culture may also be important. This may explain why reporting of stress is more likely to occur when psychological distress is higher than usual and when morale is lower than usual (Cotton, 1996). Organisational factors, such as supportive leadership, reward processes, participatory decision making and role clarity are the most significant determinants of morale, and therefore are important determinants of stress. Following this argument, the extent of gendering of the organisational climate is likely to be an important determinant of stress as well. However, there has been little research that links gendered processes and stress directly.

This study proposes that rather than individual factors or organisational factors solely affecting stress, it is the *difference* between these factors that directly affects stress. Traditional load and capacity models of stress do not accommodate the effects of incongruency. Code and Langan-Fox (2001) suggest a personality integration model of stress with dual emphasis on goal progress and attainability, and unconscious need fulfilment. This involves implicit-explicit congruence whereby stressors increase with increased discordance between implicit and explicit motives. These tenets can be applied to individual-organisational motives, extending traditional person-environment (P-E) fit theories to levels of individual and organisational system dynamics. Edwards (1996) advocates a supply value model of stress that accommodates these differences. Stress is viewed as a mis-fit between an individual's personal values and the environmental contingencies or supplies available to fulfil those values. Mitchell (1996) proposed that the difference between the individual and the workplace produces a sense of alienation in the individual, which in turn affects attitudes towards the self, emotional states, sense of belonging, motivation, work productivity and sense of control. This difference is often clear when individuals hold differing value structures to the organisation, or when the organisation expresses power in a manner that is unfamiliar to the individual.

Parallels are evident here between Code and Langan-Fox's conception of antecedents and effects of stress, and antecedents and effects of marginality

proposed by LaFromboise et al. (1995). For example, an individual who is confronted with a work place climate that encourages aggressive behaviours may experience strain if expressions of aggression in that particular context are perceived by the individual as being incongruent with their gender-related self concept. Code and Langan-Fox's model of stress informs a framework whereby outcomes of women's experiences of marginality may be described.

The use of a model of difference as an antecedent of stress, together with tenets of marginality theory, lead to the hypothesis that the psychological resources an individual has available, such as self-efficacy and locus of control, social support, and their relations and influence positions within the organisation, may mediate the effects of stress affected by marginality, and this may differ for women and men. The following section reviews literature that pertains to each of these mediating factors, their relationship to gender and applicability for women in management.

5.2 Psychological resources that mediate the effects of stress and marginality

Locus of control and self-efficacy are important enduring psychological resources in theories of behaviour. Social isolation and lack of comparison information (from role models for example) is proposed by Frable (1995) to be the mechanism that leads to self-perceptions of marginality. According to Wenzelz (1993), participants with greater psychological resources may perceive that more supportive resources are available to them. Bandura (1977) defined self-efficacy (self referent thought) as the conviction that you can successfully execute the required behaviour to produce desired outcomes, and thus execute control over events that affect your life. Self-efficacy can determine choice of behaviours, persistence to tasks, thoughts and emotional reactions.

5.2.1 Self-efficacy

Mastery experiences (performance accomplishments) are most effective in building self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982). Successes tend to increase perceived self-efficacy, while repeated failures lower perceptions of self-efficacy. This is

especially the case if failure occurs early in the event (for example, in the early stages of career development) and cannot be attributed to lack of effort or adverse external conditions. Expectations of efficacy are also based on information from vicarious experiences and verbal persuasion (Bandura, 1982). Vicarious experiences involve observing others perform successfully or fail, especially when others are perceived to have similar competencies, such as other women in the organisation. Verbal persuasions involve attempts to persuade individuals they can achieve their goals, especially from an esteemed communicator, such as a respected supervisor or mentor. These sources of self-efficacy and their effects on career related self-efficacy for women are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

Origins of self-efficacy in women (Adapted from White et. al, 1992 and Hackett & Betz, 1981)

Sources of Self-efficacy	Examples of socialisation experiences typical among females	Effects on career related self-efficacy
Mastery experiences	Greater involvement in domestic and nurturance activities, less involvement in traditionally 'masculine' domains, sports, mechanics, etc.	Higher SE with regard to 'feminine' activities, lower SE in behavioural domains that advantage masculine modes of behaviour
Vicarious Learning	Lack of exposure to female role models representing full range of career options. Female models largely represent traditional roles and occupations	Higher SE with regard to traditional female roles and occupations; lower SE in non traditional occupations
Verbal Persuasion	Lack of encouragement toward and / or active discouragement from non-traditional pursuits and activities	Lower SE expectations in relation to a variety of career options

Two of the most important support provisions for self-efficacy are information that an individual is valued and accepted, and guidance and information that assist an individual in dealing with different situations. Perceptions of having relationships where competencies, skills, and value as persons are recognised (reassurances of worth) have been found to be conducive to building self-efficacy. Delongis, Folkman, and Lazarus (1988) found social

support and psychological resources were significantly related. They examined 75 married couples during a six-month period. In this investigation, social support was defined in terms of network size and self reported availability of emotional support within network relations. Individual differences were found in the extent to which daily stress was associated with health and mood across time. Participants with unsupportive social relationships and low self-efficacy were more likely to experience more psychosomatic problems than those high in self-efficacy and social support. These findings, the authors suggested, showed that individuals with low psychosocial resources are vulnerable to illness and mood disturbances when their levels of stress increase, even if they generally have very little stress in their lives.

Psychological resources may well be of particular importance to women's appraisals of supportive resources for negotiating from their marginal positions in male dominated environments. External barriers to women's career development present obstacles that require strong self-efficacy (SE) expectations. However, it is unclear how SE directly affects women's career advancement. According to Bem (1974), women who seek employment in masculine jobs might experience conflict with regard to their sex role orientation, and therefore experience stress due to their out of role behaviour. However, this effect may be mediated by SE expectations. Long et.al. (1989) found that women in masculine sex typed occupations who perceived themselves to be more self efficacious were more likely to use effective coping strategies and therefore experience less stress. They surmised that more 'feminine females' might appraise a situation that requires aggressive or assertive behaviour as threatening, and therefore be less adept with these events (Long et.al., 1989).

However, an alternative explanation that incorporates mediators of self-efficacy is more likely. It is probable that women, who prefer feminine modalities of behaviour, rather than appraising these behaviours as threatening, will appraise them as abhorrent. So rather than concluding that 'feminine' women will be less adept at coping with situations where these behaviours are present, they may indeed choose to disengage from these situations, and / or behaviours. They may choose to do so, not because they lack capabilities for coping, but because they

experience a dissonance between the values being espoused by that behaviour within a particular situation, and their own value structure. In other words, they may choose to do so due to the experience of marginality.

Bandura (1982) stated that it is partly on the basis of perceptions of self-efficacy that people decide what challenges to take, how much effort to expend and how long to persevere when facing obstacles. This raises the question of cause and effect in Long's findings. It is difficult to ascertain whether successful women, high in perceptions of self-efficacy, proliferate in management positions in organisations, or whether it is the self-efficacy gained through mastery experiences in these non traditional occupations that lead to women's career success, and to higher levels of SE. Certainly in White et.al's (1992) study, successful women stated that they had the 'tenacity and perseverance which enabled them to work hard consistently through their careers' (p. 85). However, the appraisal of success based on their own individual efforts is not easily generalised to all women.

Therefore, self-efficacy may be an important determinant of how well women overcome obstacles that impede their career advancement, but also how well they 'span' the contact zone between two cultures (feminine and masculine) within the workplace. Bicultural efficacy can be defined as 'the belief, or confidence, that one can live in a satisfying manner, within two groups without compromising one's cultural (or gender) identity (LaFromboise et. al., 1995). LaFromboise et.al. (1995) posit that bicultural efficacy can mediate the types of psychosocial resources that an individual is able to develop and maintain within both the minority and majority cultures.

5.2.2 Locus of control

White et.al. (1992) found little evidence of a direct relationship between type of personality and career success. However, research does suggest that individuals may differ on their orientation to achievement. This may be translated to differing on degree of ambition, and their range of interests. Rotter (1966) defined locus of control (LOC) as the disposition to perceiving rewards the individual received in life either as a consequence of their own behaviour (internal

LOC), or as a result of external factors (external LOC). The tendency for internals to believe that they can control events and externals to believe that they cannot has implications for their attitudes, perceptions and behaviours in the workplace, and may play a mediating part in determining whether a person becomes involved in the pursuit of advancement (Blau, 1987). A longitudinal study of 119 nurses conducted by Blau (1987) found that locus of control was indeed related to facets of job satisfaction, promotion and pay.

Davidson and Cooper (1993) found that the majority of women in their sample of managers were internalisers. That majority, 70 percent, believed that their achievements were the results of their own actions. However, when asked if they were born male, would they be in the same position, 65 percent stated they would have higher status jobs. For women in management, there may be a sense of internalising achievement tempered by an awareness that gender biases operated in thwarting career.

These findings are difficult to explain except in terms of identification of women managers with marginality or social exclusion of women in general. Unger's (1989) findings demonstrated that individuals who held a constructivist view of the world (that is, that behaviour is constrained by social and cultural forces, and that differences between groups are a product of environmental factors rather than individual factors) also believed that individuals can have an impact on society. The women in her study appeared to espouse inconsistent ideologies, on one hand believing that people are a product of social reality while at the same time asserting the impact individuals have in changing that reality. Like the social activists in Unger's earlier studies, perhaps women in management are able to maintain contradictory cognitive schema that acknowledges both awareness of discrimination due to one's group membership, and the efficacy of individuals in their efforts to produce change.

Sheppard (1992) asserted that organisational experiences of women managers are likely to be categorised by deep tensions and ambivalence. Particularly in relation to work-family boundaries, Sheppard's notion of the 'balancing act' may be generalisable to other aspects of women's experiences:

> *For women, the balancing act involves maintaining a view of*
> *organisational position that acknowledges the factors outside*
> *their control but that still gives them a sense, or illusion, of*
> *efficacy and power over their situations. This balance is*
> *precarious. All these women, including the ones who are*
> *confident in their organisational situation, walk the high wire*
> *(p.165)*

5.2.3   Affectivity

Negative Affectivity (NA) has recently been recognised as an important individual characteristic that is related to occupational stressors and strain (Brief, Burke, George, Robinson, & Webster, 1988). The term was defined by Watson and Clark (1984) as a mood dispositional dimension that reflects general individual differences in negative emotionality and self-concept. Individuals high on NA are more likely to have a less favourable view of self and others, experience distress and dissatisfaction, focus on their failures, and dwell on the negative side of life (Brief et.al., 1988; Watson & Clark, 1984). For example, high NA individuals overestimated the size of failure related stimuli and interpreted ambiguous stimuli more negatively (Haney, 1971). Watson and Pennebaker (1989) suggested that it is important to account for the effects of negative affectivity in stress. Their re-examination of extensive data from the literature, and from six samples of their own, indicated that self-report measures of health reflect a pervasive mood disposition of negative affectivity. In a study by Hart et. al. (1996), findings showed that NA (an individual characteristic) was the most important determinant of stress followed by job satisfaction (an organisational characteristic). Therefore, NA needs to be considered and controlled for as a variable of personality disposition to assist in understanding the stressors of marginality for women in management.

5.3   Chapter summary

The preceding review highlighted the importance of incorporating both structural and individual factors as antecedents, mediators and effects of marginality. Structural factors as antecedents to marginality are interpersonal power relations and the ways in which processes are gendered or polarised to favour masculine characteristics. Power effects also act as mediators to career success and status achievement in hierarchical organisations, determined by the nature of social networks and mentor support available to the individual. Similarly antecedents to marginality that operate at an individual level are the development of gender identity and the use of power strategies. The effects of isolation and increased stress may then be mediated by a range of inter-dependent psychological resources, such as locus of control, self-esteem and self-efficacy. These factors, as outlined in Table 2, will be incorporated in the conceptual framework of this study in order to investigate the impact of gender on marginality, and its effects on career success and stress. Empirical studies will investigate the utility of this framework and the expected relationships between marginality and quality of work outcomes.

Table 2

Structural and individual factors operating as antecedents and mediators of marginality

	Antecedent	**Mediator**	**Effect**
Structural factors	Power relations Gender Polarisation	Power - networks / mentors	Power - centrality Limited career success
Individual factors	Gender identity	Psychological resources	Isolation Stress

5.4   Conceptual Framework and aims of the thesis

The conceptual framework used in this study, presented in Figure 4, is guided by the literature reviewed in the preceding chapters. It focuses on the role that gender conflict plays in the marginality of women in managerial roles, with outcomes related to career success satisfaction, and occupational stress. However, marginality theory points to important individual mediators, such as psychological resources, that may mediate the effects of marginality. The career development literature supports this view in relation to individual mediators of career success, and also adds the importance of contextual factors. These include structural indices of power (that is, position in the organisational hierarchy), and influence and support structures (that is, social networks and mentors), as important antecedents and mediators of career success. Therefore, the resulting model involves gender salience operating to form individual and cultural gender identities which are juxtaposed and may be in conflict in particular work cultures. If this conflict is internalised, marginality may be experienced as both a state and a process however, mediating factors could vary this outcome. Marginality, while mediated by psychological and social support resources and the nature of power within social structures, will have detrimental effects on perceptions of career success and occupational stress.

Gendered Culture		
Gender - Marginality	Mediators (Structural / Individual Factors)	Effects
Gender identity: How individuals view themselves and others versus How others view individuals	Psychological resources Power relations Support Structures	Career Success Stress Power - centrality
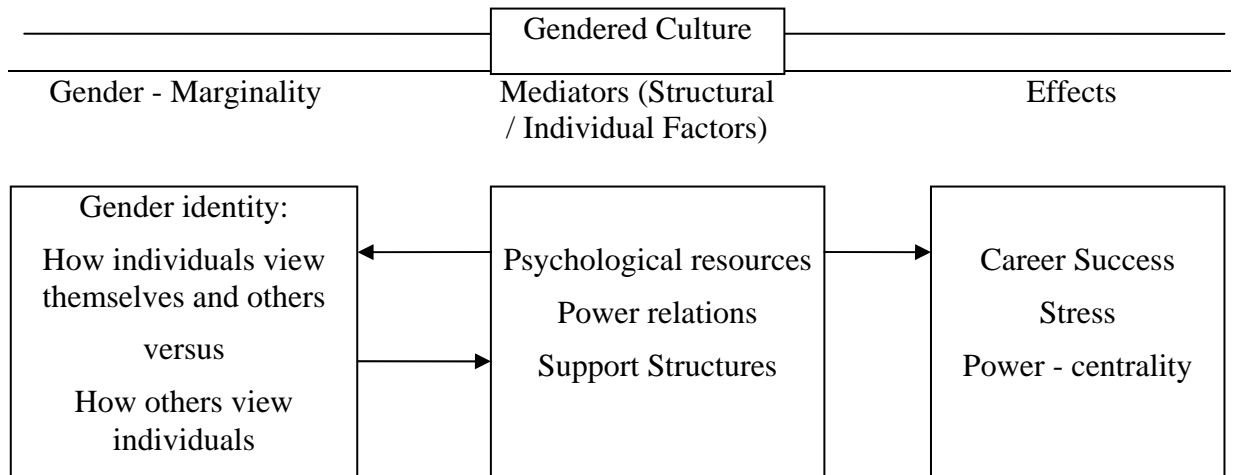
Variable blocks used to investigate the impact of gender on career success

5.4.1 Aims of the thesis

The thesis aimed to explore women's experiences of gender as a factor in the experience of marginality, and to explore the antecedents and effects of marginality on the women themselves and their organisations. In light of the preceding literature review a number of research questions emerged: What is marginality and how is it experienced? As a state or process? How is it described and what symptoms manifest from it? How do people construct their sense of self around marginality? What factors seem to influence marginality and what factors mediate marginality?

In accordance with marginality theory and gender schema theory, the thesis aimed to explore the concept of marginality as a psychological state experienced by women in non-traditional roles (that is, managerial roles) in hierarchical organisations. At an organisational level of analysis, perceptions of structural inhibitors and enhancers to career success were explored, with a particular focus on how gender differences are manifested through these structures and processes. More specifically the thesis aimed to:

1. develop substantive and generative theory that adequately explained the gender effects on marginality for women in organisations; and

2. investigate relationships between marginality and quality of work variables, such as sources of stress, and perceptions of career success.

    In light of the literature reviewed which suggests that psychological and social support resources may be powerful mediators of marginality, the thesis also aimed to:

3. investigate the mechanisms that buffer the effects of marginality within gendered cultures, including individual differences in perceived psychological resources; degree of influence within the organisational network structure; and degree of support from available mentors.

PART II

EMPIRICAL STUDIES

CHAPTER 6

STUDY 1: EXPLORING GENDERED CULTURES IN THREE ORGANISATIONS

METHOD

6   Global method for studies

The research incorporated two studies. Study 1 was a qualitative inquiry involving semi-structured interviews with management personnel in three Australian organisations. Study 2 was a quantitative inquiry that broadened the participant pool to include all members in two organisations who completed a battery of tests developed from insights gained in Study 1.

A qualitative methodology was chosen to explore complex issues related to gender identity and effects on career success initially. An interview method was used so that the unique experiences of managers could be captured, allowing them to define in their own terms complex primary notions such as gender and marginality. Phenomenological interpretative analysis of interview material was used. This required going right back to the phenomenon itself as understood by the participant living through the phenomenon in the actual work setting (Neuman, 1994). An interpretative methodology was chosen as a way of creating portrayals of the participants' experiences through the 'enlightened (feminist) eye' of the researcher. Integral to this method is the claim that the researcher's experiences are enmeshed within the portrayal. This practice is endorsed by Piantanida & Garman (1999):

> *Qualitative researchers do not claim to discover or verify the truth about a phenomenon. Rather, they are claiming to portray the essence of their experience with and understanding of the phenomenon. If they have inquired into the phenomenon with sensitivity, rigor and integrity, then their understanding…the way they have made sense of it, may have utility for others who are struggling with the phenomenon in similar contexts (p.145).*

Gaining access to each organisation was achieved by presenting to the Managing Director or Chief Executive Officer (CEO) a proposal for their participation in Study 1 only. Study 2 was offered as a second stage of the research once CEOs were in receipt of results from Study 1. The staged approach to the proposal made it easier for Managing Directors to endorse the study and give the researcher access to their organisational settings. Study 1 did not involve all staff, and in fact only involved senior members. Therefore, the risks to the organisation of any adverse consequences of the investigations were more likely to be minimised and contained. In addition, their participation in Study 2 could be informed by the quality of deliverables in the first stage of the study. The qualitative aspect of the study allowed me to access the organisation site in the role of field observer, and also allowed an opportunity to establish rapport with organisational members who observed my endorsement by the senior members of staff. Talk and gossip about the interviews being conducted in Study 1 were observed as much as possible during my visits, to gauge the attitudes and perceptions of the general body of staff towards the study and myself.

Study 2 was an attempt to test and refine hypotheses and offered a basis for triangulating findings obtained in Study 1. Ethnographic research suggests two forms of validation: respondent validation and triangulation (Seale, 1998). Respondent validation consists of seeking verification from participants of findings from, and interpretations of, the data. This was incorporated as part of the research design element in Study 1, and will be explained in greater detail in the following section. Potential problems may arise with this type of validation as it assumes that participants are knowledgeable about and aware of relevant categories of inquiry. In organisations, not all staff may be aware and privileged observers, nor consciously aware of their own actions. This may be particularly true when the categories of inquiry include unconscious processes such as gender schemacity.

Triangulation is a method by which different kinds of data collected in different ways are compared for signs of corroborating results. Triangulation may occur at different points in time, from accounts of different participants, or by using different methods of data collection, however all relating to the same

phenomenon under investigation. Triangulation was undertaken in Study 2 through the further investigation of findings in Study 1 and by collecting data of a different nature, namely quantitative data. While the mixed method used in this research may have presented epistemological challenges due to tensions between the qualitative and quantitative approaches taken, the benefits for triangulation far outweighed the challenges posed. Another basis for triangulation was testing and validating assumptions and findings with key personnel within the organisations who were assigned to liaise with the researcher throughout the duration of the study. These were either the CEO of the organisation, or the Human Resources Manager.

The next section explains in detail the methods used in Study 1 including procedures involved in recruiting organisations, interview development, procedure and analysis of interview material.

6.1   Study 1 method

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with managers from three Australian small to medium sized enterprises (SMEs). In Australia SMEs are defined as non-subsidiary, independent firms which employ fewer than full time equivalent 200 employees (Department of Finance and Administration, January, 2004). The SMEs were structured around status or reporting hierarchies that comprised a Chief Executive Officer (or two in one case), a senior management team, and managers with line responsibilities (that is, management responsibility for their area / department). They were well established and had been trading for at least 10 years. They comprised a national metal trades manufacturer (pseudonym: MetalOrg) employing 86 staff; a national computer software company (pseudonym: ComputerOrg), employing 136 staff; and a Victorian service provider in the higher education sector (pseudonym: EducOrg), employing 39 full time staff supplemented with varying numbers of casual staff.

The SMEs chosen were eligible for the study due to their varying organisational structures. Their structures varied according to compliance with Equal Opportunity policies, the number of women in each organisation, and the extent of the tradition of male dominance in their particular industry. This was

considered important, to provide enough variability in possible gender biases operating within each organisation. The proportion of women employed in each industry in Australia was investigated to determine how the organisations varied in terms of gendered structures. In Australia, women comprise 69 percent in the education service industry, 15 percent of employees in the metal trades industry, and 46 percent in business services (computing) (ABS, 2001).

At EducOrg, the majority of employees were women (56%), and they were represented in line management in equal proportions. At ComputerOrg, women comprised 30 percent of the organisation, and only women held two of the 11 line management positions. In MetalOrg, the majority of employees were men (89%) and there was only one woman on the management team in the organisation.

The targeted organisations all had a current employee who was known personally by the researcher. These employees agreed to introduce the researcher to their Managing Directors in order to propose the organisation's participation in the study.

I attempted to recruit all members of each senior management team, as well as some managers in more junior positions. All managers approached, personally or by phone or e-mail, consented to being interviewed. However, due to time restrictions, particularly during visits to inter-state branches, it was necessary at times to select representatives from a pool of potential participants across organisational units. Due to the shortage of women in the potential pool, all women managers were selected in the first iteration. In addition, snowballing sampling methods were used to recruit a further four women in senior management positions known to participants but working in other similar sized organisations in their industry.

6.1.1 Participants

Participants were 15 Australian females and 20 Australian males (average age 37 years). They held positions in their organisations with at least line responsibility or higher for their department or other employees within their department. As two of the organisations operated nationally in Australia,

participants were recruited from Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and Perth. All interviews were conducted in person by the researcher.

Male and female managers were included in the study. It was necessary to include male managers in the study as they are critical in the formation of the gendered organisational culture. Hearn and Parkin (1986) advocate this approach:

> *There is an urgent need to begin to unearth some of the ways in*
> *which men control and 'fix' meetings, use the pub or golf course*
> *to exclude women from organisational discussions, and*
> *generally relate to each other as men (p.65).*

6.1.2   Procedure

The Managing Directors of each participating organisation were approached first, to a) secure their endorsement of the study and allow the researcher to access organisational charts comprising employee names and their positions in the organisational hierarchy, and b) to inform all eligible staff of the project and introduce the researcher to staff members. All participants were informed that their participation was voluntary, and that they may withdraw at any time. They were informed that they were not compelled in any way to volunteer, and that their non-participation or withdrawal from the study would be confidential.

Participants were contacted personally to designate their preferred time and venue for the interview. A confidential meeting room in their work premises was made available. An interview room at a location on the Victoria University campus was also available. However, all participants chose to be interviewed in their workplaces. All participants signed a consent form before and after the interview. To ensure confidentiality of participants, transcripts derived from taped interviews were coded with an identification number for the participant and their department and organisation. No names or identifying characteristics were included in the transcripts. Names of individuals offered by the participant during the course of the interview were also coded on the transcript.

Each of the organisations gave the researcher access to human resource information that included organisational chart details and employee names and contact details. The researcher was also given access to strategic planning documentation, annual reports, and promotional materials. The interviews ranged from 40 to 90 minutes. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed by the researcher.

It was intended to present each participant with a detailed account of the interview to check the validity of interpretations made. This was not achieved with some participants due to time constraints on the part of the participants in some instances, particularly management in MetalOrg. However, a summary report of themes elicited from all the interviews and analysis according to sex of the respondents in each organisation was published and distributed to all participants. Participants were given the opportunity to provide feedback and validation of themes in the report, through direct contact with the researcher individually, and at numerous in-house seminars held to present research findings. A sample report is provided in Appendix A.

6.1.2.1   Interview content

A story telling approach was adopted initially with participants being encouraged to tell the researcher how they got 'here' (eliciting their perceptions of their current position in the context of their career history). This initial stage of the interview process was used to build rapport, and also elicited useful information about the participant's own sense of career success and the major factors that had contributed to their career development.

The next phase of the interview was conducted in a semi-structured style around set topics. These topics were developed with an emphasis on exploring the effects of gender on participants' experiences at work and on their career development. Of interest was the extent of values and behaviour congruence between personal identities and organisational culture. Questions were also designed to elicit any consequences of marginality that may be related to stress, well-being and barriers to career development. Further topics were chosen to explore factors that may buffer the effects of occupational stress, or alleviate

barriers to career success, such as knowledge of, or participation in, informal organisational networks and mentoring relationships.

As discussed earlier, in order to experience gender-related marginality, an individual needs to have conscious awareness that their gender identity is incongruent with the perceived gender identity of the organisational culture. I felt that this awareness, internalised conflict, could not be elicited through direct questioning. It would more likely present itself in discussions about the values perceived in the organisation juxtaposed with discussions about personal values. Therefore, during interviews, participants:

- described their organisational culture;

- discussed their perceptions of what values the organisation espoused and prioritised;

- described their perceptions of the 'good manager' (using methodology adopted from studies by Schein, 1973) and extrapolated on their perceptions of women in management; and

- described their experiences of occupational stress, role conflict and their accessibility to mediating factors that alleviated these outcomes.

The following is a breakdown of the seven sections of the interview, including the rationale used in designing each topic area.

Characteristics of management: This stage provided an opportunity to elicit historical information that led to an understanding of what the participant perceived as being important for success in career development and how their experiences shaped their perceptions.

Values and organisational culture: Participants were asked to describe their organisational culture, by focussing on cultural prescriptions such as appropriate behaviours ('how things are done here'); behaviours and traits valued by the organisation in individuals and organisational units; and how valued behaviours and traits were explicitly recognised through bestowing rewards.

Experiences and views of women in management: This stage was designed to elicit descriptions of marginality and the consequences of difference.

Participants had the opportunity to discuss the salience of gender in their everyday work lives and how they felt about being 'male' or 'female' in relation to their career success and job roles.

Mentoring: The discussion provided descriptions of mentoring in their organisation and the types of traits and behaviours seen to be important to be eligible for, and a recipient of, mentoring.

Stress and Sex Role conflict: Participants were asked about both major sources of stress for themselves and others, as well as about their coping strategies. The discussion elicited issues of conflict between home and work roles as possible sources of stress. Participants' perceptions of others' sources of stress were discussed to understand the cognitive processes by which managers seek to understand the issues of their staff, and whether they were conscious of issues of role conflict for others. To make a distinction between the social context at work and at home participants were asked to elaborate on their at-home experiences.

Influence in the organisation: Participants were asked to define influence. To aid them in this task, they were asked to imagine individuals in the organisation whom they considered to be influential as a group. Questions related to this group, therefore invoking discussions that incorporated the relational aspects of influence. Rather than attempting to provide a definition of influence that could be used by participants in this study, I chose to provide an object of power (that is, influential people) to provide mutual meaning for participants and the researcher during the interview. This technique was adapted from work conducted by network theorists (see Brass, 1985; Krackhardt, 1990) where participants are asked to indicate individuals they consider to be influential in their organisations. Their network research reports a high degree of consensus in the individuals chosen within organisations, so while it is difficult to agree on a definition of influence, 'we know an influential person when we see one' (Krackhardt, 1990).

Information: This point of the interview was designed to elicit processes of formal and informal or subversive processes of power and communication within organisations. The discussion focussed on information about informal networks

operating in the organisation and their relative importance to organisational members.

6.1.3   A note on the research process

An issue that was brought to the fore for me during the research process was my own level of negotiation around behavioural modalities which could be described as masculine or feminine. During the course of interviewing, I was often aware of the roles I allowed myself to construct as I varied my behavioural responses to build rapport with male and female managers. While this also occurred when I spoke to some women, in the main it was most salient during interview with males. Fortier (1998) describes the juxtapositioning she created through partial truths and role playing in the process of her field work, where categories of gender and ethnicity were negotiated across different contexts in order to build rapport and gain access to the research setting. There are many parallels in my own experiences of the research process where gender identity was not only the focus of inquiry but also a salient driver of the research process. I was uncomfortably aware of my own process in negotiating gendered behaviour during the course of the interviews. For example, when Mike from MetalOrg told me a misogynist joke, I laughed, or when Anne from ComputerOrg denounced feminism, I colluded with her opinions. And when the young male staff on the factory floor wolf whistled as I left the site after a visit with their State manager, I pretended to ignore them.

What were being created in these falsehoods on my behalf were perceptions of commonalities between the researcher and the participants which were not always based on my preferred behaviour, attitudes and beliefs. The disguise was necessary for me to gain access to organisational sites and build rapport with the individuals participating in the study directly. More generally, it was part of the process involved in building rapport with other members of the organisation, and alleviating fears and suspicions apparent in some organisations from Managing Directors. In this way, as researcher I was better placed to avoid any adverse consequences as a result of the organisation's participation in the study. Above

all, avoidance of adverse consequences was a critical assurance I had declared in writing to Managing Directors at the time that they endorsed the study.

Interestingly, Fortier describes her experiences of deception and role playing as giving her a keen sense of marginality. The uniqueness of each setting and of each study, as well as the personal circumstances of the research, shape the types of relationships developed. 'The disclosure of what we think, believe in, how we live, has to be negotiated and thought about on a daily basis' (Fortier, 1998, p.55). However, she also conceded that it was these very interactions that also provided valuable information about the social dynamics that were at play in particular settings. And so it was with this study. It is not only the construction of gender that may be investigated through an analysis of the researcher in the process, but also perhaps a greater understanding of marginality.

6.1.4   Analysis

Transcripts were coded using NUDIST* (1994) package, and analysed using an illustrative approach according to the model featured in Figure 2 (see Chapter 2).

The transcript data, analytical memos and notes were subjected to analysis via methodology appropriate to an illustrative approach. An illustrative method uses empirical evidence to illustrate a theory (Neuman, 1994). Marginality theory and gender schema theory provided the categories or themes with which the data was analysed and organised to test whether the tenets of these theories illuminated or clarified marginality for women in organisations.

This approach incorporated the following stages (see Giorgi, 1985):

1. The transcript was read in its entirety in order to get a general sense of the whole discussion. Then it was read in relation to the seven different topic areas, which laid the basis for open coding of general themes at this stage.

2. Once the sense of the whole had been grasped, it was necessary to go back to each sub-transcript while developing 'gendered meaning units' from within a feminist psychological perspective. In other words, there was an attempt made to interpret what had been stated or described from a psychological

perspective that acknowledges the effects of gender in a cultural organisational context. For example, a participant described a situation where the general manager in her department placed a glass of beer on the desks of all male managers at the end of the week but overlooked her desk. In the context of the interview as a whole, and taking into account interviews of others in the same organisation, the researcher interpreted the event as highlighting the female manager's experiences of marginalisation due to stereotypical perceptions about women held by the general manager (that is, women don't drink beer). This laid the basis for axial coding, where attention was given to concepts and themes that appeared to cluster together.

3. Once meaning units had been delineated, the analysis focussed on insights particular to effects of gender on career development. The data was scanned for cases that illustrated the main themes for the purposes of testing hypotheses formulated as part of the previous process described in steps 1-2. All the meaning units were synthesised into consistent statements regarding each participant's experiences. The structure of each participant's experiences were expressed at a number of levels, particularly at the individual, interpersonal and organisational level. Analyses of comparisons were based on the method of difference (Ragin, 1987). The method of difference requires a researcher to locate cases that are similar in many respects but differ in crucial ways. Therefore, the analysis pinpointed features whereby sets of cases were similar and another set whereby they differed on important categories of inquiry. For example, female managers who shared the same demographic and position characteristics were compared with respect to their contrasting perceptions of stereotypes of women in management. In order to investigate a possible explanation for this stark difference in perception, the extent and nature of their network support structure, and their relative position within it, was investigated for significant differences across cases. This inquiry was directed by expected outcomes based on tenets of marginality theory.

STUDY 1 RESULTS: EXPLORING GENDERED CULTURES IN THREE ORGANISATIONS

6.2   Overview

This chapter describes the analysis of qualitative data collected in Study 1. I begin first with descriptions of the people involved in the study and their organisations, in order to give the reader a context for interpreting the analysis that follows. The following sections are then partitioned according to themes that emerged from the interviews that fitted the categories of inquiry in the study. The first of these discusses the gendered culture and the nature of power and influence. This involved an analysis of the structures within each organisation that direct influence networks, and the characteristics of those individuals within those structures. Themes extracted include communication networks and mentoring processes.

The next section, 'Good Manager', is an analysis of attitudes towards management roles and descriptions of the gendered cultures within which those roles are assigned. Attitudes to women in management are discussed and themes relating to 'fit' are extracted. The analysis also includes perceptions of barriers to success for women in management and some strategies used by the women themselves to overcome these barriers. The chapter then discusses themes elicited about lack of fit. 'Not Quite Right', is an analysis of themes extracted around issues of lack of fit and the consequences of difference, and in particular, gender difference. And finally, the last section 'Sources of Stress', involves an analysis of participants' descriptions of sources of stress and the difficulties associated with negotiating the home-work nexus.

6.3   Participants: profiles

Of the 35 participants most were male and senior managers in roles involving production, manufacturing and sales. The majority were in positions whereby they had control over their department's resources. Their positions also involved control over information to their subordinates and at times, their peers. Most of the women interviewed were in middle management service oriented

roles. Some women were acting in management positions but were not awarded official titles or full status as managers. Other women were experiencing delays in being awarded their full status.

Participating organisations differed in both size and structure. MetalOrg plants differed from state to state. In Victoria, the plant was in the outer northern suburbs of Melbourne in an industrial area, with the offices adjacent to a large factory. The office comprised a few small rooms fronted by a reception area. Staff sat behind desks in an open plan arrangement with a closed office area for the chief executive officer and a meeting room, where interviews were conducted. Office staff and management walked across the factory floor to use a large staff tea room which was shared with factory floor staff. The Perth office was a smaller branch situated within a suburban shopping centre on the outskirts of the city. There were no factory operations attached to it.

In NSW, the plant was situated in the outer western suburbs in an industrial area on a huge lot with many buildings that had the feel and look of factories. The offices were situated over one of these large factory floors. The office design was an open plan, although notably the senior management team had offices that closed off the perimeter of the office floor. The look of the building inside mirrored the feel outside: industrial grey with walls of exposed brick.

ComputerOrg moved premises in Melbourne during the study, with interviews conducted at both premises. The old premises were located in an inner eastern suburb of Melbourne in a thriving business district. The building was large and impressive, with a flight of stairs leading from a reception area to open plan office spaces upstairs. In order to accommodate their growing numbers of staff, the organisation moved to new premises on a larger site in a new business district in the outer eastern suburbs of Melbourne, which shared its locality with other large high profile organisations. The new premises also housed a reception area closed off and quite separate from office spaces. The new office spaces were still designated in an open plan style, however cubicles had been structured around groups of desks, and there were closed offices around the perimeter of this area. While the old premises housed adequate meeting room facilities, the new

premises offered updated facilities with modern fixtures and plush meeting spaces for clients. There was a new coffee machine installed that made good quality coffee from freshly ground beans. The New South Wales (NSW) and Queensland (QLD) offices were smaller operations with fewer staff. They were each nested in large business districts. Floor plans in the NSW office followed that of Melbourne with a reception area opening out to open plan arrangements with cubicles and partitions between groups of desks. However, management staff were situated in closed offices around the perimeter. In QLD the open floor plan arrangement had not been adopted.

EducOrg was situated on a number of campuses of a tertiary institution in the inner suburbs of Melbourne. The main workplace was situated across two modestly furnished buildings on the main campus with most staff allocated to their own closed office space, with the exception of staff who managed reception areas. Outer campuses were managed by a smaller staff contingent that operated as satellites of the main organisation. Tea rooms provided communal spaces for the staff to lunch, gossip and share information.

6.4   Organisational cultures

Participants described their organisational cultures to enable the investigation of differing cultures across the three organisations. In doing so, the impacts that different organisational cultures may have had on individual attitudes and perceptions of those cultures were explored. In addition, the analysis of organisational cultures positioned the participants within their environments as active shapers of that environment.

Participants across the organisations identified differing cultures in each organisation. ComputerOrg and MetalOrg actively positioned themselves in the market place, the former in an attacking position, and in the case of MetalOrg, in a defensive position. Participants described their organisational missions in war like terms, such as equipped to 'kill their competitors'. Terms used by male managers in these organisations were reminiscent of the 'Rambo litigators' described by (Pierce, 1995) who destroyed their enemies, and bragged about 'wins'. Descriptions of the organisational culture in EducOrg differed markedly from the

other two organisations. Being an education service provider with a fixed client base EducOrg was described as more 'humanistically directed' and 'people orientated'. In this regard EducOrg reflected the value priorities of the larger educational institution (a university), while also being perceived as distant and separate from it. However, there was also a perception that EducOrg's culture comprised some undesirable characteristics, such as lacking discipline and stability due to being overly reactive to others' needs. Thematic analysis of participants' descriptions of their workplace cultures included descriptors that could be applied to, and compared across, the three organisations in this study. A summary of descriptors used by participants is displayed in Table 3.

Table 3

Descriptors used by participants to describe organisational cultures in their organisation.

Descriptors of Organisation Culture	EducOrg	ComputerOrg	MetalOrg
Hierarchical relations: top down versus bottom up	top down, some bottom up	top down	top down
Progressive and developing versus stagnant	progressive	progressive	stagnant
Communication: open versus closed	open on a need to know basis	open on a need to know basis	open but aggressive
People orientated versus profit orientated	people orientated	profit orientated	profit orientated
Supportive versus lacking in direction and support	supportive	lacking in direction and support	lacking in direction and support
Confident versus lacking in confidence	confident	confident	lacking in confidence
Challenging versus undemanding	challenging	challenging and undemanding	challenging
Reactive versus strategic	reactive	strategic	strategic and reactive
Consistent versus unstable	unstable	consistent	unstable
Changeable versus difficult to change	changeable	difficult to change	difficult to change
Undisciplined versus disciplined	undisciplined	disciplined	disciplined

Competent versus incompetent management	competent and incompetent	competent	competent and incompetent

6.4.1 EducOrg

EducOrg was described by management staff as a place where change occurred very quickly. People had the ability to move freely within the organisation in relation to shifting priorities and demands. This enabled individuals to 'grow' with the organisation. Therefore, longevity was seen as a valued characteristic within EducOrg. The organisational culture was described as relaxed and open minded, friendly, comprising values of team work and helping behaviours. More specifically, female managers described the culture at EducOrg as diverse, open, flexible and fast moving, communicative, caring, supportive, with a small community feel, and a strong political dynamic. Male managers also added that the culture was more 'humanistically directed' and 'people orientated' when compared with other organisations. While employees of EducOrg held positive views about the nature of their organisational culture, they also upheld that EducOrg was not 'in the real world' of business or corporate affairs. This view signalled what might be their majority views of organisational culture. That is, they believed that the characteristics of EducOrg's culture, while ideal, did not meet criteria required for 'business' in general, or mainstream organisational cultures.

6.4.2 ComputerOrg

All participants commented that the rapid growth of staff numbers at ComputerOrg over a relatively short time had significantly transformed the culture of the organisation. However, the resulting culture was still emerging and difficult for staff to articulate. Therefore, most organisational members identified ComputerOrg's culture as being one in transition. ComputerOrg was described as being a successful organisation that valued service to their customers and positioned itself strongly in the market place. Overall there was a sense that keeping people happy (customers and personnel) was important and that participating in social activities the company organised was a way of establishing

and maintaining positive social cohesion. However, there was an acknowledgement that the growth of the company had made this strategy less and less successful.

ComputerOrg split their major functions across departments in a 'flat' structure, which comprised only one layer of management (that is, department heads) under the senior directorate. A consequence of this structure was that there were few career path opportunities. In addition the structure created competition between personnel in departments vying for power. Therefore, splits were evident across the structure, between for example, the programmers and the support personnel. Job functions within this overall structure were described as compartmentalised with tasks being assigned across functional areas with each area only aware of their particular part of the process. For example, support department personnel or consultants requested changes to the software after an implementation phase with a customer, yet the programmer who delivered those changes was not privy to the outcome of the change from the customer's perspective. This resulted in lack of challenges for staff and feelings of boredom expressed by some of the programmers. It also resulted in the programmers building and protecting power bases by controlling information that the support staff were reliant upon. In accordance with the job dependency hypothesis (Mainiero, 1986), it would appear that programmers were in positions of greater power than support staff. However, not surprisingly, the majority of women, including the one and only female senior manager working at ComputerOrg, were segregated in the support area.

Women described the culture as male dominated and competitive with peers vying for positions in an aggressive manner. The political landscape of ComputerOrg was marked by two very differing modes of operation used by the two directors. Participants had a sense of an ensuing conflict between them, which in turn polarised the organisational culture. Participants acknowledged the politics inherent in the organisational cultures as being difficult to manage, a source of stress, and even abusive at times. Symptoms of this dysfunction were explained through confused and at times conflicting messages from the top down, which resulted in the 'right hand not knowing what the left was doing'.

Men acknowledged that technical skills were highly valued and that the environment was competitive. There was an understanding that many of the management staff had 'grown' with the company and that longevity was related to seniority in the hierarchy. Organisational knowledge was respected and highly regarded. Loyalty and commitment to the company was also highly valued, as was a strong sense of individuation. Entrepreneurship was valued if it resulted in bringing in business to the organisation. In this way, new ideas from employees were encouraged. Many male participants believed that senior management of the organisation were happy to further individual's interests in related areas as long as they showed some initiative. Rewards were bestowed on individuals on the basis of valued characteristics and status symbols (for example, car parking spaces) were used to confer power and privilege.

6.4.3   MetalOrg

At the time of the study, the organisation, after having experienced a period of rapid growth, was subject to acquisition by a larger multi-national enterprise. The high level of uncertainty amongst management staff in relation to job security impacted on the low morale already evident by staff in a rapidly expanding organisation. This was further exacerbated by insecurity about tenure consequent upon changes that might occur as a result of acquisition.

Male managers explained that commitment and authority were respected and valued traits at MetalOrg. There was a defined hierarchical authority structure which demanded conformity to protocols and general acquiescence from employees. Parallel to this structure, there existed a fiercely political environment which saw department heads vying for legitimacy and power, and often involved building 'illegitimate' power. This was achieved through 'back-stabbing' and control of information flows between departments. Status symbols and the adherence to protocol were important in conferring power on individuals.

The culture was dominated by a masculine ethos: not surprising when considering that the majority of employees, including management, were men. However, this dominant masculinity was expressed in terms of attitudes, language and behaviour that more often than not was disparaging to women. During the

interview stage of the study I myself was exposed to an incident that was telling of the level of tolerance of sexist behaviour that may be supported by members of MetalOrg in NSW. When I left the building after completing an interview with one senior sales manager, I walked across the parking lot and was 'wolf whistled' by three employees in the dispatch area. I ignored them and kept walking, noting my feelings of discomfort but cognisant of the paradoxes my role as subversive gender researcher presented to me. I felt that to report the behaviour, or reprimand the employees myself may have caused some adverse consequences to participants in the study as a whole. At the same time I felt that to do nothing but recount the incident now in this thesis placed me in the position of deceptive 'gender spy'.

In the end my response was influenced by the salience of my primary role as researcher. I decided to do nothing. The question this raises for me is: do the ends justify the means? My decision to do nothing also informed mixed feelings about being objectified by the men's behaviour. I felt that to do something, as some women in this study will relate, requires a willingness, ability and opportunity to challenge the status quo. In my role as researcher, bound by the assurances I had given to the Chief Executive of MetalOrg, challenging the status quo *at that moment* seemed like too much of a risk, to myself and to the research project.

6.5 Portrayals related to career success

Attitudes towards corporate mobility and perceptions of success are important determinants of managers' evaluations of their subordinates' potential. They are also indicative of attitudes to strategies for advancing career prospects for women in organisations. According to Davies-Netzley (1998), men attribute success to their own individual qualities, such as hard work, and their competitive qualities. They tend to downplay the influence of the 'old boys network' and homophily, while women emphasise these characteristics as critical barriers to their success. Women also believe that individual qualities are but one component of success.

The work histories provided by participants in this study were analysed for perceptions of the significant events or personal characteristics that had

contributed to their career success. In general three themes were evident: external factors; the possession of certain personal characteristics or skills; and aspects of serendipity or luck had played an important role.

Environmental factors included the existence of networks that individuals could participate in, thus securing positions through the referrals of others. They also included having 'grown' into various positions as a consequence of their longevity with the particular organisation. Some participants described having sought promotions and career changes in order to advance and accept greater and greater challenges, while for others advancement had been more a consequence of restructuring or downsizing of particular organisations in which they were employed.

Women also acknowledged that networking was important and many had been referred by others for the roles they now filled. Some had taken risks, and had resigned from previous positions due to dissatisfaction with their perceived potential to expand their opportunities in that organisation, or had threatened to leave and by doing so had advanced their positions.

Personal characteristics that male managers felt had contributed to their success were: hard work; assertiveness; political nous; being a problem solver; being a team player; expert knowledge or technical skill; competitiveness and ambition; consistency in approach; ability to quickly assess a problem or situation; visibility; establishing good relationships and rapport with others, including gaining the respect of sub-ordinates and peers. Some male managers also noted that their charismatic natures and enthusiasm had made them candidates for mentoring and that this support had aided their careers.

Personal attributes that women felt had contributed to their progress were similar to those of men but also included competence and demonstrated performance, intelligence, assertiveness, willingness to learn, and willingness to take on various tasks and roles throughout their employment histories.

Serendipity and luck appeared to factor as a determinant of career success for some managers. Managers were aware that although they had felt fortunate by being at the right place at the right time or had known the right people, they had

also seized opportunities presented to them in a direct and assertive manner. Therefore, there was a sense that had they been passive when opportunities were presented, they would have missed out on promotion and advancement. Some women attributed their success to luck, and were unwilling to acknowledge their career progress as success, even though they could describe personal characteristics that had secured them more senior positions. This is demonstrated by an excerpt from an interview with a female manager at ComputerOrg:

> *The thing was, it was a very strange situation because it wasn't really a job I was applying for that was advertised, and it was just offered to me at that stage.*
>
> *RESEARCHER: Which is really nice I imagine ?*
>
> *Well it was and I did say that at the time. Maybe the way I presented myself when I came here for some general work and I suppose I showed some managerial skill. I am not too sure what they saw to be quite honest. Because it wasn't a real job where you are being interviewed for a job. It was just a discussion that evolved and [then I realised] oh you are offering me a job?*

This may confirm the view held by researchers of women's career development that women will attribute their successes to chance events more so than their male counterparts (Stiver, 1991). However, not all women in the study had difficulty identifying and acknowledging the characteristics that had secured their career advancement. Many women spoke of the need for women to be 'better' and 'tougher'. So it is more the case that because it is more difficult for women to enter managerial positions, 'superhuman' resources are required (that is, they had to be better than men). It follows then that 'superhuman' luck is also required. The excerpt below from a female manager at EducOrg details some of these requirements:

> *Besides hard work you've got to be at the right place at the right time. You've got to push yourself if you're a woman. You've got to be over confident. You've got to know what you're doing all the time and even if you don't you've got to make out like you do. And I think it's intelligence, I think women are far more*

intelligent than men in getting things done and they can read people. ….I think foremost it's what you know, and how experienced you are, because if you don't know anything you're going to get caught out sooner or later. Who you know and the network that you've got amongst people helps you get better as well, and if you get along well with people. Because if you're in an organisation where you don't get along well with your colleagues, they soon get rid of you, they make life that hard that you don't want to stay.

Portrayals by participants of the factors that had influenced their career development were often individualised. There was a sense that success was dependent solely on the individual's ability to present themselves in a positive light, or display the necessary skills appropriate for management and promotion. Women more often than men also recognised some of the structural barriers that had affected their career success. This recognition, however, did not appear to make less salient the importance of individual factors in the women's portrayals (Unger, 1990). It may be that the female managers in this study are like the women in Unger's studies. While they recognised the probability of structural barriers to their career success, their own subsequent success enhanced their own self-efficacy or bicultural efficacy. So while the women felt they could personally overcome these career barriers, such as dealing with the 'boys club', they were also aware of their impacts on women in general. The next section presents participants' experiences of the organisational cultural features that may impact on women's career success.

6.6   The gendered culture

To uncover the often invisible and sometimes subversive differences in men's and women's experiences within a masculine environment requires a view of organisations that recognises the reciprocal relationships between influences of social structures on individuals. It requires an understanding of organisational culture as being 'gendered' due to the social constructions of experiences of individuals who comprise that culture (Sheppard, 1992). The experience of individuals who perceive differences between their own gender identity and that

expressed in the organisational culture is analogous to the ways that individuals of different ethnicities position themselves within the minority or mainstream culture. It requires a dual positioning, one in which the individual gender identity is salient, and the other in which the organisational gender identity is salient. This dual positioning may involve adhering to what matches and what clashes with the organisations in compliance with the dictates of etiquette (Gherardi, 1994).

The findings in Study 1 indicated that examining cultural identity within organisations was a valuable conceptualisation for exploring the person and context as they interrelate, to construct perceptions related to gender (Shweder, 1995). Perceptions of the characteristics that informed their organisational cultures differed for the men and women interviewed. Nearly all the male managers described their organisational culture as being aggressive, ambitious and hard driving, where you were expected to work 'hard and long'. They used phrases that described a competitive context, for example as one male manager from MetalOrg commented:

> *I probably wouldn't bond with other managers that well. I've simply survived because I've ended up knowing as much about their department and that puts me on a better footing for the kill...It's not always like that but the way I've described it...it's like we're at war. And it's happened in every organisation I've been with.*

Characteristics that comprised the organisational culture for males at ComputerOrg included competitiveness, aggressiveness, and professionalism. While they described valuing expertise, participants also identified powerful gatekeepers who refused to share knowledge. Although they described organisational cultural values as including 'people caring for each other and the work they do', it was apparent that participants had varying degrees of job satisfaction which was related to the amount of autonomy and variety they had in their roles. Descriptions of a friendly and social work place environment often translated to an exclusively male friendly environment.

Women's descriptions of the same cultures were that they were male dominated, intimidating and unsettling. Some women, particularly in

ComputerOrg and EducOrg, were interested in developing work place cultures around their departments that incorporated respect, support and understanding of staff. All participants, men and women, argued that this war-like state was not a necessary contingency for organisational productivity and effectiveness, and was in fact counter-productive. Some managers, particularly those from MetalOrg, acknowledged that their industry was male dominated, and women were a risk to employ. They placed great importance on meeting customers' expectations, including their gendered expectations and prescriptions, and believed that their organisations valued service above all.

Female managers from EducOrg described their culture differently to women in other participating organisations. This organisation's culture was described as diverse, open, flexible, communicative, caring, supportive, with a small community feel, and politically aware. Women from the other organisations described their cultures as being authoritarian, threatened, reactionary, cliquey, childish, lacking in professionalism, not progressive, controlling, dominating, loud, aggressive, and intimidating. These cultures were described as competitive with peers vying for positions in an aggressive manner.

6.7   Power and influence: The how, the why, and the why not

While researchers have shown that women do not have the same access to power within organisations, there is less consensus about the reasons for this. They suggest that the very nature of organisational politics is gender biased so that women are ultimately excluded from behaviours, practices and places where they may acquire majority forms of power (Eagly et al., 1992). However, other researchers suggest that it is the women themselves who exclude themselves from acquiring power, by their distaste for the way forms of power are expressed in organisational politics, and by denying the value of politicking as a determinant of career success (Mann, 1995; Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989; Jenkins, 2000).

Participants were asked to describe people in their organisations that they perceived to be influential in order to better understand participants' attitudes towards power, and their perceptions of sources of power. These descriptions were used to test whether issues of congruence across gendered cultures would be

prevalent in these descriptions, and whether power itself would be expressed along gendered dimensions.

Generally participants described influential people as strategic thinkers with vision, often demonstrating high levels of expert knowledge and political nous. They tended to be problem solvers with extraverted personalities and were also often in positions of power within the formal organisational hierarchy.

In addition to these characteristics, male participants at MetalOrg described influential people as individuals who were well respected and admired with good people skills, often described as being 'relaxed in relationships' with people. They also used descriptors that could be classified as stereotypically masculine traits (Bem, 1974). Descriptive terms used included: action orientated, with a direct (sometimes authoritarian) leadership style; self-confident; and someone who stands by their decisions. They were controlled rather than rash, experienced and usually long tenured, rational rather than emotional, and ambitious. They were people who networked well and positioned themselves close to senior decision makers, and were often people who moved to the extremes on personal measures (for example, excellence). They were also people who accepted their status readily.

In contrast, the female manager at MetalOrg attributed influence in her organisation to the hierarchical position individuals occupied. She indicated that there was an element of manipulation in the way some people acquired particular positions. Female managers at EducOrg shared this view and further acknowledged that females had to adopt manipulative forms of power as strategies for achieving desired goals in career advancement. This may support research that suggests that because women are less likely to expect compliance, they will be more likely to use indirect, unilateral strategies that do not require cooperation from others (Falbo et al., 1982).

Perceptions of characteristics of influential people at MetalOrg, according to the female manager, included being aggressive, hard working, tough, arrogant and warlike in their approach, demonstrably competent, analytical, and able to gain the loyalty of others. While acknowledging that influence could be gained by

having proximity to dominant coalitions within the organisation, she found this to be abhorrent, and called people who did this deliberately 'brown nosers'. Female participants from other organisations also felt that placing effort into deliberately networking or positioning themselves in strategic places in close proximity to influential people was analogous to solicitation and therefore distasteful. They believed that network positioning should be based on merit and performance, being recognised for these qualities, rather than 'active solicitations'. Due to the dilemma this type of behaviour raised, and particularly in relation to consequences for career advancement, networking for these women was challenging and raised issues that their male counterparts did not have to deal with.

Participants at ComputerOrg also described influential people with stereotypically masculine characteristics. They included people who 'got things done' and possessed a breadth of experience and expert knowledge. They were problem solvers, rational rather than emotional, with the ability to be 'objective'. They were described as approachable but strong, outwardly confident, sometimes outspoken, extraverted personalities who lead with authority (assertive, forceful, and demanding). They were hard workers who worked long hours. Technical expertise was seen as a prized attribute among them. However, there was a perception that this expertise was a contingency that was used to secure personal power and influence to the detriment of the organisation as a whole. Many of the influential individuals nominated did not readily share their expertise in order to empower others. When considering that the majority of women at ComputerOrg were in the support area, it is probable that this strategy was an explicit gender polarising process utilised by programmers to maintain their power base over women in the organisation. One female participant explained that control of information and lack of sharing was not accepted protocol within the computer industry:

> *No it's not a thing in the industry, it's tolerated here for some reason...a lot of the information resides in people's minds so you either have to spend the time figuring it out yourself or ask the people that have that information. Now I know that, for example there's one person who's been here a long time who doesn't like sharing that information...I'll go up to his desk and sit down and*

he will continue to type until he feels an appropriate amount of time has passed for you to feel like he's doing you a favour. And he will often only give you a little snippet of the information. So I've just decided that I don't play games. I just can't be bothered, it's not worth it.

Often there's conflict between the technical side and the non technical side. Either group doesn't necessarily respect the other, and the programmers will put themselves in a position of superiority (the programmers) because they have access to information. The support people, need to draw on their knowledge and so that puts them [the programmers] in a position of power.

The views ventured by women in the two excerpts above are particularly reinforced in the next, when we consider that males in ComputerOrg held the power bases within the organisation as a whole:

I think it is interesting though that the most powerful people in this company are all male and some of that is definitely gender orientated, the boys sticking together. But I think it will take another generation to change that completely, to see more equity there. I would perceive how a female one day will hold a powerful position.

EducOrg differed from the other organisations in that they had more women in senior roles and considered interpersonal management skills as highly important. Participants at EducOrg described influential people as individuals possessing rapport building skills, expert knowledge (including organisation knowledge), political nous, a breadth of experience, ability to accept responsibility, and able to 'pull people behind them'. They were also described as hard working, self confident, and often very highly respected and admired. Some managers made the distinction between people who were influential just because of their position or longevity as having illegitimate power.

6.7.1 The nature of power

During discussions about power, participants often volunteered thoughts about the nature of power in general, stating that power could be beneficial and detrimental ('good and bad') for the individual and / or the organisation. These judgements about power appeared to be based on individualistic and collective orientations that view power acquisition as an individual pursuit or as a mechanism that relates to organisational well-being (Kashima et al., 1995). Benefits of power were that influential people within an organisation could 'get things done', or get around bureaucracies easily. This was seen as 'good' power, with consequences flowing on to the well being of the organisation, either financially or in terms of work culture. However, participants viewed negative aspects of power involving the acquisition of power as an end in itself, where an individual's need to acquire power was fuelled by personal ambitions that were hedonistic and unrelated to the goals and missions of the organisation. Some managers did surmise that individual ambitions could also be beneficial for the organisation if the individual identified closely with the organisation, and in doing so, individual gains could relate to organisational gains.

These findings do not appear to confirm myths held about the sex differences in power acquisition, that view men as more interested in acquiring power than women, and state that men and women differ in their styles for seeking and exercising power (Jenkins, 2000). These findings do not confirm Miller's (1976) view that women are more likely then men to find some forms of power distasteful. Instead they suggest that both men and women equate some forms of power as more beneficial than others, particularly when benefits of power are distributed across the group or organisation, or located within relationships, mutually reinforcing all parties.

Legitimate and illegitimate forms of power were discussed in relation to whether the influential person was perceived to be competent or performing. Often participants described influential people as 'posers' who managed 'workers'. However, male managers in particular believed that individuals who acquired influential positions remained influential due to judgements of performance and competence. They held a view that natural evolutionary

processes inherent in performance management would ultimately 'dethrone' people who had acquired power illegitimately. Women in contrast were not readily accepting of this view, believing instead that the very processes of performance management themselves were based on gendered criteria for advancement other than performance, and more aligned to demonstrable stereotypical masculine characteristics.

Men's views may be explained in relation to fundamental attribution error (Pfeffer, 1992) where one is prone to over attribute power to personal characteristics, whereas often the characteristics we believe to be sources of power are almost as plausibly the consequences of power instead. However, the explanation may be more complex for women. Women's more heightened awareness of the gender polarisation that perpetuates masculine culture within management may have informed their views about the organisation's ability to recognise and debunk illegitimate power acquisition.

Several female managers in the present study attributed the promotional barriers and obstacles they had confronted in their organisations to this underlying anxiety, as alluded to by a female manager in the EducOrg:

> *They are never clear cut, the roads to power, and there are*
> *reasons for that. There are reasons why some women are*
> *rewarded for their stupidity and other women aren't rewarded*
> *for being really capable and competent movers and shakers.*

Some women were acutely aware that they had been rewarded for fulfilling roles that did not validate their own power bases. They felt the reward was really granted for fulfilling roles that provided services to males in the organisation generally, and particularly to male managers who held greater direct power and greater influence. These roles helped perpetuate the status quo and included being 'the pet' or 'the mother' or 'the seductress'. The women's experiences were akin to Kanter's (1977) notion that these beliefs are related to men's insecurities about their own masculinities in relation to women, and therefore serve to keep women from becoming a threat when appearing to be competing with male co-workers. The following is particularly illustrative of the consequence of being distracted

from achieving career success through fulfilling 'service' roles, as reflected by one woman in the study;

> *You get by for a long long time on presentation and you know you are attractive and people like to have you around and all of that kind of stuff goes on and you get a certain distance. And young women are very beautiful and deserve to get that, but there just comes a time…….. I have to be really careful when I make this comment and I don't make it very often but I believe it because I think that people will just think it is sour grapes because I am getting older. But I believe that it held me back for a long time. I was an attractive young women, I didn't understand why I was getting where I was getting. I didn't understand why I was getting the attention, and I thought it was something to do with me, I was not trying to do anything and look, and this was fantastic! Just through doing nothing, having your hair blonde… I am an old feminist, a strong and continuous old feminist and even I didn't get it. So somehow the penny dropped at some point that the blokes were all really making a pitch in one way or another and I was going to all the openings and the launches and the dinners and things but they were the centre of it all. And on top of that, they were making the dough, they were you know, and I wasn't. How is this so, why is this happening? So I just didn't realise that you have to overcome what is this challenge that nature puts in our way, and really identify where the power is.*

Rewards were discussed in relation to outcomes of power and influence, as status symbols. The view that structural determinants of power are an important consideration in producing behavioural outcomes (Fombrun, 1983; Hicksen et. al., 1971; Hinings et.al., 1992; Bacharach & Lawler, 1980; Smith & Grenier, 1982) was shared by many of the participants. Most managers felt that they were not rewarded adequately, especially in relation to their emotional needs and thus required more positive feedback. Monetary rewards or job security did not substitute for feedback. This was also the view of managers at EducOrg. Managers were more likely to receive negative feedback than positive feedback. This produced lack of aspiration and drive in particular areas of the organisation.

6.7.2   Communication

Organisational cultures prescribe what and how things are communicated in organisations. In this study, the means by which people communicated with one another was seen as an integral part of organisational culture as well as the power hierarchy. Often the flow of communication followed lines of power (that is, hierarchical positions). The organisations differed on the openness of communication with some managers describing subversive methods in order to constrain the flow of information to a 'need to know basis'. Informal means of communication such as networks, gossip, social interactions were acknowledged by most managers as being vital mechanisms for staying informed in the organisation. This also included eavesdropping on conversations in one of the organisations.

Informal means of accessing information became more important in an organisation like MetalOrg that lacked open channels of communication with staff. The volume at which people spoke to one another was also prescribed by the culture of the organisation. This ranged from yelling crude aspersions across the office floor to limiting communication amongst sub-ordinates to work related issues only. However, women yelling and using crude language was seen as especially inappropriate. Sheppard (1992) explains that swearing and humour used in a testing way in organisational communication forces women to confront or accept the status quo. Kanter (1977) identified these strategies as means for maintaining boundaries that exclude women from majority forms of power in organisations.

Informal lines of communication at EducOrg were acknowledged as important, including networks, that is, 'smokos' on the balcony, and being close to key people, word of mouth and gossip. However, gossip was also seen as a problem for the organisation. Managers seemed to agree that good communication was one of EducOrg's largest challenges and was becoming increasingly difficult with the increase in diversity of functions, and the number of locations for various functions of the organisation.

Some women described a lack of congruence between their preferred mode of communicating to their staff in an open and honest way and that prescribed by the organisational culture.

> *Yeah, women are very very honest, and I think men see that as being a weakness. And a lot of other women see it as being a weakness, you know you've got to keep everything from them. Don't tell the staff anything, don't tell them how much money we've got, don't tell them. I get into a bit of flak over that, I'm being too honest!*

6.7.3   Informal networks

In order to overcome the isolation they felt in their non-traditional roles, the women managers in Sheppard's (1992) study expressed a great need to know about other women in similar situations. Their sense of marginality was heightened by ambiguity and lack of informal reference points. The women in the present study were also keen to source information from role models and other women in similar situations. They were aware of the importance of informal networks for enhancing opportunities for career success.

Most managers were aware of the informal networks operating in their organisations and described them as focussing around task groupings, people with similar interests, or similar demographic characteristics (including ages). They focussed around people with similar work histories within the organisation (for example, people who had started at the same time), and people who lived in the same geographical region. Informal networks were evident in activities such as people lunching together or being involved in footy tipping competitions.

Managers stated that informal networks were important mechanisms to fast track projects and share work load amongst peers and colleagues. Information, internal or external to the organisation, was gained through listening to gossip in informal networks, or having people in the network volunteer information to people central to that particular network. Networks were also used to circumvent certain people who were ineffective, or who held up certain processes.

Findings in this study did not do not appear to support the proposition that women are less able to use networks as instrumental resources and that men benefit more from the diverse and extensive networks (Miller 1976; Gilligan 1982; Chodorow 1978). Female managers acknowledged the importance of and were very aware of informal networks they utilised in their organisations. They described them as being centred around lunches, coffee, project groups, gender groupings (that is, the women and the men), similar demographic characteristics such as age and self developed teams. People with similar personality 'types' appeared to network together. Women acknowledged that it was important to broaden networks to include all major areas of resource within the organisation. However, an 'old boys club' was visible in all the organisations studied, and that seemed to centre around exclusive social functions. For many of the women in the study this was a cardinal source of influence, for example at ComputerOrg:

> *The guys after work each sit down with a beer and have a chat.*
> *The manager will choose someone and take a beer down, and*
> *then he'll choose someone else, but it's not something you could*
> *just walk up and stand there and be involved in.*

Female managers' experiences of networks confirmed findings of Brass (1985) who deduced that there were in fact two networks operating within the organisation; one in which the reference group was women, and the other in which the reference group was men. The findings in this study confirmed those of Brass who showed that women were more central than men to the organisational network as a whole but less central to men's networks. They had less contact with the dominant coalition, which comprised men, and were perceived as being less influential.

Male managers acknowledged that networks also resulted in the exclusion of those people that didn't 'fit' into particular cliques:

> *MANAGER 1: Often it's a very specific thing of the work they're*
> *doing, so they may be involved in the same section of the*
> *software so that creates a proximity between them initially. And*
> *then I think the next thing is that it's a personality issue, where*
> *each cliquey group has a definite leader which is a little inclined*

to have a them and us attitude. I don't like to see that, because people get excluded and I don't like to see people getting excluded

MANAGER 2: The women view themselves as the 'women' and the men, the 'men'. We do know what our gender roles are. But I see most of the networks as being across the lines, in terms of people who get along, and the men and women do tend to get along really well in the organisation.

Some participants were sceptical of the cliques that formed within the organisation and were convinced that they were destructive and fuelled political dissent:

I don't see the cliques as a positive thing. The managers don't get involved in these cliques not to the extent that happens in the lower levels. A lot of the power happens in that flat line below management, where the struggles are fought out.

6.7.4   Mentoring

Themes surrounding benefits of mentoring for the individual and for the organisation emerged from findings. These findings supported those of Kram (1983). Participants in this study appeared to benefit from mentoring in various ways. These included receiving support in advancing through promotions, training, personal support, and being nurtured through difficult tasks. Protégés were offered opportunities and challenges, and generally had better access to information and a wider network through the mentor. The experience of participants was aligned to those depicted by the women in Still's (1993) study. She reported that career women's needs in mentoring comprised two functions: a career function (sponsoring, coaching, providing visibility and advice); and a psychosocial function (being a role model, friend, counsellor, emotional support, source of acceptance).

Benefits of mentoring were evident for the organisation and the individuals involved. The organisation benefited from the mentor relationship due to a protégé's increased commitment and capacity to contribute to the organisation in a

more meaningful way. Managers in the study confirmed the view that the mentor benefited through personal satisfaction by witnessing the development of a protégé, and in return receiving the loyalty of the protégé. However, this sometimes amounted to having someone to do their 'dirty work'. The metaphor 'dirty work' eluded to tasks bestowed on the protégé that were perceived as distasteful but an inevitable consequence of the power differential inherent in the mentoring relationship.

While almost all participants endorsed the importance of mentoring for their career advancement and general job satisfaction, mentoring in all three organisations was achieved only in an ad hoc way. Some participants confused training and induction with mentoring activities. Many managers indicated that the practice of mentoring had not been incorporated into their role. However, they were more likely to be aware of, and be involved in mentoring if they themselves had been mentored.

For female managers, being mentored was indubitably an aid to advancing in the organisation. Benefits of mentoring included making a valid contribution to another person's development and creating change for others. It was also a way of 'paying back' the organisation for the mentoring that they themselves had received. Selection of protégés was based on being attracted to, and recognising, the potential in the targeted individual. Protégés often displayed initiative, competence, and rapport with others.

For managers in the study a suitable candidate for selection as protégé required awareness of the candidate's potential, together with an aspiration to support the candidate's development. Some participants acknowledged that being intelligent, willing to learn, motivated, accepting of challenges, and being noticed, were intrinsic to being selected. Others attributed being a suitable candidate to possessing personality characteristics that were similar to the mentor:

> I think in the management model you always see yourself in other people. I suppose there's a bit of altruism in all of us. We'd say oh gee that reminds me of me when I was in my early 20's, or whatever, I could help this person.

A lack of role models was a problem for female managers. Some women were committed to being role models to others in that contributing to attitudinal change was important for future generations of women. However, some of the women interviewed, especially older women, did not feel responsible for cultural change within their organisations, nor for other women in their organisations. They felt that they had reached an age where 'it didn't matter any more', and where the concept of career was not seen as important any more.

Some women described problems they had encountered when mentors left the organisation. In some cases the protégé was left without the support they had relied upon previously. While for others, mentor relationships had not continued due to sexual connotations, either real or imagined. Some women described discrimination they had encountered by male senior managers who were more likely to select male staff to mentor. These findings support those of Kram (1983) and Baker (1994) who also alluded to the shortage of potential female mentors, and suggested that cross sex relationships may be more difficult to initiate than same sex relationships. They suggested that this was due to the 'similarity principle', where people tend to prefer and associate with others who are appraised as similar to themselves. Similarity may be based on characteristics such as social class, ethnicity, religion, age, as well as gender and sex, and therefore senior executives may 'select' on the basis of sex. Researchers have also suggested that the dynamic created by sexuality in the workplace may also hinder opportunities for cross sex mentor relationships (Ragins & Cotton, 1991; Sinclair, 1998).

An apprehension about becoming a protégé was that it required the acceptance of the intrinsic hierarchical nature of the mentor-protégé relationship. Some managers who had not been involved in mentoring relationships viewed mentoring as a burden due to the hierarchical nature of the relationship, and the aspect of being groomed or 'cloned' by the mentor. These managers were aware that they did not have the 'right' profile or personality required to be a protégé, nor did they acknowledge the 'intrinsic wisdom' that a mentor would be prepared to bestow. They felt that the mentor relationship involved bolstering the ego of the

mentor, and that this was something that many female managers abhorred. One of the managers noted that only 'blokes' get mentored.

The narratives presented in this section confirm the predominance of hegemonic masculinity in the gendered cultures of, particularly, MetalOrg and ComputerOrg. The power bases are indeed 'loaded', with stereotypical power holders, power dynamics, roles, contingencies and opportunities for power consistently perceived and communicated within the organisational cultures in masculine terms. Findings suggested that while both men and women acknowledged the detrimental effects for women of power differentials between the sexes, men were more confident in the processes in place within the organisation to ameliorate discrimination or inequality. Women on the other hand appeared to be more sceptical, being more cognisant of the gender polarisation inherent within the construction of these processes.

6.8   The 'good' manager

The participants in the study were asked to describe their perceptions of what characteristics were essential for being a 'good' manager. This was to investigate the impact of sex role stereotypes, as described by Schein (1973) that a 'good' manager was equated with being 'masculine' (such as being independent, tough minded, confident and dominant, with a capacity to set aside personal emotional considerations).

Women and men across the three organisations agreed on most characteristics required by the 'good' manager, such as leadership qualities, interpersonal skills, confidence and commitment, communication skills, assertiveness, someone who achieved results and who had vision or focus.

In general, 'good managers' mirrored 'influential people' in that they excelled in their dealings with people: they were respected and trusted, had good communication and negotiation skills; were good networkers; had political nous and were intuitively perceptive (that is, they could assess their environments easily and quickly). They also had particular personality characteristics that could be described as stereotypically masculine. They were competent, competitive,

assertive, strong, persuasive, confident, organised and rational, and had expert technical knowledge. They were people who solved problems (whether technical or interpersonal through the use of conflict resolution strategies). While being understanding of people's needs they could also make hard (or rational) decisions and stick to them. They were leaders and visionaries, who inspired others.

Female managers described good managers as possessing characteristics that are defined in sex role research as being both masculine and feminine (androgynous or synthesis perspective – see (Bem, 1974). As well as many of the characteristics identified by male managers, female managers described the following additional attributes which could be described as more stereotypically feminine or communal traits: being reasonable and fair, trusting, supportive, reflective, understanding, caring, able to uphold staff morale and relationships with others, and inclusive. These characteristics had not been included in descriptions of powerful or influential people, but were important descriptors of the 'good manager' for women.

Stereotypes appeared to inform dichotomies in identity formation. Several male and female managers emphasised more masculine characteristics such as 'tough' and juxtaposed these to feminine characteristics such as 'spineless'. This is exemplified by following excerpt from a male manager at ComputerOrg:

> *When men have a problem amongst themselves somebody gets a bloody nose but then its all over and done with, and for the rest of the day they're best mates again. With women it's different, they don't confront it. They do something sneaky behind your back and that can go on forever!*

Male managers more frequently emphasised additional requirements informed by traditionally masculine stereotypes (Schein, 1973; Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978) as described by a male manager in the metal trades industry:

> *Being overly ambitious, aggressive...able to go for the kill and respond to an attack.*

Findings appeared to confirm research that suggests that perceptions of men who aspire to senior management positions are that a 'good manager' is equated with being 'masculine' (Schein, 1973; Brenner et al., 1989; Heilman et al., 1989). The findings also showed that while these perceptions were shared by many female managers as well, women were more likely to idealise an androgynous identity for the 'good manager'.

6.8.1   Homophily: The 'right person' for management is someone like me

Managers were asked to indicate their perceptions of what their organisation 'valued in people'. This was an attempt to understand what it might mean to have the 'right profile' or to 'fit in'. In this way I could elicit themes around the construction of 'other' from an organisational perspective that may or may not be related to gender difference. It was also a way of investigating whether there were instances of congruence or incongruence between participants' earlier descriptions of the 'good manager', and their perception of the organisation's ideal.

Most managers recognised that their cultures valued team work. Their organisations valued the following characteristics in their employees: communication skills, interpersonal skills, ability to solve problems, discipline, commitment and loyalty. They valued the ability to think strategically and respond quickly. These characteristics also comprised descriptors of influential people and stereotypes of the 'good manager'. Most participants could also articulate views about whether they felt they belonged or not. Social interactions with other staff were seen to be important in building 'good' culture as was selecting people 'who fit'. Female managers felt that their organisations valued productivity and profit in order to 'win the war'.

Terms like 'right person' and 'right profile' were used extensively. Some managers stated that what was required was to have a similar personality to the CEO or general manager in order to 'get ahead'. This may indicate the effects of the similarity principle whereby people tend to prefer and associate with others who are appraised as similar to themselves (Kram, 1983; Baker, 1994). Not surprisingly this effect was also evident in the factors perceived as important in the selection of potential protégés by mentors.

Findings in the previous sections appear to confirm those of Fagenson (1990) that suggest individuals who prefer masculine modalities will fare better in organisations. Influential people are described using masculine traits. The 'good manager' is masculine and organisational processes specifically aimed at fast-tracking career success, such as mentoring, operate on principles of homophily which ultimately perpetuate hegemonic views. However, amongst these dominant gendered relations are women in non-traditional roles, and changing societal views about women and work. The next section explores the juxtapositioning of women in management against this gendered landscape.

6.8.2   Women in management: No difference really…but..!

The analysis of manager's responses to women in management revealed a reticence that may be associated with the perceived deviant position that women still hold in that role. Responses to the questions posed 'about women in management' were met by a variety of nervous reactions from the majority of male participants, such as coughing or nervous laughter. There was a sense from myself as a female researcher, that asking the question was itself confronting. Having recognised this in pilot interviews, I attempted to ask this question later in the interview, after rapport had been established, and after participants had had an opportunity to discuss characteristics of the 'good manager'. Yet this re-arrangement did little to address the male managers' obvious discomfort over the question. This suggests that the questioning itself was linked to confronting the status quo in the workplace, and this was confirmed by female manager's perceptions later. So it appeared that it was not a question that was readily addressed by the male managers. The question posed was: what is your view of women in management? It was met by nearly all male respondents with one or both of the following statements;

> *I haven't got a problem with that* or *I haven't really thought about it.*

The following was then often affirmed;

> *No difference really, but……'*

The two excerpts below from interviews with senior managers in different state branches of ComputerOrg typify these conversations, littered with attempted humour and narrative constructed from language assigned to political correctness. The questions also provoked narratives about other issues for men, namely for other oppressed groups, suggesting that the classification 'woman' was related to other classifications of 'other':

> *RESEARCHER: What about women in management?*
>
> *Manager: (coughs) When I look for people I don't worry about gender, I might make a joke about it but I don't. My wife's bigger than 'em. She belts the shit out of me (laughs)... so does my daughter. I have a 12 year old daughter.. It's really about ability, I guess the background, and the ability to work fast and be flexible.*
>
> *RESEARCHER: 'What's your view of women in management?'*
>
> *Manager: Excellent, doesn't um, I don't. It doesn't really worry me this gender business at all. The gender sexuality, colour, it doesn't concern me at all. There's good women, bad women, good black people, good white people. I couldn't be concerned.*

When participants were asked for their views, most of the responses by male participants from all three organisations were devoid of references to gender issues, and were accompanied by caveats about political correctness.

> *RESEARCHER: Would you describe the industry you're in as a male dominated industry?*
>
> *Manager 1: I would say asexual....There's no physical strength required so it's not one of those types of things. I don't think it favours one or the other. I've been working in computing for over ten years, and it doesn't matter.*

Older participants, both males and females, were more likely to be wary of political correctness curtailing communication between men and women. They proclaimed that it had 'got out of hand' with the over regulation of inter-sex

relations in the workplace. For these participants, this getting 'out of hand' was making 'men feel bad'.

However, some males who may have been more aware of the gendered processes that impeded women's career success flatly admitted that 'men did not respect women managers'. As a manager from MetalOrg observed;

> *I'm not a sexist but I believe that men don't respect women in management. The reasons that they don't respect women in management are tenfold. I think women do a very good job in management.*

Often gender-centred perspectives perspective (Fagenson, 1990; Schein, 1973) and the stereotypes they perpetuate informed managers' views of women in management. Some male managers had never met a female manager, particularly those in the metal trades and computer organisations. However, gender polarisation processes were not salient for most men as causes of women's advancement. Male managers described personality characteristics that were more important than gender, such as women being more task orientated and having greater attention for detail. Both men and women tended to attribute the causes for the lack of women in senior roles to lack of experience on the women's behalf, rather than lack of structural opportunity. Many proclaimed that 'respect' was the critical measure for the competence of an individual in a managerial role, regardless of their sex.

6.8.3 More women should be here…but..!

While signalling that gender was not a salient category for informing their perceptions of the managerial role, nearly all the male managers stated that women should be encouraged into their particular industries, and that often they were better in management roles than men. They were described as more competent, detailed, and committed. Some male managers prided themselves in actively initiating the induction of women into their workplaces. However, they also held the view that recruitment should be solely based on merit and that there would be greater proportions of women in management if they were 'good enough for the job' (in MetalOrg), or 'had the appropriate educational qualifications' (in

ComputerOrg). These views, being open to women in the industry and supporting merit as the basis for recruitment, appeared to be used simultaneously by male managers to validate that lack of women in their industry, which is not of their making. Their initial views were often contradicted by statements that clearly indicated biases in the organisation against employing or promoting women, as illustrated in this excerpt from a senior male manager in MetalOrg, who had achieved his major career successes through the sales area:

> *I think women do a very good job in management. I think they're more focussed than men. They don't have to go out to all the boozy lunches and all that sort of stuff that men seem to bond about. They're more focussed on their job. They're more organised, much more organised than men. Personally I could answer to a person that I respected that was a woman, yes, definitely, definitely. Personally I think that women make good managers. However, in this industry, women don't make good sales people.*

Male managers in both MetalOrg and ComputerOrg blamed their customer's stereotypic perceptions of women for limiting women's roles within the organisation. They held the view that changing the status quo would be detrimental to upholding customer satisfaction, as a male manager in MetalOrg explained:

> *We've got a few girls here, drapery stuff sure, stationary, all the cardboard and packaging stuff that women can sell. But as far as getting down with someone in a glazier shop and putting a shower together, I don't think a woman would hold a lot of respect there. But a [customer] who's got his hands dirty with tools would look at it as though, what would you know about bloody putting a shower together, stupid woman.*

Managers in ComputerOrg, linked the potential for placing women in non-traditional roles with being detrimental to the bottom line profit of the organisation, while acknowledging the limits such views placed on the women themselves;

Some people, they then don't get opportunities because they are women and they would probably like the opportunity. But that may not be successfully interpreted. It's not an easy situation because if our clients don't feel they're getting the best out of our people, because they don't respect our people for the fact that they're a woman, we could lose money on that.

Some male managers were aware that the management role itself had changed and required more humanistically orientated values and skills. However, descriptions of selection and promotion practices suggested that this awareness had little impact on employment and recruitment practices. Ironically some men described their concern for the women who were subjected to less tolerant and perilous male dominated environments 'out there';

I don't believe that there is an issue so much in employing men versus women. However, I believe that a lot of the companies we sell our product to have poor equality in their work places and many of the people that we have to relate to often don't relate very well to women. We then have difficulty sending women out on site, for example in the manufacturing environments, job costing environments. It's not so bad in the finance environments because in the head office areas you have a far stronger presence of women, and very skilled people. But a workshop environment where you've got guys out in the field or out in the shed, you have to deal with all sorts of things. A lot of women in those environments, when you talk to them on the side, don't enjoy being out there.

These findings confirm those found by Sinclair (1998) that current management has a high stake in maintaining status quo. Aligned with the archetype she terms 'heroic', Australian leaders have a vested interest in maintaining the perception of great degrees of difference between themselves and other positions in the hierarchy of the organisation, insurmountable demands of the position, and of themselves as irreplaceable. This does not augur well for developing organisational cultures that nurture women's career paths.

Female managers explained men's fears as a reaction to women's disrupting the status quo, particularly in relation to attitudes and behaviours in the

workplace. Although this threat may be imagined and generalised across all women, it may be particularly salient for men in relation to women in management. Men and women both acknowledged the necessity to be 'tougher' in order to break through the glass ceiling. Therefore, men may indeed perceive women in management as a powerful force, competing for their positions and threatening the very nature of the gendered relations in the sanctuary of upper echelons of the power hierarchy.

Unlike managers in other organisations participating in the study, managers at EducOrg had 'resolved' the gender problem. They believed that while people were promoted on the basis ability, EducOrg had achieved a good gender balance in their management structure. This had not always been the case however. Past efforts to achieve balance had proved beneficial for the organisation, with some male managers commenting that female managers made 'better' managers:

> *I don't see it as being any different as men in management. I suppose they've got to prove more, and they need to be seen to be more efficient, probably from a personal point of view because the pressure's on them to slip up more. But I've always thought that in EducOrg particularly, a lot of people have been given a lot of opportunity. They've been more or less given carte blanche, and it's paid off. Whereas at other places maybe they're going to run up against the male hierarchy and the ego stuff, ……..you have to watch her because she's going to end up getting our jobs and stuff. I don't see that happening here. I think people at large get promoted on their ability. And I think that's the way it should be.*

6.9   Women on the juncture: Being like a man

Gender polarisation in organisations ultimately results in an unlevel playing field for women in management. Female managers in this study did not necessarily believe that women were better managers, nor did they believe that their experiences of management were the same as those of men. They felt that women in managerial roles were caught between dichotomous modes of behaviour, feminine and masculine. As reported by Sheppard (1992) and Stiver (1991) masculinity is equated with being business like and professional. In trying

to understand what 'being professional' means, Stiver (1991) suggested that the professional is equated to 'being like a man' in so far as it coincides with a fantasy that involves 'men [moving] through every work situation strong, confident, self-sufficient, and clearly not emotional, because to be emotional is the worst kind of unprofessionalism' (p.228). The women in this study were caught in junctures between prescriptive gender categories, describing instances where they were often criticised for being *too* masculine or *too* feminine by both men and women. In accordance with the gender-centred perspective (Fagenson, 1990; Schein, 1973), some managers' experiences with women in management were that they could be too aggressive or controlling and that there was greater pressures placed on them to succeed.

Both men and women expressed negative reactions towards overly aggressive women, yet men in particular had more positive reactions to women portraying nurturing and caring characteristics. Women felt pressures from stereotypes about leadership and the 'good manager'. To survive in the organisation, they felt that they had to adopt a masculine modality of behaviour. However, they were often criticised for being too masculine or too feminine by both men and women. Women participants indicated that being too feminine consisted in characteristics such as being too sympathetic, too caring, not objective, frightened and insecure. Being too masculine consisted in being too aggressive, and not communicative. As one female manager in ComputerOrg stated:

> *I suppose there's two ways to look at it, for a women to succeed*
> *in the ... area she has to be better than the guys. If you're*
> *considered assertive they'll make sure that they put you in your*
> *place. If you're submissive than that's ok, so that's a more*
> *subtle thing that happens. I just think it comes back to the very*
> *old thing that women are still a bit fearful of being too dominant*
> *with a man and men are still frightened of very dominant*
> *women, so a women knows if she is too dominant it can cause*
> *problems.*

In general women are scrutinised by men and other women for out of role behaviour, informed by a criteria sourced from notions of stereotypical femininity.

For women to deviate from this style involves risk as they are most likely to be described in negative feminine terms (Powell & Butterfield, 1989). The excerpt below, from a woman in EducOrg, is an example of such scrutiny. The young woman who behaves in a masculine mode is not only perceived in negative terms (that is, 'too aggressive') but also in feminine negative terms (that is, 'insecure'):

> *I can understand how a lot of the females could feel insecure. I think that's with age as well. A lot of the younger ones, they've got to prove that their better than the men, so they become too aggressive.*

Men acknowledged that women felt they had to be 'better' than men, and the women themselves reported feeling more pressure to succeed in their role in management. This sometimes resulted in disconcerting work practices such as being less likely to delegate tasks:

> *I think that women managers work a lot harder at perhaps the hands on stuff. They are less likely to delegate tasks because that could be seen as a weakness whereas the men will sit around and talk and happily delegate and then just pick up the results of the delegation.*

Many women in management roles were aware that to directly change the status quo involved risks to their positions, while others perceived the risk to be for the men in the organisation themselves. The following excerpt is from a female senior manager in a financial services organisation who discussed the political risk involved in confronting the status quo head on:

> *I see women doing it in a way that I think is the wrong way quite often. I see them getting……very aggressive, and trying to impose themselves on the status quo which in my book is a waste of energy because people [who] have got the power…… are perfectly capable of dismissing you from their minds. I mean you're just not an issue, and so you've got to get them on side. You've got to try to work with the people who are in positions of power and influence [them].*

Women in management perhaps face extra pressures due to the lack of equal choices they have in moving between gendered cultures. Therefore, the contact

zone between masculinity and femininity for these women is one restricted in choice. This constrains the benefits women may have ordinarily received from bicultural competence across gendered domains. So for women in management this may lead to further identity confusion and conflict as proposed by LaFromboise et.al. (1995). It may also explain the findings by Sheppard (1992) that showed isolation and discrimination to be recurring themes in women's descriptions of themselves at work.

6.10 Not quite right: Experiencing marginality

The themes analysed in this section show that stereotypes inform managers' views of women in management, and that these stereotypes posit women as deviant and disruptive of the status quo, particularly for male managers. While descriptions of the 'good manager' are perceived to be related to stereotypical masculine characteristics, the influence of gender polarisation processes within organisations remain veiled. Therefore, as a consequence, while some women acknowledged their experiences of marginality, the majority attributed their marginal positions to individual deviance rather than differences across the gender cultures they span.

In accordance with the findings of Sheppard (1992), marginality for women in the organisations in this study was in fact psychologically undesirable. Lack of fit and awareness of incongruence resulted in feelings of despair, isolation and negative attitudes, as one woman in the computer industry observed:

> *Yeah you can generally see once you've been here for a while,*
> *that they're not communicating with others, not giving*
> *assistance to other people, asking for assistance but are tending*
> *to get in the way, they're a bit lonely.*

Another woman in the metal trades firm, described a woman in a management role as presenting a paradox for her organisation's management team:

> *She's too emotional, not that that goes against her, but she*
> *sympathises too much with the customer, and takes their*
> *side...she's a bit of a paradox and they can't handle her. Because*

> *she's got a totally different aspect and she'd not so driven as*
> *they are, that causes a lot of problems...her feminine qualities*
> *are too strong in that industry that we're in.*

Conversely, feelings of fit and congruence seemed to be related to positive affect and increased job satisfaction. Being consciously aware of congruence between one's own gender identity and that of the organisation's resulted in feelings of belonging, positive attitudes towards the organisation and contributed to staff satisfaction:

> *I enjoy belonging and when I sense that belonging, I want to*
> *stay for a long time.*

Congruence was also critical for this young senior manager's advancement at a very young age through the management hierarchy. This is evident as he describes his relationship with the Managing Director of the computer software company:

> *We sort of play up me and the boss, like having conferences at*
> *Hampton Island a couple of years ago. We've got a pretty good*
> *social relationship. He'll come up here every so often and we'll*
> *go to the casino or something like that. So I think MD takes care*
> *of us more from that respect, you know, we're the boys.*

6.11 The rhetoric and the reality: How women manage it

Having explored the antecedents and experiences of marginality for women in the organisations studied, this section analyses the women's descriptions of strategies they employed to deal with and avoid experiences of marginality and discrimination. It also explores their organisation's reactions to gender problems and organisational strategies used to address issues resulting from gender polarisation processes inherent in the organisations in the study.

Some participants, particularly in ComputerOrg and EducOrg, were convinced that there had been significant attitudinal changes within their organisations, and society in general, in relation to gender. However, descriptions of actual practices suggested the contrary. Results confirmed claims by feminists

such as Adler and Izraeli (1994) that norms and mores in organisational cultures accommodate the lifestyles of individuals without domestic or family responsibilities. Some women indicated that managers had a role in cultural and attitudinal change, and so needed to be aware of gender relations within their organisations. Unfortunately their experiences of the management teams in their organisations suggested a grievous lack of role models and champions for change, even among senior women. For example a female manager in ComputerOrg deplored the lack of leadership behaviour in her senior management team:

> *I think it takes a reasonable amount of strength. It's easy to appear one of the boys or whatever and think gee everyone likes me, but that's not the solution. I mean its fine to create a pleasant working environment but that's not enough from the point of view of resolving issues and making it work for everybody. It makes it work for those that are in the buddy group, which is pretty much a universal thing. So you need to be able to step back from that and say ok well buddies this is the way it's going to be.*

And in EducOrg, this female manager described the importance of championing change:

> *If they're going to manage effectively then they have to do a bit of attitudinal changing…So you do have to try to get a bit of authority behind yourself, so in that sense it is something [women] have to be concerned with. Also I think for all woman, because I have this belief that women should behave in ways that they think are going to improve situations for women in general, so in that sense attitudinal change is really important. And if you have to prove to men one way or another that you are capable and then maybe change their view a bit, I see that as being a good thing.*

Female managers described strategies they had used, or had seen others use, to address gender bias in organisational processes, or deal with gendered expectations. Sheppard (1992) and Cassell and Walsh (1997) found that the women in their studies also carried a suite of 'gender management strategies'. These comprised strategies for 'blending in', such as: *overfunctioning*, involving

working harder than male colleagues; *underfunctioning*, involving deliberately keeping a low profile; *flirtation*, which involved using sexuality as a form of power; *the mask*, involving withholding personal information and appearing to assimilate to dominant models of behaviour; and *mothering*, which involved adopting a nurturing role in the organisation.

Women in this study described their gender management strategies as comprising overfunctioning behaviours (as described by Sheppard, 1992 and Cassell & Walsh, 1997), such as attaining educational qualifications that were 'solid', indisputable and often higher than their male counterparts, and 'being better' generally on all areas of performance than their male counterparts. A strong sense of self confidence and efficacy was also important for successful women. Other strategies involved building strong expressive ties with other women and men in and outside their organisations.

Some female managers believed that it was futile to confront the status quo head on. They explained that 'fitting in' was a necessary requirement for survival in male dominated domains, and being combative with male counterparts was counter to that end. Therefore, they designed 'mask' strategies around 'ignoring' or 'joining' behaviours that expressed masculine and sometimes misogynist views, such as sexist language and humour. They also designed strategies around suppressing their femininity in an attempt to 'harden themselves' as described by the female manager at MetalOrg:

> *I can tell a lot of people are shocked, they probably think I'm rough. But I don't care about what they think. I'm way past caring what they think. If I had cared about what they'd think I basically wouldn't have survived in this place.*

Other women described strategies that could be defined as underfunctioning, such as working to rule and not volunteering their opinions about how to improve the workplace or organisational well being. The decision to adopt these strategies for the women in the study had in the main been reached after other efforts for change had been ignored or unacknowledged by the organisation's senior management team. Therefore, they appeared to be a reaction to disillusionment

and disappointment with experiences of discrimination and barriers to success. As one woman from ComputerOrg explained:

> *I've had to ignore a lot to things which is fine. I've had to deal with people that want to put you in your place which is fine………Then there's for example the other day two guys were speaking quite loudly over the partitions something about, jokes about pussies in a sexual sense, and if you said anything, like excuse me I don't think that's appropriate conversation they would make your existence a little bit difficult so its whether you want to put yourself out on a limb to make it known that you don't find that appropriate. I've decided it's not worth it here.*

6.11.1 Able to change *their* lot

Most of the women in managerial positions across the three organisations described themselves as change agents in some form or other. These women were particularly aware of the structural factors that impeded their career success, such as the presence of 'glass ceilings' within their own careers, and other women's experiences. They were therefore involved in activities that were specific to improving the position of women in their organisations. These ranged from being central to the women's networks in their organisations, providing other women with models of behaviour for 'successful women', and providing support. They acknowledged that central to their goals was the active shaping of the organisational culture in order to remove impediments for other women.

> *MANAGER 1: She ended up becoming the office manager for the women because she was someone who could listen to us and empathise with us, and not treat us like irrational females. [The men would say] oh, have you got your period this week, is that why you're so upset. She'd listen to us and she'd be able to present the case to them so they'd have to listen to it.*

> *MANAGER 2: As a woman [I am interested in] women's issues so a lot of my work, the money that I have raised just by the sweat of my brow, I have raised for women's issues. Like women writers and that kind of thing. I wouldn't do it just for men writers and I can't imagine a man would do that.*

These individually adopted practices to affect change are often not considered in analyses of constructions of gendering in organisational contexts. As Britton (2000) notes, '[t]he analysis of the cultural construction of law, or management, or any institution or occupation as gendered, while important, can eclipse the significance of the work done by individual actors in the process of gendering at levels of identity and interaction' (p. 428). The activities described by women in the study were often a consequence of identity formation around the group 'woman'. The association of self concept with women as marginal seemed to be a salient category and therefore a significant motivator. However, contrary to the romanticism often prescribed to these individual responses by researchers such as Britton (2000), the women in the study described them as necessary burdens. These change activities and masking strategies placed added pressures on succeeding within the gendered culture on one hand, and yet achieving subversive change to the management culture on the other. They saw their success in both personal and collective terms.

6.12 Sources of stress

In order to understand the extent of the effects of marginality on individual and organisational well being, a causal model of stress was used that is not based on traditional views of load versus work, but is instead based on incongruency. It was proposed that as the organisational culture and the individual are inextricably interrelated, the effects of marginality would manifest through stress symptoms.

Male managers related sources of stress to job related issues such as work overload, long hours at work, lack of support or resources to do the job, lack of direction and planning in the organisation, inequities in rewards in the organisation, and not feeling like they were valued by the organisation. Other major sources of stress appeared to be uncertainty due to lack of job security or information about the viability of the organisation. Some managers also indicated a lack of confidence in their ability to 'fit in' as the organisation changed contributed to their heightened experience of occupational stress.

An emergent theme was evident about the type of person it was necessary to be in order to 'cope'. Managers had a sense that the best person for the job was

also someone who 'fitted' into the culture of the organisation, and who was willing to be a part of the culture and therefore assimilate.

> *The other source of stress, which I don't think anyone will talk about, is, am I of the style that [the organisation] likes to employ? Do I fit the mould? So they may be the best rep, best sales manager, or whatever but if they don't fit that mould (gestures a razor cut to the throat).*

Conflict resolution amongst employees and management about interpersonal relations were also a source of stress. Issues involved getting the 'right' team together, dealing with issues of poor performance from subordinates or supervisors, or having to rely on others in the organisation who then did not deliver on their obligations. The lack of adequate reward systems that acknowledged good performance while dealing with poor performance were sources of pressure for managers across the three organisations. As one manager stated, a lack of incentive to do better was a source of stress, and this was exacerbated by resources not being linked to excellence. On the contrary, he perceived failure within a department to be rewarded by resources rather than rewarding success.

> *The thing that does frustrate me quite a lot is when a proposal is put through, and as a consequence of that and the financial stress the organisation is under, that a project will be adopted but the resources allocated to it will be insufficient to achieve its objectives, in the period of time that's set. And perhaps even more frustrating is that it doesn't matter. There's just not the motivation in there to do better and to succeed, and in fact there are clear examples within the organisation where failure is rewarded. I would have to say that in the past there was one person who……. as their capacity to contribute to the organisation declined, their seniority grew and their benefits increased. It was almost as they floundered in their position then more resources were given.*

Many identified politics in the organisation and competitiveness amongst peers as also continuing to generate sources of stress.

All participants from ComputerOrg recognised policies for 'working without stress'. The message 'don't stress' was very clearly communicated from management to staff. This message, however, was not supported by actual practices, and so many managers attributed symptoms of stress to their own inability to cope, rather than the inability of the organisation's systems to adequately assign achievable workloads. In addition, both male and female participants felt that a lack of personal recognition for their work exacerbated their job dissatisfaction.

> *I mean we got a bonus at the end of the financial year but that was across the board so there's very minimum in the way of feedback. I think if you're doing a particularly good job then feedback's a good thing, it makes you feel at least you're getting something. There's no real distinction and I think that breeds mediocrity. And I don't think that everyone's personally driven, some people are, but if you don't see a reason for it at the end of the day...*

Women reported similar job related sources of stress. However, these effects appeared to be mediated by self efficacious perceptions related to their ability to respond to these pressures, as explicated in the excerpt below by a female manager in ComputerOrg:

> *Yes I'm certainly under stress because management want it all done now, and the reality is that that's not going to happen so that doesn't stress me. The reality is I know what I can do and management has accepted the fact that I've put forward a timetable, [even though].....I'm delivering a little ahead of that timetable. I'm a goal orientated person anyway, that seems to alleviate that.*

Other sources of pressure for women were related to job satisfaction and comprised lack of challenges and boredom, or career advancement, and ineffective or unapproachable supervisors. For some women a lack of control over, or lack of variety, in their job roles (both socially and intellectually) was a major source of frustration:

It's because in our area the work is almost rote, it's almost a single line type. I mean people come in and sit at their desk all day and don't speak to anyone and then go home at the end of the day. And they might have done a good day's work. It's like well where am I going here. That's it, I'm going to come back and do the same thing tomorrow. There's no interaction, perhaps there's no reason to push, there's no reason to do any more. Well I'm here to achieve something, and there's not a lot of that.

6.12.1 Above all else

As predicted by gender marginality theory (LaFromboise et al., 1995), stress and uncertainty were heightened for women as a consequence of the isolation and limited career success they experienced. Many women considered that while work overload, lack of challenges, or advancement in their work roles were critical sources of stress, the lived experiences of subjugation in their work roles overwhelmingly contributed to occupational stress and frustration. For many women, the dynamics in a gendered culture, and the 'boys club', were sources of stress. Some women, particularly in the computer and metal trades organisations, were intending to leave their organisations as a consequence of these pressures.

MANAGER 1: A lot, a lot [of pressure]. It's constantly on my mind, the way that they hold you up for ridicule sometimes, and their management style is almost archaic...It's very much an old boy's club.

MANAGER 2: I suppose the main source of stress for me is dealing with that, working in that male environment. So I find the environment more stressful that the work itself. I suppose when you come up with an idea for a solution to a problem, another person may come in and say oh yeah, that's obvious. They just undermine you, they try to down play any positives you have about your work to make it fairly insignificant.

Findings suggest that the psychological stress metaphor of 'load' versus work (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) does not explain completely the situation for women in these hierarchical organisations. What is required is a metaphor that

also incorporates Mitchell's (1996) concept of 'difference' in the interaction between the individual and work system dynamics. In the lived experience of participants load and difference appeared to operate together with goal motivation to increase sources of stress for women in management. This supports Code and Langan-Fox's (2001) view of personality integration, whereby motive-trait and motive-goal congruence are important factors of occupational stress and strain.

6.12.2 Work and home tensions

Most managers in this study, were concerned with balancing home and work responsibilities, particularly in relation to hours spent at work. Typologies developed by Poole and Langan-Fox (1991) provide a useful map for the different role constraints faced by parents across two spheres of activity: public (that is work) and private (home). Relationships between public and private spheres were conceptualised as:

(1) spillover - whereby roles in each sphere beneficially and at times detrimentally affect one another;

(2) independence - whereby roles exist side by side, independent of each other;

(3) conflict - whereby roles produce conflicts that are difficult to resolve, entailing sacrifices and compromises;

(4) instrumentality - whereby roles in one sphere are primarily a means to obtain something desired in the other; and

(5) compensation - whereby roles in one sphere compensate for what is missing in the other.

For both women and men in the study these two spheres were seen as completely separate domains, with participants stressing that the two areas needed to be 'divorced' from one another. Although there was a clear distinction drawn between the two spheres, it was acknowledged that work could extend into the home sphere (working from home for example). The same consideration was not

appropriate for home issues extending into work, as described by a male manager at MetalOrg:

> *I think that's all part of being a person who's successful at life. What needs to happen is that your private life and your home life need to be completely separate. One's got to be divorced from the other, although there will be times when one will cut across the other. But provided that's the exception rather than the rule, there really shouldn't be any conflict. That's how I see it.*

For male participants, this spillover effect mainly led to feelings of guilt about home life encroaching on obligations at work. Men described the long hours required in their job roles as the main cause of spillover. This often resulted in issues of sacrifice and compromise, within either role, although more often associated with home responsibilities, as depicted by another male manager at MetalOrg:

> *[The company is] not big on having meetings during the day, you should be out seeing the world during the day. So basically they say after your day's work come back and have your meetings, burn the midnight oil. So that's hard to work with, because life has to be a balance. It's just not all work.*

In Lewis' (2001) study, long hours at work was identified as a major positive determinant for performance appraisal in relation to level of commitment and productivity. Therefore, it is not surprising that in this study, level of commitment and ambition seemed related to how much individuals were willing to compromise home life in relation to increased time spent at work. Participants' descriptions of their organisations suggested that work practices in general were not family (or work-life) friendly, and this was due to a perception that family responsibilities were a burden to achieving in their job roles. Many of the men reported that they had not adequately resolved this conflict, however more often than not, the resolution was clearly in favour of work obligations taking priority over the home sphere. This often occurred through resort to technological solutions to create efficient home office environments, such as the use of laptops and modems, or the installation of optic fibre cabling. Men's responses to the

work-home nexus differed from that of women's. For men, the desire to keep work from spilling over to the home sphere lay in the need to 'switch off' in order to deal with issues of stress and strain. Whereas for women it was about avoiding spillover, and adequately dealing with domestic duties and responsibilities. The following excerpt from a male manager at MetalOrg is illustrative of this view:

> *…my boss…8pm at night he's still here, his nose in a book. I'd like to be able to switch off very very easily. As my doctor says, it's very therapeutic to call into a club and have a few drinks on the way home. He said, it may not be therapeutic to the workings of the body but you'll be a much saner person. He's my neighbour, he's my doctor and he said that! It's no good coming home and kicking the dog and abusing the wife and you're all tense, call into the club, have a couple of beers and a cigarette.*

Home duties for some male managers were less of a priority, usually because compromises were made by spouses that involved minimal contribution from them. Males reported 'helping' with the role obligations of the domestic sphere and described this help as substantial if it involved up to 50 percent of duties, regardless of whether their partners and spouses worked full time as well. For example, some managers stated that they picked up their children from school once a week which involved leaving work early. This was seen as a substantial sacrifice. Clearly for some male managers, most of the responsibilities in their domestic spheres belonged to their spouses. One manager described his spouse as a 'company wife' who was responsible for all home duties as well as the emotional aspects of his work life, such as remembering birthdays of staff and work colleagues, and arranging social occasions. For example he explained that:

> *A company wife is the one that has dinner parties at home for staff, Christmas BBQ's and keeps track of all the babies' birthdays. With this [new] job, my wife said, I've had enough of being a company wife, you can forget it!*

Interestingly, many male managers also acknowledged that their role within the domestic sphere was changing. A male senior manager in MetalOrg firm

described the difficulties he was experiencing having sole responsibility in the home and for his daughter when his wife was overseas.

> *After a week I'd had enough...I'd been juggling both [work and home responsibilities].*

Female managers expressed immense conflict in trying to achieve a balance between home and work and this was mainly expressed in terms of quality of life issues. Intention to leave the organisation was the ultimate consequence of this conflict in a number of cases.

The resolution of work-home conflict for women in the study often resulted in compromise and sacrifice, with many women reiterating these themes as salient throughout their life course. Sacrifice was acknowledged in areas of unfulfilled role obligations, achievement of personal and career goals and accrual of wealth, as explicated by this female manager from ComputerOrg:

> *The last twelve months for my daughter have been very productive because I'm there. She's a bit more stable in terms of emotions, more so than what she was before. But I must admit I felt ripped off, somewhere along the way you're pursuing a career but you've got to be at that crèche before 6pm. And that used to give me an enormous amount of pressure in terms of you're sitting in a meeting and you know that at any minute now, I'm going to have to say, oh excuse me, I have to leave. And I used to resent that, I used to think why am I doing this. There are no males here worrying about that. And I felt that was an issue for a long time… suppose it was about wanting to be this female that was going places but also being this mother that was staying home.*

While women were aware of the differences in socialisation processes accorded to women due to expectations around familial and domestic roles, they indicated that in fact impacts of social role expectations on career success were often subversive. One manager described how she had been relegated to domestic duties on her partner's farm by these role obligations. She fulfilled the home-maker role at the family home while her partner prospered in the public sphere, succeeding in his business and amassing wealth and power:

You know a lot of time has been wasted at the farm, the farm is beautiful. I did all this gorgeous farm thing, cooking and welcoming people at the weekends. Doing all of that - played out all of those roles. So I am a bit pissed off it took me so long to grow up and grow into standing solidly on ground and getting the power. I don't feel at all guilty about the bloke. Why would you feel guilty about him - not a flicker of guilt appears across their little faces.

The experience of role fulfilment in this case carried with it resentment afforded to other roles, such as those around work and wealth creation. Feelings of guilt alluded to in the excerpt were expressed as a consequence of acquiring power through stereotypically masculine, and therefore, out-of-role means. Female participants across the three organisations described their resentment in relation to the work-home dilemma, and worried about the times when home issues did intrude in working life. However, compromise was often related to finding alternative routes through barriers, such as taking annual leave for maternity leave, as another female manager from ComputerOrg described:

I've been doing it and I've been coping rather well. I've been working full time all along. I've never worked part time. I had eight weeks off and that was annual leave for each [of the children] and then I came back straight away to full time work. I must admit it is hard to organise and everything like that, two days at my mum's, three days at my mother-in-law's. I've got to drop them off, and prepare everything the night before, and coming home, the day just begins, preparing dinner and so forth. It's a lot of work, you get tired, you get stressed out, very much so. It may affect your relationship a little bit but that depends on what type of person he is. He's very helpful around the house and with the kids and that, but I think it is possible, I mean I really enjoy it.

While female managers were particularly adamant that home and work spheres should be relegated to separate spheres, for them success in one sphere was related to success in the other. The women had high expectations of themselves in both career and domestic spheres, and related to the metaphor 'superwoman'. These findings support Powell and Mainiero's (1992) 'Cross

Currents in the River of Time' model discussed earlier. Conflict for women in the study appeared to arise from perceptions of progress and achievement in both home and career choices. Many women reported frustration with the continuous 'juggling' of work, home duties, children. Even in the cases where their spouses were not in paid employment and had taken on the role of home duties, issues of succeeding in home, wife and mother roles were prominent. While role accumulation theory states that conflict that arises from having a multiplicity of roles may be compensated by the rewards inherent in role accumulation (Sieber, 1974), for some women in the study success in both spheres involved compensation of one role *over* another. For example, one participant described how her work role had compensated for the unhappiness she felt in her domestic role. For her, like most of the women interviewed, obligations in the home sphere were an *a priori* responsibility of women, and therefore resolutions of conflicts across these spheres were also the sole responsibility of women, as the following excerpt demonstrates;

> *Even though supposedly the functional family is much more equal, when it comes down to it, when a child's sick or the children have to be collected, 90% of the time it's the mother's job. And it's almost like an unwritten law that says that's the way it's going to be. It's not so much picking them up and running around, it's having to BE THERE. That creates more of the problems and pressure, fortunately as they become more independent, you can just say well you have to catch the bus and that makes life a lot more easier.*

For women, having a supportive spouse appeared to be of pivotal importance in balancing work and home pressures. Even then, that support was mainly manifested in 'helping' with responsibilities of home and children. In Sheppard's (1992) study, women reported that the men with whom female managers worked were not seen as having to deal with the same issues or problems. Similarly, women in this study acknowledged that their spouses' experience of the juncture between home and work was very different to their own. They perceived 'his' job to be more central in the family dynamic, with 'her' job role in the background, relegated to an economic necessity, while role

obligations in the home front figured more prominently. Therefore, for some women, success in both roles was also determined by the extent to which spouses supported their continued participation in the work domain. The following excerpt from a female manager reflecting on barriers to her career advancement in ComputerOrg is an exemplar of these views:

> *He doesn't see the point of working yourself to [the] ground like that so [he] was a little against it [my spending long hours at work]. And in terms of spending time with me and doing things with me he's always been really good. Not taking the responsibility for getting home and running around after the kids at night, but always there on the weekends and stuff like that. So that was a factor. He feels that at 6pm you should end your day and you shouldn't have to be working after that.*

The impact of children was the most prominent factor in balancing pressures from the two spheres. Even women who did not have children were aware of the pressures on their work role that would eventuate if they were to have children. The women in Sheppard's study similarly raised anticipated problems, such as taking maternity leave, the morality of leaving children in care, and pressures to work longer hours and implications for family life and interpersonal relationships. As a young female manager with no children stated:

> *I've been thinking about that lately because I think being a woman and getting towards my late twenties, you start thinking in terms of children. Am I going to have them? That has a lot of career implications, that thought has always been the biggest obstacle to having a career.*

Although participants acknowledged that their organisations had gone some of the way in implementing work-life friendly policies, in practice, these policies were not congruent with perceptions of the demands of the management work role. Managers described flexible work arrangements for their staff, often introduced to meet the structure of demand for labour as well as achieving goals inherent in work-life friendly policies. These arrangements were not extended formally throughout the organisation. The following excerpt is from a male

manager in ComputerOrg who was responsible for the work scheduling of his
staff:

> *A lot of them [the staff] have got PC's at home, modems are
> cheap and I think three of them have put in a separate phone
> line, and they work from home all the time. Two of them that
> have got separate phone lines. [They] live a long way south, and
> they choose to come in here really early. Like they're often in
> before 6am, but they leave at 3pm. So while I don't legislate for
> that, it's a quality of life thing for them. It gives me the
> coverage, so while the clients know that support covers this
> period during the day, they can actually get support in an
> emergency outside of that period. I'm not prepared to put it in
> their contracts, the clients' contracts, that extended period of
> help, because if these two people are sick or go on holidays, I
> can't force someone else to come in at 6am [with] this mixture
> of hours.*

Some managers were worried that when home issues did intrude in working
life, such as having to leave the office early, that this set a bad precedent for the
rest of the staff. As one male manager from ComputerOrg reflected:

> *One of the interesting things is that management has to provide
> some form of leadership and I know that I find it extremely
> difficult when there is a clash of demand. An example of that
> might be where a child is sick at home and I want to be able to
> stay at home and help my partner. But at the same time as a
> manager I feel quite uncomfortable about taking time off at the
> drop of a hat, and doing that frequently, because I think that's
> providing a bad example to staff. That they can take time off at
> the drop of a hat and look after their sick cat or whatever. So
> there is that clash of values and roles. But you have to make a
> decision somewhere in there so you just do and live with it.*

In this narrative the manager moved from work-life issues surrounding
prioritising for the care of a sick child, to a more generalised view of the problem
being one of providing work-life arrangements (such as carers or parental leave)
for his staff. However, when he generalised the problem, the issue became
minimised and trivial, tainted with a view that his staff would evidently take
advantage of such a policy, leading to taking time off 'at the drop of a hat' to look

after a 'sick cat'. It appears that the generalisation of the work-life policy in this case, is perceived as a vulnerability that can be rorted, rather than as a solution to a work-life dilemma which the manager himself identifies within his own personal sphere.

This may explain findings by Lewis (2001) that show that because work-life policies are not mainstreamed, their take up is often poor. This generates a vicious cycle, where the policies remain marginalised, signalled by poor take up. It is not surprising in this study that the practices and routines inherent in work-life policies and procedures were often also linked to feelings of anxiety and compromise for the individuals involved in their take up.

Women in the study ultimately resolved conflicts between competing demands of home and work in several ways. They paid for professional and reliable services wherever possible, rather than relying, for example, on members of their extended family to provide child care services. They sought to control uncertainty by using strict regimes that helped them become 'good jugglers', such as time management strategies. They implemented 'rules' for work and home environments as described by a senior female manager in ComputerOrg:

> *Well once you've decided what your rules are and what your goals are you just work towards those. I get home, and my husband is at home with dinner. My son has had problems reading and writing so I sit down with him every night and I focus on him. So once I put those rules in place, and a structure, he knows when to expect, and times for spending together are routine and predictable and he's great. His behaviour has improved at school, his work has improved. And it wasn't a lot of time to remedy that. It's all about managing your time and it works.*

For some women, the resolution involved deciding ultimately not to have children, or husbands. The following excerpt from a female manager in EducOrg was typical of these responses:

> *I don't have a husband or children, so that's one fortunate thing.*

6.13 The problem with 'doing equity'

Participants volunteered their perceptions of barriers to advancement. In the analysis of these discussions I investigated whether marginality was salient in their descriptions of discrimination or other difficulties associated with advancement in the organisation. Many women described instances of discrimination and claimed that their superiors had not taken their claims seriously, or that they had been labelled as trouble makers. Often claims were not made due to fear of losing their jobs or being told that they were over-reacting. Women also weighed up the consequences of such a course of action based upon the extent to which they were likely to expect change within the culture of the organisation. The following excerpt is from a transcript of one woman in junior management in ComputerOrg who had resigned herself to the immutable nature of discrimination and marginality in her work environment:

> *I suppose we've raised a couple of issues related to it, not tried*
> *to make it an over issue because that won't work either. I*
> *suppose we haven't seen much change in the area.*

Henning and Jardim (1977) concluded that women underestimated the importance of being visible in the organisation to their career advancement. The findings in this study illustrate that the supposed 'errors' that women make in their career orientations may be a result of situational constraints within the organisational culture rather than due to a lack of awareness. Several women in this study were aware of the requirements involved in seeking promotion but were not willing or able to incorporate these behaviours.

Astin (1984) hypothesised that vocational expectations are particularly important in shaping later career attainment. Poole and Langan-Fox's (1997) analysis of women's career development showed that, rather, social variables such as financial constraints influenced occupational expectations and college and university attainment. The findings in this study appear to confirm Poole and Langan-Fox's assertion that socialisation influences motivation, rather than motivation leading to shaping of opportunity, as Astin proposes. The gendered cultural expectations that some women faced in their organisations appeared to

influence their motivation towards career success in general, such as the case for a woman in MetalOrg:

> *I used to have a career plan, but it's not worth it. Probably because I've been in a male dominated metal trades industry. I don't want to have to be a man to get anywhere. I'm in a man's environment so I'm quite happy achieving things on a weekly, daily basis in my work.*

Structural barriers to advancement such as lack of educational qualifications were at times employed as reasons for limited progress for women when they did not appear to apply to men. This was particularly evident in MetalOrg, where women had been dissuaded from seeking promotion due to lack of educational qualifications, while many of the senior male managers had little or no educational attainment above secondary school. In this same organisation, management teams appeared to deliberately hire women as a token measure in an attempt to appear to be addressing equity issues, but then would not acknowledge that other supports were required for these women to succeed.

Other structural barriers identified by women in MetalOrg and ComputerOrg were in terms of the structure of opportunity. In contrast, women in EducOrg were unanimous in their perception of their organisation providing women with career pathways through varied experiences and professional development opportunities. As expectations of self-efficacy are also based on information from vicarious experiences and verbal persuasion (Bandura, 1982), an important link may be made between structural opportunities for rewarding staff and individual perceptions of efficacy and competence.

In this study, younger women in particular expressed dissatisfaction with the rewards they received and the lack of parity with their male colleagues. Several women commented that their male peers were treated instantly with the type of respect and regard they felt they had to work twice as hard for:

> *You see young men in management, you know, you get these young men in suits, and they are full of themselves. They get treated with that kind of regard. They don't have to earn their*

> *stripes as long. But women in management have to earn their*
> *stripes, and if you're also young, it's even worse.*

Across the three organisations, most male managers failed to see gender as an issue for management, and were subsequently not in favour of positive discrimination programs, such as affirmative action. They indicated that selection should be based on merit only:

> *I'm not trying to be politically correct, so all this gender stuff*
> *really annoys me. For people to say oh we've got to have 35% of*
> *female employees, I mean that's bullshit, that's absolute bullshit.*
> *If they're good enough, they'll be there. So that's the way I think*
> *about it all, whether or not that's what I actually DO. That's*
> *hard to say. I haven't seen too many females in management*
> *positions in this industry I must admit.*

Female managers at EducOrg acknowledged that women's increased representation at management levels was attributable to having a feminist President, and other like minded staff. The organisation's social justice philosophy had also aided in changing the culture. Although affirmative action had not been a policy ascribed to, there was an acknowledgement that the cultural change had taken place when the President of the organisation had been a 'woman with feminist ideologies'. The male managers acknowledged that EducOrg provided women with a more level playing field, with value being placed on providing opportunities and most importantly encouragement for women to succeed.

> *It's happened a lot through having women as President. They*
> *obviously thought it was important to have women employed in*
> *key areas, and I think its just that the men never thought of it in*
> *that way. A manager was employed and she was a woman. In*
> *terms of all the applicants on paper she was like a back runner.*
> *And I also remember the selection committee talking about, in*
> *terms of gender how people in that area, men, such as chefs,*
> *tended to take the high profile areas whereas women hadn't. We*
> *all agreed that all the women we interviewed did much better*
> *than the men [in person]. So it was a little bit of consciousness*
> *raising in a friendly way. But that's just sort of sparked off this*

string of women being employed. I heard key men saying that the women staff are much better than the men. They're much more competent and women are being promoted. I don't think they went out of their way to do it so much just that when someone walks in the door and they see the world in a particular way they're going to influence them and because it was done often quite gently it worked effectively in terms of the outcomes you see now.

Most male managers were aware of their responsibilities for ensuring processes used were fair and non-discriminatory. However, affirmative action (AA) was not deemed desirable, mainly because it 'didn't work', or 'wasn't necessary'. For example, many participants across organisations suggested that affirmative action was not necessary and that if women were 'good enough' then their participation should increase naturally, as the best candidate for the job at any particular time should be selected for that job. There appeared to be a view that merit was not a consideration in positive discrimination, and so AA programs inevitably led to inferior recruitment outcomes.

These views were often based on errors of fact. For example there were varying perceptions of the proportions of women to men even within the one organisation. In ComputerOrg, a female manager lamented about the low proportions of women within the organisation, both in the senior management team and also within the more powerful programming department. A male manager in the same organisation affirmed that the proportions of women to men in ComputerOrg were equal.

Males particularly expressed views about affirmative action strategies that betrayed their erroneous beliefs about equity in general. Often these same misconceptions were evident in discussions about sexual harassment and how sexual harassment policies had 'gotten out of hand' so that in effect *any* action to could be misconstrued as harassment by women, with men seen as the victims. Women acknowledged, for example, that any challenges to offensive language were likely to direct attention to them as 'unreasonable women' rather than focussing attention on the man that had made the inappropriate remark. The sexist, racist and misogynist language that accompanied managers' affirmations

that, for example, 'ComputerOrg is good at equity' was telling of the varied meanings that 'equity' had for individual managers.

Sexual harassment can be seen as a form of social control in the workplace, used as a means of maintaining status quo against 'threatening' women. Women are more likely to have their organisational identity overridden by their sexual identity. Women managers in this study, as in Sheppard's study, cited numerous examples of this process.

Victims of discrimination and whistle blowers were often referred to as troublemakers. For males, managing sexual harassment was seen in terms of a risk management issue rather than as an issues that involved changes to misogynist values and power relations underpinning acts of sexual harassment. Women discussed changing the status quo in relation to confronting the cultural values and practices in the work places and many identified themselves as change agents in this process. Other women were loathe to confront the status quo head on, insisting that senior males in their organisation who were the holders of power could too easily dismiss their advance. Therefore, strategies for change involved working within the mainstream culture of the organisation, usually within the mother/ nurturing role assigned to the woman in management by her male colleagues.

6.14 Chapter summary and conclusion

The findings in Study 1 provide an experiential account of marginality in organisational structures. By juxtaposing the experiences of male and female managers within a gendered organisational context, we can better understand the relationships between individual, structural and cultural factors that contribute to marginality. The findings highlight the utility of adopting a cultural psychological perspective to describe marginality for women in organisations.

Results suggested that gender impacted on men and women differently at individual, structural and cultural levels in the hierarchical organisations studied. In particular, women managers continue to experience structural and cultural discrimination and exclusion. Gender polarisation processes perpetuate

perceptions that female managers are in some way 'deviant'. Women therefore described difficulties in negotiating a management approach that accommodated the way they personally 'do' gender, and the organisation's gendered expectations of managers. Findings also showed that women experience significant internal conflict in attempting to resolve their individual value systems with those of the organisation.

Themes discussed in *'The Gendered Culture'* described the gender polarisation processes that operate within participants' organisational cultures. Narratives described how gender identity was salient within organisational cultures while women in particular attempted to negotiate their dual positioning within gendered sub-cultures. Female managers in this study felt that women in managerial roles were caught between dichotomous modes of behaviour: feminine and masculine. To survive in the wider organisation, they felt that they had to adopt a masculine mode of behaviour. However, the women faced criticisms for diverging from expected role behaviours. They were caught in the contact zone between prescribed gender categories. They described instances where they were often criticised for being *too* masculine or *too* feminine by both men and women.

Themes in *'The Nature Of Power'* were descriptive of how 'fit' pervades informal network, communications and mentoring activities. Women were more aware than men of the effects of gender on the way power was distributed in the organisation. Men and women attributed value judgements to the types of power strategies employed, with women describing their disdain at some of the subversive strategies they had seen other women employ. Many of the women managers had chosen or were choosing deliberately not to acquire power due to the compromise they perceived this would involve to their values and behaviours.

Analysis of themes presented in *'The Good Manager'* in the main described managers in traditionally masculine terms. Women managers found it difficult to cover the gendered terrain in their organisations because of the salience of gender difference that conjures up threats to the status quo, and in particular about how power is distributed amongst organisational members.

Narratives presented in '*Women On The Juncture'* described the constraints on gender expressions outside feminine passive modes that are enforced on women's behavioural choices and self expression. The very nature of hegemonic masculine culture places constraints on the expression of femininity for women at work. These constraints appear to be independent of the level of personal bicultural efficacy women bring to the contact zone. Rather, it appears that the impact of constraints are associated with the degree of gender management strategies they are able to deploy. Women provided an insight into the strategies they deployed to overcome these constraints, which in the main were strategies that alleviated the impact of difference and helped them to 'fit in'.

Therefore, rather than seeing women as choice makers as they negotiate the terrain from marginal positions, they are in fact constrained in their choices. This process leaves some women with no choice. For some women this manifested in stated intentions to leave the organisation.

Most of the women in managerial positions across the three organisations saw themselves as change agents in some form or other, describing this role as a 'necessary burden'. They perceived their successes in both personal and collective terms. They were particularly aware of the structural factors that impeded their career success and the presence of the 'glass ceiling' within their own and other women's experiences and had therefore become involved in activities intended to improve the position of women in their organisations. These ranged from being central to the women's networks in their organisations, and therefore providing other women with models of behaviour for 'successful women' and providing support. They acknowledged that central to their goals was the active shaping of the organisational culture in order to remove impediments for other women.

While the women themselves saw themselves as change agents, as discussed in '*Doing Equity'* this only served as yet another mask for maintaining an appearance of equity for men and women while gender polarisation processes continued to operate subversively, excluding women from power and influence. Cultural expectations influenced the motivation to career for individual women, confirming findings by Poole and Langan-Fox (1997). This was exemplified

particularly in EducOrg, where the feminist ideologies that slowly permeated the leadership team had brought about the rise in women's achievements and successes. Whereas in the other organisations, women's narratives were filled with disillusionment and a sense that pursuing a career in their current context was not 'worth it'.

Narratives around sources of stress highlighted the disparities between women's and men's experiences, with women describing stressors from multiple sources, rather than just job-related sources. In addition, themes discussed in *'Above All Else'* suggested that women cope with other sources of stress, including home-work tensions with multiple strategies and high self-efficacy. However, stressors from discrimination, organisational gendered politics, and subversive processes that constrain behavioural choices and self expression to stereotyped feminine roles were ultimately of concern.

Although participants in Study 1 acknowledged that their organisations had gone some of the way in implementing work-life friendly policies, they also indicated that in practice these policies were not perceived as congruent with the demands of the management or work role. While women were particularly adamant that home and work should be kept separate, success in one sphere was related to success in the other. Some women in the study experienced immense conflict managing the demands of home and work which was primarily expressed in terms of quality of life issues. The resolution of the work-home dilemma for women in the study often resulted in compromise and sacrifice.

Women's descriptions illustrated their struggles in the juncture between the subjective values based upon their gender identity and that of the organisation. They described the difficulties in belonging to both cultures without compromising their own gender identity due to the pressures to assimilate. This process appeared to involve risk, especially when participants bemoaned the lack of champions for cultural change within organisations. However, there is risk in maintaining a marginal position, as effects of marginality included heightened stress and isolation. In a self-sustaining cycle, maintaining a unique position in relation to the organisation culture may also sustain the gendering of that culture.

CHAPTER 7

INVESTIGATING THE DIMENSIONALITY OF MARGINALITY, AND ITS RELATION TO CAREER SUCCESS AND STRESS

7 Aims and hypotheses of Study 2

The conceptual framework used in Study 1 focussed on the role of gender marginality for women in managerial roles, and relationships to wellbeing (occupational stress). However, as findings also elucidated the importance of mediators, such as motivation, psychological and social support resources, these were included in the design in Study 2.

Study 2 offered a basis for triangulating findings in Study 1. It also provided an opportunity to test the hypothesis that gender marginality, mediated by psychosocial resources, will significantly predict career success and stress. Perceptions of marginality were operationalised in Study 2 as the degree of incongruence between individuals' self ratings of gender related characteristics and values, and their ratings of gender related characteristics and values of the organisational culture. In Study 2 aims were refined to include the following hypotheses:

1. women will experience greater degrees of marginality than men;

2. marginality will predict lower levels of career success satisfaction, after accounting for the effects of career importance, psychological and social support resources.

3. marginality will predict higher levels of occupational stress and role conflict after accounting for the effects of career importance, psychological (self-efficacy, locus of control, self esteem and extraversion) and social support resources (network position and availability of mentors).

STUDY 2 METHOD

7.1   Participants

A potential pool of 250 participants from two organisations was asked to participate in Study 2. Although all three organisations involved in Study 1 were invited to participate in Study 2, only one, ComputerOrg re-volunteered. MetalOrg experienced a change of ownership during the period between Study 1 and Study 2, and consequently a change in management personnel. Although the past Managing Director had expressed interest in participating in Study 2, the new Managing Director was less enthusiastic, and subsequently failed to volunteer access to personnel in his organisation for Study 2. EducOrg initially volunteered to participate in Study 2, however due to unforeseen circumstances, withdrew from the study after questionnaires were administered. All completed surveys were destroyed. A new organisation was recruited to increase the sample size, particularly of females in managerial positions. The new organisation was recruited via similar processes used to recruit organisations in Study 1. It was a medium sized insurance company (InsurOrg), with its head office based in Hong Kong, and branch offices based in most capital cities in Australia. Only the Australian branches of InsurOrg were included in the study, with 126 employees at the time of study. InsurOrg was similar to ComputerOrg in relation to the representation of women in management roles. While the majority of employees of InsurOrg were women (63 %), only 33 percent were represented in management levels (including senior levels). Participants' were all anglo-saxon Australian, therefore presenting quite a homogenous group in relation to race / ethnicity.

Study 2 broadened the scope of the study to include all organisational members in order to sufficiently map the networks within the organisation and to include the perceptions of subordinates.

No responses required deletion due to unacceptable outliers: therefore, all 62 respondents from ComputerOrg (45 % response rate) and 88 from InsurOrg (70% response rate) were included in the study. The total sample comprised 73

Australian males and 77 Australian females, with females comprising 45 percent of the ComputerOrg sample, and 56 percent of the InsurOrg sample. Most participants were under 45 years (75.3%) with the median age group being 25 to fewer than 35 years. Although the majority were married or in defacto relationships (64.7%), a smaller number of participants were involved in parenting young children with 34 percent of the sample having one or two children under 18 years of age. Interestingly, males in both organisational samples indicated that they had more children than females. However there were no other differences between organisational sample in relation to demographic characteristics. The average tenure of participants at the time of the study was just over three years. Although the sample from the two organisations represented positions evenly distributed across classification levels from elementary clerical, sales and support to management levels, educational qualifications were quite high, with the majority of participants having achieved a degree or equivalent. This was reflected in the distribution of job roles.

Table 4 shows the distribution of occupation categories of participants' job roles when the two samples were merged. Hierarchical power base was defined as formal occupational position. Occupations were coded according to the ANU3 scale, an ASCO derived scale that ranks occupational prestige (ABS, 1997, 1998). Adjustments were made to rankings via a check against organisational charts provided by participating organisations at the time of the study. Classifications of participants' occupations and job roles are displayed in Table 4. As participants' occupations did not represent the full range of occupations classified by the ANU3 scale, a rank order was established for the sample, with 1 being of least occupational prestige *within the sample*, to 7 being of most occupational prestige *within the sample*.

Table 4

Occupational classifications (based on ANU3 Scale) and rankings of occupational positions of participants

ANU3 rank of occupational prestige	Numbers classified	Percent	Example of occupations / positions within participating organisations
1. Elementary clerical sales support	15	10.0	Receptionist, administrator, customer service officer, claims officer, new business data entry
2. Intermediate clerical sales support	18	12.0	Customer service support, PA secretary, account clerk, software support
3. Advanced clerical sales support	30	20.0	Support /Consultant/ Support implementation, office manager, contractor, senior office administrator
4. Professional consulting analyst	45	30.0	Analyst programmer, implementation, underwriting, consultant, product specialist, fund administrator, systems / management project, actuary
5. Team leader senior consultant	20	13.3	Team leader, senior consultant, senior account management, product development manager
6. Administrative line manager	15	10.0	HR manager, sales manager, branch manager, operations manager, chief actuary
7. CEO / manager director	7	4.7	Regional director HR, management, applications director, executive manager, director
Total	150	100.0	

7.2   Measures

7.2.1   Marginality

Marginality was operationalised by the degree of incongruence between self and organisation ratings on the same set of gender related characteristics and personal values. Participants were instructed to rate themselves on a number of gender related characteristics and values, and then asked to imagine the organisation as a 'person', rating the 'person' accordingly (using the same set of gender-related characteristics and values).

In order to assess the differences between self and organisational ratings, traits and values would need to be reduced to empirical scales, and used to calculate an absolute difference score between self and organisation scale scores. Therefore, gender related traits and personal values were subjected to factor analysis techniques.

7.2.1.1   Gender related traits

To assess marginality particularly in relation to gender, 63 trait descriptions (from four sex role inventories) used in a previous study (Palermo, 1992) were used: Personality Description Questionnaire Form B (PDQ: Antill et al., 1981); Extended Personal Attributes Questionnaire (EPAQ: Helmreich, Spence, & Wilhelm, 1981); Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI: Bem, 1974); and the revised M-F scale from the Adjective Checklist (ACL: Heilbrun, 1976). Participants were asked to rate themselves and their organisation on the 63 gender related traits, on a scale from 1 (very untrue of me/the organisation) to 7 (very true of me/the organisation).

These traits would be reduced to scales by factor analysis to assess the sex role identity structure that explains the majority of the variance in participants' responses. This was appropriate given the problems associated with normed sex role scales identified in the literature, and explained earlier in Chapter 2.

In a previous study (Palermo, 1992) a factor analytic solution revealed that seven factors emerged from the combination of these four scales. This factor

analytic study confirmed the factor solution achieved by Coan (1989) in a similar study. The seven factors extracted in both solutions were used to scale the combination of adjectives from the four sex role scales. The factors identified by Palermo (1992) are presented below:

1. A masculine dimension of Autonomy, defined by characteristics such as determination, self-reliance, assertiveness, independence and confidence. All items were socially desirable masculine traits as categorised by the original sex role scales (Cronbach's alpha = .87, 22 items).

2. A feminine dimension of Nurturance, defined by a focus on connectedness, concern for others and empathy. Characteristics included warmth, awareness of feelings of others, sensitivity and humaneness. All items were socially desirable feminine traits as defined in the original sex role scales (Cronbach's alpha = .93, 21 items).

3. A masculine dimension of Ego Ascendence, defined by a focus on being separate and placing self over others. Characteristics included arrogance, greed and selfishness. All items were socially undesirable masculine traits as categorised by the original sex role scales (Cronbach's alpha = .84, 10 items).

4. A bipolar factor, Expressiveness versus Reticence, defined as a personality dimension with a focus on the level of interpersonal interaction desired by an individual. Characteristics of introversion included being reserved, soft spoken, while characteristics descriptive of extroversion included talkative, loud and outspoken (Cronbach's alpha = .82, 11 items).

5. A personality dimension of Emotional Accessibility, defined as a personality dimension with its main focus on emotional instability. It was defined by a state of being vulnerable, such as feeling hurt easily, worrying, and need for security. These items were categorised by feminine traits (some socially undesirable) in the original sec role scales (Cronbach's alpha = .80, 9 items).

6. A bipolar factor describing sex, defined by the traits masculine and feminine that implies that these characteristics are descriptive of a person's sex rather than gender orientation (Cronbach's alpha = .51, 2 items).

7. A bipolar factor of Passivity / Activity, interpreted as a dimension of personality with negative loadings of characteristics such as active, athletic, adventurous and competitive. These characteristics were defined as socially desirable masculine traits by the original sex role scales (Cronbach's alpha = .72, 6 items).

It was proposed that for this study, a confirmatory factor analysis would be conducted on the 63 self ratings and 63 organisational ratings in order to deduce seven composite gender marginality scales in each context.

7.2.1.2 Personal values

Personal values were assessed by using a modified form of the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS: Rokeach, 1973). Feather (1984) found that masculinity and femininity scores were significantly correlated in the expected direction with the relative importance assigned to RVS values that could be classified as instrumental or expressive, respectively.

Participants were presented with two sets of 18 values from Form D of the RVS. The values in the first set referred to terminal values, descriptive of general goals or 'end states of existence' (such as equality, freedom, inner harmony). The values in the second set, referred to as instrumental values, were descriptive of 'modes of conduct' (such as being broadminded, capable, loving). In the RVS, each value is printed on a gummed label, with the values in each set arranged in alphabetical order. The terminal values are usually presented first and the participant is asked to rank the values in each set from 1 to 18, in order of importance for self, as a guiding principle in your life. Due to limitations in accessing some participants personally, this study used a modified form of the RVS, where participants rate the importance of each value on a scale from 1 (not important to me as a guiding principle in my life) to 7 (very important to me as a guiding principle in my life). The RVS, administered in this way, had been trialled

successfully in a previous study (Palermo, 1992). The ratings procedure has also been used by Braithwaite (1998). Earlier, Feather (1973) found no differences between the rating procedure and the ranking procedure, or in using means or medians.

Feather (1984) suggested that gender-related aspects of a person's self concept would be linked to a structure of value priorities. Results of his study showed strong evidence for the masculinity and femininity scales of the PAQ and BSRI being related to the relative importance assigned to particular values of the RVS. For example, masculinity was positively related to priorities given to values of an exciting life, social recognition, and ambition. Femininity scores were positively related to the values of mature love, and being forgiving and honest. It was proposed that a confirmatory factor analysis would be conducted on the 36 self ratings and 36 organisation ratings to deduce four marginality values scales in each context.

Following a methodology of triangulation to validate the operationalisation of marginality, participants were also asked about their perceptions about 'fitting in' to their organisation. This comprised two items. The first asked them to indicate whether they perceived themselves as similar or dissimilar to the type of person the management team of their organisation sought to recruit. A 7-point likert scale was used for responses, ranging from 'extremely dissimilar' to 'extremely similar'. The second question elicited their perceptions of the extent to which they 'fit' into their workplace culture. A 7-point likert scale was used for responses, ranging from 'always' to 'rarely'.

7.3   Dependent variables

7.3.1   Career success satisfaction

In past research career success has been typically measured by objective variables such as salary, title and level in the organisational hierarchy (Powell & Maniero, 1992). However, recent studies have shown that women are more likely to judge their career success by subjective measures, such as satisfaction with present job or perceived opportunities for advancement (Powell & Maniero, 1992;

Langan-Fox, 1996). To assess perceptions of career success in this study, participants were asked about their intention to remain (Graves & Powell, 1994) and the level of satisfaction with their current job. Participants were also asked to indicate their satisfaction with their career advancement so far. In the current study the internal reliability of the Career Success Satisfaction Scale was good (α = .82), considering that Cronbach's alpha is likely to be reduced when a scale is comprised of less than seven items.

7.3.2   Stress and role conflict

Occupational Stress Indicator (OSI) scales (Cooper, Sloan & Williams, 1988) that comprise sources of pressure were used to measure occupational stress. They included measures of satisfaction with career development and identified the extent to which job factors were a source of pressure (Powell & Maniero, 1992; Langan-Fox, 1996). Questionnaire items were used to create six composite factors:

1. Factors Intrinsic to The Job, such as 'having too much work to do' and 'ambiguity in the job role';

2. The Managerial Role, such as 'simply being seen as the boss' and 'inability to delegate';

3. Relationships with Other People, such as 'lack of social support by others at work, 'feeling isolated' and 'personality clashes with others';

4. Career and Achievement, such as 'over promotion – being promoted over my level of ability' and 'changing jobs to progress my career';

5. Organisational Structure and Climate, such as 'covert discrimination and favouritism' and 'lack of consultation and communication'; and

6. Home-Work Interface, such as 'home life with a partner who is also pursuing a career' and 'demands work makes on your private/social life'.

Alpha reliabilities for scales in this study showed adequate to good internal consistency, from factors intrinsic to the job (α = .63), to organisational climate (α = .85).

In addition, a further measure of role strain, the Role Experiences Questionnaire (REQ; Langan-Fox, 1996) was used. The inventory comprises four scales. However, for the purposes of this study, only the 19 items of the Role Conflicts and Self Misgivings scale were used. The scale's author reported all scales of the REQ to be highly reliable (Cronbach alphas ranged from .8 to .93) (Langan-Fox, 1996). The Role Conflicts and Misgivings scale was highly internally consistent in the current study (α = .90).

Health and coping behaviours may be mediators of perceptions of stress and strain. In accordance with methods adopted by Osipow and Spokane (1987), questions about participants' recent health histories and their perceptions of coping were included. Participants were asked whether they had encountered major stressful events over the last few months, whether they had experienced a recent illness, and how they would rate their ability to cope with stress. These questions were rated along a seven point likert scale from 'very healthy' to 'very unhealthy' (assessment of current health) and 'very well' to 'poorly' (assessment of ability to cope with stress).

7.4   Mediating variables

As discussed earlier, the effects of stress and strain may be mediated by individual differences in psycho-social resources such as self-efficacy and locus of control, social support, and their power relations and influence positions within the organisation. The following section describes details of psychosocial support measures used in Study 2.

7.4.1   Career importance

A question about the importance of career advancement was included in the study to ascertain motivation for career. This item was initially included in the Career Success Satisfaction scale, however internal reliability analysis showed

that this question had the lowest inter-item total correlation (r = .008) and was therefore used as a single item measure of career advancement importance.

7.4.2 General emotionality: Negative and Positive Affect

Negative Affectivity (NA) has recently been recognised as an important individual characteristic that is related to occupational stressors and strain (Brief et al., 1988). The 14-item Negative Emotionality (NEM) scale from Tellegen's Multidimensional Personality Questionnaire (MPQ: Tellegen, 1985) was used to measure Negative Affectivity (NA). Participants were asked to indicate the strength of their feeling on a range of descriptors such as 'nervous', 'distressed', 'excited', and 'irritable' over the past few months.

High NEM scorers describe themselves as nervous, apprehensive, irritable and overly sensitive. NEM was found to be internally consistent (alpha = .82, n = 872: Watson and Pennebaker, 1989), and demonstrated high test-retest reliability (12 weeks: r = .72). The 11-item Positive Emotionality (PEM) scale from the MPQ was used to measure Positive Affect (PA). High PEM scorers described themselves as happy, enthusiastic, and as leading an exciting and interesting life. PEM was internally consistent (alpha = .80), and reliable over time (12 weeks: r = .77). In this study reliabilities for NEM and PEM were high (α = .88).

7.4.3 Extraversion

The 12 item Extraversion Scale of the EPQR Short Scale was used to measure extraversion. A yes-no dichotomous scale was used for item responses. Scale scores were derived by using the scoring overlay recommended by Eysenck and Eysenck (1991). One point was given for each answer endorsed in the same direction as that given in the scoring key (and therefore reflecting extraversion). Sample items included 'are you a talkative person?' and 'do you like mixing with people?' Reliabilities reported in the manual indicate high reliabilities for both males and females (males: α = .88; females: α = .84). Reliabilities in this study for the Extraversion scale showed high internal consistency and were comparable to previous findings (α = .86).

7.4.4   Locus of control

Locus of control was measured using Levenson's (1974) Internality, Powerful Others, and Chance scales. Items in these scales were adapted from several items within Rotter's (1966) Internal-External Scale. Research has shown that the Rotter scale may have an unstable factor structure across various samples (Collins, 1974; Nowicki, 1976). Blau (1984) found that Levenson's (1974) scales converged with the Rotter scale (r = 0.61), and that these scales were more factorially stable and possessed higher internal consistency. Blau (1987) found the Chance scale to have high test-retest reliability (r = 0.67). In accordance with Levenson's (1973) methodological recommendations, questions 4, 12 and 20 were customised for the organisational sample. For example, in item 4, a reference to 'life' was changed to 'career', reading as 'whether or not I succeed in my career depends on me'. The Levenson scales use a six-point likert scale (1 = strongly agree, 6 = strongly disagree). Two sample items are 'to a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings' and 'often there is no chance of protecting my personal interests from bad luck happening'. In this study the Chance (α = .71) and Powerful Others (α = .74) scales had good internal consistency whereas the Internal locus of control scale had a lower internal consistency (α = .58).

7.4.5   Self-esteem

Rosenberg's (1965) Self Esteem Scale was used to measure self-esteem. The scale consists of items that measure the self-acceptance aspect of self-esteem such as: 'on the whole, I am satisfied with myself'. Participants were asked to rate how strongly they agree or disagree on a 7-point likert scale. In a study conducted by Delongis et.al. (1988), the scale was found to have high internal consistency (α = .78). The internal consistency of the scale in this study supported their finding (α = .74).

7.4.6   Self-efficacy

A general self-efficacy scale developed by Sherer, Maddoux, Mercandante, Prentice-Dunn, Jacobs, and Rogers (1982) and based on Bandura's (1977) theory was used to assess general expectancies of self-efficacy. The scale consisted of 15

items rated on a 7-point likert scale where high scores indicate high self-efficacy. Sample items included: 'when I set important goals for myself, I achieve them' and 'when I decide to do something I go right to work on it'. High internal consistency (α= .86) and criterion validity has been reported (Sherer et al., 1982; Long, 1989). The scale was less internally consistent in this study (α = .61).

7.4.7 Mentoring experiences

Based upon Dreher and Ash's (1990) global measure of mentoring practices, two items were developed to measure the extent to which participants had experienced and benefited from a mentor relationship. Participants were asked to indicate whether any other person in their organisation had shown interest in their career advancement using a 7-point likert scale ranging from 'rarely' to 'very frequently'. They were also asked to indicate whether they believed they had benefited from the help of a mentor on a similar 7-point likert scale.

7.4.8 Network position and indices of influence

7.4.8.1 Perceived power and network position

Participants were provided with a list of all employees in the organisation. They were asked to nominate in an average week, who they *go to for advice* (Brass & Burkhardt, 1993). To ascertain perceived power, participants were also asked to nominate whom they had or would approach to *get things done* through bypassing formal bureaucratic channels (adapted from Fombrum, 1983). This method of listing all organisational members is considered the technique with the least inherent measurement error (Holland & Leinhardt, 1973). Network researchers have shown that respondents can provide accurate measures of relatively long-term, stable patterns of interaction. Brass (1984) reported substantial agreement between observed interactions in a workflow network and those obtained through employees' reports via questionnaire.

Brass and Buckhardt (1993) advocated a multi-measure approach to analyse network constellations and provide indices of centrality and proximity. PAJEK* (Batagelj, 2004), a structural network analysis software, was used to analyse

network constellations and provide indices of centrality and betweenness or proximity.

Centrality was calculated firstly by counting the number of different people who nominated any focal person (Burkhardt & Brass, 1990; Brass & Burkhardt, 1993) regardless of whether that focal person has reciprocated the nomination. Powerful leaders are often the objects of extensive relations from followers, and thus nominations are a measure of status whether or not they are reciprocated. Using measures of reputation power is consistent with the attributional nature of power. Two centrality measures were produced: one for the *advice* social network and the other for the *get things done* social network.

Betweenness was assessed by adding the minimum number of links between the focal person/s and all others in an organisation. Direct contact was counted as 1 link, indirect contact through one other individual was counted as 2 links, and so forth. This sum was then divided by n-1, where n = the number of persons in an organisation. The scores were then transformed using a formula developed by (Brass, 1984): 1 - ({d - 1} / dmax), where d equals the shortest path distance and dmax equals the largest observed value of d. This transformation reverses the sign of the relationships so that higher values represent greater proximity. This measure reflects the degree of an individual's independent access to others (Freeman, 1979). As with centrality, two measures were calculated: one for the *advice* social network and the other for the *get things done* social network.

7.5 Procedure

The test battery was compiled and piloted with a number of volunteers within the general community who are employed in hierarchical organisations. Pilot responses were analysed for face validity and reliability.

The revised questionnaire battery (a sample form is included in Appendix B) was distributed to participants in their workplaces by the researcher in individually sealed and addressed envelopes. Participants were instructed to return their completed forms in the return mail envelopes provided. Participants were given the option of returning questionnaires by mail, or alternatively the

researcher was available on a number of occasions to collect questionnaires personally.

Before commencing the questionnaires, participants were instructed (in writing) to first imagine themselves in their workplace and then to commence rating. This provided a distinct context within which ratings could occur. The sequence of rating self and the organisation was counter balanced across participants to eliminate any carry over effects between rating events. The sequence of traits presented was also counter balanced across participants.

Reminder letters were sent after one month of distribution to those that had not yet responded. Due to network analyses including sociometric techniques, the questionnaires were not anonymous. Participants were ensured of the confidentiality of their responses, and were asked to sign a consent form. The managing directors of the respective organisations were also asked to sign a form endorsing Study 2, which included a commitment that the results of the research would not be used to the disadvantage of any staff members. To ensure confidentiality of participants, questionnaires were coded with an identification number for the participant, their department, and their organisation. All participants were instructed that their participation was voluntary and that they may withdraw at any time.

Results were fed back to organisations in the form of summaries of statistical results and sociometric figures showing network constellations within their workplace. A sample report is included in Appendix C. These summaries did not contain any information that identified individual persons. I presented this information personally (during seminars in Melbourne and at interstate office sites) and was available to answer any questions or address any concerns. On one occasion where a presentation to an office site in Western Australia was not possible, a teleconference was held with staff at that location.

7.6   Data analysis

Marginality was operationalised as the differences found between self ratings on gender and values traits, and organisation ratings of the same set of

traits. After testing for accuracy of the data, reliability and validity of variables, analyses were conducted using SPSS software. Traits were submitted to four separate confirmatory factor analyses, two for each of the ratings of gender traits and two for each of the ratings of values traits. Composite scales were constructed from factor loadings, with the difference scores used to construct marginality scales.

Mediating variables were constructed according to standard scaling techniques with any variations as indicated earlier in this chapter. PAJEK* software was used to develop betweenness and centrality measures from sociometric influence networks. These data were then merged with the global data set.

Multivariate multiple regression analyses were conducted on dependent variables to assess effects of marginality scales and mediating variables. Multiple Regression (stepwise) analyses were also conducted to test hypotheses that marginality would predict career success and stress after explaining for sex and mediator effects. A mediated structural equation model was also conducted using AMOS software to test the relationships between one of the marginality scales, mediating variables (psychological and social support variables) and outcome variables (stress and career success satisfaction variables).

An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical analyses.

RESULTS OF STUDY 2

7.7 Overview

The results from Study 2 are presented in this section. The first section describes the tests conducted to ascertain the reliability and validity of dependent, independent and mediating variables, with data accuracy tests and transformations conducted. Factor analyses are presented which formed the basis for the composite marginality measures. Dependent variables in the data are then checked for their homogeneity of variance across two sample populations and effects of sex on the variables of study investigated.

The section presents outcomes of a series of analyses, multivariate regression and hierarchical regressions, that test the hypotheses that:

(1) women will experience higher levels of marginality than men;

(2) psychological and support variables will mediate the effects of marginality; and

(3) marginality will be a predictor of stress and career success satisfaction, after accounting for sex, motivation for career and mediating variables.

These analyses test the contributions of a series of predictors on dependent variables, namely occupational stress and career success satisfaction.

7.8 Missing data and data accuracy

As a first step to exploring the data, variables were tested for normality and skewness. This also included an exploration of missing data and outliers. The distributions of data for dependent variables (that is, stress and career success) in particular were explored to ascertain the robustness of variables against assumptions that could affect analyses undertaken to test hypotheses. Due to the sensitivity of multivariate analyses to outliers (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001), outliers were detected by exploring observations that were more than 3 standard deviations from their mean (or more than 3 times the median absolute deviation (MAD) from the centre of the data (Lovie, 1986).

Tests of normality based on skewness and kurtosis measures were also used because they are particularly effective in outlier detection especially when there are multiple outliers present (Lovie, 1986). Variables were considered significantly to depart from normality if their distributions were unacceptably flat or peaked (negative and positive kurtosis), or their respective z scores (ratio of skewness and kurtosis statistic over the respective standard error) were greater than 3.29 in their absolute value (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Career success satisfaction showed signs of unacceptable negative skewness. However, because the skewness was not related to the presence of outliers but rather to the nature of the social desirability of the scale, it did not warrant transformation.

There were relatively few missing values, therefore a missing values substitution procedure (using EM in SPSS) was used that estimates the means, the covariance matrix, and the correlation of quantitative variables with missing values, using an iterative process. As suggested by Tabachnick and Fidell (2001), patterns for missing data were tested by computing dummy variables with two groups, based on missing and non-missing data on demographic variables such as educational qualification, sex and age group. These dummy variables were then used to test mean differences on randomly selected items. No mean differences were found between groups with missing data and groups without missing data ($F(1,147) = .92$, $MSE = 1.34$, $p=.33$) Therefore, the missing values were considered to be missing at random (MAR). This meant that EM estimation was possible, allowing estimates to be adjusted using available information.

7.8.1 Validity, reliability and scale statistics of dependent measures

Means and standard deviations were calculated for dependent measures of stress (6 OSI stress factors), REQ and career success satisfaction. Scale scores were calculated so that they could be compared to norms and therefore at times this involved the sum of item scores. These are displayed in Table 6. However, for subsequent analyses the average across item responses was calculated to compute scale scores. Means in Table 5 indicate that there were differences between males and females on dependent variables, with females reporting higher mean scores for OSI scales, Career and Achievement, and Organisational Structure and

Climate. Mean scores in the main appeared to parallel norms, except for REQ

mean scores which appeared to be higher than the norms reported by Langan-Fox,

(1996).

Table 5

Means and standard deviations of dependent variables, and scale norms for
females and males: Stress and career success variables

	Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	Cron-bach's alpha	Norms Means	Std. Dev.
OSI Factor 1: Stress Factors Intrinsic to the Job[a]	Females	27.84	5.73			
	Males	27.18	5.87			
	Total	27.52	5.79	.63	31.3	5.95
OSI Factor 2: The Managerial Role	Females	32.68	7.49			
	Males	30.79	7.54			
	Total	31.76	7.55	.79	36.48	7.88
OSI Factor 3: Relationships with Other People	Females	29.16	7.30			
	Males	26.83	7.35			
	Total	28.03	7.39	.79	31.74	7.30
OSI Factor 4: Career and Achievement	Females	27.67	7.93			
	Males	24.92	7.29			
	Total	26.33	7.72*	.80	27.97	7.76

Table 5 (continued)

	Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	Cron-bach's alpha	Norms Means	Std. Dev.
OSI Factor 5: Organisational Structure and Climate	Females	37.48	9.62			
	Males	33.61	8.03			
	Total	35.60	9.06*	.85	37.40	9.47
OSI Factor 6: Home Work Interface	Females	28.74	9.31			
	Males	26.74	7.22			
	Total	27.77	9.06	.83	32.69	9.56
REQ: Role Conflicts and Self Misgivings[b]	Females	58.74	17.03			
	Males	58.45	18.58			
	Total	58.60	17.74	.90	35.26	10.11
Career Success Satisfaction	Females	4.44	1.39			
	Males	5.02	1.02			
$N = 150$	Total	4.72	1.25	.83		

Note: a,b Norms reported in (Langan-Fox, 1996)

* $p < .05$

In order to ascertain their concurrent validity, the inter-correlations among dependent variables were calculated and are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Pearson correlations of stress and career success measures with perceived health and coping ability.

Variables	OSI Factor 1	OSI Factor 2	OSI Factor 3:	OSI Factor 4	OSI Factor 5	OSI Factor 6	REQ	Career Success	COPE
OSI Factor 1	1.00								
OSI Factor 2	.77**	1.00							
OSI Factor 3	.67**	.81**	1.00						
OSI Factor 4	.61**	.70**	.60**	1.00					
OSI Factor 5	.70**	.79**	.78**	.72**	1.00				
OSI Factor 6	.57**	.59**	.45**	.44**	.49**	1.00			
REQ	.31**	.33**	.33**	.24*	.33**	.36**	1.00		
Career Success	-.22*	-.29**	-.39**	-.46**	-.47**	-.09	-.29**	1.00	
Career Import	-.03	-.02	-.07	.27*	-.02	-.05	-.20	.01	
COPE	.05	.07	.18	.023	.10	.15	.48**	-.27*	1.00
HEALTH	.09	.05	.16	-.01	.10	.16	.39**	-.27*	.62*

Note: $N = 150$, *$p<.01$, **$p<.001$ (2 tailed)
OSI Factor 1 = Stress Factors Intrinsic to the Job
OSI Factor 2 = The Managerial Role
OSI Factor 3 = Relationships with Other People
OSI Factor 4 = Career and Achievement
OSI Factor 5 = Organisational Structure and Climate
OSI Factor 6 = Home Work Interface
REQ = Role Conflicts and Self Misgivings
Career Success – Career Success Satisfaction
COPE = ability to cope with stress
HEALTH = current state of health

As expected the occupational stress factors were strongly and positively correlated. Career success satisfaction was significantly and negatively correlated with the REQ scale and all stress factors except for work/home interface. These results suggest that as stress and role conflict increases, perceptions of career success are likely to decrease.

Health and coping behaviours were hypothesised as mediators of perceptions of occupational stress, therefore these variables were also included in the matrix in accordance with methods adopted by Osipow and Spokane (1987). Career success satisfaction was the only dependent variable that was significantly correlated with health and coping measures, however associations were not strong. This indicated that participants' responses on the stress scales were not associated with their perceptions of coping ability or current state of health. These variables therefore were not included in subsequent analyses that involved stress.

Inter-correlations were calculated for females and males separately. For males there was a significant correlation between REQ and stressors intrinsic to the job (r = .44). However there was no significant correlation found for females. These results indicate that females were less likely to associate role conflicts and self-misgivings with stressors from factors intrinsic to their job role.

7.9   Developing marginality measures

7.9.1   Gender traits

As a first step to operationalising marginality, correlation matrices of self ratings and organisation ratings were produced and examined. Matrices were also produced for males and females respectively. Visual inspection of the matrices revealed a substantial number of correlations greater than ±0.3. Matrices for males and females did not differ in their structure. However, there appeared to be differences in the pattern of correlations for self and organisation ratings with the sample of males and females combined. Having established the presence of covariance matrices for self and organisation ratings separately, two confirmatory factor analyses were conducted to determine the underlying structures of the gender traits used in the study, and in particular to assess the degree to which the structures confirmed those found in past research (Coan, 1989; Palermo, 1992). Initially, a principal axis method of extraction of seven factors was conducted for both sets of ratings. In this study, principal axis method was deemed more appropriate than principal components method of factor analysis. This is because producing factors comprising high communality values was of more interest than

maximising the variance across all variables. Principal axis methods only utilises the variance that each observed variable shares with other observed variables, excluding error and unique variances. Hence in principal axis method the linear combination of factors approximates the observed correlation matrix and produces factor scores on observed variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

The solutions converged on an oblique rotation. However, they were not parsimonious with the last two factors having too few unique loadings in each case. Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) recommend that each hypothesised factor in factor analysis should include at least five variables thought to be relatively pure measures of that factor. An examination of the scree test plots demonstrated that a more parsimonious solution might involve a five-factor solution. A five factor solution was achieved for both sets of ratings respectively. The two solutions converged on an oblique rotation explaining 44.10 percent of the variance for self ratings and 52.54 percent for organisation ratings. Factor loadings are displayed in Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix D.

The analyses showed that self and organisation ratings differed in their underlying structures. Table 7 describes and interprets each of the factors extracted from the two solutions.

Table 7

Descriptions of factors extracted from self and organisation factor solutions.

GENDER TRAITS

Self Ratings	Organisation Ratings
Factor 1: Nurturance	Factor 1: Nurturance
A dimension defined by characteristics stereotypically associated with femininity, such as, a focus on concern for others, compassion and empathy. Characteristics included warmth, awareness of feelings of others, sensitivity, considerateness and understanding. All items were socially desirable feminine traits as defined in the original sex role scales. The factor loadings mirrored the loadings found by Coan (1989) and Palermo (1992). (Cronbach's alpha = .96, 27 items).	A dimension similar to the factor extracted by gender self ratings loadings and defined by characteristics stereotypically associated with femininity, such as, a focus on concern for others, compassion and empathy. Characteristics included sensitivity to others, affection, awareness of feelings of others, helpfulness, sympathy and understanding. All items were socially desirable feminine traits as defined in the original sex role scales. The factor loadings mirrored the loadings found by Coan and Palermo. (Cronbach's alpha = .93, 26 items).
Factor 2: Autonomy	Factor 2: Autonomy
A dimension defined by characteristics stereotypically associated with masculinity such as dominance, strength, courage, risk taking and leadership. All items were socially desirable masculine traits as categorised by the original sex role scales. The factor loadings mirrored those found by Coan and Palermo. (Cronbach's alpha = .91, 21 items).	A dimension similar to the same factor extracted by gender self ratings loadings and defined by characteristics stereotypically associated with masculinity such as dominance, decisiveness, strength, assertiveness, risk taking and leadership. All items were socially desirable masculine traits as categorised by the original sex role scales. The factor loadings mirrored those found by Coan and Palermo. (Cronbach's alpha = .90, 15 items).

Table 7 (continued)

GENDER TRAITS	
Self Ratings	**Organisation Ratings**
Factor 3: Passivity	Factor 3: Passivity
A dimension defined by obsequious characteristics such as childlikeness, spinelessness and submissiveness. All items were socially undesirable feminine traits as categorised by the original sex role scales. These characteristics had loaded negatively on the Nurturance factor in previous studies (Coan, 1989; Palermo, 1992). (Cronbach's alpha = .52, 4 items).	A dimension defined by characteristics stereotypically associated with passive femininity and similar to the factor extracted by self ratings loadings. It was defined by socially undesirable feminine traits. (Cronbach's alpha = .60, 4 items).
Factor 4: Gender identity	Factor 4: Non-unique factor
A bipolar factor describing sex, defined by the traits masculine and feminine that implies that these characteristics may be descriptive of a person's sex rather than gender orientation. Coan and Palermo had extracted the same factor. (Cronbach's alpha = .66, 3 items).	An undecipherable dimension of factor loadings that share variance with other factors in the solution. Items included strong, sincere, flatterable, masculine and leadership qualities. Yet none of the loadings were unique, in that they shared variance with one or more other factors. (Cronbach's alpha = .84, 9 items).
Factor 5: Expressiveness versus Reticence	Factor 5: Immaturity
A bipolar factor defined as a personality dimension with a focus on the level of interpersonal interaction desired by an individual. Characteristics of reticence included being shy and soft spoken, while characteristics descriptive of expressiveness included decisiveness. (Cronbach's alpha = .67, 4 items).	A factor describing a childlike state, lacking in independence defined by characteristics of childlikeness and gullibility. The only items that loaded uniquely in this factor were the childlike characteristics which are categorised as undesirable feminine traits by the original sex role scales. (Cronbach's alpha = .53, 3 items).

The self ratings solution was almost orthogonal with only two of factors being inter-correlated very weakly with one another. Autonomy was significantly correlated positively with Factor 5 – Expressiveness versus Reticence. However, the association was weak ($r = .26$). In the organisation ratings solutions the factors were correlated quite differently. Surprisingly, Nurturance and Autonomy were significantly positively correlated, albeit weakly ($r = .28$). Factor 3, Passivity, and Factor 4, Gender Identity, were significantly correlated negatively ($r = -.37$). As expected, Nurturance was also significantly correlated in a negative direction with Factor 5 ($r = -.30$), and Autonomy was correlated in the expected direction with Factor 3 ($r = .37$).

That the solutions differed across contexts of self ratings and organisation ratings appears consistent with the domain specific nature of gender identity (Chusmir & Koberg, 1989). However, for the purposes of the study it presented a conundrum. If the factor structures were dissimilar, a difference score between self and organisation ratings could not be calculated.

This was further confounded by another unexpected outcome. Although the solutions appeared to mirror five of the factors extracted in previous studies (Coan 1989; Palermo, 1992), the Ego Ascendency Scale, and Expressiveness vs. Reticence factors, were not extracted in this study in either solution. The Ego Ascendency dimension appeared to be subsumed in the second factor extracted, Autonomy. Expressiveness vs. Reticence appeared to be subsumed for the most part in the factor Nurturance. Therefore, not only did the factors not equate across the differing domains, they did not confirm previous findings, and therefore could not be relied upon as valid scales in this study. The only factors that did meet these conditions were the first two extracted, Nurturance and Autonomy. Therefore, in the light of these considerations, and the poor reliabilities of Factors 3 to 5 versus the superior internal consistency of the first two factors extracted, the gender marginality measures were limited to Nurturance and Autonomy.

These two factors explained the majority of the variance in both domain solutions and were highly internally consistent. Cronbach's alphas for Nurturance

scales (self and organisation ratings) and Autonomy scales (self and organisation ratings) were higher for these factors than the others. They were also similar to those extracted in previous factor analytic studies. Autonomy reflected the masculine dimension found by Coan (1989) and Palermo (1992), defined by characteristics such as analytical, dominant, enterprising, and leadership qualities. All items were socially desirable masculine traits as categorised by the previous sex role scales. Nurturance reflected the feminine dimension found by Coan and Palermo, defined by a focus on compassion, caring for others, empathy and kindness.

7.9.2 Values

A confirmatory factor analysis using principal axis extraction of seven factors was conducted for self ratings and organisation ratings of personal values (RVS: Rokeach, 1973) separately. Terminal and Instrumental values were analysed together, as the point of interest in the study was the reduction of values to scales that were correlated with gender, rather than attempting to delineate types of values. Confirmatory factor analysis using an orthogonal (VARIMAX) rotation did not extract a parsimonious solution as found by Rokeach (1973). An examination of the scree plot showed that the number of factors that would yield the most reliable solution was four. Therefore, four factors were extracted in an oblique rotation (as the previous analysis had shown correlations between factors). The four factors explained 39 percent of the variance for self ratings and 48 percent of the variance for organisation ratings. Factor loadings are displayed in Tables D.3 and D.4 in Appendix D.

Unlike the gender ratings solutions, the values factor solutions were more similar across the self and organisation domains. Therefore, four scales were derived by including those variables that loaded on each factor in both the self and organisation ratings domains. As the four scales showed good internal consistency, with Cronbach's alphas not falling below 0.8, all scales were considered as input measures for marginality scales. The resulting scales were as follows:

Social Connectedness: defined by communal values found by Feather (1984) to be correlated with femininity such as world of peace, world of beauty, family security, national security, loving, forgiving. These values appeared to describe a sense of world order with a sense of comfort being expressed through equilibrium and connectedness. Cronbach's alpha for organisation ratings was 0.86, and for self ratings was 0.83. This factor resembled a factor extracted by Braithwaite (1998) in her factor analysis of Rokeach's terminal and instrumental values. She extricated a factor which she described as Humanistic / Expressive. However, in Braithwaite's study this dimension also included an element of personal growth which was extracted in this study as a separate dimension in the next factor.

Explorational: defined by values found by Feather (1984) to be correlated with masculinity, such as an exciting life, accomplishment, broadminded, imaginative, courageous, capable and intellectual. It appeared to describe a sense of expansion and growth through interpersonal and intra-personal dynamics. Cronbach's alpha for organisation ratings alpha was 0.87, and for self ratings was 0.82.

Social Conformity: defined by values that espouse a sense of an ordered social world, that provides both enabling and constricting elements. Characteristics of this dimension were enabling values such as pleasure, comfort, social recognition, and instrumental values that espouse social mores such as obedience, responsibility and politeness. Cronbach's alpha for organisation ratings and self ratings alpha was 0.81. This factor appeared to mirror a factor also found by Braithwaite (1998) which captured values that ensure safety and protection through adherence to social mores and the acquisition of status.

Inner Harmony: defined mainly by values found by Feather (1984) to be correlated with Femininity such as inner harmony, self respect, mature love, true friendship and honesty. These values appeared to reflect an internal focus and desire to achieve a sense of equanimity within oneself and with others. Cronbach's alpha for organisation ratings was 0.86, and for self ratings alpha was 0.82.

7.9.3   Composite marginality scales

Following the identification of six reliable factors (four value scales, and the two gender scales) in the four factor analyses conducted, 12 scales were produced from means of variables that loaded on these factors from organisation and self ratings separately. A correlation matrix, displayed in Table 8, was produced for the 12 scales to assess higher order factors and to provide evidence of convergent validity. Correlation matrices were also produced for females and males separately.

Table 8

Inter-correlations (Pearson correlations) between gender and values scales for self and organisation ratings

	Nurturance		Autonomy		Social Connectedness		Explorational		Social Conformity		Inner Harmony	
	Org	*Self*	*Org*	*Self*	*Org*	*Self*	*Org*	*Self*	*Org*	*Self*	*Org*	*Self*
Nurturance												
Organisation	1.00											
Self	.23*	1.00										
Autonomy												
Organisation	.49**	.29**	1.00									
Self		.29**	.01	1.00								
Social Connectedness												
Organisation	.72**	.35**	.42**	.23*	1.00							
Self	.06	.62**	.17	.23	.21	1.00						
Explorational												
Organisation	.54**	.33**	.71**	.21*	.56**	.25*	1.00					
Self	.14	.36**	.17	.54*	.13	.51**	.32**	1.00				
Social Conformity												
Organisation	.41**	.51**	.55**	.17	.57**	.36**	.68**	.35**	1.00			
Self	.21	.61**	.30**	.31**	.38**	.54**	.35**	.45**	.45**	1.00		
Inner Harmony												
Organisation	.73**	.28**	.48**	.21*	.87**	.13	.70**	.20	.65**	.37**	1.00	
Self	.14	.54**	.26*	.32**	.25*	.73**	.36**	.63**	.37**	.57**	.25*	1.000

Note: N = 150, *p<.01, **p<.001 (2 tailed)

For the sample as a whole, there was a marked difference between individual and organisation ratings on the patterns of inter-correlations of the two gender scales across the matrices. For organisation ratings, Nurturance and Autonomy were significantly positively correlated, while for self ratings the strength of this association was far weaker. Correlation matrices produced for males and females separately shed some light on the sources of difference between self and organisation rating scales. Patterns of correlations for females indicated an association between Nurturance and Autonomy only when describing organisational culture. For males, there appeared to be a stronger association between self descriptions and organisation descriptions of Nurturance and Autonomy. This indicates that, for example, while females were more likely to describe themselves as nurturant, this description was unrelated to how they described their organisation. However, males were more likely to describe themselves as nurturant if they also described their organisation as nurturant. In all other patterns of inter-correlations the matrices were similar for self and organisation ratings.

For both sets of ratings, the Social Connectedness scale was strongly correlated with Nurturance scale in the expected direction. However, it was also positively correlated with Autonomy, albeit with less strength. The inverse was true for the Explorational scale. It was correlated positively with both Nurturance and Autonomy. However, as expected the strength of association between Explorational and Autonomy was much stronger, particularly for organisation ratings. Social Conformity was positively correlated with both gender scales, except that the strength of association was stronger, with Autonomy and Inner Harmony significantly and positively correlated with both gender scales, although the strength of association with Nurturance was very high. Not surprisingly based on the pattern of correlations with the gender scales, Explorational and Social Conformity were positively and strongly inter-correlated as were Social Connectedness and Inner Harmony value scales. Therefore, the four values scales appeared to comprise two stereotypically masculine values scales and two stereotypically feminine values scales, with their associations confirming those found by Feather (1984).

With construct validity and internal consistency having been established for the self and organisation ratings scales, composite marginality scales scores were calculated. For each factor, the absolute difference between self and organisation ratings was calculated to produce six marginality or fit indices.

For the six marginality scales, outliers were examined and transformed as required with results displayed in Table 9. As expected all the marginality scales displayed skewed distributions due to their absolute difference scores. Therefore, some transformations were conducted to reduce these effects. In the case of Nurturance marginality, seven outliers were transformed to the next highest value (3.6). In the case of Autonomy marginality, two outliers were transformed to the next highest value (2.92). In the case of Social Conformity marginality, eight outliers were transformed to the next highest value (1.22). In the case of Inner Harmony marginality, three outliers were transformed to the next highest value (2.7). Due to the unacceptable skewness of the variables Nurturance, Autonomy, Social Conformity and Inner Harmony marginality, square root transformations were also performed to reduce the effect of skewness and non-normality on subsequent multivariate analyses (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Subsequent tests of normality showed that transformations had improved normality of the distributions for organisation and sex groups. However, some of the masculine marginality scales still departed from normality, particularly for females.

Table 9

Tests of normality for marginality scales after transformations

Marginality Scales	Organisation	Kolmogorov-Smirnov Statistic[a]	p	Sex	Kolmogorov-Smirnov Statistic[b]	p
Nurturance	ComputerOrg	.67	.76	male	.64	.80
	InsurOrg	.61	.85	female	.67	.76
Autonomy	ComputerOrg	.80	.77	male	.86	.46
	InsurOrg	.79	.54	female	.60	.89
Social Connectedness	ComputerOrg	1.09	.56	male	.84	.48
	InsurOrg	1.51	.83	female	.90	.04
Explorational	ComputerOrg	1.41	.02	male	1.25	.09
	InsurOrg	.983	.04	female	1.63	.01
Social Conformity	ComputerOrg	1.19	.29	male	1.10	.20
	InsurOrg	1.10	.12	female	1.61	.01
Inner Harmony	ComputerOrg	.98	.21	.male	1.16	.14
	InsurOrg	.104	.30	female	.64	.81

Note: a: df (ComputerOrg) = 62; df (InsurOrg) = 88
         b: df (male) = 73; df (female) = 77

In order to determine the construct validity of the marginality scales, Pearson's bivariate correlations were calculated. These are displayed in Table 10. They included the two single item measures included in the survey which asked participants to indicate: whether they felt like they 'fitted in' the culture of their respective organisation; and to what extent they were similar or dissimilar to the type of person the management team of their organisation 'looks for when hiring new people'.

Table 10

Inter-correlations (Pearson correlations) between gender and values marginality scales

	Lack of FIT	Lack of Similarity	N	A	C	E	SC
Similarity	.55**	1.00					
Nurturance Marginality	.24*	.23*	1.00				
Autonomy Marginality	.33**	.18	.26**	1.00			
Social Connectedness Marginality	.25	.20	.64**	.28**	1.00		
Explorational Marginality	.35**	.09	.33**	.51**	.39**	1.00	
Social Conformity Marginality	.16	-.00	.18	.34**	.30**	.45**	1.00
Inner Harmony Marginality	.22*	.11	.57**	.29**	.81**	.51**	.45**

Note: FIT = 'fit' into culture: High = less fit
Similarity: High = less similar
N = Nurturance marginality
A – Autonomy marginality
C = Social Connectedness marginality
E = Explorational marginality
SC = Social Conformity marginality

Although all correlations were positive, the patterns of the strength of associations between gender and values marginality scales were in the expected direction. Nurturance marginality was significantly correlated with Social Connectedness and Inner Harmony marginality. These associations were strong, with each variable describing at least 36 percent of the variance in the other. In addition, correlations of lesser strength were found between Nurturance and both Autonomy and Explorational marginality. Autonomy marginality was significantly correlated with Explorational marginality. The correlation was of medium strength, with the variables describing at least 25 percent of the variance in the other. Correlations of lesser strength were found between Autonomy and each of Social Connectedness, Social Conformity and Inner Harmony marginality scale scores. Of the values marginality scales, the greatest strength of association was found between Social Connectedness marginality and Inner Harmony marginality. This correlation statistic suggested that Social Connectedness marginality explained over 60 percent of the variance in Inner Harmony

marginality. Bordens and Abbott (1988) suggest that the presence of highly correlated variables in multivariate designs can lead to multicollinearity. Therefore, Inner Harmony marginality was excluded from the multivariate analyses that follow in the next sections.

Pearson's correlations were also calculated for marginality scales and the single item fit and similarity items. Although small, correlations were in the expected direction. Autonomy marginality and Explorational marginality were significantly and positively correlated with the fit measure whereas they were not correlated with similarity. None of the other marginality scales were correlated significantly with the fit or similarity measures. Although providing limited evidence of construct validity for the marginality scales, it would appear that the fit and similarity single item measures did not measure the same construct as the marginality scales comprising personal values.

7.10 Combining two samples: Investigating differences between organisation groups

The design used in Stage 2 required that data collection occur over two organisational sites on two separate occasions. Therefore, the two samples could be said to be drawn from two separate populations. However, it was reasoned that if the means calculated across dependent variables of interest did not differ across the two samples, particularly on dependent variables, then it was possible that the two samples could be combined. This was preferable for increasing power in analyses and avoiding Type II errors. The latter was particularly important given the small numbers of potential participants from the two populations, and especially female participants.

The dependent variables, six OSI factors, REQ, career success satisfaction, and six marginality scales, were subjected to a one-way analysis of variance by organisation. Tests for violations of assumptions of homogeneity of variance between groups were examined. An examination of Levene's tests of equality of error variances showed that most dependent variables displayed equal error variances across groups, except for career success ($F(1,148) = 8.48$, $p<.01$).

An examination of F tests showed that there were no significant differences between organisation samples on the stress, career importance, and career success measures. However, there were significant differences between participants from InsurOrg and ComputerOrg on Nurturance marginality, Social Connectedness marginality, Explorational marginality, and Social Conformity marginality. Means for all marginality scales and F statistics are displayed in Table 11.

Table 11

Tests of between-subjects effects of the type of organisation on marginality variables

Marginality Scales	Organisation	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean Square Error	F (1,149)	Effect Size
Nurturance	ComputerOrg	.87	.38	0.18	11.97**	.07
	InsurOrg	1.11	.44			
Autonomy	ComputerOrg	.77	.39	0.16	3.14	.02
	InsurOrg	.89	.41			
Social Connectedness	ComputerOrg	.78	.56	0.44	6.22*	.03
	InsurOrg	1.06	.73			
Explorational	ComputerOrg	.46	.41	0.26	6.26*	.04
	InsurOrg	.67	.57			
Social Conformity	ComputerOrg	.50	.31	0.08	7.30**	.04
	InsurOrg	.62	.25			
Inner Harmony	ComputerOrg	.86	.32	.14	1.71	.007
	InsurOrg	.95	.42			

Note: * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$
N (ComputerOrg) = 62; N (InsurOrg) = 88

Mean differences showed that respondents from InsurOrg were more likely to experience greater dissonance between self and organisation ratings on the

dimensions Nurturance, Social Connectedness values, Explorational and Social Conformity than participants from ComputerOrg. While effect sizes were small overall, it should be noted that the largest effect among marginality measures appeared for Nurturance. In light of these results, subsequent analyses combined samples for dependent variables relating to occupational stress and career success, but marginality variables were also assessed separately by organisation when included in analyses as dependent variables.

7.11 Hypothesis tests

The next sections display results of analyses used to test hypotheses about the nature of marginality and its effects on stress and career success satisfaction. Further analyses also show the mediating effects of psychological and social support resources on marginality and stress outcomes.

To test the hypothesis that women will experience greater degrees of marginality in hierarchical organisations than men, two one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) by sex (one for each organisational sample) were conducted with marginality scales. It should be noted that for the analysis conducted for ComputerOrg, Levene's test of homogeneity of variance for the Explorational marginality was not upheld. Results are displayed in Table 12.

Table 12

Mean differences between males and females on marginality scales by organisation.

Marginality Scales	Organisation	Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	F^a	MSE
Nurturance	ComputerOrg [b]	Male	.83	.42	.72	.15
		Female	.92	.34		
	InsurOrg [c]	Male	.98	.43	6.32*	.19
		Female	1.21	.43		
Autonomy	ComputerOrg	Male	.70	.35	2.54	.15
		Female	.86	.42		
	InsurOrg	Male	.85	.42	.50	.17
		Female	.92	.41		
Social Connectedness	ComputerOrg	Male	.71	.53	1.60	.16
		Female	.89	.58		
	InsurOrg	Male	.90	.66	3.36	.52
		Female	1.18	.77		
Exploration Marginality	ComputerOrg	Male	.38	.30	2.73	.09
		Female	.55	.50		
	InsurOrg	Male	.64	.58	1.60	.33
		Female	.69	.57		
Social Conformity	ComputerOrg	Male	.42	.30	5.25*	.47
		Female	.59	.30		
	InsurOrg	Male	.61	.23	.15	.06
		Female	.63	.26		

Table 12 (continued)

Marginality Scales	Organisation	Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	F[a]	MSE
Inner Harmony	ComputerOrg	Male	.79	.34	4.17	.397
		Female	.95	.27		
	InsurOrg	Male	.85	.43	3.68	.17
		Female	1.02	.39		

Note: a: *df* for ComputerOrg = 1, 60; for InsurOrg = 1,86
          b: *n* (males) = 34; *n* (females) = 28; *N* = 62
          c: *n* (males) = 39; *n* (females) = 49; *N* = 88
          * *p*<.05

An unexpected finding was that for many of the marginality scales mean responses were similar for males and females. There were no significant differences between males and females on their marginality scale scores for Autonomy, Social Connectedness, Explorational, and Inner Harmony marginality. However, there were significant differences between females and males mean scores on Social Conformity marginality in ComputerOrg, with females indicating more marginality on this dimension. For InsurOrg there were significant differences between males and females on mean scores on Nurturance marginality, with females again indicating more marginality on this dimension.

In order to ascertain the influences on patterns of differences between males and females on marginality scales, further one-way ANOVAs were conducted on the 12 self and organisation gender and values scales that were used to calculate the marginality scales. Results are displayed in Table 13.

Table 13

Mean differences between males and females on gender organisation ratings and self ratings scales.

		Self Ratings			Organisation Ratings		
		Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
		Means (St. Deviations)			Means (St. Deviations)		
Nurturance	ComputerOrg [a]	5.32 (.54)	5.52 (.96)	5.41 (.76)	4.5 (.74)	4.89 (.73)	4.68*[i] (.75)
	InsurOrg [b]	5.41 (.76)	5.88 (.65)	5.67**[ii] (.73)	4.34 (1.08)	4.12 (1.22)	4.22 (1.16)
Autonomy	ComputerOrg	4.91 (.70)	5.06 (.73)	4.98 (.71)	4.83 (.65)	5.03 (.85)	4.92 (.75)
	InsurOrg	5.30 (.70)	5.22 (.76)	5.26 (.73)	4.71 (.91)	4.78 (1.06)	4.74 (.99)
Social Connected-ness	ComputerOrg	3.97 (.56)	4.22 (.51)	4.08 (.50)	3.29 (.43)	3.42 (.59)	3.35 (.51)
	InsurOrg	3.99 (.53)	4.4 (.38)	4.22***[iii] (.49)	3.17 (.74)	3.22 (.71)	3.20 (.72)
Exploration	ComputerOrg	4.1 (.39)	4.1 (.43)	4.10 (.41)	3.91 (.43)	3.84 (.67)	3.88 (.55)
	InsurOrg	4.17 (.46)	4.34 (.43)	4.27 (.45)	3.63 (.70)	3.73 (.67)	3.69 (.68)
Social Conformity	ComputerOrg	3.87 (.39)	4.00 (.50)	3.93 (.44)	3.75 (.43)	3.71 (.62)	3.73 (.52)
	InsurOrg	3.93 (.55)	4.13 (.48)	4.04 (.52)	3.71 (.60)	3.83 (.55)	3.78 (.57)
Inner Harmony	ComputerOrg	4.26 (.36)	4.52 (.42)	4.38*[iv] (.36)	3.53 (.34)	3.60 (.58)	3.56 (.46)
	InsurOrg	4.26 (.51)	4.57 (.34)	4.43**[v] (.45)	3.38 (.72)	3.36 (.75)	3.37 (.73)

Note: a: *n* (males) = 34; *n* (females) = 28; *N* = 62
                b: *n* (males) = 39; *n* (females) = 49; *N* = 88
       * *p*<.05; ** *p*<.01; ***p<.001
       i: Nurturance ComputerOrg - *F*(1,60) = 4.27, *MS* = 2.31, *p*<.05
       ii: Nurturance InsurOrg - *F*(1,86) = 9.79, *MS* = 4.78, *p*<.01
       iii: Social Connectedness InsurOrg - *F*(1,86) = 17.66, *MS* = 3.58, *p*<.001
       iv: Inner Harmony ComputerOrg - *F*(1,60) = 6.87, *MS* = .99, *p*<.05
       v: Inner Harmony InsurOrg - *F*(1,86) = 11.41 *MS* = 2.03, *p*<.01

    Results indicate that in ComputerOrg, where marginality was less apparent

than in InsurOrg, females and males differed significantly only in their mean

responses to the ways in which they described their organisation in terms of Nurturance. This indicates that while all ComputerOrg employees described their organisation as nurturing, females in particular described their organisational culture as reflecting this characteristic. Females also described Inner Harmony as more important in defining themselves than did males. However, unexpectedly, females in ComputerOrg did not describe themselves in other feminine terms more so than did males.

In InsurOrg there were no significant differences in the ways in which males and females described their organisation. However, there were significant differences between males and females on self ratings on Nurturance, Social Connectedness and Inner Harmony scales. Females in InsurOrg described themselves in relation to characteristics more associated with stereotypical femininity, however there were no differences between males and females in their self descriptions on characteristics stereotypically associated with masculinity. These results indicate that marginality in both organisations was more likely comprised of differences perceived along feminine dimensions. However, the organisation samples differed on how this incongruence was perceived. The differences between self and organisation ratings can be more clearly visualised in Figure 4. Differences in means between males and females indicated that in InsurOrg marginality appeared to be a function of the ways in which females distinguish themselves along feminine dimensions. However, in ComputerOrg, marginality appeared to be a function of the ways in which females described their organisational culture along feminine dimensions.
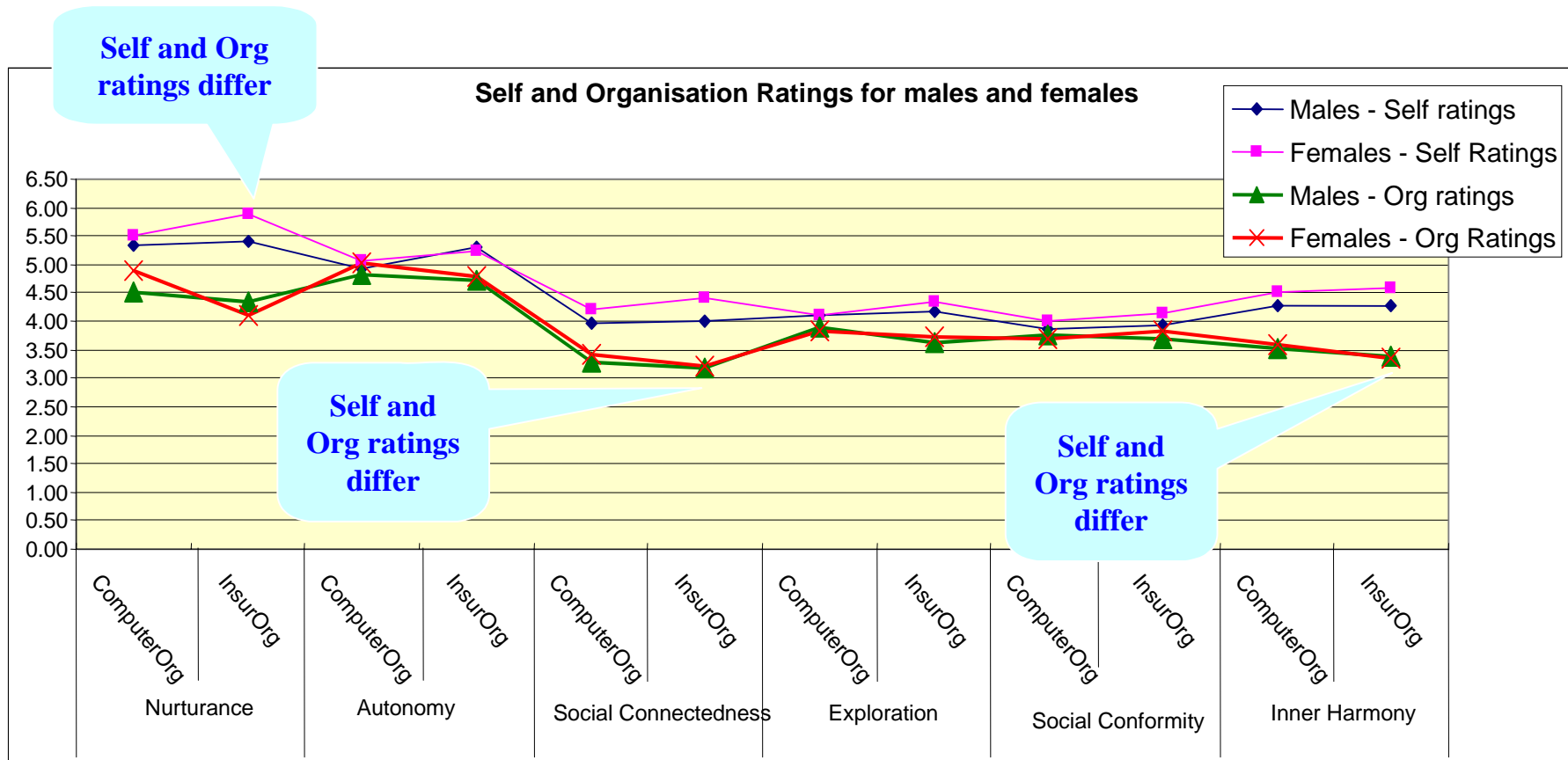
Figure 5

Mean differences between organisational and self ratings for males and females

To ascertain how gender and values scales differed within each sex group, that is for males overall and females overall, a split ANOVA was conducted across organisations for each sex group respectively. Results showed that there were only significant differences between organisations on males' self ratings on Autonomy marginality, with males in InsurOrg reporting higher mean responses than males in ComputerOrg ($F(1, 71)$ 5.729, $MS = 2.83$, $p<.05$).

For females overall, there were significant differences between organisations on Nurturance organisation ratings and Explorational self ratings. Females in ComputerOrg reported higher means than females in InsurOrg on Nurturance organisation ratings ($F(1, 76) = 9.30$, $MS = 10.61$, $p<.01$). Females in InsurOrg reported higher means than females in ComputerOrg on Explorational self ratings ($F(1, 76) = 5.35$, $MS = 1.00$, $p<.05$). This indicates that females in ComputerOrg were more likely to describe their organisation in terms of nurturing characteristics while females in InsurOrg were more likely to describe themselves with values that espoused exploration and expansion.

These findings taken together, with findings previously discussed in this chapter, may explain the differences between organisational samples on marginality measures (see Table 14 for a summary view of results for this section).

Table 14

Summary of findings of differences between and within InsurOrg and ComputerOrg on marginality scales and gender and values self and organisation ratings scales

InsurOrg	ComputerOrg
Significant differences *across* marginality scales	
InsurOrg respondents indicate higher means on all marginality scales than ComputerOrg	ComputerOrg respondents indicate lower means on all marginality scales than InsurOrg
Females report higher means than males on Nurturance Marginality	Females report higher means than males on Social Conformity Marginality
Significant differences *between* men and women on gender and values scales	
Females report higher means than males on self descriptions on Nurturance scale	Females report higher means than males on organisation descriptions on Nurturance scale
Females report higher means than males on self descriptions on Social Connectedness scale	
Females report higher means than males on self descriptions on Inner Harmony scale	Females report higher means than males on self descriptions on Inner Harmony scale
Significant differences *within* sex by organisation groupings on all scales	
Males report higher means than males in ComputerOrg on self descriptions of Autonomy	
	Females report higher means than females in InsurOrg on organisation descriptions of Nurturance
Females report higher means than females in ComputerOrg on Explorational Marginality	

As discussed in the previous section on combining samples, respondents from InsurOrg were more likely to experience greater marginality on the dimensions Nurturance, Social Connectedness, Explorational and Social

Conformity than their counterparts from ComputerOrg. Females from InsurOrg were also more likely to self identify with feminine characteristics and values to a greater degree than males. This may in part explain the greater marginality or incongruence that the sample as a whole reported. Feminine characteristics may not have been accommodated in the organisation's culture. Females in InsurOrg also tended to describe their organisational culture as less nurturing than did females in ComputerOrg. In addition, although females and males in InsurOrg did not differ on measures stereotypically associated with masculinity, males in InsurOrg tended to score higher on self ratings of Autonomy when compared with males in ComputerOrg. These findings suggest that masculine characteristics may have been more accommodated in InsurOrg's culture, and that this may have been a determinant of the greater marginality experienced by employees of that organisation.

In contrast, ComputerOrg's culture was perceived as reflecting more nurturing characteristics, and employees perceived less marginality. This finding was true even though females in ComputerOrg tended to perceive these nurturing characteristics more so than did males, and even when they themselves self-identified with inner harmony, a value scale stereotypically associated with femininity.

These findings suggest that the feminine scales influenced marginality measures more significantly than did masculine scales. This finding confirms the hypothesis that females will experience greater levels of marginality but that this is exacerbated in organisational cultures that are perceived as less able to accommodate stereotypically feminine characteristics. These findings also suggest that marginality was not likely to be a product of perceived differences along masculine dimensions for both females and males.

7.12 Concomitants of marginality

The next section reports analyses that were conducted to test the hypotheses that marginality will predict career success satisfaction and stress, after accounting for the effects of psychosocial and social support resources.

7.12.1 Effects of sex on dependent variables

Having established differing gender patterns in each organisation's culture, further analyses were conducted to test the effects of sex on the dependent variables of interest, with stress factors, REQ, career success satisfaction and career importance by type of organisation. A 2 x 2 multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted with six OSI scales as dependent variables. In addition, two-way ANOVAs were conducted for role conflicts and misgivings, career success satisfaction and career importance as dependent variables in three separate analyses.

Results of the MANOVA showed that Box M was significant (*Box M* = 101.44, *F* (63, 38070) = 1.48, *p* = .01) therefore the following results were interpreted cautiously. Multivariate tests (Pillai's Trace) showed that there were: no significant interaction effects between sex and organisation (*Fsex*org* (6,141) = .89, *p*=.50, η^2 = .04); no significant differences between organisational groups (*Forg* (6,141) = 1.05, *p*=.40, η^2 = .04); and no significant differences between females and males on dependent variables (*Fsex* (6,141) = 1.64, p=.14, η^2 = .07). Means and standard deviations of respondents' scores on OSI scales by sex and organisations are displayed in Table 15.

Table 15

Means responses on occupational stress factors for females and males overall and by organisation type

Occupational Stress Scales		N	Mean	Std. Dev.
OSI :Stress Factors intrinsic to the job				
By Sex	male	73	3.02	.65
	female	77	3.10	.64
by Organisation				
ComputerOrg	male	34	3.12	.71
	female	28	3.04	.58
InsurOrg	male	39	2.93	.59
	female	49	3.12	.67

Table 15 (continued)

Occupational Stress Scales		N	Mean	Std. Dev.
OSI: The managerial role				
By Sex	male	73	2.80	.69
	female	77	2.98	.68
by Organisation				
ComputerOrg	male	34	2.80	.77
	female	28	2.92	.67
InsurOrg	male	39	2.80	.61
	female	49	3.00	.69
OSI: Relationships with other people				
By Sex	male	73	2.68	.73
	female	77	2.92	.73
by Organisation				
ComputerOrg	male	34	2.67	.86
	female	28	2.82	.65
InsurOrg	male	39	2.70	.62
	female	49	2.97	.77
OSI: Career and Achievement				
By Sex	male	73	2.77	.81
	female	77	3.07	.88
by Organisation				
ComputerOrg	male	34	2.84	.87
	female	28	2.92	.91
InsurOrg	male	39	2.71	.76
	female	49	3.16	.86
OSI: Organisational Structure And Climate				
By Sex	male	73	3.05	.73
	female	77	3.41	.87
by Organisation				
ComputerOrg	male	34	3.15	.78
	female	28	3.32	.83
InsurOrg	male	39	2.97	.68
	female	49	3.45	.91
OSI: Home work interface				
By Sex	male	73	2.43	.66
	female	77	2.61	.85
by Organisation				
ComputerOrg	male	34	2.33	.66
	female	28	2.53	.68
InsurOrg	male	39	2.52	.64
	female	49	2.66	.93

Tests for violations of assumptions of homogeneity of variance between groups were examined for the dependent variables role conflicts and misgivings, career success satisfaction and career importance. An examination of Levene's tests of equality of error variances showed that career success satisfaction did not display equal error variances across groups ($F(3,146) = 7.60.48$, $p<.01$). The sample variance was investigated to ascertain the magnitude of the difference between error variances. In the case of career success satisfaction, the differences between error variances across organisational samples was 0.90, and across sex was 0.85. Gravetter and Wallnau (1992) suggest that if sample variances are no greater than two times larger than the other, then the two population variances can be assumed close enough to proceed with hypothesis test. Therefore, ANOVAs were conducted with all variables included. Means and standard deviations by sex and organisation type are presented with F statistics in Table 16.

Table 16

Means responses on role conflicts and misgivings, career success satisfaction and career importance for females and males overall and by organisation type

Quality of Work Scales		N	Mean	Std. Dev.	MSE	F (1,149)	Effect Size
Role Conflicts and Self Misgivings							
By Sex	Male	73	3.08	.98	.00	.02	.00
	Female	77	3.09	.90			
by Organisation							
ComputerOrg	Male	34	3.16	1.00	.49	.56	.00
	Female	28	3.15	.81			
InsurOrg	Male	39	3.01	.97			
	Female	49	3.06	.95			
Career Success Satisfaction							
By Sex	Male	73	5.02	1.02	6.65	9.94*	.04
	Female	77	4.44	1.39			
by Organisation							
ComputerOrg	Male	34	4.91	1.04	.18	.12	.00
	Female	28	4.66	.94			
InsurOrg	Male	39	5.12	1.01			
	Female	49	4.31	1.58			

Table 16 (continued)

Quality of Work Scales		N	Mean	Std. Dev.	MSE	F (1,149)	Effect Size
Career Advancement Importance							
By Sex	Male	73	5.24	1.32	.00	.02	.00
	Female	77	5.43	1.40			
by Organisation							
ComputerOrg	Male	34	5.40	1.16	.49	.56	.01
	Female	28	5.00	1.27			
InsurOrg	Male	39	5.13	1.46			
	Female	49	5.67	1.43			
Sex by Organisation					4.13	7.53*	.03

Note: * p<.05

Results in Table 16 suggested that there were significant differences between males and females on their mean responses to career success satisfaction, with males more likely to be satisfied with their present job and career than females. An unexpected result was the significant interaction effect between sex and organisation for career advancement importance. It suggested that mean scores reported by females in InsurOrg on career advancement importance were significantly higher than those for females in ComputerOrg. In addition, mean scores reported by males in InsurOrg on career advancement importance were significantly lower than those for males in ComputerOrg.

Despite the differences between males and females on career success satisfaction and importance, there were no significant differences found between females and males on mean scores on stress factors or the REQ.

A closer examination of trends in means disaggregated by organisation type showed that participants from ComputerOrg reported higher levels of career success satisfaction. Mean differences indicated that females in ComputerOrg appeared to be more satisfied with their career success than females in InsurOrg. However, this difference was not statistically significant. Considering the low effect sizes overall in the analysis, it is probable that significant differences may have been shown with a larger sample size.

These results taken together indicate that while males were more satisfied with their jobs than females overall, males in InsurOrg were most satisfied. While females overall indicated higher mean scores on career importance, females in InsurOrg particularly valued career advancement. Surprisingly, however, the differences in perceptions of career success did not translate to differences in experiences of occupational stress. Females in ComputerOrg and InsurOrg appeared to experience these stressors similarly.

7.13 Investigating mediating variables

Variables that measure psychological resources were examined to ascertain their influence on the dependent variables as mediators of marginality. In order to determine any irregular responses from the standard psychological tests administered, means and standard deviations for males and females were produced and compared with scale norms where available. Results are displayed in Table 17. Mean scores derived from participants' responses were within the parameters of reported norms.

Table 17

Means and standard deviations of psychological resources scales with scale norms for females and males

Psychological and Social Support Resources		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Norms	SD
Positive Affect[a]	Males	73	35.51	7.23		
	Females	77	36.21	7.07		
	Total	150	35.87	7.13	32.0	7.0
Negative Affect[b]	Males	73	18.98	7.34		
	Females	77	20.08	7.28		
	Total	150	19.54	7.30	19.5	7.0
LOC (Chance)[c]	Males	73	18.50	4.74		
	Females	77	20.00	3.45		
	Total	150	19.27	4.18	13.94	8.0

Table 17 (continued)

Psychological and Social Support Resources		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Norms	SD
LOC (Powerful others)[d]	Males	73	20.49	4.50		
	Females	77	21.17	4.50		
	Total	150	20.84	4.50	16.65	7.6
LOC (Internal)[e]	Males	73	24.05	2.15		
	Females	77	24.02	2.67		
	Total	150	24.04	2.42	35.48	6.3
Self-esteem[f]	Males	73	21.89	5.43		
	Females	77	22.62	4.60		
	Total	150	22.26	5.01	22.1	5.2
Self-efficacy[g]	Males	73	53.09	4.74		
	Females	77	52.75	6.64		
	Total	150	52.92	4.68	58.65	7.63
Extraversion[h]	Males	73	5.23	3.23	7.60	3.27
	Females	77	8.04	3.35	6.36	3.80
	Total	150	6.67	3.57	6.98	3.5

Note: a, b Norms as reported in Watson et al (1988);
        c,d,e Norms as reported in Levenson (1973)
        h Norms reported in Eysenck and Eysenck (1991)
        n (males) = 73; n (females) = 77; N = 150

A 2 x 2 multivariate analysis of variance examined psychological and social support variables by type of organisation and sex of respondents. Tests for violations of assumptions of equality of covariance matrices and homogeneity of variance between groups were examined. Results showed that Box M was not significant ($Box\ M = 80.17$, $F (63, 38070) = 1.17$, $p = .16$); therefore, the following results were interpreted as robust. Multivariate tests (Pillai's Trace) showed that there were no significant interaction effects between sex and organisation ($Fsex*org (6,141) = 1.14$, $p=.34$) and no significant differences between organisational groups ($Forg (6,141) = 1.737$, $p=.62$). However, multivariate results did show that there were significant differences between females and males on the psychosocial variables ($Fsex (6,141) = 5.33$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2 = .19$). A closer investigation of univariate effects and mean differences showed

that females were significantly more extraverted than males ($F(1,149) = 24.79$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2 = .15$), and that they were also more likely to ascribe to chance in relation to their locus of control ($F(1,149) = 4.22$, $p<.05$, $\eta^2 = .03$). However, there were no other significant differences on psychological resources for men and women.

7.13.1 Testing for mediating variables on stress and career success

To test the hypothesis that psychosocial resource variables would significantly mediate the dependent measures, bivariate inter-correlations were calculated between stress factors, career success, and career importance, and psychological and social support resource variables. The results are displayed in Table 18.

Table 18

Inter-correlations (Pearson correlations) of stress and career success measures with psychosocial resource variables.

	Positive Affect	Negative Affect	Self-efficacy	LOC Chance	LOCP	LOCI	Self Esteem	Extra-version	Mentor	Cent. (Adv.	Cent. (Get things done)	Between ness (Adv.)	Betweenness (Get things done)
OSI 1 Factors intrinsic to the job	-.131	.202	-.036	.139	.149	-.032	-.021	-.055	-.065	.261*	.240*	.1537	.239*
OSI 2 The managerial role	-.193	.170	-.046	.171	.176	-.023	-.081	-.138	-.106	.126	.185	.163	.210
OSI 3 Relationships with other people	-.300	.250	-.164	.231	.120	-.004	-.170	-.112	-.104	.124	.207	.134	.183
OSI 4 Career and achievement	-.074	.180	.095	.199	.273*	-.054	-.035	.080	-.145	-.013	.096	.034	.137
OSI 5 Organisational structure and climate	-.210	.232*	-.067	.213*	.285**	-.09	-.078	-.034	-.188	.043	.095	.107	.121
OSI 6 Home-work interface	-.184	.158	-.110	.134	.122	.066	-.192	-.035	.060	.052	.039	.015	.075
REQ	-.356**	.511**	-.375**	.310**	.336**	.07	-.507**	-.244*	-.084	-.008	-.062	-.044	-.060
Career success	.332**	-.257*	.054	-.268*	.164	-.08	.224*	.061	.282**	-			
Career advancement importance	.255*	-.102	.295**	.006	.164	.184	.335**	.367**	.013	-.147	-.083	-.113	-.029
Ability to cope with stress	-.375**	.488**	-.493**	.198	.122	.100	-.539**	-.241*	-.013	-.011	-.013	-.065	-.044
Current state of health	-.260*	.283*	-.232*	.169	-.233*	.097	-.342**	-.236*	-.152	-.010	-.066	-.141	-.155

Note: N = 150, *$p<.01$, **$p<.001$ (2 tailed)
LOC – Locus of Control; LOCP – Locus of Control (Powerful Others); LOCI Locus of Control (Internal).
Mentor – Benefited from mentoring experiences.
Cent. (Adv) – Centrality in Advice network; Cent. (Get things done) – Centrality in get things done network.
Betweenness (Adv) – Proximity in Advice network; Betweenness (Get things done) – Proximity in get things done network.

Inter-correlations of the whole sample showed that REQ, career success satisfaction and career advancement importance appeared to be more strongly correlated with psychological resource variables. REQ scores were significantly negatively correlated with positive affect, self-efficacy, and extraversion, and significantly positively correlated with NA, self-esteem and LOC (chance). Career success was significantly positively correlated with positive affect, and mentoring experiences, and negatively significantly correlated with negative affect, and self-esteem. Career advancement importance was significantly positively correlated with positive affect, self-efficacy and extraversion and self-esteem.

These results were in the expected direction. They indicated that psychological resources such as positive affect, self-efficacy and extraversion were likely to be associated with decreasing perceptions of role conflict and self-misgivings and increased satisfaction with career success. Similarly as expected, high negative affect, low self-esteem were associated with greater role conflict and self-misgivings and less satisfaction with career.

Unexpectedly, the correlation matrix displayed weak patterns of correlations among the OSI factors and psychosocial resource variables. Only stressors intrinsic to the job appeared to be associated with the social network indices. Stressors intrinsic to the job appeared to be positively related to social indices such as centrality and betweenness, indicating that as influence in the social network increased, so did stressors associated with the job role.

Relationships with others and organisational structure and climate sources of pressure were associated weakly with PA and NA, and LOC (chance and powerful others). Directions of associations indicated that stressors from relationships with others and organisational structure and climate were more likely to increase as NA and LOC (Chance) increased. Inversely, as PA increased, stressors from relationships were more likely to decrease.

Locus of Control (Internal), Get Things Done network indices, and Advice Betweenness, were not correlated with any of the stress factors, and were removed from subsequent analyses involving occupational stress.

Inter-correlations were calculated for females and males separately. While there were few differences in the patterns of inter-correlations, a marked difference was the association between self-esteem and career success. There was a significant positive correlation between career success satisfaction and self-esteem for males ($r = .35$). However, there was no significant correlation found for females.

7.13.2 Testing the effects of mediating variables on marginality

Correlation matrices for each organisational sample were conducted to investigate whether psychosocial variables covaried the effects of marginality. Separate analyses were conducted for each organisation due to differing variances for marginality scales between organisations established in previous analyses. Results showed that for ComputerOrg, NA, LOC (internal and chance) and self-esteem were significantly correlated. For InsurOrg, there were significant associations between PA, NA, LOC (powerful others and internal), self-efficacy, advice centrality and mentoring experiences.

Initially two regression analyses using the MANOVA procedure for each organisation were conducted. Covariate variables included only those variables that had been significantly associated with marginality scales in the correlation matrix for each organisation. However, due to the small sample size in ComputerOrg in particular, regression parameters could not be calculated. Therefore, only the analysis for InsurOrg is included here, with parameter estimates displayed in Table 19.

Table 19

Multivariate regression model for InsurOrg: Psychological support resources variables with marginality scales as dependent variables

Marginality Scales	Predictors	Beta	Std. Error	t	Effect size
		InsurOrg			
Nurturance	Constant	0.41	0.79	0.52	0.00
	PA	-0.23	0.07	-3.08**	0.11
	NA	0.19	0.07	2.89**	0.10
	Mentoring	-0.10	0.04	-2.39*	0.07
	Self-efficacy	-0.45	0.16	-2.84**	0.09
Autonomy	Constant	-0.74	0.81	-0.91	0.01
	PA	-0.05	0.08	-0.69	0.01
	NA	0.13	0.07	1.96	0.05
	Mentoring	-0.06	0.04	-1.42	0.02
	Self-efficacy	-0.38	0.16	-2.32*	0.06
Social Connectedness	Constant	-0.31	1.31	-0.23	0.00
	PA	-0.36	0.12	-2.90**	0.10
	NA	0.37	0.11	3.36**	0.13
	Mentoring	-0.16	0.07	-2.38*	0.07
	Self-efficacy	-0.76	0.26	-2.89**	0.10
Explorational	Constant	-0.60	1.09	-0.55	0.00
	PA	-0.25	0.10	-2.39*	0.07
	NA	0.17	0.09	1.83	0.04
	Mentoring	-0.11	0.06	-1.98	0.05
	Self-efficacy	-0.63	0.22	-2.88**	0.09
Social Conformity	Constant	0.39	0.50	0.77	0.01
	PA	0.00	0.05	0.09	0.00
	NA	0.06	0.04	1.50	0.03
	Mentoring	-0.05	0.03	-2.01	0.05
	Self-efficacy	-0.08	0.10	-0.78	0.01
Inner Harmony		0.29	0.75	0.39	0.00
	PA	-0.21	0.07	-2.97**	0.10
	NA	0.20	0.06	3.19**	0.11
	Mentoring	-0.09	0.04	-2.43*	0.07
	Self-efficacy	-0.38	0.15	-2.54*	0.08

Note: *$p<.05$, **$p<.01$

Multivariate (Pillai's) results indicated that for participants in InsurOrg, positive affect ($F(6,78) = 2.67$, $p<.05$, $\eta^2 = .18$), negative affect, ($F(6,78) = 2.38$, $p<.05$, $\eta^2 = .16$), and self-efficacy ($F(6,78) = 2.57$, $p<.05$, $\eta^2 = .17$), were significant predictors of marginality. A closer look at parameter estimates indicated that mentoring experience was a significant negative predictor of the feminine marginality scales particularly, that is, Nurturance, Social Connectedness and Inner Harmony marginality. Self-efficacy and PA were significant negative predictors of all marginality scales with the exception of Social Conformity, and Autonomy in the case of PA.

These findings suggest that greater positive affect, mentoring experiences and higher self-esteem may mediate the effects of the feminine domains of marginality particularly, whilst high negative affect may be associated with greater levels of Social Connectedness marginality. NA was a significant negative predictor of the feminine marginality scales, that is, Nurturance, Social Connectedness and Inner Harmony.

These results taken together with results presented earlier in this section suggest that psychological and social support resources do not as a group mediate the effects of stress and marginality. Instead resources that significantly mediate these effects operate differently depending on the source of pressure, and the nature of marginality involved. The next section describes a series of multiple regression analyses conducted on the dependent variables, occupational stress and role conflicts and misgivings. To further explore the complex effects of psychosocial resource variables, marginality and stressors, these variables are incorporated as steps within hierarchical regression models.

7.14 Predictors of occupational stress

7.14.1 Occupational stress factors

In section 6.8.1 Pearson's correlations had shown that the OSI scales were strongly correlated. Therefore, a multivariate multiple regression conducted via a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) procedure is appropriate for

multiple dependent variables that are highly correlated, as it manages these inter-dependencies within preset levels for Type I error (rejecting the null hypothesis when it is true). However, MANOVA requires more cases than dependent variables in each cell. If this assumption is violated, power is lowered due to reduced degrees of freedom for error. The likely outcome is nonsignificant multivariate results and one or more significant univariate F tests (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001). With a limited sample size, it was reasoned that multiple regression equations for each OSI factor would be conducted instead. Therefore, a Bonferroni type adjustment for inflated Type I error was applied to the analyses involving OSI factors. This involves assigning a Type I error rate alpha that is based on the error rate for testing the first dependent variable, the second dependent variable and each consecutive dependent variable until the last. The adjusted alpha was set at .001.

To test the hypothesis that stress will be mediated by psychological and social resources, and marginality, after explaining for the effects of career motivation, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted with each of the six OSI factors as dependent variables. In each model, demographic variables (sex, position in the hierarchy, tenure, educational level) were entered in the first step: career importance acting as a motivational variable was entered in the second step; psychosocial resource variables were entered in the third step; and the five marginality scales (Inner Harmony excluded to avoid multicollinearity effects) were entered in the last. The resulting model achieved in each case is displayed in Table 20.

Table 20

Hierarchical multiple regression models: Psychological and social support resources, and marginality scales as predictors of occupational stress factors

Occupational Stress Factors	Predictors	Standardised Beta Coefficients	t	Adjusted R^2
Factors intrinsic to the job	(Constant)		6.52***	0.16
	Advice centrality	0.26	3.00***	
	LOC (Powerful others)	0.19	2.44*	
	Social Connectedness marginality	0.27	2.81**	
The managerial role	(Constant)		9.62***	0.05
	Career importance	0.05	0.56	
	Positive affect	-0.19	-2.24	
	Social Connectedness marginality	0.18	2.29*	
Relationships with other people	(Constant)		6.59***	0.17
	Career importance	0.01	0.10	
	Positive affect	-0.24	-3.03**	
	Negative affect	0.18	2.34*	
	Nurturance marginality	0.18	2.25*	
	Social Conformity marginality	0.17	2.24*	
Career and Achievement	(Constant)		2.31*	0.16
	Sex	0.11	1.40	
	Career importance	0.24	3.17**	
	LOC (Powerful others)	0.22	2.93***	
	Social Connectedness marginality	0.19	2.46*	

Table 20 (continued)

Occupational Stress Factors	Predictors	Standardised Beta Coefficients	t	Adjusted R²
Organisational structure and climate	(Constant)		3.62***	0.25
	Sex	0.18	2.43*	
	Educational level	0.18	2.47*	
	Career importance	-0.07	-0.95	
	LOC (Powerful others)	0.20	2.01***	
	Benefit experiences of mentors	-0.14	-1.84	
	Negative affect	0.13	1.66	
	Nurturance marginality	0.22	2.82**	
Home work interface	(Constant)		6.61***	0.08
	Career importance	0.04	0.51	
	Self esteem	-0.19	-2.22*	
	Social Connectedness marginality	0.24	3.07**	

Note: * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$

Whilst the resulting model for Factors Intrinsic to the Job was significant ($F(5,149) = 5.38$, $MS = 1.94$, $p<.001$), the significant predictors only explained 16 percent of the variance in this factor. The model indicated that advice centrality was the strongest predictor, followed by Inner Harmony marginality and LOC (powerful others). Tenure was initially included in the model as a significant positive predictor but was excluded in step 3. All predictors were positive which indicates that an increase in stress from factors intrinsic to the job was associated with being more central to the advice network, greater marginality afforded by the Social Connectedness domain, and a greater sense of control being placed in the hands of powerful others.

The regression model for stressors associated with the management role was not significant ($F(3,149) = 3.76$, $MS = 1.68$, $p<.05$), only explaining 5 percent of the variance in this factor.

Stressors sourced from relationships with other people appeared to be significantly predicted by greater negative affect, lower positive affect, and increased marginality from Nurturance and Social Conformity domains ($F(5,149) = 7.04$, $MS = 3.20$, $p<.001$). While positive affect was the most important predictor, the predictors together explained 17 percent of the variance in this factor.

The resulting model for stressors from career and achievement was significant and explained 16 percent of the variance in this factor ($F(4,149) = 7.98$, $MS = 4.95$, $p<.001$). The model indicated that career importance was the strongest predictor, followed by LOC (powerful others) and Social Connectedness marginality. Sex was initially included in the model as a significant predictor but was excluded in the last step as the marginality scales were included. All predictors were positive which indicates that an increase in stress from career and achievement appeared to be associated with high motivation for career, greater marginality in relation to the Social Connectedness domain, a greater sense of control being placed in the hands of powerful others and being more central to the advice network.

The regression model for stressors associated with organisational structure and climate was significant ($F(7, 149) = 6.80$, $MS = 3.63$, $p<.001$), and explained 25 percent of the variance in this factor. The model indicated that Social Connectedness marginality and locus of control were the strongest predictors, followed by educational level and sex. Negative affect was initially included in the equation, but was excluded in the last step. The direction of beta coefficients suggested that increases in stress from organisational structures and climates appeared to be associated with greater marginality afforded by the Social Connectedness domain, and a greater sense of control being placed in the hands of powerful others. They also indicated that women and those participants who had attained higher levels of educational qualifications were also more likely to experience stressors associated with this factor. This finding, although surprising, may be related to an increased frustration with the limiting aspects of their organisational culture for women with higher educational qualifications. Results from Study 1 would reinforce this interpretation.

Stressors associated with the home-work interface appeared to be significantly predicted by greater marginality in relation to Social Connectedness values, and decreased self-esteem ($F(3,149) = 5.14$, $MS = 2.76$, $p<.001$). While Social Connectedness marginality was the most important predictor, the predictors together only explained 8 percent of the total variance in this factor.

These results taken together illustrate the variables that may be important mediators of the effects of occupational stress. However they support the original hypothesis only in part. Many of the psychological and social support resources included in the models failed to be significant predictors of occupational stress factors. Instead only one cluster of variables appeared to be significant. These were the psychological traits of locus of control (powerful others), positive affect and marginality, derived from domains more stereotypically associated with femininity.

7.14.2 Predictors of role conflicts and misgivings (REQ)

To test the hypothesis that marginality will be positively related to occupational strain after accounting for the effects of psychological and social support resources, and motivation for career, a hierarchical regression with REQ as the dependent variable was conducted. A hierarchical regression was conducted with predictors sex, age group, tenure, educational qualification and position in the hierarchy entered in the first step: psychological and social support resources entered in the second; career advancement importance and career success satisfaction in the third; five marginality scales (Inner Harmony excluded) entered in the fourth step; and occupational stress scales entered in the last step. The same regression analyses were conducted for males and females separately. The resulting models are summarised in Table 21. The resulting model predictors explained 48 percent of the variance in REQ scores, ($F(21, 149)=6.04$, $p <.001$).

Table 21

Hierarchical multiple regression models: Psychological and social support resources, and marginality scales as predictors of role conflicts and self-misgivings

Predictors	Standardised Beta Coefficients	t	Adjusted R^2
(Constant)		1.27***	0.48
Position in the Hierarchy	-.197	-2.26*	
Negative Affect	.334	4.32***	
Self Esteem	-.223	2.06*	
Advice Centrality	.314	2.51*	
Explorational Marginality	.164	2.31*	
Home-work Interface Stressors	.194	2.39*	

Note: * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$

For the overall sample each step entered increased the Adjusted R Square significantly. In step 1, none of the demographic characteristics were significant predictors of Role Misgivings and Conflicts. Position in the hierarchy was reintroduced into the equation at the second step alongside NA, self-esteem and advice centrality. There were no additional predictors in the third step, however age group was dropped from the equation. Explorational marginality was an additional significant predictor in the fourth step. The results showed that the most important positive predictor was negative affect, with the next most important being advice centrality. The model suggested that an increase in role misgivings and conflicts was predicted by higher negative affect and lower self esteem, having a lower position in the organisational hierarchy, increased marginality in relation to Explorational values, and stressors from home-work interface issues.

7.15 Predictors of career success satisfaction

To test the hypothesis that marginality will predict lower levels of career success satisfaction, after accounting for the effects of psychological and social support resources, a hierarchical regression was conducted. It included the predictors sex, age group, tenure, educational qualification and position in the hierarchy entered in the first step: psychological resources, mentor experience, and social indices entered in the second; career advancement importance in the third; five marginality scales (Inner Harmony excluded) entered in the fourth; with stress factors entered in last step. The same regression analyses were conducted for males and females separately. The resulting models are presented in Table 22.

Table 22

Hierarchical multiple regression models: Psychological and social support resources, and marginality scales as predictors of career success satisfaction

Overall Sample			**Males**			**Females**		
Predictors	*Beta*	*t*	*Predictors*	*Beta*	*t*	*Predictors*	*Beta*	*t*
(Constant)		6.33***			3.74***			2.32*
Mentoring	.14	2.07*	Tenure	.26	2.11*	Position	.26	2.25*
Nurturance Marginality	-.26	-3.66***	Position	-.32	-2.27	Nurturance Marginality	-.43	-4.34***
Home work interface	.17	2.08**	Positive Affect	.29	2.19*	Relationships with other people	-.55	-3.39**
Career and Achievement	-.39	-3.58***	Negative Affect	-.41	-3.10**	Career and Achievement	-.50	-3.11**
			Self-efficacy	.37	2.46*			
			Social Conformity Marginality	-.239	-2.70*			
			Career and Achievement	-.35	-2.11**			

Note: * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$
Males: $F(25,72) = 3.21$, $MS = 1.90$, $p<.05$) $R^2 =.63$
Females: $F(25,76) = 4.64$, $MS = 4.06$, $p<.001$) $R^2 =.70$
Beta coefficients are standardised

Each step entered increased the Adjusted R Square significantly. In step 1, sex and educational qualification were significant predictors of career success satisfaction. PA, NA, LOC (Powerful Others), and self-efficacy and mentoring experience were additional significant predictors in the second step. Sex, educational attainment, self-efficacy and PA ceased to be significant predictors in the third step with mentoring being added to the model. In the fourth step only Nurturance was an additional significant predictor of the marginality scales entered, with NA dropping out of the equation. The last significant predictors to be added to the model were OSI factors career and achievement and home-work interface $(F(26,149)=6.00, MS = 5.03, p <.001)$. As the standardised betas in Table 23 show, the stress factor career and achievement was the most powerful negative significant predictor of career success satisfaction, with Nurturance marginality being the second most powerful predictor after accounting for sex and psychological and social support resources. The equation suggested that increased stress from career and achievement issues and Nurturance marginality would predict less satisfaction with career. Conversely, as mentoring experiences and stressors from the home-work interface issues increased, so did satisfaction with job and career. This model accounted for 46 percent of the variance in career success.

Resulting regression models differed markedly for males and females. While stressors from career and achievement issues was a significant negative predictor of career success satisfaction for both males and females, self-efficacy and positive and negative affect featured prominently as predictors for males. While mentoring experiences was a significant predictor in earlier stages of the analyses, it was excluded in step 4 for both sex groups. While position in the hierarchy was a significant predictor of career success satisfaction, its influence was in opposite directions for males and females. Position in the hierarchy was a positive predictor for females, while for males, position appeared to be a negative predictor. Interestingly, while both males' and females' regression models included marginality as a significant negative predictor of career success satisfaction, for males marginality stemmed from Social Conformity values rather

than from nurturant characteristics, as was the case for females. The models appeared to have more predictive power when separated by sex, with predictors explaining 63 percent of the variance in career success satisfaction for males, and 70 percent of the variance in career success satisfaction for females.

7.16 Testing the model -impacts on career success– antecedents, mediators and effects

Based on findings so far on the antecedents, mediators of stress and career success and the effects of gender on marginality, a further exploration that investigated the direct and indirect effects on career success was warranted. A structural equation model using AMOS software was conducted that included demographic variables and psychological resources as antecedents for marginality and career success. The model also explored the direct effects of marginality on stress outcomes and career success. Due to limitations of the sample size, it was decided that a limited model would be tested. Only the feminine marginality scales were included in the model: Nurturance, Social Connectedness and Inner Harmony marginality. These dimensions had consistently outperformed the other dimensions in their associations with the dependent variables of interest in the study, and therefore was deemed most appropriate for the model. The hypothesised model (depicted in Figure 6) informed by results of analyses in the previous sections, comprised a direct effect between marginality and occupational stress, and the two constructs and career success satisfaction. It included marginality and occupational stress fully mediated by psychosocial resources.
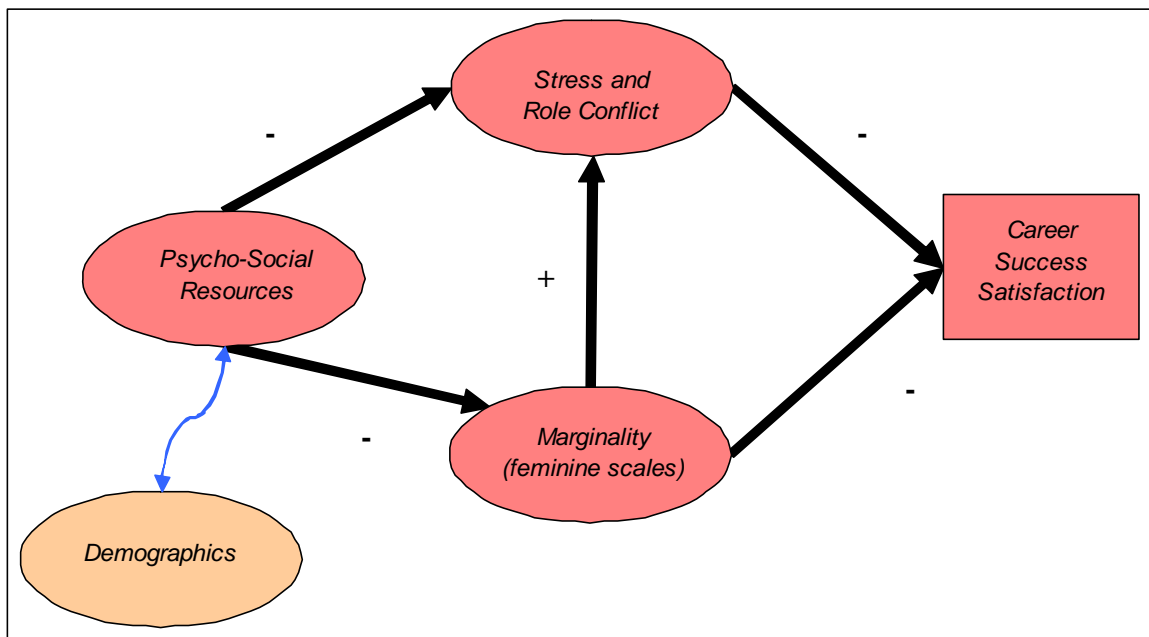
Note: ➔ = direct relationship; ⮐➔ = indirect relationship

<u>Figure 6</u>

Hypothesised model of the relationships between marginality, occupational stress, psychosocial resources and career success satisfaction.

To test the appropriateness of the latent variable marginality only comprising feminine scales, a confirmatory factor model using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) was specified. According to Hair (2003), SEM can be used as a validation check because unlike factor analysis, SEM enables complete control over the specification indicators for each construct. Furthermore, SEM allows for a statistical test of goodness of fit which is not possible with factor analysis.

A confirmatory factor analysis of marginality scales was conducted and converged successfully ($x^2(4) = 3.164$, $p = .53$). The results displayed in Table 23 show that while all scales loaded significantly and positively onto the latent construct (criterion $>.3$), Social Connectedness, Inner Harmony and Nurturance scales loaded most strongly on marginality. The squared multiple correlations showed that the Social Conformity marginality scale explained the least amount of variance, only contributing 11 percent of the variance explained in the construct marginality.

Table 23

Confirmatory factor analysis on the construct marginality

Marginality Scales	Standardised Regression Weights	Squared Multiple Correlations
Autonomy Marginality	0.35	0.13
Nurturance Marginality	0.72	0.52
Social Connectedness Marginality	0.92	0.85
Explorational Marginality	0.43	0.19
Social Conformity Marginality	0.32	0.10
Inner Harmony Marginality	0.87	0.76

Having established the appropriateness of using the three stereotypically feminine scales to express the latent construct marginality, a fully mediated model was attempted and found to be significantly improved from the independence model (which tests the hypothesis that all variables are uncorrelated) (x^2 (153) = 210.14, p>.01). Post hoc model modifications were performed in an attempt to develop a more parsimonious model. Chi-squared and results of other fit tests showed there was a significant improvement when additional parameters were included between some of the error variances (between exogenous variables) and in particular a direct pathway between psychological resources and career success satisfaction (x^2 (148) = 168.97, p>.05; AIC = 334.97; $CAIC$ = 667.85). The resulting partially mediated model is displayed in Figure 7.
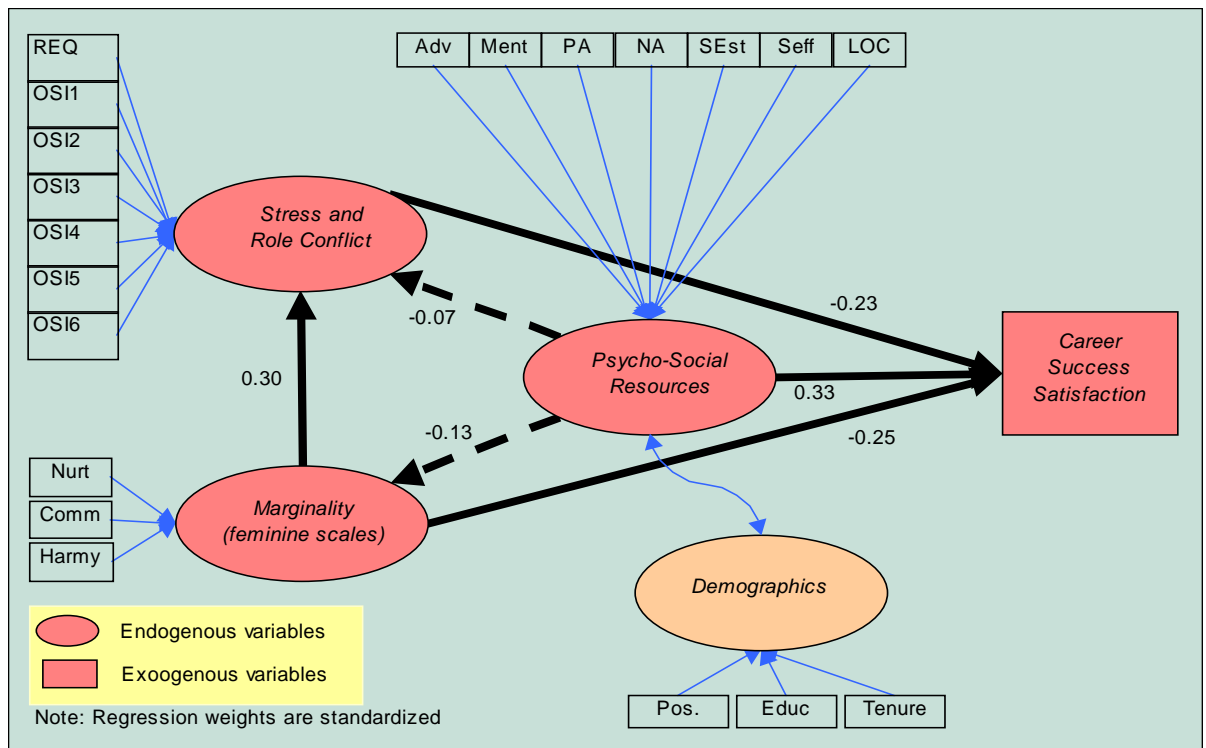
Note: •••••► denotes non-significant parameter; ——► denotes direct relationship;

denotes indirect relationship

REQ – Role Conflicts and Misgivings Scale of the Role Experience Questionnaire
OSI1 – Occupational Stress Indicator Factor – Factors intrinsic to the job
OSI2 – The managerial role
OSI3– Relationships with other people
OSI4– Career and achievement
OSI5– Organisational structure and climate
OSI6– Home-work interface
Nurt – Nurturance marginality; Comm – Social Connectedness marginality; Harmy – Inner
 Harmony marginality
Pos. – Position within the hierarchy; Educ. – Educational level
Adv. – Advice centrality, Ment – Benefits from mentoring experiences; PA – Positive
 affect, NA – Negative affect; SEst – Self-esteem, SEff – Self-efficacy; LOC – Locus of
 control (powerful others).

Figure 7

Partially mediating model: Effects of marginality, occupational stress and
psychosocial resources career success satisfaction

Standardised direct effects, shown in Table 24, appear to support the hypothesis that marginality will significantly predict stress and career success satisfaction after accounting for the effects of psychological resources. The direct effects of marginality were small to medium, but in the expected direction. While two of the parameters were not significant (that is, pathways between psychosocial resources and Nurturance marginality; and occupational stress and Nurturance marginality) the inclusion of these parameters did improve fit statistics. Therefore, it is possible that the small sample size unduly affected the critical ratios of parameter estimates. The model explains only 30 percent of the variance for career success.

Table 24

Standardised direct effects between latent variables and career success satisfaction in the partially mediating model

		Stand. Regression Weights	Parameter Estimate	Stand. Error
Psychological Resources →	Feminine Marginality	-0.13	-.11	.07*
Feminine Marginality →	Career Success Satisfaction	-0.25	-.89	.28
Occupational Stress →	Career Success Satisfaction	-0.23	-.52	.17
Psychological Resources →	Career Success Satisfaction	0.33	.94	.22
Feminine Marginality →	Occupational Stress	0.30	.48	.15
Psychological Resources →	Occupational Stress	-0.07	-.09	.12*

Note: *Critical Ratio <+-1.96

Squared multiple regression weights indicated a significant positive association between feminine marginality and career success satisfaction. In addition, occupational stress was significantly negatively associated with satisfaction with career, while psychological resources were significantly positively associated. However, psychological resources did not mediate

marginality or occupational stress as expected. Instead the results suggest that psychological resources operated directly with marginality and stress on career success satisfaction.

The model suggested that as feminine marginality increased, so too did occupational stress. Findings also showed that as feminine marginality increased, career success satisfaction decreased.

The resulting model appeared to support the conceptual framework used in the study, that although somewhat mediated by individual and psychological resources, marginality is a significant factor in explaining occupational stress and career success outcomes.

7.17 Summary of Results in Study 2

7.17.1 The Nature of Marginality

Marginality was conceptualised as differences between self and organisation ratings on gender related characteristics and values. The operationalisation of marginality was achieved through reducing 63 gender related traits (Antill et.al., 1981; Helmreich et.al., 1981; Bem, 1974; Heilbrun, 1976), and 36 values (Rokeach, 1973) to six marginality scales. Three of these were associated with stereotypically feminine characteristics, and three were associated with more stereotypically masculine characteristics. Bi-variate correlations performed amongst the marginality scales and the individual scales from which they were comprised, confirmed the independence of feminine and masculine dimensions. The strongest correlations were found between Autonomy and Nurturance in correlation matrices of organisational ratings. These results indicated that participants perceived Autonomy and Nurturance as co-existing within the organisational gender identity more so than within their individual gender identities.

Differences were found between the two organisations, ComputerOrg and InsurOrg, on measures of marginality. Mean marginality scores overall were higher in InsurOrg than in ComputerOrg, with the greatest difference being in Nurturance marginality. In addition, female participants overall had higher means on marginality measures, with females in InsurOrg reporting the highest mean marginality scores. In InsurOrg there were significant differences between males and females on Nurturance marginality, yet in ComputerOrg females reported higher means than males on Social Conformity marginality. These findings suggest that the locus of marginality differed for women in each organisation. In InsurOrg, women were more likely to describe themselves in feminine terms, and less likely to use the same descriptors for their organisation. However, while women in ComputerOrg described themselves in feminine terms, they were *also* more likely to describe themselves in terms characteristics of stereotypical masculinity *and* describe their organisation in more nurturing terms. Therefore,

perceptions of self-identity and organisational-identity appeared more balanced in relation to masculinity and femininity for women in ComputerOrg than in InsurOrg. As further evidence of the more masculine gendered culture in InsurOrg's, men in that organisation were also more likely to report higher means on Autonomy than males in ComputerOrg.

7.17.2 Relationships between marginality and dependent variables

Overall men in the study appeared to be more satisfied with their career success than were women. However, career advancement appeared to be more important for women in the study. In support of the hypothesis that marginality would negatively affect career success satisfaction and stress, participants in ComputerOrg did report greater satisfaction with career success than participants in InsurOrg. In addition, marginality dimensions were significant predictors of career success satisfaction and occupational stress. In particular, marginality scales associated with stereotypically feminine characteristics consistently produced significant main effects on the dependent variables of interest. Specifically, Nurturance marginality covaried significantly with stressors associated with relationships with others and organisational structure and climate factors. Social Connectedness marginality was a significant positive predictor of stressors in the managerial role, career and achievement and the home-work interface. For women, increased Nurturance marginality was also a significant negative predictor of career success satisfaction, along with stressors related to career achievement and relationships with others. For men, Social Conformity marginality was a significant negative predictor of career success, along with stressors related to career achievement, negative affect and self-efficacy.

Marginality failed to be as significant a predictor of role conflict and misgivings. Explorational marginality was the least significant predictor of REQ scores. However, the positive association was in the expected direction. Instead, negative affect and advice centrality were significant positive predictors of role conflict and misgivings for both males and females.

Partly supporting the hypothesis that psychological and social support resources would buffer the effects of marginality and occupational stress, findings

indicated that positive and negative general emotionality, self-esteem and self-efficacy were significant covariates of marginality and predictors of REQ scores. A structural equation model confirmed these results. However, it suggested that feminine marginality had higher direct effects on occupational stress than did psychological resources. At the same time, it showed that psychological resources had higher direct effects on career success satisfaction than occupational stress and feminine marginality. These results taken together suggest that feminine marginality, occupational stress and psychological resources may operate together to influence career success satisfaction.

CHAPTER 8

OVERALL DISCUSSION

*It is crucial that women see how deeply they have internalised
assumptions, attitudes, stereotypes of what is better, worse,
valued, not valued …which may sometimes be destructive and
often inhumane. (Stiver, 1991, p. 236).*

8 Overview

This thesis reflected on gender identity incongruence as antecedent to the
processes of exclusion. It inquired into how women experience this exclusion
when they are cognisant of the effects of gender on career outcomes. This thesis
aimed to examine the notion of marginality not only as a social process but also as
a psychological state, experienced internally, and accompanied both by
psychological effects for individuals, and adverse consequences for organisations.

In this thesis I have attempted to use tenets of marginality theory and gender
schema theory to explain the antecedents, experiences and effects of marginality,
while being informed by a dialogical notion of the person-environment relation.
This was achieved by operationalising marginality as the degree of incongruence
between on one hand individuals' self ratings of gender related characteristics and
values and, on the other, individuals' ratings of gender related characteristics and
values within their own organisational cultures. Marginality was conceptualised as
both shaped and constructed by the individual–cultural relationship, positioned
within a wider social, political and ideological context.

The thesis used two studies to explore first the nature of marginality, and
then its hypothesised antecedents and effects, and their mediators. Study 1
employed a qualitative methodology to uncover the ways in which power and
control is exercised within a hegemonic masculine organisational culture. Semi-
structured interviews were conducted with management personnel in three
organisations to elicit information about the processes by which gender may be
polarised with the effect of construing sex as a category of difference. The
conceptual framework used in Study 1 focussed on the role gender difference

plays in the marginality of women in managerial roles, and the effects on occupational stress and perceptions of career. It also aimed to elucidate the individual mediators of marginality, such as psychological and social resources.

The following discussion will explore the themes that were discovered during Study 1 and which subsequently informed the design of Study 2, and informed the analysis of Study 2 results. Participants offered their experiences and views on issues about the nature of the 'ideal' or 'exemplary' manager, how women in management were faring in the organisational culture, and the strategies that women used to counter the effects of discrimination and marginalisation. Themes about the nature of power, social relationships and communication within each organisation revealed symbols, practices and actions that were preferred in a masculine organisational culture. They also revealed the risks associated with failing to exhibit the 'right' repertoire of responses.

Study 2 expanded the potential pool of participants to include all employees in two organisations. Analyses in Study 2 explored the dimensionality of marginality and its differing effects for men and women in the study. Study 2 also aimed to investigate the mechanisms that buffered the effects of marginality and limited career progress within gendered cultures. In addition, analyses explored the effects of marginality on two quality of work variables: individuals' perceptions of career success, and occupational stress.

The results in Study 1 appeared to confirm the existence of gendered phenomena in the three organisations studied. Gender polarisation processes appeared to perpetuate exemplars of the 'good' manager as masculine through positioning women as deviant within the organisational culture. For women to deviate from the dominant management style involves risk, and many women found themselves with less freedom than expected to move from within the contact zone between masculine and feminine behavioural modalities.

Findings suggested that for women the contact zone was a 'no-choice' zone, and that this limited women's behavioural and career choices. These findings further the view of Poole and Langan-Fox (1997) that social variables impact on vocational expectations. The gender limitations imposed on women at the contact

zone may reduce vocational expectations as aspiring women learn that neither femininity nor masculinity provide an ideal modality for behaviour. The women in Study 1 appeared to be more aware than men of the gender polarisation process mechanisms supporting power dynamics in the organisation. Rather than being 'traumatised' by power, women who valued nurturing and Social Connectedness orientations above other behavioural modalities were more likely to reject majority forms of power as illegitimate and avoid them. For other women 'fitting in' required them to embrace gender management strategies, such as 'masking'. The use of 'mask' strategies involves the adoption of behaviours such as 'ignoring' and 'joining'. These behaviours allow women to give the appearance that they approve (or at least do not actively disapprove) of expressed masculine traits, even though they believe them to be counterproductive, or which they experience as misogynist.

Study 2 provided an opportunity to test the hypothesis that psychological resources and marginality, would significantly mediate stress. Perceptions of marginality experiences were operationalised in Study 2 as the degree of incongruence between individuals' self ratings of gender related characteristics and values, and their ratings of the gender related characteristics and values within the organisational culture.

As hypothesised, women experienced greater degrees of marginality than men. However, marginality was experienced differently in the two organisations studied. While all participants experienced higher levels of marginality in InsurOrg in particular, women experienced more marginality in relation to Nurturance marginality, whereas, in ComputerOrg women experienced more marginality along the Social Conformity dimension.

Unexpectedly, there were no differences between men and women on the other marginality measures, including Autonomy. This suggests that rather than being unable to adapt their behaviours and values towards masculine modalities, women were succeeding as well as the men in their endeavours. Findings in both organisations suggested the factor that distinguished the organisations on levels of

marginality appeared to be perceptions about the extent to which nurturing values and practices existed *in the organisation.*

It was hypothesised that perceptions of psychological resources (self-efficacy, locus of control, self esteem) and social support resources (network position and availability of mentors) would be predictors of marginality and occupational stress. Findings supported this in part. Four of the psychological resource variables significantly mediated the effects of marginality. They were positive and negative affect, self-esteem and mentoring experiences. As expected, psychological and social support variables were also significant predictors of occupational stress factors. However, these differed according to the particular stress factor. Globally, however, advice centrality, external locus of control, and negative affect exacerbated occupational stress. Higher self-esteem, and positive affect appeared to ameliorate sources of stress and strain. While Code and Langan-Fox (2001) have suggested that motive-goal congruence is particularly important to the stress-strain relationship, the findings in this study supported this only in part. The only occupational stress factor that was mediated by degree of motivation towards career was the OSI factor related to career and achievement. Findings suggested that individuals who were particularly motivated towards career would also be more likely to report greater sources of pressure from career and achievement factors.

Findings in this study did support stress research that posits individual personality characteristics as important determinants of stress. Psychological resources varied with the effects of marginality and mediated the effects of stress. After explaining for the effects of psychological and social support resources, marginality, as expected, appeared to predict lower levels of career success and higher levels of occupational stress. This predictive power was particularly evident for those scales that were descriptive of feminine domains. Results presented evidence of the direct effect of marginality on occupational stress, and also suggested that marginality and stress both contributed negatively to career success satisfaction.

The following sections discuss in detail results derived from Study 1 and Study 2. Throughout the discussion qualitative results are inter-woven with quantitative results, with particular emphasis on triangulation and points of difference between the two studies. Limitations of the two studies are also discussed. Possible theoretical and applied implications of the findings are presented.

The nature of marginality in gendered cultures

When marginalisation occurs, the experiences of some are subjugated to the experiences of others, and the experiences of the subjugated are often represented as negative in comparison to those that dominate (Weingarten, Surrey, Coll, & Watkins, 1998). Marginalisation for women in management may occur through processes Sandra Bem (1993) has coined 'lenses of gender'. Through these lenses negative evaluations are made of women against criteria related to the 'exemplary' manager, as defined by hegemonic masculinity, and again through the absence of contexts and practices that are particularly of women's making in gendered organisational cultures. The results from Study 1 appeared to confirm the existence of those social phenomena in the three organisations studied.

Findings in Study 1 confirmed research suggesting that a 'good' manager is 'masculine' (Schein, 1973; Brenner et al., 1989; Heilman et al., 1989). Findings suggested that gender polarisation processes existed in the organisations studied and that stereotypes informed views about women in management. Interestingly, female managers shared perceptions with males about the masculine 'good' manager. However, in addition, they added feminine characteristics, to their descriptions, adopting a mental model for the managerial role that incorporated notions of androgyny (Bem, 1974).

These findings confirmed those by Frable (1995) who suggested that these processes perpetuate the positioning of female managers in a unique location in relation to the organisational culture. For women to deviate from the dominant management style involved risk in that deviating women were described in negative feminine terms and blamed for their own demise. The impact of gender polarisation may have been heightened with women in managerial positions perceived by both men and women as part of a minority group (Powell & Butterfield, 1989). Powell and Butterfield (1989) found that deviance from traditional roles limited career success for women and proposed the existence of a self-fulfilling prophecy: that statistical deviance would always lead to heightened expectations of role deviance.

Many of the male managers, while rhetorical about gender equality, did not recognise gender polarisation or subjugation as a factor for women's lack of progress into upper echelons of management. Many male managers ascribed qualities to women that made them 'better managers' than males, but explained the reasons for their limited career success in terms of lack of individual motivation, and other personality characteristics. However, some men who appeared to be more aware of the gendered processes that impeded women's career success flatly admitted that 'men did not respect women managers'.

Women's reactions to symptoms of discrimination ranged from being unconscious of polarising processes, to being conscious of them but unable to articulate the perceived conflict except in personalised terms. Some women could articulate the conflict as incongruence but were utilising strategies to deal with conflict. A small proportion were conscious of the issue, could articulate it, and were leaving their organisations.

The findings in Study 1 can be explained by considering the subversive nature of the barriers to career success that were identified by women. As Meyerson and Fletcher (2000) state, 'gender discrimination now is so deeply embedded in organisational life as to be virtually indiscernible' (p. 127). Their review of research showed that it was difficult for women who were directly affected by these processes to understand 'what had hit them'.

The majority of senior women managers discussed in particular the threat that their mere presence appeared to pose to men. Discordant narratives by men about women in management also suggested the existence of this threat or fear. Female managers explained men's fears as a reaction to women's perceived disruption of the status quo, particularly in relation to attitudes and behaviours in the workplace. Although this threat may be imagined and not generalised across all women, it may be particularly salient for men in relation to women in management, where women are perceived as 'deviant' but also 'better' than men.

Therefore, it was not surprising that many of the women interviewed identified with the group 'woman', and discussed their role as change agents in their organisational cultures. Other women were loathe to confront the status quo

head on, insisting that senior males in their organisations who held the direct power could too easily dismiss any proposed advance with negative consequences resulting. This view is supported by Fiske (1995) who suggests that attention follows power: people pay less attention to those individuals who have less control over outcomes. Therefore, women's advances in relation to organisational or behavioural change may well at the very least be ignored by a male dominated senior management team.

These findings support those found by earlier researchers (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989; Jenkins, 2000) who claim that women will be motivated by more feminine forms of power (power-for) rather than masculine forms of power (power-over) where masculine forms equate with behaviour such as dominance, competition or exploitation. However, they also expressed distaste for indirect power strategies, such as manipulativeness, that they felt compelled to use in order to acquire power in their organisations. Research (Falbo et al., 1982) suggests that because women are less likely to expect compliance from subordinates in general, they are more likely to use indirect strategies that do not require cooperation from others, and that they are rewarded for using these strategies (Kipnis et al., 1980). This may also explain the reasons why women reported that they were rewarded for fulfilling roles that 'serviced' men, such as the pet, mother and seductress. Women expressed ambivalence towards their participation in these roles. They believed also that such role behaviour distracted them from achieving desired levels of career success.

An explanation at the intra-psychic level is also helpful to understand women's choices of power strategies. As previously discussed, gender schema is linked to value priorities. Therefore, the gender aspects of a person's self concept comprises a set of beliefs that carry evaluative connotations (Feather, 1984). Findings in this study suggested that the women were more likely to share an identity that comprises a 'Social Connectedness' self schemata (Belenky et. al., 1986) where importance is placed on others in defining the self. There was a tendency for the women in this study to connect with other women in non-traditional roles, within and outside their organisations. So while women were aware of rewards associated with using indirect power strategies, some women

(and non-conforming men) eschewed them as a result of an inner value hierarchy that prioritised communal and nurturing modalities above other modes of being and behaving.

This proposition appears contrary to research on power motivation (Winter 1983; Stewart, 1982; Brief & Oliver, 1976; Davidson & Cooper, 1983) that indicates achievement (in terms of power acquisition) is linked to job factors rather than individual motivation. While gender polarisation processes (that is, negative evaluations constraining women's choices in the power strategies available to them) impact on the ways women use power, it may be gender identity processes that ultimately motivate some women to eschew power acquisition altogether.

In support of this proposition, Miller (1976) and Griscom (1992) have argued that women's concern for others, and their more Social Connectedness orientations, may position them to locate power within relationships, and be more inclined than men to distribute benefits of power, rather than being motivated to seek more power, in terms of financial wealth or hierarchical position (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). However, this may not be ultimately beneficial for women, particularly if it brings about vulnerability to gender marginality. Findings in Study 1 suggested, in addition to limited career success, that marginality may bring with it greater stress and emotional risk for women struggling at the juncture between masculine and feminine cultures.

For women, stressors were perceived from multiple sources, manifested in a continual juggling of roles such as manager, wife, mother, friend, mentor, change agent and woman. Women were burdened with living up to an exemplar of 'good manager'. They were also burdened by the requirement imposed by others and upon themselves to act as an exemplar of the 'good feminist'. The 'good feminist' carries additional roles of change agent and mentor to other women. This role adds to the multitude of other roles, hence requiring compensation over other equally important and pressing role demands.

8.1   Fitting In

Other studies have attempted to 'measure' an individual's gender identity and label it as masculine or feminine, and then position it against the masculinity or femininity of others in relation to some performance outcome (Fagenson, 1990). While 'masculine' individuals may 'fare better', one should not automatically equate masculinity with career success. Findings in this study demonstrated that it is far more likely, given an understanding of the construction of gender, that 'masculine' traits and behaviours are congruent with the dominant expectations of organisational climates that value masculine attributes. Some women explained that fitting in required them to design gender management strategies, such as 'mask' strategies like the use of 'ignoring' and 'joining' behaviours that lead them to overlook, and even state masculine and sometimes misogynist views, despite such views contradicting their gender identity preferences. This included sexist language and behaviours, and strategies to suppress their femininity. Interestingly, in my role as researcher, I activated and maintained the same strategies during the interview stages of Study 1. In addition, themes elicited from Study 1 did suggest that some males were also constrained in their expression of other forms of masculinity.

Women in Study 1 were aware that mentoring was an effective way of moving out of marginal positions and effecting cultural change within their organisation. However, they experienced problems with selection as a protégé due to their gender deviance as discussed in Chapter 5. This may have been attributable to the processes described by Kram (1983) and Baker (1994) whereby similarity principles underpin selection of protégés in mentoring situations. Therefore, women bemoaned the lack of suitable mentors, and problems associated with the mentor-mentee relationship itself created by dynamics of gender and sexuality.

8.2   The dimensionality of marginality

In order to capture the dialogical relations between individual and organisational value systems, the design used in Study 2 operationalised marginality as the degree of incongruence between individuals' self ratings, and

their ratings of gender related characteristics and values within the organisational culture. An unexpected finding was that the dimensions extracted differed for self and organisation rating matrices. This suggests that participants discriminated between individual and organisational gendered characteristics. Factor analyses of gender characteristics only produced two reliable gender scales, Autonomy and Nurturance. Autonomy reflected a masculine dimension found by Coan (1989) and Palermo (1992) and defined by characteristics such as analytical, dominant, enterprising, and leadership qualities. Nurturance reflected a feminine dimension found by Coan and Palermo and defined by a focus on compassion, caring for others, empathy and kindness. Other dimensions extracted from gender characteristics were not included in the study. In relation to value structures, factor analyses for self and organisational ratings were far more similar. Four factors were extracted: Social Connectedness, Explorational, Social Conformity, and Inner Happiness.

The *Social Connectedness* factor reflected values that describe a sense of world order with a sense of comfort being expressed through equilibrium and connectedness. *Explorational* was defined by values that describe a sense of expansion and growth through interpersonal and intra-personal dynamics. *Social Conformity* was defined by values promoting an ordered social world that provides both enabling and constraining elements. Enabling values included pleasure, comfort, and social recognition. Constraining values espoused social mores including obedience, responsibility and politeness. *Inner Happiness* reflected an internal focus and desire to achieve a sense of equanimity within oneself and with others, defined by values such as inner harmony, self respect, mature love, true friendship and honesty. These factors confirmed those found by Feather (1984) and Braithwaite (1998).

Correlations of the gender and values scales showed that Social Conformity and Explorational values were correlated more strongly with Autonomy than Nurturance. These findings confirmed those by Feather (1984), who found the values that comprise these dimensions highly correlated with measures of masculinity. Findings also showed that Social Connectedness and Inner Happiness factors were more likely to be correlated with Nurturance. These findings

confirmed those found by Feather (1984), that values comprising these dimensions were highly correlated with measures of femininity.

An unexpected finding was the strength of the positive association between Autonomy and Nurturance, especially for organisational ratings. These findings appeared to confirm an androgyny model such as that of Bem (1974), whereby individuals may exhibit both masculinity and femininity. The findings of this study further this view by suggesting that multiple femininities and masculinities may mutually co-exist not as dichotomies but as mutually exclusive dimensions along a gender continuum, with balance achieved when both feminine and masculine dimensions can be equally enacted in the gender schema. The findings also suggest that this may also apply to organisational cultures. Themes elicited from Study 1 suggested that multiple gender identities were enacted simultaneously, albeit with tensions, by individuals at work, and within the organisational culture as well. How these dimensions relate to one another within organisational cultures requires further research.

Findings in Study 1 suggested that the organisational cultures could be described in terms of gender identity. The cultural norms, practices and mores were described as favouring masculine values and modalities of behaviour. Women were likely to describe the same organisational environments in more negative terms than men. They were interested in developing cultures that were more nurturing. Indeed, all managers interviewed, men and women, agreed that aggressive, war-like cultures were counter-productive and damaging to organisational effectiveness. EducOrg provided a contrasting case study of organisational culture. EducOrg was perceived in more nurturing terms, which presented a more level playing field for women than MetalOrg and ComputerOrg. While I do not presume to assess the performance of one organisation against the others, the women and men in EducOrg clearly perceived and articulated a difference in their organisation, describing it as 'not in the real world'.

This finding was also reproduced in part in Study 2 where determinants of marginality differed for women in each of the organisations studied. In InsurOrg, where women reported more marginality than women in ComputerOrg, they were

less likely to describe their organisational culture in feminine terms. Women in ComputerOrg described themselves in both feminine and masculine terms, *and* described their organisation in more feminine and nurturing terms. Therefore, perceptions of self-identity and organisational-identity appeared less balanced for women in InsurOrg than in ComputerOrg. As further evidence of this imbalance, men in InsurOrg were also more likely to describe themselves as autonomous compared with males in ComputerOrg.

What was the impact of marginality on individuals in each of these organisations? Differences between perceptions of career success satisfaction differed in the expected direction between the two organisations. While women overall reported lower perceptions of career success, this was particularly so in InsurOrg. In contrast, men in InsurOrg reported the highest levels of satisfaction with career success. These findings appear to suggest that the organisational value imbalance identified in InsurOrg was particularly detrimental for women's career outcomes.

8.3   Women on the Juncture

Marginality theory posits that biculturalism can be beneficial as it provides the means to move freely between cultures (Goldberg, 1941;Green, 1947). In addition, writings on women and work suggest that women should learn to be more competitive and become more skilled at it - 'better than men' (Stiver, 1991, p. 230). Gender schema and marginality theories together suggest that cultural competence for women in management may be mediated by gender weightings across differing cultures. Individuals may view themselves spontaneously as members of different gender groups and may also vary the weight they assign each group in terms of its influence on self concept in a given situation. Therefore, a female manager in InsurOrg may readily identify with elements of masculinity in a situation such as a budget meeting that requires a tough-minded, aggressive response, and may simultaneously identify with elements of femininity by choosing to use a more conciliatory approach in the way she conducts herself during the meeting. In this way she can be 'better than men'. She can reap the benefits of biculturalism by moving across the gendered contact zone as the

situation and her own values and preferences demand. Similarly, any limits to movement across this juncture would result in a narrower range of behavioural responses for women than are appropriate in a masculine organisational culture.

Themes elicited in Study 1 explored many such limitations. Female managers discussed their struggles within a male dominated, unfamiliar, or adverse culture. Women in management felt that they were caught between dichotomous models of behaviour; passive feminine and active masculine. They described occurrences of discrimination, intimidation and negative evaluations indicating they were perceived as a paradox: 'too feminine' or 'too masculine'.

The literature on biculturalism suggests that an aspect of cultural competence may involve motivation, on behalf of the marginalised individual, to acculturate to the dominant culture. However, for some women in Study 1 acculturation appeared an abhorrent process, and not one with which they wished to engage. The alternation model of cultural competence did not appear to apply for these women. They did not believe they could belong to the 'boys club' without compromising their own gender identities and value structures.

The sex role literature provides an explanation that suggests that 'feminine' individuals are likely to appraise masculine behaviours as threatening, and in consequence avoid situations in which they believe they are likely to be confronted by such behaviours. However, an alternative explanation may be that such appraisals are mediated by self-efficacy effects. Some of the women in this study, rather than appraising these behaviours as threatening (as suggested by Long et.al., 1989) appraised them as abhorrent. So rather than concluding that women preferring feminine modalities will be less adept at coping with situations where masculine behaviours are required, they may indeed choose to disengage from these situations, and / or behaviours. Women may choose to do so, not because they lack capability for coping, but because they experience dissonance between the values motivating that behaviour within a particular situation, and their own value structure. These findings support those of Still (1993) who found that identity issues particular to women in 'alien' environments ranged from

adaptation of the masculine model, successful integration of both models, rejection of the masculine model, and ambivalence about multiple identities.

If Astin's (1984) model of career success is applied to these findings, then one could conclude that the socialisation process (perpetuating the idea of conflict between femininity and work) and the structure of opportunity (dearth of developed practices that would help women to balance concerns for career and for others) have obstructed the social change required to alleviate marginalisation for some women. Similarly, structural perspectives on gender difference assert that women's expectations are low because of the lack of opportunity provided by organisational structures, processes and policies. Low expectations are the consequential adjustments to perceived realities of gender incongruence.

However, what has not been considered is how these adjustments themselves may also intensify stress for women. Indeed, themes elicited in Study 1 around 'being like a man' across a gendered contact zone appeared to highlight these stressors. Findings suggested that this contact zone was a 'no-choice' zone for many women. Some women were more likely to leave the organisation than face continuing outcomes of marginalisation. Some women were intending to stay in their organisation but had resigned themselves to their diminished career outlook, leading to frustration, resentment and poor morale.

Many women were conscious that what was required was deep cultural change. However, they were aware as well of the immense risk involved in confronting the status quo head on. Interestingly, this risk was doubly acknowledged as an organisational hazard. Both women and men described masculine cultures as being counter to productivity and effectiveness in the organisation. What these findings show, reinforced by Stiver's (1999) research, is the perceived necessity to expand the debates on women and work, beyond the prescription of a masculine model of the 'professional business man' to models that incorporate the diverse experiences of human beings.

Although participants acknowledged that their organisations had gone some of the way toward implementing work-life friendly policies, in practice, these policies were not congruent with perceptions of the demands of the management

role. Findings supported those of Lewis (2001) and Jackson (2001) indicating that because these policies are not mainstreamed in cultural rules, their take up is often poor as result. This results in a vicious cycle: the policies are marginalised, leading to poor take up, which reinforces the marginalisation of these policies. It is not surprising that in this study the practices and routines that were endorsed by work-life policies were often also linked to feelings of anxiety and compromise for the individuals involved in their take up. However, despite this, self-efficacy mediated stress and was articulated through a 'can do' attitude adopted by women across both their public and private spheres.

At the outset of the thesis, I hypothesised that women would experience more marginality than men in the organisations studied. While themes in Study 1 elicited symptoms of what may be interpreted as marginality, most women attributed their feelings of isolation and frustration to thwarted career success in structural terms, such as discrimination, the 'boys club' and home–work tensions. However, for many women in Study 1, strategies to overcome these 'symptoms' were conceptualised in personal rather social or organisational policy terms. These perspectives did not include awareness of structural relations shaping individual cognitions and perceptions. Davidson and Cooper (1983) found that the women managers were internalisers, and were therefore more likely to attribute successes and failures to personal factors. However, in this study women reported higher mean scores on external locus of control measures. The phenomenon of 'individualising' may therefore be a consequence of a predominant discourse in organisational management that was proposed by both men and some women in the study: 'if women were good enough, they'd be here'. Unger (1989) theorises that women are subjected to double binds: their perspectives of the world are based on the need to construct perceptions that are congruent with their perceived reality. This may explain why women in this study attributed to themselves the negative outcomes in their portrayals of their own careers, rather than to the cultural constraints they operate within.

EducOrg again provided a contrasting case study, suggesting it is only when EEO strategies are embedded in organisational culture that change 'slowly begins to shift consciousnesses'. In this case what was clearly required were social

egalitarian / humanistic ideologies deployed at the most senior level of management, through the agency of the President of the organisation.

The operationalisation of marginality in Study 2 allowed for a way to tap into unconscious processes of identity formulation that enabled the exploration of the internal conflict manifested by feelings of marginality. As hypothesised, women in Study 2 did appear to experience more marginality than men. However, marginality was experienced differently in the two organisations studied. All participants experienced higher levels of marginality in InsurOrg, and in particular, women experienced more marginality in relation to Nurturance marginality. In ComputerOrg, women experienced more marginality along the Social Conformity dimension.

Unexpectedly, there were no differences between men and women on the other marginality measures, including Autonomy marginality. This suggests that both women and men in the organisations studied were adept at 'doing' masculinity, as required by the demands of their gendered environments. These findings suggest that women, rather than being unable to adapt their behaviours and values systems to masculine modalities, were succeeding as well as the men in their endeavours. The women in InsurOrg described themselves as equanimous, nurturing and communal more so than did men in that organisation. These sex differences were less evident in ComputerOrg. However, women in ComputerOrg did describe their organisation in more nurturant terms than did males in that organisation.

These results, taken together with the finding that all participants from InsurOrg reported greater marginality than did employees of ComputerOrg, suggest that marginality may be a function of the ways in which participants described their organisational culture, rather than the ways in which they described themselves. The factor that distinguished between the organisations on levels of marginality appeared to be perceptions of the existence of values and practices *in the organisation* that embodied stereotypically feminine characteristics. This finding suggests that an organisation such as ComputerOrg that comprises a balanced gendered culture is more likely to ameliorate gender

marginality for employees within the organisation. Similarly, findings suggest that an organisation such as InsurOrg, operating within a more strongly masculine culture that clings to stereotypical characteristics and values, is more likely to exacerbate gender marginality for its employees.

Concomitants of marginality

8.4   Mediators of marginality

It was hypothesised that psychological and social support resources would mediate the effects of marginality and therefore occupational stress. Findings supported this hypothesis in part. Findings suggested that important mediators of marginality were affect, general emotionality, namely NA, PA, self-efficacy, and the social support achieved through mentoring experiences. Although effect sizes were small, significant results were in the expected direction. In the main, however, findings suggest that participants with greater positive affect, mentoring experiences and higher self-efficacy would be less likely to experience marginality whilst high negative affect may be associated with greater levels of marginality, particularly for marginality associated with feminine domains. These results confirmed those of researchers showing that people with greater levels of emotionality (that is, high NA) are also more likely to have a less favourable view of the world, to focus on faults and overestimate the size of personal failures (Brief et al., 1988; Watson & Clark, 1984). The results also align with Long's, (1989) findings that women in masculine sex typed occupations perceive themselves to be more self efficacious, and are more likely to use effective coping strategies that alleviate the effects of stress and strain. The importance of mentoring experiences for ameliorating marginality supported research by Ragins and Cottons (1991) and appeared to confirm that marginality experienced by women managers may be further heightened by a lack of accessible mentors willing to initiate them into influential social networks in the workplace

8.5   Stressors

The results from the research conducted for this thesis support the contention that a model of stress that considers the effects of difference, rather than just capacity versus demand, is required to explain women's multiple sources of stress. These findings confirm those by Poole and Langan-Fox (1997) that

satisfaction in relation to multiple roles may be linked to spillover, independence of life domains, conflict, sacrifice, and compensation rather than instrumentality. In response to strategies for dealing with stressors caused from spillover most of the women in Study 1 explained that 'fitting in' was a necessary requirement for survival in masculine cultures.

The home-work nexus appeared to be salient for all women interviewed in Study 1, whether they actually had children or not. Most of the women in Study 1 had high expectations of both career and domestic spheres. Many women reported frustration with the continuous 'juggling' of work, home duties, children and other roles and responsibilities. Even in the cases where their spouses were not in paid employment and had taken on the role of home duties, issues of succeeding in home, wife and mother roles were prominent. Themes discussed in the section *'Above All Else'* suggested that women coped with multiple sources of stress, including those from home-work tensions, with multiple strategies and high self-efficacy. However, stressors from discrimination, organisational gendered politics, and processes that constrained behavioural choices to narrowly defined passive feminine roles were ultimately of concern.

8.5.1   Predictors of Stress

Results supported the hypothesis that marginality would predict higher levels of occupational stress after accounting for the effects of career importance and psychological and social support resources. The occupational stress factors were most likely to be mediated by the feminine domains of marginality. In addition, Social Conformity marginality is most likely to predict when relationships with others are experienced as a source of pressure. While variance explained in occupational stress factors were quite low, ranging from 5 to 25 percent, at least one of the marginality scales was included in every equation, and was often the most significant, or nearly the most significant predictor of each stress factor. Together these findings support Mitchell's (1996) claim that lack of fit between individual system dynamics and organisational system dynamics will predict occupational stress. In addition these findings support those by Sutherland

et al. (1995), whereby incongruence (person-job) predicted stress and strain, with greater congruence predicting greater well-being.

Factors intrinsic to the job were likely to be sources of pressure when participants were also central within the advice network At face value, the finding in relation to social support appears contrary to tenets of social network theory that claim centrality is a determinant of the level of power an individual can access and is therefore beneficial. However, the positive relationship between centrality and job stressors may be more a symptom of overload in work. The advice network may be a network that carries many onerous tasks as the central individual is inundated with requests on an ongoing basis. Further research is required to unravel the effects on occupational stress for women, related to their positioning within different social networks.

External locus of control appeared to be a significant predictor of sources of pressure from factors intrinsic to the job, career and achievement, and organisational structure and climate. These findings appear to triangulate those found in Study 1, showing that an awareness of external forces, and perhaps gendered forces, operating on job factors and career, may lead to detrimental effects for individual well being.

Other psychological resource variables appeared to be less important as a determinant of stress than expected. NA and PA were significant predictors of sources of pressure from relationships, but were not significant predictors of any other occupational stress factors. High self-esteem appeared to ameliorate the effects of home-work stressors, however it was not a significant predictor of vulnerability or resistance to other stressors.

Another unexpected finding was that motivation toward career was not a significant predictor of occupational stress. While career importance was a significant predictor of stressors associated with career and achievement, it was not a significant predictor of the other stress factors. This result does not appear to support Code and Langan-Fox's (2001) model of motive-goal congruence. However, there is a need for more research that includes more valid measures of motivation than the one used in this study.

These findings suggest a more complex picture of the determinants of stress than those proposed by stress research which has focussed on individual personality characteristics, such as pre-existing vulnerabilities to stress. Instead the findings in this study, including the structural equation model to be discussed later in this chapter, appear to suggest an indirect relationship whereby psychological resources covary with marginality and stress. This finding confirms research that indicates that individual sensitivity to stress is typically triggered by organisational factors (Cotton, 1996; Douglas & Bain, 1996). However, findings in this study suggests that the organisational factor most related to triggering women's stress in the organisations studied was marginality associated with the lack of perceived nurturing and communal orientations in the organisation's culture.

8.5.2 Predictors of Role Conflict and Misgivings

It was hypothesised that marginality would predict lower levels of role conflict and misgivings after accounting for the effects of psychological and social support resource variables. The findings supported this hypothesis. They suggested that Explorational marginality was a significant negative predictor of role conflict after taking account of psychological and social support resources. However, it was the least important predictor. Nonetheless, this result may suggest that marginality is a determinant of role misgivings when a sense of expansion and growth at the individual level is not mirrored in the organisational value structure.

High emotionality, a more central position in the advice network, and low self-esteem were important determinants of increased role conflict and misgivings. However, interestingly, position in the hierarchy was a negative predictor of role conflict. These variables together may suggest that role conflict was greater for participants who were in lower positions in the hierarchy but who were also more central to the advice network. This finding might reflect the uncertainty experienced by participants who have informal rather than formal power bases. More research is required that investigates the inter-relationships between formal and informal power bases and role conflict.

As expected, stressors from the home-work interface were a significant predictor of increased role conflicts and misgivings. A closer investigation of men's narratives around the home-work interface in Study 1 suggest that men may also be grappling with the increased demands placed on them through changes to the gender relations in their domestic spheres. While women were equally concerned with spillover issues, perhaps this dilemma was one that for them had been resolved, albeit inadequately at times, because of the range of management strategies they had already employed to 'juggle' their multiple roles across these spheres. In support of this view, while developing the REQ, Langan-Fox (1996) found that for the professional women in her sample, marriage and family were not major stressors.

While women were more likely to resolve this struggle through compromise and to sacrifice aspects of one role for aspects of another, men lamented the compromises that they were forced to make only in roles associated with their work spheres. Men were not as invested in roles relegated to the private or domestic sphere as they were in roles relegated to the work sphere. Male managers appeared not to be as constrained by a sense of success in career being related to both the public and private sphere, as were female managers. In other words, for men the emphasis for vocational success related only to career and work roles. Whereas for women, attributions of success were derived from both an emphasis on career to roles beyond career: roles in the private sphere of their lives as well. This finding supports Powell and Maniero's (1992) model of career development for women as 'cross currents in the river of time' with emphasis on career on one bank and emphasis on family and relationships with others on the other.

These findings together suggest that:

- women evaluate career success by success in both private and public spheres, yet have developed strategies to effectively 'juggle' competing roles across these spheres;

- men may be just beginning to grapple with the encroachment of the private sphere on their more uni-dimensional conceptualisations of career success; and

- men may experience equal or greater role conflict than women from home-work interface pressures due to the over-emphasis on maintaining role integrity in the workplace or public sphere.

These findings suggest that further research on the changing nature of role salience for women and men across public and private spheres may be warranted.

8.6   Career success satisfaction

8.6.1   Predictors of career success satisfaction

The research aimed to investigate the effects of marginality on quality of life indices such as career success, satisfaction and occupational stress. Findings from Study 2 showed that as expected, men were likely to be more satisfied with their jobs and careers than females, while career advancement was more important for women than men. In addition, women were more likely to feel pressure from stressors related to both career and achievement, and organisational structure and climate, than were males.

Analyses by organisation showed that the men in InsurOrg were most satisfied with career and job, with trends indicating that women in ComputerOrg were more satisfied than women in InsurOrg. These results suggest a negative relationship between marginality and career success satisfaction. That is, as marginality increases, career success satisfaction decreases.

Multiple regression analyses on career success further supported the hypothesis that marginality will predict lower levels of career success satisfaction. While findings showed that marginality was a significant negative predictor of perceptions of career success, after psychosocial and demographic factors, the locus of marginality differed for men and women. For men, career success was a determinant of Social Conformity marginality while for women, career success was a determinant of Nurturance marginality. These findings suggest that

conformance to the social rules that perpetuate hegemonic masculinity in organisational culture was an important determinant of career success satisfaction for men. For women, the existence of nurturing organisational characteristics, rarely present in Australian masculine work cultures, was imperative for satisfaction with their jobs and careers. Sources of stress that predicted career success for men and women separately, also appeared to support this view. While stressors from career and achievement were a determinant of diminished satisfaction in career and job, stressors from relationships with others was an additional determinant for women.

Position in the organisational hierarchy was a positive predictor of career success satisfaction for females, while for males it was a negative predictor. These results are difficult to explain, however they may relate to the ways in which gender marginality influences differed for males and females. The nature of marginality for males, that is, seeking conformance to the social mores of the organisation, may adversely affect career and job satisfaction as males enter the more scrutinised upper levels of the organisational hierarchy. More research is required to determine the effects of social conformance marginality on men's perceived job and career satisfaction.

It is of interest that marginality domains that significantly predicted career success satisfaction for both males and females were descriptive of social dimensions. McGowen and Hart (1990) sampled 1000 psychologists and found that the number of similarities between men and women in terms of their relational focus, distance versus intimacy in relationships, and contextual decision making, outnumbered differences. However, they did show that women were more conflicted about interpersonal relationships and that job satisfaction and happiness were more likely to be related to relationship factors.

Findings by Lyons (1983) may further explain why this may be so. Lyons found that while both men and women were likely to describe themselves in terms of relationships, for women, sense of self-in-relation to others revealed a more communal orientation, involving sustaining connections. Men however tended to describe sense of self-in-relation to others in terms of obligations and

commitments, and self evaluations comprised of their skills in negotiating and interacting with others. These differing conceptions of self-in-relation could be reflected in the differences in the determinants of marginality found in this study.

Themes elicited in this study about the high expectations that women had of their own performance in both home and work domains supported those found by Langan-Fox (1996). These included reappraisals by women to their career ambitions after experiencing structural barriers to advancement in their organisations, coupled with pressures to succeed from roles fulfilled in the domestic sphere. In Study 1, women's narratives were often filled with disillusionment and a sense that pursuing a career in their current context was not 'worth it'. The women in Langan-Fox's (1996) study indicated that the most significant factors determining stress and strain were produced by aspirations to do well coupled by perceived barriers to career success. These findings also confirmed those of Murphy (1996) where high levels of stress were correlated with low job satisfaction, and conflict between home and work demands.

8.6.2   Mediators of career success satisfaction

Findings further suggested that demographic and psychological resource variables were determinants of perceptions of career success. Men appeared to be more satisfied with job and career if they had been in the organisation longer and described themselves as possessing less general emotionality. Women appeared to be more satisfied with job and career if they had a higher position in the hierarchy of the organisation. According to Tharenou (1997) favourable starting opportunities lead to managerial advancement. Therefore, career success should be determined by where in the hierarchy a woman starts and how long she stays there. The findings in this study appear to support those of Tharenou only partly. Tenure was a significant predictor of career success for men but not for women.

Psychological resources did not appear to predict directly career success satisfaction for women. In relation to career success for men, increased self-efficacy and low negative affect predicted higher levels of career success, while no psychological resource variables directly contributed to women's career success satisfaction in this study.

8.7   Testing the Model

The conceptual framework for this thesis was based on tenets of gender schema theory and marginality theory which suggested that psychological resources would mediate the effects of marginality on career success and occupational stress. The findings of Study 1 suggested that women's strategies in response to marginality were indeed enhanced by self efficacious perceptions. Analyses in Study 2, including the structural equation model, further suggested that while there were direct effects of marginality on career success, psychological resources also directly affected career success rather than mediating effects of marginality and stress on career success. While results need to be interpreted cautiously due to small effect sizes and other limitations of the study discussed in the next section, overall findings do suggest the utility of a partially mediated model of career success as described in Figure 6 in Chapter 6.

8.8   Limitations and challenges

Findings need to be interpreted cautiously due to the nature of the samples used in Study 1 and 2. While samples were drawn from populations within each organisation, it cannot be presumed that the organisations chosen were necessarily representative in any way of other medium sized Australian enterprises. particular, the samples used were homogenous in relation to ethnicity. Although tests were conducted that justified combining the two samples for analyses in Study 2, at best the findings reported can be generalised only to the women and men in the two organisations. However, they may provide valuable source material as case studies for use in academic and corporate training programs where there is a focus on organisational behaviour and organisational development.

The measures used in Study 2, and particularly those operationalising marginality, were self-report measures. According to Lips (1991), self-report measures of gender may not be internally consistent as they rely upon a reasonably acute consciousness awareness of gendered aspects of the self-concept. Clinical observations as well as empirical studies indicate that both men and

women may have deeply implicit beliefs and emotional investments in their gender membership, evidenced by the avoidance of cross-sex behaviour by sex typed individuals compared to lower levels of avoidance in cross-sex typed, undifferentiated or androgynous individuals (Pedhauzer & Tetenbaum, 1979; Bem, 1987). However, individuals may still be unable to articulate or even recognise occasions when their gender identity is undermined. It is unclear whether this awareness increases as gender salience increases. While marginality scales were formed empirically from gender related characteristics and values, more research on their reliability and validity is needed to understand the meanings ascribable to these scales.

The use of value ratings, rather than rankings, to calculate marginality scales may have also been a limitation of the study. According to Rokeach (1989), people's value priorities can be more readily discerned through rankings rather than ratings. In addition ratings may be more prone to social desirability effects. Social desirability has also been a problem of sex role traits. The locations for Study 2 were work places. Therefore, there was a real possibility that social desirability effects influenced responses to gender and value ratings. This may explain the lack of power in analyses including the marginality measures.

The use of an absolute difference score to calculate marginality scale scores may have also reduced the power in analyses conducted in Study 2. While absolute difference scores have been commonly used as a congruence index in other studies (Edwards, 1994) they are problematic nonetheless. Edwards (1994) suggests that because absolute difference scores treat positive and negative scores the same, they are 'directionless' and 'cannot be unambiguously interpreted (p. 60). In addition, they do not represent component measures equally unless the variance of these measures happen to be equal. While this issue was addressed in Study 2 by investigating the component scales that were used to calculate marginality scores, such as in Section 6.11, the multivariate analyses using marginality scale scores may have led to confounding the effects of the components of marginality. Edwards (1994) shows that the absolute indices confound the effects of component measures, so that terms in resulting equations

involve joint piecewise linear effects rather than simple linear effects of the original component measures.

While feminist structuralist values imbued the use of narrative in Study 1 by conducting the analysis through a feminist 'eye', the approach used in Study 2 was one which is traditionally held to be less affected by researcher subjectivity. The mixed method used in this research, while presenting epistemological challenges due to tensions between the two perspectives, also may have been a strength, particularly in relation to triangulating findings.

The strength of the mixed design was exploited through the specific procedures selected in Study 2. The multivariate analyses used in Study 2 are more inclusive of contextual variables and do, like the narratives in Study 1, explore the 'noise' in the variability of responses. Like narrative, the data in Study 2 can be perceived as a representation of particular phenomena through the perspective of each participant. The 'data' like the 'narrative' was subjected to analysis for patterns in the variability of responses (akin to variability in discourses), whereupon the 'method of difference' was equally applied. More research is required, especially in light of developments in research methods and analytic tools, to explore how these approaches produce new research questions.

8.9   Theoretical Implications

One of the aims of the thesis was to develop substantive and generative theory that described the relationships between gender and marginality for women in hierarchical organisations. In the thesis I used tenets of marginality theory (Park, 1928) and gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) to explain the experiences and effects of marginality, while being informed by a dialogical notion of the person-environment relationship. Findings showed that the following tenets of gender and marginality theories are worthy of further inquiry:

- Gender marginality will be directly related to higher levels of stress and strain, while being mediated by the effects of psychological and social support resources;

- When conflict arises between gendered cultures, and the individual can lay claim to affiliation with both, then that conflict is internalised and marginality is experienced;

- In organisations marginality derives from conflicts between outcomes of gender polarisation processes within the organisational culture, and gender schema formulations within the individual;

- The alternation model of bicultural competence is not applicable for women in managerial positions in hierarchical organisations, because women appear to be constrained from moving freely from one gender modality to another;

- Gender marginality is adversely related to satisfaction with job and career and occupational stress.

This study utilised a variant on person-environment fit models of occupational stress that proposed that rather than individual factors or organisational factors solely affecting stress, it is the *difference* between these factors that directly affects occupational stress (Code & Langan-Fox, 2001; Edwards, 1994; Mitchell, 1996). Current load and capacity models of stress do not allow for the effects of incongruency between individual and system gender dynamics. The findings in this study suggest that a difference theory of occupational stress is worthy of further research.

It is also envisaged that there may be theoretical implications from the findings of this thesis for further research in the general areas of women and work, and leadership and well-being in organisations. The next section describes some of the applications of findings to models for organisational cultural change.

8.10 Applications of the thesis

The effort is not about tinkering at the margins of the organisation and doing something 'nice' for employees. It is about real change that challenges long-held beliefs about the ways of doing business that are out of synch with the needs of workers and the demand for competition. (Dana Friendman,

*Director Corporate Solutions, Corporate Family Solution cited
in (Smith, 2000, p. 171)*

According to Comcare Australia (National Occupational Health and Safety Commission, 2002), 95 percent of all workers compensation claims in 2001-2002 were caused by mental stress, with a quarter of these due to work pressure. Mental stress caused the most time lost from work (average of 16.1 weeks). As previously noted, women are proportionally over represented in the group of claimants for stress. As this thesis supports a body of research showing a wide range of organisational factors that impact on employee well-being, it follows that findings have implications for organisational managers who need to consider change models to alleviate marginality.

The findings of this thesis could be generalised in respect of the organisations studied with a view to developing a more gender balanced cultural context, in particular with an emphasis on nurturance. These arguments are akin to those made about valuing diversity and the need to broaden the range of values represented currently in the vast majority of organisational cultures. The point at which the implications of this thesis departs from previous research is in conceptualising feminine attributes not as 'things' possessed by women, but as values and characteristics that drive polarising processes within organisations. Therefore, valuing feminine attributes requires incorporating nurturing, communal values, alongside stereotypically masculine values, in an organisation's mission, objectives, management styles and practices. This does not require a radical usurping of male dominated power by that of female dominated or communal power relations. To argue for such a radical substitution would require adherence to an untested assumption: that female dominated cultures will necessarily provide a better and more egalitarian future for workplace relations (Crawford, 1989).

Hartley and Mackenzie Davey (1997) suggest that there are four ways to conceptualise feminist approaches to gender in organisational psychology: minimising difference; celebrating difference; examining difference; and constructing difference. The model chosen to explore women's experiences will always dictate prescriptions for change (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). In this thesis, I

have attempted to find a balance between these approaches via the operationalisation of marginality as the difference between individual and system dynamics, rather than between individuals. These two levels of analysis were explored simultaneously by operationalising marginality as a person-organisation fit measure. Implications of findings are therefore focussed on the degree of gender incongruence impacting on individuals. Implications are therefore more likely to go beyond conceptions of gender as the possession of individuals, or conceptions of a unique and special quality that either sex 'possesses'.

The findings suggested that change models need to be targeted at the individual and cultural / structural processes simultaneously. They also suggested that women fared worse, in relation to well being, in the organisations that lacked a nurturing or communal orientation. Furthermore, the findings suggest that a void in the values spectrum or system of the organisation along feminine dimensions will have detrimental effects on women's perceptions of their career success and experiences of marginality and occupational stress. The consequence of this to sustaining a diverse workforce in an increasingly global marketplace need to be taken seriously. As a first step, more emphasis is required on representing gender balance in values espoused and deployed in organisations.

Nieva and Gutek (1981) suggested that change models need to include planned changes in dominant as well as subordinate groups. The findings from the research conducted for this thesis support this view. However, to do this in an organisation without considering changes to the larger society or patriarchy, as articulated by the women managers in this study, could be a fruitless exercise. While change in EducOrg was achieved over time through the deployment of egalitarian ideologies at the instigation, and with the continuing support of the President, the organisation may have already benefited from an environment conducive to changes in that direction. It was a small organisation servicing a fixed client base within a larger institution that shared, to some degree, its social justice orientation. So in this case, EducOrg's changes could be reflected in part by the larger 'society' it operated within. The metal, computer and insurance industries, however, have very different orientations and drivers. It would be more

difficult to imagine the effectiveness of social change agendas within these industries.

Smith (2000) proposed that realistic change models adopt 'tempered radicalism'. This strategy calls for embracing some requirements for conformity while at the same time asserting personal values, beliefs, attitudes and identities that challenge the status quo. Similarly Meyerson and Fletcher (2000) promote a 'small wins' approach whereby change 'pilots' are targeted at the behaviours, structures and causes of marginality and discrimination against women. Successful pilots can be mainstreamed across the wider landscape of the organisation.

Women's portrayals about change in this study suggest they would advocate for these over other approaches. It is reminiscent of the 'gentle' consciousness raising described by women in EducOrg. There is a place for the 'small wins' inspired by the findings in this study. 'Small wins' could be produced from trialling change programs designed to find ways of incorporating and deploying nurturing values in organisation missions and strategic plans. These programs could also form the basis of development programs for leaders about the 'values void' (that is, the lack of nurturing and communal values and characteristics) that organisations may be operating within and the impact of lack of values balance on individual and organisational well-being. Smith (2000) noted that male CEO's are unaware of the realities of corporate life for women. She suggested consciousness raising programs for these men in particular, so that women's career development becomes everyone's problem rather than just a women's problem. 'Small wins' could be achieved by targeting leadership development practices, human resource practices, customer service practices and a plethora of organisational mores and rituals.

Practitioners in the field such as management, organisational development and corporate leadership could apply the tenets of marginality theory in their assessment of organisational cultural malaise. Korac-Kakabads and Kouzmin (1997) suggested that a way to assess organisational culture is in conducting psychological audits. They further suggested audits as a way of negotiating

organisational scripts around prejudice and injustice. Earlier, Feather (1979) suggested a similar approach, incorporating the diagnosis of discrepancy and misconceptions within belief systems in organisations. The methodology used in this thesis to determine marginality has numerous applications in the context of these 'audit' processes, particularly for investigating experiences of individuals at the junctures of different sub-cultures. Hermans and Kempen (1998) suggest that cultural research in psychology moves away from perceiving culture as geographically located to conceiving cultures as imbued in 'inter-systems, mixture, travel, contact zones, and multiple identities' (p. 1117). I direct the same challenge to organisational researchers. More attention could be given to the contact zones between gendered cultures, in order to better understand their permeability.

The findings in this study may also have applications for counselling practitioners in relation to two therapeutic situations: in coaching women in management, and in counselling women dealing with issues of occupational stress and strain at work. The findings illuminate women's experiences of marginality as a conflict between the overvaluing of masculine definitions of success and undervaluing of feminine values and ways of working. This conflict is internalised, hence contributing to experiences of marginality, heightened stress and limitations on career success. For women themselves, an understanding of gender marginality may help them better identify and manage the nature of internal conflict resulting from marginality, thereby externalising its causes and identifying appropriate strategies to alleviate them.

8.11 Concluding Remarks

> *In the land of cultural psychology, all the action is in the*
> *'noise'. And the so called 'noise' is not really the noise, it is the*
> *message (Shweder, 1995, p.67*

The conceptual framework used in this thesis adopted, in part, a constructivist framework whereby the individual and the environment are

interrelated in the construction of gender identity and perceptions of gender in the world 'out there'. Unger (1989) reminds us that the 'person constructs reality' paradigm has both pluses and minuses. While it effectively places explanations for gender differences on social rather than biological forces, it does not explain how social reality is then translated into individual reality. In this thesis, the socio-cognitive paradigm of gender schema theory was useful in providing an explanation for this translation. However, what neither of these paradigms explain is why many women experiencing marginality continue to engage with, work around and make uneasy accommodations for, a social reality that is harmful to themselves as individuals.

Feminist research has asked the question: how are femininities freed, and women by association, from the status of 'other'? (Kitzinger, 1991) This thesis has explored this question by investigating the determinants of gender marginality. However, the very design of this research, with its focus on incongruence between masculine and feminine domains, has reproduced a feminist paradox.

To minimise difference involves risk as this may be construed as a message to become more homogenous, leading to a perpetuation of traditional gender ideologies. To maximise difference also involves risk as this may further identify and therefore subjugate the feminine self within dominant male contexts. The findings of this thesis strongly indicate that women in masculine organisations experience these risks and either course of action may lead to thwarted career success. Some, like Crawford (1989) and Unger (1989) suggest, however, that discussions on difference at a cultural systemic level can lead theorists away from assigning gender to individuals, to instead assigning gender as the property of a *system* of inter-connected processes that form a *system* of subordination. So rather than being constrained by this tension, it may serve to guide future inquiries into the contact zone (as suggested by Herman and Kempen, 1998) between masculinity and femininity at the individual and structural levels.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Sample report to Participants used to feedback results of Study 1

Report to EducOrg

Qualitative Data Analysis

Study: The effects of gender on career development – Stage 1

The following is a synopsis of a report presented to the participant as part of an ongoing study being conducted by Josephine Palermo towards a PhD in the Department of Psychology at Victoria University of Technology.

Brief Methodology of the Study

Semi structured were conducted with managers from three hierarchical organisations, 18 females and 25 males (average age 37.3 years). Participants were those that held positions in their organisations with at least line responsibility (ie. management responsibility for their area / department), or higher, for their department or other employees within their department. It was deemed necessary to include male managers in the study as they are critical in the formation an organisational culture that marginalises women. Hearn and Parkin (1992) advocate this approach:

> *"There is an urgent need to begin to unearth some of the ways in which men control and "fix" meetings, use the pub or golf course to exclude women from organisational discussions, and generally relate to each other as men" (p.65)*

Managing Directors of the three participating organisations were approached firstly to secure their endorsement. The three organisations chosen were deemed eligible for the study due to their varying organisational structures. Although all were service organisation (some with manufacturing components), their structures varied according to compliance with Equal Opportunity policies, the number of women in each organisation, and extent of tradition of male dominance in the particular industry. This was considered important, to provide enough variability in possible gender biases operating within each organisation.

Research note: the problem being addressed

This study addresses the question, 'why have women not broken into the upper echelons of management in most hierarchical organisations. As Eva Cox asks, "why aren't more women leading?". Despite the rise in the proportion of women in the workforce over the last twenty years or so, little has changed in either the private or public sectors in relation to the status of women. We still experience differences from their male colleagues in terms of pay, have shorter career ladders, less permanency and training, and less social status.

Snapshot: Preliminary Results pertaining to results from interviews conducted at EducOrg

Research note: a good manager

There is considerable evidence indicating that women and men in management have similar aspirations and values, personality traits, job related skills and behaviours. Despite this evidence, sex role characteristics possessed by individuals are still used in research as predictors of how well people will fare in organisational settings. The possession of feminine characteristics, such as showing empathy, understanding and warmth, have been viewed as being detrimental to career, while possession of masculine attributes, such as independence, aggression, self confidence and dominance, have been viewed as beneficial (Fagenson, 1990). Not only do sex role characteristics drive models for research, but they also inform expectations in workplaces of how women in management should behave.

A good manager

The participants in this study were asked to describe their perceptions of what characteristics were essential for being a good manager. Women and men agreed on most characteristics such as leadership qualities, confidence, communication and people skills, assertiveness, commitment, someone with vision or focus, and someone who can act on their aims, or get things done.

> *"I think that people who are employed by the Union, there's a lot of expectation put on them, staff are expected to be really capable, really flexible, good at what they do, and good at doing other things as well, so those things are really important, I suppose they are reflected in the goals to the degree that in the space of a year we're meant to move this organisation through an unbelievable amount of things and changes, Most organisations take a lot of time to do the things that we manage to do very quickly, so that's where they become really important, a problem comes up and you just have to get into it and resolve it, There's no like waiting for committees to meet on it, or having think tanks going all the time, and people being really able to move freely in and out of different roles and help other people to get things done"*

Unlike managers in other organisations participating in the study, managers at EducOrg did not see gender as an issue for management. They believed that people were

promoted on the basis ability, and that EducOrg had achieved a good gender balance in their management structure. This had not always been the case however, and past efforts to achieve balance had proved beneficial for the organisation, with some male managers commenting that female managers made "better" managers:

> *"I don't see it as being any different as men in management. I suppose they've got to prove more, and they need to be seen to be more efficient, probably from a personal point of view because the pressure's on them to slip up more, but I've always thought that in the Student union particularly a lot of people have been given a lot of opportunity. They've been more or less given cadre blanche, and it's paid off, whereas at other places maybe they're going to run up against the male hierarchy and the ego stuff, ...you have to watch her because she's going to end up getting our jobs and stuff. I don't see that happening here. I think people at large get promoted on their ability. And I think that's the way it should be."*

Female managers did not necessarily believe that women were better managers, nor that their experience of management were the same ass those of men. They felt that women in management were caught between dichotomous models of behaviour, feminine and masculine. To survive in the wider organisation (i.e. the University), they felt that they had to adopt a masculine modality of behaviour, however they were often criticised for being too masculine or too feminine by both men and women.

Being too feminine appeared to involve being too sympathetic, too caring, not objective, frightened and insecure. Being too masculine appeared to involve being too aggressive, and not communicative.

> *"I can understand how a lot of the females could feel insecure. I think that's with age as well. A lot of the younger ones, they've got to prove that their better than the men, so they become too aggressive".*

Research note: gender identity

Labels such as masculine and feminine are used extensively in research with little regard to their actual meaning, or utility. We assume that being masculine is the same as not being feminine (i.e. They are dichotomous and unidimensional) when I would argue that masculinity and femininity are independent dimensions. It is more helpful to think of gender identity as a complex mixture of traits, roles, and behavioral preferences influenced by situation demands (Spence, Deaux & Helmreich, 1985). Masculinity and

femininity are then defined as gender relevant aspects of a person's self concept or self image, and that the expression of masculinity and femininity is an individual's belief that they are or are not living up to various aspects of their personal gender relevant self concepts (Lewin, 1984).

To "measure" an individuals gender identity and label it as masculine or feminine, and then to locate that against the masculinity or femininity of others in relation to a performance outcome, is tautological. For example, researchers may well find that femininity is detrimental to certain aspects of effective management, however the root cause for this detriment is that the organisational climate espouses masculine values and traits as valuable in that context. So it is not surprising that individuals who attribute "masculine" attributes to themselves would "fare better". Rather than concluding that masculinity is a prescription for career success, it is probable that the "masculine" individual is resonating with the dominant organisational climate that values masculine attributes, and is "fitting in". (ie. A possible analogy may be when we think of a key and lock, you may have a key that has been crafted beautifully but does not fit a particular lock. This fact does not however diminish the beauty or utility, of the key. The decision then is to find a key that fits, or alternatively change the lock)

Research note: Organisational Culture

"To say that an organisation is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, expectation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (Adler & Israeli, 1994, p.12). According to Rosenberg, Perlstadt & Phillips (1993) sexist behaviour is most likely to occur where organisational climate specifically values characteristics traditionally attributed to men and where power is supported by instrumental and social cliques. This is illustrated through common managerial beliefs that seem to privilege the lifestyle that societies most frequently reserve for men. Beliefs such as that successful managers must prove their worth by their early thirties, that career breaks indicate a lack of organisational commitment, or that being the last person to leave at night demonstrates exemplary organisational commitment, all accommodate a lifestyle more easily pursued by men with little or no family responsibilities (Adler & Izraeli, 1994).

Studies that have investigated gender differences in career success have not asked a crucial question: what happens when subjective values (and behavioral repertoires) of the individual are incongruent with values espoused by the organisation? The present study proposes that this experience of incongruence may be a determinant of career success for women and non conforming men in hierarchical organisations. It is also proposed that "lack of fit", or marginality, occurs when an individual is consciously aware that their gender related sense of

self, or identity, is incongruent with the perceived gender identity (ie. values, norms, mores, etc.) of the organisational climate.

EDUCORG's Organisation Climate

In order to attempt to gauge the 'gendering' of the culture at EducOrg, managers were asked to comment on how the organisation dealt with issues of equity. Female managers acknowledged that women had increased in their representation in management at EducOrg through having a feminist President, and other like minded staff. The organisation's social justice philosophy had also aided in changing the culture. Although affirmative action had not been a policy ascribed to, there was an acknowledgement that the cultural change had taken place when the President of the organisation had been a woman with feminist ideologies. The male managers acknowledged that EducOrg provided women with more of a level playing field, with value being placed on providing opportunities and most importantly encouragement for women to succeed.

> *"It's happened a lot through having women as President, so women students -coming through the elected role, they obviously thought it was important to have women employed in key -areas, and I think its just that the men never thought of it in that way, a manager was employed and she was a woman, and in terms of all the -applicants on paper she was like a back runner, but she was moved to the front because she was such a great -person, obviously had great management skills, and I also remember the selection committee talking about, in -terms of gender how people in that area, men, such as chefs, tended to take the high profile areas whereas women -hadn't, So if you view them on paper, We all agreed that all the women we -interviewed did much better than the men, So it was a little bit of consciousness raising in a friendly way, -But that's just sort of sparked off this string of women being employed, I heard key men saying that the women staff are -much better than the men, They're much more competent and women are being promoted, and I don't think they went out of their way -to do it so much just that when someone walks in the door and they see the world in a particular way they're -going to influence them and because it was done often quite gently it worked effectively in terms of the outcomes -you see now"*

Fitting in

Managers were asked to indicate what they thought the organisation valued in its people. This was an attempt to understand what it might mean to have the "'right profile" or to "fit in". Female managers described the culture at EducOrg as diverse, open, flexible and fast moving, communicative, caring, supportive, caring, small community feel, and political. Male managers also added that the culture was more "humanistically directed" and "people orientated" when compared with other organisations but that there was also an impression that the EducOrg was not ' in the real world" of business or corporate affairs.

Most managers recognised that their cultures valued team work and they had views about whether they felt they belonged or not. Social interactions with other staff was seen to be important in building "good" culture as was selecting people "who fit". Status symbols were evidence of success in organisational cultures and performance indicators were acknowledged by managers. The means by which people communicated with one another was seen as an integral part of organisational culture.

Mangers assumed that what was valued in employees at EducOrg was competence, flexibility, multiskilling, responsiveness and being able to quickly move in and out of roles. Across the organisation managers noted that "squeaky wheels were oiled". This meant that it was only at the point where there was a crisis, or an individual threatened to leave, did the organisation finally acknowledge that persons value and contribution and act to reward them. This was described as an antagonistic process that required negotiation and a degree of risk on the part of the individual. Most managers felt that they were not rewarded adequately, especially in relation to their emotional needs and thus required more positive feedback. Monetary rewards or job security did not substitute for feedback.

Research note: Mediators of marginality

The effects of marginality may be mediated by the psychological resources an individual has available to them, and this may differ for women and men. These effects may be mediated by individual differences in psychological resources such as, self efficacy and locus of control, social support, and their influence position power within the organisation. It is proposed that mechanisms that buffer the effects of marginality within gendered climates will include individual differences in perceived psychological resources; degree of influence within the organisational network structure; and degree of isolation and support from available mentors. The proposed effects of marginality may include quality of work indices such as job satisfaction, sources of stress, and career success. A conceptual map of these concepts are provided in Figure 1.

Figure 1:
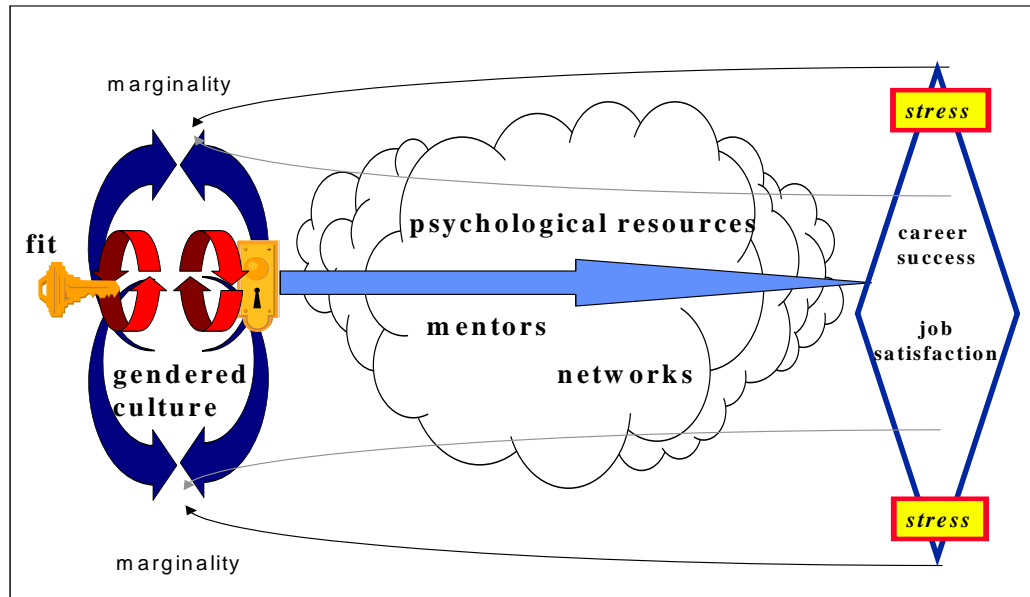
Influence and Power at EDUCORG

Participants were asked to describe the kinds of people in their organisations that they perceived to be influential. They described influential people as possessing the following attributes: competence and effectiveness, good people skills with rapport building skills, expert knowledge (including organisation knowledge), political nous, a direct approach, extraverted personalities, problem solving skills, able to accept responsibility, leadership qualities, hard working, self confidence, aggressiveness and ambition, strategic thinkers with vision, and often very highly respected and admired. They were people who networked well and positioned themselves close to senior decision makers, and were often people who moved to the extremes on personal measures (e.g. excellence). They were also people who accepted their status readily. Influential people were often in positions of power and had longevity in the organisation. Some managers made the distinction between people who were influential just because of their position or longevity as having illegitimate power.

Participants also discussed the nature of power in general, stating that power could be positive and negative for the individual and the organisation. Positive benefits of power were that influential people within an organisation could "get things done", or get around bureaucracies easily. Participants also agreed that negative aspects of power involved abuse of power, where individuals need to acquire power was fuelled by personal ambition that was hedonistic and valued power for its own sake. Although, some managers did say that individual ambitions could also be beneficial for the organisation if the individual identified closely with the organisation, and so individual gains could then relate to organisational gains. Managers also stated that acquisition of power was important to them, because they felt ownership over their work and projects when they

could influence outcomes or processes. This appeared to be closely related to their perceptions of job satisfaction.

Communication at EducOrg

Organisational cultures prescribe what and how things are communicated in organisations. Often the flow of communication at EducOrg followed line of power (hierarchical positions). Managers described formal means of communication such as memos, telephones, meetings and the use of computer technology. Informal lines of communication were acknowledged as important, including networks (smokos on the balcony)) and being close to key people, word of mouth and gossip. However gossip as also seen as a problem for the organisation.

Managers seemed to agree that good communication was one of EducOrg largest challenges and was becoming increasingly difficult with the increase in diversity and location of the various functions of the organisation. Communication was described as appearing to be open, while remaining veiled, with sub-ordinates receiving information on a need to know basis only and with the right hand of the organisation not knowing what the left was doing. Some women described a lack of congruence between their preferred mode of communicating to their staff in an open and honest way and that prescribed by the organisational culture which was to be subversive and communicate on a need to know basis. They stated that women were more "honest". They felt that participation on committees was a way of acquiring status in a male dominated culture, and a way of aiding advancement in their careers. However the recent trend to downsize and centralise decision making processes in the University had resulted in less participation on committees in general and for women.

Informal Networks at EducOrg

Most mangers were aware of the informal networks operating within EducOrg and described them as focussing around task groupings, people with similar interests, or similar demographic characteristics (including ages). They focussed around people with similar work histories within the organisation (e.g. people who had started at the same time), and people who lived in the same geographical region. Informal networks were evident in people lunching together or being involved in foot tipping.

Managers stated that informal networks were important in order to get things done or fast track projects, and also for sharing the work load amongst peers and colleagues. Information, internal or external to the organisation was gained through listening to gossip in informal networks, or having people in the network volunteer information to people central to that particular network. Networks were also used to avoid certain people who were ineffective, or who held up certain processes. Female staff did acknowledge the presence of an "old boys network" which focussed around the smokos on the balcony or drinks after work. They also acknowledged that some networks did focus along gender lines;

"The women view themselves as the "women" and the men, the "men", We do know what our gender roles are, But I see most of the networks as being cross the lines, in terms of people who get along, and the men and women do tend to get along really well in the organisation"

Mentoring at EducOrg

Managers at EducOrg described their experiences of being mentored both within EducOrg and in other organisations. Themes surrounding benefits of mentorng emerged, benefits for the individual and for the organisation. The individual benefited from being mentored by receiving support in advancing through promotions, by gaining training, support, being nurtured through difficult tasks, being offered opportunities and challenges, and generally by having access to information and a wider network through the mentor. The mentor benefited from mentoring by gaining personal satisfaction in seeing the development of a protege, and in return receiving the loyalty of the protégé. The organisation benefited from the mentor relationship because protégé's would then contribute to the organisation in a more meaningful way and often loyalty to the organisation was increased.

For female managers, being mentored was indisputably an aid to advancing in the organisation. A lack of role models was a problem for female managers. Some women were committed to being role models to others and that contributing to attitudinal change was important for future generations of women. However, the majority of women interviewed, especially older women, did not feel responsible for cultural change within their organisations, nor for other women in their organisations. They felt that they had reached an age where 'it didn't matter any more", where a concept of career was not seen as important any more.

Selection of the protégé was a theme that emerged in interviews. To be a suitable candidate for selection, the mentor needed to become aware of the candidate's potential, and to aspire in their development. For some being intelligent, willing to learn, motivated, accepting challenges and being noticed were intrinsic to being selected. Others attributed being a suitable candidate for selection to having personality characteristics that were similar to the mentor, or the right profile of characteristics.

One manager spoke of the need to accept the intrinsic hierarchical nature of the mentor protégé relationship, before you could be eligible for selection. Some managers who had not been involved in mentoring relationships viewed mentoring as a crutch due to the hierarchical nature of the relationship, and the aspect of being groomed or "cloned" by the mentor. These managers were aware that they did not have the "right" profile or personality required to be a protégé, nor did they acknowledge the "intrinsic wisdom" that a mentor would be prepared to bestow. They felt that the mentor relationship

involved bolstering the ego of the mentor, and that this was something that many female managers abhorred.

Research note: effects of marginality and stress

In order to understand the extent of the effects of marginality on individual and organisational well being, a causal model of stress is used that is not based on traditional views of load versus work, but is instead based on incongruency. It is proposed that as the organisational culture and the individual are inextricably interrelated, the effects of marginality will manifest through stress symptoms.

Lack of career progress for some women may be contributing to significant increases in stress experienced by women in management. Recent research by Comcare (Commonwealth Government's workers' compensation and occupational health and safety agency) in incidences of occupational stress indicated that women were over represented as a population of those lodging claims for occupational stress (Bull, 1996). A study by Janice Langan Fox (1996) investigated the impact of the demands of women's multiple roles on their levels of work satisfaction and occupational stress. Findings indicated that despite competing demands on women resulting from home and career conflicts, the most significant factors in women's stress came from their aspirations to do well in their career coupled with frustration at their perceived lack of promotion and progress.

Sources of Stress at EducOrg

When asked what was the major source of stress for managers at EducOrg most spoke of work related issues such as work overload, lack of support or resources to do the job, lack of direction and planning in the organisation. One manager stated that a lack of incentive to do better was a source of stress, and this was exacerbated by resources not being linked to excellence. In contrary, he perceived failure within a department to be rewarded by resources rather than success.

> *"The thing that does frustrate me quite a lot is when a proposal is put through, and as a consequence of that and the financial stress the organisation is under, that a project will be adopted but the resources allocated to it will be insufficient to achieve its objectives, in the period of time that's set. And perhaps even more frustrating is that it doesn't matter. If a particular person or department fails in delivery, the repercussions really aren't substantial. Its that there is no cost to the organisation, and there's no benefit to the organisation to be better at what it does, because every year we get the same amount of money. There's just not the motivation in there to do better and to succeed, and in fact there are clear examples within the*

> *organisation where failure is rewarded. I would have to say*
> *that in the past there was one person who……. as their capacity*
> *to contribute to the organisation declined, their seniority grew*
> *and their benefits increased. It was almost as they floundered in*
> *their position then more resources were given"*

Conflict resolution amongst employees, and dealing with individuals' problems were also a source of stress, and for one manager in particular, especially if it involved hurting the feelings of others. Other major sources of stress appeared to be uncertainty caused by lack of job security or information about the viability of the organisation. Female managers experienced stress from multiple sources rather than single issues. Some women felt powerlessness in their work roles and that lead to feelings of frustration and stress.

Most managers spoke of a need to balance home and work responsibilities particular in relation to hours spent at work. They often felt compromised due to a need to be at home when they should be at work, or a need to stay at work when they should be at home. These two spheres were seen as completely separate domains, with one manager stressing that the two areas needed to be "divorced" from one another. There was a clear distinction drawn between the two spheres, and although it was acknowledged that work could extend into the home sphere (working from home etc.), this same consideration was not appropriate for home issues extending into work. Some managers were worried that when home issues did intrude in working life, for example, having to leave the office early, that this set a bad precedence for the rest of the staff.

> *"One of the interesting thing is that management has to provide*
> *some form of leadership and I know that I find it extremely*
> *difficult when there is a clash of demand and an example of that*
> *might be where a child is sick at home and so I want to be able*
> *to stay at home and help my partner, but at the same time as a*
> *manager I feel quite uncomfortable about taking time off at the*
> *drop of a hat and doing that frequently because I think that's*
> *providing a bad example to staff that they can take time off at*
> *the drop of a hat and look after their sick cat or whatever, so*
> *there is that clash of values and roles. But you have to make a*
> *decision somewhere in there so you just do and live with it"*

Some managers expressed real conflict between achieving a balance between home and work and this was mainly expressed in terms of quality of life issues. Intention to leave the organisation was an ultimate consequence of this conflict in a number of cases.

For female managers particularly, home and work spheres were also relegated to separate spheres, however success in one sphere related to success in the other. The

impact of children was the most prominent factor that needed addressing in trying to balance pressures from the two spheres. Women who did not have children were also aware of the pressures on their work role that would eventuate if they were to have children. As a young female manager with no children stated;

> *"I've been thinking about that lately because I think being a woman and getting towards my late twenties, you start thinking in terms of children, am I going to have them, that has a lot of career implications, that thought has always been the biggest obstacle to having a career"*

If you have any questions about this report;
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Appendix B

Questionnaire battery used in Study 2.

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

FACULTY OF ARTS

SURVEY OF YOU AND WORK

The purpose of this survey is to investigate the relationships between job satisfaction and personality differences. The questionnaire comprises sections where you are asked to describe yourself, your work colleagues, and your organisation.

The questionnaire should take approximately 30 minutes to complete. Please try to complete all questions in one sitting. **Give your first response, rather than dwelling over any particular question**. If at any time you wish to withdraw from this study you are free to do so.

Your responses on the questionnaire are completely confidential. You will be asked to nominate other people in your workplace and how you feel about them. This part of the questionnaire will help the researchers to understand the social networks within your organisation. Due to the nature of this task, your particular responses will need to be known by the researchers. The number on the front of this questionnaire will identify you *only* to the researchers. At no time will any other person or persons have access to your questionnaire responses, and no one will be personally identified in any subsequent reporting of this study.

This study is part of a Ph.D. thesis in which Josephine Palermo is enrolled, with Dr. Jenni Rice supervising the study. The study has been approved by the Ethics Committee of Victoria University of Technology.

If you have any questions concerning this study please contact Josephine Palermo or Dr. Jenni Rice at the Department of Psychology, Victoria University of Technology, pH: (03) 9365 2336.

Your assistance in the completion and return of this questionnaire is very much appreciated. Thank you.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS: Describing Yourself

(i) Imagine yourself *in your work setting*. Indicate on a scale from 1 to 7 how true each characteristic is of you.

Very *untrue* of me	*Untrue* of me	Slightly *untrue* of me	Neither untrue nor true of me	Slightly *true* of me	*True* of me	Very *true* of me
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	
7						

1. Acts as a leader . . .
2. Appreciative . . .
3. Cheerful . . .
4. Considerate . . .

5. Willing to take a stand . . .
6. Devotes self . . .
7. Feminine . . .
8. Gracious . . .

9. Ambitious . . .
10. Independent . . .
11. Makes decisions easily . . .
12. Self-Reliant . . .

13. Confident . . .
14. Understanding . . .
15. Brave . . .
16. Shy . . .

17. Assertive . . .
18. Analytical . . .
19. Willing to take risks . . .
20. Decisive . . .

21. Softly spoken . . .
22. Dominant . . .
23. Flatterable . . .
24. Enterprising . . .

25. Aware of feelings . . .
26. Compassionate . . .
27. Tender . . .
28. Athletic . . .

29. Sensitive to needs of others . . .
30. Affectionate . . .
31. Spineless . . .
32. Forceful . . .

33. Childlike . . .
34. Forgiving . . .
35. Defends own beliefs . . .
36. Loyal . . .

37. Competitive . . .
38. Uses harsh language . . .
39. Determined . . .
40. Never gives up . . .

41. Courteous . . .
42. Gentle . . .
43. Masculine . . .
44. Gullible . . .

45. Eager to soothe hurt feelings . . .
46. Soft-hearted . . .
47. Has leadership abilities . . .
48. Servile . . .

49. Strong minded . . .
50. Individualistic . . .
51. Stands under pressure . . .
52. Humane . . .

53. Helpful . . .
54. Strong . . .
55. Kind . . .
56. Submissive . . .

57. Tough . . .
58. Yielding . . .
59. Self-sufficient . . .
60. Loves children . . .

61. Sympathetic . . .
62. Sincere . . .
63. Warm . . .

(ii)   Indicate on a scale from 1 to 7 how important for you personally each value is *in general*.

	Very important **1**	Important **2**	neither important nor un-important **3**	Un-important **4**	Very un-important **5**

Having……

Having		Being	
A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)	…	AMBITIOUS (hard working , aspiring)	…
AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)	…	BROADMINDED (open-minded)	…
A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (lasting contribution)	…	CAPABLE (competent, effective)	…
A WORLD OF PEACE (free of war and conflict)	…	CHEERFUL (lighthearted, joyful)	…
A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)	…	CLEAN (neat, tidy)	…
EQUALITY (equal opportunity for all)	…	COURAGEOUS (standing up for your beliefs)	…
FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)	…	FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)	…
FREEDOM (independence, free choice)	…	HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)	…
HAPPINESS (contentedness)	…	HONEST (sincere, truthful)	…
INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)	…	IMAGINATIVE (daring , creative)	…
MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)	…	INDEPENDENT (self reliant, self sufficient)	…
NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)	…	INTELLECTUAL (intelligent, reflective)	…
PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)	…	LOGICAL (consistent, rational)	…
SALVATION (saved, eternal life)	…	LOVING (affectionate, tender)	…
SELF-RESECT (self-esteem)	…	OBEDIENT (dutiful, respectful)	…
SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)	…	POLITE (courteous)	…
TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	…	RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)	…
WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)	…	SELF CONTROLLED (restrained, self-disciplined)	…

YOU AND COMPUTERORG

(i)   If your organisation was a person how would you describe them? Please use the list of characteristics below to *describe your organisation as you perceive it.*

Very *untrue* of ComputerOrg **1** **7**	***Untrue* of ComputerOrg** **2**	**Slightly *untrue* of ComputerOrg** **3**	**Neither untrue nor true of ComputerOrg** **4**	**Slightly *true* of ComputerOrg** **5**	***True* of ComputerOrg** **6**	**Very *true* of ComputerOrg**

1. Acts as a leader . . .	2. Appreciative . . .	3. Cheerful . . .	4. Considerate . . .
5. Willing to take a stand . . .	6. Devotes self . . .	7. Feminine . . .	8. Gracious . . .
9. Ambitious . . .	10. Independent . . .	11. Makes decisions easily . . .	12. Self-Reliant . . .
13. Confident . . .	14. Understanding . . .	15. Brave . . .	16. Shy . . .
17. Assertive . . .	18. Analytical . . .	19. Willing to take risks . . .	20. Decisive . . .
21. Softly spoken . . .	22. Dominant . . .	23. Flatterable . . .	24. Enterprising . . .
25. Aware of feelings . . .	26. Compassionate . . .	27. Tender . . .	28. Athletic . . .
29. Sensitive to needs of others . . .	30. Affectionate . . .	31. Spineless . . .	32. Forceful . . .
33. Childlike . . .	34. Forgiving . . .	35. Defends own beliefs . . .	36. Loyal . . .
37. Competitive . . .	38. Uses harsh language . . .	39. Determined . . .	40. Never gives up . . .
41. Courteous . . .	42. Gentle . . .	43. Masculine . . .	44. Gullible . . .
45. Eager to soothe hurt feelings . . .	46. Soft-hearted . . .	47. Has leadership abilities . . .	48. Servile . . .
49. Strong minded . . .	50. Individualistic . . .	51. Stands under pressure . . .	52. Humane . . .
53. Helpful . . .	54. Strong . . .	55. Kind . . .	56. Submissive . . .
57. Tough . . .	58. Yielding . . .	59. Self-sufficient . . .	60. Loves children . . .
61. Sympathetic . . .	62. Sincere . . .	63. Warm . . .	

(ii)   If ComputerOrg was a person how would you describe them? Please use the list of values below to describe *the importance of each value to ComputerOrg*.

Very important	Important	neither important nor un-important	Un-important	Very un-important
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Having……		Being…..	
A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)	…	AMBITIOUS (hard working , aspiring)	…
AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)	…	BROADMINDED (open-minded)	…
A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (lasting contribution)	…	CAPABLE (competent, effective)	…
A WORLD OF PEACE (free of war and conflict)	…	CHEERFUL (lighthearted, joyful)	…
A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)	…	CLEAN (neat, tidy)	…
EQUALITY (equal opportunity for all)	…	COURAGEOUS (standing up for your beliefs)	…
FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)	…	FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)	…
FREEDOM (independence, free choice)	…	HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)	…
HAPPINESS (contentedness)	…	HONEST (sincere, truthful)	…
INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)	…	IMAGINATIVE (daring , creative)	…
MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)	…	INDEPENDENT (self reliant, self sufficient)	…
NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)	…	INTELLECTUAL (intelligent, reflective)	…
PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)	…	LOGICAL (consistent, rational)	…
SALVATION (saved, eternal life)	…	LOVING (affectionate, tender)	…
SELF-RESECT (self-esteem)	…	OBEDIENT (dutiful, respectful)	…
SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)	…	POLITE (courteous)	…
TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	…	RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)	…
WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)	…	SELF CONTROLLED (restrained, self-disciplined)	…

Indicate to what extent you are similar or dissimilar to the type of person the management team at ComputerOrg looks for when hiring new people:

Extremely Dissimilar	Dissimilar	Slightly dissimilar	Neither similar nor dissimilar	Slightly Similar	Similar	Extremely Similar
❐	❐	❐	❐	❐	❐	❐

I feel like I "fit in" the culture at ComputerOrg:

Always	Frequentl y	Most of the time	Neither Frequently nor Infrequently	Some of the time	Infrequently	Rarely
❐	❐	❐	❐	❐	❐	❐

YOUR FEELINGS AND EMOTIONS

The following series of questions asks you about your feelings and emotions. Work quickly and do not think too long about the meaning of each question.

(i)   Please answer each question by placing a tick on the "YES or "NO" indicating your response to the following questions.

	Example	☑	NO

1. Are you a talkative person? .... YES   NO

2. Are you rather lively? .... YES   NO

3. Do you enjoy meeting new people? .... YES   NO

4. Can you usually let yourself go and enjoy yourself at a lively party?.............. YES   NO

5. Do you usually take the initiative in making new friends? .... YES   NO

6. Can you easily get some life into a rather dull party? .... YES   NO

7. Do you tend to keep in the background on social occasions? .... YES   NO

8. Do you like mixing with people? .... YES   NO

9. Do you like plenty of bustle and excitement around you? .... YES   NO

10. Are you mostly quiet when you are with other people? .... YES   NO

11. Do other people think of you as being very lively? .... YES   NO

12. Can you get a party going? .... YES   NO

This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions.
Indicate to what extent you have felt this way **over the past few months**:

	Very slightly or not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely
1. Interested	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Distressed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Excited	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Upset	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Guilty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Scared	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Hostile	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Enthusiastic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Proud	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Irritable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Alert	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. Ashamed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Inspired	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. Nervous	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. Attentive	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. Jittery	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. Active	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. Afraid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

How you feel about important events

Imagine yourself at work. The questions below are designed to find out how you feel about important events in your life. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements (tick one box only for each item).

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Whether or not I get to be a leader depends mostly on my ability	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. I feel like what happens in my life is mostly determined by powerful people	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Whether or not I succeed in my career depends on me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. When I make plans I'm always certain to make them work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Often there is no chance of protecting my personal interest from bad luck happenings	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. When I get what I want, it's usually because I'm lucky	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Although I might have good ability, I will not be given leadership responsibility without appealing to those in positions of power	☐	☐	☐☐	☐	
9. How many friends I have depends on how nice a person I am	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. My life is chiefly controlled by powerful others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. Whether or not I succeed in my career is mostly a matter of luck	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. People like myself have very little chance of protecting their interests when they conflict with those of strong pressure groups	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. It's not always wise for me to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. Getting what I want requires pleasing those people above me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. Whether or not I get to be a leader depends on whether I'm lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. If important people were to decide they didn't like me, I probably wouldn't make many friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. I can pretty much determine what will happen in my life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. I am usually able to protect my personal interests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. Whether or not I succeed in my career depends mostly on my manager / boss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. When I get what I want, it's usually because I worked hard for it	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22. In order to have my plans work, I make sure that they fit in with the desires of people who have power over me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
23. My life is determined by my own actions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. It's chiefly a matter of fate whether or not I have few friends or many friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

25. If I can't do a job the first time, I keep trying until I can .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

26. When unexpected problems occur, I don't handle them well................. ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

27. I avoid facing difficulties .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

28. I avoid trying to learn new things when they look too
    difficult for me .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

29. When I have something unpleasant to do, I stick to it
    until I finish.. ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

30. When I set important goals for myself, I rarely achieve them .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

31. When I decide to do something I go right to work on it .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

32. Failure just makes me try harder.. ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

33. One of my problems is that I cannot get down to
    work when I should .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

34. When trying something new I soon give up if I am
    not initially successful .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

35. I give up easily... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

36. If something looks too complicated, I will not even
    bother to try it .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

37. I give up on things before completing them... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

38. I do not seem capable of dealing with most problems
    that come up in life .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

39. I feel insecure about my ability to do things .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑ .... ❑

How you feel about you

The following items are designed to find out how you feel about yourself. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements (*tick one box only for each item*).

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I feel that I'm a person of worth, a least on an equal basis with others	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
6. I take a positive attitude toward myself	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
9. I certainly feel useless at times	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
10. At times I think I am no good at all	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

YOUR LIFE AT WORK

Sources of pressure scale

The items below are all potential sources of pressure. You are required to rate them in terms of the degree of pressure you perceive each has placed on you. Base your answers on how you have **felt during the last three months at work.**

1 = very definitely is not a source of pressure
6 = very definitely is a source of pressure

	Very definitely is *not a source* of pressure	Definitely is *not a source* of pressure	Generally is *not a source* of pressure	Generally *is a source* of pressure	*Definitely* is a source *of pressure*	Very definitely *is a source* of pressure
1. Having far too much work to do	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Lack of power and influence	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Overpromotion – being promoted over my level of ability	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Not having enough work to do	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Managing or supervising the work of other people	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Coping with office politics	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Taking my work home	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Rate of pay (including perks and fringe benefits)	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Personal beliefs conflicting with those of the organisation	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Underpromotion – working at a level below my level of ability	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Inadequate guidance and backup from supervisors	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Lack of consultation and communication	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Not being able to 'switch off' at home	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Keeping up with new techniques, ideas, technology or innovations or new challenges	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. Ambiguity in the nature of job role	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Inadequate or poor quality of training / management development	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. Attending meetings	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Lack of social support by people at work	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. My spouse's attitude towards my job and career	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Having to work very long hours	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. Conflicting job tasks and demands in the role I play	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Covert discrimination and favouritism	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. Mundane administrative tasks or 'paperwork'	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. Inability to delegate	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. Threat of impending redundancy or early retirement	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. Feeling isolated	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. A lack of encouragement from supervisors	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. Staff shortages and unsettling turnover rates	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. Demands my work makes on my relationship with my spouse /children	1	2	3	4	5	6
30. Being undervalued	1	2	3	4	5	6
31. Having to take risks	1	2	3	4	5	6
32. Changing jobs to progress with career	1	2	3	4	5	6
33. Too much or too little variety in work	1	2	3	4	5	6

1 = very definitely is not a source of pressure

6 = very definitely is a source of pressure

	Very definitely is *not a source* of pressure	Definitely is *not a source* of pressure	Generally is *not a source* of pressure	Generally *is a source* of pressure	*Definitely* is a source *of pressure*	Very definitely *is a source* of pressure
34. Working with those of the opposite sex	1	2	3	4	5	6
35. Inadequate feedback about my own performance	1	2	3	4	5	6
36. Business travel and having to live in hotels	1	2	3	4	5	6
37. Misuse of time by other people	1	2	3	4	5	6
38. Simply being seen as the 'boss'	1	2	3	4	5	6
39. Unclear promotion prospects	1	2	3	4	5	6
40. The accumulative effects of minor tasks	1	2	3	4	5	6
41. Absence of emotional support from others outside work	1	2	3	4	5	6
42. Insufficient finance or resources to work with	1	2	3	4	5	6
43. Demands that work makes on my private/social life	1	2	3	4	5	6
44. Changes in the way you are asked to do your job	1	2	3	4	5	6
45. Simply being 'visible' or 'available'	1	2	3	4	5	6
46. Lack of practical support from others outside work	1	2	3	4	5	6
47. Factors not under your direct control	1	2	3	4	5	6
48. Sharing of work and responsibility evenly	1	2	3	4	5	6
49. Home life with a partner who is also pursuing a career	1	2	3	4	5	6
50. Dealing with ambiguous or 'delicate' situations	1	2	3	4	5	6
51. Having to adopt a negative role (such as sacking someone)	1	2	3	4	5	6
52. An absence of any potential career advancement	1	2	3	4	5	6
53. Moral and organisational climate	1	2	3	4	5	6
54. Attaining your own personal levels of performance	1	2	3	4	5	6
55. Making important decisions	1	2	3	4	5	6
56. 'Personality' clashes with others	1	2	3	4	5	6
57. Implications of mistakes you make	1	2	3	4	5	6
58. Opportunities for personal development	1	2	3	4	5	6
59. Absence of stability or dependability in home life	1	2	3	4	5	6
60. Pursuing a career at the expense of home life	1	2	3	4	5	6
61. Characteristics of the organisation's structure and design	1	2	3	4	5	6

Very definitely is *not a source* of pressure	Definitely is *not a source* of pressure	Generally is *not a source* of pressure	Generally *is a source* of pressure	*Definitely* is a source *of pressure*	Very definitely *is a source* of pressure

Role Experiences Questionnaire

This questionnaire is concerned with the extent to which the **different roles in your life are sources of pressure or stress**. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. Write your response in the space provided.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**

1. Feelings of guilt and misgivings about how and what I achieve in my career are a common experience	
2. The lack of autonomy over nearly all aspects of my life is a source of unhappiness to me	
3. The quality of experience in my roles as worker and homemaker is not good	
4. Demands in all my roles means I am bothered by conflict about which I give my time to	
5. The pinnacle of career success is impossible for me	
6. I find that most days when I go home I end up going home to do another job – cleaning, cooking, etc.	
7. At the end of most working days, I feel like a rag which has been well and truly wrung out	
8. There seems no way I will ever be happy with the way I can juggle my home and work responsibilities	
9. Decisions in my personal life are always a compromise between what I want and what others want	
10. So many times, I feel people will find out I'm not the efficient, capable person they imagined I was	
11. I envy other people who have their independence	
12. I don't have any regular problems in getting home and career tasks done	
13. Given everything I have to do in my personal and professional life, there is no time to spend with myself	
14. From various sources I feel pressure of having to have a career, whether I want one or not!	
15. Compared to other professional men / women my age, and in my type of job, I have a self image which is pretty negative	
16. I look forward to the day when I don't have the task of meeting everyone else's needs first to the detriment of my own needs	
17. When I'm at work I find myself thinking of jobs at home but when I'm at home, I find myself thinking of jobs at work!	
18. I have a heavy heart when I think about all the things I have to achieve for my family and my work	
19. I find it is best to have rather low expectations of what I can achieve in my career	

Who do you know:

On the next few pages you will find a list of all employees in your organisation.

1. Please indicate a person or persons (if any) you would *go to for advice* about *work related issues* in an average week.

2. Please indicate a person or persons (if any) you would *talk to about work issues* in an average week.

3. Please indicate a person or persons (if any) you *consider to be a friend*.

4. Please indicate the person / or people who you would approach or have *approached to get something done* in your department or the organisation.

You may tick more than one box
for each question:

	Advice	Talk	Friend	Get things done		Advice	Talk	Friend	Get things done				
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**1**		**2**	**3**	**4**
					Name	☐	☐	☐	☐	Name	☐	☐	☐	☐
Name1	☐	☐	☐	☐	Name	☐	☐	☐	☐	Name	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Name3	☐	☐	☐	☐	Name	☐	☐	☐	☐	Name	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Name	☐	☐	☐	☐	Name	☐	☐	☐	☐					
Name	☐	☐	☐	☐	Name	☐	☐	☐	☐					

	Advice	Talk	Friend	Get things done
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**

Your job satisfaction

The following questions are concerned with the extent you feel satisfied or dissatisfied with your job. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Advancing in my career is very important to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I feel satisfied with the way my career has advanced so far	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel satisfied with my present job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I find real enjoyment in my work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I am planning to leave the organisation in the near future	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Mentors

A mentor is a higher-ranking influential member of the organisation who has advanced experience and knowledge and who is committed to providing upward mobility and support to your career.

(i) To what extent has anyone in your organisation shown particular interest in your career advancement?

Rarely	Infrequently	Occasionally	Frequently	Very Frequently
❒	❒	❒	❒	❒

(ii) To what extent do you feel like you have benefited from the help of a mentor in your career or working life?

Rarely	Infrequently	Occasionally	Frequently	Very Frequently
❒	❒	❒	❒	❒

INFORMATION ABOUT YOU

The information provided below is important for determining the characteristics of the participants in the study. It will not be used to identify any particular individuals. Please answer the following questions in the spaces below:

You are   a) male o   b) female o

Your age is   a) under 18 years   o   b) 18 – under 25 years o

                c) 25 - under 35 years   o   d) 35 – under 45 years o

                e) 45 – under 55 years   o   f) 55 to under 65 years   o

                g) 65 – under 75 years   o   h) 75 years or over   o

Your marital status

a) single o b) in a defacto relationship / married o   c) divorced or separated o

Number of children?   Under 18 ———   Over 18 ———

Your Department

Your Position

How long have you worked at [*Organisation name*]

Academic level reached in formal education:

                          a) no formal qualifications   o

                          b) Secondary School level   o

                          c) TAFE / Technical qualification   o

                          d) degree level or equivalent   o

                          e) higher degree level   o

RECENT LIFE HISTORY

Have you encountered any major stressful events over the last few months or so, which have had an important effect on you, either in a negative or positive way? (*tick the correct response*)

    YES

    NO

Have you had any significant illness over the last few months?

    YES   NO

Whilst there are variations in the ways individuals react to sources of stress, we all make some attempt at coping with these difficulties. Please indicate on the scale below how you assess your current ability to cope with stress:

Very Well   **Poorly**

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**   **7**

Please indicate on the scale below how you assess your current state of health:

Very Healthy   **Very Unhealthy**

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**   **7**

Please indicate any health problems (optional)

_____

_____

_____

Any comments you would like to add? (optional)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you very much for your participation.

Please seal your completed questionnaire in the postage paid self addressed provided and deliver to:

Josephine Palermo
Department of Psychology
Victoria University of Technology
For further information contact:
Josephine Palermo
PH: (03) 9 486 3596 / Mobile: (0413) 836 659
Fax: (03) 9365 2218
Email: josie.palermo@vu.edu.au

Appendix C

Reports to Participants in Study 2

The following are sample reports presented to participants in Study 2 as feedback on their responses to the questionnaire battery.

Aggregate Reports: Personality Characteristics and Occupational Measures.

These reports summarise all results across participants in each respective organisation. These reports were discussed in organisational seminars.

Individual Reports: Personality Characteristics and Occupational Measures

These reports present individual reports to participants with some benchmarked data. These reports were issued to participants confidentially in sealed envelopes.

Study of Gender and Career Development in Organisations

Josephine Palermo

Participant Organisation: Sample

Aggregate Reports

Personality Characteristics: Describing yourself and your organisation

Participants were instructed to rate themselves on a number of personality characteristics and values, and then asked to imagine the organisation as a "person", and rate the "person" accordingly (using the same set of personality characteristics and values)

How to read Graphs:

For each characteristic there are two horizontal bars displayed. The first bar is the average response indicating how participants described themselves on that particular characteristic. The second bar is the average response indicating how participants describe themselves.

Figure 1a) Personality Characteristics

Legend: ■ Individual ■ Organisation

Personality Characteristics

Mean Responses: Individual versus organisation
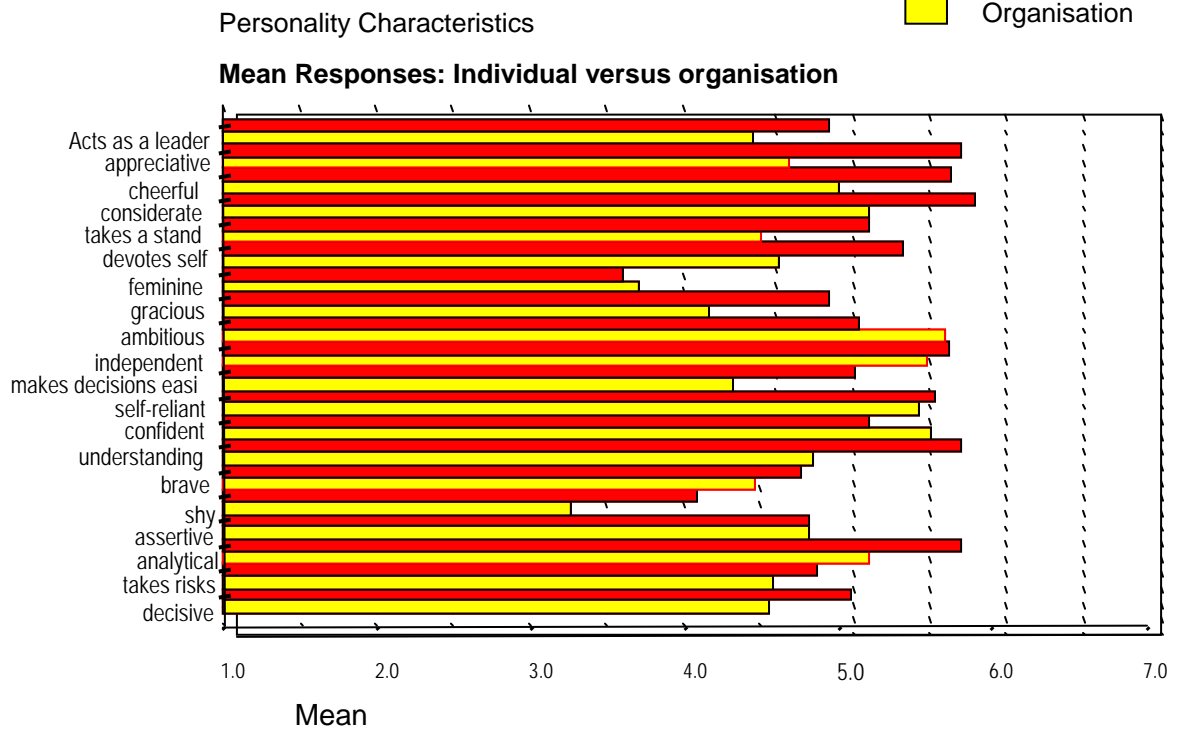
1= very unimportant; 5 = very important

Figure 2a) Values

1 = very unimportant; 5 = very important
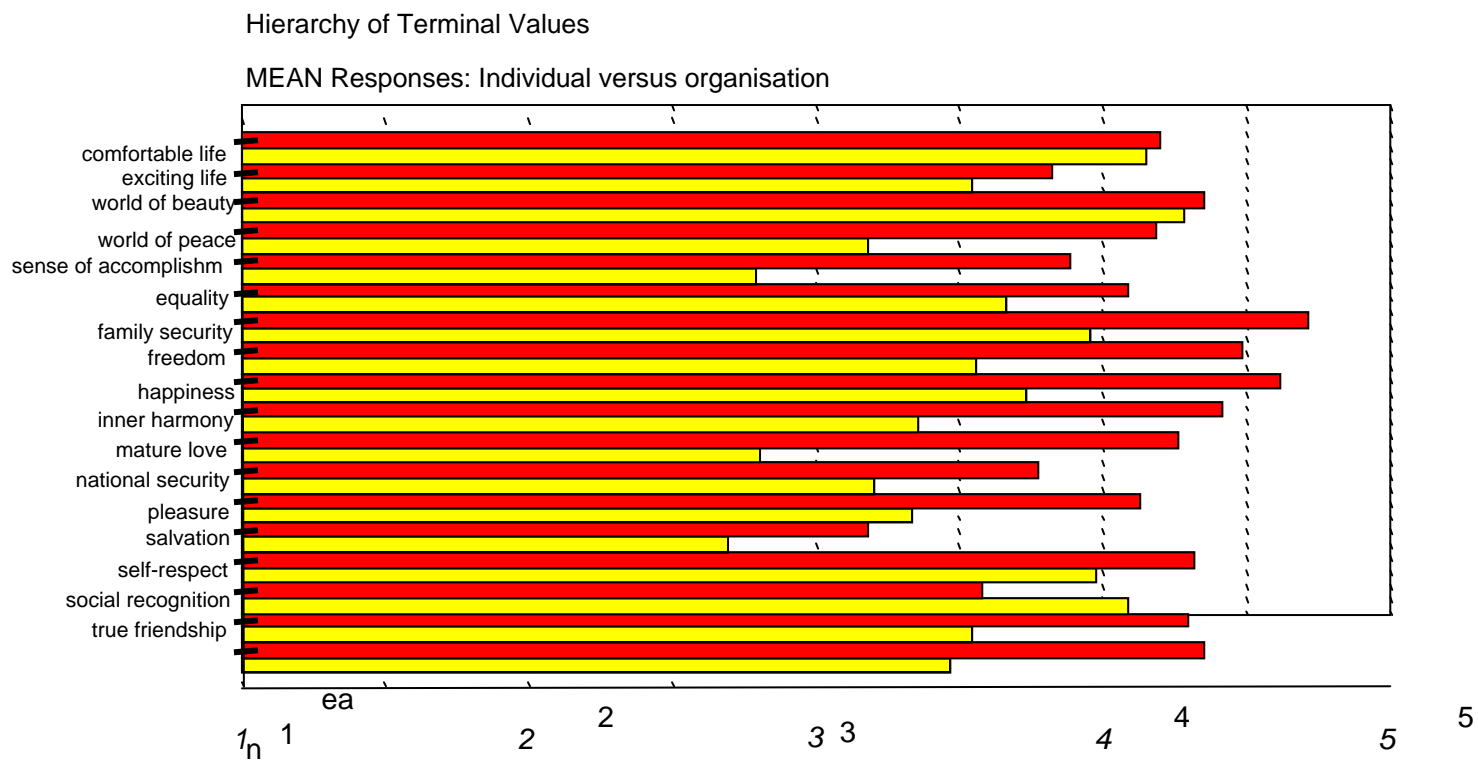
Hierarchy of Terminal Values

MEAN Responses: Individual versus organisation

1 = very unimportant; 5 = very important

Study of Gender and Career Development in Organisations

Josephine Palermo

Participant Organisation: InsurOrg

Aggregate Reports

Occupational Measures: Your organisational profile

Participants were asked to comment on measures of sources of occupational stress, satisfaction with your job and career, and role conflict and misgivings.

Figure 5a) Occupational Stress
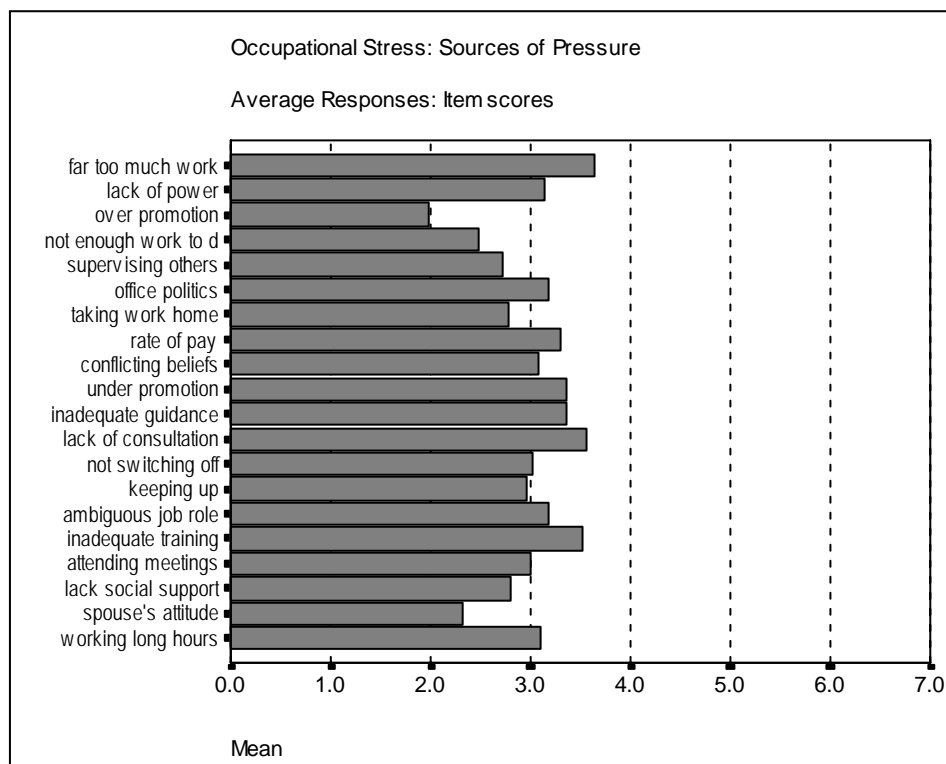
Occupational Stress: Sources of Pressure

Average Responses: Item scores

1 = definitely not a source of pressure; 6 = definitely a source of pressure

Figure 5b)

Occupational Stress: Sources of Pressure

Average Responses: Item scores

1 = definitely not a source of pressure; 6 = definitely a source of pressure

Figure 5c)

Occupational Stress: Sources of Pressure

Average Responses: Item scores
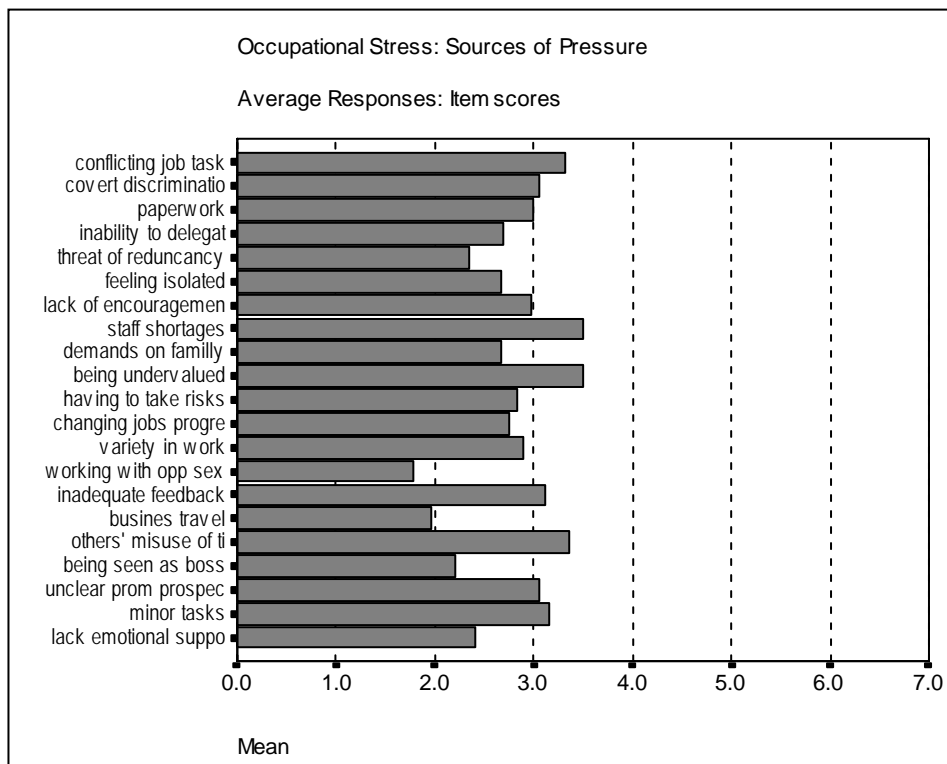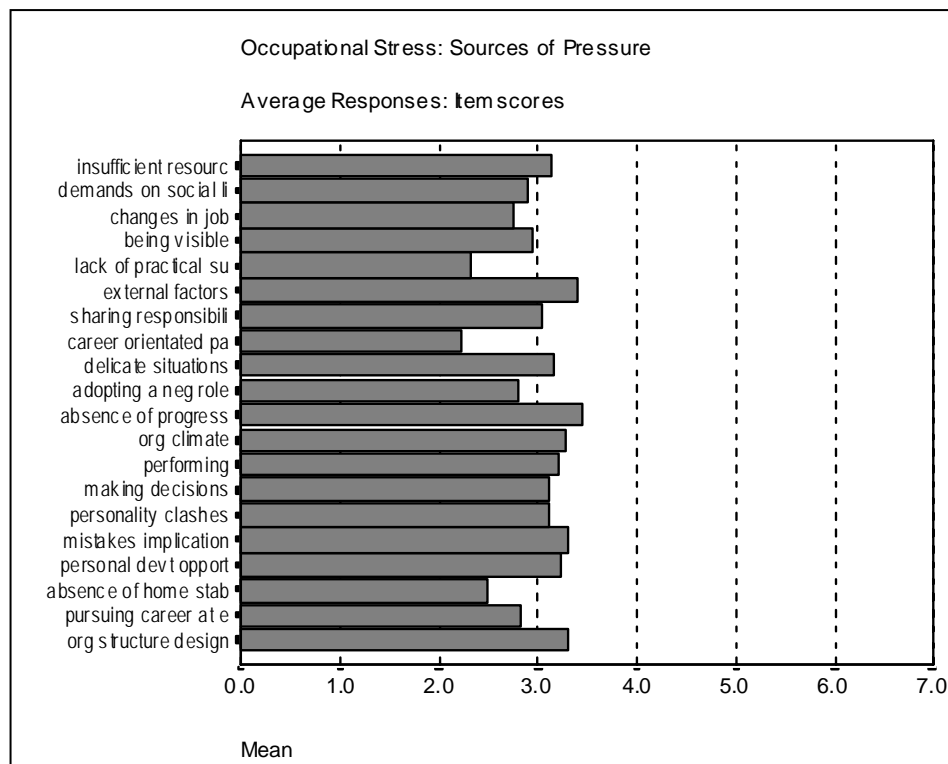
1 = definitely not a source of pressure; 6 = definitely a source of pressure

Figure 6 Occupational Stress Indicator Scales

Occupational Stress: Sources of Pressure

Average Responses: Scale Scores
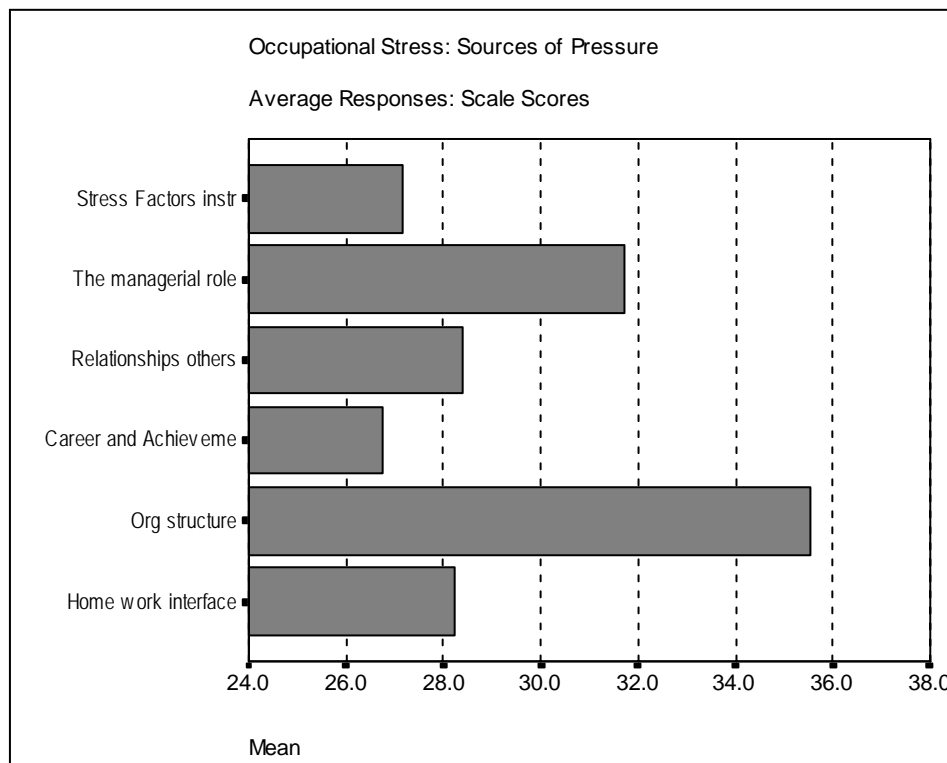
higher number = more a source of pressure

Figure 7a) Role Conflict and Stress Characteristics

Role Experiences Questionnaire: Role Conflicts & Misgivings

Average Responses: item scores

Figure 7b)

Role Experiences Questionnaire: Role Conflicts & Misgivings

Average Responses: item scores
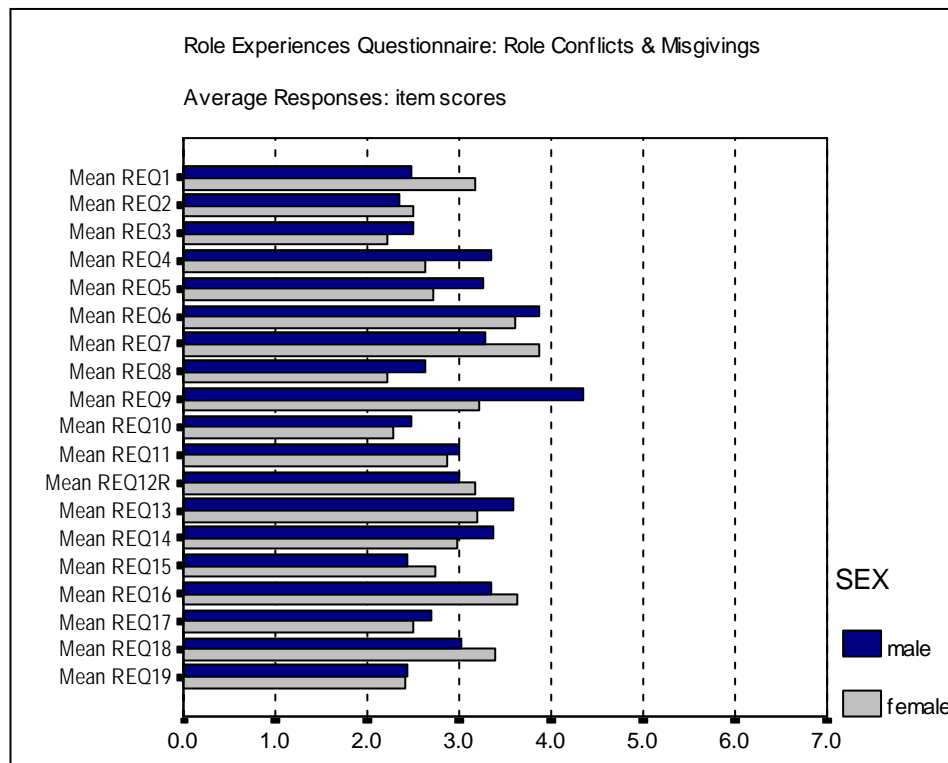
REQ items:

1. Feelings of guilt and misgivings about how and what I achieve in my career are a common experience
2. The lack of autonomy over nearly all aspects of my life is a source of unhappiness to me
3. The quality of experience in my roles as worker and homemaker is not good
4. Demands in all my roles means I am bothered by conflict about which I give my time to
5. The pinnacle of career success is impossible for me
6. I find that most days when I go home I end up going home to do another job – cleaning, cooking, etc.
7. At the end of most working days, I feel like a rag which has been well and truly wrung out
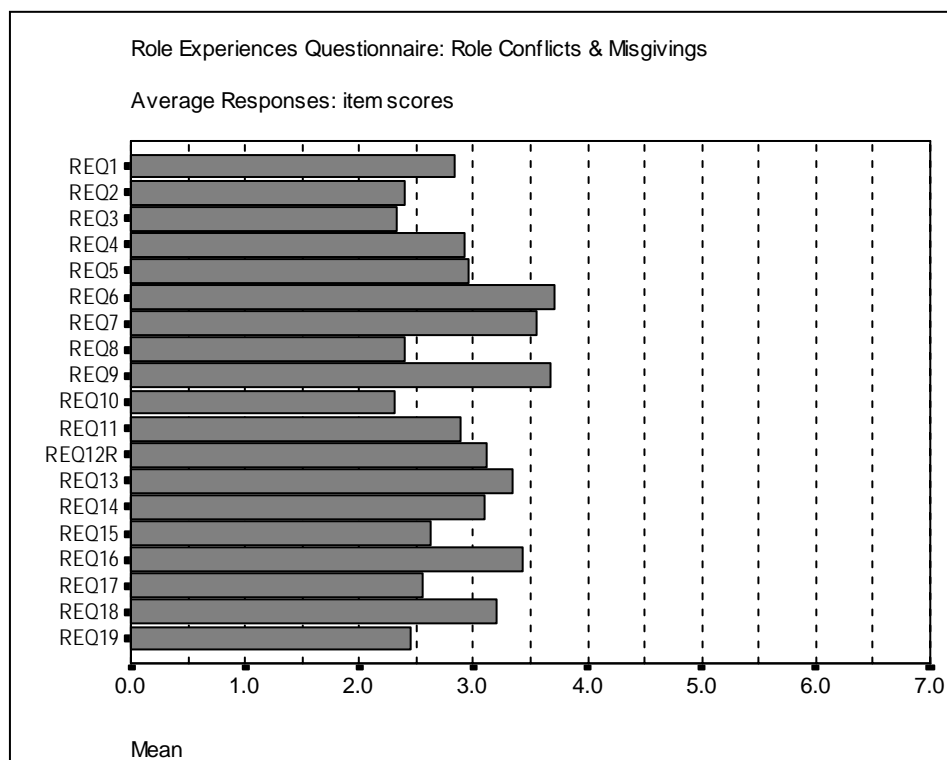8. There seems no way I will ever be happy with the way I can juggle my home and work responsibilities
9. Decisions in my personal life are always a compromise between what I want and what others want
10.   So many times, I feel people will find out I'm not the efficient, capable person they imagined I was
11. I envy other people who have their independence
12. I don't have any regular problems in getting home and career tasks done
13. Given everything I have to do in my personal and professional life, there is no time to spend with myself
14. From various sources I feel pressure of having to have a career, whether I want one or not!
15. Compared to other professional men / women my age, and in my type of job, I have a self image which is pretty negative
16. I look forward to the day when I don't have the task of meeting everyone else's needs first to the detriment of my own needs
17. When I'm at work I find myself thinking of jobs at home but when I'm at home, I find myself thinking of jobs at work!
18. I have a heavy heart when I think about all the things I have to achieve for my family and my work

19. I find it is best to have rather low expectations of what I can achieve in my career

Figure 8 a) Job Satisfaction
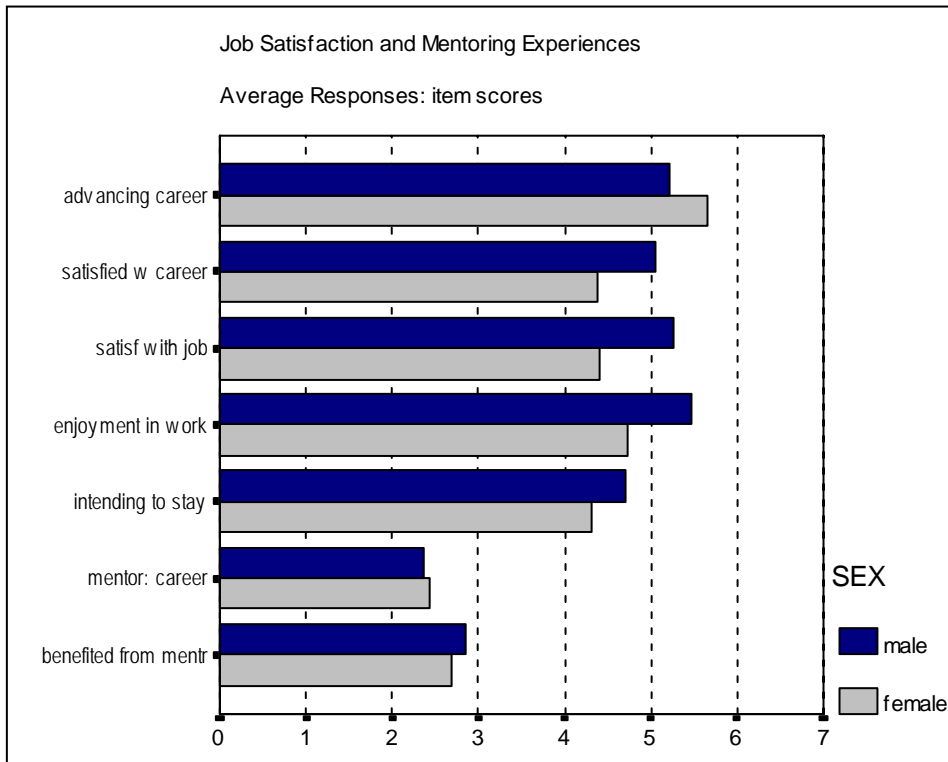
Job Satisfaction and Mentoring Experiences

Average Responses: item scores

higher number = more satisfaction

Notes: advancing career is important

Mentor: career devt: has anyone at ComputerOrg shown particular interest in your career devt
Benefit from Mentor: extent to which you have you benefited from the help of a mentor in your career / working life

Study of Gender and Career Development in Organisations

Josephine Palermo

Participant Organisation: INSURORG

Individual Reports

Personality Characteristics: Describing yourself and your organisation: Your personal profile

Participants were instructed to rate themselves on a number of personality characteristics and values, and then asked to imagine the organisation as a "person", and rate the "person" accordingly (using the same set of personality characteristics and values)

How to read Graphs:

For each characteristic there are two horizontal bars displayed. The first bar is your response indicating how you described yourself on that particular characteristic. The second bar is your response indicating how you described your organisation.

You may want to compare your responses to aggregate responses. How similar or different are you from your perceptions of your organisation? How similar or different are your perceptions of your organisation from average perceptions?

Figure 3a) Personality Characteristics

Personality Characteristics

Your Personal Responses: Individual versus organisation

88

1 = very untrue; 7 = very true

Figure 3b)

Personality Characteristics

Your personal Responses: Individual versus organisation

88
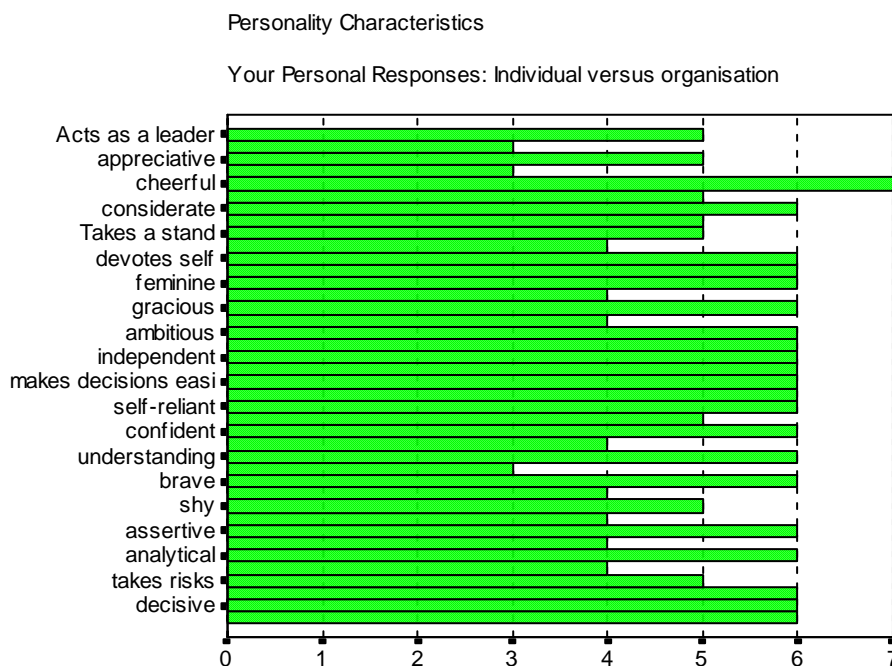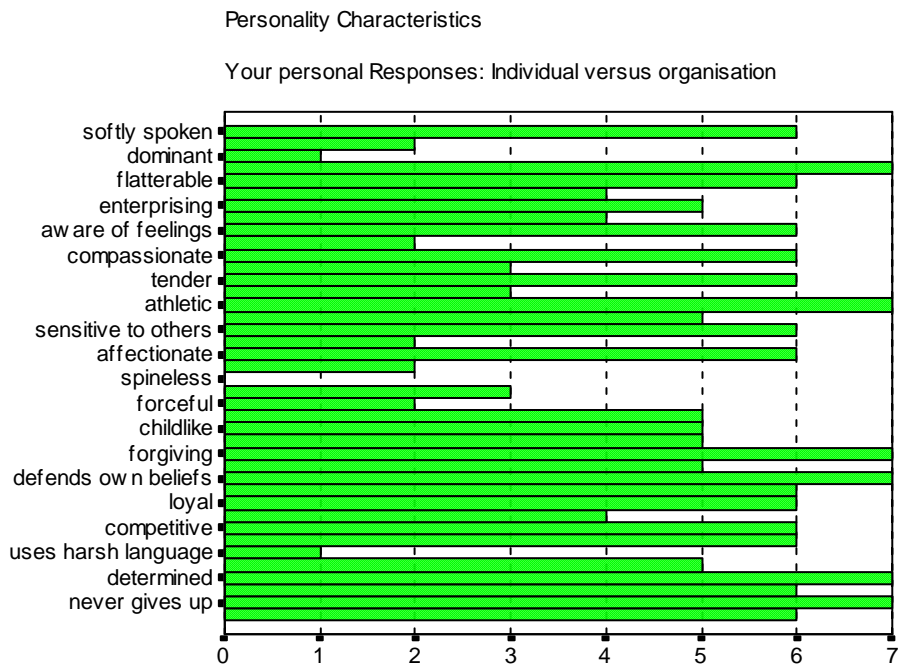
1 = very untrue; 7 = very true

Figure 3c)

1 = very untrue; 7 = very true

Personality Characteristics

Your personal Responses: Individual versus organisation
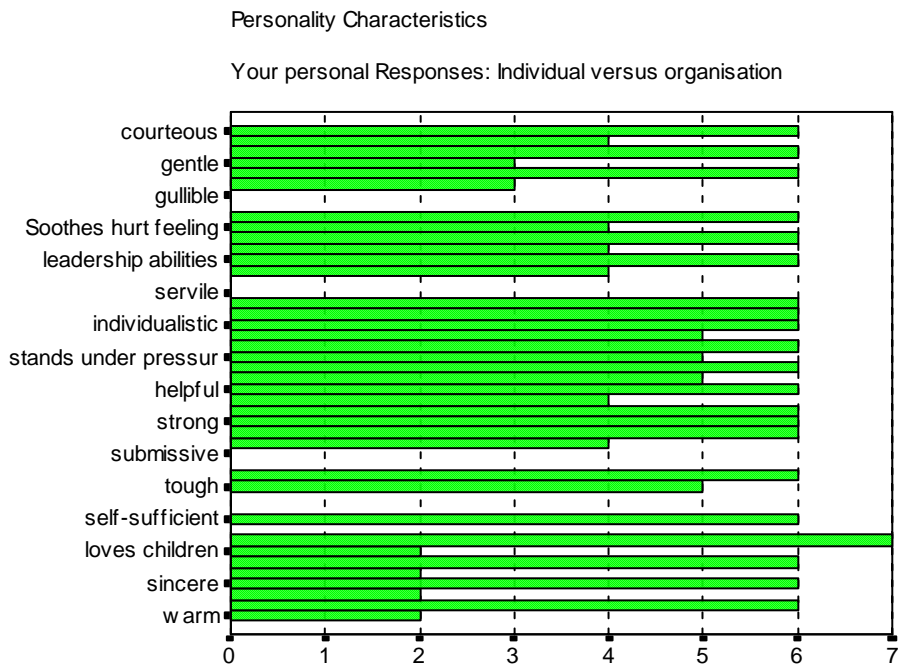
88

Figure 4a) Values

1 = very unimportant; 5= very important

Hierarchy of Terminal Values

Your personal Responses: Individual versus organisation
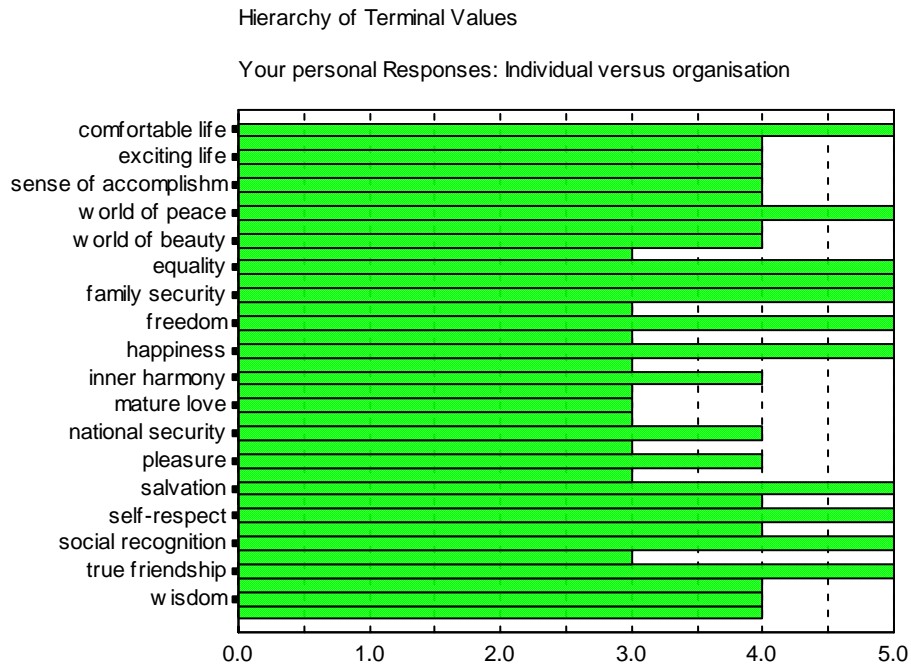
88

Figure 4b)
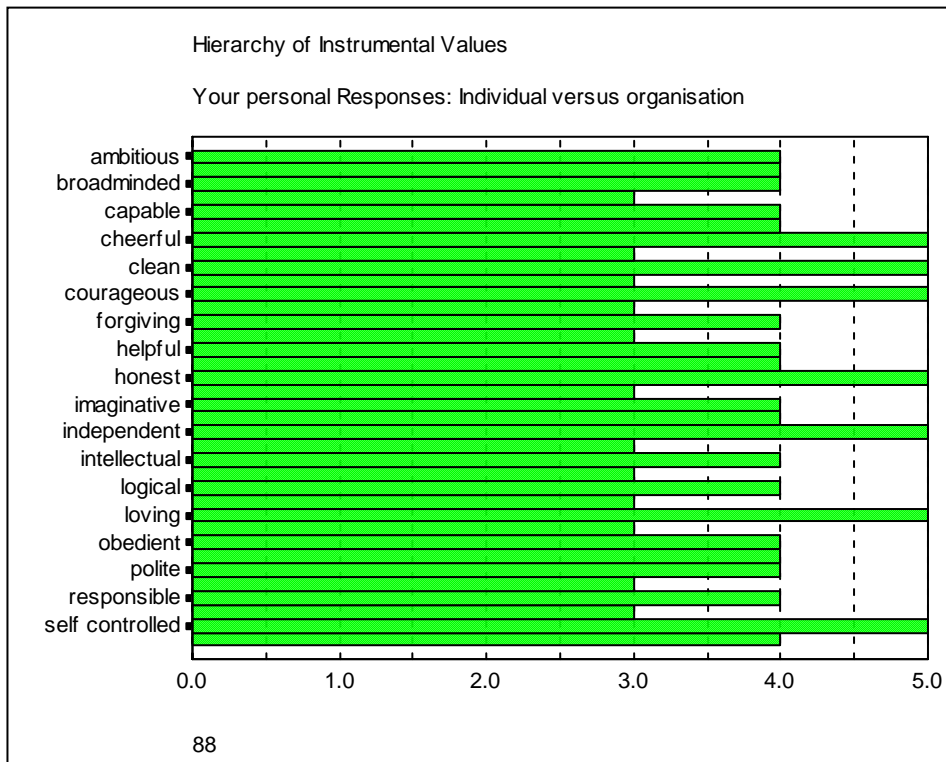
88

1 = very unimportant; 5 = very important

Study of Gender and Career Development in Organisations

Josephine Palermo

Participant Organisation: INSURORG

Individual Reports

Occupational Measures: Your organisational profile

Recent studies have shown that people are more likely to judge their career success by subjective measures, such as satisfaction with present job or perceived opportunities for advancement. Participants were asked to comment on measures of sources of occupational stress, satisfaction with your job and career

You may want to compare your responses to aggregate responses. How similar or different are your sources of pressure from average sources of pressure for people in the organisation?

Figure 10a) Occupational Stress
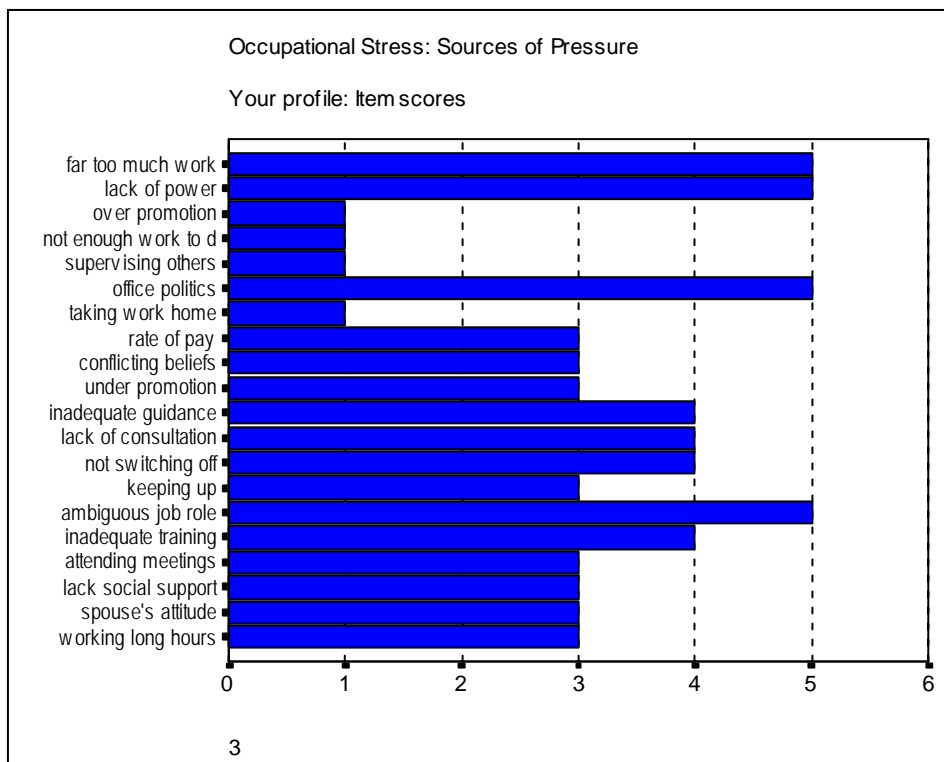
Occupational Stress: Sources of Pressure

Your profile: Item scores

1 = definitely not a source of pressure; 6 = definitely a source of pressure

Figure 10b)

Occupational Stress: Sources of Pressure

Your profile: Item scores

1 = definitely not a source of pressure; 6 = definitely a source of pressure

Figure 10c)

Occupational Stress: Sources of Pressure

Your profile: Item scores
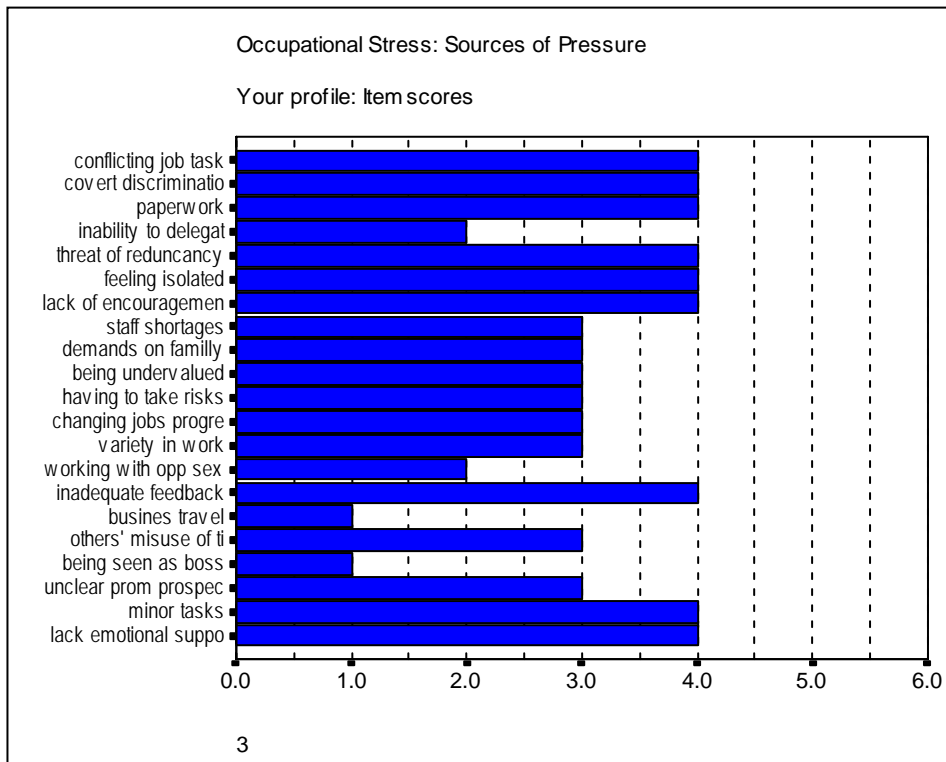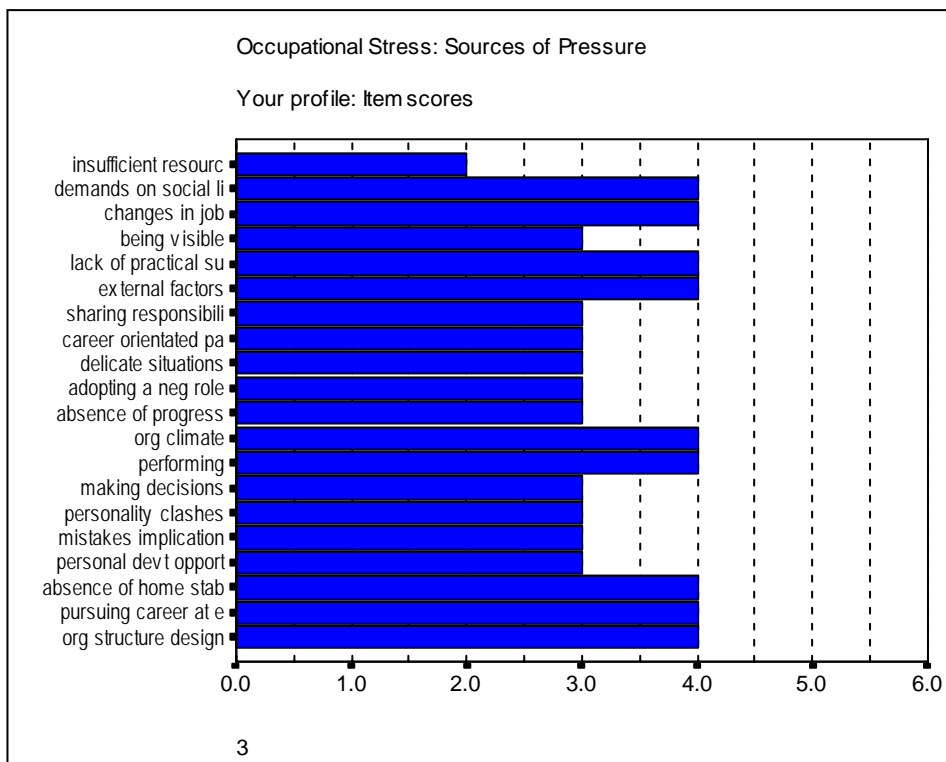
1 = definitely not a source of pressure; 6 = definitely a source of pressure

Figure 11 Occupational Stress Indicator Scales

Occupational Stress: Sources of Pressure

Your profile: Scale Scores
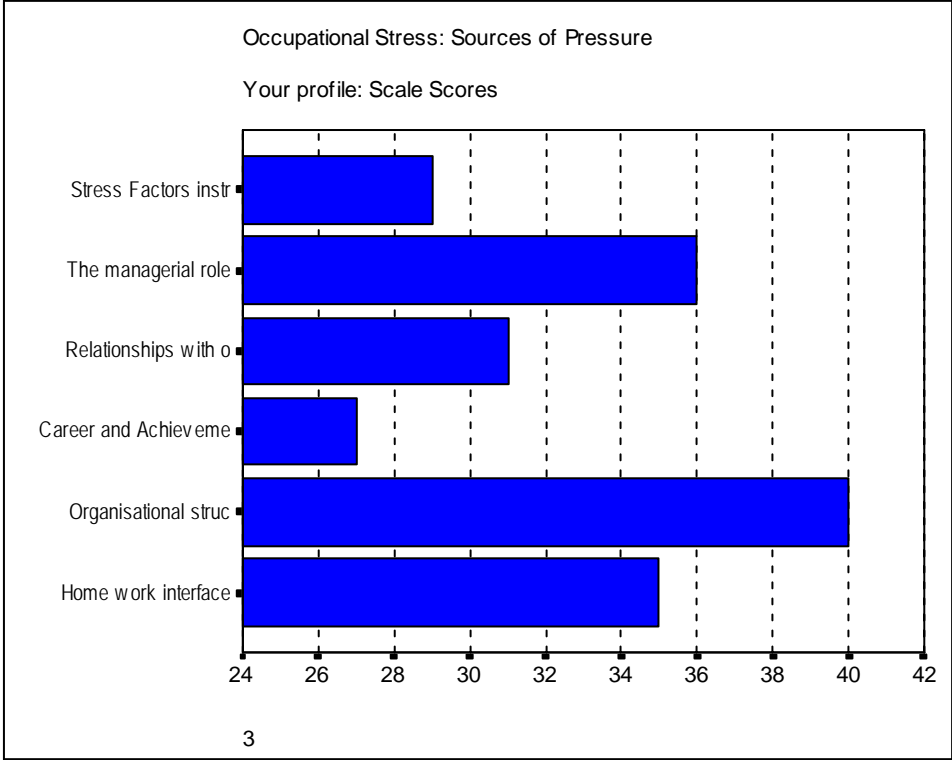
higher number = more a source of pressure

Figure 12 Role Conflict and Stress Characteristics

Role Experiences Questionnaire: Role Conflicts & Misgivings

Your profile: item scores
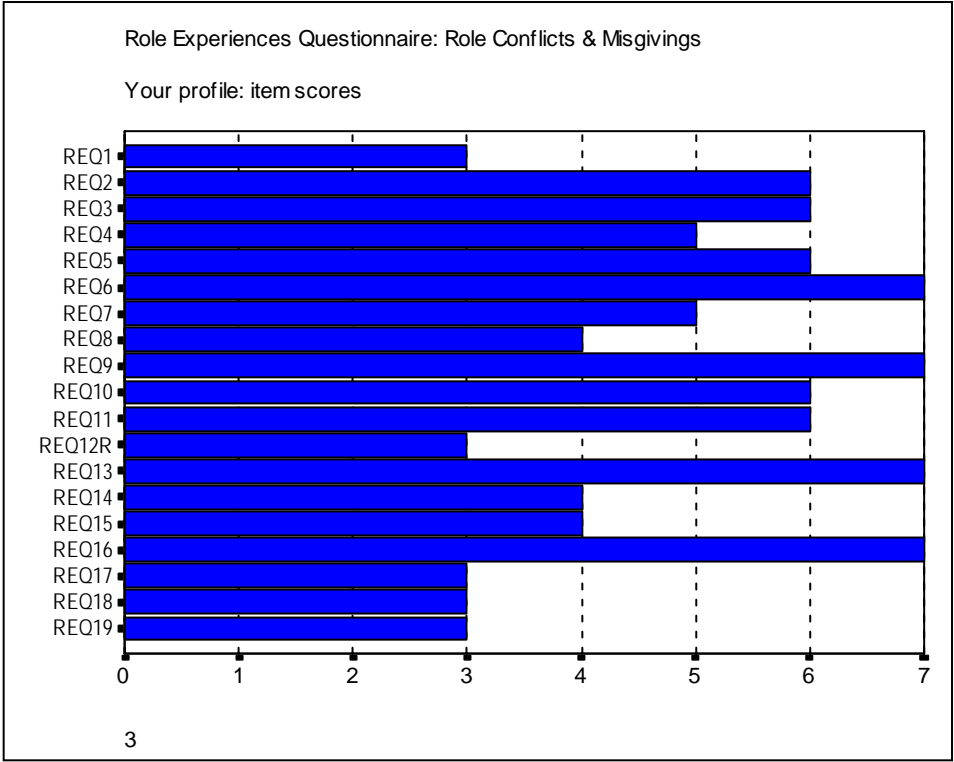
1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree

Figure 13 Job Satisfaction
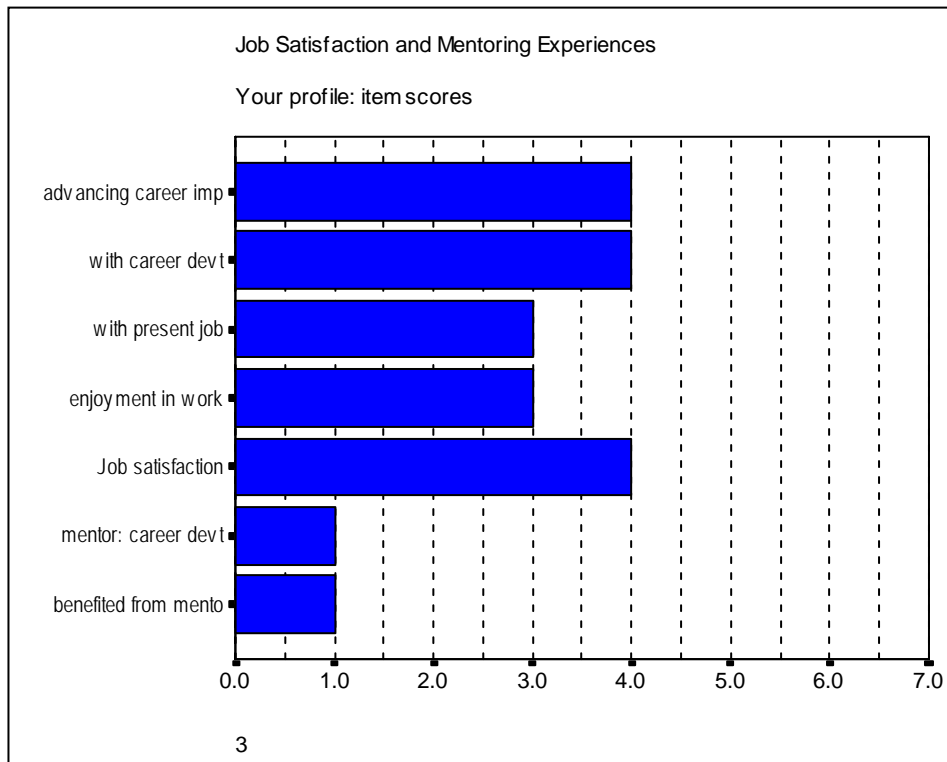
Job Satisfaction and Mentoring Experiences

Your profile: item scores

higher number = more satisfaction

Notes: advancing career: is important
Mentor: career devt: has anyone at ComputerOrg shown particular interest in your career devt
Benefit from Mentor: extent to which you have you benefited from the help of a mentor in your career / working life

Aggregate Report - Results from Network Analysis Data

sex (All)

Select All Participants, Females only and Males only via the drop down menu

Communication trends by City and Age group

Legend — Agegrp:
- 55 - under 65 years
- 45 - under 55 years
- 35 - under 45 years
- 25 - under 35 years
- 18 - 25 years
- under 18 years

Y-axis: **Number of Interactions** (0 to 700)

X-axis: **Communication types**

Brisbane: Sum of Advice, Sum of Talk, Sum of Friend, Sum of Get things done
Melbourne: Sum of Advice, Sum of Talk, Sum of Friend, Sum of Get things done
Sydney: Sum of Advice, Sum of Talk, Sum of Friend, Sum of Get things done

City Data

Study of Gender and Career Development in Organisations

Josephine Palermo

Participant Organisation: ComputerOrg

<div style="background:orange">

Individual Reports

Psychological Characteristics: Your organisational profile

</div>

Definitions of Psychological Scales

Extraversion: high scores indicates high extraversion, low scores indicates high introversion. A typical extravert is sociable, outwardly focussed, likes parties and lots of people, impulsive, and feelings are not kept in tight control. A typical introver

NA and PA: These measure indicate Negtive and Positive Affect (emotionality). High NA scorers describe themselves as nervous, apprehensive, irritable an overly sensitive. High PA scorers describe themselves as happy, enthusiastic, and as leading an exciti

Internal, Chance and Powerful Others: Locus of Control is the extent to which people they exercise control over their lives (**Internal**), or the degree to which they feel their destinies are determined by fate (**Chance**) or **Powerful Others**.

Self Efficacy: the belief that one can successfully perform the behaviour in question (outcome expectancy)

Self Esteem: belief in one's own sense of personal worth

How to read Graphs:

Your scale scores are depicted in Figure 14. Compare scores with base line data below to understand how they differ from what is termed "normal". Your Standardised scores are depicted in Figure 14. Standardised scores tell us how far scores are from the a

Scale	Mean	Standard Deviation
Extraversion	6.98	3.5
NA	19.5	7
PA	32	7
Chance	13.9	8
Internal	35.5	6.3
Powerful Others	16.7	7.6
Self Efficacy	58.65	7.63
Self Esteem	22.1	5.2

Figure 15

Psychological Characteristic Scales: Your Profile

Individual Scale Scores
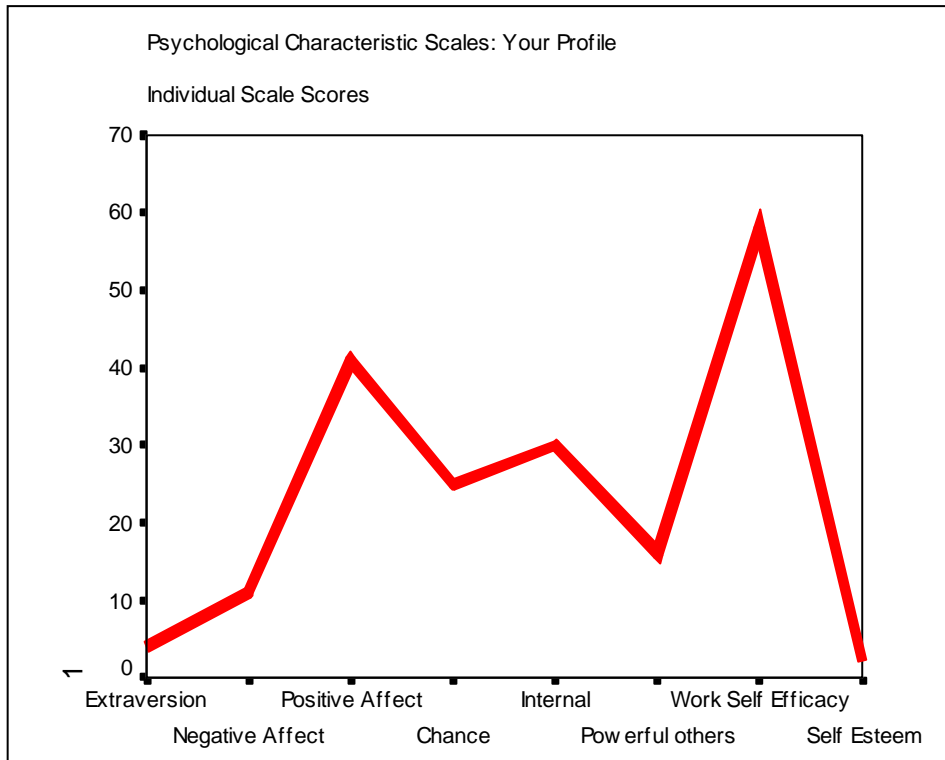
Scales scored in direction of label

Figure 16

Psychological Characteristic Scales: Your profile

Standardised Scores
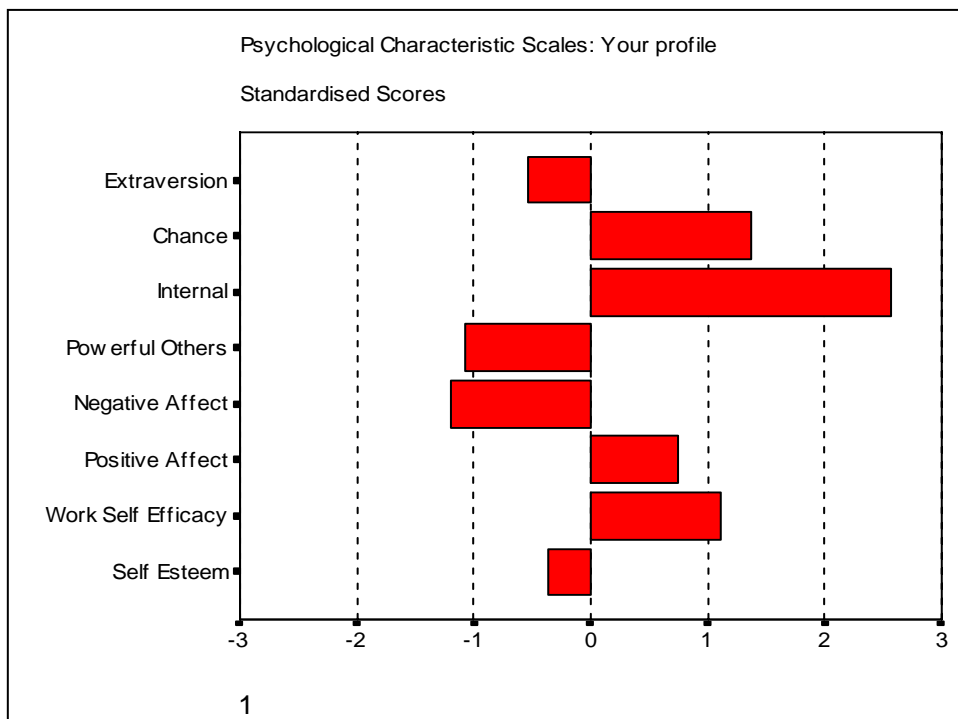
Note: Standardised scores are scale scores that have been converted so that the mean = 0 and standard deviation = 1. This means we can compare responses attained on scales with differing numeric ranges and can view how far your scores differ from the over.

APPENDIX D

Statistical Tables

Table D.1

Factor Loadings of gender self ratings

Self Ratings	Factor				
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
BEMY1 Acts as a leader		.632			
BEMY5 Takes a stand		.680			
BEMY9 ambitious		.606			
BEMY13 confident		.568			.418
BEMY17 assertive		.617			.541
BEMY21 softly spoken					-.450
BEMY25 aware of feelings	.720				
BEMY29 sensitive to others	.764				
BEMY33 childlike			.319		
BEMY37 competitive		.508			
BEMY41 courteous	.791				
BEMY45 Soothes hurt feelings	.639				
BEMY49 strong minded		.779			
BEMY53 helpful	.657				
BEMY57 tough		.620			
BEMY61 sympathetic	.780				
BEMY2 appreciative	.652				
BEMY6 devotes self	.354	.351			
BEMY10 independent		.591			
BEMY14 understanding	.778				
BEMY18 analytical		.406		.416	
BEMY22 dominant		.713			
BEMY26 compassionate	.806				
BEMY30 affectionate	.679				
BEMY34 forgiving	.567				
BEMY38 uses harsh language	-.408				
BEMY42 gentle	.760				
BEMY46 soft-hearted	.694				
BEMY50 individualistic		.545			
BEMY58 yielding			.556		
BEMY62 sincere	.621				
BEMY3 cheerful	.575				
BEMY7 feminine				-.787	
BEMY11 makes decisions easily		.535			.388
BEMY15 brave		.704			
BEMY19 takes risks		.654			
BEMY23 flatterable					
BEMY27 tender	.577				
BEMY31 spineless			.447		
BEMY35 defends own beliefs	.336	.422			

Table D.1 (continued)

Self Ratings	Factor				
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
BEMY43 masculine				.737	
BEMY47 leadership abilities		.562			
BEMY51 stands under pressure		.584			
BEMY55 kind	.722				
BEMY59 self-sufficient		.478			
BEMY63 warm	.843				
BEMY4 considerate	.806				
BEMY8 gracious	.671				
BEMY12 self-reliant		.529			.484
BEMY16 shy					-.595
BEMY20 decisive		.562			.447
BEMY24 enterprising		.429			
BEMY28 athletic		.200			
BEMY32 forceful		.495			
BEMY36 loyal	.490	.323			
BEMY40 never gives up		.580			
BEMY44 gullible			.503		
BEMY48 servile			.345		
BEMY52 humane	.599				
BEMY56 submissive			.493		
BEMY60 loves children	.500				
% Variance Explained	23.12	12.90	3.09	2.96	2.03

Table D.2

Factor loadings of gender organisation ratings

Organisation Ratings	Factor				
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
BEMO1 acts as a leader		.638		-.439	
BEMO5 Takes a stand		.704			-.423
BEMO9 ambitious		.412		-.628	
BEMO13 confident		.617			
BEMO17 assertive		.809			
BEMO21 softly spoken	.367				
BEMO25 aware of feelings	.834				
BEMO29 sensitive to others	.840				
BEMO33 childlike		-.401			.412
BEMO37 competitive		.524		-.680	
BEMO41 courteous	.635				
BEMO45 Soothes hurt feelings	.456				
BEMO49 strong minded		.773		-.414	
BEMO53 helpful	.799	.426			
BEMO57 tough		.528		-.704	
BEMO61 sympathetic	.846				-.414
BEMO2 appreciative	.720	.421			

Table D.2 (continued)

Organisation Ratings	Factor				
	1	2	3	4	5
BEMO6 devotes self	.512	.523			-.436
BEMO14 understanding	.761				
BEMO18 analytical		.642			
BEMO22 dominant		.707			
BEMO26 compassionate	.874				
BEMO30 affectionate	.826				
BEMO34 forgiving	.518				-.421
BEMO38 uses harsh language	-.461				
BEMO42 gentle	.755		.481		
BEMO46 soft-hearted	.620		.643		
BEMO50 individualistic					-.411
BEMO54 strong		.576		-.715	
BEMO58 yielding	.445		.570		
BEMO62 sincere	.724			-.422	
BEMO3 cheerful	.659				
BEMO7 feminine			.440		
BEMO19 takes risks		.433			
BEMO23 flatterable				-.352	
BEMO27 tender	.774				
BEMO31 spineless	-.471				
BEMO35 defends own beliefs		.473			
BEMO39 determined		.568		-.585	-.422
BEMO43 masculine				-.465	
BEMO47 leadership abilities		.599	-.160	-.491	
BEMO55 kind	.868				
BEMO59 self-sufficient	.517			-.536	
BEMO63 warm	.800				
BEMO4 considerate	.884				
BEMO8 gracious	.667				-.406
BEMO12 self-reliant	.436	.465			
BEMO16 shy		-.393			
BEMO20 decisive		.597			-.494
BEMO24 enterprising		.647			
BEMO28 athletic		.470			
BEMO32 forceful		.516		-.530	
BEMO36 loyal	.734				
BEMO44 gullible		-.345			.541
BEMO48 servile			.365		
BEMO52 humane	.782				
BEMO56 submissive			.589		
% Variance explained	31.08	12.17	3.87	2.96	2.46

Table D.3

Factor loadings of gender self ratings

Self Ratings	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
VALUEY1 comfortable life			.474	
VALUEY2 exciting life		.393		
VALUEY3 sense of accomplishment		.427		
VALUEY4 world of peace	.705			
VALUEY5 world of beauty	.619			
VALUEY6 equality	.713	.416		
VALUEY7 family security	.584			
VALUEY9 happiness				-.708
VALUEY10 inner harmony				-.701
VALUEY11 mature love				-.393
VALUEY12 national security	.444			
VALUEY13 pleasure			.530	
VALUEY14 salvation	.576		.415	
VALUEY15 self-respect		.459		-.608
VALUEY16 social recognition			.546	
VALUEY17 true friendship				-.593
VALUEY18 wisdom		.502		
VALUEY19 ambitious		.456	.554	
VALUEY20 broadminded		.557		
VALUEY22 cheerful			.459	-.579
VALUEY23 clean			.548	
VALUEY25 forgiving	.553			-.474
VALUEY26 helpful	.455			-.459
VALUEY27 honest	.431			-.537
VALUEY28 imaginative		.547		
VALUEY29 independent		.581		
VALUEY30 intellectual		.678		
VALUEY31 logical		.621		
VALUEY33 obedient			.736	
VALUEY34 polite	.433		.641	
VALUEY35 responsible	.404		.491	
VALUEY36 self controlled	.415		.446	
% Variance explained	25.16	5.49	4.80	3.42

Table D.4

Factor loadings of gender organisation ratings

Organisation Ratings	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
VALUEO1 comfortable life		-.372		
VALUEO2 exciting life	.459	-.567		
VALUEO3 sense of accomplishment		-.506		
VALUEO4 world of peace				.627
VALUEO5 world of beauty				.750
VALUEO6 equality	.645	-.438		
VALUEO7 family security	.646	-.455		
VALUEO9 happiness	.775	-.497		
VALUEO11 mature love	.422			.506
VALUEO12 national security				.579
VALUEO13 pleasure	.581			
VALUEO14 salvation	.475			.509
VALUEO15 self-respect	.573	-.621		
VALUEO16 social recognition		-.497		
VALUEO17 true friendship	.743	-.402		
VALUEO18 wisdom	.638			
VALUEO19 ambitious		-.625		
VALUEO20 broadminded	.528	-.655		
VALUEO21 capable		-.769		
VALUEO22 cheerful	.773	-.475		
VALUEO23 clean	.401		-.596	
VALUEO24 courageous	.538	-.634		.413
VALUEO25 forgiving	.725			.458
VALUEO26 helpful	.700			.419
VALUEO27 honest	.610	-.448		
VALUEO28 imaginative	.421	-.649		
VALUEO29 independent		-.751		
VALUEO30 intellectual	.469	-.727		
VALUEO31 logical		-.685		
VALUEO32 loving	.777			.587
VALUEO33 obedient	.480			
VALUEO34 polite	.647		-.515	
VALUEO35 responsible	.489	-.692	-.538	
VALUEO36 self controlled		-.666	-.532	
% Variance explained	33.34	8.10	3.51	3.13