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The Labyrinth of Leadership: Female, Family Career Considerations

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**The Labyrinth of Leadership:
Female, Family, & Career Considerations**

Dissertation

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of the University of Zurich

to obtain the degree of
Doktorin der Wirtschaftswissenschaften, Dr. oec.
(corresponds to Doctor of Philosophy, PhD)

presented by

Jamie Gloor

from the United States of America

approved in

April 2016 at the request of

Prof. Dr. Bruno Staffelbach

Prof. Dr. Gudela Grote

The Faculty of Business, Economics and Informatics of the University Zurich hereby authorizes the printing of this dissertation, without indicating an opinion on the views expressed in the work.

Zurich, 06.04.2016

The Chairman of the Doctoral Board: Prof. Dr. Steven Ongena

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To the women of the world: may your career choices be yours to make freely— independent of your gender or desire for family; may gatekeepers select you based on your qualifications—not their own expectations; may your coworkers treat you with civility and respect—signals that you are welcome in the workplace; and may the myth of the "leaky pipeline" be once and for all put to rest, replaced with a more accurate metaphor: the "labyrinth of leadership." To the men, what we share is more powerful than what divides us; women can't do it alone:

#heforshe.

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List of Abbreviations

ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
ANCOVA	Analysis of Covariance
AP	Assistant Professor
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CFI	Comparative Fit Index
CI	Confidence Interval
CREW	Civility, Respect, and Engagement at Work
FSO	Swiss Federal Statistical Office
LERU	League of European Research Universities
LLCI	Lower Level Confidence Interval
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
Post-doc	Post-Doctoral Student
RMSEA	Root Mean Square Error of Approximation
U.S.	United States of America
ULCI	Upper Level Confidence Interval
WEF	World Economic Forum

Chapter 1

General Abstract²

Equality is derived from the late Latin *aequalitas*, meaning similarity, while equity is derived from the late Latin *aequitas*, meaning even and just.³ In the scope of this dissertation, I examine processes contributing to the lack of gender equality in leadership and professorships, oftentimes due to a lack of gender equity. Specifically, men have employment advantages compared to women in traditionally male-dominated positions and occupations (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001; 2012; Koch, D’Mello, & Sackett, 2015), with mothers facing additional penalties (Crosby, Williams, & Biernat, 2004; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). These barriers perpetuate the aforementioned gender gaps, which widen at the early career stage (Catalyst, 2012; 2013; 2015; LERU, 2012) and overlay with women’s prime childbearing years (Livingston, 2015).

I draw on insights from intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989) to examine gender and parenthood during the early career stage. I use converging methods (e.g., experiments, field experiments, and multi-wave field research) to assess multiple actors (i.e., employees, gatekeepers, leaders, and team members). With this evidence, I outline the problem in context and provide evidence of a theory-based solution.

In Chapter 3, I examine early career entry with 3 experimental examinations of gatekeepers. I find the distinction between hiring childless women and mothers is blurred, driven by gatekeeper conceptions that young women will experience future career interruption or reduced dependability (i.e., the “maybe baby” effect). These expectations drive gatekeeper perceptions that young childless women and mothers are riskier hires than young

²This chapter is written entirely and exclusively by Jamie Lee Gloor.

³Etymology source: www.etymonline.com

childless men (Studies 1-3). Results support the maybe baby effect in employment decisions (Gloor & Okimoto, under review) and the social role theory (Eagly, 1987), and outline a boundary condition of lack of fit theory (Heilman, 1983).

In Chapter 4, I examine the early career employment experience in a team context with a multiple wave field study. I find that young childless women report more incivility compared to mothers and childless men, which has important downstream career implications (i.e., higher career withdrawal, lower career satisfaction and career identity). Results support the maybe baby effect in employment experiences (Gloor & Okimoto, under review) and selective incivility theory (Cortina, 2008).

In Chapter 5, I examine an intervention to restore gender equity in leadership (in the case that women make it through gatekeeper selections and persist despite early career coworker incivility) with a randomized field experiment. I find restoring gender equality at the team level via gender demography trumps societal gender stereotypes, circumventing backlash towards women leaders and eliminating the male advantage in followers' responses to leadership (Studies 1-2). Results support the social identity model of organizational leadership (van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003), and outline a boundary condition of role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Finally, I describe my findings' implications for women in the labyrinth of leadership (Eagly & Carli, 2007) and outline specific, evidence-based implications for theory and practice (e.g., employees, managers, organizations, and policy).

Chapter 1

General Abstract (Deutsch)

„Equality“ stammt aus dem lateinischen „aequalitas“ und bedeutet „Gleichstellung“, während „equity“ vom lateinischen „aequitas“ abgeleitet ist und „Chancengleichheit“ bedeutet.² Im Rahmen dieser Dissertation untersuche ich Prozesse, die zur fehlenden Gleichstellung von Geschlechtern in Führungspositionen und Professuren beitragen – oft aufgrund mangelnder Chancengleichheit. Insbesondere haben Männer in traditionell männlich dominierten Positionen und Berufen häufig Vorteile gegenüber Frauen (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001; 2012; Koch, D'Mello, & Sackett, 2015), wobei Mütter mit zusätzlichen Hindernissen konfrontiert werden (Crosby, Williams, & Biernat, 2004; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). Diese Barrieren verfestigen die zuvor erwähnten geschlechterspezifischen Unterschiede, welche in frühen Phasen der Karriere umso grösser sind (Catalyst, 2012; 2013; 2015; LERU, 2012) und gleichzeitig mit dem gebärfähigen Alter der Frauen überlappen (Livingston, 2015).

Ich beziehe mich auf Erkenntnisse der Intersektionalitätstheorie (Crenshaw, 1989), um Geschlecht und Elternschaft in frühen Phasen der Karriere zu untersuchen. Dabei verwende ich vielfältige Methoden (z.B. Experimente, Feldversuche und Langzeitfeldstudien), um verschiedene Akteure in die Untersuchungen einzubeziehen (insb. Mitarbeiter, Manager und Teammitglieder). Anhand der empirischen Evidenz skizziere ich das Problem in einem erweiterten Kontext und bestätige theoriebasierte Lösungsansätze.

In Kapitel 3 untersuche den Berufseinstieg in frühen Phasen der Karriere anhand drei experimenteller Untersuchungen von Managern, die Auswahlentscheidungen treffen. Dabei fand ich heraus, dass der Unterschied bei Anstellungsentscheidungen von kinderlosen Frauen

und Müttern verschwommen ist, da die Entscheidungsträger davon ausgehen, dass junge Frauen in absehbarer Zeit Karriereunterbrüche oder eine reduzierte Verfügbarkeit erfahren werden („Maybe Baby“-Effekt). Diese Erwartungshaltung von Entscheidungsträgern in Bewerbungsverfahren führt dazu, dass junge, kinderlose Frauen und Mütter im Vergleich zu jungen, kinderlosen Männern als risikobehaftete Kandidaten betrachtet werden (Studien 1-3). Die Ergebnisse unterstützen den "Maybe Baby"-Effekt in Beschäftigungsentscheidungen (Gloor & Okimoto, under review) sowie die Social Role Theorie (Eagly, 1987) und skizzieren eine Rahmenbedingung der Lack of Fit Theorie (Heilman, 1983).

In Kapitel 4 untersuche ich Berufserfahrungen im Team in frühen Phasen der Karriere anhand einer Langzeitfeldstudie. Ich fand heraus, dass junge Frauen ohne Kinder mehr Unhöflichkeit erfahren als Mütter und kinderlose Männer, was zentrale Implikationen für die Karriere mit sich bringt (d.h. Karriererücktritt, geringere Karrierezufriedenheit und Karriereidentität). Die Ergebnisse unterstreichen den „Maybe Baby“-Effekt in Berufserfahrungen (Gloor & Okimoto, under review) sowie die Theorie der selektiven Unhöflichkeit (Cortina, 2008).

In Kapitel 5 untersuche ich eine Massnahme, um die Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern in Führungspositionen aufrecht zu erhalten (für den Fall, dass Frauen das Auswahlverfahren überstehen und ihre Karriere trotz erfahrener Unhöflichkeit von Arbeitskollegen weiterverfolgen) anhand eines randomisierten Feldexperiments. Ich fand heraus, dass Gleichstellung durch ein ausgewogenes Geschlechterverhältnis auf Teamebene die gesellschaftlichen Geschlechterstereotypen übertrumpfen, wodurch stereotype Rückschlüsse auf weibliche Führungskräfte umgangen und Vorteile männlicher Führungskräfte aufgrund der Reaktion von Untergebenen eliminiert werden (Studien 1 und 2). Die Ergebnisse unterstützen das Social Identity Model of Organizational Leadership (van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003) und skizzieren eine Rahmenbedingung der Role Congruity Theorie (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Abschliessend beschreibe die Erkenntnisse, die sich aus meinen Resultaten für Frauen im Labyrinth von Führungspositionen (Eagly & Carli, 2007) ableiten lassen und skizziere spezifische, evidenzbasierte Ansätze für Theorie und Praxis (z.B. für Mitarbeiter, Manager, Organisationen und Politik).

Chapter 2

Women in Leadership: Review & Explanations⁴

In Switzerland as in most economically developed nations, approximately 84% of adults and 75% of mothers with young children are employed (OECD, 2004; 2016). Thus, working and having children is the norm. Employment grants more than economic benefits to employees just as offspring grant more than increased well-being to parents (Nelson, 2013). Indeed, people classify themselves into multiple, hierarchically organized social categories (e.g., a woman, a parent, a Swiss citizen; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). Occupying multiple roles also benefits individuals by affording additional sources of identity (Marks, 1977). So most people choose employment and parenthood, and thus are potentially reaping these manifold benefits. But what if these two roles conflict—even if a woman has not yet chosen parenthood or taken on a leadership role?

In the current dissertation, I aim to address this question specifically for women, as women face additional employment barriers and penalties pertaining to parenthood (e.g., lower pay and probability of promotion; Crosby et al., 2004; Heilman, 2012; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). Alternatively, men typically benefit by becoming fathers (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2004; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). By assessing this core question at the crux of the employment exodus and the prime of childbearing (Livingston, 2015), I seek to show how actual (or impending) motherhood in the modern age manifests in gatekeeper hiring decisions and everyday employment interactions with colleagues. In the case that women succeed despite these early career obstructions and go on to achieve professorships or leadership

⁴This chapter is written entirely and exclusively by Jamie Lee Gloor.

positions, I test a theory-based intervention to restore gender equity in responses to leadership (Figures 2.1-2.2).

CHAPTER 1		
General Abstract		
CHAPTER 2		
Women in Leadership: Review & Explanations		
CHAPTER 3		
The Maybe Baby Effect at the Intersection of Gender and Parenthood: A Series of Experiments with Hiring Managers		
Study 1	Study 2	Study 3
Hiring Managers in Switzerland	Professors in Switzerland	Hiring Managers in Australia
CHAPTER 4		
The Maybe Baby Effect at the Intersection of Gender & Parenthood: Time-Lagged Field Research & Experiment with Early Career Employees		
Study 1	Study 2	
Multi-wave Field Research Early-Career Academics in Switzerland	Experiment with American Employees	
CHAPTER 5		
Intervention to Restore Gender Equality in Leadership: A Randomized Field Experiment		
Pilot Study	Main Study	
Student Teams & Leaders in Switzerland	Student Teams & Leaders in Switzerland	
CHAPTER 6		
Final Remarks		

Figure 2.1. Outline of dissertation

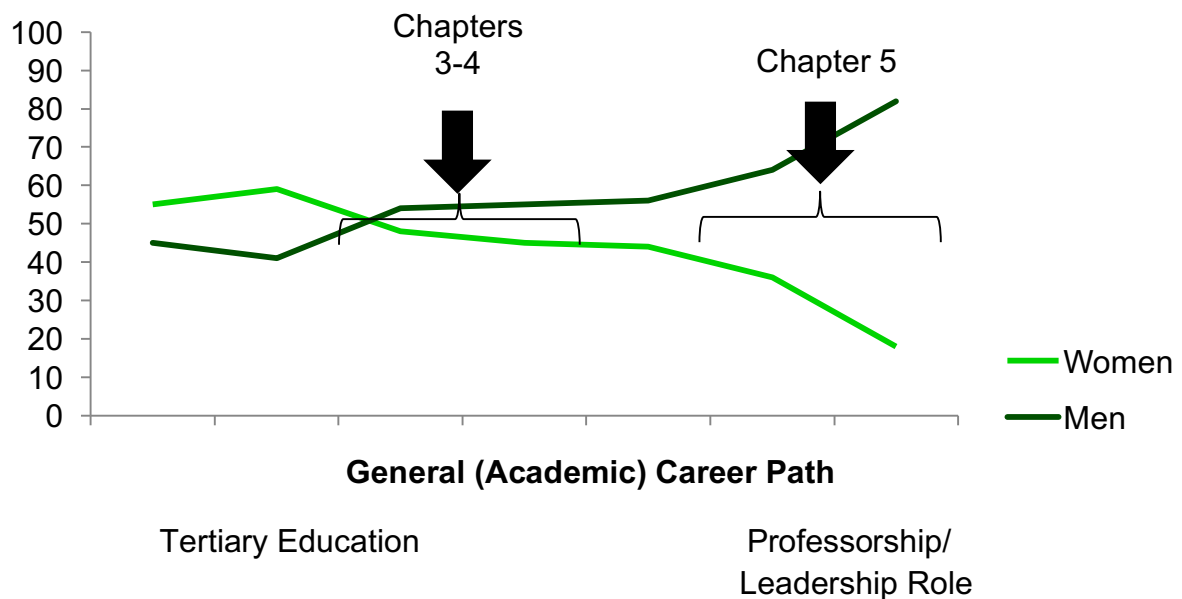


Figure 2.2. Overall scope of dissertation (figure created using statistics from LERU, 2012)

Delineations. Before I begin, I make two fundamental delineations. First, I use “professorships” and “leadership roles” interchangeably (sometimes conflated) to refer to end-stage career positions. Although there are other forms of academic leadership that might better fit the broader conception of leadership (e.g., presidency or deanship), the personnel pipelines are similar in shape for professorships and executive leadership positions (Catalyst, 2013; 2014; 2015; Schilling Report, 2015). Specifically, although there are generally more women professors (18%) than women CEOs (4-6%), there are comparable numbers of women professors and women on executive boards (10-16.9%). Secondly, I use the terms sex and gender interchangeably to refer to the dichotomous groupings of men and women or males and females. This is meant to aid comprehension, not to dismiss or disrespect the broader, continuous gender spectrum. Moreover, zero participants selected the “other” gender option in any of the experiments or surveys in this dissertation (Chapters 3-5).

Current Status of Women in Leadership

Women are missing in leadership positions relative to their time-lagged representation in education (see Figure 2.3). However, this pattern of results is not limited to a particular

country or occupation, as no country in the world has reached gender parity (WEF, 2015), and the gender gap is found across executive leadership (Catalyst, 2015), professorships (LERU, 2012), and politics (WEF, 2015). However, gender gaps tend to be larger in statistically, historically, and/or stereotypically masculine domains (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 1983; Paustian-Underdahl, Walker, & Woehr, 2014). We have a minority of women in leadership since the origin of such statistics, yet progress towards gender equality is truly moving at a snail's pace. According to an analysis of the British Parliament's gender composition, "...a snail could crawl the entire length of the Great Wall of China in 212 years, just slightly longer than the 200 years it will take for women to be equally represented in Parliament" (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2008). We need to understand the process to make progress.

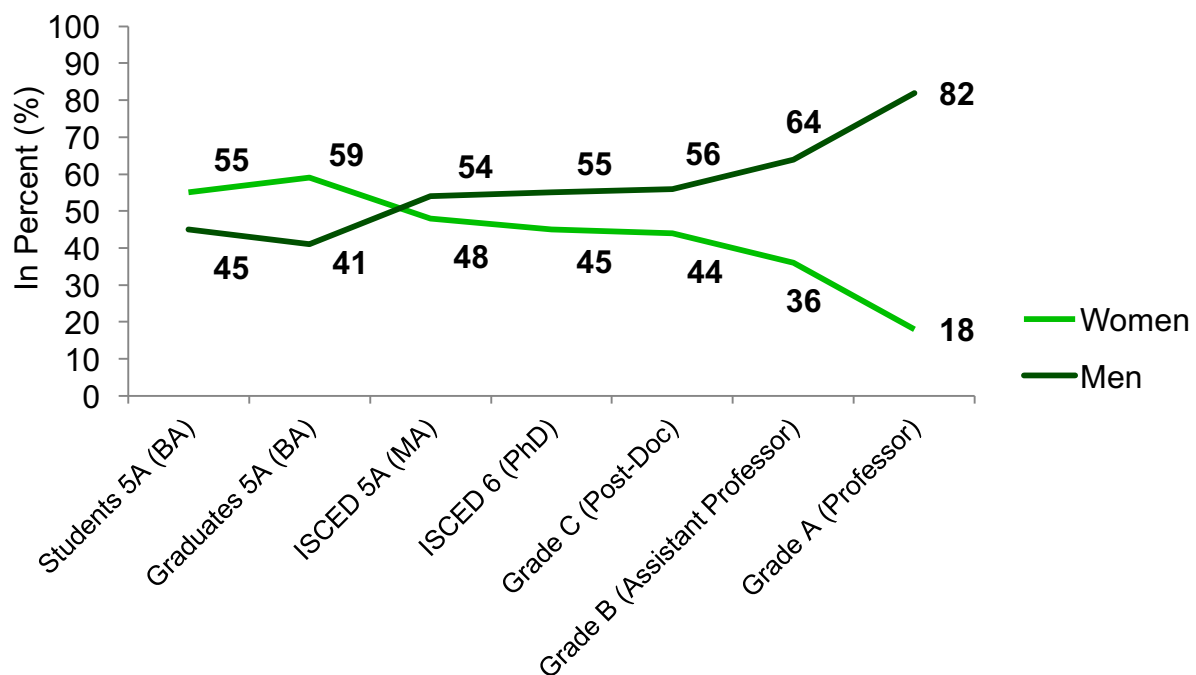


Figure 2.3. The academic career path & personnel pipeline to professorship in Europe (LERU, 2012); reference points in parentheses provided by the author for interpretation only.

There are diverging explanations for the gender gap that generally fall into two categories: supply-side issues (e.g., choices and preferences) and demand-side issues (e.g., bias and discrimination). I present relevant theory, findings, and my own critical appraisal of the

theory and findings in the following sections. My focus is largely supply-side perspectives, as I provide in-depth explanations of several demand-side explanations in Chapters 3-5.

Supply-Side Explanations

Here, I describe several management, economics, sociology, and psychology theories pertaining to supply-side processes, namely, the qualities or decisions inherent in women themselves that contribute to their employment and professional outcomes. When possible, I proceed in chronological order, from older theory and findings to the most contemporary.

The Gender Differences Model. The gender differences model states that males and females are psychologically vastly different groups (Hyde, 2005). This theory was revived in 1992 when American author and relationship counselor John Gray published his novel, “Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus.” The gender differences discussion gained further attention (but also wide criticism) later in 2005 when Larry Summers, American economist and then president of Harvard University, explained the under-representation of female scientists at elite universities to stem from “innate” differences between men and women and “a different availability of aptitude at the high end” (Hemel, 2005).

Although this argument has been most recently and volubly used in the context of STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics), similar arguments have been made about men and women’s biological differences and their effects on leadership ability. However for leadership, women—not men—were said to have the advantage because they are interpersonally sensitive and nurturing (e.g., “the feminine advantage;” Eagly & Carli, 2003; Yukl, 2002). It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to explain in detail why or how these differences are thought to have come about from a supply-side perspective, but evolutionary selection processes are most often purported to have produced these differences, based on the

assumption that certain behaviors are more adaptive for men or women because of sexual selection and parental investment, respectively (see Buss, 1989; Buss & Schmitt, 1993).⁵

Choices & Interests. Secondly, women's choices have also been proffered for the differential, gendered outcomes in professorships and leadership. Ceci and Williams are two most recent proponents of this research who argue against sex discrimination as contributing to women's lack of representation in professorship (2011; 2015). Instead, they argue that recent revolutions such as blind reviews in journals have lessened the knowledge and influence of scholar gender in article publication and grant funding, both of which are key indicators of scholarly productivity and success (2011). Instead, the authors point to structural variables that are correlated (but not causally related) to gender (e.g., resources, teaching-heavy or research-heavy faculty positions). Summarizing, Ceci and Williams argue that the most salient contributors to women's underrepresentation are women's choices, whether free or constrained by biology/society. They argue that these choices are more likely to lead to positions with fewer resources, and thus, contribute to gendered outcomes in professorships.

Similarly, peoples' interests are related to the choices they make, including career choices. For example, a person's vocational interests or "the expression of personality in work, hobbies, recreational activities, and preferences" (p. 3), are fundamental to the career development process (Holland, 1966). In other words, people seek out those acts that they find interesting, and women and men might differ in their vocational interests. Later, Prediger (1982) simplified Holland's model (1966) with a dichotomous data/ideas and things/people dimension to explain the link between people's interests and occupations. Then in 2009, Su, Rounds, and Armstrong presented meta-analytic results in overwhelming support of Prediger's (1982) dimension, with especially large effects for the things/people dimension.

Even more recently, research building on this idea of gendered preferences and choices found that women do not have different preferences or make alternate choices as men,

⁵Alternatively, for a demand-side, social roles explanation of the origins of sex differences in social behavior, see Eagly and Wood (1999).

but they do have *more* interests or alternatives than men. Wang, Eccles, and Kenny (2013) examined a large sample of American youth with high verbal and math ability, first as high school seniors and then again 15 years later. The authors found that of youth with high math skills *and* high verbal skills, women were more likely than men to choose non-STEM careers. Dovetailing with these results is research that examined large, diverse samples, and found a profound, consistent gender gap in the core life goals as well as the number of goals that men and women reported (Gino, Wilmoth, & Brooks, 2015). That is, women reported *more* life goals than men with less emphasis on power. So men and women's interests may not differ as much qualitatively, but quantitatively, which predicts life goals and occupations.

Human Capital Theory. The Human Capital model logically follows the choice arguments. According to Human Capital Theory, one's incentive to invest in education and job-related training is directly proportional to the time one expects to work over his or her lifetime (Polachek, 2004). In the context of gender and employment, for example, Human Capital Theory would explain women's (and men's) work effort, performance, and/or pay via the choices individuals make in allocating investments of time and effort to professional and family roles (Lobel & St. Clair, 1992). For example, some economists have (controversially) proposed that women's unpaid labor invested in childrearing and household tasks is time- and effort-intensive; thus, women compensate with less demanding employment (Becker, 1985).

Similarly, social capital can be understood as a means to predict returns from human capital. For example, Becker (1975) argues that a man earns his CEO position because of his human capital, namely, he is smarter and/or more educated than his peers. Although certainly important for success, Burt (1998) argues that human capital without social capital is worthless, and social capital depends on employee gender. For example, there are strong and consistent gender differences in returns on social capital, especially for new employees. For newcomers, social networks are key means to achieve legitimacy in traditionally male-dominated organizations and positions (Burt, 1998). These newcomers initially borrow

legitimacy from their superiors, but when they are promoted, this legitimacy becomes their own. However, we know that women are less likely to be promoted than men (Cuddy, et al. 2004; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008; Koch et al., 2015). Thus, this success constraint results in a legitimacy problem for women (Burt, 1998), which is unrelated to their human capital, and impairs their rates of promotion and professional success. Summarizing, women compensate for their (actual or expected) unpaid labor with less demanding jobs, potentially with fewer opportunities for advancement. But in addition to having comparatively less human capital than men, women also benefit less from social capital; clearly barriers to career success.

Critical Response to Supply-Side Explanations

The gender differences model proposes that biological dissimilarities in ability explain the lack of women in leadership or masculine fields (i.e., STEM). According to the data, however, notable differences between men and women are few. Indeed, there are truly more gender similarities than differences (Hyde, 2005; Hyde, 2014; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Vecchio, 2002) with the vast majority of gender differences to be expected from societal stereotypes (i.e., 78%) actually non-existent or very small in magnitude (Hyde, 2005; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Thus, claims of gender differences are overinflated and cannot provide a consistent or meaningful explanation for the pervasive and persistent gender gap.

Choice and interests theories propose that women choose to stay at home with children and/or to work in less powerful or prestigious positions because of their personal preferences or desires, which differ from men's preferences or desires. However, as previously described, meta-analytic evidence indicates only small and sparse gender differences in abilities (Hyde, 2005; Hyde, 2014; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974), with the exception of women being more interested in people (Su, Rounds, & Armstrong, 2009). Second, the authors fail to address the wealth of large-scale and experimental research that has documented gender effects in evaluation and hiring (e.g., see Heilman, 2012; Koch et al., 2015), sizeable differences that are found across academic disciplines even before beginning

doctoral studies (Milkman, Akinola, & Chugh, 2012; 2015; Moss-Racusin et al., 2014). Third, the authors only casually mention socialization and constrained choices. However, people regularly confront multitudes of gendered messages from family, friends, educators, coworkers, and media (Eccles, Jacobs, & Harold, 1990; Lytton & Romney, 1991; Witt, 2000). Thus, social influences are not minor, consistently transmitted, compelling everyday choices.

There are additional economic issues that surely influence women's choices to work or stay at home, the most notable is perhaps the gender pay gap. In 2015, the global average of annual earnings by gender was 21,000 for men, but only 11,000 for women (WEF, 2015). According to this measure of gender disparity, society is regressing, as we have doubled the global gap in annual earnings in only a decade (WEF, 2015). In light of this information, paired with the high price and rare availability of childcare (see Feierabend & Staffelbach, 2014), it seems to be a rational choice for women to leave the workplace to raise children instead of men. Indeed, women are paid only 70-80 Rappen for every Franc that men earn, 40% of which is unexplainable (i.e., due to discrimination; FSO, 2016). Thus, counter to much of the gender differences research that explains away the significant gender bias in earnings with part-time work⁶ or employment breaks, there remains a sizeable, unexplained gap in earnings after these factors are controlled (FSO, 2016). This discrepancy in reward allocation is also consistently documented in experiments for equally qualified men and women (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012). Thus, working women are valued less than working men, which likely contributes to women's and families' career decisions in the case of childbirth.

Theories of human capital (Becker, 1975) and social capital (Burt, 1998) argue that women pursue less education, seek out lower status and lower pay positions compared to men due to their intentions to bear children in the future. This is ostensibly because women will stay at home to take care of the family in the case of childbirth. Even if remaining in the workplace, however, women do not reap the same professional returns as men from their

⁶In Switzerland, a total of 61% of mothers work part-time, but only 7.6% of fathers (O'Dea, 2012).

education, ability, and connections as men. First, although the family wage gap should be closing because more women and mothers are employed than ever before (FSO, 2015c), this statistic has actually doubled in the last decade. Second, scholars have shown a lack of evidence that women's plans for intermittent employment make women's choice of traditionally female occupations rational in an economic sense (e.g., England, 1982). In other words, there is little evidence that women choose certain occupations because they intend to minimize costs from childbirth and childrearing. Instead, there is more recent and growing evidence that women's investments in human and social capital simply produce less success than men's (see Hoobler, Lemmon, & Wayne, 2014). Indeed, executive and professorial networks may be difficult for women to access given that men hold the majority of these positions (traditionally and statistically; Catalyst, 2012; 2013; 2015; LERU, 2012), producing homophily and resistance to female "outsiders" (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Finally, the gender and family gaps persist even after controlling for relevant human capital characteristics (e.g., education, employment breaks, demographics; FSO, 2016).

In summary, I identified several, theoretically- and empirically-based arguments and inconsistencies in the theories detailed here as sole explanations for the gender gap in leadership or professorships. Perhaps the principal flawed assumption across these supply-side theories is that women's decisions about professional or private/family pursuits are endogenous, or inherent in women themselves. Thus, I proceed to the demand-side explanations, on which this dissertation focuses and this research is primarily based, to show why women's decisions are also exogenous, that is, influenced by external forces.

Demand-Side Explanations

In this section, I describe several management, economic, sociological, and psychological theories pertaining to demand-side processes, namely, those factors and processes influencing others' employment-related perceptions, decisions, or behaviors towards women. When possible, I proceed in chronological order, from older theory and

findings to the most contemporary. As I discuss demand-side biases in great detail in Chapters 3-5, I only briefly review it here.

Bias and Stereotypes. Madeline Heilman and Alice Eagly are two of the key proponents of bias and stereotype theories to explain the scarcity of women in leadership positions. Stereotypes can be defined as “generalizations about groups that are applied to individual group members simply because they belong to that group,” with gender stereotypes pertaining to the attributes of women and men (Heilman, 2001, p. 141). Heilman’s lack of fit theory (1983), argues that gender stereotypes produce biased judgments and decisions that impede women’s advancement in the workplace through two key pathways: descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes. Descriptive, feminine stereotypes of what women *are* like (i.e., warm and communal) do not match stereotypes of professionals or leaders, which are typically masculine (i.e., competent and agentic). This creates a perception of poor fit and lowered performance expectations in selection and promotion decisions. If women do achieve professional or leadership roles, disapproval and social penalties ensue due to the perceived lack of fit between women’s current roles and the prescriptive, feminine stereotypes of what women *should* be like. A wealth of (mostly) experimental evidence still supports the lack of fit theory’s core claims (see Heilman, 2001; 2012).

Similarly, Eagly (1987) explains the lack of female leaders through social roles, which can be defined as “socially shared expectations that apply to persons who occupy a certain social position or are members of a particular social category” (Eagly & Karau, 2002, p. 574). Gender roles then are those beliefs about the attributes of women and men (e.g., communality/warmth and agency/competence, respectively) that follow from historical or traditional sex-typical roles of men as breadwinners and women as homemakers (Eagly, 1987). But gender role beliefs are problematic for women in leadership for two main reasons. First, a normative component means that people believe the qualities or behaviors of women and men are also desirable for women and men. Secondly, people generally assume

correspondence between people's actions and inner dispositions. Thus, the gender roles and social roles are incongruous for women and leaders, resulting in women being viewed as less qualified and less effective leaders than men (Eagly & Karau, 2002), which makes achieving leadership more difficult for women than for men.

Noticeable across the theories of lack of fit (Heilman, 1983), social role (Eagly, 1987) or role incongruity (Eagly & Karau, 2002) is that not all stereotypes of women are negative. For example, women are perceived as warmer than men, generally eliciting the likeable housewife prototype as a default. This pattern of results has been documented for women both as a social group (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) and as individuals (Cuddy et al., 2004; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). Yet the stereotype content for women is ambivalent, that is, comprising both positive and negative content across the two primary domains of social cognition (i.e., competence and warmth; Fiske et al., 2002). For example, housewives or homemakers are typically viewed as high in warmth, but low in competence (Fiske et al., 2002). This impression is consistent with their gender role, but inconsistent with a professional role. In this case, low competence can be used to justify the in-group's treatment towards them (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Foschi, 2000). Alternatively, feminists and female professionals are typically viewed as low in warmth, but high in competence (Fiske et al., 2002). This impression is consistent with a professional role, but inconsistent with their gender role. In this case, low warmth can be used to justify the in-group's treatment toward them (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Foschi, 2000). Thus, even positive stereotypes of women are injurious to their achieving leadership positions given the stereotype content's ambivalence, which makes stereotypes especially difficult to detect or change, and allows for shifting evaluation standards (Fiske, 2012).

Finally, it is noteworthy that men also face a perceived lack of fit (Heilman, 1983) with female sex-typed occupations (Williams, 1992). However, these roles are typically low-

status and do not contribute to broader patterns of gender inequity, with men's chances of leadership customarily enhanced such cases (i.e., the "glass escalator").

Statistical Discrimination. As described above, stereotypes and expectations of women are incongruent with managerial stereotypes and expectations. But the negative employment consequences ensuing from these mismatched conceptions of what women are typically like can also be explained by statistical discrimination (Phelps, 1972). This phenomenon is derived from economic theory and refers to cases in which an individual employee is judged on the basis of the employer's perceptions of his or her demographic group (Konrad & Cannings, 1997). In other words, an employer will discriminate against a woman if the employer believes that women are generally less qualified, less reliable, or less long-term employees than men (Phelps, 1972). In cases of information asymmetry, for example, a potential employee's sex is taken as a proxy for relevant work-related information. That is, the employer does not know if the woman will stay long-term (and cannot ask by law), so the employee is judged based on her group membership rather than on her own characteristics or abilities (Aigner & Cain, 1977). This is consistent with employer responses to those in "mommy track" positions, whereby employers make fewer investments in women because they are considered higher risk (Konrad & Cannings, 1990).

Although increasingly uncommon in modern management research, statistical discrimination theory has primarily been used to explain discrimination in labor markets in response to the inability for statistical theories to explain labor market discrimination (i.e., unequal pay for equally abled workers) under conventional neoclassical assumptions (Aigner & Cain, 1977). It also echoes similar arguments from Heilman's lack of fit theory (1983) such that there is a lack of fit between expectations of women and expectations of professionals. And similarly to Biernat and Manis' (1984) shifting standards model of social stereotyping, this lack of fit results in different standards of evaluation for women and women such that

women must prove their competence and commitment, for example, while men could achieve the same perceived competence or commitment with less (Konrad & Cannings, 1990; 1997).

Summarizing the bias, stereotypes, and discrimination theories, men and women have distinctive patterns of managerial advancement because they belong to different social groups, with women's stereotypes being incongruent with professional stereotypes and leadership roles. Thus, when managers use employee sex as a proxy, this results in hiring, evaluation, and promotion biases to the detriment of women and their representation in leadership.

Importance of Family

Finally, family is a key concept to consider when discussing the scarcity of women in leadership and professorships for three central theoretical reasons, namely, the amplification of gender stereotypes for women, the substitution of parental roles for gender roles, and the asymmetrical division of unpaid labor. First, lack of fit theory (Heilman, 1983) argues that parenthood heightens gender stereotypes and roles for women because it epitomizes feminine, warm characteristics. Thus, having children may be especially problematic for women and mothers (particularly in masculine jobs and professions), yet have little effect or even benefit men who become fathers (Heilman, 1983; 2001; 2012; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; 2008). Alternatively, gender role theory (Eagly, 1987) argues that parenthood may simply replace gender roles. In other words, there would not be an interactive effect of gender and parenthood for women, but a main effect of gender. According to either theoretical framework, however, mothers face at least as many challenges as women without children in achieving professorships and positions in the upper echelons.

In Switzerland as in most economically developed nations, mothers contribute about double the amount of time on childrearing and household as men (FSO, 2013). Yet this choice is constrained, as mothers often stay at home due to a mixture of social, economic, and organizational pressures. Childcare is typically unaffordable and/or unavailable (see Feierabend & Staffelbach, 2015). Societal stigma, including beliefs that working mothers are

bad for young children, reinforces stay-at-home-mothering (FSO, 2015b). Thus, for some women, leaving work to stay at home is a genuine choice. However, this choice is not an easy one, complicated by additional layers of stereotypes, social pressures, and backlash.

Furthermore, if employers' stereotypes or expectations of employee commitment or dependability change with parenthood (King, 2008), then this would also influence employers' decisions. Empirical evidence supports this proposition, such that the pay and promotion gaps for women compared to men further widen for mothers, notwithstanding equal qualifications and experience, and after controlling for other relevant variables (Baker & Milligan, 2008; Berger & Waldfogel, 2004; Cuddy et al., 2004; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008; Waldfogel, 1998). Yet changes in family structure may also influence women's decisions. Gender differences proponents such as Larry Summers surmised that women with young children are simply unwilling or unable to put in the long workweeks necessary to succeed (Hemel, 2005). Sheryl Sandberg, a modern figurehead for gender equality in leadership and COO of Facebook, also contends a human capital stance that women withdraw from professional duties even in mere anticipation of children (Sandberg, 2013).

Summarizing, family changes such as becoming a parent have historically generated additional challenges for women striving to get ahead. Supply-side theories suggest women are incapable or unwilling to balance challenging work and growing family life, which might motivate women to withdrawal from professional activities as preemptive or reactive measures. Alternatively, demand-side theories argue that motherhood might polarize or replace women's gender roles and stereotypes, accentuating their femininity, and creating additional incongruity with leadership prototypes or roles.

In the subsequent chapter, I describe how current policy conditions and fertility rates may have shaped the current employment experience for women—especially at the intersection of parenthood—making these historically consistent findings somewhat outdated and insufficient to explain modern day management practices (e.g., hiring). In response, I propose

and outline a new theoretical framework of risk assessment in personnel selected based on “maybe baby” expectations.

Summary & Forecast of Remaining Chapters

In this chapter, I outlined a brief history of women in leadership and professorship positions, showing a persistent, pervasive, and stagnant scarcity of female academics and executives. To explain this gender gap, I presented multiple theories of the supply- and demand-side processes contributing to women’s or gatekeepers’ beliefs, decisions, attitudes, and behaviors, which contribute to women’s employment and career outcomes. Finally, I outlined key family factors as potential moderators of this gender effect. In the next sections, I present my original research examining supply- and demand-side perspectives at the intersection of gender and parenthood (Chapters 3-4) or at the intersection of leaders and teams (Chapter 5).

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Chapter 3

The Maybe Baby Effect at the Intersection of Gender & Parenthood:

A Series of Experiments with Hiring Managers⁷

Abstract

Women face numerous employment disadvantages relative to men, however, mothers may face even greater employment obstacles. We outline a third group, namely, young women who do not yet have children but are expected to soon become mothers. We propose that the likelihood of having a child in the near future increases employers' perceptions of risk associated with hiring young women. We experimentally test this theoretical proposition in three samples of gatekeepers. We find (1) an increase in the risk associated with hiring young women who are believed to desire children, (2) the risk is higher for young childless women than for young childless men, and (3) the risk associated with expected future dependability and career interruptions—but not family friendly program use—accounts for the relation between applicant gender and hiring risk. Implications for theory and practice, especially in contexts with asymmetrical parental leave, are discussed.

⁷This chapter is based on a paper authored by Jamie Lee Gloor, coauthored by Tyler Okimoto (University of Queensland). This chapter is based on a paper that was accepted for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management in Vancouver, Canada, in August 2015. A previous version was presented at the Society for Australian Social Psychologists in Newcastle, Australia, in April 2015. Financial support for this paper was awarded to the first author with a Swiss National Science Foundation doc.mobility grant.

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Chapter 4

The Maybe Baby Effect at the Intersection of Gender & Parenthood: Time-Lagged Field Research & Experiment with Early Career Employees⁸

Abstract

Gender stereotypes are heightened during the early career phase due to expectations of impending childbearing and organizational costs, which asymmetrically influence women compared to men (i.e., the “maybe baby” effect). The present research aims to document this “maybe baby” effect in the everyday employment experiences of early career childless women. We suggest that coworkers view childless women as higher risk and cost than men, and thus treat childless women with incivility (i.e., subtle disrespect), which negatively affects women’s careers. In a time-lagged survey study ($N = 413$), we examined target’s experiences of workplace incivility and career outcomes (i.e., career identity salience, career satisfaction, and career withdrawal cognitions) one year later. As expected, women experience more incivility than men, but only for childless employees. Being a woman is not directly associated with career outcomes, but is indirectly linked via incivility for childless employees. Converging experimental results from the instigators’ perspective ($N = 476$) indicate that women receive less civility (i.e., politeness) than men, especially childless targets. Discussion focuses on the importance of examining gender *with* parenthood for understanding modern workplace (mis)treatment and the gender gap in leadership and professorships.

⁸This chapter is based on a paper that was authored by Jamie Lee Gloor, coauthored by Professor Sandy Lim and Xinxin Li (National University of Singapore), and Anja Feierabend (University of Zurich). This chapter is based on a paper accepted for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the European Academy of Management in Paris, France, in June 2016. A previous version was accepted for inclusion in the “Incivility Incubator” at the Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management in Vancouver, Canada, in August 2015. An even earlier version was presented at the European Academy of Management doctoral colloquium in 2014 and was a finalist for the best paper award. Financial support for this paper was awarded to the first author with a Swiss National Science Foundation doc.mobility grant, as well as a grant awarded to the fourth author from the Swiss Federal Programme for Equal Opportunities.

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Chapter 5

Intervention to Restore Gender Equality in Leadership: A Randomized Field Experiment⁹

Abstract

Prototypicality can be benchmarked according to the leader (i.e., attributes that characterize “leaders”) or the group (i.e., attributes that characterize the follower group) and is a key determinant of leadership effectiveness. Given these benchmarking processes are often biased in favor of men and the persistent lack of women leaders, we examine if gendered group prototypes trump gendered leader prototypes. In a randomized field experiment, we manipulate leaders’ group prototypicality via group gender demography in 35 teams and examine followers’ ratings of leader prototypicality and behavior 3 months later (as a proxy for leadership effectiveness). As expected, leader gender predicts leader prototypicality and indirectly predicts leadership effectiveness via leader prototypicality, effects that are larger in male majority teams (i.e., 20% women) than in gender-balanced teams (i.e., 50% women). Our findings support a context-based approach to leadership and team construction as a method to “fix the game” for gender equity in leadership without backlash towards women leaders or detriment for men leaders.

⁹This chapter is based on a paper authored by Jamie Lee Gloor, with coauthors Manuela C. Morf and Professor Dr. Uschi Backes-Gellner. This chapter is based on a paper accepted for presentation at the Leadership Excellence and Gender Symposium at Purdue University in Indiana, U.S., in March 2016. A previous version was accepted for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management in Vancouver, Canada, in August 2015. An even earlier version of this chapter was presented at the Leadership, Diversity, & Inclusion Workshop at Copenhagen Business School in Copenhagen, Denmark in December 2014.

Chapter 6

Final Remarks¹⁰

Aristotle's (384-322) three types of wisdom: episteme, techné, & phronesis

In the previous chapters, I described the episteme (theory or the “why”) and the techné (production or the “how”), hence now is the time to discuss the phronesis (practical wisdom or the “what”). In the following, I first review the quality of evidence garnered from the research presented in this dissertation (Chapters 3-5). Then, I summarize the overarching theoretical and practical implications, including an evidence-based intervention plan to increase the proportion of women specifically in professorships positions. To close, I briefly review the takeaway messages and reaffirm the core goal of this dissertation.

Review & Critique of the Evidence

First and foremost, this dissertation is *not* comprised of cross-sectional data. Instead, it includes experimental intervention and randomized assignment to groups (Chapters 3-5) and time-lagged data collection as aligned with theoretical expectations (Chapter 4). In light of these design features, paired with the overwhelmingly supported hypotheses, I can claim directionality of effects based on more than theory alone.

Secondly, although the use of single-source data (as in Chapters 3-4) often raises concerns of common method bias (Podsakoff et al., 2003), common method bias cannot account for some types of interactions (see Siemsen et al., 2010). Indeed, I found significant, sizeable interactions in both Chapters 3 and 4. Furthermore, the key constructs I examined in these chapters are perceptual in nature, and thus, are best captured by self-report.

Third, I found sizeable effects across each of the studies in this dissertation (Cohen's *d* range = .25 to 1.04). These effects also replicated across studies (Chapters 3-5) and across

¹⁰This chapter is written exclusively and entirely by Jamie Lee Gloor.

outcomes of positive and negative valence (Chapter 4). A Cohen's d of .45, which is the approximate median effect size across studies, means that 67% of one group reported values above the mean of the other group (see Figure 6.1).¹¹

Finally, the participants examined in Chapters 3-4 were sampled from diverse groups of highly-skilled European, American, and Australian employees from multiple language-regions and organizations, bolstering the generalizability of our results. Yet, a related point and potential criticism of Chapter 5 might be its reliance on student samples. However, randomized field experiments are considered the “gold standard” in making causal claims (see Antonakis et al., 2010); such designs are also nearly impossible to conduct within companies given the organizational and ethical constraints. Hence, student samples have pronounced advantages in this case. Summarizing, in light of the experimental and/or time-lagged designs and the size and consistency of results, I can claim causality based on more than theory.

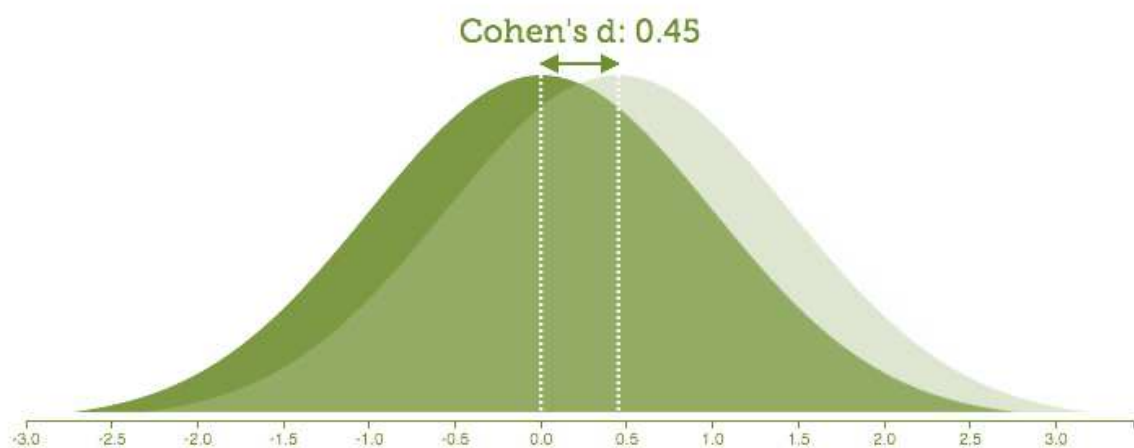


Figure 6.1. Visualization of the effect size; figure created with Magnusson's (2014)¹¹ tool

Theoretical Implications

An overarching theme of this dissertation is the importance of context. Of greatest concern for the glass ceiling is that maternal leave policies are changing the current employment context for women. Counterintuitively, it seems that policies that are intended to

¹¹Source: <http://Rpsychologist.com/d3/cohend/>

assist women's economic participation via mandated, paid maternity leave and job security might instead be increasing employer or coworker skepticism towards young women (Konrad & Cannings, 1990; 1997)—even those who do not yet have children. This contributes to existing patterns of gender inequality given that childless men do not face the same risk perceptions (Chapter 3), and these impending expectations of childbearing result in negative downstream consequences for young childless women (Chapter 4).

Future research could take advantage of naturally occurring instrumental variable designs such as federal policy changes to more clearly measure and assess the role of policy (see Antonakis et al., 2010). A pair of economists has examined this at the macro-level (i.e., Fernández-Kranz & Rodríguez-Planas, 2014; Thomas, 2015), yet the micro-level processes operating within decision-makers or in everyday experiences with coworkers remain unclear.

Furthermore, the team context is a key point of intervention for leadership equality (Chapter 5), as leaders are also members of their teams (Hogg, 2011; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003). Intervention at the team-level also circumvents the backlash and social stigma often experienced by women leaders who display masculine or agentic behaviors that are prototypical of leaders (e.g., Brescoll, 2012; Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008; Rudman, 1998; Rudman et al., 2012). This is because the leaders have not been altered, simply the context within which leaders are viewed.

This implication might also entail enormous time- and cost-savings for individuals and organizations that invest in leadership development programs. Some estimates suggest the annual spending reaches \$14 billion in the U.S. alone (Loew & O'Leonard, 2012). Yet despite their dear costs, leader-centric trainings and interventions are have no guarantee of transfer to employment settings (Baldwin & Ford, 1988; Burke & Day, 1986; Burke & Hutchins, 2007). Thus, this simple rearrangement of existing human resources (in most cases) can improve responses to leadership, saving leader time engaged in training and organizational expense.

For more specific, evidence-based theoretical implications directly derived from each research project, see the discussion sections of Chapters 3-5.

Practical Implications

Given the persistent, pervasive gender gap and snail's pace progress using the current methods (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2008; Guelpa, 2015), an overarching take away message is that something drastic has to change if we wish to actually see change in the proportions of women in the upper echelons. Although it seems logical, simply emphasizing excellence or meritocracy is insufficient and ineffective in restoring gender equality given that emphasizing performance produces the most bias against women (Castilla & Benard, 2010). Furthermore, although explicit sexism and bias have decreased in recent decades, this is no direct indication that actual sexism or bias have reduced; it simply makes modern sexism and discrimination all the more pernicious and undetectable (Cortina, 2008; Joshi et al., 2015; Swim et al., 1995). Thus, in the following, I detail evidence-based steps for making progress towards gender equality and equity.

Interventions in the area of gender often include implicit bias training. Although well-intended, such training may be insufficient or ineffective given the entrenched nature of gender stereotypes in daily life (see Moss-Racusin et al., 2014). Alternatively, quotas make significant, speedy progress in increasing female representation, but they may be too political to implement (Guelpa, 2015; Reuters, 2014). Quotas also tend to create repercussion towards the women hired under such schemes (Heilman, Block, & Stathatos, 1997). Thus, I suggest instead a powerful but subtle intervention derived from behavioral economics for swift and effective change without the political impediments or backlash: nudges.

“Nudges” are minimally invasive, low-cost choice architecture strategies derived from behavioral economics (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008). Nudges are conceptually nested somewhere between information and intervention. Specifically, decision-making nudges retain all possible choices while simply altering the framing or defaults in which these decisions are

made. Nudges diminish the influence of decision-making inefficiencies (e.g., hyperbolic discounting, short-sidedness, self-serving or gender biases) in support of long-term change. A common example is employers' automatic drafting of a portion of employees' paychecks directly into retirement savings. Employees can always opt-out, but a nudge such as this increases retirement savings exponentially, which is in employees' personal best interest as well as society's best interests in the long-term (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008).

Indeed, nudges reduce the potential influence of decision-making inefficiencies in favor of alternatives in the decision-makers' and/or the collective's best interest. Nudges have been shown to be as effective (if not more so) than instruction, legislation, and enforcement in domains such as retirement savings and organ donation (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008), including their recent demonstration as an effective tool to combat gender bias in hiring (Bohnet, Bazerman, & Van Geen, *in press*). Thus, guided by results from Chapters 3-5 of this dissertation, paired with my colleagues and my in-depth analysis of the a university personnel pipeline of assistant professorships (Gloor, Feierabend, & Mehr, 2015),¹² I recommend three specific nudges for implementation at different stages of the academic career (see Figure 6.2).

Phases of the Early Academic Career	Training/ Education (PhD, Post-Doc)	Attracting/ Recruitment (PhD, Post-Doc)	Hiring/ Selection (PhD, Post-Doc)	Retaining/ Promotion (Assistant Professor)
Proposed Project	Career Meetings (#1)	Parental Policy (#3)	Hiring/Selection Process (#2)	Parental Policy (#3)

Figure 6.2. Nudge interventions and corresponding career phase

The first nudge pertains to annual meetings. According to our own survey of early career academics in Switzerland, women report more career insecurity, less of a concrete career plan, lower chances of promotion to the next level, and lower chances of achieving an

¹²For more information, see <http://www.business.uzh.ch/de/professorships/hrm/research/thirdpartyfundedprojects/professorship.html>.

eventual professorship compared with men already at the Ph.D. and post-doc levels (Gloor, Feierabend, & Mehr, 2015). Furthermore, only 43.4% of these young scholars had annual meetings. Thus, I propose an annual meeting nudge by making a yearly meeting the default. That is, professors would have yearly meetings with each student and post-doc, including women, to discuss concrete career progress and goals (unless the young scholar opts out). This is also consistent with a recent Swiss study, which also recommended employee-specific approaches to career management (Gerber, Wittekind, Grote, & Staffelbach, 2009).

The second nudge targets the hiring and selection process. In our analysis of assistant professor applications, we found that in 54 of 96 cases, there were no women listed as one of the top three candidates for a position (Gloor, Feierabend, & Mehr, 2015). Perhaps logical, this statistic was the strongest predictor of hiring a woman for a professorship position. Experimental evidence dovetails with these findings, showing that discrimination occurs even with equally qualified women and men, in Switzerland, and at the assistant professor level (Study 2, Gloor & Okimoto, under review). Thus, I suggest two nudges.

The first nudge pertains to selection processes and is derived from Bohnet and colleagues (*in press*). It requires that women's applications be evaluated with men's instead of individually. This may be difficult to realize, however, given that search committees are composed of multiple members who must review many applications. The second nudge falls short of a gender quota, but it remains a specific goal for selection processes: at least one woman should be represented among the top three candidates for each position. Although potentially problematic for disciplines that may struggle to recruit qualified female candidates (e.g., engineering), our descriptive data indicate women are represented in the applicant pool for nearly every post. Thus, locating at least one qualified woman is feasible in most cases.

The third and final nudge targets parental policy at the organizational level. In our exit survey study of assistant professor positions (Gloor, Feierabend, & Mehr, 2015) as well as in our maybe baby experiments (Gloor & Okimoto, under review), we find that impending

childhood is ever-present in the minds of gatekeepers and coworkers, potentially placing an asymmetrical risk on childless women compared to men (Chapters 3-4). Thus, I propose a policy nudge such that it is standard not only for new mothers, but also new fathers to take parental leave. This change would come at no additional cost to the University of Zurich (for example), because women are already offered two weeks beyond federal requirements (i.e., 16 total weeks); this would be a simple reallocation of these extra weeks to fathers instead.

This may be tricky at the outset both politically and legally, perhaps especially female employees who might react aversely to the sense of having lost two weeks of leave, yet such an initiative is in line with best practices for gender equality and work-life initiatives (LERU, 2012). Indeed, this would be top-down, systematic, and transparent. Such a redistribution of leave, transforming maternal leave into parental leave would not eliminate hiring risk for potential mothers (Gloor & Okimoto, under review), but it offers a step in the right direction. As a default, it would also avoid potential barriers of organizational culture, for example, those that would discourage men from taking leave (e.g., Rudman & Mescher, 2013). After all, equality entails equal opportunity for women in the workplace *and* men in the household. For more specific, evidence-based practical implications directly derived from each research project, see the discussion sections of Chapters 3-5.

Future Research

The wealth of theory and empirical results detailed thus far pertain to women and mothers, gender and parental biases. However, intersectionality was originally a critical race theory (Crenshaw, 1989), and selective incivility theory was derived to explain modern discrimination towards multiple, devalued groups (e.g., racial minorities or older workers; Cortina, 2008; Cortina et al., 2013). Indeed, gender gaps in leadership, pay, and workplace harassment are even wider for racial minorities in the U.S. (Altonji & Blank, 1999; Berdahl & Moore, 2006). Although Switzerland does not share the same racial history as the U.S., a suitable comparison group might be immigrants or non-native citizens. Empirical findings

using a nationally representative Swiss sample support this idea (e.g., Krings et al., 2014). Thus, future research might benefit from examining the ideas presented in this dissertation in for other devalued social groups. For more specific suggestions for future research derived from each research project, see the discussion sections of Chapters 3-5.

Benefits to Society

Thus far, I have largely focused on benefits for women, teams, managers, and organizations; however, there are much broader implications of gender equality. Building on the discussion of parental policy within organizations, for example, there is also potential for change at the societal level. For example, leaders in this field offer parental leave available to mothers and fathers, oftentimes with special leave packages granted to mothers only if fathers also take leave (e.g., Norway and Sweden; Rønsen & Kitterød, 2015; Swedish Social Insurance Inspectorate, 2012). In Sweden for example, take-it-or-leave-it parental leave nearly doubled the number of fathers taking leave while simultaneously decreasing mothers' leave by 26 days (Swedish Social Insurance Inspectorate, 2012). A take-it-or-leave-it policy would be ideal for Switzerland, as it would likely reduce some of the “maybe baby” risk associated with young childless women (Chapter 3-4). Importantly, OECD economists have also recommended such a policy for Switzerland (Dutu, 2014). There is also public support for such policies in Switzerland, as both sexes overwhelmingly agree that men should also be entitled to paternity leave (Kelso, Cahn, & Miller, 2012). Thus, a take-it-or-leave-it parental leave policy has support and entails more parity than the current maternal-leave-only policy, also benefitting fathers and young children who could then spend more time together.

Progress towards gender parity in employment also engenders more efficient use of our labor supply as well as long-term economic benefits. Swiss women are as well educated as their male counterparts, yet the price paid for female labor falls below the comparable rates for men (Dutu, 2014). In Switzerland, approximately 84% of working-age adults are employed, but twice as many women than men work part-time positions (OECD, 2016).

Concurrently, there is also a projected, long-term labor shortage (see Dutu, 2014), a prognosis that was not ameliorated by recent legislation limiting the number of foreigners who can enter Switzerland.¹³ Thus, Swiss mothers and young women—those in whom the government has invested significant funds to educate—may be an untapped resource to avoid labor shortages and foster continued economic growth (OECD, 2004). Indeed, global gender parity represents a powerful potential contribution to the global economy, with a recent McKinsey & company (2015) report conservatively estimating that women’s more equitable economic participation could reap as much as \$12 trillion in annual GDP in only a decade.

Conclusions

In this dissertation, I presented converging evidence of a new form of modern workplace discrimination, drawing on multiple methods to assess responses from multiple actors. I outlined the “maybe baby” problem in context, namely, the blurring lines between mothers and childless women due to impending childbirth and future career interruption, which influences their hiring risk (Chapter 4) and results in downstream career consequences for childless women (Chapter 5). Additionally, I also proposed and tested a theory-based solution, namely, gender equality at the team-level to restore gender equity in responses to leaders (Chapter 6). In light of these findings, I proposed several specific implications for theory, practice, and future research so that the path to gender equality does not maintain its present snail’s pace of progress. After all, it is not a trade-off or just a “women’s issue”: by supporting women in their educational, employment, and economic endeavors, we all win.

¹³ For more information, see <http://www.masseneinwanderung.ch/>.

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