WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP 2ND EDITION

Contextual Dynamics and Boundaries

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Contextual Dynamics and Boundaries

BY

KARIN KLENKE

Leadership Development Institute (LDI) International, Midlothian, VA, USA

United Kingdom – North America – Japan
India – Malaysia – China

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

To the pantless horseman forever

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Preface

Women leaders, borrowing the title of Kelly's (2006) book, live in "powerful times." Expanding life expectancies, new fertility and contraceptive technologies, cures for diseases, knowledge economies, and advances in biotechnology and cognitive science have established a threshold that potentially enhances the quality of life for many people in developed and developing countries. On the other hand, in many parts of the world problems of global climate change, environmental sustainability along with fears generated by terrorism, and nuclear and biological warfare are also among some of the critical factors that affect our lives in the years to come.

The year 2016 offered many reasons and opportunities to publish the 2nd edition of my 2011 book. Women in virtually every context discussed in the book — politics, sports, business, technology, religion, military, and international — have made dramatic gains in attaining leadership roles and positions. First, there was the unprecedented prospect of Hillary Clinton running as the first woman for the presidency of the United States. Second, there were a record number of women as prime ministers and presidents around the globe. Angela Merkel is pursuing a fourth term in office as the Chancellor of Germany and Marine Le Pen is seeking the presidency of France. Third, in Africa, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf is celebrating her 10th year of presidency while in Brazil, former president Dilma Rousseff is waiting for her impeachment trial. Globally, Malala Yousafzai was the youngest woman to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

In sports, women brought home the largest number of medals during the 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; and female athletes in virtually every sport are banding together in the fight for equal pay. In religion, women have climbed the ladder to the highest leadership positions in the United States and have been appointed as bishops and senior pastors. In the Middle East, there are more female clerics than ever before. In technology, women are holding positions as Chief Technology Officers of high-profile companies such as Google. Yahoo's former chief operating officer, Marissa Mayer left the company with one of the largest payouts paid to an executive. Women business leaders are at the helm of companies as diverse as Nestle and Pacific Gas & Electric Company. Internationally, women have been awarded the Nobel Prize in disciplines such as chemistry, physics, and medicine as well as the Nobel Peace Prize. The terrorist attacks in Paris and Nice and the impact of millions of refugees in Europe have created opportunities for women to exercise leadership in their spheres of influence such as their families, communities, and nations and avoid the constraints imposed by their gendered, low-status positions.

Yes, 2016 was a good year to take a fresh look at women in leadership and women leaders and the changes they have brought about globally.

What does the future hold for women leaders in the various contexts discussed in this book? Or more importantly, how do women view their future as leaders in different contexts as organizations are transforming themselves from centralized, rational, efficient, machine-like structures with clearly defined lines of authority to decentralized, networked entities? What is the future of women's leadership in the global environment characterized by ambiguity, uncertainty, increasing interdependence, and interconnectivity in which managing paradox is an individual and organizational charge and a key leadership responsibility and competency?

Envisioning probable and alternative futures is the work of scenario planners who are mapping future scenarios to allow leaders to make better decisions. Scenarios offer a link between a

leader's vision, organizational strategy, and the future. According to Schwartz (1991), scenarios represent dimensions of the future that reflect the driving forces such as those mentioned above of that future. The author worked extensively with Royal Dutch/Shell after the company lost millions of dollars of profit, and used scenario planning to help make the company the largest in the world.

Scenario planning is based on systems thinking that allows the inclusion of factors that are difficult to formalize, such as novel insights about the future, deep shifts in values, unprecedented innovations, or significant shifts in demography. Women leaders skilled in scenario planning can, for example, identify several probable futures capturing their career path not knowing what kinds of careers to pursue when traditional progression through the ranks of management and numerous industries will no longer exist in a decade or two. Or they can design scenarios around a global world of quality for men and women knowing that such a scenario is more than a couple of decades away. Alternatively, they can create a scenario that paints a future in which women rule the Internet because presumably IT is genderless. In all cases, forces and drivers of change need to be identified and assembled into a viable framework from which multiple scenarios can be generated. But whatever scenarios emerge from this activity, according to Kelly (2006), "ultimately the test of a good scenario is whether it helps us to see the world differently, read the morning paper with a new eye and to connect the dots and find patterns that really matter in our future" (p. 245).

The contexts presented in this book were chosen because of their paradoxical nature. Despite the fact that women have made significant inroads in these contexts, they remain by and large male-dominated, illustrating the overriding counterintuitive nature of women's leadership. In writing this book, I have consulted a variety of sources including scholarly works on women in leadership, the popular press, the world of the arts and technology, interspersed some of my own research on women in leadership, and have documented the disparities between the scientific literature and public opinion of women leaders as filtered through

the mass media. The vignettes at the opening of each chapter, all new in the 2nd edition, are intended to portray a woman leader in the specific context the chapter represents. In addition, in some cases, the leadership experiences of the women depicted in the chapter opening also illustrate key concepts. For example, in Chapter 4 on women business leaders, the story of Indra Nooyi, CEO and Chairperson of PepsiCo, captures key concepts that are central in discussions of women in leadership such as transformational leadership. Although I have attempted to cover women leaders not only in different contexts but also in different cultures, from Scandinavia to China, France to Kenya, the overall anglocentric flavor of the research presented here is undeniable.

Chapter 1 sets the stage for some of the recurring themes that undergird the chapters of this book — changing expectations of women leaders, yet persistence of communal stereotypes in many contexts including the media, arts, religion, and military; the gendered nature of organization; the importance of contexts and women leaders' ability to cross contexts such as moving from CEOs of major corporations into the political arena; and the dynamic tension women leaders experience all over the globe. Perhaps the most consistent common thread is the paradoxes women leaders are confronted with. In just about every context, I discovered paradox, an important force in women's leadership which has received little attention in the literature.

Chapter 2 takes the reader on a historical journey chronicling women's achievements and competence as leaders from ancient civilizations through the 20th century. Since recorded history, women have served in positions as queens of nations, empresses, and tribal chiefs and occupied leadership roles in different contexts such as politics, science, and the arts. Some of the women leaders presented in this chapter such as Cleopatra and Messalina were either famous or infamous. Others such as Eleanor Roosevelt transformed themselves from handmaidens behind a leading man into accomplished leaders in their own right.

In revising Chapter 2, I looked for recent biographies and journal articles published between 2007 and 2016. Some of the historical women leaders such as Cleopatra continue to engage

public interest and fascination (Schiff, 2010) while others such as Messalina, whose last biography was written in the 1990s (Graves, 1995), have sunk into oblivion, forgotten by history. Political leadership, the topic of Chapter 3, has a long and distinguished history. Political leaders often, but not always, derive power from the office they hold which gives them the authority and power to lead in times of peace and war. Despite a diversity of theoretical approaches to political leadership, the field lacks a model that illuminates the interactions between leaders and followers in the context of politics and takes the impact of gender into consideration.

The discussion of female politicians in Chapter 3 was fueled by the 2016 presidential elections in the United States in which Hillary Clinton sought the presidency but lost to Donald Trump, and Michael Pence ran as vice presidential nominee on the Republican ticket. The revised Chapter 3 includes a discussion of Bolman and Deal's (2008) concept of reframing organizations, in which they present a well-defined perspective on organizational structure, relationship, politics, and image. The authors urge managers and leaders of any organization to evaluate each existing organizational concept or practice in four ways which the authors label as Structural, Human Resource, Political, and Symbolic Frames. By adopting a "framing/reframing" approach proposed by the authors, managers and leaders can become more effective and inspirational in their organizational functions. These concepts are applied specifically to political systems. Additionally, I added a section on political theory and updated the research on empowerment, political skills needed for women leaders and the section on stereotyping female politicians. There was a notable shift in attitudes toward female political leaders between 2008 when the first edition of this book was written and 2016 when Hillary Clinton was the democratic forerunner in the presidential race when people had a more realistic understanding of the role of women politicians.

Women as business and corporate leaders is the topic of Chapter 4. As in politics, historically men have been perceived as being better fit for corporate leadership. As the economy continues its transformation from a manufacturing economy to a knowledge-based economy, women's buying power is steadily

increasing and more and more leadership opportunities are developing for them in this context. A recent report called women the "Third Billion," meaning that globally, women are the next emerging economy. Women business leaders have demonstrated that they have the ability to articulate a vision and use their talents, skills, and political savvy to break the glass ceiling. However, the percentage of women CEOs has yet to pass the 10% mark. Gender-based barriers to senior leadership positions in corporations include sex-role stereotyping and lack of access to social networks.

Chapter 5 focuses on information technology as the defining context. Women are finding information-intensive organizations an environment congenial to their leadership style, transformational and charismatic leadership, especially in small- and medium-sized IT companies. Information and communication technologies have led to the development of virtual organizations in which leaders and followers are geographically and temporally dispersed and in which leaders must assume more responsibility for working with followers who are separated by distance and different time zones. I discuss the characteristics of the virtual leader and have updated the presentation of contemporary women leaders in IT. Leadership mediated by technology is known as e-leadership which offers a new conceptual lens for studying leadership. In the aftermath of the dot.com bust, many women are starting their own e-commerce companies and choose to exercise their leadership through entrepreneurship. With the explosive growth of online social networks, women have a new weapon to fight for visibility and recognition as leaders and assert their leadership.

In Chapter 6 on the mass media, which includes newspapers, television, film, and advertisement, women leaders are queens and villains. Despite the abundance of women on television, in leading roles in soap operas, cop shows, lawyer shows, and drama, the mass media remains a macho industry. Recent mergers between entertainment, telecommunications, and publishing firms have created huge monopolies that are dominated by men and in an industry that remains defined by a macho culture and patriarchal ideology. Leading women in this context included the queen of talk shows, Oprah Winfrey; female evening news anchors such as

Dianne Sawyer, Katie Couric; and Oscar winning film director Kathryn Bigelow. However, these leading women have retired from the screen but serve as role models for young girls pursuing careers in the media.

I expanded the section on objectification theory and rewrote the section on women leaders on TV. I also added a section on women's depiction in video games as a relatively unexplored context.

Chapter 7 analyzes women's leadership in the context of sports which, unlike other contexts such as technology which are assumed to be gender neutral, are clearly split along gender lines with some sports such as gymnastics sex-typed feminine and others such as wrestling sex-typed masculine. Women's participation in most sports has been greatly enhanced by Title IX legislation, a central contextual element, which mandates equal access of female athletes to participate in collegiate. The summer 2016 Olympics in Rio de Janeiro boosted women athletes who achieved significant successes in a number of individual and team sports. In addition to leading female athletes in a variety of sports ranging from tennis to skiing, women also find leadership opportunities as coaches and athletic directors. A new section covering women leaders in team sports focused on synchronized swimming was added as well as a discussion on the gender pay gap in sports.

The military context, featured in Chapter 8, is contextually defined by its hierarchical structure, command-and-control leadership style, and increasingly shaped by computer and communications networks. Since the military academies opened their doors to women in 1975, women are playing important roles in all service branches in U.S. military organizations. They occupy leadership roles such as intelligence analysts and fighter pilots but are excluded from active combat. An important theoretical development in this context is terror management theory which postulates that when faced with their own mortality, individuals buffer themselves by developing cultural worldviews that provide meaningful interpretations of mortality salience and by relying on their self-esteem as psychological defenses. I updated the research on top management teams (TMTs) to show that TMT constructs such as mortality salience are linked to charismatic leadership,

creativity, and risky decision making. Female military leaders are now considered essential to the operation and transformation of the U.S. military as it adjusts to the changing nature of warfare and as women take on new functions such as peacekeeping and humanitarian and disaster relief. I reorganized this chapter and re-sequenced some of the subsections so that the material on the military as context for women's leadership appears after the introduction followed by female military leaders. I also added a section on net-centric warfare to underscore the importance of technology in contemporary military confrontations.

Women leaders in the world religions and the church, discussed in Chapter 9, are involved in a context defined by cultural and individual views of a supreme being, religious doctrine, personal charisma, tradition, and religious practices. According to many classic interpretations of scripture and church history, female leadership is not acceptable to the church. In the United States, there are significant differences between democratically oriented religions such as Christianity and Judaism and authoritarian religions such as Roman Catholicism where gender equality is a distant goal. In many denominations, the ordination of women remains a contested issue. While there have been numerous female religious leaders throughout history from biblical times through the present, the recent spirituality movement, often described as a new paradigm, has yet to produce a female leader. In this chapter, I added a separate section on the ordination of women, the canonization and critique of Mother Teresa, and contemporary female religious leaders. A new table, Table 9.1, is added to the chapter.

Chapter 10 features women leaders in the scientific, educational, and artistic arenas. The opening vignettes are presented in each of these three respective sections. The underrepresentation of women leaders in science is most clearly seen in the gender differences in the award of the Nobel Prize which has been given to more than 300 men compared to only 10 women. Despite affirmative action programs, highly publicized sex discrimination cases, and organized campaigns to raise awareness, women scientists lag behind their male counterparts, are paid less, receive fewer honors and grants, and hold fewer leadership positions. I added vignettes of

women leaders to each of the major section of Chapter 10 and a section on how to increase the participation of women in STEM and a discussion of the state-of-the-art of STEM careers path for women. Table 10.1 was updated and a new table, Table 10.2, was created. New women leaders were introduced in education and the arts. In education, which is usually considered a discipline congenial for women, at the upper echelons as university presidents, for example, relatively few women become institutional leaders. In the arts including music, dance, painting, and sculpture which are discussed in this chapter, large gender gaps persist with few extraordinary leaders in each field such as Marin Alsop in music, Martha Graham in dance, Elizabeth Peyton in contemporary painting, and Magdalena Abakanowicz in sculpture.

Cross-cultural, global leadership is the topic of Chapter 11. It focuses on global women leaders in four different contexts: politics, information technology, sports, and female Nobel Peace Prize Laureates. In all four contexts, women representing every continent have demonstrated extraordinary accomplishments on the world stage; however, they remain the exception. Significant differences across the globe afford different leadership opportunities to women in these contexts. Strongly egalitarian Scandinavian countries stand in sharp contrast to most Latin American countries and the Islamic world where equality in the workplace is a distant goal. Asian countries including China, Japan, Singapore, and India are emerging as dominant economies and cultural forces in the 21st century where women are playing a central role in the transformation of developing countries, in part because Asian countries are producing a highly educated workforce as one of their greatest economic assets. Development of female global leaders has become an economic imperative for many organizations around the world. I added new vignettes of women leaders in politics, business, technology, sports, and peace and replaced all female leaders in these contexts. A new section on female political leaders in the Middle East was added and Malala Yousafzai is presented as a global peace leader.

In Chapter 12, I reflect on my own leadership journey which has been influenced by both changes and the continuance of the

status quo. Women leaders in many parts of the world have leadership opportunities that never existed before as a result of technology, globalization, and demographic shifts that have produced more female graduates than in the past and created a workforce which consists of almost 50% women. At the same time, objectifying women in contexts such as sports and the media or the patriarchal ideology that permeates contexts such as the military and the church has changed very little. Current research findings on women leaders are intriguing because they illuminate the paradox of change versus persistence of the status quo. The epilogue also discusses the need of equal access to a diverse array of leadership development, education, and training programs and for organizations to grow women as global leaders and includes a section on networked-enhanced leadership development.

Working on this manuscript has further fueled my passion for the subject matter. Often students ask me why I study leadership and my answer is threefold; teaching, researching, and practicing leadership for me is (1) intellectually challenging because of the paradoxes and multiple contradictions that it entails; (2) emotionally compelling; and (3) spiritually uplifting and transcendent. If the revision of this book convinces readers of the extraordinary nature of the study of leadership, its complexities and perplexities, the need of us as women leaders to continuously reinvent ourselves and reap the rewards, successes, and failures that shape our lives as women and leaders, and the power of the "both/and" thought processes, we are positioned to develop the next generation of passionate women leaders who lead effectively in the face of many polarities and paradoxes such as completion and collaboration, globalization and localization, centralization and decentralization, and hard power and soft power. As Kelly so eloquently summarizes it, "reframing our current thinking about leadership to acknowledge its increasingly paradoxical nature may help us create new approaches to liberating the talents of a new and much needed generation of leaders, well suited for their time and worth well worthy of being followed" (p. 258). This statement bodes well for women.

1

Women's Leadership in Context

Mary Barra's appointment as CEO of General Motors (GM) became effective in January 2014, the first woman to ascend to the top job at a major auto company. Prior to her current position, Barra served as Vice President of Global Product Development and Vice President of Global Human Resources and several engineering and staff positions. In these roles, she was responsible for the design, engineering, program management, and quality of GM vehicles around the world. But Barra's tenure at GM goes back several decades before she was promoted to management and leadership positions. She started at GM as a co-op student at the Pontiac Motor division where her father served as a die maker for 39 years.

Her appointment as CEO came shortly before GM became embroiled in a scandal over faulty ignition switches which were linked to 13 deaths in crashes in which the air bags failed to deflate (Horovitz, 2014). Despite warnings, GM ignored them and installed the faulty ignition switch. Healy and Meier (2014) called the fatal ignition switch mistake as one of several foul-ups and stunning irresponsibility. The defect eventually played a part in 54 crashes and 13 deaths linked to the recall of 2.6 million cars worldwide. She earned a reputation of "tough guy" when she fired 15 employees over the ignition switch debacle. The crisis was an early test of Barra's leadership and has raised questions about whether

the 34-year company veteran can really change the culture as vast as GM, a company that has run through five CEOs in the last six years (Muller, 2014, p. 68). Barra reached an agreement with federal regulators to pay a record $35 million fine. She led GM through the crisis and a related series of embarrassing safety recalls. Her approach to leadership is one of consensus seeking, collaboration, and team building. Loftus (2014) claimed that the way Barra steered GM deftly through the ignition switch scandal was reminiscent of another great Detroit leader, Lee Iacocca who took the helm when Chrysler was in trouble.

Barra holds a Bachelor's degree in electrical engineering from the GM Institute (now Kettering University) and a Master's in Business Administration from Stanford University. She is the mother of two teenage children and married to an independent consultant, Tony Barra, whom she met as an undergraduate student at Kettering University. Her favorite cars are the Chevrolet Camaro and the Pontiac Firebird (Vlasic, 2013).

Barra serves on the GM Board of Directors (BoD) which includes several female directors. The company has been acknowledged for having a high percentage of women board members. In 2016, she took on the added role of chairwomen of the board, combining the roles of CEO and chairperson of the BoD. In 2014, Forbes *magazine named Barra as one of the "World's Most Powerful Women" and* Fortune *magazine placed her on the list of its "50 Most Powerful Women in Business." In 2016, she was again Number 1 on the* Fortune *list. In 2015, she appeared again on the list of* Forbes *magazine as Number 7 of 100 of the most powerful women. Under her leadership, GM is striving to become the global industry leader in automotive design and technology, product quality and safety, customer care and business results. Her appointment came shortly before GM became embroiled in a scandal over faulty small car ignition switches. Among the challenges Barra is facing are fixing GM's troubled European operations, spurring more growth in China and Asia, and improving relationships with suppliers. And while GM has been profitable for 15 consecutive quarters, it still lags competitors like Toyota and Ford Motor in overall earning (Vlasic, 2013). Barra has pledged to make GM the most valued auto company rather than just achieving the highest sales volumes. In 2016, she joined Trump's Strategic and Policy*

Forum to meet regularly with the President and other members of the team to discuss policy and its impact on economic growth, job creation, and productivity.

Her role as CEO and chairwomen of the BoD illustrates some of the concepts discussed in this chapter, including the role and importance of context, the intersection of gender and leadership shattering the glass ceiling, and role incongruity which are discussed in the following sections.

Introduction

Leadership is one of the most studied issues of our times. There are close to 3000 books on the topic listed on Amazon, as well as a variety of academic, practitioner, and popular journals, conferences, education programs offering undergraduate, masters, and doctoral degrees in leadership. However, as Fairhurst's work (2007) attests, the study of leadership remains fraught with tension, ambiguity, uncertainty, and paradox: so much scholarly fire and fury, so little illumination. On the one hand, our general fascination with leadership — and a concomitant belief that leaders are the key to solving our problems — remains intense. On the other hand, this fascination is combined with a diminishing confidence that leaders in politics, business, and the church can deliver anything worthwhile at all (Tourish, 2008). Meindl (1985) argued that despite the sheer volume of theory and research devoted to the study of leadership, we have been unable to generate an understanding of leadership that is both intellectually compelling and emotionally satisfying. As a result, the concept of leadership remains largely elusive and enigmatic.

The study of leadership, as we know it today, is based on the paradigms we have formulated, the theories we have developed, the methodologies we have established, and the benchmarks for the practice of leadership we have put into use are in a state of transition. Many of them were developed when organizations were substantially different compared to contemporary firms. Much of what we currently know about leadership was learned in

the context of hierarchical bureaucratic structures. Embedded in this form of organization is both an ideology that supports sharp gradations of power and authority and a centralized flow of information and top-down directions from the CEO as the omnipotent leader residing at the apex of the organization. The prevalent leadership style has been command and control with power and authority resting with the CEO and channeled down the organizational hierarchy.

Is the study of leadership at the cusp of a paradigm shift? We have seen incremental shifts for decades. For example, transactional/transformational leadership (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978, 2003) has been the poster child of leadership theory for over 30 years. Nevertheless, the theory still represents a two-dimensional model of leadership like earlier theories such as democratic and autocratic, task- and people-oriented, or initiating structure and consideration leadership styles. A paradigm shift, also called a scientific revolution (Kuhn, 1962), requires a radical break from existing models of leadership. Paradigm shifts happen when enough anomalies have accrued that the dominant paradigm can no longer accommodate. For example, in the case of transactional and transformational leadership, the theory cannot account for leadership phenomena that we are observing in team-based organizations where the single, omnipotent leader who resides at the apex of the organization has been replaced by a top management team populated by senior executives in the C-suite, a group of "chief officers" such as the chief executive officer (CEO), chief operation officer (COO), chief financial officer (CFO), chief diversity officer (CDO), or chief information officer (CIO). The number of chief officers has greatly multiplied recently to include new position titles such as chief learning officer (CLO), chief ethics officer, and chief knowledge officer (CKO) signifying a shift in leadership from the individual to team or dispersed leadership. However, at this very top level of the organizational hierarchy, the number of women occupying positions in the C-suite remains very small.

Traditional theories of leadership such as trait (Mann, 1959; Stogdill, 1948, 1974), behavior (Halpin & Winer, 1957;

Lickert, 1967), and contingency (Fiedler, 1967; House, 1971; Kerr & Jermier, 1978) have given way to "new" theories (Bryman, 2004) including transactional/transformational (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978, 2003) and visionary leadership (Sashkin & Sashkin, 2003). Although traditional theories have focused on physical, personality, or cognitive traits, behavioral styles, and specific situations, the new theories have shifted the emphasis from the focus on leaders as omnipotent heroes and saviors whose performance accounts for organizational successes and failures to leadership processes which include followers a vital part of the leader–follower equation. Virtually all of the traditional theories are leader-centric. In contrast, the new theories take followers into account and some of them offer follower-centered perspectives (Chaleff, 2009; Kellerman, 2008; Meindl, 1985). As an alternative to the leader-centric theories, these authors proposed a follower-centric approach that views both leadership and its consequences as largely constructed by followers and hence influenced by followers' cognitive processes and inter-follower influence processes (Meindl & Shamir, 2006). The newer leadership theories also increasingly take into account the role of time and place in leadership, as leaders and followers can be geographically dispersed cutting through time zones and localities around the globe.

In addition to traditional and new leadership theories, we are now evidencing the emergence of a wide array of alternative models characterized by a focus on core concepts such as spirituality (Fry, 2003), authenticity (Avolio, Gardner, Walumba, Luthans, & May, 2004; Gardner & Avolio, 2005; Harter, 2001; Klenke, 2005a, 2007a), chaos and complexity (Marion & Uhl-Bien, 2001; Schneider & Somers, 2006; Uhl-Bien, Marion, & McKelvey, 2007), relationality (Ospina & Uhl-Bien, 2012; Uhl-Bien, 2006), ethics (Brown & Treviño, 2006; Ciulla, 2004), and transcendence (Carey, 1992; Crossan, Veran, & Nanjad, 2008). These emergent theories attempt to accommodate new organizational structures characterized by more fluid, temporal arrangements, rapidly changing technologies, increased globalization, and changing workplace demography. If we were to use one word to characterize the contemporary study of leadership, that word is

diversity: diversity of definitions, theories, and paradigms; diversity of gender and ethnicity; and diversity of contexts. Furthermore, this body of literature continues to offer a contradictory and at times confusing picture that illustrates the dissonance between theory and practice. For example, on the one hand, the media (Chapter 6) and popular literature emphasize women's success in leadership, and yet, on the other hand, they highlight their inability to succeed, especially in high-profile positions (Lamsa & Sintonen, 2001). This is a no-win situation: Women succeed in areas where culture and context allow, but they do not promote themselves as much as men do (Babcock & Lashever, 2003; Eagly & Carli, 2007a, 2007b); yet that very success undermines their chances for advancement.

Women in Leadership

In 1996, I published a book entitled *Women and Leadership: A Contextual Perspective* (Klenke, 1996) which chronicles how and why women rose to leadership and traced some of the obstacles women encounter in their quest for leadership and why they were underrepresented in leadership roles in many profit and nonprofit organizations. If women did occupy leadership positions, they were often evaluated less favorably than their male counterparts with similar backgrounds and experience and earned considerably less than their male colleagues. This is not only the prevailing pattern in the United States, but current research from abroad (Equal Opportunity Commission, 2007) indicates that based on a major study by the Equal Opportunity Commission in the United Kingdom, women in the United Kingdom are also significantly underrepresented in senior leadership roles across public and private sector industries and professions. The overriding premise of the second edition of the book, like its predecessor, is that leadership is to a considerable extent shaped by context. Contextual factors set the boundaries in which leaders and followers interact and determine the demands and constraints that are placed on leaders.

The term "*glass ceiling*" was dubbed by Hymowitz and Schelhardt (1986), two Wall Street reporters, to denote an invisible barrier to the upward movement and advancement of women and minorities in management. It is a barrier that appears invisible but is strong enough to hold women back from top-level jobs merely because they are women rather than because they lack job-relevant skills, education, or experience (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Morrison, White, Van Velsor, & the Center for Creative Leadership, 1992; Powell & Butterfield, 1994). Thus, even those women who rose steadily through the ranks eventually crashed into an impenetrable barrier while men are more likely to be accelerated into management positions by means of the "*glass escalator*" (Williams, 1992). According to Williams (1995), barriers preventing women from progressing into top leadership roles are even found in female-dominated occupations, where men ride a glass escalator to top positions.

For women, the executive suite seemed within their grasp, but they just could not break through the glass ceiling. The glass ceiling became a popular metaphor to explain why so few women moved up the organizational hierarchy and why they tended to be faced with more stringent requirements for promotion. Recent evidence suggests that women are breaking through the glass ceiling in many organizations (Dreher, 2003), which is not to say that the glass ceiling no longer exists. For example, Goodman, Fields, and Blum (2003) found that women were more likely to crack the glass ceiling in organizations that have lower management positions filled by women, higher management turnover, lower average management salary levels, place greater emphasis on development and promotion of employees, and operate in nonmanufacturing industries. This study, along with others, showed that institutionalized structural characteristics and organizational practices represent impediments that still make it difficult for women to break through the glass ceiling.

When women do break through the glass ceiling and reach senior executive positions, they are often faced with yet another barrier dubbed the "*glass wall*." The glass wall became a metaphor for a double-pane barrier symbolic of the invisible barrier that

surrounds the inner sanctum of powerful senior male executives. The glass wall implies that although some companies are promoting women to senior management levels, many women who shatter the glass ceiling are faced with yet another hurdle which often poses a bigger challenge and prevents them from rising to upper echelon leadership positions.

Ryan and Haslam (2005, 2007) extended the glass ceiling and the glass wall concepts to yet another metaphor which suggests that women are likely to find themselves on a "*glass cliff*" — an allusion to the fact that women's leadership positions in some organizations are relatively risky or precarious because they are promoted in companies or divisions that are in a crisis. Such positions, according to the authors, "are potentially dangerous for women who hold them, as companies that experience consistently bad performances are likely to attract attention, both to their financial circumstances and to those on their board of directors" (Haslam & Ryan, 2008, p. 531; Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, & Bongiorno, 2011). In short, the concept of the glass cliff captures how women's roles in top leadership are associated with a higher risk of failure. In a qualitative study, Ryan, Haslam, and Postmes (2007) studied the reaction of women and men to the glass cliff. The findings of this study showed that while women were most likely to explain the glass cliff in terms of pernicious processes such as a lack of alternative opportunities, sexism, or men's in-group favoritism, men were most likely to favor largely benign interpretations, such as women's suitability for difficult leadership tasks, the need for strategic decision making, or company factors unrelated to gender. Marissa Mayer in the opening vignette illustrates the dynamics of the glass cliff, showing that firms like yahoo are more likely to appoint women in leadership roles when the firms are not doing well.

Klenke (1996, 1997) introduced the metaphor of the labyrinth to capture women's journeys as leaders as an alternative to the glass ceiling and related concepts. In Greek mythology, the labyrinth located on the island of Crete housed the Minotaur, a monster with a bull's body and a human head feasting on young Athenian girls and boys who were offered to break the curse hanging over

the city of Athens. In order to break this spell, the gods sent Theseus, son of Poseidon, to kill the Minotaur. Ariadne, daughter of the king of Crete, fell in love with Theseus and furnished him with a ball of thread which guided him out of the labyrinth after he slayed the Minotaur. I used the labyrinth metaphor to underscore the image of women leaders who make some initial inroads in the labyrinth of leadership but then may not find their way out (i.e., advancing to higher levels) without a thread of Ariadne. This thread may consist of a new leadership paradigm, new organizational structures or different contexts that are more congenial to women's progress as leaders or revitalized industries that offer greater gender equality.

Eagly and Carli (2007a, 2007b) agree that the labyrinth is a better metaphor than the glass ceiling for what confronts women in their leadership pursuits. The authors note that it is:

> an image with a long and varied history in ancient Greece, India, Nepal, native North and South America, medieval Europe and elsewhere. As a contemporary symbol, it conveys the idea of a complex journey toward a goal worth striving for. Passage through a labyrinth is not simple or direct, but requires persistence, awareness of one's progress, and a careful analysis of the puzzles that lie ahead. For women who aspire to top leadership, routes exist but there are full of twists and turns, both expected and unexpected. Because all labyrinths have a viable route to the center, it is understood that the goals are attainable. The metaphor acknowledges obstacles but it is not ultimately discouraging. (p. x)

The leadership labyrinth (Klenke, 1996, 1997a, 1997b) has implications for further studies of how women leaders might successfully navigate the labyrinth-like path to the top of organizations and how organizations can best champion and support them in their journey.

Despite the many roadblocks that appear to exist, a number of women have reached top management positions and are

occupying elite executive leadership roles, permitting researchers to examine factors associated with their success. Furst and Reeves (2008) argued that women's emergence as leaders is due to the interaction of perceived personality characteristics, leadership styles, and accumulated experiences with the demands of a turbulent business environment. The authors note that "this type of environment demands leaders who communicate openly, encourage collaborative decision-making, take risks, share burdens with subordinates, and demonstrate integrity" (p. 381). In contemporary organizations which are flatter and less hierarchical compared to traditional bureaucratic organizations, women leaders are often consensus builders, conciliators, and collaborators; they are transformational leaders who are motivational and flexible in their leadership style who transcend their self-interests for the good of the group or organization.

Contextualizing Leadership

Klenke (1996) argued that context influences what leaders must do and what they can do. However, until recently, what has been lost in discussions of leadership is context (Kellerman, 2015). A leader's mission and purpose — her reason for serving as a leader in her family, organization, church, community, sports club, or nation — is partly dictated by the demands and constraints of context. At all levels, individual, group, organizational, and societal, leadership is tied to context. It is context that shapes the process of leadership. Therefore, examining women in leadership from this perspective means analyzing different contexts such as business, politics, technology, sports, the media, and the global village. According to Klenke (1996):

> contextual factors set the boundaries within which leaders and followers interact and determine the constraints and demands that surround the leader-follower dyad. Therefore requirements and demands for leadership differ depending on contextual dynamics and boundaries.

> For example, exercising leadership in the context of political systems in which leaders are appointed or elected is different from practicing leadership in social movements such as the women's and civil rights movements, where leaders emerge as a function of a crisis. Evaluating a leading artist calls for a different set of criteria compared to evaluating the contributions of a leading scientist. Religion, science, the arts, and informal and formal organizations are complex networks of relationships, each with its own contextual parameters. The context of leadership may be private or public, a small or large organization, an affluent or poor community, or a developed or underdeveloped nation, each with its own distinguishing contextual features. (p. 18)

Although context was not totally ignored in the past, leadership researchers focused instead on leaders and more recently added followers to the equation. Porter and McLaughlin (2006), for example, estimated that three out of every four empirical articles ignore followers and organizational contexts, focusing instead on leader behaviors. The focus on individual leader behaviors, however, overlooks the broader social, political, or global forces that shape a given context. Likewise, little attention has been paid to the dynamic, interactional nature of different types and levels of context and therefore fails to explore the depth and complexity of the very phenomenon of context in the study of leadership. As a result, it remains unclear how far context influences individuals and, alternatively, the extent to which individuals draw on different contexts at different points in time to construct their own understanding of leadership. The leader-centric emphasis is related to our fascination and fixation with leaders (Burns, 1978, 2003). The fact that popular conceptions of leadership focus on the top of the organization and organizational structures for answers to organizational problems (Heifitz, 1994; Kellerman, 2007; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1988), and the notion that the simultaneous analysis of leaders, followers, and context is difficult have been cited as reasons for the lack of attention to context.

However, in recent years, the importance and criticality of context are increasingly recognized and often mandated in empirical studies because it is the context that shapes the performance standards and expectations which often define the roles of leaders and their spheres of influence. Osborn, Hunt, and Jauch (2002) referred to context as the "neglected side of leadership" (p. 797). The authors noted that leadership and its effectiveness are dependent on the context. Change the context and leadership changes. In most organizations, there is little need for innovative leadership when organizations face little conflict from the inside or the outside, when resources are abundant, and the environment is stable. However, when business conditions change, leadership is not only critical, it may be the sole path to successful adaptation and survival. This path is illuminated by numerous contextual factors which impinge upon the organization, leaders, and followers and seem to multiply during times of uncertainty and turbulence. As a result, research from a broader or systems perspective that includes context is needed.

Yet the idea that leadership is shaped by context is by no means new. As far back as the 1960s, theorists such as Fiedler (1967) and House (1971) proposed that leader behaviors are contingent on situational factors such as follower readiness. House and Aditya (1997) discussed various situational variables such as the external environment, technology, organizational structure, and levels of management as structural characteristics. Hunt (1991) argued that context not only relates to leader behaviors but is also instrumental in shaping organizational outcomes. The author offered a compelling view that context shapes leader behavior, and that leader behavior, in turn, shapes context within a systems paradigm of organizations.

Leaders master their context by seizing opportunities for action. According to Ambler (2005), they have an innate ability to read the forces that shaped the times in which they live and to seize on the resulting opportunities. Business leaders like Henry Ray Kroc, Mary Kay, Estée Lauder, and Jack Welch shared one critical leadership competence, *contextual intelligence.* That is, they possessed an acute sensitivity to the social, political, technological, and

demographic fabric of their time and place. And they adapted their enterprises to best respond to those forces. This ability is known as contextual intelligence which implies both a capability to discern trends in the face of complexity and adaptability while trying to shape events (Nye, 2008). Mayo and Nohria (2005) describe the importance of contextual intelligence when they state that business leaders need to have certain personal characteristics to be successful, but it is often the application of those characteristics within a specific context that defines great success. The authors define contextual intelligence as the ability to understand the limits of our knowledge and to adapt that knowledge to an environment different from the one in which it was developed.

Kutz (2008) reported that contextual intelligence requires "an intuitive grasp of relevant past events, acute awareness of present contextual variables, and awareness of the preferred future" (p. 18). The contextually intelligent person is one who "appropriately interprets and reacts to changing and volatile surroundings" (Kutz, 2010a, p. 271). Kutz described it as:

> the ability to recognize, assess, and assimilate several external and internal variables inherent in a given environment or circumstance. Simply stated, contextual intelligence is the ability to interpret and appropriately react to changing surroundings … [and] is a skill that separates many leaders from non-leaders … [and] depends on the correct assessment of people. (Kutz, 2010b, pp. 90–91)

Critical to Kutz's description of contextual intelligence is the understanding that it also includes the ease of movement between different contexts.

Given the importance of context, it is important for leaders to be able to make sense of the changing environment and then adapt their leadership style and behavior to ensure they are effective in the new context. The ability of leaders to transfer their skills across contexts involves contextual intelligence. Earlier generations of leaders often have had a fixed repertoire of competencies. In

today's multitasking environments, leaders need a broader repertoire of skills; to use an information age metaphor, they have a broader bandwidth and are able to tune carefully for different situations (Nye, 2008). Kellerman (2015) used the term *contextual expertise* as opposed to contextual intelligence referring to operating within the framework of a leadership system consisting of leaders, followers, and context.

Although contingencies and situational factors have been considered in the past, what is missing in the current leadership literature is a greater focus on new contextual factors that are critical for the survival of 21st century organizations. As stable bureaucracies are giving way to new organizational forms, volatility, uncertainty, and complexity are critical factors that characterize the context in which many contemporary leaders operate. Women's lives are particularly contextualized and are often nonlinear, representing a complex fabric of personal, professional, and community involvements and responsibilities. Their leadership and personal development are characterized by multiple role patterns, role discontinuities along with the need to maintain a sense of self. As women change their roles, move in and out of leadership roles, issues of identity continually surface (Madsen, 2006) especially since women leaders typically operate in multiple, interacting, and at times overlapping contexts. Because many women leaders function in more than one context (family, workplace, community), managing different contexts simultaneously remains a major challenge for women leaders.

Defining Context

The term context comes from the Latin root meaning "to knit together" or "to make a connection." Cappelli and Sherer (1991) defined context as those surroundings associated with phenomena which help to illuminate that phenomena. The authors' definition reflects the idea of context as a sensitizing process, providing insights into how particular environmental factors may serve as temporal and/or spatial boundary conditions around a

phenomenon of interest. According to Johns (2001), context involves those "situational opportunities and constraints that affect the occurrence and meaning of organizational behavior as well as functional relationships between variables" (p. 386). Johns defined context as a critical driver of cognition, attitudes, and behavior and a moderator of relations among lower level phenomena. Context, at a very basic level then, includes the environments, circumstances, and conditions within which leadership and followership are taking place. Understanding contexts from competing perspectives is a key to coping with the paradoxes and dilemmas of leadership. As one leadership theorist noted, "leadership is an interactive art in which the leader is dancing with the context, the problem, the faction, and the objective" (Williams, 2005, p. xiii).

Rousseau and Fried (2001) posited that context is a key factor in leadership and critical to fully understand leadership in practice. As defined by the authors, "contextualization means the linking of observations to a set of relevant facts, events, or points of view that make possible research and theory that form part of a larger whole. Contextualization can occur at any stage of the leadership process. It can operate in such a way as to provide constraints or opportunities for behavior and attitudes in leader–follower interactions" (p. 2). Perhaps, the most compelling reason to pay attention to context resides in its capacity to explain anomalous leadership phenomena such as the moral failure of highly effective leaders such as former president William Clinton or Kenneth Lay of Enron. In both of these cases, context — political and corporate, respectively — was an explanatory factor for the observed failed decision-making processes that marred both Clinton and Lay (Allen & Klenke, 2009).

Ambler (2005) proposed a simple contextual model based on four levels, each requiring a different set of competencies, styles, and approaches:

- *Personal leadership* which provides the foundation for all other leadership contexts is driven by our personal values and sense of purpose.

- *Team leadership* builds on personal competencies to create a motivated and inspired team cooperating toward a shared vision of success. In this context, leaders are required to manage team dynamics, manage team processes, and personalities, in a manner that enables each team member to contribute to the collective goals.
- *The context of business unit leadership* builds on team leadership practice by creating alignments across divisions and department based on a unified organizational strategy.
- *Organizational leadership* as a context occurs at the macro level and involves leading change and managing cultural transformation.

Ambler (2005) identified three levels of context that can potentially influence the understanding and practice of leadership in specific situations: (1) the immediate, proximate, or micro-level social context (e.g., job, technology, department, organization, industry); (2) the general cultural context (e.g., organizational culture, national culture, or the meso-level contexts); and (3) the historical, ideological, economic, political, and global or macro-level contexts (Figure 1.1).

Tosi (1991) suggested that setting leadership in the organizational context accomplishes two things. According to the author, "it first places a different focus on leadership/effectiveness relationships. Conventional leadership theories explicitly postulate effectiveness as a function of some measured dimensions (e.g., traits

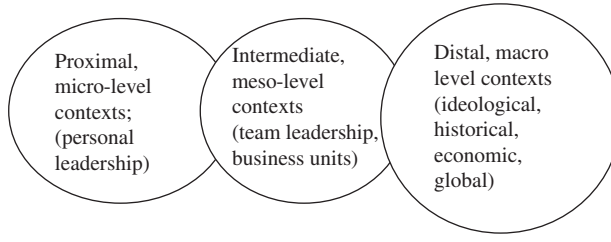

Figure 1.1: Leadership Contexts as Overlapping Concentric Circles.

or behaviors) of a single leader, not the effectiveness of the organization in which the leader functions. Second, a focus on context recognizes that leadership effects are constrained by broader forces operating in conjunction with the structure of individual tasks and the interactions between leaders and followers" (p. 212).

Seddon (1993) pointed out that more work needs to be done to increase our understanding of how context is conceptualized or framed. The author distinguishes between three frames: first, the "categorical" assumes the possibility of framing or contextualizing the world in terms of simple categories like leaders and followers. The second frame is the interpretivist frame which focuses on the specifics ignored by the first frame. The third frame is what Seddon terms the relational perspective which does not deny the second, but adds to it by suggesting that while much of the interpretivist perspective is described in terms of intentional meanings, there are many other influential factors that impinge on a particular context. As Gronn and Ribbins (1996) note, the relational context is composed of "networks of hierarchically stratified, material institutional arrangements, peculiar to different form of society or social formations which both provide opportunities for the expression, and constraint, of human agency" (p. 456). The relational perspective on contexts is reflected in contemporary leadership theories such as leader–member exchange theory (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Uhl-Bien, 2006) or stratified systems theory (Jacques, 1986, 2006).

According to Gronn (2005), "the significance of context for social analysis, including leadership, is that a context acts as a vehicle for positioning a phenomenon in order to make it meaningful" (p. 486). The author used the example of Mahatma Gandhi to demonstrate that like many other leaders Gandhi also led in many different contexts which included the Indian nationalist movement, nonviolent resistance, British Empire, spiritualism, and village lifestyles. Many women lead and follow in multiple contexts: their families, the workplace, the church, and sports they are involved in. Gronn explained that the "act of positioning a phenomenon in relation to a context means to consider it in relation to the properties of a category of prior knowledge with a view to bringing to bear a perspective or angle that affords that

phenomenon its distinctiveness" (p. 486). The author concluded that context is essentially another way of capturing the contingency of phenomena.

Pettigrew (1985) proposed "that one of the core requirements of a contextualist analysis is to understand the emergent, situational, and holistic features of a person or a process such as leadership" (p. 228). Traditionally, much of leadership research has been ahistorical, aprocessual, and acontextual. Now it is critical for theoretical developments in leadership to ensure that context is no longer defined just as an intraorganizational setting and that the organizational environment is not just defined in terms of activities of other organizations but takes a larger, more distal, macro-level perspective incorporating a broad, diversified environment in which leadership operates. Moreover, we have to factor in the prevailing socioeconomic, technological, and political contextual factors along with temporal and spatial constraints into our analyses of context and the rate of change which define certain contexts. For example, Fournier, Lachance, and Bujold (2009) called attention to contextual factors produced by nonstandard work such as part-time, contract work, and self-employment which creates a context that is different from permanent, full-time employment. According to Fournier et al., "the prolonged unemployment instability generated by nonstandard work patterns results in strong general feelings of uncertainty in some people that provoke role conflicts, hampers work-family balance, particularly in the case of women" (p. 321). According to Kellerman (2015), in some contexts such as technology, the media, and globalization, change occurs at such a blazing speed that leaders who fail to keep pace "risk being undone by the very context within which they are doing their leadership work" (p. 9).

Jepson (2009) discussed the pervasive neglect of deeper analyses of existing contexts and their importance for leadership noting that to date, "the dominant theoretical approach to the study of leadership has involved a focus on formulating models that primarily allow researchers to categorize leaders according to predetermined leadership styles and attributes. Only then do they take context into account via a narrow set of predefined contextual factors.

Research in this tradition has treated the exploration of these contexts as a matter of secondary, rather than primary importance" (pp. 37–38). To test her assumptions about the importance of context, Jepson (2009), in a qualitative interviewing study, conducted 78 semi-structured interviews in nine chemical companies located in Germany and another 27 interviews in three chemical companies located in the United Kingdom. The researcher found that it was the immediate organizational and social context that shaped the interviewees' perception of context and their leaders. For example, managers of labs described their own behavior as quite lasses-faire, participative, hands-off, and leading by example. Production or plant managers, on the hand, were more hands-on and controlling. Finally, sales and marketing managers seemed to utilize a combination of both the above approaches in response to the commercially driven, professional environment they are in. They were generally dealing with professionals who needed little control or supervision. The author concluded that "the influences of cultural and institutional contexts are strongly affected by aspects of the immediate social context, such as stress levels, work load, employee skills/needs and that this latter context at times outweighs the importance of the other two. She also found that it was the 'department' that was the most important type of context influencing employees' understanding of leadership" (p. 46).

The emergence of "post-bureaucratic," "boundaryless" or team-based organizations raise new questions about the role of leadership in these types of organizational settings (Shamir, 1999) because they represent new and unfamiliar contexts. New forms of organization include ad hoc, temporary, and virtual organization which may be arranged as information networks, flat structures characterized by professional autonomy, loose coupling, team work, and self-regulation (Cascio, 1995). Shamir (1999) suggested that one-way leadership may play itself out in the boundaryless organization is that the importance of leadership is diminished and the leader becomes disposable, much as in substitute theory of leadership (Kerr & Jermier, 1978) which proposed that certain organizational factors such as work group cohesion, formalization of structure, or workers desire for autonomy can

negate the need for a formal leader. At the same time, however, the boundaryless organization may also render leadership indispensable because of the newness of this organizational structure that prompts followers to look at their leaders to make sense of these unfamiliar organizational forms.

Because leadership always occurs in context, this book is intended to illuminate the criticality of different contexts in women's leadership. Among the contexts in which women exercise leadership examined here are political systems, corporations and business organizations, information technology, the media, sports, the military, church, education, arts, and sciences and the global stage. Each context has its distinguishing characteristics and features which interact with assumptions regarding women's leadership competencies and sex role stereotypes which, in turn, are subject to temporal and cultural fluctuations. For example, in the past, technology was a macho-typed context for leadership that favored men, but now information- and communication-intensive organizations are looking for leadership skills such as willingness to share information and communication transparency, skills which open leadership opportunities for women since they build on feminine-typed attributes. Several women in elite leadership positions are now at the helm of technology-driven organizations including Facebook COO Cheryl Sandberg, Marissa Mayer, former CEO and President of Yahoo, Susan Wojcicki of Google, and Angela Ahrendts, Senior VP for Retail at Apple.

General Contextual Factors

There are general contextual factors that leaders in all organization are confronted with. They include complexity, instability and dynamism, and perceived threats (Mulvey & Padilla, 2010, p. 53). Organizations in newer and fast cycle industries with greater technological innovation mean more complex contexts for their leaders (Castrogiovanni, 2002). For example, the global financial crisis of 2008–2009 has created a substantial amount of instability in international markets. Governments in North America, Europe, and Asia

have attempted to quell the financial unrest, with varying degrees of success. In doing so, governments have given their treasuries unprecedented power (Bailout Agreement, 2008) which placed increased cognitive demands on the leaders of these countries. Advances in technology and rapidly changing market conditions reflect environmental dynamism which is determined by the degree of unpredictability and speed of change in a given industry (Zahra, Priem, & Rasheed, 2005). Instability is also related to perceptions of threat to the organization, to its leaders and followers. Some leaders create and heighten the perception of an internal or external threat in order to attain more power. For example, political leaders have been accused of manufacturing crises to enhance their power.

Gender and Culture as Contexts for Women's Leadership

In addition to the general contextual factor discussed above, gender and culture provide additional contextual prisms (Klenke, 1996) through which to analyze women's leadership. Occupational segregation is a manifestation of the symbolic role of gender in organizational contexts which opposes female to male. According to Gherardi (1994), gender is one of the most powerful symbols; indeed, the very word "gender" encapsulates all the symbols that a culture elaborates to account for biological differences. Conducting "research that involves gender is a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micro-political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine natures" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). According to this definition, gender is not simply a property of women and men but a social dynamic. As such, it can be used in the study of organizational culture because it makes us ask how we do gender in a particular organizational context and when we as women assume leadership roles.

The concept of doing gender, as Fletcher (2004) stated, adds another layer of complexity to the context in which leadership is practiced. From this perspective, gender is conceptualized as a social dynamic rather than a role. An example of doing gender

comes from research on the underrepresentation of women on corporate boards (Chapter 4) which has shown how powerful men engage in practices of homosociality when they make top management decisions such as the selection of CEOs or corporate directors following the similar-to-me principle, that is, knowingly or unwittingly appointing other men who resemble them in certain ways — similar levels of experience, education, and leadership competencies associated with men and masculinities (Pesonen, Tienari, & Vanhala, 2009, p. 330). Similar dynamics are observed when women pursue other elite leadership positions. Doing gender consists of engaging in actions that are part of the social processes. These actions include practices of power that support or challenge domination of men and subordination of women or practices of production that reinforce and/or challenge a gendered division of labor (Connell, 2005).

Gender and culture interact. Female and male leaders build different cultures in their societies. According to Strati's (1992) interpretive definition of culture:

> an organizational culture consists of the symbols, beliefs, and patterns of behaviour learned, produced and created by people who devote their energies and labour to the life of an organization. It is expressed in the design of the organization and of work, in the artifacts and services that the organization produces, in the architecture of its premises, in the technologies it employs, in its ceremonials of encounter and meeting, in the temporal structuring of organizational courses of action, in the quality and conditions of its working life, in the ideologies of work, in the corporate philosophy, in the jargon, lifestyle and the physical appearance of the organization's members. (pp. 1−2)

According to Hofstede (1980, 2001), culture is to human collectivity what personality is to an individual. Culture comprises the attitudes, experiences, beliefs, and values of a social organization. Gendered organizations, that is, those with a predominant male or female membership, have strong cultures in which gender,

contextual characteristics, and cultural stereotypes interact. However, Bottery (2006) cautions that "the word culture should not be used interchangeably with 'context', because 'culture' is but one component of a web of geographical, religious, political, technological, and economic contexts that can just as easily be included or singled out for attention" (p. 169). Gender and culture are intertwined, coexisting in a reciprocal relationship. Gender is treated here as culture because gender-centric perspectives on leadership predominate resulting in male-dominated theories and research. Rather than treating gender as an individual characteristic or role, it is treated as culture emphasizing the social relationships and multiple identities that define leadership. Figure 1.2 depicts a

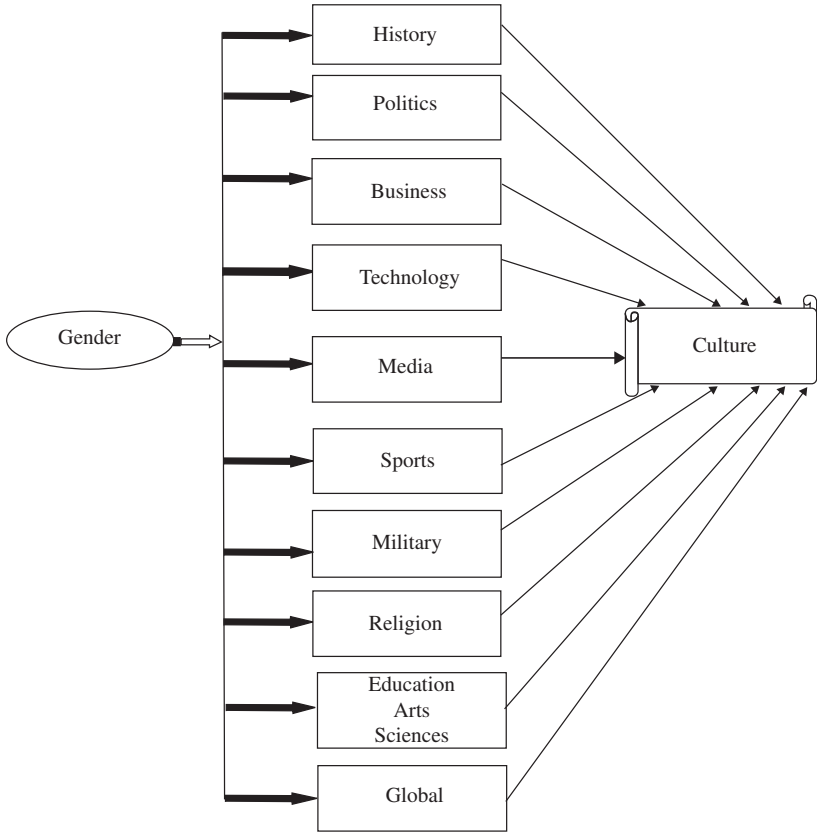

Figure 1.2: Contexts for Women's Leadership.

schematic that shows the links between gender, culture, and the diversity of contexts in which women lead. The contexts identified in Figure 1.2 span the range of very proximal such as individual sports to very distal such as the global village contexts.

Gender Differences in Leadership

The popular media (Chapter 6) has portrayed women and men as psychologically as different as two planets — Venus and Mars — and the general public is captivated by findings of gender differences. Best-selling books and popular magazines assert that men and women cannot get along because they communicate too differently. In the popular press as well as the scientific literature, we find repeated references to leadership styles labeled as either masculine or feminine. The prevailing stereotype is that female leaders take care and male leaders take charge (Hoyt, 2010).

Contemporary ideas about gender and leadership suggest that feminine characteristics afford women an advantage in today's workplace where more democratic and participatory styles in contemporary organizations are favored (Helgesen, 1995; Rosener, 1990; Vecchio, 2002). Helgesen (1995) popularized the idea of a "female advantage" women bring to the leadership roles when she described their leadership style as a web of inclusion in which power and information are shared arguing that women leaders are participative and empowering consensus builders. Likewise, Rosener (1990) referred to women's approach to leadership as interactive and discussed hallmarks of women's leadership approach such as motivating followers to transform their self-interests into those of the group. These popular descriptions of effective female leadership added to already existing paradoxes surrounding leadership. On the one hand, women's flexible approach to leadership, as opposed to the male command-and-control style, is critical in managing a heterogeneous, culturally diverse workforce. However, ironically enough, the very skills and traits women were once told have no place in the boardroom are

the very same which now presumably give them a leadership advantage.

Eagly and Johnson (1990) argued that different organizational contexts moderate the effects of gender differences. Contexts can be evaluated as more or less congenial for women leaders. Eagly and her collaborators (Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly, Karau, & Makhihijani, 1995) examined *gender congeniality* in several meta-analytic studies and found that a context is increasingly uncongenial for women leaders if it is male-dominated, if the woman is a token or solo, if the task is masculine stereotypic, and if hierarchy and power are stressed over egalitarianism and influence. van Engen, van der Leeden, and Willemsen (2001) tested the congeniality of context hypothesis in a field study to investigate whether the gender typing of the organizational context influenced leadership behaviors of male and female managers who employed task-oriented, people-oriented, or transformational leadership styles. The researchers sampled male and female managers in a single retail organization, which included masculine-typed contexts departments such as electronics and sports departments and feminine-typed contexts such as lingerie and cosmetics departments. They predicted no differences in leadership styles but hypothesized that gender typing of the department affects leadership behaviors. More specifically, they hypothesized that "when a department is more feminine-typed, male and female managers show more people-oriented and charismatic leadership styles and are less task-oriented" (p. 585). On the other hand, when a department was more masculine typed, they predicted male and female managers to exhibit more task-oriented leadership. However, the hypothesis that gender typing of the context (departments) influenced the leadership style of female and male managers was not supported.

Other research suggests that some studies appear to advantage women in leadership; others report that men are at an advantage. For example, on the other hand, Bowles and McGinn (2005) reported that men are more likely to promote themselves for leadership positions than women. Similarly, according to Small, Gelfand, Babcock, and Gettman (2007), when it comes to

negotiating for elite leadership positions which require promotions, opportunities, and resources, women are at a disadvantage because these situations are often unstructured, ambiguous, and riddled with negative gender stereotypes (Bowles & McGinn, 2005). Ashcraft and Mumby (2004) pointed out, the relationship between gender and leadership style can be complicated by numerous factors including the organizational context (Butterfield & Grinnell, 1999), perceptions and expectations of leaders (Carless, 1998), and ambivalence toward women as leaders (Eagly, Makhihijani, & Otto, 1991). Given these considerations, gender cannot be regarded as an isolated feature of identity, but interacts with broader structural, social, political, historical, cultural, and institutional context (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004; Klenke, 1996). We should be skeptical, Billing and Alvesson (2000) add, "of the idea that the same characteristics (feminine orientations) which earlier on could be used to disqualify women now should be characteristics facilitating the entrance of women to, and functioning in, managerial jobs" (p. 154).

Gender Differences in Leadership Style

Numerous studies have examined gender differences in leadership style such as democratic, task- versus relationship-oriented and transformational as well as evaluations of male and female leaders. Eagly and Johnson (1990), for instance, found that women adopted a more democratic and participatory style compared to the autocratic and directive style preferred by men. Likewise, van Engen and Willemsen (2004) found that women tend to lead in a more democratic way; however, this tendency decreased in male-dominated roles. On the other hand, Eagly and Johnson in their meta-analytic study showed that contrary to stereotypic assumptions, women did not lead in more of a relationship-oriented and less task-oriented style. However, these findings only held in studies where social roles were more regulated, such as in experiments as opposed to assessment studies and when female

managers were in more gender-integrated as opposed to male-dominated roles.

Gender differences in transformational leadership have also attracted research attention. Transformational leaders are entuned with their followers' feelings and promote social identification with the workforce. According to Burns (1978, 2003), they guide followers to a higher moral road. Transformational leadership is defined by four interrelated components: charisma, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individual consideration (Bass, 1985; Bass & Avolio, 1989; Howell & Avolio, 1993). The full range model also has a transactional component consisting of contingent reward, management-by-exception (both active and passive), and laissez-faire leadership which refers to the absence of leadership. In quantitative research on transformational/transactional leadership, the most commonly used measure is the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) (Bass & Avolio, 1997).

A distinguishing characteristic that differentiates transformational leadership from other styles of leadership is the "vision thing." According to Cameron, Quinn, DeGraff, and Thakor (2006), vision is a more of an essential quality in senior managers than in mid- or lower level managers. As a personal and executive characteristic, vision distinguishes top-level managers from other managers. Research on gender differences has shown that women are perceived lower in vision than their male peers (Ibarra & Obodura, 2008). The authors found that, with one exception, forwardness of thinking, women displayed stronger skills in areas such as relational skills. According to Post, DiTomaso, Lowe, Farris, and Cordere (2009), the female advantage is an advantage only when female leaders are also perceived as being visionary and innovative. The so-called female qualities of relationship and organizational skills are seen as more important at lower levels of the managerial hierarchy whereas vision is an essential requirement for top-level management.

Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and van Engen (2003), in a meta-analytic study of 45 studies of transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership, found that women leaders were more transformational than male leaders and displayed more contingent

reward behaviors, one of the dimensions of transactional leadership. This female advantage was shown on all four subscales of transformational leadership (charisma, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration). The one exception was the idealized influence subscale. The authors concluded that female leaders may have a behavioral repertoire, that is transformational and contingent reward leadership, that are congruent with the makeup of contemporary organizations.

Powell, Butterfield, and Bartol (2008), in a scenario study, investigated the role of gender differences in evaluations of transformational and transactional leaders. The findings revealed that research participants evaluated female transformational leaders more positively on extra effort, satisfaction, and effectiveness. In addition, female research participants rated female transformational leaders more positively. The authors concluded that the results supported "a female advantage in evaluations of transformational leaders, especially when they were rated by women" (p. 167).

Stempel, Rigotti, and Mohr (2015), in a quantitative questionnaire study, extended the Eagly et al. (2003) meta-analysis to a cross-cultural context. Research participants were 113 German asked to rate the probability of occurrence of specific transformational/transactional leadership behaviors as measured by the MLQ. The respondents represented a diversified set of contexts, including companies in private and public sector industries and held a variety of jobs in health and education, media, engineering, and administration contexts. The results revealed that women received higher ratings on several dimensions of transformational leadership, including intellectual stimulation, idealized influence, and individual consideration, and also used contingent reward from the transactional dimensions more than men. The authors concluded that their findings supported the role congruity theory which posits that different social roles such as gender and leadership roles can be more or less congruent or incongruent. For example, female leaders practicing democratic, communal, participatory leadership demonstrate congruence of leadership and gender roles. Conversely, female leaders who exhibit agent leadership characteristics such as aggressiveness, authoritativeness, and

dominance or a command-and-control leadership style demonstrate incongruence between leadership and gender roles. The results have to be interpreted in the context of German values and cultural norms of effective leadership characterized by high performance expectations and low levels of human orientation operationalized as compassion (Brodbeck, Frese, & Javidan, 2002).

However, not all studies reported a positive relationship between gender and transformational leadership. For example, Belasen and Frank's (2012) results failed to support the proposition that women would display stronger transformational behaviors than men. One of the explanations for the divergent findings that authors advanced was attributed to sample characteristics. Survey respondents in this study were male and female MBA students raising the possibility that the "women who participated in the study were not strong exemplars of traditional approaches to women leaders because of self-selection into the business education" (Belasen & Frank, 2012, p. 204).

Other research suggests that some studies appear to advantage women in leadership; others report that men are at an advantage. For example, Bowles and McGinn (2005) reported that men are more likely to promote themselves for leadership positions than women. Similarly, according to Small et al. (2007), when it comes to negotiating for elite leadership positions which require promotions, opportunities, and resources, women are at a disadvantage because these situations are often unstructured, ambiguous, and riddled with negative gender stereotypes (Bowles & McGinn, 2005). Ashcraft and Mumby (2004) pointed out that the relationship between gender and leadership style can be complicated by numerous factors including the organizational context (Butterfield & Grinnell, 1999), perceptions and expectations of leaders (Carless, 1998), and ambivalence toward women as leaders (Eagly, Makhihijani, & Otto, 1991). Given these considerations, gender cannot be regarded as an isolated feature of identity, but interacts with broader structural, social, political, historical, cultural, and institutional context (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004; Klenke, 1996). We should be skeptical, Billing and Alvesson (2000) add, "of the idea that the same characteristics (feminine orientations) which earlier

on could be used to disqualify women now should be characteristics facilitating the entrance of women to, and functioning in, managerial jobs" (p. 154).

These diverse and often contradictory and controversial findings may result from differences in research methods used (i.e., experiments, surveys), the different measuring instruments and procedures applied (i.e., observations, self- or other ratings), and, most importantly, the variety of organizational contexts studied (i.e., type of industry, type of organization, management level) (van Engen et al., 2001, p. 584). When female–male differences in transformational leadership and other leadership styles were observed, they tended to be relatively small. These results, along with similar findings obtained by a number of independent researchers, have been interpreted as a "female advantage" in leadership, a notion that has been hotly debated among scholars (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Helgesen, 1995; Powell, Butterfield, & Bartol, 2008; Rosener, 1990; Vecchio, 2002). However, Lamsa and Sintonen (2001) pointed out that "leadership models which ostensibly promote 'feminine' leadership styles fail to address more structurally embedded organizational practices and procedures that continue to favor traditionally masculine ways of working" (p. 161).

Gender Differences in Evaluations of Female and Male Leaders

Studies of gender differences in evaluations of women as leaders in the workplace show that women leaders who embrace autocratic, task-oriented, agentic leadership styles that are incongruent with female stereotypes may pay for it in hiring decisions and performance evaluations. Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky's (1992) meta-analysis of studies on gender and the evaluation of leaders found that overall women leaders were evaluated as positively as male leaders. However, women leaders who were portrayed as autocrats were at a substantial disadvantage compared to their male counterparts who exhibited the same leadership style. Thus,

this set of analyses led to the conclusion that the stereotype of women as nurturers leads to serious costs for women who violate this stereotype. In addition to being evaluated more negatively and being less likely to be selected for top leadership positions, successful female leaders often engender hostility, are not liked, and are personally demeaned for violating gender stereotypic expectations (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007).

To explain gender disparities in leadership styles and leader evaluations, a number of theoretical perspectives have been advanced to account for gender differences in leadership style and evaluations of female and male leaders. They include tokenism, role congruity, *Tokenism* and deficit communality theories. *Tokenism* (Kanter, 1977) theory suggests that token status exacerbates the less favorable evaluations of women, because tokens receive considerable attention that heightens pressure on them to perform well. Tokens are often encouraged to act in accordance with gender-based differences. When they assume roles considered gender-inappropriate, tokens may garner especially hostile reactions (Klenke, 1996; Yoder, 1991).

Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001) proposed the *gender incongruity theory* arguing that "perceived incongruity between the female gender role and typical leader roles tends to create prejudice toward female leaders that takes two form: (1) less favorable evaluation of women's (than men's) potential for leadership because leadership ability is more stereotypic of men than women and (2) less favorable evaluation of the actual leadership behavior of women than men because agentic behavior is perceived as less desirable in women than men" (p. 785). Moreover, as Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt suggested, gender-incongruent leaders such as female military officers may lack the authority to organize people and resources to accomplish the task-relevant goals that are inherent in the tasks. Several researchers (Prime, Carter, & Welbourne, 2009) discussed the difficulties and challenges that female leaders face stem from the incongruity of the traditional women's role and many leader roles. This incongruity, according to Frank and Belasen, creates vulnerability whereby women are confronted with prejudicial reactions that restrict their access to

leadership roles and negatively bias judgments of their performance as leaders.

Finally, Heilman and Okimoto's (2007) *deficit communality theory* suggests that women are negatively evaluated and encounter interpersonal hostility and penalties for success in traditionally male occupations because of a perceived deficit in nurturing and sensitive communal attributes (such as motherhood). The penalties may be averted when information about communality was conveyed by role information (e.g., motherhood status) and were indicated of successful female leaders' communality.

With much of the leadership and managerial literature developed by men and with many organization theories based on observations of male managers, it is not surprising that this focus on male leaders' experiences promotes male values as the managerial norms (Lamsa & Sintonen, 2001). Both contexts and gender stereotypes associated with leadership are dynamic constructs that are subject to change. Research over the past decade has shown, for instance, that women are becoming more agentic (Brooks, 2014), whereas the male leader stereotype has remained relatively stable with only a slight shift toward more communal characteristics reported among male leaders. This small shift may be attributed to greater participation of men in domestic and child-rearing responsibilities (Diekman & Eagly, 2000; Duehr & Bono, 2006). The findings obtained in both the Eagly and Carli (2003) and Stemple et al. (2015) studies, indicating gender neutrality for some of the transformational/transactional leadership styles such as management-by-exception, may also be interpreted as evidence of a convergence of stereotypic attributes ascribed to female and male leaders.

Elliott and Stead's (2008) review of the literature suggested the following contradictions and paradoxes:

- The numbers of women leaders are increasing, yet women are struggling to gain pay equity and standing in the workplace.

- Over recent years, the literature has ostensibly heralded female characteristics and ways of working as important, yet theory and practice continue to adopt masculine values that reify existing power relations as the norm.
- Policies and procedures within organizations offer a perception of fairness and objectivity, while women's leadership experience remains marginalized and excluded by masculine-oriented cultures and a preoccupation with traditional business organizations (p. 165).

The authors concluded that women's leadership is confrontational both empirically and theoretically. Although women's leadership may be different, the literature focuses on style and characteristics and continues to debate women and leadership separately from more detailed considerations of the broader sociocultural structures and contexts within which women live and work (p. 165). Even though new models of leadership emphasize the distributed nature of leadership, organizational reward systems continue to emphasize the importance of individual achievement and success. The heroic leader continues to attract attention and fascination of the public. In leaders' stories of their successes, the narratives tend to ignore the wider social networks and relational practices that helped them achieve prominence (Khurana, 2003).

Summary

As the number of women in the workforce and leadership roles increases, it is important to understand the intersection of gender and leadership (Jenner & Ferguson, 2009). Organizations are moving from a local to a global orientation, from being solely competitive to being more collaborative, from structures based on hierarchy to flexible arrangements, and from an emphasis on individuals to an emphasis on teams. Understanding context is crucial for effective leadership, and a more diversified and integrative approach to understanding the different leadership contexts in which we find women leaders needs to find its way into the

mainstream leadership literature. Contexts have changed radically over the past few decades as a result of globalization, technology, the media, and political, religious, and cultural diversity. In addition, leaders, female or male, function in multiple contexts — the world of the family, the world of work, professional societies, and sports clubs they belong to, their alma mater and philanthropic organizations. Kellerman (2015) argued that the contextual complexities of our contemporary societies in Western developed countries are so great that they are difficult if not impossible for leaders to address and manage effectively.

In addition to context, gender stereotypes continue to play an important role. As Klenke (1996) pointed out, gender is often the first prism through which women leaders are evaluated. Prejudice against female leaders emerges especially in leadership context that are male-dominated or regarded as requiring masculine qualities. The increase in female leaders in traditionally male bastions such as the military or corporate boards of directors has yet to be systematically examined. According to Lipman-Blumen (2006), whereas leaders in the past based their authority mainly on their access to political, economic, or military power, in the information age, effective leadership is based on power and information sharing, collaboration, and team work. Research has shown that women surpass men on these characteristics which have given rise to the concept of the female advantage which has generated a substantial body of work in both the popular press and scholarly literature resulting in inconsistent and controversial findings. However, although we have seen significant advances in women's access to leadership roles in a variety of types of organizations and industries, gender equality in leadership has yet to be established.