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WOMEN, BUSINESS AND LEADERSHIP

Gender and Organisations

NEW HORIZONS IN MANAGEMENT

Women, Business and Leadership

Gender and Organisations

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NEW HORIZONS IN MANAGEMENT

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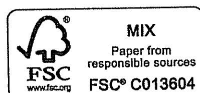

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12. Female managers with male-type behavior

Alexander-Stamatios Antoniou and Virginia Aggelou

INTRODUCTION

Over the last few decades, the number of women participating in the workforce and the quality of their employment has increased drastically. With the industrial revolution being the starting point for women looking for employment outside their homes, at least in the Western culture, working conditions have been undoubtedly improving ever since. In 1900 only 19 percent of women in America had found employment, a number which had increased up to 25 percent by 1940 (Bierema, 2001). At the time, the working environment was quite unsafe, with accidents often taking place, such as the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire in New York, on May 25, 1911. The women's liberation movement in America during the 1960s and 1970s had an impact, as many young women started to seek more distinguished and high profile employment (Powell & Butterfield, 2003). In the years that followed, the number of female workers in Europe also increased. In 1998, all European countries had an average increase of 2.1 percent of their female workers, and Ireland in particular had an increase of 10.2 percent (Berkery, Morley, & Tiernan, 2013). This constant rise in numbers continued at the turn of the century. In 2008, 46 percent of the labor force consisted of female workers (Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

A similar increase has been noted in the managerial positions women hold in companies and large organizations. In 1972, in the United States, women managers and administrators represented 18 percent of the workforce and the percentage increased to 46 percent by 2002 (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Melero, 2011). The same phenomenon was also observed in other countries. During the period between 1980 and 2000, the percentage of women managers rose up to 26 percent in Australia, 35 percent in Canada, and 29 percent in Sweden (Powell & Butterfield, 2003). By the end of 2002, the number of female managers in the UK doubled (from 20 percent to 40 percent) (Melero, 2011). In China, in 2011, 46 percent of the workforce consisted of women. Those employed as managers worked in financial positions, in human resources, and as chief operating officers and sales directors (Liu, 2013).

Despite the advances that have been made, it appears that female workers quite often occupy middle and lower level managerial positions, without being able to ascend further in the organizational hierarchy. In 2006, women CEOs made up 28.3 percent of leaders in all organizations with only 6.7 percent being among the top earners within Fortune 500 companies (Johnson, Murphy, Zewdie, & Reichard, 2008). The percentages have continued to drop in the case of Asia. Women represent only 6 percent of the corporate boards and 8 percent of the executive members in the ten wealthiest economies of Asia (e.g., China, India, Singapore) (Peus, Braun, & Knipfer, 2015). In China, research in 2011

showed that 53 percent of women workers were unable to get promoted to a higher position within the workplace (Liu, 2013). By 2016, female executive managers comprised 25 percent of the workforce in the United States and the percentage for women CEOs rose by 5 percent (McLaughlin et al., 2017). At the same time in Germany, 6 percent of the management board seats were held by women (McLaughlin et al., 2017). Furthermore, it seems that in many cases, female managers who acquire a higher position have lesser responsibilities than their male colleagues (Johnson et al., 2008). Also, men appear to take the lead as far as attaining a higher level position is concerned (Budworth & Mann, 2010).

In an attempt to explain the reasons behind this phenomenon, researchers have excluded possibilities such as women managers having less potential, lower education, or other responsibilities that reduce their availability for work (Duehr & Bono, 2006). Furthermore, equality between the two genders in the workplace was established by law in many countries. For example, in 1963 in the United States, gender discrimination in hiring and compensation was banned (Hoobler, Lemmon, & Wayne, 2011). Nonetheless, as the above statistics show, women still tend to be underrepresented in the higher corporate positions.

The barriers that female workers face in their careers are plentiful and are most often categorized under the term "glass ceiling" (Ryan & Haslam, 2007). This metaphor was first mentioned in the *Wall Street Journal* (1986), in order to address the issue of many women finding employment, but remaining in low-level positions (Galanaki, Papalexandris, & Halikias, 2009). The "glass ceiling" in reality represents a variety of widespread invisible obstacles that women come across during their employment, such as gender bias, sex role stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Hoobler et al., 2011; Oakley, 2000). As a result, in spite of their capabilities and education, many female workers are unable to achieve a higher rank in the workplace. On the other hand, the term "glass elevator" represents the reversed analogous situation for male workers, as they appear to be promoted through the corporate ladder more easily than women (Ryan & Haslam, 2007).

Along with the "glass ceiling" phenomenon, the literature suggests two more terms, the "labyrinth" and the "concrete wall" (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Liu, 2013). The "labyrinth" refers to the intricate causes of the "glass ceiling" phenomenon (Liu, 2013). The "concrete wall" includes all the norms and policies which produced the inequality between genders in terms of education and job opportunities at least fifty years ago. Essentially, all three parts of the "glass ceiling" metaphor explain the low percentages of female leaders, even when women do achieve higher education and can demonstrate the same abilities as their male counterparts. For example, in 2000, 51 percent of bachelor degrees and 45 percent of advanced degrees were awarded to women (Carli & Eagly, 2001).

The theories that initially attempted to explain this phenomenon focused on the "pipeline problem." Accordingly, women could not advance in the organizational hierarchy due to their limited time and assets (Heilman, 2001). Family responsibilities and a natural lack of traits necessary for leadership positions were very popular reasons among researchers a few decades back (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Such explanations have already proved to be insufficient, as the literature suggests that prejudice against female leaders is a result of gender stereotyping and perceived sex roles (Berkery et al., 2013). In particular, it is expected that men and women will demonstrate specific behaviors and personality

characteristics, according to their gender. Analogously, leaders are expected to have characteristics such as assertiveness, independence, rationality, etc. (Hoyt, Simon, & Reid, 2009; Johnson et al., 2008). These traits are traditionally associated with male behavior and thus being a female leader is viewed as a violation of social norms (Simmons, Duffy, & Alfraih, 2012). In the following sections we discuss the issue of gender in managerial stereotypes and how it is connected to the prejudice against female leaders, as well as the theories which explain the scarcity of female CEOs.

GENDER STEREOTYPES

Stereotypes include general and theoretical traits that characterize a specific social group (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). They are associated with a cognitive function of attempting to process the stimuli in every situation (Embry, Padgett, & Caldwell, 2008). In particular, they help people organize incoming information based on their previous categorizations, as far as certain individuals or experiences are concerned. Stereotypes are widely used, mainly because they represent convenient ways of managing new information. Nonetheless, when stereotyping is biased and imprecise, it can lead to rigid opinions about the way some groups of people are expected to act.

The existence and durability of gender stereotypes has been confirmed by many studies (Powell, Butterfield, & Parent, 2002). They are based on typical social roles assigned to each gender ("breadwinner," "homemaker") (Sczesny, 2003). The word "gender" refers to the psychological side of the sexes, as opposed to the biological sense that encompasses the word "sex" (Abele, 2003). An external (gender category) and internal (gender self-concept) perspective is also associated with the term "gender" (Abele, 2003). Gender stereotyping in particular is interlinked with this categorization, as it describes the view that a certain amount of behavioral and personality characteristics are more likely to be found either in men or in women (Boyce & Herd, 2003). Women are expected to possess more "feminine" ways of thinking and acting and men more "masculine" ones. This distinction can be made by using the terms "communal" and "agentic" characteristics. For example, women are expected to be more gentle and interested in forming social relations, and men, on the other hand are expected to show ambition and assertiveness (Duehr & Bono, 2006; Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Rudman, 2008).

Gender stereotypes are descriptive and particularly prescriptive (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). They indicate the way women and men actually are and behave and the way they ought to be and behave (Vinkenburg, Van Engen, Eagly, & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2011). For example, women are stereotypically linked with the "women are wonderful" effect. Accordingly, they are expected to be warmer and kinder (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). At the same time, they are considered to maintain mainly positive feelings rather than negative ones such as anger, especially in the workplace. On the contrary, men who appear more aggressive in the workplace increase their prestige (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008). The violators of both gender stereotypes receive criticism from others, for example women with less communal behavior are punished and disliked (Parks-Stamm, Heilman, & Hearns, 2008).

GENDER STEREOTYPES AND MANAGEMENT/LEADERSHIP

The issue of gender stereotypes and their link to managerial and leadership stereotypes has been studied since 1970, when female managers began to appear more often. Virginia Schein, an early researcher on this issue, conducted a study in 1973 in order to analyze this relationship. Her initiative is known as the "think-manager–think-male" paradigm. During her research, participants were invited to form a list of male and female characteristics, which was delivered to a sample of middle US managers. The managers were asked to distinguish which of these characteristics fit the image of a woman, the image of a man, and the image of a successful manager in general. The results showed that both female and male managers assumed male characteristics could help a manager become more successful (Powell, 2011). In fact, in her review in 2007, Schein noticed that men still held the same beliefs about female managers' capability (Berkery et al., 2013). The paradigm has also been established by many studies (Sczesny, 2003).

Generally, there is a notion that leadership is associated with agentic traits such as assertiveness or confidence (Chizema, Kamuriwo, & Shinozawa, 2015). As stated above, these traits are traditionally related to the male gender, and as a result women tend to occupy lower level positions in organizations, since these appear to be more fitting for their caretaking image (Heilman, 2001). Leadership roles are linked with power, and power seeking is also fundamental to the male stereotype. Once again, women in search of employment higher in the hierarchy violate the norm and at the same time seem incompatible (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). In particular, women who are thought to be mild-mannered and flexible cannot compete with men who, supposedly, already possess, by nature, the character and behavior appropriate for leadership roles.

Thus, female leaders must overcome gender stereotypes and prove that they can demonstrate the same agentic qualities that men possess. At the same time, they are confronted with a "double bind." Even if they display more competitive and assertive behavior, as the leader stereotype proposes, they fail to live up to the prescribed communion stereotype (Rudman & Glick, 2001). By exhibiting a more masculine leadership style, they may seem competent but they are also judged for their lack of communion traits (Stelter, 2002). This agentic deficiency of female leaders is a result of the descriptive side of gender stereotypes (how women are nice but lacking in ability). The penalties that "agentic women" receive for this behavior derive from prescriptive stereotypes about the way women should and shouldn't act (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2012; Rosette, Koval, Ma, & Livingston, 2016).

These economic or social penalties can take many forms and are grouped under the term "backlash effect." Even though studies have shown that backlash effects occur more often in masculine jobs, agentic women are evaluated more negatively, as less socially skilled and as less likely to be promoted (O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2011). Furthermore, agentic women are less liked by both male and female coworkers and are viewed as more aggressive and scheming than their male counterparts (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). These evaluations can also lead to hiring penalties. Rudman (1998) found that when women promoted themselves as job applicants, they decreased their chances of being hired. On the other hand, male applicants who appeared to be more confident were evaluated as more likeable and had better chances of being hired (Phelan et al., 2008).

THEORIES CONCERNING GENDER DIFFERENCES AND STEREOTYPES

Many researchers have attempted to explain the content of gender stereotypes and the prejudice that exists against female leaders. Based either on biological or social constructs, their ideas have had a serious impact on the way these matters are viewed. The notion of psychological, cognitive, and behavioral differences between genders is not new. At first, the popular belief was that women were inferior in every way to men, a status quo that was determined by nature. After the Enlightenment, this idea began to shift, and the complementarity of the sexes emerged, according to which males and females alike have strengths and weaknesses, compensating one for the other (Shields, 2007). American and British psychologists supported the view that psychological gender differences derived from biology, in order to replace the older view of female inferiority. At the same time, there was a need to justify men's rightful place in authoritative positions in a convincing way. Having a natural talent for it made a compelling argument (Shields, 2007).

These essentialist explanations have been used in order to validate women's submission to men. Essentialism is the view that there is an underlying essence that is accountable for external properties and categorization (Hamilton, Sherman, & Rodgers, 2004). For example, prior to the advance of female workers outside the home, women were thought to be more suited for housework, due to their nurturing nature. Instead of taking into account the historical or situational factors that have led to differences in the behavior of the sexes, people tend to turn to essentialist theories (Brescoll, 2016). In the case of gender differences, the biological explanation offers two important observations. First, that the different behaviors or personality traits between the sexes are determined by nature and second that they cannot be altered (Brescoll, Uhlmann, & Newman, 2013).

Despite the fact that these explanations have a strong biological base, essentialism can be associated with social theories. In particular, system justification theory posits the idea that people prefer to regard the way their social system is organized as right and resort to justifying it (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). This strategy is enhanced by cognitive processes of motivated reasoning (Brescoll et al., 2013). It has been noted that people are easily convinced by theories that confirm the ideas and opinions they already believe in. As a result, existing social norms, for example gender stereotypes, are viewed as natural, fair, and unlikely to change. The differences that are already present between the sexes, supposedly due to biological factors, seem rational and, thus, cannot be doubted. In this manner, the social system and the status hierarchies remain stable (Brescoll et al., 2013).

As far as social concepts are concerned, other approaches have been noted. The female communality stereotype is thought to preserve women's submission to men so they can willingly commit themselves to lower status positions (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Women are essentially being patronized into being kind and submissive, in order to maintain male dominance. At the same time, the stereotypes prevent social changes, even as more women begin to work and appear more agentic (Spence & Buckner, 2000). Undermining women's efforts to become independent, the communality prescription appears to remain prevalent (Diekman & Eagly, 2000). Therefore, social change of sex roles appears to be moderated by the existing stereotypes.

According to social evolution theory, one explanation as to why some work positions seem more appropriate for either men or women lies within the hunter-gatherer ritual in

prehistoric societies (Wrangham, 2009). At that time, men were responsible for hunting and women for collecting fruits, nuts, roots, etc. (Toh & Leonardelli, 2012). Wrangham (2009) hypothesized that when people started cooking their food, a need emerged for protecting it from others. Men seemed more suited for this role, whilst women were responsible for preparing the meals. Thus, the sense of authority became essential to the male construct. Likewise, the "male warrior hypothesis" suggests that men are more accustomed to managing conflict and war (Van Vugt, de Cremer, & Janssen, 2007). In particular, women appear to be friendlier even in threatening situations, due to their experiences in nurturing children and their need to create supportive networks. Men, on the other hand, react more effectively during intergroup threats, tend to be more aggressive as far as social choices are concerned, and have a preference for social dominance (Toh & Leonardelli, 2012).

Remaining in the social context, social role theory and congruity theory have offered interesting insights into the matter. Central to the first hypothesis is the concept of "social roles," as the socially acceptable beliefs concerning the way certain people should behave due to their position or participation in a social group (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The gender roles, or gender stereotypes, represent that exact belief as far as the sexes are concerned. Culture is an important contributing factor to the situation, shaping the social expectations of men's and women's conduct (Powell & Butterfield, 2003). When cultures appear to be more "tight" (e.g., Japan, China, Malaysia), there is a lower tolerance for deviance, and the societies are more strict and predictable (Gelfand, Nishii, & Raver, 2006). In such cases, expectations such as gender stereotypes have a strong prescriptive character. On the contrary, looser cultures seem to be more open and keen to variability, allowing social changes in the norms (Toh & Leonardelli, 2012).

In any case, social role theory proposes that the differences in the socially appropriate behavior of men and women derive from their distribution into social roles. Each gender is thought to possess specific traits in order to fulfill specific sex-typical roles (Chizema et al., 2015). Therefore, women who were traditionally assigned to housework and the upbringing of children are thought to be mild-mannered, nice, and gentle (communality stereotype), as opposed to men who took up on the role of the protector and leader of the family, thus becoming more suited for authority positions (agentic stereotype). To sum up, according to social role theory the differences between men and women's conduct reflect widespread stereotypes, which originate from the social roles assigned to each gender in every culture.

The "role congruity" theory describes the incongruity between the leadership role and the female communality stereotype. It is based on social role theory and on the importance of gender roles in defining the behavior of men and women (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The characteristics usually associated with a successful manager or leader, such as dominance, confidence, and assertiveness are central to the masculine stereotype (Glass & Cook, 2016). Female stereotypes suggest women are more helpful, kind, and relationship-oriented and thus deviate from the leadership stereotype (Rosette & Tost, 2010). As a result, being a woman and a leader contains an inconsistency that creates a double type of bias. On the one hand, female leaders are perceived as incompetent, and incapable of carrying on their duties effectively. On the other hand, even if women attempt to escape the communality stereotype by acting more agentic, their efforts are fruitless. Instead of being perceived as more fit to be leaders, since they adopt a more

masculine behavior, they are penalized for violating their gender role (Johnson et al., 2008; Koch, 2005a, 2005b). Research suggests that women have to demonstrate higher levels of work performance in order to be perceived as equally competent to their male counterparts and their contributions in projects have to be stated clearly in order to be recognized (Vial, Napier, & Brescoll, 2016).

This double bias represents the prejudice against female leadership, as the unjustified and negative evaluations of women leaders based on stereotypical beliefs instead of their performance (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Both forms of prejudice can lead to less positive evaluations towards women leaders and consequently, can create more obstacles for female workers to achieve higher positions in the organizational hierarchy (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Furthermore, this prejudice is considered as a major factor responsible for the "glass ceiling" phenomenon (Hoyt et al., 2009), outlined above.

A similar concept can be found in Heilman's "lack of fit" model (1983, 1995, 2001). According to this model, employers tend to make decisions concerning personnel management depending on expectations about their performance. If an employee is estimated to be fitting for a certain position, then success is expected. On the contrary, if there is a perceived lack of fit between the candidate's capabilities and the job on demand, then failure will be expected (Koenig et al., 2011). The leadership or manager role is, as stated above, a position that requires, in most countries, mainly agentic characteristics. These traits do not fit the kind and gentle image of women, as they are portrayed through stereotypes. This lack of fit between the typical female attributions and the agentic requirements of leadership positions produces expectations of failure (Heilman, 2001). As a result, women who look for managerial or leadership positions may often encounter this type of negative evaluation and sex bias during the selection processes. The scarcity of female leaders and CEOs can be explained though this concept.

Another theory that attempts to explain why men are perceived as more competent leaders than women, is "expectation states theory." This theory proposes that men and women are more capable at tasks that fit their gender (Koch, 2005a, 2005b). As a result, male-type employment, such as leadership and managerial positions that traditionally require agentic characteristics, would be more fitting for men employees. On the contrary, other positions lower in the hierarchy would be more appropriate for female workers, since they are expected to possess qualities such as submissiveness. In addition, "expectation states theory" contains a wider concept. It also describes the way in which social hierarchies and status beliefs are formed when people collaborate in achieving collective goals (Ridgeway, 2001). In particular, Joseph Berger and his colleagues proposed that a socially dominant group can determine and increase the prescriptive side of stereotypes according to its goals. These stereotypes usually help the dominant group maintain its advantages by portraying other groups as incompetent, socially insignificant, or naturally submissive (Ridgeway, 2001). Therefore, "expectations states theory" can be applied to other cases of discrimination as well, describing for example how racial stereotypes restrict certain people of color from attaining leadership positions.

Finally, "token theory" provides another alternative insight into the matter. The term "token" was used for the first time in an organizational context by Rosabeth Kanter in her book *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977). In her research, Kanter identified that group behavior in the workplace is affected by the unequal numbers of men and women employees. The dynamics that are created in the working environment shape two

groups – the "dominants" and the "tokens" (Oakley, 2000). The fact that women leaders are a minority increases the chances of them being labeled as "tokens." Consequently, it is possible that they will be subjected to detailed evaluations and negative stereotyping (McLaughlin et al., 2017). Tokens also appear to be the center of attention and receive increased pressure to produce better results (Boldry, Wood, & Kashy, 2001). In addition, women leaders may be criticized for behaving as a typical leader, for example when they are more outspoken than their coworkers or attempt to promote themselves (Glass & Cook, 2016).

According to token theory, the dominant group – in this case men – usually emphasize those traits that distinguish them from the tokens (women) and as a result, they tend to reject them (Oakley, 2000). Thus, women are either viewed as less capable leaders, since they do not possess natural male qualities, or when they do display a more aggressive behavior fitting for a leader, they may be evaluated negatively for violating gender stereotypes. This behavior can affect women's ascent in the organizational hierarchy and also challenges their authority when they attain leadership positions. Research has shown that female workers in male-dominated environments have a lack of support in the workplace (Taylor, 2010).

BACKLASH EFFECT: CONSEQUENCES FOR FEMALE LEADERS

The prescriptive side of gender stereotypes and the way they affect the numbers of female leaders is evident. Women who attempt to establish their position as leaders face a "double bind," a type of prejudice in which they are either viewed as incompetent, or as too masculine and socially deficient. In addition, female leaders adopting a more masculine type of behavior, in order to fulfill the "think-manager–think-male" paradigm and appear efficient, may cause a different reaction. The backlash effect represents the negative reactions towards agentic women, and it can take many forms in terms of social and economic repercussions. Men are also affected by gender stereotypes, but managerial and leadership positions contain characteristics that are essential to the male stereotype, therefore male employees appear to be more accustomed to the workplace (Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

One aspect of women's careers where backlash affects may be experienced is during the hiring process. Research has shown that people usually express a preference for a male boss rather than a female one, even if they possess identical qualities, and also appear less willing to hire or promote a woman in a managerial position (Vial et al., 2016). A further method that has been used in order to investigate this matter relates to individuals evaluating job applications by male and female candidates (Eagly, 2007). A female and male version of each application was given to different people and the results showed a preference for male candidates as far as masculine employment was concerned (e.g., sales manager), as well as a preference for female candidates for feminine employment (e.g., home economics teacher). Even in neutral professions, such as psychology, men candidates seemed to have a small advantage over women.

Other studies concerning hiring discrimination have used more naturalistic approaches, for example sending male and female applicants to companies for job interviews (Eagly &

Carli, 2004). Discrimination based on the gender of the candidates was observed in this case as well. Men and women's attitudes during interviews can also affect the outcome of the process. Buttner and McEnally (1996) and Rudman (1998) found that women who attempt to promote themselves or adopt a more assertive behavior while seeking employment, decrease their chances of being hired (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). On the contrary, men who used the same strategies were viewed as more likeable, and more likely to be hired.

Women employees can also suffer from negative evaluation in the workplace. This assessment includes their performance and social approval. Studies have shown that the evaluation of the staff's work depends on their gender. Men and women, who produce exactly the same work results, are judged differently. In particular, female workers seem to be viewed as inferior (Heilman, 2001). Unless their work is undeniably successful, women's accomplishments are highly devaluated. Heilman (2001) also suggests that similar behaviors in the workplace are interpreted differently for men and women. There seems to be a notion that men's actions are mostly planned and related to work matters, such as talking frequently on the phone or waiting to take a decision. On the other hand, women behaving in the same manner may be perceived as lazy or passive.

Social repercussions and personally directed negativity have also been observed. In particular, agentic women who use more aggressive strategies appear to be less accepted than men who behave similarly (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). At the same time, masculine women are seen as socially deficient (O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2011) and as cold, deceitful, selfish, and manipulative (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). In an attempt to study this phenomenon Koch (2005a, 2005b) found that subordinates in the workplace expressed more negative behavior towards females in leadership positions during their interactions, despite regarding them as capable workers. This included body language and facial expressions. Thus it is evident that even if agentic women in leadership positions appear to be competent, they may still be perceived as socially insufficient (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012).

This type of negativity may affect a woman's career or ascent in the hierarchy. Experiments have confirmed that employees may try to professionally harm women with leadership skills, compared to men possessing the same qualities (Vial et al., 2016). A famous example of gender discrimination in America is that of Ann Hopkins, an accountant who was denied promotion at her firm in 1982, despite her success in bringing more business to the company. Being too masculine was the reason for this incident, even though her job required a more aggressive set of behaviors. Hopkins sued the company for sex discrimination and violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and eventually won the case. Other experiments have shown that agentic women who were candidates for the vice president position were regarded as intimidating and manipulative in their interactions, leading to them being disqualified from the job (Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

A further interesting factor regarding women's promotion in organizations relates to the "glass cliff." According to this view, even if women manage to break through the so called "glass ceiling" and attain a leadership position, this would often occur only when companies were in financial crisis (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that it represents a form of backlash for agentic women, since it is very probable that they will fail, given the difficulty of the situation (Ryan & Haslam, 2007). It appears that such practices would mainly reinforce stereotypes concerning the inability of female leaders.

Being a woman and a leader, or adopting a more agentic behavior in the workplace, can also lead to feelings of misidentification. Since the role of a leader is profoundly connected with the male stereotype, female leaders may experience an identity asymmetry between being women and occupying a traditionally male position (Meister, Sinclair, & Jehn, 2017). The term "identity" appears to be quite complicated in the literature, but essentially represents the subjective experiences and the cognitive and emotional processes that characterize an individual (Ramarajan, 2014). This contains many levels, such as personal traits, social roles, or even broader meanings such as cultural identities. According to social identity theory, these constructs sustain a social component, connected to the social roles that each person adopts (Karelaia & Guillén, 2014). The social environment and stimuli from people's surroundings affect the shape and the importance of those identities. As a result, an individual manages to maintain multiple identities throughout his/her life, enriching his/her self-concept.

Women leaders need to maintain at least two identities: that of a leader and that of a woman. On the one hand, according to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) the "leader" concept represents the part of an individual that participates in the social group of leaders. On the other hand, being a woman consists of conforming to the cultural expectations of how men and women are supposed to behave (Ely & Padavic, 2007). Some researchers claim that identities are internally organized based on how important they are to each individual; others believe that each identity is activated in any given social situation according to the context (Meister et al., 2017). For example, agentic women outside the workplace may view themselves as caring and loving mothers, when spending time with their families. It is important to understand the way in which these two social identities (being a woman and a leader) interact and how a feeling of misidentification in the workplace can affect female leaders.

Preserving positive social identities motivates people, and this can be achieved through positive regard for each identity (Roberts & Dutton, 2009). A positive evaluation of an identity contains two sides, the side of the individual and the side of the social environment (Karelaia & Guillén, 2014). It is necessary for both the individual and others to view an identity, for example that of a leader, as positive. If a person holds a number of positive identities, it is more likely that he/she will maintain a stronger self-concept and a sense of significance (Hogg, Abrams, Otten, & Hinkle, 2004). This mechanism is very important when identities interfere with one another. In this case, an identity conflict may be observed, where the content of one identity contradicts the meaning of another (Settles, 2004). Female leaders can experience this kind of identity conflict, since being a woman prohibits the display of agentic characteristics, which are essential to the leader stereotype.

Therefore, the pressure that a woman receives from her work environment in the form of backlash, stereotyping her as an incompetent leader or as an aggressive woman, can lead to feelings of vulnerability and an inability to claim a professional identity (Meister et al., 2017). Female employees are often regarded as women first and professionals second (Scott & Brown, 2006). Nonetheless, positive identities can play a protective role in this situation. Additionally, when women leaders view their identities as important and positive, it is more likely they will fuse both of them in their professional performance, achieving better results (Karelaia & Guillén, 2014).

Finally, the backlash effect can take the form of economic repercussions as far as salaries are concerned. Research suggests that women with Master's degrees in Business

Administration who are seeking employment receive lower salary offers than their counterpart male candidates, even more so in cases where there is an ambiguity in the standard salary range (Bowles, Babcock, & McGinn, 2005). Other studies suggest that people prefer to pay women leaders less than male leaders (Vial et al., 2016). It appears that women have become accustomed to this situation and are unwilling to negotiate for higher salaries. When female candidates attempt to negotiate for increased salaries, male evaluators tend to reject them (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Such an observation was not reported in cases where men negotiated for increased salaries.

PRESERVING STEREOTYPES: THE "QUEEN BEE" PHENOMENON

It is evident from the above that women leaders or agentic women in general, encounter many forms of stereotyping in the workplace, due to the traditional incongruity between the female communality prescription and the leader stereotype. Since this phenomenon can potentially affect every female employee, especially those working in male-dominated environments, it may be expected that female workers would support and protect each other. Nonetheless, hostility between female coworkers and a tendency to sabotage each other's ascent in the hierarchy are often observed.

This negative behavior towards female coworkers can appear in many situations. Studies have shown that female nurses may be unwilling to cooperate with female doctors and senior female members in law firms with mostly male employees tended to react negatively towards female partners. In particular, they described other women partners as unlikeable, too masculine, and incompetent (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Literature suggests that this negative reaction originates from fears of social comparison (Parks-Stamm et al., 2008). Women who manage to become successful in male-dominated environments maintain a higher prestige than others, since traditionally female positions are considered to be less important (Lyness, 2002). Simultaneously they become the target of social comparison for other women. Upward social comparison, according to Festinger (1954), can be quite damaging for an individual.

Furthermore, this comparison is unavoidable between women employees, since it requires a sense of similarity, for example having the same gender (Parks-Stamm et al., 2008). Men can disregard this process as far as their female colleagues are concerned, due to the lack of similarity. Other explanations for women's attempts to sabotage female leadership posit that it is a result of internalized sexism (Mavin, 2008). Women have learned to take advantage of their femininity in the workplace by using flirting, admiration, or subordination, strategies that are not effective with female leaders. Additionally, the male leader stereotype strongly suggests that men are natural born leaders, and internalized sexism could have established this hierarchy for women.

Another form of such prejudice among women employees is the "queen bee" syndrome. Initially, this phrase represented the phenomenon of women actively desiring to maintain the traditional sex roles. Later, an alternative version of the term appeared which described women in higher positions who denied the existence of discrimination as the cause of the scarcity of female managers (Mavin, 2006). The term is used nowadays to address the issue of women workers in senior positions who attempt to distance

themselves from other female coworkers and even prevent their promotion in the organization (Sheppard & Aquino, 2013). Some research examples can confirm the existence of the phenomenon, even taking into account the limitations of these studies. Interestingly, women seem to choose networking with male superiors rather than females, as far as career advice is concerned (Chow & Ng, 2007). In addition, Duguid (2011) suggested that females in superior positions in male-dominated workplaces were reluctant to choose highly qualified female employees. On the contrary, women in lower positions in the same or different working environment would not express the same tendency.

Many explanations have been suggested as far as the "queen bee" phenomenon is concerned, such as internalized sexism or prescriptive gender stereotypes. Female workers who display this kind of attitude are in fact attempting to adjust in a male-dominant working environment, where they are being perceived as less competent (Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2016). One interesting proposal is that women react in this way when their social identities are threatened. As stated above, the backlash effect for disconfirming stereotypes in the workplace may lead women to feel devaluated due to their gender; they view their gender identity in a negative light (Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2006). In order to cope with this situation individually, women may distance themselves from the minority group (other women) and attempt to become part of a dominant group (e.g., men) (Ellemers & Haslam, 2011). As a result, the "queen bee" phenomenon seems to occur when specific working conditions exist, such as gender discrimination. In many cases, female workers may confront this discrimination by protesting (Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 2001) instead of engaging in the "queen bee" behavior. Furthermore, this phenomenon is observed in other cases as well. It is not limited to women employees, but can be found among members of disadvantaged groups in general (Van Laar, Bleeker, Ellemers, & Meijer, 2014).

Despite the limitations that exist in the studies of the "queen bee" phenomenon, the term is widely used by the media and Worldwide Web. This strategy serves to reproduce gender stereotypes, since women who manage to achieve management positions and oppose the status quo are portrayed as cold, bad, and hostile towards other women (Mavin, 2008). Evidently, women leaders appear to be unfit for the position, confirming the stereotype of men being natural born leaders. Thus, the present gendered hierarchy in the workplace may remain unchanged. Furthermore, an alternative term for men engaging in the same behavior does not seem to exist. To conclude, the "queen bee" syndrome appears to be addressed quite often, even by the media, as an established phenomenon, but more research is needed in order to understand its complexity.

CONCLUSION

Despite the efforts that women have made during the last decades in advancing in the workplace and obtaining equal working rights, stereotypes and prejudice remain a great disadvantage. Female employees are still affected by traditional expectations concerning women's behavior and experience repercussions when they choose to not fulfill them. Gender stereotypes concerning masculinity, the "glass ceiling" effect, and the "queen bee" phenomenon are some of the barriers that women face in their everyday search for employment. These penalties maintain the gendered hierarchy and usually restrict female

employees and leaders in carrying out their work. Women who preserve a more aggressive or "masculine" type of behavior are affected even more. As stated above, they are often excluded from prestigious positions; they are questioned by their peers concerning their abilities and can be ostracized by their colleagues.

It is necessary for employees and organizations to address this issue in order to decrease the negative impact of the existing gender stereotypes and improve the working environment in this respect. At the same time, promoting a more androgynous style of leadership and behavior for leaders can prove to be more effective and productive. Research that has already been conducted indicates that masculine or feminine types of behavior in the workplace are social constructions and hence can be reformed with the proper training (Kark, Waismel-Manor, & Shamir, 2012). At a theoretical level, more studies are needed in order to explore this phenomenon further. For example, it would be very interesting to address the same issue in Eastern societies. It has been confirmed that Asian culture represents a different stereotype of leader compared to Western countries (Arvey, Dhanaraj, Javidan, & Zhang, 2015). Nonetheless, as mentioned above, the numbers of female leaders and managers are equally low in these societies. Taking into account the possible differences between Western and Eastern female stereotypes would be an interesting approach in this matter. Furthermore, male managers who maintain more feminine behavior traits would make an interesting sample, as a way of looking into the interaction between gender and the working environment in a holistic approach. In any case, it is evident that there is much scope for future studies aiming to explain and consequently improve the gender balance in the workplace.

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WOMEN, BUSINESS AND LEADERSHIP

This book explores the range of challenges faced by women in business and leadership today, identifying how far we need to progress before women in business experience the same level of advancement as men.

Including a range of different viewpoints, the book analyses women's position at work from three perspectives: the constraints affecting women's career advancements, gender-specific challenges to women in leadership roles, and women's experiences of undertaking these roles while trying to maintain a work–life balance. By highlighting the specific disadvantages relating to gender, chapters outline the extent of change needed culturally, as well as through policy and attitude, if women are to achieve parity with their male counterparts.

Researchers and students of gender in management, leadership and organisation studies will find this a thought-provoking read, particularly those studying work–family balance and the future paths to breaking the glass ceiling for women in business.

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