

Cross Cultural Study of Attitudes Toward Women as Managers in Four Countries

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Abstract

A cross-cultural comparison of attitudes towards women as managers involving 682 managerial and professional employees from the U. S., India, Japan, and Mexico was conducted. Various macro factors such as legislation, culture, and economic development, as well as relevant micro factors such as education, self-acceptance, and mentoring were discussed in the context of the four countries as they relate to attitudes toward women as managers. Results indicated that overall, the attitudes toward women as managers were most positive in the United States, followed by Mexico, then, Japan and, finally, India. In addition, the respondent's level of education, whether he or she had worked for a female manager, or had a female for a mentor, and his or her acceptance of others score, were all statistically significant in explaining the attitudes toward women as managers' scores in the U.S. *but not in any other country*. The impact of legislation and mechanisms for change regarding attitudes toward women are addressed.

Funding of 4.5 Million dollars bought a 22 % stake in Pierre Omidyar's four-year old entrepreneurial company. The capital providing venture firm also agreed to search for a professional Chief Executive Officer to run the company, and make the necessary preparations to take the company public. The newly recruited CEO served the company well. The IPO was hugely successful and made instant multimillionaires out of the founder and other top executives. The new CEO did just fine also with a net worth around \$500 million, after having sold shares worth \$86 million. With a market cap topping 20 billion dollars, the upstart company's market worth exceeds the combined value of such well known companies as Toys "R" Us, Kmart, Saks, and Nordstrom. The company is eBay, and it is an internet company. So what is so unique? Internet companies, and their phenomenal acceptance by investors, are well known by the success of such companies as Amazon, Netscape, Yahoo and America Online. What is unique about eBay is that the CEO, Meg Whitman, is a woman (Roth, 1999)! She joins Jill Barad of Mattel and Marion Sandler (who shares the top job at Golden West Financial) as only one of three female Chief Executive Officers¹ of a Fortune 500 company (Hotaling, 1999).

A Short Primer on Gender Discrimination

Prior to this century women were not welcome as students in many universities and colleges, and they did not have the right to vote in the U.S. until the 1920s (Wellington, 1998). As recently as 1971, a study of 144 texts used in private and public schools throughout the United States showed boys/men as doers and girls/women as helpers (Frazier and Dadker, 1973). More recently:

- The average weekly wage for women workers in the United States was found to be 76% of the weekly wages of working men, and only 68.4% for executive, administrative and managerial women (U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1999).
- Less than five percent of executive positions in the U.S. are held by women and only *four* of the Fortune 1000 women hold CEO positions. Over 92% of a sample of 1,251 executive women, in Fortune 1000 companies, reported the existence of a glass ceiling (Ragins et al., 1998).
- Since 1992 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) has received a total of 42,000 charges of wage discrimination. In 1998 alone, 6,200 charges of wage bias were filed (<http://ecoc.gov/press/4-15-99.html>).
- A study of 1,000 female and male mid-level managers from 20 companies in the U.S. found that, although comparably qualified and career motivated, over a five year period the salary raises women had received lagged behind that of their male counterparts by 11% and they had received fewer job transfers (Segal and Kellner, 1992).
- 7,273 sexual harassment charges (8.3 percent of all discrimination charges) were filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission during 1993. Women filed a vast majority of those (Schwartz, 1994).
- African American women earn only 65% and Hispanic women 55% of what white men earn (Thompson, 1999). Asian/other women earn 67 cents for every dollar earned by men (Workplace Visions, Society for Human Resource Management, 1998).

The management literature makes it increasingly clear that women have the ability and motivation to be high performing executives when they are given the opportunity (Ragins, et al., 1998; Daily, et al., 1999). The failure of organizations to provide this opportunity has contributed to women becoming entrepreneurs four times as often as men. Businesses owned by women represent 38% of all businesses and employ approximately 25% of all U. S. workers (Thomas, 1999).

While discrimination is likely to be a significant factor responsible for the lack of women in the upper echelons of management in the U.S., other explanations are presented in the literature.

The “pipeline” theory which refers to the amount of time it takes to acquire the experience required to advance to top management positions is a frequently cited reason for the low percentage of women in senior management (Karsten, 1994). Another explanation relates to the dual labor market theory (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990). This refers to women traditionally assigned to second grade jobs as well as staff or support functions, while men are in the more visible line positions, thus allowing greater access to top management positions.

The validity of these and other explanations notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that discrimination has played a major role in impeding the advancement of women in organizational settings. Discrimination is a behavior that reflects unfavorable attitudes and beliefs concerning people who are "different" from the dominant group on the basis of such factors as race, national origin, ethnicity, disabilities, age, religion, sexual orientation and, the primary interest of this paper, gender. Attitudes are likes and dislikes which can have a very powerful influence on behavior (Bem, 1970). If these attitudes are negative or unfavorable toward a target person or group, the result in employment situations is quite likely to be discrimination in providing equal employment opportunities.

The plight of women concerning fair and equitable treatment is not unique to the United States. A 1995 United Nations Development report states: “Women and men still live in an unequal world....while the doors to education and health opportunities have opened rapidly for women, the doors to economic and political opportunities are barely ajar” (Wright, 1995). The report goes on to state that according to the U. S. Commerce Department, “women’s salaries lag behind men’s in all countries but one – Paraguay. As a worldwide average, women are paid 30% to 40% less than their male counterparts for the same work....globally, only 20% of managers and fewer than 6% of senior managers are female....women’s economic contributions are undervalued to the tune of \$11 trillion a year” (Wright, 1995).

The present research compares the attitudes that Indian, Japanese, Mexican, and United States managerial, technical and professional employees have toward women as managers. Following is a brief discussion, for each country, of macro factors such as legislation, culture, and economic development, as well as any relevant micro factors such as education, self-acceptance, and mentoring.

India

At the time of the independence movement to gain freedom from British rule, a democratic system of government was established in India. Several progressive legal reforms were instituted emphasizing rights for women in the areas of matrimony and divorce, inheritance and the right to education and employment (Chatterji, 1988). However, currently there are no specific legal requirements that protect the rights of female workers to have *equal employment* opportunities.

The participation of women in the workforce in India's major industries is still much lower than that of men. In the Indian banking industry, for example, only 11% of the workforce is female. While the participation of women in the workforce is on the rise, their involvement in managerial positions continues to be very low. Again, in the banking industry, only 4% of the managerial positions are held by women (Srinivas, 1992). Various reasons have been presented for this disparity between the number of men and women in management. These include lack of managerial qualifications, family obligations, lack of opportunities, and discrimination against women. While many women participate at the clerical level in the workforce, very few make it to the top echelons of management. Several Indian women interviewed in the Srinivas (1992) study indicated that a primary reason for this lack of progress was that they were given so little opportunity to demonstrate their abilities. Still others indicated that they faced several forms of discrimination when trying to climb the corporate ladder, even though they had qualifications comparable to their male counterparts. These women argue that the individuals who occupy the top management positions that make hiring decisions are usually men who frequently have unfavorable attitudes towards women in managerial positions.

Culture plays a significant part in defining the role expectations of women in any society. India's cultural heritage is derived from two historical sources: the matrilineal family organization and matrilineal religious traditions. The matrilineal family organization consists of a system where property is owned in common by men and women, and in which both sexes are (to a certain extent) in control of their own sexuality. The matrilineal religious traditions that existed thousands of years ago emphasized the idea of female power or *Shakti*, where the many indigenous communities in India used female symbols of worship and prayed to the mother goddess. With the arrival of the Aryans, who migrated to India around the year 1500 B.C., and their patriarchal traditions, the importance of the female sex was diminished and power struggles ensued between the sexes (Liddle and Joshi, 1986).

These aspects of the cultural heritage of women in India have led to certain essential differences in the mechanisms that have been used to control the power of women in India and in the Western world. While in the West, the concept of women as the weaker sex is common, in India, especially among the male-dominated communities, it is believed that women have power that needs to be contained. Both cultures, therefore, impose various controls to deal with the power that women hold. The nature of these control mechanisms and the manner in which they are executed have profound implications for female progress in these two very different cultures. While male dominated communities in India tend to view women as potentially dangerous if their power is not contained, the U.S. has traditionally withheld power from women because they were (and still are in many instances) viewed as being the weaker sex and therefore, lacking in the abilities and/or motivations required for positions of power and high respect. The highest governmental position achieved by a woman in the United States is Secretary of State and that did not occur until January 1997. Unlike India, where the highest office of Prime Minister has been held by a woman, in the U.S. no woman has been viewed as possessing the necessary qualifications to head the country as President or even Vice President.

Japan

A recent survey by the International Labor Organization showed that women comprised only 8.2% of the managerial population in Japan (The Nikkei Weekly, 1995). The Equal Employment Opportunity Law went into effect in Japan in April 1986 and called for the equal treatment of male and female employees at the time of employment (Edwards, 1988). The law, however, did not provide for enforcement or specify penalties for violation; therefore, limited incentive may exist for companies in Japan to change their practices. Indeed as recently as 1992, Japanese firms were reported to be sites of “the world’s most closed and male-dominated internal labor markets” (Lam, 1998, as cited in Appold et al., 1998) and as being “noted for their inhospitality to high-skill (managerial and professional) women” (Appold, et al., 1998).

In May 1998, Japan’s Labor Ministry announced that it will enforce a new set of guidelines to ban discrimination against women at work, when a revision of the Law for Equal Opportunity for Men and Women goes into effect sometime in 1999. Discrimination will be outlawed in seeking job applicants, in employment, in job assignments, in promotions and in educational training (Jameson, 1998).

A critical shortcoming of the new law is that it would seek to “punish” offending companies only by revealing their names to the public (Jameson, 1998). Enacted in April 1999, the law requires companies to lift the ban on women working night shifts, a practice that may have blocked women from management positions, and requires firms to hire and promote men and women equally. But, again, the law does not prescribe any penalties, and “stiff warnings are hardly a deterrent” (Yamaguchi, 1999). It is worth noting, in this regard, that discrimination has been outlawed in Japan since 1947, but that, until quite recently, the issue has rarely made it to court. However, in a truly rare and landmark decision in December of 1996, a Tokyo district court ordered Shiba Credit Association to immediately promote 12 women who were passed over for promotion because they were female, and to pay them \$883,000 in back wages (Heim, 1997).

The revision to the Law for Equal Opportunity for Men and Women was proposed as a part of more encompassing legislation that seeks to allow both men and women to participate equally in society-not just at work but, also, at home, in schools, and in the community. A number of observers believe that it is insufficient to merely ban discriminatory practices. "A type of affirmative action program needs to be implemented to encourage more women to enter the job market and play active roles in the community. *What sort of targets should be set and to what extent they should be legally enforced are questions that must be [determined].* The point? That equal participation cannot be achieved through legal measures alone. Of much greater importance is to alter the thinking of corporate managers who take male-oriented practices for granted" (Mainichi Daily News, 1998).

While legislation is important in changing corporate practices, people's attitudes play a much stronger role in promoting (or impeding) the status of women in the corporate world. Beliefs supporting the subordinate role of women in society are still prevalent in contemporary Japan. This is seen in the customary practice of addressing men with greater deference as well as a strong belief in the ultimate authority of males, especially in the family setting (Ishii-Kuntz, 1993). Japanese men, and women as well, have been slow to change their views of women's role in society as managers of the home rather than the workplace (Bankart, 1985). Further, there are some Japanese authors whose writings reflect a belief that Japanese women have tried to follow their American counterparts in efforts to enhance women's liberation, but that such activity could be detrimental to Japanese society with its consequences of high divorce rates and the breakdown of the family (Kusaka, 1984).

Not surprisingly, a powerful tool that might influence people's attitudes toward sex roles is television. A recently published article examined the gender role portrayals in children's television programming in Japan and found that males not only appeared more often than females, but were also generally depicted in professional occupations. Their female counterparts portrayed relatively weak and less mature individuals (Rolandelli, 1991). While the impact of

these programs on attitude formation may be unclear, the important point is that these television shows quite likely reflect prevailing attitudes toward gender roles.

A survey conducted in Japan in 1988 indicated that 54% of those surveyed supported the idea of men at work and women at home, while only 31% of the respondents were opposed to this idea. (Adachi, 1989). Another survey reported by Adachi, comparing attitudes of American and Japanese babyboomers found that the responses of these two groups were quite different on various questions. For example, when asked whether they felt resentment toward working for a female boss, 83% of male respondents in the United States said "no" while only 44.5% of the Japanese males said "no" (Adachi, 1989). The results of such surveys suggest that there is strong support in Japanese society to keep gender roles separate.

Mexico

The International Labour Office estimated that women now make up about 43 percent of the Mexican labor force (comparable to the U.S.) *but hold less than 20 percent* of Mexico's managerial positions (Stephens & Greer, 1995) Although the Mexican Constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of religion, race or sex, women are provided little protection from discrimination in professional and managerial positions. Managerial employees are classified as "confidential" workers, and the hiring and dismissal of these workers has traditionally been at the discretion of the organization. In the event of unjustified termination, the employer is not required to reinstate the employee (Price Waterhouse, 1995).

While women professionals are perceived more positively in the northern part of Mexico than in the south, and are received more favorably by peers who have attained a higher level of education, there remains strong opposition to women as professionals and managers. Moreover, Mexican employers continue to implement discriminatory policies in the hiring of female employees. For example, policies are pursued which give higher priority to hiring male employees and single women over women who are married. The results of such practices are

reflected by the 17.3 percent unemployment rate of professional women, twice that of their male counterparts (Stephens & Greer, 1995).

A comparison of Mexican and U.S. cultures shows that they differ substantially in their treatment of men and women in the work-place, and in their views of what constitutes gender discrimination. In a 1995 study for example, both male and female Mexican managers maintained that gender discrimination was not a problem in Mexico; virtually all U.S. managers and professionals in Mexico who were interviewed reported the opposite (Stephens & Greer, 1995).

United States

Pivotal legislation concerning discrimination in employment matters was enacted in 1964 as the Civil Rights Act. This act was amended by the Equal Opportunity Act in 1972 that created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as an enforcing agency. It was further amended in 1991 establishing punitive damages, as well as compensatory and legal damages for victims of employment discrimination. This legislation provides protection from discrimination based on race, sex, national origin and religion. Other laws governing employment prohibit discrimination based on age and disabilities and are also enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

This emphasis on legislation and its enforcement may have been a factor in women making significant inroads into the *lower* echelons of management. For example from 1981 to 1991, women increased from 43 percent to 46 percent in the overall labor force, while they increased from 27 percent to 41 percent in supervisory and managerial positions. This increase in *lower-level* managerial positions is almost proportionate to their number in the workplace. However, the elusiveness of positions above the glass ceiling is also clear. During this same ten-year period women have gone from 1 percent of the senior executive positions to only 3 percent (Segal and Zellner, 1992; Harris, 1994).

Recent research, consistent with the dual labor market theory, concluded, "Women are simply not being placed in positions which would appropriately develop them for ascension to the executive suite" (Daily, et. al., 1999) This research is supportive of an earlier pilot review conducted by the Department of Labor, Office of Federal Contract Compliance Program (OFCCP) as a part of the Glass Ceiling Initiative. The OFCCP found that the glass ceiling was at a "level lower than anticipated" and "The few women and minorities found at the highest levels tended to be in staff positions, such as human resources, research, or administration, rather than line positions such as sales and production" (Breger, 1992).

Other Factors That May Affect Attitudes Toward Women as Managers

In addition to cultural differences, there are several other factors that may affect a person's attitude toward women as managers. These include a person's level of education, experience working for female managers, having female mentors, and acceptance of others in general. An earlier study by Allen et al., 1996, conducted with just U.S. participants indicated that factors such as education, having worked for a female manager and having a female mentor among other things affected one's attitude toward women as managers.

Respondents Who Have a Higher Level of Education

The research literature generally shows a positive relationship between education and attitude change. A 10-year longitudinal study of attitude change toward traditional sex-role definitions from high school through college graduation found that sex-role attitudes shifted from the traditional modes as level of education increased, with the greatest change being for those who graduated from college and the least change for those who ended their formal education with high school (Funk and Willits, 1987). Attitudinal changes of a similar nature have been reported in connection with other dimensions of diversity, for example, those having to do with persons with disabilities (Rizzo and Vispool, 1992; Rees et al., 1991; Patrick, 1987).

It is generally accepted that biases and prejudices are not genetic, but rather acquired as a part of the development process. The encouraging aspect to this is the implication for college curricula and organizational training and development programs concerned with changing those attitudes that are inconsistent with fair treatment of people who are different from the dominant group.

Respondents Who Have Worked For a Female Manager

Morrison and Von Glinow indicate that biases decreased most not only with more education "but also by exposure to and experience with members of the opposite sex and races. Working alongside a woman or a minority group member may be the key to quelling the discriminatory tastes of White men" (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990). Thus, we can expect that the more exposure that employees have to female managers, the more likely they are to have unbiased and positive attitudes toward them.

Respondents Who Have Had a Female Manager as a Mentor

While mentoring has been defined in somewhat different ways, a definition by The Conference Board is representative of what is often meant when the term is used: "...a one-to-one relationship between an older person and a younger one (the mentee or protégé) for the purpose of passing on knowledge, experience and judgment, or for providing guidance and friendship" (Lund, 1992).

Both the concept and the process of mentoring have received a considerable amount of attention in the literature over the last several decades, perhaps most prominently by Marie Wunsh, who has published a thoughtful and interesting series of articles dealing with various aspects of, and opportunities for, mentoring and its impact on individuals and institutions. Over 380 articles were identified by Wunsh as having appeared in academic journals and the popular press on mentoring in education and business from 1980 to 1990 (Wunsch, 1994). According to one publication, "it has been applauded as the best and criticized as the worst thing that can happen

in one's career" (Murray and Owen, 1991). The same writer identifies factors that can be detrimental to mentoring and then focuses on how the process can be designed and implemented to show beneficial results.

The positive relationship between mentoring and favorable attitudes toward women as managers is supported by the considerable body of literature reporting better performance and career outcomes resulting from the mentoring process. Citrano, in her discussion of New York businesses, reports mentoring programs opening access to new areas of employment, and helping to overcome prejudices concerning the nature of women's work (Citrano, 1993).

Scandura reported results from a random sample of 244 manufacturing managers that supported previous research concerning the benefits of mentoring and, although causality was not implied, a positive link between mentoring and career success was found (Scandura, 1992). Ragins and Cotton indicate that "for women, mentors are essential" in helping to overcome gender-related barriers to advancement and in buffering women from discrimination in general (Ragins and Cotton, 1993). Akande indicates that "the 'glass ceilings' that hold back women are still there, although some of them are beginning to crack as the role of women in society is radically changing around the world" and goes on to state unequivocally that "no one can make it into the upper reaches of the corporate world without a heavy ego *and an active sponsor* (emphasis supplied), (Akande, 1993). Stuart in her discussion of gender bias, and its impact on candidates for top management positions, indicates that intentional discrimination does continue to exist; however, that "women who have been recipients of successful mentoring relationships report an increase of nearly 94% in their professional effectiveness as a direct result of mentoring" (Stuart, 1992).

Greater Acceptance of Others

Fey's Acceptance of Others Scale was based on his premise, drawn from an extensive review of related research, that acceptance of others is strongly related to acceptance of oneself (Fey, 1955). His findings indicated that the attitudes of self-acceptance and acceptance of others did,

indeed, tend to go hand-in-hand for most people. Consistent with Fey's earlier findings, it is expected that those who have a more favorable attitude toward women as managers are likely to also have higher degrees of self-acceptance. The opposite is also quite likely; that is, individuals with rather unfavorable attitudes toward women as managers (and lower acceptance of others scores) may also have lower self-acceptance. While this deserves further study and corroboration, the issue has important implications for training and development.

Expected Results

Based on the literature review of the four countries and taking into consideration the combination of factors that were deemed likely to affect attitudes toward women as managers, it was anticipated that the U.S. would have the most favorable attitudes, followed by Mexico, Japan, and India. We, also anticipated that various factors such as a person's level of education, experience working for female managers, having female mentors, and acceptance of others would affect one's attitude toward women in managerial positions.

Method

Sample

The participants in the study were 897 technical/professional and managerial employees from the service sector and the manufacturing sector in four different countries. The demographic information on the respondents in the four countries is shown in Table 1. Those respondents who had not answered all items on the ATWAM scale were not included in the analysis.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered in English to the respondents in India and U.S. The questionnaire was translated into Japanese for the Japan sample and into Spanish for the Mexican sample. In these cases the English version of the questionnaire was translated into Japanese or Spanish by one individual and then translated back into English by another person. Any discrepancies in the original and translated English versions were reconciled and the final

Japanese or Spanish version of the questionnaire was created. The questionnaire included measures on attitudes toward women as managers, work satisfaction, mentorship and various other demographic factors. The Attitude Toward Women as Managers (ATWAM) scale (Yost and Herbert, 1985) included 12 questions, each consisting of three statements. For each set of three statements, respondents were asked to indicate the statement with which they agreed the most and the one that they agreed with the least. The reliability estimate (using Cronbach's alpha) for this measure calculated across all countries was .61. The scores calculated separately for the different countries ranged between .40 to .65.

Table 1

Demographic information on the respondents in the four countries

Country	Sample Size	Male*	Female*
India	86	83 (97%)	2 (3%)
Japan	66	64 (97%)	1 (2%)
Mexico	159	104 (65%)	48 (30%)
U.S.	371	178 (48%)	191 (51%)
Total	682	429 (63%)	242 (36%)

* The males and females do not add up to the sample size since some respondents did not indicate their gender.

Results

The first step in the analysis identified differences in the dependent variable - attitudes toward women as managers - between respondents in the four countries. The ATWAM scale was categorized according to positive/favorable attitudes, neutral attitudes, and negative or unfavorable attitudes toward women as managers. The range for the ATWAM scale is from 10 to 70, with scores under 30 reflecting positive attitudes, scores from 30 to 40 representing neutral attitudes, and scores over 40 reflecting unfavorable or negative attitudes toward women as

managers (Yost and Herbert, 1985). As mentioned earlier, we expected the U. S. respondents to have more positive attitudes toward women as managers compared to their counterparts in other countries. A chi-square analysis was performed to identify differences between the four countries; the results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Differences in ATWAM for the four countries

<u>Respondents</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Favorable</u>		<u>Neutral</u>		<u>Unfavorable</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
India	86		12	14	38	44	36	42
Japan	66		12	18	35	53	19	29
Mexico	159		23	15	107	67	29	18
U. S.	371		151	41	187	50	33	9

Results indicate that there are significant ($p < .05$) differences between the four groups in attitudes toward women as managers, with the U. S. sample showing more positive attitudes toward women as managers compared to the samples in the other countries. The results in Table 2 show that the U.S. has the most positive attitudes and India has the least positive attitudes toward women as managers. Next, we conducted a series of chi-square test to determine which of the pairs of countries were significantly different on attitudes toward women as managers. The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 shows that there was a significant difference between the U.S. and every other country on attitudes toward women as managers. The other significant difference appears when the results for Mexico and India and India were compared.

Table 3

Pairwise comparisons of all countries

Countries	Chi Square Significant*
U.S. and Mexico	Yes
U.S. and Japan	Yes
U.S. and India	Yes
Mexico and Japan	No
Mexico and India	Yes
Japan and India	No

* $p < .05$

An earlier study (by Allen et al., 1996) which focussed just on U. S. participants, found that there were several variables positively related to ATWAM. These included gender, education, experience working for a female manager and having a female mentor. Results showed that women tended to have more positive attitudes towards women as managers.

In the present study a multiple regression analysis was conducted across all four countries to determine which of the factors may be related to ATWAM. The only variables that were significantly ($p < .05$) related to ATWAM were gender, acceptance of others and having worked for a female manager. The R square value was .23.

Discussion

It was assumed, at a “macro level,” that the social, cultural and legislative conditions prevalent in any society would have an impact on attitudes toward women as managers in that society. In addition, level of education, whether a person had worked for a female manager or had one as a

mentor, and Fey's measure of a person's acceptance of others, also, would be likely to affect those attitudes at a "micro" level." The four countries of this study were ranked in order, from the most favorable ATWAM expected to the least favorable ATWAM expected, based on all of the study's key variables. It was expected that the attitudes toward women in management would be most positive in the United States, followed by Mexico, then, Japan and, finally, India. While the relationships between the variables considered are obviously complex, the ATWAM results shown in Table 2 were generally consistent with the results that were expected.

While it was shown that U.S. women have achieved parity with men in supervisory and middle-management positions, the fact that only 41 percent of the U.S. respondents had a favorable attitude toward women in management reflects the reality of the glass ceiling that is still faced in the U.S., with only 5 percent of senior management positions held by women. The situation, however, is considerably worse in Mexico, Japan and India, where legislation mandating equal opportunities for women and the enforcement of such legislation has lagged behind that in the U.S. a great deal.

The respondent's level of education, whether he or she had worked for a female manager, whether he or she had a female for a mentor, and his or her acceptance of others score, were all statistically significant in explaining ATWAM responses in the U.S. *but not in any other country*. A plausible explanation is that the differences in level of education in the Indian, Japanese and Mexican samples were too small to yield statistically significant results for the sample sizes obtained. Also, there were too few women in the samples from India, Japan and Mexico for a substantial number of men to have worked for a woman or have had a woman for a mentor. A serious danger in these three countries, is that there are too few women managers to be able to act as examples and role models for their male and female counterparts, that could result in more favorable attitudes toward women as managers.

Conclusion and Organizational Implications

It is likely that negative or unfavorable attitudes on the part of organizational decision makers have played a significant role in promulgating the employment and career discrimination faced by women in all four of the countries of this study: the U.S., India, Japan and Mexico. While U.S. women have made considerable progress in the past two decades, they have barely cracked the glass ceiling at the highest echelons of management. The women in India, Japan and Mexico have fared much worse.

How women are valued in their society and the strength of legislation mandating equal treatment for women and men are both very important. Examining the values and legislation of all four countries made it clear that there must be some mechanism in place which encourages change in how men *and women* view the role of women as managers. That mechanism in the U.S. is the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and provision for its enforcement through the Equal Opportunity Act of 1972 and the Glass Ceiling Initiative of 1991. The "U.S. model" is *not* necessarily the best example for the world to follow. The U.S. sample was by far the largest, however, and important lessons learned from it should be heeded. First, that there be equal opportunity for women cannot be assumed just because it is mandated by law. Legislation might well be necessary but it is not sufficient for ensuring equal treatment. Believing that equal opportunity must be provided for women in the workforce must become synonymous with good corporate conduct by the leaders of organizations in *all* of the countries. The U.S. finding (Allen et al., 1996) confirmed the importance of education as a factor contributing to more favorable attitudes toward women as managers. But to wait for future "better-educated" generations to solve the problem of unequal treatment is to fall far short of acting in a socially responsible way. Training and development programs stressing the importance of diversity must be offered to those *presently* in the workforce for us to better understand the biases of which we are often unaware, and, for that reason, are all the more insidious.

Finally, it makes sense in all countries to hire and promote managers based solely on the criterion: Who truly is most qualified to perform a critical managerial function? To increase the pool of qualified managerial talent to draw from, women need to be provided the opportunity to acquire and demonstrate their managerial abilities. As indicated earlier, legislation along with attitudinal changes are critical in ensuring the greater participation of women in management. The lesson from the U.S. sample is that, when women are given equal opportunity to serve as mentors and role models for others, they will be the most highly instrumental of all in creating more favorable attitudes toward women as managers among *both* men and women.

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End Note

1. Recently added as the fourth female CEO of a Fortune 500 company is Hewlett Packard's Carly Fiorina.

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