CHAPTER 2: APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT

2.1 Introduction

The study of WIM has basically dwelt with the question of problems faced by women entering managerial positions and the problems they face thereafter in their occupational careers as managers. Sociologists and management researchists have put forth their ideas on what factors influence the selection and careers of women managers. Based on interviews with managers, the researchist then 'tests' his/her hypothesis in order to be able to understand the relative importance of these factors. This has been the normal methodology followed in the WIM literature, although we will look at these studies critically in the course of this chapter.

Over the years, with the gradual accumulation of studies in this field, a wider, holistic picture of the issues on hand has emerged. Each individual study can be placed within this general framework, which will be presented at the beginning of this chapter. The individual studies that have been undertaken, justify the relative importance of some factors vis-a-vis others, based on earlier theories and empirical evidence. Though the general framework has emerged from these individual studies over several years, we will place the latter in the context of the general framework, so that we can see both, the forest and the tree.
The theoretical perspectives restrict the methodology adopted, and the latter biases the conclusions we may reach. A critical look at the methodologies being adopted for the study of WIM issues is important so that conclusions arrived at are 'weighed' appropriately when we wish to draw up policies that are to be effective in changing the situation of women managers.

2.2 Theoretical Approaches

Three approaches have been used in analysing problems of WIM. These are:

(i) the gender-centered or personality-centered approach
(ii) the structural perspective
(iii) the gender context or gender-organisation-system (GOS) approach.

The different theoretical contributions to the problems of WIM can be studied in the context of the above framework.

2.2.1 The gender-centered or personality-centered perspective:

This perspective essentially sees the reason for the low representation of women in management in factors that are internal to the women, i.e. in certain traits, attitudes, motivation patterns, etc. Perhaps the earliest exposition of this view was by Henning & Jardim (1976) in which they examine the proposal that a woman faces a problem, unlike men, that she may be considered unfit for a job, not because she is not seen as the right person for a particular job, but because she is a woman. "She is ..."
not the person for the job because she is a woman..." (ibid, pg. 71). This damages the self-confidence and self-ideal she hoped to develop thereby changing a woman's perception about herself and her image about herself “as a potentially successful executive is severely altered if not abandoned” (ibid, pg. 71).

The gender-centered perspective is based on the notion that biological or socialisation patterns lead to certain characteristics in a woman which are not conducive to the management profession. Differences arise between a man's and woman's attitudes, motivations, traits, etc. These gender differences arising from a woman's self-perception about herself and her image are what makes it difficult for women to be successful managers.

**FIGURE 2.1 : GENDER-CENTERED APPROACH**

![Diagram showing gender differences in women in management](image)

Some of the most important elements of gender differences that have been researched include:-

(a) personality traits and attitudes

(b) motivation to manage

(c) leadership
The approach is simplistic. It is assumed that some characteristics are prerequisite to make a successful manager. Women rank lower than men in the possession of these qualities arising from their biological differences and/or socialisation pattern in societies. What evidence do we have from the various studies undertaken the world over. Is there some justification for this belief?

(a) Personality traits and attitudes:-

Table 2.1 below shows what is regarded as necessary to make a promotable manager and what attributes are usually given to women as feminine traits:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Necessary for a Successful Manager</th>
<th>Traits Possessed by Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive</td>
<td>Submissive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forceful</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rational</td>
<td>Emotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitive</td>
<td>Sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-confident</td>
<td>Sensitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decisive</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cool</td>
<td>Irritable/Anxious</td>
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</table>

Reporting on studies done to measure personality differences between men and women arising from genetic or hormonal differences, Wainwright (1978) points out that "on fourteen out of sixteen personality factors there is a large overlap between the sexes on all aspects of personality" (pg. 30). Women were found to be more aggressive than men, but their aggressiveness was more
controlled. On the other hand, men were found to be more anxious than women (Wilson, 1966).

Based on studies done by the Human Engineering Laboratory, Johnson O'Connor Research Foundation, Inc., Durkin (1977) reports that accurate measurement of inherent aptitudes of men and women show that "there is no field which can, with absolute assurance, claim to be the exclusive domain of either sex ... if positions were based solely on aptitudes, men and women would be found in approximately equal numbers" (ibid, pg. 4).

These studies of physical differences make it clear that "the overlap between the sexes on almost all aspects of human behaviour is important because it underlies that it is our institutions that maintain them rather than our biology" (ibid, pg. 33).

The other reasons given for personality traits of men and women are the differences in socialisation of men and women during their childhood (Henning & Jardim, 1976), that boys and girls form different identities during adolescence (Chodrow, 1978) and the way boys and girls construct reality (Gilligan, 1982). These differences give rise to differential attitudes of men and women which affect a woman negatively in her managerial occupation.

However, in an in-depth study by Fagenson (1986) of women's orientations towards their careers, organisations, jobs and subordinates were examined with respect to organisational level. The study showed that the "person-centered approach received no
support. Women in upper-level corporate positions gave greater precedence to their careers, shared more of their leadership functions, had higher levels of job satisfaction, and had a greater sense of organisational commitment than lower level women” (ibid, pg. 93). This indicated that there was no qualities inherent about women. Women, like men, could have the necessary traits for being successful, and women who had such traits rose in their careers.

In another study by Ezell et al. (1982) of female managers in state public welfare organisations, it was found that “the variables of female personal characteristics and the work environment having little negative impact on either the initial movement of women into management or their promotion in the management hierarchy ... the findings fail to explain why few women occupy top-level management positions ... since the data revealed that women are believed to possess the necessary skills” (pg. 252).

In yet another study of the Status of Women in Canada, Armstrong (1989) concluded that “although the absence of women was often attributed to women’s attitudes, education and behaviour pattern, little evidence was produced to support these claims” (pg. 7).

Some studies of Asian women managers also show similar results. The Asian Institute of Management study found that only 37% of women felt that their own attitudes were a roadblock to their career development (see Table 1.12).
However, Indian studies stress the importance of women's attitudes. A study of women managers in the banking industry concludes that "it is the lack of motivation or commitment that is the major cause (for fewer women in senior managerial positions)" (Mhatre, 1978, pg. 3) and what is needed is that women "should be sufficiently motivated, assert themselves and become achievers" (ibid, pg. 9). Another study, also of women managers in the banking industry, states that "women employees will have to make a conscious and determined effort to overcome their deep-rooted fears and complexes which go with their upbringing" (ibid, pg. 9). Iyer (AIMA) also points out that "the barrier to growth of women in careers ... are women themselves" (ibid, pg. 3) and that they will have to "compete and compete well" (ibid, pg. 5) if they are to be successful.

Indian studies are not based on any statistical analysis, and hence the value of these opinions is rather limited. However, the more empirically sound Western studies like that of Henning & Jardim (1976) and Lenney (1977) have pointed out the low-level of self-confidence of women. Also, Horner (1972) found that women have a 'fear of success' which inhibits her ability to achieve. In these cases, the methodology must be questioned so that we can evaluate the importance of the gender-centered approach for policy.
We will look critically at the methodology used to determine the importance of personality-centered factors after our discussion of motivation of women and their leadership qualities.

(b) motivation to manage:

The gender-centered approach sees motivation of women managers towards management as a way towards self-actualisation as limited. Unlike men, women see management only as an occupation. However, in a study by Harlan & Weiss (1982), they found that this view of women managers' motivation is not an independent variable. In a company, where women constituted only 6% of the total management, motivation amongst women managers was low and so was their self-esteem. However, where women constituted 19% of the total management, there was no evidence of gender difference. The conclusion arrived by Harlan & Weiss (ibid) was that women lower their goals to conform to the organisational context.

(c) Leadership qualities:

Brown (1979) summarised three perspectives from which leadership has been studied, trait and style.

In the trait-leadership perspective, we have the following relationship between leadership and gender,

\[ \text{leadership} = f(\text{sex}) \]

i.e., leadership depends on a person's sex (biologically determined).
This perspective on leadership is similar to personality traits discussed above. In this approach, it is postulated that a successful leader must possess certain qualities. And women do not possess these qualities. Therefore, men make better leaders and managers.

Though it may seem that the above postulated model is simplistic, it has been more than widely accepted. Not only has this theory been responsible for causing a great deal of anxiety for women managers but has also been responsible for many inefficiencies amongst both male and female managers.

The trait approach emphasis three important attributes for a successful leader (Putnam & Heinan, 1976):-

- aggressiveness and dominance
- self-confidence and self-esteem
- emotional control and sound judgement

Women are seen as not possessing these essential attributes and are therefore perceived as being unsuitable for leadership positions (Bowman, Worthy and Greyser, 1965). Putnam & Heinan (1976) have, however, discussed the pitfalls of such an approach. Firstly, the studies supporting the trait approach have been based on men's views of leadership. Second, where women have been included, they have often been college students. Thirdly, there is no evidence to show that the above qualities of leadership qualities actually make go on to make a successful manager.
Bales (1951, 1953), in a study of male undergraduates, found two types of leaders, a task-oriented one and a social-emotional one. This study has also been used by some researchists as a gender difference, i.e. men are taken to be more task-oriented whereas women are taken to be more social-emotionally oriented (Heiss, 1962, Fallon & Hollander, 1976). Though Bales (1951) felt that a real leader is of the social-emotional type, studies have indicated otherwise. Eskelson & Wiley (1976) show that a task-oriented person is likely to emerge as a leader.

However, studies of homogeneous sex groups (Megargee, 1969 and Lockheed & Hall, 1976) have shown that women leaders have shown that they increase their task-oriented output, whereas in groups where men are present even at a low dominance level, the woman manager delegates instrumental or task-oriented actions to men. Korabik (1988) concludes that "women may be socialised to suppress their capacity for instrumental behaviour when they are in the company of men" (pg. 2.2).

The gender difference approach is founded "upon an inappropriate theoretical framework - one which makes the mistaken assumption of biopsychological equivalence, i.e. that biological sex is equivalent to psychological sex-role" (ibid, pg. 2.4). What is important then is the socialisation process that men and women undergo.
Moreover, as Bem (1974) has shown, sex-role orientation need not conform to biological sex, i.e. not all men are masculine and not all females are feminine. Rather, both men and women have both masculine and feminine attributes, and these can be more or less in a person irrespective of the sex.

Masculine traits are task-oriented (instrumental) ones and feminine traits are social-emotional (person-oriented or expressive). However, the sex-role approach implies that a male manager can be more feminine or a woman may be masculine.

Therefore, we have here:

\[ \text{Leadership} = f(\text{sex-role orientation}) \]

Moreover, research (McCall & Lombardo, 1983) has pointed out that masculine traits may impede long-term managerial effectiveness. Caroll (1984) has further shown that in many situations, feminine styles may lead to better outcomes. On the whole, "evidence suggests that both task- and person-skills are important to managerial effectiveness" (Korabik & Ayman, 1989, pg. 25) in matters concerned with equity of outcome (Bond & Vinacki, 1961) and negotiations (Forisha & Goldman, 1981).

A person exhibiting both masculine and feminine qualities has been referred to as 'androgynous'. Today, management is no longer viewed as a simple optimisation or decision making process. More and more management is being seen as a matter of interpersonal communications, accomplishing tasks "through build-
ing of relationships between boss and manager, manager and subordinates, and manager and peers" (Sargent, 1981). Personal and interpersonal dynamics thus becomes more important when management is looked in this way. The feminine leadership styles which were considered secondary may occupy a primary place in today's context.

Though the sex-role orientation model seems a more balanced conception of leadership, there is not much support in terms of the results obtained by many studies. Muldrow & Bayton (1979) found no relationship between sex-role orientation and effectiveness. Masculine, feminine and androgynous managers did not differ significantly in their accuracy in making decisions. Baril et al. (1989) found that androgynous managers were actually less effective when they were rated by their seniors.

A Critique of the gender-centred approach:

The methodology used in the gender-centered approach, whether in relation to attitudes, motivation to manage or leadership has been to treat sex as the independent variable and behavioural, attitudinal and cognitive measures as the dependent variables (Fagenson, 1988).

Studies in a laboratory situation have shown gender differences, whereas those in the field have not. Riger & Galligan (1980, pg. 904) have noted that laboratory based studies are "artificial, short-term nature, ..., heighten the salience of ascribed or
visible permanent roles". This means that expected results could in fact be elicited.

Ragenson (1988) also points out that the gender-centered approach, by ignoring organisational situations, may "fail to measure factors in the situation that may covary with the gender variable". An example of this problem would be when a women manager is non-aggressive (or person-oriented) but in a situation which would get the best possible result like in a situation of negotiation. The gender-centered perspective would conclude that the women manager, being non-aggressive, is a non-leader (since leadership implies aggressiveness).

Lastly, we have seen that the gender difference model fails to differentiate between biological sex and sex-role orientation arising from socialisation patterns. Only the leadership style approach has to an extent overcome this limitation of the gender-centered approach.

The sex based trait approach, although unsubstantiated by empirical evidence, continues to be the dominant view amongst managers which has affected not only women managers but also the effectiveness of management actions. The gender-centered approach implies that the glass-ceiling reached by women in their occupational careers in management are on account of certain traits they possess which are determined by their sex (biologically) and which are not appropriate to being a successful manager. The
limitation of this view has been seen. However, the policy implications emerging from such a view have had even more negative effects.

It is recommended that women managers become assertive, more logical, less sensitive and emotional, etc. This has reinforced the internalisation of oppression by women which then become internal barriers to their leadership. This internalised oppression is the way women perceive themselves and other women (Brennan, 1988). Moreover, when women attempt to break these barriers by being more 'masculine' in their actions they are referred to as 'unfeminine, 'bitches' or 'Dragon Lady' (Korabik & Ayman, 1989, pg. 29). This is referred to as a 'double bind' faced by woman managers - a Catch 22 situation.

The gender-centered approach by focusing on sex-linked traits "may result in inappropriate leadership behaviour by women in light of a particular situation" (Putnam & Heinam, 1976, pg. 328). Bem (1974) has pointed this may be true for both men and women.

Preconceptions based on the trait or gender-centered approach has and could further lead to the "demise of many potentially competent female managers" (Putnam & Heinam, 1976, pg. 329) in terms of the selection of new women managers and inappropriate and ineffective managerial actions by women managers.
Although the sex-role orientation model partly overcomes the limitations of the trait approach by giving importance to both masculine and feminine attributes, it is important to keep in mind that it is not important to be androgynous to perform effectively. If this was the case then the implications of both the trait approach and leadership style model based on sex-role orientation would be the same—that women managers must acquire traits that they lack. Rather, the emphasis must be on the situation and how a manager must be able to solve the problem. Irrespective of sex, the manager should be in a position to use or take the most appropriate and effective action, whether it is task-oriented and/or person-oriented.

The idea of the androgynous manager has put the responsibility of developing good and effective managers on the organisation rather than the individual woman manager. The implications for the organisation will be seen in our next section.

All in all, the entire gender-centered approach does not allow for any kind of generalisation since many important factors are not taken into consideration. As Gregory (1988, pg. 1.5) concludes, "significant gender differences do not exist among managers when age, education, and level of the organisation are adjusted for". The results of the gender-centered perspective are at best "tentative" (Fagenson, 1988, pg. 1.32) and the policy implications from this approach should be viewed with caution.
Some of the limitations of this approach will be better understood while discussing the organisation-centered approach (below).

2.2.2 The structuralist approach:

This approach consists of two perspectives,

(a) the situation-centered perspective, and

(b) the organisation-centered or organisation-structure perspective.

(a) The situation-centered perspective:-

This perspective considers that situations faced by women managers can act as a structural barrier. The most common situational barriers is in the case of 'leadership'. The situational perspective "focuses on what behaviour a manager needs to perform to be effective and attempts to determine what behaviour patterns will work in a given environment" (Putnam & Heinan, 1976, pg. 329). Therefore, the situation determines what work-paths can be followed which in turn determines the behaviour of the manager.

Watson (1988) gives an example of the situational approach. Here the nature of the job requires that changes be enacted which are unpopular. In such situations, if a manager forces his subordinates to carry out the changes s/he may undermine her/his relationship with them. On the other hand, if s/he does not enact the changes, s/he may be considered as ineffective by the management.
Therefore, a barrier faced by women must be understood after considering the situations that they face in their work. Traits are hence an inappropriate way of evaluating women managers. The behaviour of a manager is to be seen in a situation and cannot be understood independently of this situation.

The situation can also impose a sex-role constraint on the women. This is evidenced by studies by Lockheed & Hall (1976) and Eskilson & Wiley (1976) who showed that there is no difference in the number of task-oriented acts produced by men and women in same sex groups - indicating that women may be suppressing their capacity for masculine actions in the company of men. Studies also show that persons in performing similar functions do not differ in attitudes, behaviour or motivation. Bartol & Butterfield (1976) and Kenwick & Tosi (1976) have shown that sex differences disappear when type of occupation and level in organisation are controlled.

(b) The organisation-structural perspective:

The most notable exponents of this approach is Kanter (1977) and Riger & Galligan, (1980). According to this approach it is not factors internal to a woman that determine or inhibit a woman managerial career path, but the rather the structure of the organisation which can not only shape but also determine a woman's management career.
Opportunity refers to advancement possibilities originating from the present job. Present position then can determine one's future position. The pyramidal structure of an organisation implies that there are fewer number of positions at higher levels, therefore, all managers cannot rise together in an organisation. Only some will do so. The question then arises as to which jobs provide greater opportunity to rise. These are questions that one would have to answer when 'opportunity' has to be measured.

Power has been defined as "the capacity to mobilize resources, human or material" (Kanter, 1977, pg. 61). According to Johnson (1978), power is exercised through force, authority, strength, control or influence (ibid, pg. 193). This view gives greater emphasis on a person's ability. The structuralists position is that power is to be seen in organisational terms as an "issue of systemic connections" and not as an attribute of a person. Hence, access to systems of networking determine the power of a position. Power is a subtle concept and is not merely hierarchical position or number of subordinates. Kanter (ibid, pg. 62) gives 'clout' as one way to measure power, for example, the ability of a person to get a expenditures beyond the budget allowed is an indicator of 'clout'.

Within an organisation, there are positions which provide unequal degrees of opportunity and power. Positions which give greater access to higher levels of opportunity and power, affect a per-
sons aspirations, commitment to work, behaviour and responses which in turn affect actual future mobility in the organisation. Those who are part of the cycle of power are "able to empower themselves through political alliances and information" (Mainiero, 1986, pg. 633), whereas those who are caught in the cycle of powerlessness "remain relegated to the bottom of the organisation, performing menial, unimportant, and demotivating work" (ibid, pg. 633).

Hence, what we have in the organisation-structuralist approach is:-

$$\text{Behaviour/Attitudes} = f(\text{Power/Opportunity Structure of the Organisation})$$

Kanter (1977), in addition to power and opportunity structures, has also proposed that the 'numerical' distribution of women in positions of power and opportunity has had an adverse effect on women managers. In a seminal paper, she found that if a management cadre is at least 85% men, then women in the group are 'tokens'. This 'token' group represents 'women' (as a category) who are then subjected to stereotypes by the dominant group (men).

Mainiero (1986) has attempted to reconcile the gender differences approach and the organisation-structure approach. The shortcoming of the organisation-structure approach is that it takes the person and the organisation as independent. This was also done by the person-centered researchists. Bowers (1973, pg. 3) has
argued that "situations are as much a function of the person as the person's behaviour is a function of the situation". This led Mainiero (1986) to pose the question "despite structural barriers, do differences exist in the way in which men and women exercise influence?" (ibid, pg. 634). Based on a study of 98 participants from 2 companies, Mainiero found that individuals in powerless jobs are more likely to give up than individuals in more powerful jobs. However, women in powerless jobs give up more easily than men suggesting that women may be contributing to their "own powerlessness by the disproportionate use of this strategy" (ibid, pg. 648). However, women in more powerful jobs discovered alternate sources of information to empower themselves when dependent. This evidenced Kanter's (1977) notion of spiralling nature of power and powerlessness.

Schneider (1983) also argues that the organisation cannot be separated from the individual because people tend to locate themselves in environments in which they are comfortable. For example, women in less powerful and opportune positions maybe selecting themselves into these positions.

Therefore it seems that neither of the above approaches is sufficient. Rather it seems that the person nor the organisation/situation are independent. This has given rise to an alternative framework, the GOS approach discussed in the next section.
Before studying the GOS approach, the organisation-structure approach has enabled us to study many interesting issues arising from gender stereotyping that women managers face today. Stereotyping can also be studied from the gender-centered approach.

The negative effects of gender stereotyping will be studied in the section entitled ISSUES (below).

Meanwhile, the organisation-centered approach has given rise to two important issues in an organisation that have continue to affect women’s careers in management. These are:-

(1) mentoring, and
(2) networking

(1) Mentoring:-

There is no single accepted definition of the term mentor. Clutterbuck (1986) has defined mentoring as “development of apprenticeship involving the passing of (management) skills from experienced to more junior employees” (ibid, pg. 13). Others, rather than defining mentors, have given more functional definitions of mentors (Levinson, 1978). Mentors to him means “teacher, advisor or sponsor”. Kanter (1977), however, does not agree that mentors are sponsors (pg. 67). Mentoring is also described as a personal though informal relationship which moulds the career of the younger people (protege).
Following Kram (1983) we can summarize the two most important functions of a mentor:-

- career functions

- sociopsychological functions

Career functions provided by the mentor may provide or enhance what formal training programs may miss. The protege also benefits from the mentor as role-model, learning the management process and getting information on the politics of the organisation and how best to run the business, career advice, work assignments, etc. Zaleznik (1977) in his study found mentors to be crucial in the development of leaders (as opposed to managers). The sociopsychological function of the mentor is to give the protege greater self-confidence and a sense of value, competence, identity (Levinson, 1979) and friendship.

Clutterbuck (1986, pg. 13) also lists the benefits that accrue to the mentor:-

- satisfaction and a sense of purpose and pride

- personal development

- peer recognition

- 'robot arms'

- advancement by grooming successors

Kanter (1977) postulated that mentoring may give more recognition and therefore greater access to positions of power and opportunity.
There are also benefits to the company:-
- motivation and enhanced efficiency (Clutterbuck, ibid, pg. 13)
- avoiding shortages and vacuum of personnel in rapidly growing organisation (Burke & McKeen, 1988, pg. 2.63).

Therefore, mentoring provides benefits to the protege, the mentor as well as the organisation.

In a study by Roche (1979) it was found that the most essential quality of a mentor was his willingness to share knowledge and understanding. An organisation must be able to evaluate mentoring abilities in a person and also be encourage mentoring within the organisation. The Harvard Business Review gives an illustration of the Jewel Company which formalised and institutionalised successfully the mentoring process. Kram (1986) points out that the organisation must facilitate the appearance of the mentoring processes. A company's organisational structure is the determining factor in the development of mentors and proteges.

Many studies have shown the importance of mentors in the making of successful managers (Stumpf & London, 1981, Roche, 1979, Levinson, 1978 and Zaleznik, 1977). Mentoring becomes an even more important and complicated issue in the context of women in management. In a study of 76 top executives in the U.S., Morrison et al (1985) reported that 100% of those who reached the top had help from above. In the case of men this was only 55% (Morrison et al, 1987). Women who failed to reach the top saw lack of mentors as an important determining factor.
Nelson & Quick (1985) have postulated that a mentor plays an important role in a woman's management career by moderating stress in a woman's life by increasing self-confidence and suggesting ways to deal with stress. Although mentoring has been seen to be more important for women managers, there is some evidence that mentor relationships "are harder to manage and provide a narrower range of benefits for women" (Morrison & Glinow, 1990, pg. 203). The most important problems arise in cross-gender mentoring. Noe (1988) has listed six potential barriers in establishing cross-gender mentoring (see Burke and McKeen, 1988, pg. 2.71-73):-

- Lack of access to information networks, i.e. how to go about in establishing links with mentors,
- Tokenism, i.e. visibility may make them sensitive to failure and success may be seen as preferential treatment,
- Stereotypes and attributions, i.e. gender-centered perceptions about women may exclude women from becoming proteges,
- Socialisation characteristics, i.e. the sex-role differentiation based conceptions of women may have the same effects as above,
- Reliance of ineffective power bases by women, i.e. their use of expressive or person-oriented tactics are seen as ineffective,
- Norms regarding cross-gender relationships, i.e. the sexual innuendos discussed by Kram (1983) and Thomas (1986). Women also face sexual tensions, spouse misunderstanding and gossip while interacting with male mentors.
Hardesty & Jacobs (1987) also caution against women becoming excessively dependent on their male mentors. This can further lead to emotional and physical relationships (Clawson & Kram, 1984) causing "guilt, shame, ..., divorce, ..." (ibid, pg. 22). Thomas & Alderfer (1989) also point out that women may need more than one mentor - men for various reasons in their activities and women mentors for their sociopsychological roles.

It has been recommended that women have group-mentors rather than single or true mentors. However, a study by Riley & Wrench (1985) showed that career success and satisfaction were greater in the case of women managers with true mentors. Another suggestion made by Kram & Isabella (1985) and Noe (1988) is for women to have peer relationships in the organisation. However, given the importance of mentoring and the particular problems faced by women managers, it seems that the responsibility lies with the organisation to set up well planned programmes to teach the teaching process to senior women managers who can in turn be mentors to the younger women managers. This education may have to start at the business schools if the status quo has to be broken (Burke & McKeen, 1988, pg. 2.78).

As Bowen (1986) has shown in his study, cross-gender mentoring that the most productive mentoring functions occur after the initial attraction of identification has mellowed. Male mentors
can provide at least as much psychosocial for female proteges which are invaluable. This substantiates the claim that a male mentor is superior in integrating a woman's family roles and femininity with her professional role.

Mentoring needs a supportive organisational structure and can either act as a barrier or be conducive in a woman manager's career path.

(2) Networking

Kanter (1977, pg. 63) identified two ways in which power can be accumulated in an organisation:

- formal position attributes (job characteristics),
- informal network connections (alliances throughout the organisation)

The first works essentially through formal or written rules, regulations or policies of the organisation. The latter, the informal 'network' is not only an important factor in the accumulation of power, but can determine a person access to positions of opportunity and in turn a manager's career path in an organisation.

Networking takes place through cliques and grapevine communications, both inside and outside the organisation. Networking outside the organisation is essential to find all kinds of business opportunities - jobs, customers, equipment, supplies, etc.
Within the organisation networking fills the gaps of the formal communication systems in a company. When one doesn’t know everything, the next best alternative is to know where to find it (Foy, 1983, pg. 243). Foy (1983, pg. 245) defines networking as "a collection of people, usually with a specified realm of shared interest, who tend to keep in touch to exchange informal information". The less formal the network is the more effective it is in providing information not available in the formal communication setup of the organisation.

Networking is therefore an important factor determining corporate success. It is also another area in which women in management face a barrier in their inability to be a part of the informal networks in an organisation. There are two reasons for this:—

- that men and women do not socialise with each other as equals (Forrest, 1989, pg. 63),
- sex-role socialisation processes in society have led to women taking longer in realising the power of networking.

Although the latter seems more likely to be contested empirically, the former is by and large accepted as the problem faced by women managers. Men and women interacting, especially in an
informal situation, takes on a sexual connotation. Networking takes place for men in working lunches, drinks after work, an occasional game where they are able to establish friends and allies (ibid, pg. 64). Women are at a disadvantage in interacting informally with men because "men are generally more comfortable with other men" (Schwatz, 1989, pg. 65-76).

The networking barrier has also cost women managers in terms of establishing suitable mentors. As pointed out by Kanter (1977), alliances with sponsors and mentors is a key factor in contributing to organisational power (ibid, pg. 66). Lack of access to informal systems makes it difficult for women to find mentors, because finding one "is often a matter of having the right style ... whether one plays the approved company sport, engages in the right amount of drinking ... " (Marshall, 1984).

Foy (1983, pg. 251) reports that in an exhaustive study of U.S. firms profit levels were correlated most with the companies having the best informal information networks. This makes it important that women become part and form their own networks and that organisations support these informal networks.
We can summarise our discussions of the organisation-centered perspective with the figure (2.2) below:

**FIGURE 2.2: THE ORGANISATION-CENTERED APPROACH**

![Diagram of the organisation-centered approach]

2.2.3 The **gender-context or gender-organisation-system** approach:

This approach was propounded by Fagenson & Horowitz (1985). It locates the factors inhibiting WIM in:

(a) gender differences,
(b) situations and organisational structure and context
(c) the larger economic, socio-cultural and institutional systems within which women and organisations function.

Each of the factors listed above are used in a wider context than the earlier approaches discussed above. When we speak of gender differences in the GOS framework, we must think in terms of the behaviour of women being influenced not only by gender but also by the organisation's structure, culture, history and ideology.
(Martin et al, 1983). Moreover, women and the organisation are located in a wider reality which influences, and is influenced by, gender characteristics and organisations.

Organisational culture is has been discussed by Schein (1975). Its elements include myths and values which develop into assumptions that have worked well enough to be considered valid and are passed on to new members. It is the property of the "subconcious property of the group" (Franks, 1989, pg. 358) and gives continuity to the organisation. Culture affects the way in which people think of their organisations and the way the organisation treats them.

From Martin et al (1983) and Terborg (1981) we can say that the GOS approach is an interactive approach - in which the behaviour in organisations, and consequently the status of WIM, is a continuous and multidirectional interaction of feedback between gender or personalities, organisational structure and context, and the economic, socio-cultural and institutional enviroment in which the above former (gender and organisation) can be located (Fagenson, 1988).

The figure below illustrates this approach. It shows that the economic, socio-cultural and institutional enviornment influences, and is influenced by, both gender differences and the organisation (structure + context).
Another illustration (Figure 2.4) of this approach shown below is that of Marshall (1984, pg. 214).

The most important factors for women in management are values/perspectives and organisational forms. The dialogue between society and the individual will lead to social change and personal development, thereby changing values/perspectives and organisational forms. The two way arrows also indicate that Marshall's approach is interactive. Women will have to form their own reference group, as a subgroup of society, and find new meaning in their relationships with other women, men and society.
in finding these new relationships they will also be able to change organisations and society.

An illustration of the GOS given by Fagenson (1988, pg. 1.33) will serve to make this approach in understanding WIM clearer:-

"If, for example, women in organisations are found to overemphasise the task at hand instead of seeing it as a stepping stone to further advancement, according to the GOS approach, women do this because: 1) they have not learned to set goals and plan ahead as men have and 2) because their limited promotion rates have caused them to focus on the task and 3) because, as women - a group not often taken seriously in society - little attention and effort has been devoted to helping them surge ahead in the organisation".

The methodology adopted in the GOS approach is:-

\[ \text{Attitudes, Behaviour} = f(\text{sex, organisation, social/institutional system}) \]

where the attitudes and behaviour are dependent on gender differences, sex-role socialisation, organisation structure, culture, etc and the social/institutional environment. As noted by Terborg (1981, pg. 573) "each of these variables should then be manipulated or measured to assess their contribution toward understanding a criterion of interest, or controlled statistically or experimentally". Ultimately, the GOS approach will be useful when taken as a "program of study rather than a single study" (Fagenson, 1988, pg. 1.32).
2.3 INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT:

There is little doubt that the major theoretical and empirical research on women in management has originated from the North American continent, in particular, U.S.A. and Canada, and will therefore be with contemporary problems faced in those countries. However, our theoretical approaches have been broad enough to accommodate variations in socio-cultural forms. Of course, differences in cultural forms, and different conceptions within a cultural form, can lead to different conclusions and policy implications. When we look at the issues of women managers across the globe, we also find certain commonalities which are also important in the light of emerging global economies.

The empirical studies which we have referred to earlier in this chapter have been from the U.S. and Canada. We now look at some of the studies from other countries, including S.E. Asia, Japan and West Germany. As stated above, the commonalities of issues and the generality of our theories, will give us the required confidence in approaching our own (Indian) situation with these "tools".

Adler (1986-87) points out that "male resistance to women executives is far stronger in Europe than in the U.S." (pg. 23) which is a reflection of the stronger socio-cultural factors in Europe. The unequal status of women in Europe is not a very old phenomenon. In Switzerland women were given voting rights in 1971. In Belgium women needed their husband's signature to open a bank
account. In Italy, women would lose their citizenship if they married a foreigner. In (West) Germany according to 1958 Equal Rights Law, "it is part of the function of the male to be the principal support of the family while the woman must see her primary task as being at its heart" (ibid, pg. 22).

In a study by Antal and Kresbach-Gnath (1986-87), it was found that only 1.5% of the leading positions in West German firms were held by women, with a more than average concentration in personnel and general administration. Among the main reasons found for the lack of progress in the qualitative status of West German women were:

- education and training for women has been relatively slow,
- the welfare of the 'family' has been the basis for trade union action,
- excess demand for labour in Germany has been usually met through immigrant labour rather than women entering the job market,
- women took charge of a number of senior positions after World War II (due to absence of men after the War) but this was seen only as a temporary phenomenon,
- West German women managers had few role models,
- traditional beliefs about the role of women continue to play an important role in West Germany.
Antal and Kresbach-Gnath (1986-7) place emphasis on the need for West German women to develop networking through traditional action groups to provide mutual support and information at the "national and international level" (pg. 148).

We have already referred to the study on S.E. Asian women managers by the Asian Institute of Management. The countries covered included the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Based on the belief that it was possible to assume a 'typical South Asian corporate woman manager' (ibid, pg. 6), the study found some interesting results:-

- only 53% of the women perceived any obstacles to her career,
- the most important factor detrimental to a woman managers career was related to the work situation,
- in Indonesia where religion is a stronger factor, the woman manager finds it difficult to resolve her personal conflict with respect to the role of a woman,
- almost 80% of the women did not think or accept that women are more emotional than men, that they have to behave like men or that they have to be more competent/work harder than men.
- the most important factors which determined a woman managers career were husbands support, support of boss/mentor, contacts made through work, and hard work.

However, the study found that 'success' is not always utopian and was often made in terms of "less than ideal family relation, miss the option to marry, ... have no children" (ibid, pg. 11).
Moreover women continue to be underrepresented in managerial positions - with less than 1% of senior managers being women - although women in the workforce have been growing rapidly. Adler (1986-87) concludes that the determining factor in these society is the "deep rooted opinions regarding the role of women at work, at home, and in the community" (pg. 16).

Although some 95% of Japanese women are high school graduates, only about 1.2% of Japanese companies had any woman above the rank of division manager. We summarize below the most important findings of a study undertaken by Steinhoof and Tanaka (1986-87) which highlight the issues facing women managers in Japan:-

- with the development of Japan in the 1960s, arose the ideal of the middle-class, and the nonworking woman as a status symbol,
- the Japanese permanent employment systems - from entry to retirement makes a woman unattractive since she must leave during marriage and motherhood,
- for the above reason, women are recruited in lower level positions with no intention of giving them promotions. In fact, management urges these women to marry a person from the same company so that 'nepotism' rules can be applied to the couple and the woman can be forced to resign,
- about 66% of the large firms do not transfer women who cannot obtain the necessary experience for promotions,
there is a high concentration of women in certain industries - fishing, service, etc. - indicating that the labour markets are highly segregated (sexually) in Japan (Lansing & Ready, 1988, pg. 120).

- In the small scale sector, which is very large in Japan, women are concentrated in clothing, real estate, retail stores, outrank restaurants and other service industries.

Some of the main conclusions of this study were that in women are concentrated in traditional female occupations (nursing, telephone operators, etc.), that women "achieved managerial ranks in large corporations after long service to the company and largely at the expense of marriage and motherhood" (Steinhoff and Tanaka, 1986-7, pg. 121) and that young women managers have no mentors in an organisation compounded by the fact that "women managers are not necessarily supportive of increased opportunity for other women" (ibid, pg. 127).

Keeping in view the pool of educated and competent Japanese women, researchists have advised foreign companies to make use of this reserve of young career-oriented Japanese women ((Lansing & Ready, 1988).

An issue which is becoming increasingly important, and in particular for Indian industry and woman managers in the wake of the globalised economy, is the issue of international management. Adler (1984), in a study of North American firms, found only 3% of international managers to be women (ibid, pg. 85) and with a
concentration in banking, publishing and retailing & apparel (ibid, pg. 84).

International management experience must be seen as a continuum leading to top-level responsibility in the company. In another study based on interviews of M.B.A. students, Adler (1984) found the following interesting responses:-

- both men and women are equally interested in international careers and that it is wrong to assume that women are unwilling to move abroad,

- the reasons for not moving abroad were the same for men and women, in fact, men feared losing their national identity and lacked the desire to adapt to different cultures more than women,

- men were seen to have greater opportunities than women in international careers because of certain unfavourable beliefs about women - that they neither seek nor accept international positions, that there are risks of sending women abroad, and that foreigners will be prejudiced against women.

Just as in domestic management, companies will have to shed their preconceived notions about women and look to selecting, promoting and developing their best managers, irrespective of sex. This will ultimately benefit not only the organisation but also influence and change society in a positive way.
2.4 **INDIAN STUDIES ON WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT**

As we have mentioned earlier, women's studies in India have largely concentrated on the class - caste - gender or the poverty - women nexus so that few studies exist on the Indian women per se and the dearth of studies on women in management is even more pronounced.

Perhaps the only studies in India on women in management is by Parikh (1981, 1990, 1991), Parikh and Garg (1982, 1990) and Parikh and Shah (1991). The studies have been essentially a psycho - social analysis of women's problems in India and explore the burden of traditional role expectations and the tensions it creates in women, even career women including women managers.

Parikh (1991) examines the transformation of women's roles from an agrarian mode to an industrial one. The women's role in management is then explored in the context of Indian culture, societal design and formal work organisation.

The studies on Indian women and management are descriptive and are not explicitly based on any particular theoretical approach discussed above, although, one can say that the GOS approach would be the only one able to capture the importance of India's broader social - cultural - economic reality and its impact on the attitudes of the women managers and the organisation. Indian studies are not subject to any statistical analysis. Scarce macro level data on women in management and few organisation
level studies based on primary data have been carried out.