

Closing the Women's Leadership Gap: Who Can Help?

Change is ever so slow for women in business leadership. The leadership gap between men and women has proven to be stubbornly resilient despite organizations' successes in dismantling most forms of overt discrimination, achieving near parity for women with men in middle management, and investing in women's initiatives and organizational change efforts. In ten years, the percentage of women who are corporate officers in Fortune 500 companies inched up a mere two percentage points from 12% to 14%. The percentage of women among top earners only grew from 4% to 8%.^{8, 13} and the percentage of women serving as board directors only increased from 12% to 16%.^{9, 12} Even in non-profit organizations, women's representation in leadership has remained stalled at about 20%.²⁸

This persistent leadership gap is a significant cause for concern—not only for women with leadership aspirations, but also for organizations that need strong and diverse leader-

ship teams to compete successfully in a rapidly changing and uncertain global economy. Recent studies by Catalyst of Fortune 500 companies in the United States and by McKinsey of major businesses in Europe showed a significant correlation between greater representation of women in executive and board positions and stronger financial performance.^{10, 11, 15} Catalyst found, for example, that

companies with the highest proportion of women corporate officers outperformed those with the lowest proportion by 35% when measured by return on equity.¹¹

In addition, women bring a wealth of leadership talent to organizations. In standardized leadership assessments women are consistently rated higher than men on the

majority of leadership skills needed to run effective organizations, such as setting high standards, driving for results, motivating staff, and building high-performing teams.^{27, 36} Looking to the future, women are now attaining higher levels of academic achievement than men in the United States, and they comprise the majority in the talent pool for the next generation of organizational leaders.

How do we unencumber women's paths to leadership? How do we close the persistent leadership gender gap? How do we ensure that organizations are leveraging the fullest contributions of their diverse pool of leadership talent?

Research conducted by CGO and our affiliates suggests that the gains achieved in gender equity are modest because most organizational change efforts target overt, obvious aspects of gender bias and ignore the more subtle gender dynamics deeply embedded in an organization's culture and in work norms that shape women's paths to leadership.^{20, 30, 37} We argue that sustainable progress can only be achieved when we surface, understand, and address the subtle ways that gender dynamics in organizations shape women's paths to leadership and the relationships women develop to advance their careers. These dynamics, often called second generation gender bias, are deeply embedded in the culture, norms, and work practices in organizations, playing out below the surface of formal systems of hiring, promotion, and compensation.⁴² If not understood and managed, they can have powerful and unanticipated consequences for women's leadership attainment.

The Survey

To deepen understanding of second generation gender bias and its impact on women's leadership attainment, we surveyed 305 women professionals attending the Simmons College Women's Leadership Conference in April 2010.^a The survey examined three aspects of the women's experience in organizations. First, we asked about the extent to which women perceived that they had personally experienced various forms of second generation gender bias.^b

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Second, we asked who helped them regarding these issues and how much help they provided.^c Finally, we asked how successful the women perceived themselves to be in addressing second generation gender issues that they encountered.^d We administered the survey through Zoomerang and used the statistical software SPSS to conduct the analysis.^e

Second Generation Gender Dynamics—What Are They?

Second generation gender issues cover those work cultures and practices that appear neutral and natural on their face,

but can result in differential experiences for and treatment of diverse groups of women and men.^{31, 42} Distinct from first generation gender discrimination involving intentional acts of bias, second generation gender practices seem unbiased in isolation and intention, but they reflect masculine values and the life situations of men who have dominated in the public

domain of work.¹⁹ Ely and Meyerson identify several different types of second generation practices that create gender inequities in organizations: gendered jobs; gendered work; gendered definitions of leadership; and gendered structure of social capital, among others.¹⁸

Gendered Jobs. Gender typing of jobs occurs when some occupations are seen as a good “fit” with feminine characteristics and others with masculine characteristics.⁵ These characteristics can be formally written into job descriptions and/or become the informal criteria by which people are moved into jobs. The gendering of jobs is observable in opportunities for leadership development,^{33, 36} assignment to line versus staff positions,¹⁷ and revenue producing versus relationship management positions.⁴¹ In our survey, we asked two different questions about gendered jobs. The first focused on *gender job fit*, the degree to which women are channeled into staff versus line jobs. The second, which we call *gendered models of leadership*, focused on the degree to which high-performing women are not offered leadership

opportunities because they do not fit the organization’s leadership model.

Gendered Work. Fletcher describes the invisible work that women often do, but that does not get noticed or recognized.¹⁹ The women engineers she describes try to anticipate problems before they happen, seek to integrate the work of others, and try to build a team. She shows how this work gets “disappeared”. Similarly, Martin, in delineating some of the second generation issues that lead to exclusion of women faculty, shows how the extra and invisible jobs that women and minority faculty members are expected to perform—representing diversity viewpoints on a committee or task force, advising and counseling of graduate students and junior faculty—can also create double binds.³⁴ Although this work means extra hours and time spent away from more critical activities that “count”, to decline such work can violate expectations of the way women and minority faculty are supposed to behave. In our survey, we included three questions that focus on invisible work: the first asked about *invisible work* directly; the second focused specifically on being asked to be a woman’s representative or generally become involved in *diversity* initiatives;³⁴ the third focused on what has been called the *glass cliff*. Ryan and Haslam suggest that there are gendered dimensions to who gets tapped to lead change when organizational performance is on a downward trend.⁴⁰ These are risky situations—ones where the opportunities are great, but the chances for failure are also high.

Gender and Leadership. Gender can impact who is seen to have leadership potential as well as assessment of performance in those roles. Even though all new leaders are tested, women leaders are more likely to face hyper-scrutiny^{17, 32} and hyper-visibility.⁴ Women are often judged on a double standard in their exercise of authority—sometimes thought too aggressive or assertive, at other times not assertive enough.¹⁷ A recent study by Catalyst documents the dilemma: to act in accord with feminine expectations, a woman is seen as not tough enough to command authority in a leadership role.¹¹ In our survey of women leaders, we asked about the degree to which they were subject to *heightened scrutiny*. We also asked whether they had *opted out of leadership* contention because they did not fit the existing models of leadership in their organizations.

Gender and the Ideal Worker. As women have joined men in the workforce, the issues associated with having both a challenging work life and a fulfilling family life have come to the fore. Bailyn and her colleagues convincingly demonstrated that while many organizations institute policies that theoretically enable people to integrate their work and personal lives, these policies exist in cultural contexts

Survey Respondents (demographics):

- 305 female respondents
- 78% Caucasian
- 68% married or in a committed relationship
- Median work experience of 11-20 years
- 49% had 20 or more years’ work experience
- Median highest position occupied: middle level (i.e., director, middle manager, assistant VP)
- 17% had achieved senior (i.e., SVP, EVP, VP, COO, Dean) or top level (i.e., owner, president, CEO, partner)
- Median household income was \$100,000-149,000

that still value the “ideal worker,” the person who is willing to put work before all else, whose time to spend at work is unlimited, and for whom the demands of family, community, and personal life are secondary.^{1, 38, 43} While this “masculine” model does not suit either men or women very well, it persists. Indeed, with the advent of extreme jobs and 24/7 expectations, the conflict between responsibilities for family and success at work have been exacerbated.²² In our survey, we asked specifically about whether people were expected to put *work before all else*.

Gender and Social Capital. Ties to powerful or high status others lend standing to an organizational member and are associated with higher promotion rates and better performance evaluations.³⁵ But the majority of those in power in many organizations are men and their networks tend to be homophilous (i.e., men are more likely to be part of these networks than women). Homophily in client preferences on Wall Street, for example, means that women find it difficult to succeed in certain areas of practice and therefore can be disadvantaged when it comes time for rewards and promotions.^{21, 39} Further, both white women and women of color do not get the same benefits from their networks as do their male colleagues.^{23, 35} In our survey, we asked whether women were excluded from *critical networks*.

Networks and Relationships

Networks and good working relationships serve as important resources in organizations. They can be a source of emotional support, feedback, political advice, information about opportunities, and protection. Therefore, relationships can be particularly important when dealing with second generation gender bias.

A study of financial services employees showed that women get less work-related help from powerful bosses with whom they have ties than do white men.³⁵ The argument is made that this differential treatment may be a consequence of cultural beliefs that rank women below white men and thus make investment in women seem less worthwhile. Therefore, for women to benefit from their networks (measured by early promotions), they need to borrow social capital—they need to be connected with powerful others who increase their legitimacy and counteract the view of women as “risky”.⁶ This suggests that mentoring, an important factor in career development,³ is not enough. To succeed, organizational members (women as well as men) need sponsors—influential senior managers who provide them exposure to other senior executives, facilitate access to opportunities and challenging assignments, protect them, and fight for their promotions.^f Yet men are more likely to have such sponsors.²⁶ Still, we know that women have

well-developed relationships inside and outside of their organizations. Their networks are less homophilous than men’s and tend to include more extra-departmental (but intra-organizational) ties.^{23, 24, 25} Women tend to have differentiated networks, obtaining social support and friendship from women and instrumental support from men.²³ Prior research suggests that different types of networks present alternative routes to similar career resources for men and women, so that women may benefit more from close ties and cross-subunit relationships.²⁵

To expand our understanding about who helps women with second generation gender issues, we asked our respondents how much help they received for each of the second generation gender issues from their female boss, male boss, female peer, male peer, female mentor within the organization, male mentor within the organization, female mentor outside of the organization, male mentor outside of the organization, female friend outside of the workplace, male friend outside of the workplace, spouse/partner, mother, and father.

89% of women felt they were being asked to put work before all else, and 86% were doing invisible work.

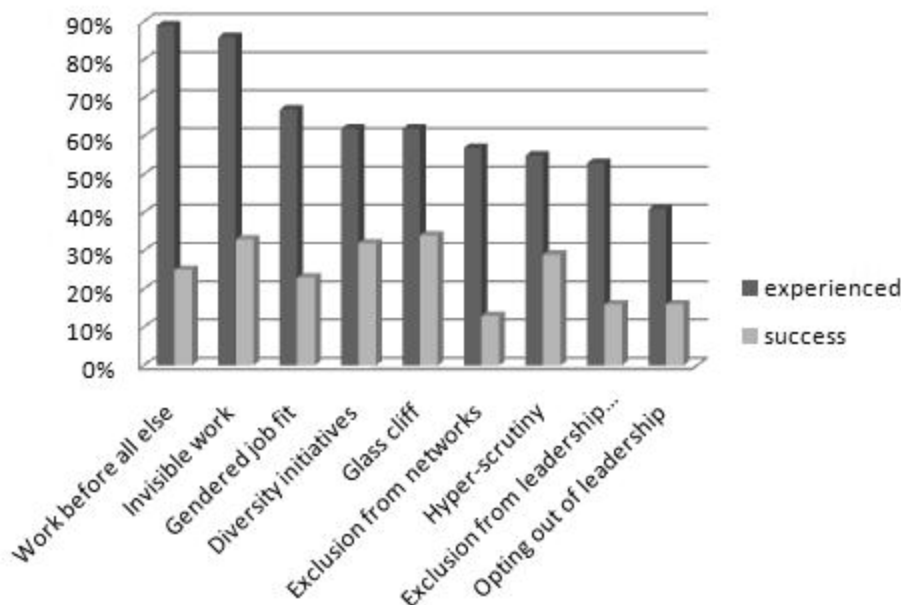
Findings

Experience of Second Generation Gender Dynamics. Most of our respondents reported that they personally have experienced one or more types of second generation gender issues (see Figure 1). The issue that most women experienced was “being asked to put work before all else” (89%), followed by the issue of doing “invisible work” (86%). Importantly, the majority of women in our sample (59%) did *not* opt out of leadership opportunities due to feeling they did not fit their organization’s model of effective leadership.^g

Among these specific issues, white women in our sample, more than women of color, experienced the pressure for work to take priority over all else. Unsurprisingly, the women of color perceived more requests to serve on committees in the name of diversity than did white women. The issue of work taking priority over all else, the glass cliff, and the hyper-scrutiny issues were more intensely experienced by the more senior women in our study, while the invisible work issue was most intensely experienced by the middle-level women.

Of the women who had experienced second generation gender issues, most did not feel that they had been successful

Figure 1: Experience of Second Generation Gender Dynamics
(percent of respondents)



They reported receiving about the same amount of help from their professional and personal networks.

Respondents perceived that they got the most help when channeled into staff rather than line jobs and when asked to serve on diversity initiatives, and the least help with remedying their exclusion from networks and exclusion from leadership opportunities. (see Figure 2). We found no differences in patterns of getting help between white women and women of other racial and ethnic identities. Further, senior women’s patterns of help seeking did not differ from those of more junior women.

Interestingly, a notable proportion of respondents, ranging from 5% to 25% depending on the issue, indicated that they had experienced a specific gender issue but had not attempted to address it.

in addressing them (see Figure 1). On average across all issues, only 25% of the women who reported experiencing an issue felt that they had been successful or very successful in addressing it. The issues with the largest gap between the percent of respondents who had experienced the issue and the percent who perceived that they had been successful in managing the issue were work before all else, invisible work, gender job fit, and exclusion from networks.

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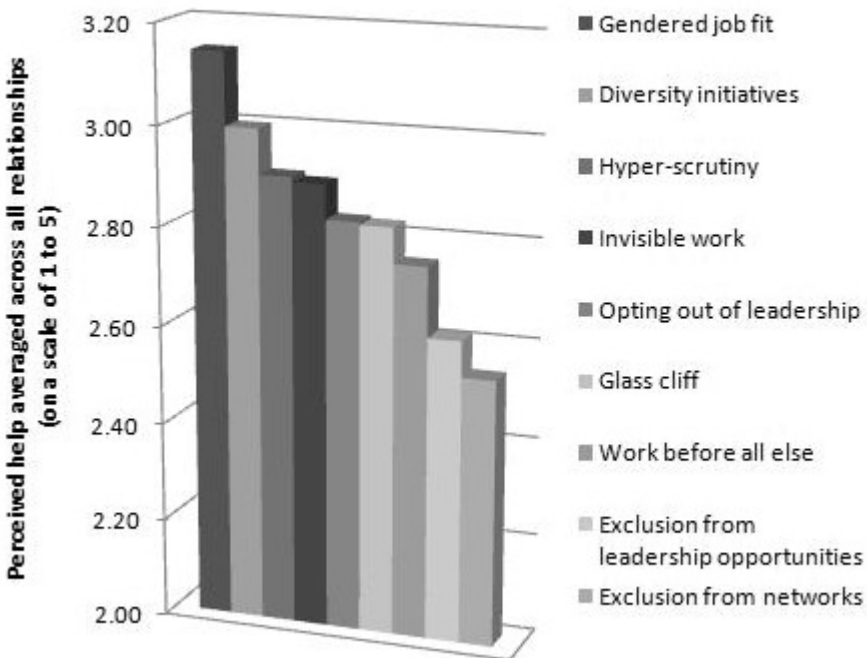
Success in Dealing with Second Generation Gender Issues. We were interested in testing whether the respondents’ perceptions of help were related to the success they perceived to experience in dealing with second generation gender challenges. To explore the association of help with perceived success in managing gender dynamics, we ran a

Getting Help with Second Generation Gender Issues.

Women differed widely in the amount of help they reported receiving from their networks in dealing with second generation gender issues—for each issue their responses spanned the entire range from 1 (no help) to 5 (significant amount of help). The average help received (across all relationships) ranged from 2.54 when it came to exclusion from networks to 3.14 when it came to gendered job fit.

Women reported getting most help from their spouses/partners (the average was 4.44 out of 5). In addition, they reported getting more help from women than from men across both their professional and personal networks, and getting more help from mentors than from bosses or peers.

Figure 2: Average Help Received (by Issue)



series of regressions to analyze average success across the nine second generation gender issues as a function of help from different sources. Our first critical finding was that help received from men was related to perceptions of higher success whereas help received from women was not related to perceptions of success. Further, we found that while help from individuals in the professional realm and from those within the organization was positively related to perceptions of success, help from personal circles and from mentors outside of the organization actually detracted from perceived success. Delving deeper, we discovered that the benefits of within-organization help were driven by help received from bosses—help from peers and mentors was not related to perceived success. Even more specifically, it was male bosses, not female bosses, whose help was most likely to be experienced as effective. Paradoxically, the most-sought-out help, help from spouses or partners, was not related to perceived success in dealing with second generation gender issues overall (see Table 1 for results of five regression models).

We also examined relationships between perceived success in dealing with each second generation gender issue separately and help received for that particular issue. Perceived success in dealing with a specific issue was not correlated with the help received for that issue except in two cases. Perceived success in dealing with diversity initiatives was related to help received for that issue, and perceived success in overcoming hyper-scrutiny was related to help specific to that issue. Exploring the effects of race, we found no differences in perceived success in dealing with any of the second generation gender issues between white and non-white women. Seniority only made a difference at the extremes: the entry-level women perceived lower success than the top-level women (owners, presidents, partners, and CEOs), while the supervisory-level, middle-level, and senior-level women’s perceptions of success did not differ significantly from those of either the top-level or entry-level women.

Discussion

We found that second generation gender bias is still experienced by women in their organizations. To deal with these dynamics, women perceive that they get the most help from spouses/partners and from other women. Ironically, it turns out that the most effective help seems to come from their male bosses. Help received from personal networks (friends, spouses, and parents) is actually negatively correlated to perceptions of success in dealing with second generation gender issues.

Table 1: Whose Help Helps?

Model	Source of Help	↑	↓	N.S.
Model 1: Men vs. Women	Help from men	✓		
	Help from women			✓
Model 2: Professional vs. Personal	Help from professional network	✓		
	Help from personal network		✓	
Model 3: Inside vs. Outside	Help from inside the organization	✓		
	Help from outside of the organization		✓	
Model 4: Boss vs. Mentor vs. Peer vs. Spouse	Help from boss	✓		
	Help from mentors			✓
	Help from peers			✓
Model 5: Male Boss vs. Female Boss vs. Mentor vs. Peer vs. Spouse	Help from spouse			✓
	Help from male boss	✓		
	Help from female boss			✓
	Help from mentors			✓
	Help from peers			✓
	Help from spouse			✓

↑ – significant positive relationship with perceived success ($p < .01$ or $p < .001$)
 ↓ – significant negative relationship with perceived success ($p < .01$)
 N.S. – not significant ($p > .05$)

The difference between perceived amount of help received and the perceived success in dealing with second generation gender issues is particularly intriguing given that these are self-reports from the women in the sample. We make sense of these results in three ways. First, it may be that the kind of help women mostly seek out and receive is emotional support. They may want help working through their reactions to challenges they experience. This support may have more value to them than figuring out strategies to deal with the challenges themselves. This kind of help, more empathetic than strategic, can make people feel better and even more empowered.³ However, it may encourage women dealing with challenges to just accept the situation rather than try to change it.

Second, even if women receive actionable advice, it has to be firmly grounded in the context of the specific organization in order to be useful. This may explain why helpers inside the organization are more effective than those from the outside—they have firm-specific knowledge to impart. And third, it may be that help in dealing most effectively with second generation gender bias must come from people who have formal authority in the organizations; they are the ones best positioned to change the situation. This may explain why bosses were perceived to be able to help more than others. Further, it may be that bosses who have some

distance in dealing with these issues can be more helpful than those who are caught in the gender dynamics themselves. This would help explain why female bosses are perceived to be less able to help than male bosses.^h

Importantly, we found that success in dealing with most second generation gender issues was not related to help with those particular issues, but to help overall. Perhaps this means that for the help to be effective, women need support and advice in making sense of the complexities of the organizational context within which they operate in their entirety, and cannot only target specific aspects of such a context. Indeed, women tended to experience second generation gender issues in tandem—32 of the possible 36 pairs of issues were significantly correlated. This reflects our understanding that second generation bias is subtle, pervasive, and embedded in the norms and assumptions that guide behaviors and work practices or organizations. It also suggests that, if we are to help organizations ameliorate gender dynamics, the systemic changes need to encompass a complex of second generation gender issues, rather than be targeted at specific ones.

Finally, the fact that more senior than junior women in our sample experienced second generation gender bias, but did not report any more success in dealing with most of these issues, suggests that these senior women achieved organizational success not so much by overcoming gender issues but by adjusting to them.

Implications for Practice

- **Men and women managers responsible for developing leadership talent need to deepen their understanding of second generation gender bias and its differential impact on men's and women's careers.** With the dismantling of blatant gender discrimination, many men and some women believe that gender dynamics no longer affect men's and women's opportunities for leadership. Indeed, a 2010 study by Bain and Co. of 1800 executives found that two-thirds of the male and one-third of the female respondents thought that promotions to executive and board levels are equally attainable by both sexes.¹⁴ With such perceptions, organizational leaders are not investing time and energy in developing and sponsoring women leaders, nor do they interrupt the subtle gender dynamics that encumber their leadership attainment. The onus of responsibility for the lack of women leaders gets laid squarely on women's shoulders, perpetuating the narrative that they do not have what it takes to secure leadership roles. Developing understanding of second generation gender issues is most effective when the analysis is context specific and the impact of these dynamics on women, men, and organizational performance is made explicit.^{2, 37}

- **Male bosses and mentors need to be intentional in investing time and energy in sponsoring high-potential women in their organizations.** Our findings show the critical role that senior male executives can potentially play in closing the gender leadership gap. Senior men need to be strategic partners in change. They need to be actively engaged in the leadership development of women and to take a leadership role in helping their organizations appreciate the performance benefits that derive from gender diversity in leadership teams.

- **Women bosses and mentors need to complement the socio-emotional advice and support that they give mentees with active sponsorship and strategic advice.** Our research supports the findings of other studies that show that women mentors can provide many benefits to their female mentees,³ but that this advice can fall short when it comes to increases in promotions or compensation.²⁶ Women mentoring other women can play a more critical role if they complement the socio-emotional and developmental support they give to their mentees with career advice that

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helps them become more strategic in how they respond to second generation gender issues. They can provide concrete strategic and tactical advice to their mentees for addressing gender issues and for advancing their careers. And they can, when they are so positioned, wield their influence to advocate for high-potential women mentees. Senior women may hesitate to actively sponsor other women for fear of diminishing their influence by being over-identified with gender issues. The more men can become engaged as sponsors and the more the connection between gender parity and organizational performance is understood, the more likely it is that senior women can also play a more active role without concern for repercussions.

- **Women pursuing leadership need to be strategic in seeking out sponsors as well as mentors.** Research carried out by Catalyst raises concerns that women can be “over mentored and under sponsored.”²⁶ Our research indicates that women turn to mentors more often than to their bosses for advice in dealing with gender issues, but that that advice does not necessarily translate into perceived success in addressing these issues. Our findings suggest that women need to be thoughtful about what kind of help they need *and*

the right people to ask for such help. Women often seek out socio-emotional support from mentors, which increases their job satisfaction and reduces stress.³ However, our findings suggest that they also need to be intentional in seeking out strategic and actionable advice from their mentors.

In addition to mentors, women also need to seek out support from a broader array of people in positions of power in their organizations.¹ They need influential sponsors who can give visibility to their accomplishments and advocate for them as organizational leaders. Catalyst's longitudinal study on a sample of 4000 high-potential MBA graduates from top business schools showed that men and women with mentors in top positions had higher rates of promotion and greater increases in compensation than those with mentors at lower levels of the organization.⁷ Given that men still hold the majority of leadership roles in organizations, aspiring women leaders need to be strategic about cultivating influential men as well as women as their sponsors. Women mentors need to support their female mentees to hone their strategic networking skills and identify appropriate senior-level leaders whom they should seek to cultivate as sponsors.

- **Women pursuing leadership need to invest in learning more about second gender issues and how they shape women's paths to leadership.** Our experience in educating women leaders and managers indicates that knowledge is a powerful tool for successfully addressing subtle gender dynamics. Much of the impact of subtle second generation gender issues derives from the fact that they are often not recognized when they occur and are perpetuated unintentionally. Understanding the ways in which subtle gender dynamics play out in organizations and shape women's careers is the first step in learning how to manage these dynamics. This knowledge makes gender dynamics overt and, hence, easier to address. The second step is to learn strategies for managing the dynamics successfully. These strategies can be learned, for example, from our *CGO Insights* and related writings; from women's leadership development programs and workshops; and from using our framework to engage peers, mentors, and sponsors in analyzing specific incidents of second generation gender issues in the workplace, and using that understanding to develop strategies for addressing them.

- **Leadership development programs for women need to incorporate attention to second generation gender bias and the importance of managing strategic relationships.** Leadership development programs for women are a fast-growing enterprise.¹⁶ Frequently, they just mirror development programs that would be suitable for any promising executive. Other programs, and the ones we support, frame the curriculum around second generation gen-

der issues and explicitly connect these issues with action plans that individuals can pursue. Typically, these programs include a segment on building strategic relationships, and indeed, a major benefit of these programs is the cultivation of a peer network formed from shared experiences in the program.²⁹ However, given our findings and our experience in several ongoing leadership development programs, they can go further in engaging senior leaders and helping women develop the kinds of relationships with key leaders who can be, as our research suggests, critical in dealing successfully with second generation gender issues.

Conclusion

To make lasting change in closing the leadership gap for women, organizations committed to high performance need to understand how subtle gender assumptions shape the leadership opportunities and career outcomes of men and women. At the individual level, men and women both need to understand how gender dynamics shape their opportunities differently, lending privilege to some and disadvantage to others. And then, working together, women and men need to intervene strategically to interrupt these dynamics in ways that are good for the organization, for women, and for men.

Understanding the ways in which subtle gender dynamics play out in organizations and shape women's careers is the first step in learning how to manage these dynamics.

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Endnotes

^aWe gratefully acknowledge Hewlett Packard's support in the administration of this electronic survey.

^bResponse options ranged from 1, *not at all*, to 5, *to a great extent*.

^cWe asked about 13 different relationships, such as female boss, male boss, female mentor in the organization, and male mentor in the organization. Respondents were able to indicate if they did not have a particular relationship. The amount of help ranged from 1, *no help*, to 5, *a significant amount of help*.

^dResponse options ranged from 1, *have tried and was very unsuccessful*, to 5, *have tried and was very successful*, with a separate option for *have not tried to address it*.

CGO Insights

^eAll reported findings are significant at accepted levels, $p < .001$, $p < .01$, or $p < .05$.

^fIt is important to note that some literature on mentoring includes sponsorship as one of a mentor's functions. For a seminal example, see Kram, K.E. 1983. Phases of the mentor relationship. *Academy of Management Journal*, 26: 608-625.

^gThis stands in contrast with some previous contentions in the popular press and prior research findings. See Belkin, L. 2003. The opt-out revolution. *The New York Times Magazine*, 26 October: 42-47, 58, 85; Merrill-Sands, D., Kickul, J., & Ingols, C. 2005. *CGO Insights* No. 20: Women pursuing leadership and power: Challenging the myth of the opt out revolution. Boston, MA: Center for Gender in Organizations, Simmons School of Management; Sellers, P. 2003. Power: Do women really want it? *Fortune*. 13 October: 80-100; Tischler, L. 2004. Where are the women? *FastCompany*, 79: 52-60; Wallis, C. 2004. The case for staying home: Why more young moms are opting out of the rat race. *Time*, 22 March: 50-59.

^hIt is also possible that personal friends and peers provide "relational help," the space for a woman to reflect and come up with strategies to approach her superiors. While this kind of help may be a critical precondition to getting actionable help, it may go unrecognized—get disappeared (Fletcher, 1999).

ⁱFor a comprehensive discussion on mentoring and sponsorship, see Ragins, B. & Kram, K. 2007. *The Handbook of Mentoring at Work: Theory, Research, and Practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

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