

“Walking on broken glass”: The changing nature of gendered constraints to career development and performance

“Caminhando sobre vidro quebrado”: a natureza mutável das restrições de género no desenvolvimento e desempenho profissional

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Abstract | This paper investigates the often invisible barriers to women’s career development and performance, through systematic review of literature on gender and labour within organisations. The methodological approach used in this study consists of a thorough literature review of scientific papers collected, via the Online Knowledge Library (b-on). Although gender equality in the labour market is a generally perceived as a ‘win-win’ situation for organisations and society as a whole, several barriers are imposed to women’s career development, which are driven by theoretical misconceptions. Executive leadership is a role that is still particularly difficult for women to achieve.

On the organisational level, an important contribution this paper makes relates to the identification and analysis of the barriers and sources of discrimination that affect women’s professional lives. Within the academic context, it acts as a wake-up call for researchers, to take additional care when addressing gender issues. This is because usage of inappropriate research methodologies creates knowledge that fails to represent women’s contemporary reality. The awareness of organisations regarding the benefits derived from having a gender-balanced workforce can be enhanced.

Keywords | Gender, glass ceiling/cliff, networks, segregation, economic performance.

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Resumo | Este artigo examina as barreiras – muitas vezes invisíveis – que se colocam à progressão e performance profissional das mulheres, através de uma revisão sistemática de literatura sobre género e trabalho nas organizações. A abordagem metodológica utilizada neste estudo consiste na revisão de artigos científicos obtidos através de pesquisas específicas realizadas na *Online Knowledge Library* (b-on). Embora a igualdade de género no mercado de trabalho seja um geralmente percebida como benéfica e vantajosa para as organizações e para a sociedade como um todo, são ainda persistentes inúmeras barreiras, frequentemente resultantes de equívocos teóricos, que condicionam o desenvolvimento e crescimento profissional das mulheres. Cargos de liderança executiva são particularmente difíceis de atingir para as profissionais do sexo feminino.

A nível organizacional, este estudo procura fazer uma importante contribuição para a identificação e análise das barreiras e fontes de discriminação que afetam a vida profissional das mulheres. No contexto académico, espera-se que artigo atue como uma chamada de atenção e seja encarado como um despertar das consciências dos investigadores, que deverão ter cuidados adicionais ao abordar as questões de género nos seus estudos. Isto porque se revela frequente a utilização de metodologias de pesquisa inadequadas que resultam em conclusões que não representam devidamente a realidade contemporânea. Espera-se, igualmente, que a reflexão sobre estas questões reforce ou estimule a tomada de consciência das organizações quanto aos benefícios de promoverem uma participação mais equilibrada de homens e mulheres.

Palavras-chave | Género, *glass ceiling/cliff*, redes, segregação, performance económica.

1. Introduction and methodology

Gender equality is perceived as a globally important goal, with social, economic and environmental benefits, and has been the focus of European Union Directives and national policies over the last decades (Bos, Koukoulis-Spiliotopoulos, & Masse-Dessen, 2014). Although regarded as a worthwhile goal with sound independent evidence of its positive outcomes, the cost related to the implementation of gender equality policies and measures has constrained their implementation and integration by Member States. This is often aggravated by the neglect of equal opportunities policies' benefits, which are not always included in government analyses against their so-called 'cost' (Holterman, 1995, cited in Smith & Bettio, 2008).

The European Commission has assigned half of the increase in Europe's overall employment rate and a quarter of the annual economic growth, registered since 1995, to the narrowing of the gap between male and female employment rates (European Commission, 2010).

As tourism is "built of human relations" (Aitchison, 2001, p. 134), the impact of gender relations on tourism is an interesting and under-researched topic. The role gender plays within tourism is of special interest as women are often encouraged to enter tourism employment due to its flexibility and its 'suitability' for women to engage in this activity without challenging gender norms regarding women's roles as home-based carers. However, one of the criticisms Swain (1995) makes about previous attempts to include gender in tourism analyses is that by failing to define gender they have failed to show how "interlocking dimensions of gender" (p. 251) operate within tourism. Indeed, even though women make up 55% of the labour force within tourism at a global level and 70% at a regional level, women often occupy low-paid jobs in tourism and their majority representation does not mirror the managerial leadership women play in this sector (Baum, 2013). Hence, there is a need to review the ways in which permeates organisational structures within tourism, for a better representation of the tourism labour reality. Since gendered economic dis-

courses are common for many industries, this paper takes an inclusive angle on the ways in which gender roles influence women's positionality in managerial discourse.

The economic independence of women enhances the purchasing power of households, increasing the consumption of goods and services and, thus, contributing to the economy (Smith & Bettio, 2008). Additionally, and regardless of the different approaches concerning the inclusion of housework in GDP measures, nowadays it is generally recognized that the time spent by household members in housework, and in other non-market work, enhances economic well-being. Also, "higher female earnings and bargaining power translate into greater investment in children's education, health and nutrition, which leads to economic growth in the long term" (OECD, 2012, p. 3).

Addressing gender issues in the economic arena benefits both women and the economy as a whole, by resulting in lower discrimination at work, less household violence and decreased poverty rates. In addition, there is evidence that higher fertility rates are associated with higher female employment rates (Smith & Bettio, 2008).

For the corporate world, the real importance and the need for legislative action to promote gender equality at work may lie in the fact that a gender-balanced corporate board achieves greater profitability. Gradually embracing the professional path, women face several barriers, which are not always visible and, thus, are difficult to eradicate from the organisational environment.

This conceptual paper presents a general review of gender issues in organisations. Three main subsections analyse some of the barriers and myths that prevent women reaching management positions in organisations in general, which is a topic broadly covered in the literature. Finally, a short discussion and main implications are presented.

The methodological approach used in this study consisted of a literature review of scientific papers collected through the Online Knowledge Library

(b-on). The database search was conducted in January 2015, using the search terms 'gender and [economic] performance', 'gender and networks', 'glass-cliff', 'gender and tourism' 'glass-ceiling' and 'occupational segregation'. In accordance with the selection criteria, papers addressed gender issues in the general organisational environment. Institutional or governmental reports were also included when their contribution was considered relevant. As this study is part of a larger study there were limitations to the selection criteria of publications reviewed in this paper. Hence, publications were selectively chosen based on their relevance to the topic of gender and organisation.

2. Invisible forces preventing women to climb the organisational ladder

Despite the increase in women's participation in higher education (United Nations, 2014), a proportional growth in women's presence in top-level positions has not been observed yet (Zhong & Couch, 2007). In fact, most of the highly qualified individuals are women; however, strong gender inequalities prevail, hindering the development of women's full potential in the labour market (C. Costa, Carvalho, & Breda, 2011). Therefore, women have a lower probability of engaging in leadership positions, and tend to occupy low and middle-level positions in their organisations (Carlos Costa, Carvalho, Caçador, & Breda, 2012), as they continue to be subject to a number of constraints and pressures, such as one or more as of the listed next.

2.1. From the 'Glass Ceiling' to the 'Glass Cliff'

Raising women's education levels and literacy rates was described, by OECD (2008, p. 43), as "one of the most effective investments for increasing female productivity, as well as enhancing the

well-being of families and children". In the OECD area, as well as all over the world, women are more highly educated than ever, representing a significant part of the available qualified labour force. However, "their share of management positions remains unacceptably low, with just a tiny proportion succeeding in breaking through the glass ceiling" (Shapatava, 2008, p. 12).

The phenomenon of 'glass ceiling' can be, generally, described as an invisible barrier that keeps women from occupying the highest level positions in the labour market. Zeng (2011, p. 312) claims that the origin of the concept originates in the 1980's and was first used by journalists, referring to "a specific type of labour market disadvantage encountered by women and minorities in advancing to the top positions in organisational hierarchies" and, thus, holding them back from achieving equality in the labour market.

Cotter, Hermsen, Ovadia and Vanneman (2001) defined glass ceiling as a specific type of gender or racial inequality that can be distinguished from other types of inequality. Analysing the literature on the topic, they outlined four criteria to define a glass ceiling effect. They classified glass ceiling as an inequality that: (i) cannot be explained by job-relevant characteristics of the employee, such as past qualifications or achievements; (ii) increases as one moves up the corporate ladder; (iii) affects the chances of career advancement; and (iv) increases over the career, whereas inequalities for promotions to higher levels are stronger than inequalities for promotions to lower levels.

As a result, women are underrepresented at all levels of management and do not (easily) reach top-management positions, evidencing the labour market failure to fully and effectively make use of the available human capital. "Male employment rates in managerial posts are higher than female rates in all OECD countries" (OECD, 2008, p. 29). Therefore, corporate boards are, generally, not gender-balanced. In fact, in 2013 most of OECD countries showed a lower share of women on boards of listed companies, com-

pared with the OECD average (18%), only Norway and Finland revealing a share of women higher than 40% (OECD, 2013). This result concerning Norway reflects the law decreed in 2003, announcing that all publicly-listed corporations must have at least 40% women on boards. "Initially the companies were given a chance to meet that target on a voluntary basis, but since the voluntary measures did not result in much progress, the requirements were made obligatory as of 1 January 2006" (European Union, 2012b, p. 17). Recently, the EU approved a proposal that seeks to promote gender equality in economic decision-making and to fully exploit the existing talent pool of candidates for more equal gender representation on company boards, by:

setting a minimum objective of a 40% presence of the underrepresented sex among the non-executive directors of companies listed on stock exchanges and by requiring companies with a lower share of the under-represented sex among the nonexecutive directors to introduce pre-established, clear, neutrally formulated and unambiguous criteria in selection procedures for those positions in order to attain that objective (European Union, 2012a, p. 5).

This Directive excludes small and medium-sized enterprises and must be applied by all Member States, at the latest by January 1st 2020 or, at the latest, by January 1st 2018, in case of listed companies which are public undertakings.

The institutionalisation of quotas is one of the most established mechanisms to enhance women's participation, and may range from mere commitments to legislative quotas which require the nomination of a certain percentage of women to specific seats (Haack, 2014). Thus, we are witnessing an important sign of progress. Although the proportion of women involved in top-level business decision-making remains very low (it rose from 8.5% to 13.7% in the last 10 years, in the EU), it is predicted to abruptly rise in the next years (European Union, 2012b).

This growing demand for a higher representation of women in top-level business decision-making has meant that attention has been drawn to their performance. It is believed that women on corporate boards bring a wider range of perspectives concerning "corporate decision-making, contribute to team-building and communications skill, and [...] adapt to changing circumstances" (OECD, 2008, p. 31).

For the corporate world, the real importance and the need for legislative action may lie in the fact that a gender-balanced corporate board achieves greater profitability. Indeed several studies present empirical evidences that support the idea that more women on corporate boards equates to more innovative, calm and effective board functioning. Nielsen and Huse (2010) found that the ratio of women directors is positively associated with board strategic control and effectiveness, through the increase of board development activities and the decrease of the level of conflict. Dezsó and Ross (Dezsó, 2012, p. 1084) claim that "female representation in top management leads to better firm performance but only to the extent that a firm is focused on innovation as part of its strategy".

Marco (2012) addressed the question, raised by some studies, concerning female CEO underperformance when compared to male CEO performance. This author found that women are perceived as underperforming due to absolute performance measures related to firm size, total sales, assets or profits. However, when relative performance measures are used, women and men are likely to prove equally effective business managers. Therefore, it is suggested that "stereotypes of women as poor performers must be abolished, and the glass ceiling preventing entry of women into management positions shattered" (Marco, 2012, p. 981).

Apart from the creation of quotas, other special sets of circumstances, such as economic and political crises or instability, create windows of opportunity for women (Haack, 2014). This is currently referred in the literature as the 'glass cliff' phenomenon. The notion of 'glass cliff' is also used to explain the

underperformance of women in management positions as it implies that women are "more likely to rise to positions of organisational leadership in time of crisis than in time of success, and men being more likely to achieve those positions in prosperous times" (Bruckmüller & Branscombe, 2010, p. 433). Women are 'allowed' to access executive offices when "leadership positions become so precarious due to the likelihood of failure that they become unattractive to men" (Ryan & Haslam, 2007, cited in Haack, 2014, p. 221). In view of this, Bruckmüller and Branscombe (2010, p. 449) add a curious comment, reporting the double irony of this situation: "when women get to enjoy the spoils of leadership (a) it is not because they are seen to deserve them, but because men no longer do, and (b) this only occurs when, and because, there are fewer spoils to enjoy".

Ryan and Haslam (2005) also pointed out the need to consider the situational factors when examining organisational and leadership outcomes. These authors found that companies were more likely to appoint women to their executive boards when facing general financial downturn or downturn in company performance during prior months. Thus, women who accept these leadership positions are "differentially exposed to criticism and in greater danger of being apportioned blame for negative outcomes that were set in training well before they assumed their new roles" (Ryan & Haslam, 2005, p. 87).

2.2. Gender within formal and informal networks

With men being concentrated in executive positions and women largely limited to junior managerial and functional roles, this results in women playing a less central role in informal communication, advice, friendship and influence networks (Perriton, 2006).

According to McDonald (2011, p. 327), network processes have been related to the reproduction of labour market inequalities. In fact, the author found that particular network features influence differential access to social capital, namely "gender and race

composition of networks are associated with access to job information and high status network alters" with homophily being "positively associated with vouching assistance from job contacts while heterophily is associated with higher status contacts".

According to Forret and Dougherty (2004, p. 430), certain networking behaviours enhance career outcomes, with gender differences in the returns of the networking behaviour as a career-enhancing strategy. Some of their findings were that the "involvement in networking behaviour was more beneficial for the career progress of males than of females"; "increasing internal visibility was significantly related to number of promotions and total compensation for men but not for women"; and "engaging in professional activities was positively related to total compensation for men, but the relationship was negative for women". Women currently face the stigma of not being fully trusted or accepted at the higher levels of the managerial hierarchy, which enhances the importance of creating strong ties to strategic partners capable of asserting their legitimacy and helping secure their advancement (Ibarra, 1997).

As knowledge becomes the most important strategic asset for organisations in the 21st century, "networks and networking are fundamental to the knowledge development and sharing processes" (Durbin, 2011, p. 101). Hence, networks increase access to information, which can be used instrumentally in accelerating or building leadership careers (Perriton, 2006).

Wolff and Moser (2009, p. 196) defined networking as "behaviours that are aimed at building, maintaining, and using informal relationships that possess the (potential) benefit of facilitating work-related activities of individuals by voluntarily granting access to resources and maximizing common advantages". In their study, they found that "networking behaviours can contribute to differential salary growth over time" and also that "individuals who engage in networking behaviours are more satisfied with their careers" (Wolff & Moser, 2009, p. 202).

In fact, the informal 'old-boys' networks, described by McDonald (2011, p. 317) as "those occupied by high status white men", facilitate access to privileged information within the organisation, as well as the formation of alliances, increasing the professional opportunities of their members. The informal nature of these networks makes it difficult to fight discrimination since organisations are not legally responsible for these informal work ties.

Whereas these informal networks boost men's professional lives, they work as an obstacle to women's career development (Kotiranta, Kovalainen, & Rouvinen, 2007; Zhong & Couch, 2007). "If excluded from informal male networks, women may miss out on important opportunities for promotion as they are viewed as being poor in social capital" (Durbin, 2011, p. 99). Besides lack of access to male networks, Linehan and Scullion (2008) and Singh, Vinnicombe, & Kumra (2006) point out that having less time available for networking due to family responsibilities is also conditional, as important work-related outcomes (e.g. receiving critical information) result from socialising out-of-hours.

According to Brass (1985, cited in Perriton, 2006), "women have an unrealistic expectation that reliance on formal structures will result in their advance into leadership roles", but those who believe they are deliberately excluded from male networks and are not willing for structural change, have created their own instrumental networks.

Earlier women's networks had a strong emphasis on the training and self-development opportunities available to their member, by offering "the opportunity to gain experience in chairing meetings, budgeting, marketing and debate" (Perriton, 2006, p. 102).

McCarthy (2004) also identified the reasons why women become members of formal networks, highlighting the following: (i) to provide opportunities for sharing experiences, (ii) to access work-related opportunities, (iii) to make professional contacts, (iv) to support the advancement of women in the field, (v) to learn new skills, and (vi) to make new friends. In turn, Singh, Vinnicombe, & Kumra (2006) divide

women's motivations for network membership into four groups: (i) pro-social motivations (e.g. to drive change, support others), (ii) career motivations (e.g. gaining mentors, learning), (iii) business-oriented motivations (e.g. getting business contacts), and (iv) social motivations (e.g. to meet other women).

Although many women have started to join same-gender networks in their organisations, industry or geographical region, there are still many doubts about the real benefits for career advancement deriving from this investment, and feelings of suspicion or hostility towards this membership. These feelings come mainly from the implied "narrative of victimhood" that women believe underpins these initiatives, derogatory comments often directed at members of sex-specific activities, or desire not to engage in women's equivalent of 'old-boys' networks (McCarthy, 2004, p. 43).

2.3. Occupational segregation

As claimed before, the use of absolute performance measures does not provide comparable results for women and men since, *a priori*, they concentrate themselves in different jobs and sectors: women tend to be concentrated in "typically female" sectors whilst men are found in "typically male" occupations. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as occupational or horizontal segregation.

In fact, the forces that impel women and men to different occupations manifest themselves during education. Whereas women are attracted, in the first place, to health and welfare areas, and secondly to humanities, arts and education; men prefer engineering, manufacturing and constructions, followed by mathematics and computer science (OECD, 2008). These trends accentuate the gender-based occupational discrimination, as according to Van Puyenbroeck, De Bruyne and Sels (2012, p. 6) "educational choices traditionally figures among the major factors driving occupational/sectoral gender segregation on the labour market".

Gender-based occupational segregation refers to the unequal distribution of male and female workers in different jobs or sectors (Campos-Soria, Marchante-Mera, & Roper-García, 2011) and becomes particularly problematic when disadvantaged groups are concentrated in jobs that are less skilled, low-paid and insecure, less autonomous, less valuable for the economy and with fewer employment-related benefits (European Commission, 2009; Gauchat, Kelly, & Wallace, 2012; Jordan, 1997). As Gauchat et al. (2012) found, gender segregation is still the strongest determinant of gender pay gap. Indeed, "women are consistently paid lower salaries across all sectors, regardless of their level of education or qualification" (Carvalho, Costa, Lykke, & Torres, 2014, p. 423).

Recurrently, firms justify their management and recruitment practices and the corresponding division of labour, by blaming individuals, society and/or the nature of the business. For example, one of the most frequent used justifications for gender-based concentration in part-time jobs is that women actually have preference for these in order to accommodate their domestic/family commitments (Jordan, 1997).

In addition, Cohen, Broschak and Haveman (1998) found that the representation of each gender in a company influences who gets hired and who gets promoted within the company. They concluded that "increases in women's representation occur where women are already present in substantial numbers" and they "are less likely to be promoted to positions where they are not already present; they are also less likely to be hired into these positions" (Cohen et al., 1998, p. 723). "The more an occupation is dominated by one sex, the more it is seen as inappropriate for the other sex" (Jarman, Blackburn, & Racko, 2012, p. 1008).

Apart from the over-representation in some types of sectors, women also appear to be more concentrated in smaller companies, in which they manage to match the presence of men in management positions, but they continue to be less present in larger firms (Poggio, 2010).

3. Discussion and implications

Although professional activity is increasing among women, with several countries presenting gender-balanced employment rates, women may not be facing equal treatment in their work environment. Sometimes they are confronted with invisible barriers that prevent them from climbing the organisational ladder, namely the 'glass ceiling' and 'glass cliff' phenomenon, occupational segregation and limitations of access to informal organisational networks.

The invisible and informal nature of the barriers presented to women in the organisational environment makes their identification and eradication difficult. Thus, women in decision-making levels are needed in order to open doors to other women and minimize the effects of these barriers. Also, governmental actions and policies are needed to minimize occupational segregation and other cultural restrictive factors, intervening for women to make initial inroads into managerial positions. Occupational segregation is strongly associated with other career outcomes for women and has a negative effect on their status and income. Besides pay systems, the percentage of each gender in each job also influences entry (likelihood of applying and being selected for a job/position) and promotion opportunities for women (Campos-Soria et al., 2011). "[...] Segregation is both the cause and the consequence of the way society views women", negatively affecting both men's perception of women and women's perception of themselves (Campos-Soria et al., 2011, p. 91).

This gendered division of labour should be therefore perceived as a multi-dimensional phenomenon and further studies are required both to more deeply understand the underlying structure of gender segregation and to provide an important input when it comes to designing policies. This, in turn, calls for increased awareness of the factors which determine or influence horizontal segregation.

Looking at vertical segregation, several authors such as Haack (2014), also remark that women are

appointed to leadership positions in contexts of crises due to gendered perceptions and expectations of women's characteristics, as they are usually associated with good governance and principles of honesty, innocence, social justice, equality, nurturing or intention to change; thus, in opposition to the systems of patronage and corruption promoted by male leaders. This means that even when women manage to break the 'glass-ceiling' they don't easily move within different executive offices. For example, financial offices are 'naturally' assigned to men and human resources management executive positions are assigned to women.., So women and men are strongly constrained by stereotypical understandings of what is suitable according to gender.

Although associated with positive career benefits and outcomes, not all kinds of networks promote gender equality in organisations as not all networks are accessible to women. Besides, it appears that men and women have different career outcomes from networking. As it is interestingly portrayed by Perriton (2006, p. 103), "men – as the most dominant group in most business organisations – work to maintain that dominance through the act of intentionally excluding women from their informal interactions". But, as this author also notes, this intentional exclusion is not only gender based and other men may also be targeted in relation to class, status, ethnicity, age, religion, disability or other factors (Perriton, 2006). Both for women and other excluded groups, engaging in mentoring programmes (that consist of seeking for other senior or successful women for advice, psychosocial support and as role models) or being associated with a male 'sponsor' within the organisation (influential network members who may act as a guarantor of their performance and credibility), can function as mechanisms to end discrimination in the workplace.

Whilst men tend to use networks to instrumentally promote their careers, women use theirs for social support (Singh et al., 2006). On one hand, as research also shows the persistent tendency for men and women to form networks within their own

gender, women's organisational networks seem to be growing. These may have started as informal gatherings of women but have evolved into formal networks, supported by many employers, who perceive them as a 'diversity' stronghold. However, scholars such as Ibarra (1997) and Perriton (2006) question if their time wouldn't be better harnessed in building ties with influential men. Based on interviews with private sector companies, Singh et al. (2006) also highlight the benefits of welcoming male members in women's networks in order to foster inclusion and raise awareness amongst men about issues that affect women. All in all, women may adopt a twin track approach, by finding social support amongst their own gender and simultaneously seeking instrumental sponsorship from influential male network members.

But then again, networks are very complex and the advantages of membership are not clear yet for women. There is still little research about the nature of corporate women's networks, networking behaviour (namely the motivation of the women involved, both as members and coordinators), and impact of formal membership on individual women's careers or on specific organisational outcomes.

It is important to raise the awareness of organisations regarding the benefits derived from having a gender-balance representation in their work force. Promoting female employment not only improves the profitability of the organisations but also enhances national economies. Very often, gender equality policies are thought to benefit employers, more than the employees, as companies that are perceived as gender equal or family-friendly are more likely to attract new and qualified human resources that are willing to join a company that offer work-life balance benefits rather than higher salaries. Although for Carvalho et al. (2014, p. 424/425) this contributes "to reduce the labour turnover and thus the cost of recruiting and training new professionals", these authors also remark that gender equality policies should not "be subsumed to profit or business growth instead of gender equality".

Equality between women and men is recognised as one of the European Union's core objectives. Hence, contemporary education and training programmes themselves should be capable of helping women build skills and create knowledge to succeed in organisational cultures. These programs should also provide women in particular with some guidance regarding which interpersonal and behavioural strategies are more suitable for overcoming these informal and invisible barriers.

Recent bibliometric research finds that a focus on gender in tourism research remains marginal and disarticulated from wider feminist and gender-aware research, lacking the critical mass of publications, citations and multi-institutional networks, which characterise other tourism sub-fields (Figueroa-Domecq, Pritchard, Segovia-Pérez, Morgan, & Villacé-Molinero, 2015). By presenting the ways in which gender influences labour relations, this paper aims to create discussion on how gender analyses of tourism labour can increase social and economic benefits for tourism stakeholders.

Hence, the differences observed among women and men should always be analysed within their social contexts, considering their different motivations and aspirations. Only then, can a researcher draw coherent conclusions and provide contributions to scientific knowledge, avoiding the replication and spreading of gender myths that injure women's professional reputation.

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