

# 10

## *Strategic Locations*

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### *Gender Issues in Business Management*

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Capitalism's "triumph" and the emphasis on market-driven approaches to development require that we carefully examine gender issues in business. Over the last decade, people of various ideological perspectives have looked less to states and international agencies and more to the private sector for development direction and support.<sup>1</sup> Women-in-development researchers, however, have focused more on public programs, grassroots organizations, small-scale enterprise, and industrial employment than on women in business and corporate management (for example, Berger and Buvinic 1989; OECD 1990; Elson 1991). If anything, a focus on women managers has been dismissed as irrelevant to the concerns of the poor majority.

This chapter focuses on gender issues in management from an international perspective. Put in simple terms, the topic is professional and managerial women's integration into "men's institutions," or institutions with a legacy of sole or majority male authorities and/or with a "gendered organizational culture" (a concept to be developed later). The chapter reviews available literature on women in management in private- and public-sector institutions. Building on this literature, the chapter then analyzes women's management experiences from three analytic perspectives that also have action implications: (1) human capital (women's skills, motivation, and behavior); (2) group and structural perspectives (internal networks and structures plus external political constituencies, public policies, and laws); and (3) organizational culture (gender ideologies that give rise to structures and group behavior).

The rationale for this topic derives from several factors. A strategy to increase the number of women in management is one of many strategies to realize growth and equity in development and to support feminist

concerns—feminist here meaning a core concern with gender subordination that manifests itself differently around the world (Sen and Crown 1987, 19). Various strands of women-in-development writing focus on diverse sources of change by sector and by level: top-down, bottom-up, economics, and politics, among others. All strategies need attention. Women in management are strategically placed to make change from above. It is a mistake to assume that all women would necessarily work for women or against gender subordination. Yet there is reason to believe that women may be more likely to open doors for talented women and to provide new balance and comprehensive attention to gender in the decision-making process. Evidence, though scanty, comes from research on women leaders and on feminist practices (see Staudt 1990, 3–34).<sup>2</sup> Managers have the authority to make policies that have consequences for employees and consumers. Women in sizable, critical-mass number might make, change, and/or transform policies, institutions, and the goods and services they provide in ways that are more accountable to women and men. Sustainable and humane development requires changes in contemporary business practices.

### *Gender in Management*

This section reviews studies of women's participation in management, focusing on their numbers and levels, the dynamics of underrepresentation, and gendered organizational culture.

#### *Women's Underrepresentation in Management*

A review by Adler and Izraeli (1988) affirmed that women's participation in management "remains negligible almost everywhere." They cited Management Centre Europe's 1982 survey of 420 companies in nine European countries. Only 49 percent *ever* had a woman manager. This same study showed marked underrepresentation by country: 8 percent of British managers, 9 percent of French managers, and 13 percent of Portuguese managers were female (Adler and Izraeli 1988, 7). A full review of the percentage of women in government cabinets, commissioned by the UN Division for the Advancement of Women, revealed that 4 percent of all cabinet positions are held by women. Based on tabulations from 170 countries, 45 percent of countries had no women in their cabinets (Staudt 1989).

Efforts to assess women's management participation run into the methodological problems of comparing

different national censuses. We have no comparative source that focuses solely on women in mid- to upper-level management. *World's Women 1970–1990: Trends and Statistics* (United Nations 1991) breaks down women's economic participation by region and then by occupational classification. In all regions except Latin America and the Caribbean, administrative and managerial workers make up the smallest percentage of women workers, at 20 percent or less. But this categorization exaggerates the size of the occupation on which this chapter is focused.

Women's work in multinational export-processing factories illustrates the possibilities associated with women's opportunities in management. A large volume of literature documents women's work in production, with scant attention to participation in management. Mexico's *maquiladoras* (export-processing factories) offer an example. Given the predominantly female labor force, how many women managers work in *maquiladoras*? Detailed figures on women in management are hard to come by. Instead, data are divided into three large categories: production workers, technicians, and administrative personnel. In 1985, Ciudad Juarez had almost even numbers of male and female administrative personnel, but this large category includes everything from secretaries to managers. Directly south, Chihuahua City (the state capital) *maquiladoras* employed 30 percent men and 70 percent women as administrative personnel.<sup>3</sup> Trade magazines periodically feature profiles of women managers, thus making them visible to the binational business community. Interviews with consultants and academics in the area reveal the scanty yet growing number of women at or near the top of various *maquilas*. Most of these women are believed to be middle- or upper-class in origin rather than recruited from the large pool of *operadoras*. According to one consultant, Japanese firms do a better job than U.S. firms of recruiting female personnel managers in the *maquilas* (Lowery 1990b, 40–44; "Women in the Maquilas" 1986).<sup>4</sup>

In the United States itself, considerable increases in the percentage of women in management occupations occurred from 1978 to 1988, after a visible women's movement and civil rights movement secured passage of various equal pay, equal opportunity, and affirmative action executive orders and after women's educational specializations began to broaden beyond traditional female occupations such as teacher and nurse. Women moved from 26 percent of persons in management occupations in 1978 to 39 percent in 1988, and women managers rose from 6 percent of all employed women to 11 percent (U.S. Department of Labor 1989). Yet the level of management is also important to consider. Most surveys show that women constitute around 2 percent of senior private management (Powell 1984, 13),<sup>5</sup> and 1987 civil service records showed that 8 percent of public executives in General Service ranks 16–18 were women (Rubin 1990, 283). The U.S. Department of Labor (1991) recently published "Report on the Glass Ceiling Initiative." It was based on a two-phase

review—first of ninety-four companies that documented the “dearth” of women and minorities in management, and then of nine companies’ upper-level recruitment processes. Researchers identified the “glass ceiling” as the “artificial barriers . . . that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward” (U.S. Department of Labor 1991, 1).

Elsewhere in the world, national studies also demonstrate female underrepresentation. In Singapore, where a large female labor pool supports export-processing factories, the percentage of women in management grew from 7 percent in 1970 to 18 percent in 1983 (Chan 1988, 57). Zambia’s two women out of 140 parastatal directors are pointed to as proof of nondiscrimination (Lungu 1989, 181). In Mexico’s once-huge state enterprise sector, there are 4,771 men and 283 women in high-level managerial positions (Correa 1983). In Japan, a study conducted by the Women’s Bureau reported that just 56 percent of companies offer promotion opportunities to women. The few women in management are concentrated at lower ranks, and those women often sacrifice marriage and family to demonstrate loyalty to their companies (Steinhoff and Tanaka 1988, 110). In Cuba, where official ideology promotes gender equality and enforcement mechanisms support *puestos preferentes* (preferential posts) for women, even garment factories with their large pools of women production workers show women representing only 4 percent of *dirigentes* (top management) (Safa 1989, 4).

### *Structural Dynamics of Underrepresentation*

Proportionality is important for reasons other than understanding baseline percentages from which women move. Organizational theory has long been concerned with the complex dynamics of proportional underrepresentation, and Rosabeth Kanter’s classic study of corporate behavior has transnational relevance (1977, chs. 6–8). Token new persons (women), not members of the demographically dominant group, face extraordinary performance pressures. They are expected to represent all members of their group—a heavy burden to bear. Dominants (men) frequently engage in “boundary-heightening” behavior, behaving or speaking in ways that distance themselves from the lone token. Whether by choice or not, tokens face “role encapsulation” or the assignment of tasks that seem to fit the perceived interests of the group, however stereotyped these might be. In response to these pressures, tokens aim to outperform their colleagues (leading to work burnout), to make themselves invisible, or to conform to stereotyped expectations, which, in the case of women, would lead to excessively feminine or maternal behavior. Drawing on studies from various parts of the world, we can understand the burdensome aspect of lone (token) women “pioneers” representing their group and the performance pressures that ensue.

Only after Indian independence were unmarried women allowed to take higher civil service examinations (married women gained entry in 1954). Initially, these few women in the civil service knew that they were being watched carefully; their performance could open or close doors for future female recruits. One pioneer administrator, Anna Malhotra, noted that the many men who failed “to make the grade in the civil service . . . did not stop the recruitment of men.” Another pioneer, Kiran Bedi, outperformed most men in the Indian police training program in rifle marksmanship, horseback riding, and arms drill. A senior woman in the foreign service said that “a woman has to be tough as nails and really ten times better than a man to survive in this type of job” (Everett 1984, 241). Yet even in 1983, only 7 percent of the Indian administrative service was female. Reinforcing Asian findings about women’s need to be better than men at the same level, a proverb is applied to Peruvian and Chilean women civil servants: “Whereas a man of silver will do, a woman must be made of gold” (Chaney 1979, 110).

Women are frequently assigned to positions for which their gender is deemed to be suitable. Notions of suitability vary from culture to culture, but these positions often involve personnel, women’s affairs, or front-line management of women workers. In the export-processing firms of northern Mexico, women in personnel have been recruited specifically because they are deemed better at understanding and recruiting women production workers. The massive 9 to 13 percent turnover per month in 1990–91 made this skill a premium. According to a worldwide study of women’s cabinet assignments (Staudt 1989), the largest number, involving approximately a third of the women, work in “social affairs,” including women’s affairs. Interestingly, though, the second largest number work in production-oriented ministries. No female central bank director was located. Joyce Mujuru, Zimbabwe’s Minister for Cooperative and Community Development and Women’s Affairs, and a former guerrilla fighter in the independence struggle, said that the obstacles she has faced as minister surpass those she faced during the war (and her *nom de guerre* was “spill blood”!) (Staudt 1989).

Thanks to early women risk takers, growing numbers of women and institutions have now survived the dynamics of tokenism. As a former woman ambassador to the United Nations noted: “If you can avoid the pitfalls of rage and paranoia and can hang in long enough to prove your seriousness and competence . . . then you can develop good relations based on mutual respect with almost all your colleagues” (Lynn 1987, 99). Here again, Rosabeth Kanter’s insights come into play. She categorizes proportional underrepresentation in different degrees: uniform (all dominants), skewed (1–15 percent nondominants), tilted (16–35 percent nondominants), and balanced. Says Kanter, interaction dynamics change as the percentage of nondominants increases. Once two or more nondominants participate in decision making, they tend to exhibit diverse

behaviors; dominants can no longer stereotype them as easily. Two or more nondominants can either begin building a base or, with their diverse interests, begin building a coalition with selected dominants. To the extent nondominants represent new values or constituencies, the move toward tilted or balanced groups creates the kinds of conditions under which transformation might take place, both in group processes and in group outcomes (Kanter 1977, ch. 8). In general, greater movement toward balance should break the kind of group dynamics that categorize, pressure, and potentially silence women.

### *Gendered Organizational Culture*

Organizational culture is a complex system of rituals, language, values, beliefs, and assumptions that become institutionalized and perpetuated by organizational survivors (see the discussion of Morgan, Ott, and Schein in Staudt 1991, ch. 3). To understand distinctive organizational cultures, one must understand an organization's founders, the stories and myths that become an organization's legacy and underlie its operational practices, and what it learned after passing through critical events. Organizational missions, tasks, and environments provide the broad context for understanding this culture. Put simply, organizational culture describes "the way we do things around here," and that way is far more dense than mere organizational charts and telephone directories make it appear.

In both public and private institutions, men have generally founded organizations in eras with peculiar constructions of gender-appropriate behavior. Until quite recently, these men's institutions were part of a public sphere quite apart from the private sphere, which was deemed women's appropriate place. Institutional hours, norms, and processes were invented and perpetuated with men in mind.

Quite apart from scholarly analysis of gender, management theorists have used gender imagery to classify organizations. Based on a sample of more than 116,000 people who worked at all organizational levels of a large, multinational corporation in forty countries, Dutch theorist Geert Hofstede developed four dimensions to understanding the "collective mental programming of people in an environment." His "masculinity-femininity dimension [taps] the extent to which the dominant values in society are 'masculine'—that is, assertiveness, the acquisition of money and things, and not caring for others, the quality of life, or people" (1980, 143). Management theorists Terrence Deal and Allan Kennedy (1982) identified what they call four "corporate tribes," one of which is the "tough-guy macho culture."

Organizational theorists who study gender and sexuality would probably argue that most or all organizations operate according to

deeply embedded gender constructs. According to British analyst Gareth Morgan (cited in Mills 1989, 34):

Many organizations are dominated by gender-related values that bias organizational life in favor of one sex over another. Thus . . . organizations often segment opportunity structure and job markets in ways that enable men to achieve positions of prestige and power more easily than women, and often operate in ways that produce gender-related biases in the way organizational reality is created and sustained on a day-to-day basis. This is most obvious in situations of open discrimination and various forms of sexual harassment, but often pervades the culture of an organization in a way that is much less visible.

The legacy of many twentieth-century institutional creations is, for lack of a better word, masculine. British colonial public institutions, the basis for many independent government institutions and state corporations, drew on sex-segregated male trainees for work in men's institutions, according to historians Robert Heussler (1963) and Helen Callaway (1987) in their studies of Nigeria. Recruits for the Indian civil service, renamed the Indian administrative service, were selected and trained for "gentlemanly" characteristics (cited in Staudt 1991, ch. 7).

### *Frameworks for Change*

After assessing what is known about the numbers of women in management, the structural dynamics of underrepresentation, and the thoroughly institutionalized gendered nature of organizational culture, the discussion now moves to three analytic frameworks with the potential to explain and resolve underrepresentation.

#### *Framework 1: Human Capital*

Human capital theories focus on the individual skills and motivations people bring to the labor market. In this framework, women's underrepresentation results from a short supply of managerial talent and aspiration among the female labor pool. Accordingly, expansion in women's education and training should be the focus to increase the pool of managerial talent from which recruits are drawn. The evidence for this particular picture of reality rests on gender differences in levels of education, types of specialization during education (for example, majors in business-related fields, humanities, or whatever is deemed the appropriate background), vocational aspirations that predispose specialization

selection, and temperamental characteristics that are seemingly suitable for management.

This framework shifts responsibility away from organizational structure, segregated labor markets, and prejudice to the underrepresented group. Although few people concerned with this issue would be likely to attribute responsibility for underrepresentation to women, ironically, many support solutions that are consistent with this explanatory framework.

Solutions come in two tracks. The first solution, long term in nature, would recruit more women in "nontraditional" fields or fields deemed appropriate for management specialization. No international consensus exists, however, on what educational specializations suit aspiring managers. British upper-level civil servants, for example, are typically recruits of the "Oxbridge" establishments, with specializations in the classics and humanities. This is at odds with sentiments in other settings, where technical training in business or engineering is considered better. Of the few women chief executives of countries, several excelled in "men's" fields: Margaret Thatcher (chemist), Eugenia Charles (lawyer), Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (chemical engineer), and Gro Brundtland (medical doctor). Of course, one might question whether it was the specialization that helped launch their careers or their long practice as pioneers integrating courses, professions, and the specialization.

Women are beginning to enter nontraditional fields in large numbers, such as business, law, and medicine (Stromquist 1991). A human capital approach would therefore predict dramatic increases in the number of women managers. Such predictions are likely overstated, for these supply-side approaches fail to address the demand-side factors that more comprehensively explain gender in management. Moreover, women's integration into nontraditional fields often occurs without any curricular focus on gender. Mary Cunningham (1983), brilliant product of the respected Harvard Business School, was hopelessly naive about sexual politics in Bendix Corporation management. Until curricula regularly include course work and reading on gender, otherwise well-prepared women will face surprising maneuvers in the actual work world.

The second solution involves short-term training programs and workshops to supply specific managerial and personal skills. After all, successful managerial work often results from on-the-job experience rather than background training. A veritable cottage industry exists in easily doable, short-term training programs that are aimed at building assertiveness, coping with sexual harassment, expanding accounting skills, and dealing with supervision, among many other topics. These programs are offered on in-house bases, from personnel departments, from outside consultants and firms, and at large-scale training institutions.

Two international institutions offer fine examples of institute training. In 1985 the Asian Institute of Management (AIM), located in Manila,

the Philippines, implemented a Women Managers in Business Organization Program funded by the Canadian International Development Agency. Since then seminars have been held in the region, Asia-specific cases have been generated for curricular use, and trainees have acquired skills in developing gender-based processes and projects. The Eastern and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI), located in Arusha, Tanzania, manages two programs on women in development and women in management. Not only do women from the region attend courses, but ESAMI faculty outside the program invite program faculty to address their classes and integrate relevant topics in mainstream courses that have a majority of male trainees. The International Labor Organization's Center for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training Centre in Turin, Italy, is also poised to offer courses on gender in management, beyond the women-in-development courses it already supplies.

Training courses, from two-day to two-month sessions, have been a common solution for management-identified problems since the 1950s, the heyday of international assistance in this area. However, such programs are plagued with common problems: how people are recruited, the incentive to attend, and absence of a supportive environment that promotes change upon the trainee's return. Moreover, the evaluation of training programs is in its infancy (Rao et al. 1991).<sup>6</sup>

Training ought to be thought of as more than an intensive course, removed from the actual workplace. On-the-job training includes apprenticeships or preparatory internships that can be managed to address underrepresentation and to enhance diversity in management. Internships provide practical experience for trainees. When those responsible for placement channel significant numbers of women into management internships, they legitimize women's credentials in ways that can shorten the transitional time it takes for women to establish their credibility among men.

### *Framework 2: Group-Structural Perspectives*

A group-structural approach moves beyond individualism toward the recognition that managerial recruitment and performance occur in internal networks, coalitions, and procedures and in response to external pressure, incentives, and cues. This set of demand-side explanations and solutions has the potential to displace or complement the first approach. In this framework, women's underrepresentation results from their exclusion from the "old-boy networks" that recruit and successfully place candidates. On the external level, old-boy networks continue because political constituencies have not successfully promoted legal tools that diversify the networks, supplement them with women's networks, or institute truly merit-based procedures that diversify management

in gender-neutral ways. Accordingly, these explanations lead to group-oriented recruitment, new policies and procedures, and the application of external pressure, incentives, and legal monitoring of recalcitrant organizations.

International efforts to transfer skills rely on people-to-people networks. The International Executive Service Corps (IESC) contains a skills bank of retired executives willing to provide services in response to specific requests.<sup>7</sup> Given women's underrepresentation in management, the skills bank contains just 150 women compared with 2,000 men. As more women integrate management, more are likely to make themselves available. A recently announced initiative in the U.S. Department of Treasury to develop a "white-collar peace corps" could do the same. However, male-preferential practices of U.S. corporations suggest that nonmerit orientations may be exported with such "people-transfer" efforts unless attention is given to gender ideology. Women's World Banking establishes national chapters around the world that respond primarily to women's small-business needs, but the structure is in place for women-to-women networking.

It has now become part of conventional wisdom to advocate mentorship and sponsors to expand the managerial promotion pool to include women. Mentors provide those they assist with crucial, often unwritten, information on how things get done, how people get ahead, and informal remarks about other employees. Given men's dominance in top management, mentorship is often a cross-sex or integrated pairing of individuals across hierarchical levels. As such, it could be tinged with traditional dominance-subordination behavior or with perceptions of sexual intimacy, which are usually devastating for women in management.

Many men's institutions need an overhaul toward sound personnel policies and procedures. Kanter's (1977) work is once again relevant. She identifies rigid "structures of opportunity" that often track men and women into different career paths. One consequence is "homosocial reproduction," wherein those at the top replace themselves with candidates of similar gender, ethnicity, race, and background. Good personnel practice would identify tracks, expand these ruts, and create bridges so that enlarged managerial pools are created.

A group-oriented strategy to address the performance pressures of tokenism would be to hire women in batches. Batch female hiring would dispel the stereotyped expectations that burden the lone female hire plus offer opportunities for women to coalesce among themselves and/or differentiate themselves in ways that allow diverse coalition building with men. More transformational structural change would envision some flattening of institutional hierarchies to broaden power sharing and reduce the distance that inhibits effective communication. Kanter's (1991) later work continues to emphasize opportunity-widening and power-sharing structures to make corporations flexible enough to respond creatively to change with a rich array of human talent.

Sound personnel practices frequently do not operate at the highest levels of corporate management. Top decision makers exempt themselves from equal employment opportunity responsibilities that, ironically, are often routinized at middle and lower levels. Recruitment is by word of mouth. In these circumstances, institutional policies ought to be enforced to ensure equal opportunity at all levels in the hierarchy. Executive search and referral firms should also be made aware of the seriousness of these policies.

At the external level, political constituencies should work to ensure that legal machinery is available to discourage discrimination. The vast majority of countries have rhetorical "equality" principles embedded in their constitutions and have supported various United Nations measures to promote equality. National vigilance to make rhetoric consistent with practice is essential. Besides having antidiscrimination laws with enforcement tools, political constituencies can address the many ways in which women as a group are disproportionately excluded from management. In the contemporary era of structural adjustment toward less government spending, public policies and tax laws can provide incentives to induce change in business practices. Negotiations over structural adjustment should promote real merit hiring, devoid of the common prejudices and exclusionary practices outlined in this chapter. As yet, conditionality that takes gender into account has no precedent.

### *Framework 3: Gendered Organizational Culture*

Individualist strategies, in light of the above structural opportunities and burdens, seem paltry and piecemeal. Without structural change, the demand for female talent is likely to be weak or nonexistent. Yet even structural changes may not go far enough to confront the massive ways in which organizational cultures have been historically gendered to exclude women from managerial positions.

An organizational cultural strategy would focus on the values and ideologies that prize male presence and culture at the institutional helm. In this framework, women's underrepresentation results from gender ideologies, shared by men and women alike, that men or male behavior is optimal if organizations are to survive and thrive. Accordingly, organizational cultural change would shift and enlarge mind-sets toward inclusive and transformational practices that prize diversity in management style and practice.

Organizational cultural change begins—but does not end—with chief executives who have the authority to make policy, send cues, and penalize noncompliance. These usually male executives, therefore, should be exposed to a type of expanded gender training program that consolidates their awareness of and their capacity to address the performance

problems associated with nondiverse management and practices excluding women. At the 1991 Association for Women in Development (AWID) meetings, Philadelphia consultant Elsie Cross presented many insights and strategies based on her work with U.S. corporations. Once invited in—typically by white male executives who understand the need to diversify given U.S. demographic changes—Cross and Associates start transforming organizational culture from top to bottom.

Of course, some CEOs are hopeless in this regard, and management theorists have long recognized that chief executives alone cannot induce compliance in large, hierarchical institutions. Says Anthony Downs (1967), a “diffusion of authority” selectively spreads policy directives from top to bottom. Moreover, bottom-up distortions in the information that is condensed and passed upward limit what chief executives actually know about their institutions.

Organizational cultural change strategies would also build subcultures for change inside organizations. An equal employment opportunity (EEO) office with resources, clout, leadership, and strategically placed staff plants could do the job. Better yet, a lead unit, unburdened with EEO’s obvious mission, could build broad coalitions for change. Moreover, outside constituencies can provide leverage to inside units in their change strategies.

Crisis in the wider environment of business institutions provides the context to induce internal change. Economic crisis, international competition, structural adjustment, and mergers are among the many kinds of conditions that provoke new ideologies and reorganization. As organizational theorist Philip Selznick once remarked, “Reorganization is fraught with terror and opportunity.” The opportunity to rethink recruitment and organizational process and style is an opening with the potential to diversify management (1957, 100).

Finally, the feminization of occupations has long been associated with decreasing salaries for those occupations (Pfeffer and Davis-Blake 1987). For cost-cutting reasons, women’s integration into management may be welcomed, but at lower pay levels than those of men. As international competition becomes more fierce, crises linked to institutional survival may draw attention to overvalued managerial salaries—overvalued in part because they have been male-majority occupations. Although not in managerial women’s interests, such a movement could result in smaller pay gaps between the highest and lowest ranks in institutional settings. Thus, capitalism’s “triumph” has mixed blessings.

In sum, women’s integration into management is limited but is undergoing change. Women in these circumstances face special structural and cultural dynamics, given their vast underrepresentation in men’s institutions. Strategies to address underrepresentation range from individualist human capital approaches to group and structural change

to, finally, transformed organizational culture. Those who act on explanatory strategies should be wary of superficial approaches that do not comprehensively address the group, structural, procedural, and policy dimensions of the institutions that men have created and sustained.

## Notes

1. Recent literature on international gender seems to accept the inevitability of capitalism’s “triumph” (Elson 1991). Of course, the public sector’s track record on gender has not been much better than the private sector’s.
2. Pamela Johnston Conover (1988) uses U.S. survey data from the National Election Pilot Study to argue that the much applauded “gender gap” is based not on differences between women and men but on differences between the sizable number of *feminist* women and men.
3. Data from Desarrollo Economico del Estado de Chihuahua, A.C., 1985, reported in Lowery (1990a, 23). The author’s phone interview with Mr. Herrera at the data source in Chihuahua City, and his fax response, revealed no more detailed figures. The International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) reports eighteen women for every 100 men in administrative and managerial work in Mexico. United Nations 1991, 106.
4. Based on the author’s September 1990 interviews with Ellwyn Stoddard, professor of sociology, and Henry King, Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas at El Paso, and with Lois Elias, Susan Lowery, and Don Nibbe, El Paso, Texas.
5. According to Jaclyn Fierman’s (1990) cover story in *Fortune*, women are one-half of 1 percent of the highest paid officers and directors of their companies—nineteen women out of 4,012, based on proxy statements of 799 public companies on combined lists of 1,000 of the largest U.S. industrial and service companies. Note that the number of women has almost doubled from ten in 1978.
6. Optimism regarding training flows from one of the earliest U.S. studies by Hennig and Jardim (1977). See critiques in Blum and Smith (1988, 528–45) and Franklin and Sweeney (1988, 48–65).
7. Based on the author’s September 1991 phone interview with Stevie Wilberding, Women’s Program at IESC, Stamford, Conn.

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