

LEADERSHIP SELECTION: LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL, LEADERSHIP
PERFORMANCE AND GENDER

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To my husband, James

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Abstract

Leadership potential is now one of the most desirable traits in candidates applying for a job or promotion (Church, 2014), and experimental evidence proposes that leadership potential is preferable to previous leadership performance in leadership candidates (Tormala, Jia, & Norton, 2012). Reports suggests that it is possible for men to progress on their future leadership potential whereas women progress on their past leadership performance (Catalyst, 2013; McKinsey, 2012). However, this has yet to be empirically tested and very little is known about the social and psychological processes behind the relationship between gender and leadership potential. This thesis presents a series of nine studies investigating leadership potential and gender in hiring situations. These studies indicate that male candidates who demonstrate leadership potential are the most likely to be selected ahead of other equally qualified candidates, whereas female candidates are selected on the basis of leadership performance. The robustness of the association between leadership potential and gender was further reinforced by examining its relationship in different management levels (junior vs. senior; Studies 5-7) and social contexts (masculine vs. feminine; Studies 8 & 9). Moreover, this thesis starts to explore the psychological constructs behind the preference for leadership potential in male candidates and the preference for leadership performance in female candidates (Study 9). The theoretical and practical implications are discussed, in addition to future directions for research.

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Chapter One: Female Leaders, Career Progression and Gender Stereotypes

“Women need to work twice as hard to be perceived as half as good” (Fernandez, 1982)

Chapter 1 is an overview of women in the workplace focusing on the difficulties that women face in the pursuit of leadership positions. The aim of this chapter is to provide the theoretical background on the relationship between gender and leadership by examining the social and psychological processes that drive the inequality of occupational opportunity between men and women. First, I provide a brief outline of this thesis and then review the current landscape, which summarizes the current progress and challenges that women face in the workplace. Second, I investigate sex discrimination in the workplace and discuss social and state-level factors (e.g. stereotypes) that help to explain discriminatory behavior. Third, I show how gender stereotypes impact the career advancement of women, predominantly focusing on the recruitment and selection processes. Finally, I discuss alternative career barriers that women might face, such as the perception of *leadership potential*.

1.1 Introduction and Overview

1.1.1 Thesis Overview

“Equality is the right of every woman, and every man. It is long overdue.” Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (2015), UN Women Executive Director

Finding and appointing the best leaders is fundamental to economic and social success (Wiley & Lake, 2014). Identifying future managers is now a cornerstone of human resource strategy and recruiting talent with *leadership potential* is a top priority for organizations (Church, 2014; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London, Smither, & Diamante, 2007; Silzer & Church, 2009). Leadership potential is the ability to successfully perform in future roles that require broader, more varied skills (Church, 2014; Silzer & Church, 2009). Whilst research into leadership potential is relatively well established (see Church, Rotolo, Ginther, & Levine, 2015) its relationship with gender remains entirely unexplored.

Women continue to increase their participation in the workforce and in management positions (Women’s Bureau, 2000; Women in Business, 2013). However, progress into leadership positions has been problematic and pathways to senior management are lengthier, more drawn out and less fruitful for women (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Kark & Eagly, 2010; Pema & Mehay, 2010; Ryan & Branscombe, 2012). Understanding the relationship between gender and

leadership potential could identify a probable barrier in the advancement of women to senior management positions and their progress through the leadership pipeline (see Chapter 1).

The over-population of men in senior leadership positions (Equalities & Human Rights Commission, 2011) suggests that women are not being used to their full economic or social potential. This is highly problematic as neglecting leadership potential in women jeopardizes future economic and social prosperity and success across the globe. As Saadia Zahidi, Head, Women Leaders Programme, World Economic Forum (2012) states:

“Women make up half of the human resources available to any country. If that half is not being channeled into the economy and not being made part of decision-making processes, then that country’s economic potential is bound to suffer, by losing 50% of its capacity. As business leaders and policy-makers seek to navigate their way through the current economic crisis, they need the aggregate talents of both women and men more than ever to come up with the best solutions.”

The conceptual framework presented in this thesis (see Chapter 3) is rooted in the decades of research on gender and leadership (Biernat, 2003; Blau & Devaro, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman & Eagly, 2008; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Rudman & Glick, 2001), and more recent research on leadership potential (Church, 2014; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Silzer & Church, 2009; 2010).

Scientific research has established that male leaders are preferred over female leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman & Eagly, 2008; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Spence & Buckner, 2000). In addition, evidence suggests that whilst women outperform men on the majority of performance related measures (e.g. team work, collaboration, champions change etc.) on traits related to leadership potential (e.g. strategic thinking, being visionary) men outperform women (Green, Jegadeesh, & Tang, 2009; Manning & Robertson; 2010; Roth, Purves, & Bobko, 2012; Zenger & Folkman, 2012). Therefore, it might also be that it is valued differently in men and women.

An important component of the evidence on leadership is found in management literature and the significance of leadership potential in the ability to reach leadership positions (Church, 2014; Church & Silzer, 2014; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London et al., 2007; Silzer & Church, 2009). Leadership potential is now one of the most desirable traits in future leaders and candidates must demonstrate their future ability to perform in wider, more diverse roles in order to progress into leadership roles (Church, 2014).

Research has established the relevance of leadership potential in promotion and hiring decisions, finding that candidates with leadership potential are in a highly advantageous position with increased access to career development opportunities (Church et al., 2015; Dries & Pepermans, 2007; Tormala, et al., 2012; Troth & Gyetvey, 2014). Moreover, this has led to the development of a number of theoretical frameworks (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Silzer & Church, 2009; Marshall-Mies, et al., 2000) and the implementation of strategies to identify and develop individuals with leadership potential in organizations (e.g. PepsiCo; Citibank).

Leadership potential is critical to consider in future leadership research, as theoretical, empirical and applied research has identified the importance of leadership potential in career progression (see Chapter 2). However, the underlying psychological and social processes around the identification of leadership potential are relatively unmapped. Moreover, there is no evidence on the relationship between leadership potential and certain demographic information (e.g. gender).

The focus of this thesis concerns people's evaluations of leadership potential and gender. More specifically, drawing on the combined research on gender, leadership and leadership potential, I examine how individuals judge both male and female candidates who display leadership potential and leadership performance traits (Studies 1-9). I explore how candidates are evaluated in an intergroup context (Studies 4-9), at different levels of management (Studies 5-7), in varying workplace contexts (Studies 8 & 9) and I investigate the influence of state-level factors on hiring decisions (Study 9). This thesis advances the theoretical and empirical evidence on leadership potential and gender by testing how people respond to male and female candidates with different leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential vs. leadership performance) in various workplace contexts and management levels.

1.2 Women and Leadership

This chapter is designed to examine the psychological and social processes that contribute to the incongruence between women and leadership. The aim is to outline the theoretical background for this thesis, providing an overview of why certain factors (e.g. stereotypes and gender) are fundamental to further understanding

and predicting additional career barriers that women face (e.g. the evaluation of leadership potential). Whilst statistics and figures offer insight into current patterns and behaviors, they do not address *why* the skills and talents of women are not being fully utilized despite clear indications that women are equally as competent and capable - what other processes are behind this persistent level of gender disparity?

Research indicates that there is an intention to challenge gender inequality (European Commission, 2012a), economic incentives have been implemented to improve gender diversity in the workplace, and the basic social and political frameworks to support women in the workforce now exist in almost all developed countries (ESRC, 2006). Yet, the inequality of opportunity for women in the workplace, particularly accessing leadership roles, is still a significant problem.

This chapter explores empirical, theoretical and anecdotal evidence from multiple disciplines to investigate gender and leadership. The research on gender and leadership is extensive and I do not intend to address it all in this chapter. However, I particularly focus on female progression into leadership by examining the current challenges facing female leaders in the workplace. I propose that there are additional, unexplored, barriers that women face when pursuing leadership positions. For instance, a somewhat under-explored area is the single most important aspect of career progression – hiring and promotion.

Specifically, there are certain leadership traits (e.g. leadership potential) that are highly valued in the evaluation of leadership candidates. Evidence indicates that the recruitment and selection processes, plus a considerable amount of job stereotyping and gender discrimination, propagates and fosters an industry profile in which men dominate the high-level jobs and women the low-level jobs (Ogden,

McTavish, & McKean, 2006). This implies that there are significant barriers preventing women from advancing in their careers at the same rate as men.

Promotions are a direct measure of women's progress in the workplace (Eagly & Carli, 2007) and they are the only direct route to top corporate positions. The highest echelons of leadership have historically been, and continue to be, largely dominated by men. Therefore examining the way in which people are appointed to leadership positions, and the psychological and social processes behind them, is important to develop a greater understanding of why there is such a gender disparity and what can be done to improve equality in leadership.

1.2.1 Current Challenges

Women are still less likely than men to be associated with leadership positions, despite advances in women's presence in the workplace they still represent less than 20% of the world's leadership roles (Catalyst, 2009; European Union Committee, 2012; United Nations Development Group Task Team on Gender Equality, 2010). A lack of gender balance in the workplace is clearly detrimental and research has highlighted the continued inequality between male and female career advancement and women's limited ability to accumulate social, cultural, human, and financial capital (Gupta, Turban, Wasti, & Sikdar, 2009). For example, in the UK women account for 22% of MPs and peers, 20% of university professors, 6.1% of FTSE 100 executive positions, and 3% of board chairpersons (CMI, 2013). Likewise in the US women occupy 18.5% of the seats in Congress, 23% of professors, 14.6% of executive positions in the Fortune 500 and 19.2% of board members (Catalyst, 2013; Center for American Women and Politics, 2014).

This stark inequality is not only represented in leadership but also consistently reflected in pay gaps from entry-point positions to top management roles. Across Europe men earn on average 16% more per hour (European Union, 2014) and in the US they earn 23% more than their female counterparts (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2013). Despite the introduction of the Equal Pay Act in 1975 income inequality has risen faster in the UK than any other OCED country (OCED, 2011) and today women earn on average £140,000 less than men over their working careers (CMI, 2013).

By 2020 over a billion women will enter the global economy (Booz & Co., 2012). This increase is on such a vast scale that it will dramatically increase women's ability to contribute to the worldwide economy. Therefore, government and organizational policy makers must ensure that the needs of these women are being accounted for in the policies of governments and organizations (United Nations, 2014). However, the present gender inequity in governance is highly problematic because, without equal representation in leadership and governments, it is not possible to effectively or fairly represent the needs of men and women in policies (Patel, 2013). Improving women's presence in leadership positions will increase diverse styles of thinking (Shamir & Eilam, 2005), improve corporate governance (Franke, Crown, & Spake, 1997) and improve countries GDP (Women's Business Council, 2013) and welfare for future generations (Booz & Co., 2012). It is impossible to achieve gender equality until men and women equally share leadership positions, where they are in a position to effectively contribute to policy-making at all levels (Kark & Eagly, 2010).

1.2.2 Progress

Arguably, in many developed countries women currently have one of the most fertile social and economic settings to thrive and move up the career ladder into leadership positions. The 21st Century has seen a shift in ‘traditional’ family dynamics with dramatic changes to parenting and partnership (ESRC, 2006). Greater recognition of gender in legislation has helped pull apart traditional gender-role divisions (European Commission, 2012b) and women have never been more economically independent or socially autonomous, representing 42% of the workforce in the UK (Women’s Business Council, 2013) and 46.8% in the US (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). Furthermore 55% of university graduates in the UK are female and in the US female graduates account for 57.3% of degrees (Catalyst, 2013).

Women are now increasingly represented in leadership (Powell, 2011). In 2012 women represented 34.8% of management positions (ONS, 2013) up from 22% in 2000 (Opportunity Now, 2000). As a result, many employees are familiar with working for a woman, having had two or more female bosses during their career (Powell, 2011). Yet, despite this significant increase in the female participation in the workforce in most nations, women are still participating less than men at *all* levels (United Nations Development Programme, 2008).

Today, women are highly present in the workforce and are continuing to challenge and penetrate the highest levels of leadership. Unquestionably figures reflect a colossal change in female employment and the employment of women in leadership positions. In 2013 women accounted for 51.4% of US management, professional and related occupations (Catalyst, 2014) compared with 37.7% in 1960 (Fullerton, 1999).

Furthermore, a survey conducted by the European Commission (2012) found that 90% of people believe that women should have equal representation in leadership positions. Both men and women would like to defy outdated stereotypes and share family work and responsibility more equally (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2011). The Women's Business Council (2013) emphasized that the UK could see a 10% growth (£150 billion improvement) in their gross domestic product (GDP) if the 2.4 million women that are not working, but want to work, were able to find employment.

Progress to achieve gender equality in the workplace has been substantial in a relatively short period time. However, the real obstacles arise when women strive to climb the career ladder into leadership positions where female representation in leadership remains very limited (Elacqua, Beehr, Hansen, & Webster, 2009; Ibarra, Ely, & Kolb, 2013).

1.2.3 Economic Benefits of Gender Equality

Gender equality in the workplace provides considerable economic benefits. Evidence shows that gender diversity in teams, in management, on boards and in top leadership is highly effective. For instance, in 2012, Forbes examined the stock performance of 26 publicly traded companies headed by women and discovered that they outperformed the market by 28%, and their respective industries by 15%. USA Today (2009) analyzed the stocks of 13 Fortune 500 companies with female CEOs and found that their stocks were up an average of 50% in comparison with the average increase of 25% in standard market stocks. These findings are also replicated in India and Europe.

Catalyst (2011) found that companies with high-level female representation on boards significantly outperformed those with sustained low representation by 84% on return on sales, 60% on return on invested capital and by 46% on return on equity. Tarr-Whelan (2009) identified a number of benefits that organizations could get if they were to have more women in senior positions, including; increased profits, increased risk awareness, increased productivity and a greater ability to survive a financial downturn.

This evidence highlights the economic value that women can contribute at a management and organizational level. Furthermore, supporting women in the workplace and in their progression ensures that organizations have the best people for leadership positions to accurately reflect the workforce. Promoting capable women sends a strong signal to employees, clients and customers that managerial jobs will be filled with the best candidates (Davidson, & Burke, 2012; Schwartz, 1992).

1.3 Gender Stereotypes and Women's Career Advancement

I have already briefly outlined the substantial gap in gender equality in leadership roles where women remain significantly under-represented. To account for this disparity many researchers, think-tanks and social commentators argue that gender stereotypes play a major role in obstructing women's career progression (e.g. Brewer, 1988; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman & Eagly, 2008). The foundations of discrimination and gender bias can be largely explained by examining stereotypes.

Stereotypes originate from the social relationships between different groups and reflect the expectations, attitudes and beliefs about the characteristics and

behaviors we have about these groups (Williams & Best, 1990). For instance, they represent pre-determined expectations whereby membership of a particular social group will result in the automatic assumptions about certain attributes, behaviors and traits (e.g. girls like the color pink, mathematicians are geeks, the Irish love Guinness). Therefore, groups are stereotyped as having traits associated with the roles that they perform, as well as the associated social status (Heilman & Eagly, 2008). These stereotypes are intertwined with social and cultural norms, which reinforce certain expectations (e.g. masculinity and femininity). Regardless of whether people endorse stereotypes simply having knowledge of them have a profound impact on thoughts and actions (Fiske, 1998; Martin et al., 2014).

Stereotypes are particularly hard to manage and control because they form a fundamental part of how people navigate their social worlds and how they process information about other individuals and groups (Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Whilst people are highly capable of processing social information, in order to cognitively perform at an optimal level individual's need to find a way of quickly processing and categorizing the extensive amount of information that is continuously presented (Fiske & Taylor, 1991).

Therefore, in order to lighten the cognitive-load people use group membership to indicate the possession of certain characteristics, good or bad, which can be attributed to anyone associated with that social group. Stereotypes provide us with a system of mental shortcuts in which we can simplify and categorize social relationships that can be stored in our memory and quickly activated whenever that social particular category is present (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000; Martin et al., 2014). From time to time we use these processes very effectively;

however the social groups that we sort people into are not necessarily logical or modern. Therefore, an individual's cognition cannot always control the automatic, unconscious associations made between social categories (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000).

Devine (1989) made a clear division between two distinct forms of intergroup bias: automatic and controlled. Controlled bias is deliberate, calculated and often intentional, whereas, automatic bias is uncontrolled, unconscious and usually unintentional (Jones, 2011). The advantage of the unconscious mind is its ability to process information incredibly rapidly and effectively, whilst conscious processes are much slower and smaller. If focused, the conscious brain can process a few words per second (approximately 45 bits of information), however if the conscious mind is focused on other tasks, e.g. mental arithmetic, it can function at around 25% of its maximum capacity (approximately 12 bits of information per second) (Jones, 2011).

However, the unconscious mind is 200,000 times more powerful and can process over 10 million bits per second (Norretranders, 1998; Zimmerman, 1989). In other words, although stereotypical judgments are problematic, they are in many ways unavoidable. For example, repeatedly being exposed to male leaders cognitively programs people to automatically expect leaders to be men. Consequently, the perception and expectations of successful leaders is influenced by small, invisible preferences toward men as leaders. This is important to consider in hiring situations as unconscious bias can make a small but significant contribution to the evaluation of individuals.

Stereotypes are an unavoidable consequence of adaptive cognitive processes, individuals attempt to classify and streamline widespread information that is

continuously available in a very complex and diverse social landscape (Allport, 1954; Dovidio & Gaertner 1993; Jones, 2011; Tajfel & Forgas 1981). Consequently, stereotypes are often elusive in their nature, they are a challenge to identify and even more difficult to control. As a result they are often highly prevalent and very present in organizational settings (Operario & Fiske, 1999).

All of the evidence suggests that stereotypes are not a thing of the past, but a very tenacious issue that continues to shape and evolve workplace cultures. That is to say, there is a general consensus about the content of cultural stereotypes and their complex, almost indefinable nature (Madon et al., 2001). For instance, Duehr and Bono (2006) found that even though there had been some progress in the evaluations of men and women over the last 30 years, the disparity between desirable leadership traits and gender remained significantly greater for women than for men.

1.3.1 Gender Stereotypes

The Fawcett Society found that 51% of men and women in leadership positions, from middle management to director level, identified stereotyping as the major hurdle facing women in the workplace (Rake, & Lewis, 2009). Furthermore, from a sample of 705 women at vice president-level and above, in Fortune 1000 organizations 72% agreed that the way in which women were stereotyped is a substantial blockade to career advancement (Wellington, Kropf, & Gerkovich, 2003). This evidence proposes that the influence stereotypes and bias in the selection process is not solely the opinion of social and organizational psychologists, but also of women who have considerable leadership experience.

Perhaps one of the most challenging consequences of stereotypes is that they affect *everyone*. One of the most prominent and widespread stereotypes are gender stereotypes. The traits, attributes, attitudes and beliefs that people associate with men and women are extraordinarily powerful in the assumptions that they lead individuals to make about other people (Fiske & Stevens, 1993). Research on gender stereotypes consistently shows that in general women are perceived as ‘communal’, ‘interdependent’, ‘kind’ and ‘loyal’, whereas men are described as ‘protectors’, ‘independent’, ‘assertive’ and ‘competent’ (Williams & Best, 1990). The association of gender with these stereotypes ultimately means that the accompanying traits are more desirable to the relevant gender-role. For instance, research has found that people who violate these traditional stereotypes are negatively evaluated, e.g. a ‘career woman’ or ‘stay at home Dad’ (Koenig et al., 2011). This categorization of gender further reinforces social status and gender hierarchy.

These stereotypes are thought to have stemmed from traditional gender roles where women would perform ‘wifely’ duties and men would participate in the workplace (Eagly, 1986). Although arguably society has moved on from viewing the workplace as a “man’s world”, and furthermore, it is no longer the case that a woman’s place is solely in the home (Phelan & Rudman, 2010), gender stereotypes remain extremely powerful. The strength of traditional gender stereotypes are very hard to overcome because i) biologically, gender differences are highly visible and ii) they are founded on experiences reinforced throughout people’s lives (Fiske & Stevens, 1993; Phelan & Rudman, 2010; Prentice & Miller, 2006).

Consequently, research has found that people who violate these traditional stereotypes can be negatively evaluated (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erikson, 1998). In

recent years multi-million pound advertising (e.g. Pantene, 2014) and awareness campaigns (see Ban Bossy, 2014) have targeted gender stereotypes that hold women back from progressing in the workplace and into leadership positions. These campaigns are designed to drive awareness of the gender stereotypes that impact on the limited leadership opportunities that are available to women. Interestingly, employing gender stereotypes as part of campaigns can significantly improve publicity (e.g. see UN HeforShe, 2014; Ban Bossy, 2014), brand awareness and sales (Pantene, 2014).

Some evidence suggests that stereotype content is not especially steady (Devine & Elliott, 1995). For example, Diekmann and Eagly (2000) argue that stereotypes about a group's characteristics can shift in a direction that reduces the disadvantages between low status and high status groups. For instance, it is likely that a group's social role will change over time especially when comparing past roles with future roles (e.g. there will be more female leaders in the future than they have been in the past). This has been demonstrated by the increase in female participation in leadership positions in the last decade (ONS, 2013; Opportunity Now, 2000).

However, a substantial amount of evidence suggests that despite the dramatic changes to women's position in society, the adherence to gender stereotypes is still problematic (Auster & Ohm, 2000). In a double-blind laboratory study Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, and Handelsman (2012) found that male applicants were rated as significantly more competent than an identical female candidates, and consequently, more likely to be hired. Eyssel and Hegel (2012) showed that gender stereotypes could also be applied to robots. For example, robots with short hair were described as more agentic and robots with long hair were perceived as more

communal. Correspondingly, stereotypically female tasks were perceived as more appropriate for the female robot and vice versa.

1.3.2 Gender Roles

Individuals often take on specific gender-related roles. This is highlighted by the fact that girls out-perform boys at every level of education in the UK (Women's Business Council, 2013), Europe (United Nations Development Programme, 2010) and the US (Catalyst, 2013), yet young adults still show a strong preference for 'gender appropriate' subjects (in the UK only 13% of engineering places and 18% of technology places at universities are taken up by women) (Women's Business Council, 2013).

As people get older the division of stereotypical roles continues to expand. Both men and women report that domestic duties are still largely considered 'women's work' and they often take on the responsibility for the majority of housework and childcare (Di Leonardo, 1992; Treas & Drobnic, 2010). In Australia women spend almost 50% more time on domestic tasks than men (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009), in the UK 70% of all housework is done by women, and in Greece 80% of housework is the responsibility of women (European Social Survey, 2012). Importantly, if women are working over 30 hours a week they are still responsible for 66% - 75% of all domestic jobs.

In the workplace, the division continues. It is evident that in most developed nations men and women are almost equally represented in the general workforce (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014; Women's Business Council, 2013). However, when specific roles are examined there are significant differences between the types

of contracts and the working-hours of men and women (Ginther & Kahn, 2006). For example, male and female graduates have similar employment rates, however male graduates are more likely to have a high or upper middle skill job (Office of National Statistics, 2013). In the UK approximately 70% of people in national minimum wage jobs are women (Low Pay Commission, 2007). In the finance sector which is 51% female and 49% male, men hold 66% of managerial and senior official jobs and 72% of professional jobs, whilst women hold 73% of administrative and secretarial jobs and 62% of sales and customer service jobs (Equalities & Human Rights Commission, 2011).

This pattern is not limited to the finance industry; for example, in UK work domains over populated by women (e.g. third sector) only 17% are CEOs yet the workforce is 68% female (Women Count, 2012). Moreover, when women do hold equally senior leadership roles, research has found that women often have less decision-making authority than men do (Bianchi, 2000; Eagly & Carli, 2007).

In addition, the assignment of job roles is also surrounded by bias and stereotyping. The job-based model of gender differences in career development (Lazear & Rosen, 1990) suggests that gender differences in promotion and pay are principally due to more men being assigned to 'fast-track' jobs than women. This is a disadvantage because fast-track jobs command more significant investment in human capital and offer greater chances of career progression (Dries, 2013). Whereas, women are more invested in 'non-market' activities, they are more likely to leave and therefore assigned to slower-track jobs (Lazear & Rosen, 1990). Pema and Mehay (2010) analyzed the career progression of U.S. federal government employees and found that job assignment is one of the strongest predictors of the gender differences

in promotion. Furthermore, they found that although the promotion rates for women were higher, this was due to the fact that women are concentrated in lower-level positions where there are significantly more opportunities to advance.

This gender disparity is further reinforced as stereotypes can often protect and promote men but they can threaten women, a phenomenon known as stereotype threat (Steele, 1997). Research has shown that simply having an awareness of these stereotypes can undermine people's performance in tasks (Latu, Mast, Lammers, & Bombari, 2013; Rothgerber & Wolsiefer, 2014). Moreover, awareness that an outgroup has a negative opinion of one's own ingroup can increase feelings of discrimination (Owuamalam & Zagefka, 2013) and reduce employability beliefs within women (Owuamalam & Zagefka, 2014).

1.3.3 Descriptive, Prescriptive and Proscriptive Stereotypes

Studies have established that gender stereotypes have prescriptive, descriptive and proscriptive elements (Burke & Major, 2014; Caleo & Heilman, 2013; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000; Fiske & Stevens 1993). Gender stereotypes are not only descriptive beliefs that define what men and women are like, but also prescriptive norms that define they should be and, more significantly, how they should not be (Eagly et al., 2000; Fiske & Stevens 1993). Moreover, proscriptive sex stereotypes dictate that people should not engage in actions that are not stereotypically associated with their biological sex. For example, women should not be dominant and men should not be weak (Burke & Major, 2014). Therefore, descriptive stereotypes state that women *are* communal and men *are* agentic; prescriptive stereotypes propose that women *should* be communal and men *should* be agentic; and proscriptive stereotypes

dictate how people *ought not* to be. As a result these stereotypes produce distinctive penalties for women in the workplace because the mechanisms through which they operate are different (Caleo & Heilman, 2013).

Leadership roles are still typically viewed as being masculine (Koenig et al., 2011) and people implicitly view men as more capable leaders (Levinson & Young, 2010). The congruence between masculinity and leadership is fundamental to understanding the persistent gender inequality in leadership, and moreover, the future direction of leadership and gender research. As agentic qualities are more often allied to men than women (Spence & Buckner, 2000), leadership is more often connected with masculinity.

The incompatibility between women and leadership is powered by the association between typically male attributes (e.g. assertive, competent, driven) and the qualities required to be a successful leader (Eagly & Carli, 2007). These beliefs are the result of stereotypes, which imply that women do not have the appropriate attributes for important leadership roles. This role incongruity, or cultural mismatch, between the perceived demands of leadership and women emphasizes the way in which women are judged as leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Ultimately, when people interrupt gender descriptions, prescriptions or proscriptions, they can suffer consequences that undermine and de-value their social and economic status (Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

1.4 Gender Stereotypes and Social Context

The cultural stereotype of women as the nicer, calmer and kinder sex is generally more positive than the male cultural stereotype (Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto,

1994; Langford & MacKinnon, 2000; Prentice & Carranza, 2002), yet women are much more frequent victims of discrimination (Heilman & Eagly, 2008). This paradox has been explored by researchers and found that it is not discrimination directly against the gender stereotype but their mismatch with the social context in which they are being evaluated (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Glick et al., 1988).

The discrepancy between male and female stereotypes and the “typical” requirements needed to occupy leadership roles is fundamental in understanding the challenges that women face in male-stereotyped domains (Caleo & Heilman, 2014). In the following section I focus on the *shifting standards model* (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat, Manis, & Nelson, 1991). The *shifting standards model* is particularly valuable to research into leadership recruitment and its relationship with certain demographics (e.g. gender). The model states that stereotypes are used as measure by which members of stereotyped groups are evaluated because standards vary for different groups (Biernat et al., 1991). For instance, in relation to the research in this thesis; according to the *shifting standards model* male candidates with leadership potential will be evaluated by different standards to female candidates with leadership potential because they belong to different gender groups.

1.4.1 The Shifting Standards Model

The *shifting standards model* (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat et al., 1991) suggests that people judge individuals of stereotyped groups using the associated group traits, which are likened to within-category judgment standards (Biernat & Fuegen, 2001). In other words relative group associations influence judgments, in so

far that women are more likely to be judged relative to women and men are more likely to be judged relative to men. For example, given the stereotype that men are more competent than women, it is more probable that people will adjust their expectations of competence (either higher or lower) depending on whether they are judging the competence of a man or women (Biernat & Fuegen, 2001).

This means that men and women are not evaluated by the same standards or on the same dimensions as each other. Ultimately, what denotes ‘good’ or ‘bad’ for a man does not necessarily mean what is ‘good’ or ‘bad’ for woman (Biernat & Fuegen, 2001). That is to say that when evaluating candidates applying for leadership positions men and women will be evaluated on different scales to each other. For instance, it may be that leadership potential and leadership performance will be evaluated by different standards in men and in women.

Moreover, members of stereotyped groups can be held to either higher or lower standards depending on the type of standard being evaluated (Biernat, Fuegen, & Kobrynowicz, 2010). Minimum standards are more likely to directly mirror stereotypes, and therefore standards tend to be *lower* for stereotyped group members. However, confirmatory standards reflect levels of certainty that an individual possesses a particular attribute in these situations members of stereotypes groups are held to a *higher* standard (see Biernat & Fuegen, 2001; Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Biernat & Ma, 2005; Biernat, Ma, & Nario-Redmond, 2008). For example, minimum standards for women are lower in leadership roles, but confirmatory standards are higher. Therefore, it is easier for women to meet the minimum standards required for leadership roles but it is more challenging to achieve confirmatory standards required to occupy leadership positions.

The extent to which standards shift depends on whether judgments are made on either a subjective or objective rating scale. A subjective rating scale refers to a rating system that is not connected to material reality, for example, Likert scales that measure personality traits (not at all competent > very competent) (Biernat et al., 1991). On the contrary objective rating scales are fixed to material reality, for instance, measuring height in centimeters or weight in kilograms. In a number of studies Biernat and colleagues (1991; 1998; 2003; 2007) have found that when using objective rating scales between-group contrast effects are more prominent and robust, whereas when subjective rating scales are used these effects tend to fade away.

The difference between subjective and objective measures is highly relevant to the hiring and recruitment process. Ultimately recruitment is about selecting a single candidate to occupy the available role. Whilst evaluating candidates on subjective scales is widely used in the recruitment process (Thiele, 2013) it does not result in the definitive appointment of candidates, however, asking people to rank candidates in order of preference is consistently used to make final decisions about the selection of the candidate (Slowick Stanley, 2001).

In a series of studies (Biernat et al., 1991) participants were asked to judge the height, weight and yearly income of equally matched men and women. Participants were asked to rate male and female subjects on either a subjective rating scale (e.g. Likert scales, very light > very heavy; very short > very tall; financially very unsuccessful > financially very successful) or objective rating scale (feet and inches; pounds for weight; US dollars). They consistently found that participants differentially adjusted the meaning of the labels on the subjective rating scales depending on whether they were judging male or female targets. Whereas on

objective rating scales clear differences between men and women were found, for instance, what is considered very financially successful for men on objective measures is substantially more than what is considered very financially successful for a woman.

In an additional study on captains in the U.S. Army participants judged their male peers to be decisively better leaders than their female peers on objective measures (e.g. rankings), but not on subjective measures (e.g. needs improvement > outstanding) (Biernat et al., 1998). This evaluation discrepancy occurred because the subjective and objective rankings required participants to judge on a single evaluative item and consequently were exposed to stereotyped perceptions, but subjective measures conceal these perceptions because they are based on within-category rather than across-category standards (Biernat & Fuegen, 2001). Therefore, on subjective evaluations participants adjusted the meaning of the end anchors depending on whether they were evaluating a male or female target. In so far that, male and female officers could be evaluated as “very good”, but because of the different standards expected of men and women, when participants were asked to rank the same officers male officers scored higher.

In other words, on subjective evaluations stereotypic judgments are often masked as people use within-category standards to assess men and women. That is what is considered “high” performance for a man may not be perceived to be equally as “high” for a woman. However, when people are exposed to across-category standards which is anchored in an external frame of reference it forces the assessment using different contexts and targets. This exposes biased evaluations as perceptions of

“high” performance will be measured and compared *between* men and women that is more likely to reveal stereotypical thinking (Biernat et al., 1991).

This theory is an important consideration in the investigation of the relationship between leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential vs. leaders performance) and gender (male vs. female). It may be that both leadership performance and leadership potential are rated equally on subjective evaluations of employment. However, on more behavioral (e.g. objective) evaluations the stereotypical associations of leadership and gender will influence the outcome of which candidate is employed. For instance it may be that leadership potential is ranked more highly in men than women. Moreover, it could be that leadership potential is more valuable than leadership performance in men than in women.

Therefore, on the minimum standards associated with leadership potential the expectations for women will be lower, however, the confirmatory standards will be higher. In other words, it might be that there is no difference in the subjective evaluation of leadership potential in both men and women, however, when it comes to actually hiring (e.g. confirming standards of competence) men will be more likely to be employed than women.

Additionally, the shifting standards model highlights the empirical importance of considering the role of stereotypical beliefs in hiring situations where ultimately all candidates are ranked in order of preference and the favorite is selected. In other words, the more behavioral measures (e.g. ranking applicants) are more at risk of candidate selection being influenced by bias. In relation to this thesis, the use of objective measures in the context of organizational hiring processes and reflects a more behavioral approach to the assessment and measurement of leadership potential

and leadership performance. Having behavioral and subjective measures ensures that any bias towards leadership potential or leadership performance, men or women, and any relationship between gender and leadership potential, can be identified.

1.5 Gender Stereotypes and Leadership

In the 1970's Schein (see Schein 1973; 1975) did a series of studies that looked at the sex role stereotyping of middle management and found that *Think Manager – Think Male* was a strongly held belief. That is to say that the characteristics required to be a successful manager were much more likely to be associated with men than with women. As I have discussed, more recent research suggests that this phenomenon is still highly prevalent and can foster bias against women in management selection, assignment, promotion and development decisions (e.g. Schein, Mueller, Lituchy, & Liu, 1996).

This persistent male-manager connection has been identified as one of the key barriers that women must overcome in order to progress into leadership roles (e.g. Wellington et al., 2003). In addition, women are valued less than men in the workplace, and especially in leadership positions (Koeing et al., 2011; Levinson, & Young, 2010; Spence & Buckner, 2000). Whilst stereotypes are clearly a significant challenge to being able to occupying leadership positions in the first place, they also affect the way in which women are judged when they do occupy senior management positions.

It is more likely that women displaying counter-stereotypical traditional traits, which indicate leadership-characteristic behavior, are appointed into leadership

positions. This was confirmed by research that found only when women were described as ‘successful managers’ they were evaluated as equally competent as an identically described male colleague (Heilman, Block, & Martell, 1995). Yet, highly competent and skilled women who occupy senior leadership positions are often faced with negative reactions or backlash effects (see Rudman, 1998).

Backlash occurs when agentic women are judged as similarly competent but less likable and hireable in comparison to their male counterparts behaving in an identical manner (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012). For instance, women are more likely to be overlooked for management positions as they are perceived as less competent (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). This is highly problematic as it is a dilemma that women face throughout their careers.

The backlash effect can operate against women who are in masculine-typed jobs (Chatman, Boisnier, Spataro, Anderson, & Berdahl, 2008) or who display masculine-type traits (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). Females in this position face a double bind (Eagly & Carli, 2007; O’Neill & O’Reilly, 2010). For example, when women display agentic traits expected of the male stereotype of senior leaders (e.g. self-assurance, confidence and aggressiveness) they violate the female gender-role stereotype and are negatively evaluated (Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989). For instance, they are judged to be lacking in social skills and, as a result, are less likeable and less likely to be promoted (Rudman & Glick, 2001).

In an empirical study Brescoll, Dawson, and Uhlmann (2010) highlight the instability, vulnerability and fragility of high status occupations accomplished by women in perceived gender-role incongruent positions. When gender-role incongruent candidates make a mistake, they are credited with significantly less status

and competence than their gender-role congruent counterparts. This results in negative formal (e.g. reduced promotion opportunities, pay discrimination etc.) and informal (exclusion, disrespect) consequences (Eagly & Carli, 2007).

The disadvantage that women face in seeking leadership positions has been found to be a persistent organizational concern. For example, in 1994, the EEOC sued Mitsubishi contending that the company fostered a culture that was methodically hostile towards women. In 2010, 1,975 female Walmart employees in 48 US states, filed claims to the U.S. EEOC claiming that they have been systematically under-paid and under-promoted (EEOC, 2010; Supreme Court of the United States, 2010).

However, in some leadership situations (e.g. risky or failing businesses, see Ryan & Haslam, 2005) communal characteristics are highly valued (Rosette & Tost, 2010) and the “think manager-think male” association can be challenged and female leadership candidates are more likely to be appointed (Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, & Bongiorno, 2011). Ryan et al. (2011) found that when company performance was poor women leaders are favored because they are seen as effective people managers and can take the blame for organizational failures.

Researchers have suggested that stereotypes about women and leaders can be contested if they incorporate beliefs about changing characteristics (Bosak and Sczesny; 2011). In other words, as leadership demands change alongside the social perception of women, the perceived incongruence will be reduced. Furthermore, Leicht, Randsley de Moura, and Crisp (2014) found that exposure to counter-stereotypic role models (e.g. a female engineer) stimulates fairness when selecting a leader. However, until the cultural and social status of men and women is equal, it is

more likely that powerful women will be rejected in favor of powerful men (Rudman et al., 2012).

1.6 Hiring and Promotion - The Gender Penalty

Historically women have been perceived as less capable and less competent than men (e.g. Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, & Vogel, 1972). Large numbers of women have invested in higher education and not only do they represent a higher proportion (55% average) of graduates in the member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Vincent-Lancrin, 2008) but they also out-perform male graduates (HEPI, 2009). Generations of women have clearly demonstrated equal levels of competence and ability. Yet, there still remains a distinctively different career trajectory for men and women. Women tend to enter the workplace at a similar point to that of men, however their career paths rapidly deviate from each other (Burke & Mattis, 2005; Davison & Burke, 2012). In all major developed economies occupational segregation by gender is highly persistent, men continue to work principally in male-typed jobs and women continue to principally work in female-types jobs (Hegewisch, Liepmann, Hayes, & Hartmann, 2010).

The single most important path to career development and leadership is through promotion and hiring opportunities. Hiring and promoting the best candidates enhances the chances that the organization will be successful (Martell & Carroll, 1995). Selection decisions are often vulnerable to bias and discrimination as they can lack in structure and formality (Davison & Burke, 2012; Powell & Butterfield, 1994). This is particularly relevant for CEO selection that is often undertaken in a

significantly different manner that is unstructured, secretive and ambiguous (Fernandez-Araoz, 2005). Bias is also a particular concern when selecting for the higher levels of leadership where it is often an individual (e.g. CEO) or group of top executives (e.g. board of directors) who are responsible for the selection of candidates. Often these selectors know little about the formal aspects of evaluation and selection and often do not take advantage of the professional selection techniques that have been developed (Sessa, 2001).

The processes behind the selection and recruitment of candidates are highly important to address, not only because of its potential to reduce accuracy, but also because they lead to concerns about unfair discrimination, gender bias, creating gender-segregation in the workplace and decreasing the status of women in organizations (Bowen, Swim, & Jacobs, 2000; Sessa, 2001). When people engage in direct or indirect interactions, inevitably individuals categorize one another by sex (Ridgeway, 1997). This activates two key psychological processes i) the application of stereotypes and ii) favoritism towards one's own group (Reskin, 2001). For instance, employers tend to view both female and male candidates through the lens of gender stereotypes this then creates an advantage or disadvantage depending on the compatibility of the gender stereotype within the social context (Gorman, 2005).

During the selection and recruitment of candidates there is often an extensive amount of performance-related information to process and as a result assessors are more likely to rely on certain cues, standards and expectations (Catalyst, 2007; Madera, Hebl, & Martin, 2009; Silverstein & Sayre, 2009). Catalyst (2007) found that stereotypes and gender biases were particularly prevalent when making promotion and hiring plans. One of the biggest challenges is women are faced with stereotypes

that question their competence (Naff, 1994). As a result, gender discrimination plays a substantial role in ensuring that women are hired and promoted into certain types of jobs that are usually at a lower-level and lower-paid (see Fernandez & Mors, 2008; Fernandez-Araoz, Groysberg, & Nohria, 2011).

The Harvard Business Review (Silverstein & Sayre, 2009) surveyed over 500 US companies and found that half of recruitment decision makers relied on their ‘gut’ to make final hiring decisions. Madera et al. (2009) reported that communal characteristics in letters of recommendation were negatively associated with hiring decisions. Hoobler, Lemmon, and Wayne (2014) found that women do express interest and desire to actively pursue management positions, however, the daily management decisions that involved the allocation of development opportunities favored men. Furthermore, evidence suggests that although women show preferences for certain male-typed jobs their actual representation falls very short of the expressed preferences, suggesting that discrimination is preventing them from occupying those jobs (Hullett, Bendick, Thomas, & Moccio, 2007; Solberg, 2004).

1.6.1 Job Performance Evaluations

Performance appraisals and evaluations are one of the most important tools used by organizations to promote and assess employees. Performance measurements can also be a cause of ethical and moral concerns in organizations (Maas & Torres-Gonzalez, 2011) as they impact promotion paths and pay (Dohmen, 2004). Organizations need to ensure that their procedures and systems are unbiased and equal. Yet, many employees feel that performance appraisals can sometimes be unjustly inaccurate and imbalanced (Levy & Williams, 2004). One of the biggest

concerns refers to the way in which employees are judged on particular demographic characteristics (e.g. race and gender). A valuable line of research examines the stability of performance measures across a number of equality measures, including gender (Bowen, Swim, & Jacobs, 2000; Davison & Burke, 2000; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Roth et al., 2012). Gender difference in job performance measurements has the potential to influence a number of other factors in the workplace including pay and promotions (Dohmen, 2004), job satisfaction (King et al., 2010) and turnover intention (Harrison, Newman, & Roth, 2006).

The evidence produces mixed reviews on the performance appraisals of male and female employees. Typically studies have investigated whether women are victims of bias based on their gender and as a consequence receive lower ratings than their male colleagues (e.g. Roth et al., 2012). Historically, research has suggested that generally men tend to receive more favorable evaluations compared to their female counterparts (Davison & Burke, 2000; Nieva & Gutek, 1980; Olian et al. 1988). However, more recently a body of research has found that in both field and experimental studies women often receive higher job performance evaluations (Green et al., 2009; Pema & Mehay, 2010; Roth et al., 2012).

Roth et al. (2012) assessed the role of gender group differences on the evaluation of job performance and found that women overall scored significantly higher than men on job performance measures (mean $d = -.11$, 80% credibility interval of $-.33$ to $.12$). In addition, Lloyds TSB found that their female employees were less likely to put themselves forward for a promotion even though they outperformed their male colleagues by 8% in performance evaluations (Desvaux et al., 2008). In another study, Green et al. (2009) focused on the relationship between

gender and job performance among equity analyst brokers. The study found that women were significantly more likely to be labeled as 'All-Stars', which indicates that they out-performed their male colleagues in overall job performance indicators. The reliance on bias can also mean that members of negatively stereotyped groups are judged by a lower standard, for example if a woman is described as 'good' it might not be as valuable as a man being described as 'good' (Biernat, 2003).

Recent research suggests that people update their opinions about men and women over time (for review see Caleo & Heilman, 2011). When performance evaluations had decreased, women who were previously considered successful were judged to be less competent than a man in an identical situation. Similarly, an improvement in performance evaluations had a disproportionately less positive effect on previously less successful women compared to previously less successful men (Caleo & Heilman, 2011).

Olian and colleagues (1988) found that gender had a small to moderate effect on hiring decisions; however, there was no significant overall effect of gender. Pema and Mehay (2010) examined career progression using longitudinal data from U.S. federal government employees. The study found that females needed a higher performance rating than males to move up the hierarchy. For example, when assessing promotion hurdles the researchers found that a male employee who improves his performance rating from 2 to 1, improves his chances of promotion by 2.7% compared to only 1.2% for a woman who showed equal improvement in her performance rating. Whilst the difference of 1.5% might seem small, these effect sizes should not be perceived or interpreted as insignificant, small effect sizes can have dramatic changes over time when describing female and male attributes, attitudes and

behaviour. As Abelson (1985, p. 133) clarifies “small variance contributions of independent variables in single-shot studies grossly understate the variance contribution in the long run”. In other words, the smallest amount of variance in decision making can have a significant cumulative effect over a long period of time. For example, if there is 1% variability in favor of promoting men, which begins at the lowest level, over time and after a number of promotion opportunities, will result in a 65% male representation at the top level (Martell, Lane, & Emerich, 1996).

This shift in performance evaluations shows transference from more favorable workplace performance evaluations of men to more favorable workplace performance evaluations of women. As several researchers have suggested (e.g. Biernat, 2003; Caleo & Heilman, 2011; Pema & Mehay, 2010) it seems likely that men and women are judged by different performance standards. For example, although both men and women are rated nine out of ten on an evaluation, the interpretation and status of that score may vary by gender. However, it is also possible that although performance is still a key benchmark in the hiring and promotion path, there are other key attributes that employers are now looking for. For example, research in organizational and management literature has found that companies are consistently looking for individuals who have the most leadership potential to be effective in higher level roles (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London et al., 2007; Silzer & Church, 2009). This suggests that organizations are not only valuing what candidates have achieved in the past but also what they will achieve in the future.

1.6.2 Promotion and Hiring Opportunities

Promotion and hiring opportunities are a fundamental component of an employee's earning potential and career advancement. More than 80% of the most senior management, CEOs and world leaders are men, this indicates a substantial inequity in the rates at which men and women are promoted (O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2011). Access to career development opportunities leads to positions in the highest echelons of management. In contrast to job performance ratings, the path to career progression is far more turbulent for women.

Women are more likely to be asked about their family commitments and responsibilities during the recruitment process and they are more likely to be excluded on the lack of 'cultural-fit' with the company and with clients (European Commission, 2007). Moreover, women with supervisory duties are more likely to be further promoted into supervisory role whereas men, in the same role, are more likely to be promoted into a managerial position. Without a doubt the way in which men and women are sorted into different lines of work is a defining feature of the current global working landscape. As Hultin (2003) states, if gender-segregation in job roles and career trajectories were unrelated to discrepancies in promotion, pay and development then it would not be regarded as genuine issue of inequality. However, as extensive research in many different contexts has unmistakably found, separate is not equal in socially unequal groups (Reskin & Padavic, 1994).

The amount, and nature, of the information available during selection and recruitment is linked with biased thinking. When assessors lack specific information they are more likely to rely on their own biases and expectations to make judgments (Davison & Burke, 2000). In order to reduce discrimination the information needs to be clearly associated with the specific job role (Davison & Burke, 2000).

Furthermore, if criteria are more ambiguous, evaluators are increasingly likely to redefine the relevance of particular performance outcomes, which inevitably leads to performance outcomes becoming more masculine. Research has found that people adjust the importance of the criteria to favor men over women when the measures are vague (Norton, Vandello, & Darley, 2004; Uhlmann & Cohne, 2005).

Selection and recruitment processes are closely related to stereotypical beliefs about gender and leadership. Female managers are not acknowledged to the same extent as men for their input (Heilman & Haynes, 2005), they are more likely to be faced with negative attitudes and have reduced access to leadership prospects (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Roth et al., 2012). Due to the incongruity between women and leadership it is likely that when promoting and hiring individuals to a management position it is highly plausible that stereotypes will influence the outcome. The selection process requires the evaluator to assess predicted levels of future performance, which requires more judgmental uncertainty than the evaluation of performance in a job (Roth et al., 2012). In other words, performance evaluations in promotion and hiring situations have a reduced value, as most candidates will not have done the job in question. Consequently, this allows stereotypes to become more influential in the decision making process.

Empirical studies have found that whilst females can have higher overall job performance evaluations males, their promotability ratings are lower (Igbara & Baroudi, 1995; Johnson & Cochran, 2008; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Roth et al., 2012). Pema and Mehay (2010) found that women must demonstrate higher ability in order to be promoted. Githner and Kahn (2009) found that men had more career development and promotion opportunities than women in US universities (e.g.

promotion to full professorship). In a recent study Danell and Hjern (2013) looked at the promotion rate of professors in Sweden and found that women are significantly less likely (37%) to be promoted to professors than men. Moreover, they found that despite the introduction of several legislative policies there has been no improvement over time.

Biernat and colleagues (2012) analyzed the performance evaluations of male and female junior attorneys in a Wall Street law firm. The researchers found that in the measures that mattered for promotion (e.g. numerical ratings), male supervisors judged male attorneys more favorably than female attorneys. Furthermore, they found that narrative ratings of technical competence were valued more highly for male attorneys, whereas ratings for interpersonal warmth were valued more highly for female attorneys. Even in industries where women are more dominant, research has found that men have a substantially better chance of being promoted than equivalently qualified women (Hultin, 2003).

In contrast to most research Powell and Butterfield (1994) found that for US federal government Senior Executive Service positions in a cabinet-level department female employees were promoted at a higher rate than male employees. However, they also found that compared to male employees the female employees were more qualified in level of education and previous performance evaluations. In a recent report the Institute for Women's Policy Research (September, 2014) women have been gaining more than 50% of available jobs in the US since 2012. However, this gain could be a result of the recent economic recession because in times of crisis women are more likely to lose their jobs than men (Davidson & Burke, 2012). For example, in the UK during the most turbulent time of the economic crisis (third

quarter of 2009), 68,000 women lost full-time positions compared to 12,000 men (Office for National Statistics, 2009).

A significant challenge when addressing the research on gender and career trajectories is distinguishing between unobservable characteristics (e.g. intention to leave or aptitude), from discrimination and the endorsement of stereotypes. However, the distinctly different career trajectories for men and women suggest that judgments are subtly influenced by bias and stereotypes, which is highly applicable to modern working environments. Numerous lawsuits, complaints and discrimination rulings have highlighted that women are not promoted, hired or rewarded in the same way. In 2004 Boeing settled a lawsuit for \$72 million dollars to over 60% of its female workforce for discrimination in their hiring, promotion and pay practices. In another lawsuit (*Kosen v. AEFA*, 2002) \$31 million was paid to over 4000 women claimed that they were discriminated against because of their sex on pay and promotion issues.

Although the evidence of the relationship between hiring, promotion and gender is somewhat mixed the extensive under representation of women in senior leadership is indisputable. When women are not given access to the same career development opportunities it has a substantially detrimental effect on career progression (De Pater, Van Vianen, & Bechtoldt, 2010). Fitzsimmons, Callan, and Paulsen (2014) compared the career and life trajectories of 60 male and female CEOs and found that limited access to career relevant experiences result in on-going limitations in women's ability to accrue capital. This is problematic as the chance to occupy line management positions provides unavoidable opportunities to expand social capital and have control over financial functions of a business division

(Bilhuber Galli & Muller-Stewens, 2012), which ultimately will result in men gaining more leadership positions, at a faster pace than their female counterparts.

1.7 Summary and Conclusion

Women are not reaching senior management positions at the same rate as men. In this chapter I reviewed research that clearly shows the prevalence and problems of gender stereotypes in organizations. I explored a number of ways in which the career trajectories of men and women (e.g. promotion rates, contract types, leadership roles, career pathways etc.) differ by gender and result in an organizational, social and cultural disadvantage for women. For instance, women are subject to workplace discrimination based on their sex and, despite equal or superior job performance, find they are under-paid and under-promoted compared to their male colleagues (Danell & Hjerm, 2013; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Pema & Mehay, 2010; Roth et al., 2012).

Moreover, I discussed how increased gender diversity not only offers a greater creativity and cohesion but also improves economic performance. For example, the promotion of gender equality at every level of organizations can help to improve organizational performance and productivity. In addition as women continue to become increasingly economically active (Booz & Co., 2012), it is increasingly important to find new ways of reducing the gender gap.

There have been several significant legislative changes to support women in the workplace (Equalities Act, 2010; Equal Pay Act, 1975) yet, despite their introduction, progress has been incredibly slow. For example, the Equal Pay Act was introduced in 1975 yet women still earn 9.4% less than their male counterparts

(Office for National Statistics, 2014). And whilst many social and cultural factors have contributed to the overall gender disparity, they do not explain the extent and prevalence of the issue. In this chapter I established that psychological processes are fundamental to improving the advancement of women in the workforce. Extensive empirical and theoretical evidence has demonstrated that stereotypes and bias have a significant role in directing the careers of women and men. For instance, the powerful congruence between masculine-typed stereotypes (assertive, confident, powerful etc.) and leadership (Eagly, & Johnson, 1990).

It is clear that stereotypical beliefs are highly influential as despite equal performance women are not promoted or hired at the same rate or in the same way as men. This is supported by research on promotion and performance ratings, although women are scoring significantly higher than men on the majority of performance ratings they are not being promoted in the same way (Biernat et al., 2012; Igbara & Baroudi, 1995; Johnson & Cochran, 2008; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Powell & Butterfield, 1994; Roth et al., 2012). Empirical and applied evidence suggests that men and women are measured by different standards (see *Shifting Standards Model*; Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat et al., 1991). For example, women can receive more positive evaluations on subjective evaluations for identical work, yet in order for women to progress they must demonstrate greater competencies. This is perhaps the biggest challenge - understanding why women are not given the same opportunities as men on the pathway to leadership.

It is possible that men and women are being assessed on traits and attributes that are not being empirically measured in job evaluations but are important to career progression (e.g. leadership potential). Greater understanding of the leadership traits

that contribute to achieving leadership positions is vital in securing equal opportunities for both men and women. Women will never be in the position to occupy relevant career building positions unless the way in which males and females are recruited and selected is properly and systematically addressed. In this thesis I focus on other career-relevant traits and attributes that companies look for in the hiring and promotion process. Specifically, I will discuss research on the evaluation of future performance and leadership potential. I will review how the assessment and identification of leadership potential is an essential part of the hiring process and how certain social and psychological processes might influence this. I will discuss leadership potential and current theoretical models to help shed light on its possible relationship with gender.

Chapter Two: Leadership Potential and the male advantage?

“It is better to lead from behind and to put others in front”

Nelson Mandela

One of the most challenging problems facing our society today is inequity between men and women. Examples of gender inequality are not hard to find. Over 80% of the world’s most powerful and influential people are male and globally girls are 23% less likely than boys to be in primary and secondary education (UNESCO, 2011). Fundamental in the explanation of gender inequality are social-psychological processes. As a society we value certain attributes differently in men and women and this can lead to a hugely significant social and economic disadvantage for women. This disadvantage is highly prevalent in organizational leadership, where in every sector and profession, men overwhelmingly outnumber women. In this chapter I propose a new perspective on gender inequality in organizational leadership: potential, specifically *leadership potential*. I propose that whilst leadership potential is highly valuable in men, in women it is overlooked in favor of past performance. In order for women to succeed they must demonstrate their previous achievements, rather than what they are able to achieve in the future, whereas for men the reverse is likely. In this chapter I explore how leadership potential might be an attribute that exclusively benefits men, and how identifying an additional ‘male advantage’ may offer new perspectives and new solutions to the current challenge of gender equality in leadership that is encountered in every single country in the world.

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 outlined the social, economic and political importance of female participation in the workforce. The literature surrounding gender and leadership has dominated organizational and social research. This work has clearly demonstrated that pathways to leadership are longer, slower and less successful for women (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Kark & Eagly, 2010; Pema & Mehay; 2010; Ryan & Branscombe, 2012). For example, a great deal of research has established that women are less likely to be leaders and to engage in leadership behaviors than men (Eagly & Karau, 1991). In so far that women are less likely to display power-like behaviors than men (Brescoll, 2012), men initiate negotiations more than women (Bowles, Babcoak, & Lai, 2007) and women rate themselves as significantly less effective leaders than men (Paustian-Underdahl, Walker, & Woehr, 2014).

Furthermore, women are less likely to be hired (Goldin, & Rouse, 2000; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012) and promoted (Rudman & Glick, 2001), their access to career development opportunities is substantially limited (Callan & Paulsen, 2014; Hoobler et al., 2014), and they are not acknowledged to the same extent as men for their input in decision-making (Heilman & Haynes, 2005). Furthermore, scholars have established the relationship between leadership and gender is directly influenced by stereotypical assumptions about leadership ability that affects both men and women (for a review see Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Fiske, 1998). It is widely accepted that one of the biggest challenges in achieving gender equity in leadership positions is the prevalence of stereotypes (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman & Eagly, 2008). Ultimately, the research shows that the inequity in career advancement substantially limits women's ability to obtain the same economic and social benefits as men.

Whilst the research on gender and leadership in social psychology is extensive, it only partially mirrors recent research in other academic domains. Management and personnel literature has highlighted influential leadership traits that are increasingly prominent in both empirical research and organizational settings. For instance, academics and professionals have recognized that *leadership potential* is an essential component in selecting and promoting individuals in the workplace (Church, 2014; Church et al., 2015; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London et al., 2007; Silzer & Church, 2009). Leadership potential is the ability to perform effectively in the future in wider, more diverse roles (Silzer & Church, 2009).

Consequently, having high potential to become a future leader is a key component of securing a job or promotion (Church, 2014). Furthermore, an examination of organizational performance frameworks suggest that there is a key evaluation component on which men and women perform significantly differently on; “leadership vision”. Leadership vision is a particularly important trait for the identification of leadership potential as it is linked to strategic competence and the ability to perform in the future (Roth et al., 2012; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009).

However, there is an important theoretical concern that remains under-valued and under-investigated. On the one hand, the relationship between gender and leadership has been extensively and broadly studied. On the other hand, leadership potential, which is now a highly valuable trait in future leaders (Church, 2014), remains unexplored both theoretically and empirically in its relationship with gender. In a global business environment, where competition to retain top talent is fierce, the under-utilization of high potential women is an international economic concern (Hewlett, & Rashid, 2011). It is important to note, that if leadership potential is one

of the most sought after qualities in future leaders it is essential that its relationship to gender be researched. It is likely that it could provide greater insight into the current gender imbalance in leadership positions.

To investigate the academic and empirical evidence on leadership potential and gender I firstly define leadership potential and discuss the increasing relevance of leadership potential research. Secondly, I critically evaluate the current theories and frameworks on leadership potential, with a particular focus on specific leadership traits and qualities. Thirdly, I provide an overview of the relationship between indicators of leadership potential found in performance frameworks and gender. I present current information on what is known about the role of gender, if any, in the evaluation of leadership potential. Finally, using current psychological literature I explore how gender might influence the evaluation of leadership potential and whether women are more or less likely to be evaluated positively if they exhibit leadership potential.

2.2 Theoretical and Empirical Research on Leadership Potential

2.2.1 What is Leadership Potential?

Identifying leadership potential is a fundamental part of global organizational operational strategies. Companies with effective talent management systems which directly measure leadership potential (e.g. *General Electric, PepsiCo, Unilever, Shell*) dramatically improve their leadership pipeline and increase the chances of appointing excellent leaders (Fernández-Aráoz, Groysberg, & Nohria, 2011). For instance,

PepsiCo have developed high-potential identification programmes with direct measurements of leadership potential which allow PepsiCo to effectively identify and develop future talent (Fulmer, Stumpf, & Bleak, 2009). Recruiting, selecting, and retaining talent is a top priority for human resource teams and in order to effectively do this it is vital to consider the required future work and competencies (Church, 2014). Consequently, the phrases 'high-potential' and 'leadership potential' are widely used in organizations.

However, there is no universal classification of leadership potential, and its meaning often varies depending on organizational context (Silzer & Church, 2010). This can mean that 'potential' is often considered to be somewhat ambiguous (Rothwell, 2011). For instance, defining exactly what individuals have the potential to do (e.g. job role, senior management, strategy etc.) can influence the way in which leadership potential is classified.

For the purpose of this thesis I use Silzer and Church's (2010) definition of leadership potential which is summed up as the potential to perform in a future role, including the ability to move up multiple levels in the hierarchy and to take on a broader scope of responsibilities. This definition is also the most broadly used definition in organizational contexts with 85% of companies defining leadership potential by role, level and breadth (Silzer & Church, 2010). Furthermore, it is supported by previous views of leadership development as a method of building and improving organizational structures (Day, 2001). In this thesis leadership potential is operationalized by using manipulations that focus on highlighting future performance. This is achieved by manipulating a score on a hypothetical Leadership

Potential Inventory (*cf.* Tormala et al., 2012) and including brief summaries of the candidates by a selection panel that focus on future performance.

2.2.2 An Introduction to Leadership Potential

"This war for talent is like nothing we've ever seen before"

Harvard Business Review (2008)

Appointing the best leaders rewards businesses on every organizational level; economic performance increases (Wiley & Lake, 2014), job satisfaction improves (Kim, 2002), organizational identity rises (Abrams & Randsley de Moura, 2001) and employee turnover decreases (McClean, Burris, & Detert, 2013). However, one of the most frequently cited concerns by CEO's is the lack of efficient talent management and the poor recruitment and retention of successful future leaders (Groves, 2007). For instance, over half of all hires into senior positions fail within the first year and the negative financial and social repercussions of this are substantial (Bauer, 2011). Arguably, this suggests that hiring and talent management practices have not been effective in recognizing those who are going to perform successfully in the future. Consequently, many businesses are completely reassessing their approach to appointing current and future leaders (Church, 2014).

It could be argued that individuals need to have leadership potential to be considered as top candidates for future positions (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London et al., 2007; Silzer & Church, 2009). The value of leadership potential has been reflected in organizational strategy with the significant increase in Talent

Management Systems (TMS). TMS differentiates between employees to identify individuals who demonstrate leadership potential and provide them with greater development opportunities (Church, 2014; Collings & Mellahi, 2009). This approach reflects the increased pressure to retain and recruit future leaders and high-potential individuals.

Thus, organizations are now more targeted, identifying those employees with higher leadership potential and offering them superior career development opportunities in order to improve the leadership pipeline (Church, 2014; Church & Rotolo, 2013). For example, the Australian Public Service (APS) has recently announced that the need to retain and develop high-potential talent is essential to meet the challenges of modern public service (Troth & Gyetvey, 2014). This is a fundamental change in the way in which organizations are developing future talent, the inability to demonstrate future leadership potential or the failure to have it recognized can lead to a substantial disadvantage for individuals.

Identifying leadership potential offers substantial organizational advantages; it gives businesses the opportunity to “buy” talent at a fraction of their future value (Poehlman, & Newman, 2014) and it is directly linked to the future economic sustainability of organizations (Church, & Silzer, 2014). In other words, organizations are becoming acutely aware that the retention of high-potential staff and future leaders has substantial financial, social and cultural benefits. It is critical for the future success of any organization to ensure that businesses are recruiting, managing and promoting high-potential people to populate the leadership supply chain (Collings & Mellahi, 2009; Troth & Gyetvey, 2014).

Many businesses prioritize TMS and their primary aim is to identify, develop and promote a talent pipeline of high-potential and high-performing employees (Collings & Mellahi, 2009). Consequently, identifying high-potential employees and candidates is a central component of organizational human resource strategy and potential is now one of the most desirable traits in future leaders (Church, 2014). For example, in recent research 70% of 84 companies reported using multiple methods to assess potential in their senior executives (Church & Rotolo, 2013).

Moreover, individuals who are on ‘fast-track’ programs are more likely to gain significant career advantages that offer them even greater leadership and promotion opportunities. For instance, they are more likely to gain mentors (Singh, Ragins, & Tharenou, 2009) and sponsors (Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009), they are more likely to have increased job satisfaction (Thomas, 2009), higher levels of organizational identity (Dries & Pepermans, 2007), increased access to training and career development opportunities (Dries, 2013), and reduced levels of turnover intention (Guan et al., 2014).

Intuitively, and anecdotally, people invest in those who stand out and who are more likely to provide future benefits (Sandberg, 2013). Recent empirical evidence also supports this, for example in a recent study Tormala et al. (2012) highlighted a preference for leadership potential, suggesting that although achievement should reduce uncertainty and increase confidence, potential is a more desirable trait. The study examined the *preference for potential* across a number of different contexts across eight experiments. The researchers consistently found that people prefer potential rather than current performance; participants were more likely to go and see the next big comedian, give a contract to an up and coming basketball player, and

hire a candidate with leadership potential. Furthermore, participants acknowledged that performance history was more impressive on paper, but potential was still more appealing. In other words, although individuals recognize the impressiveness of a candidate with consistently high achievement, they show a general preference for hiring candidates with potential, as well as a stronger belief that they will have greater future success (Tormala et al., 2012). In a further study Poehlman and Newman (2014) found that people prefer objectively poorer performances if they are more likely to be associated with future potential. For instance, the researchers looked at past, present and future performance of poets, painters and child prodigies and consistently found that participants would absorb poorer present performances based on the subjects future achievements (Poehlman & Newman, 2014).

Whilst potential is highly valued there is almost unanimous agreement that the management and development of high-potential individuals is one of the major modern organizational challenges (Buckingham & Vosburgh, 2001; Dries & Pepermans, 2007; Troth & Gyetvey, 2014; Tulgan, 2001). There is a general consensus in the management literature that existing approaches to identifying and developing potential are weak (Dries & Pepermans, 2012). Whilst leadership potential is highly regarded there is no single measurement or definition that encompasses leadership potential (Church & Rotolo, 2013; Silzer & Church, 2009). One of the principal challenges of clearly identifying and defining leadership potential is its relationship with leadership performance. Moreover, there is very little empirical or experimental evidence on leadership potential. In the following section I consider how leadership potential and leadership performance are related but also

distinct from each other and I also examine some of the more popular leadership potential models.

2.2.3 Theoretical Frameworks of Leadership Potential

Compared to other leadership theories, the development of theoretical frameworks of leadership potential are still in development (Troth & Gyetvey, 2014; Marshall-Mies et al., 2000). Many of the current available models are part of organizational and talent management systems (for examples see Church & Silzer, 2014), so are arguably more grounded in the requirements of organizations rather than the underlying psychological mechanisms of leadership potential. One of the biggest challenges in classifying leadership potential is the challenge to separate it from measures of previous performance (Balzer & Sulsky, 1992).

A review of current practices revealed that 100% of 20 multi-national companies use performance record as a way of identifying leadership potential (Silzer & Church, 2012). This practice may be problematic. It is possible that relying on high-performance indicators increases the chance of a “halo” effect that can incorrectly denote leadership potential (Balzer & Sulsky, 1992; Konczak & Foster, 2009). For instance, according to the Peter Principle (Peter & Hull, 1969) individuals can only progress to their highest level of incompetence, as they will only be promoted if they demonstrate competence. Ultimately, the Peter Principle suggests that by looking at competence and previous performance organizations are not looking at the new skills and character traits required for future roles. In other words, in order to effectively progress talent it is important to look beyond past performance measures as the sole indicator of leadership potential. Indeed, the Corporate

Leadership Council (2005) has reported that over 70% of high performing individuals have restricted potential for success in future leadership roles.

That said, the relationship between leadership potential and leadership performance requires further exploration. Firstly, most of the evidence on leadership potential is gathered from previous performance (Silzer & Church, 2012), and the evaluation of leadership potential is often buried in a wider workforce assessment (Hanson, 2015). Arguably, leadership potential must be based on a previous track record of high performance which to some extent makes them interdependent. Secondly, many of the factors included in leadership potential and leadership performance measurements could be interpreted as both traits and developmental competencies (Dries & Pepermans, 2012), which makes them considerably more complex to distinctly separate. However, whilst leadership performance and leadership potential are highly compatible, there are some distinct differences; principally the focus on current and past performance (leadership performance) versus performance in future roles that are more diverse and challenging (Church, 2014; Hanson, 2015; Dries & Pepermans, 2012).

One of the first models on leadership potential (Marshall-Mies, et al., 2000) was based on the cognitive and meta-cognitive measures for predicting future leadership performance. This framework identified diverse and complex problem-solving skills as the primary construct required of future leaders. The model was based on four main organizational challenges, which included; problem solving in great uncertainty, the ambiguity of the organizational context, unfamiliarity of the problem presented, and the organizational constraints of the available solutions (Marshall-Mies et al., 2000).

To assess leadership potential Marshall-Mies and colleagues (2000) measured six specific skills; general problem solving, planning and implementation, solution construction, social evaluation, social judgment and metacognitive process. The results indicated that planning and implementation ($M = 78.07$) was the highest scoring factor on the assessment. Planning and implementation includes the ability to plan how to proceed but also requires the visualization of future plans and ideas (Marshall-Mies et al., 2000). The prominence of this factor suggests that one of the key skills indicative of leadership potential is the ability to define and communicate clear strategy and future plans.

Whilst this model presents a useful cognitive perspective there are some concerns about its validity. For instance, the framework only considers cognitive and metacognitive components of leadership potential. The exclusion of social (e.g. context) and individual factors (e.g. stereotypes, motivation, confidence) in the model limits its application. For instance, humans live in groups in which leader-follower relationships rapidly form (Hogan & Kaiser, 2005; Thomas, Martin, & Riggio, 2013; van Vugt, 2006). That is to say that leadership is insignificant without an actual or implied group to lead. Furthermore, neglecting the social context in which the leader is rooted dramatically reduces the complexity of leadership to an individual level (Haslam, Reicher, & Platow, 2013; Thomas et al., 2013). To fully understand leadership, and leadership potential, it is vital to understand the broader context in which the leader exists.

A more social approach can be found in one of the most widely used frameworks within organizations (e.g. *PepsiCo*, *Citibank*) is called the 'Leadership Potential BluePrint' (Silzer & Church, 2009). The model consists of a three main

dimensions; foundational, growth and career. Foundational dimensions are considered relatively stable and difficult to influence and include cognitive (e.g. conceptual thinking, complexity) and personality (emotional stability, interpersonal skills) factors. Growth dimensions can intervene to either promote or hinder an individual's career prospects and include factors such as learning (adaptability, open to feedback) and motivation (drive, ambition). The career dimensions are referred to as components of potential and give early indications of specific skills required in leadership roles. Factors evident in career dimensions include; leadership (e.g. influencing, leadership capabilities), performance (e.g. performance record, career experiences) and knowledge/values (e.g. business knowledge, cultural fit).

Silzer and Church (2009) have argued that all of the dimensions are needed in order to identify and develop high potential candidates. For instance, a minimum standard of personality and cognitive ability is required to progress to senior management. Similarly having the motivation and ability to learn is fundamental to growth and developing potential. Furthermore, success in early leadership opportunities and demonstrating key leadership traits (e.g. strategic foresight) is important in identifying initial leadership potential.

It could be said that whilst the foundational and growth dimensions are important for the development of leadership potential, the key indicators of leadership potential are found in the career dimensions. In the career dimensions Silzer and Church (2009) identify a number of factors that include previous performance and characteristic traits that are more indicative of future performance, such as; influencing and developing others or ideas. Therefore, it could be that individuals who demonstrate high levels of leadership potential will also show a more strategic

approach to tasks and leadership, particularly having the foresight and visualization to be able to effectively work with and develop others.

In a further model of leadership potential Dries and Pepermans (2012) directly address the differentiation between the assessment of leadership performance and leadership potential. In their framework they present a two-dimensional model that consists of four key quadrants, spanning 13 factors (see Figure 2.1).

The first dimension in the model is labeled ‘conation versus cognition’; on one end the dimension is focused on drive and motivation (conation), whereas the opposite end is dictated by analytical skills (cognition). The second dimension is ‘extrapersonal versus intrapersonal’ which is related to the interaction between the individual and the external environment. The four quadrants include; i) analytical skills (strategic insight, intellectual curiosity, decision making, problem solving), ii) learning agility (emotional intelligence, willingness to lead, adaptability), iii) drive (dedication, results orientation, perseverance) and, iv) emergent leadership (self-promotion, stakeholder-sensitivity, motivation to lead) (Dries & Pepermans, 2012).

Dries and Pepermans (2012) showed that the quadrant most indicative of leadership potential is analytical skills that are predominantly predicted by strategic insight and intellectual curiosity. It is widely understood that intelligence is one of the best predictors of future leadership performance (Kellet, Humphrey, & Sleeth, 2002). Strategic insight is broadly believed to be highly related to leadership potential as the ability to think and communicate strategic direction at multiple levels is a crucial indicator of future leadership performance (Dries & Peperman, 2012; Silzer & Church, 2010). Furthermore, closely aligned in the quadrant to intellectual curiosity and strategic insight are traits identified as emergent leadership, in particular self-

promotion. For example, individual ability to convey a vision, communicate strategically, enhance visibility and influence skills.

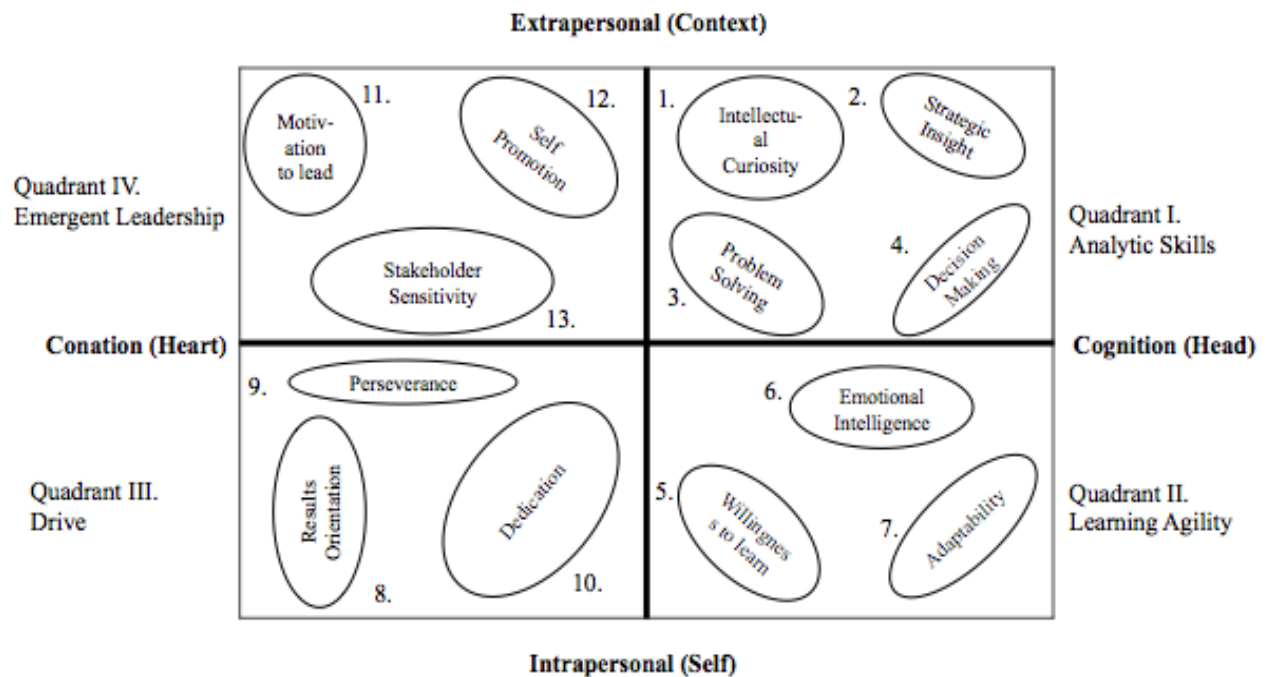


Figure 2.1. Two-dimensional model for the identification of leadership potential (Dries & Pepermans, 2012)

In support of previous frameworks Dries and Pepermans (2012) also identify early leadership, strategic insight and visualization as key indicators of leadership potential. The researchers pay particular attention to the differentiation between potential and past performance, yet, it is unlikely that in any organizational setting previous performance will not be taken into consideration when categorizing leadership potential. However, as I have discussed relying almost purely on past performance to calculate future performance is neither accurate or reliable. This is

principally because performance in the future involves significantly different roles, areas of responsibility and context (Silzer & Church, 2009).

The frameworks presented identify similar traits that are valuable in recognizing leadership potential. For instance, intellectual capability, analytical skills, drive and ambition – all of which are leadership skills one would expect to be associated with future leaders. Moreover, all three models explored emergent or early leadership as a key component of being able to show future leadership potential. In these examples early leadership was categorized by the capacity to communicate and deliver a vision. The idea of emergent leadership taps into some of the more unexpected traits across the models discussed, such as leadership vision – do individuals have the insight and strategic thinking to develop into potential leaders? Furthermore, the models suggest that individuals who are able to indicate their strategic insight and communicate this to a wider audience would be considered to have a high level of leadership potential.

Whilst these frameworks offer a robust summary of the traits valuable in leadership potential, they fail to account for any social context or demographic variables, such as, gender. This is problematic because many workplace evaluations are biased as a result of an individual's gender rather than other factors related to their actual performance (Heilman & Eagly, 2008; Hirschfield & Thomas, 2011; Johnson & Cochran, 2008). Moreover, leadership potential frameworks are often used when selecting candidates and these decisions can be more open to unconscious bias as they can lack formality (Davison & Burke, 2012; Powell & Butterfield, 1994) and often rely on “gut” instinct (Sandberg, 2013).

It is highly likely that any frameworks of leadership potential will be vulnerable to gender bias. Research on the power of gender stereotypes and decisions about leadership is conclusive – women and men are not judged equally (Biernat, 2003; Blau & Devaro, 2007; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Rudman & Glick, 2001). As I highlight above the assessment of leadership potential largely depends on the evaluation of both current and future leadership traits. This is problematic as leadership traits are highly congruent with masculine stereotypes and as such I put forward in this thesis that these evaluations will tend to favour men.

On the basis of the evidence I presented in Chapters 1 and 2 I suggest that there is a clear need to explore the relationship between leadership potential and gender. Is it that leadership potential is more likely to be identified in men more than women? Or potential might tap into more feminine leadership factors, such as emotional intelligence and performance history, in which case leadership potential might be more valued in women? Furthermore, it might be that leadership potential is valued equally regardless of gender.

To explore this further in the following section I investigate gender and leadership potential. Firstly, I examine the empirical evidence on gender and leadership traits that are highly consistent with leadership potential, and secondly, I present current thinking on the possible gender bias in identification of leadership potential.

2.3 Leadership Potential and Gender

“Women hold up more than half the sky and represent much of the world's unrealized potential.” Ban Ki-Moon (2011)

Regardless of country, culture, and context, women do not have equal access to leadership positions. Female leaders are under-represented and under-valued in every profession (United Nations Development Programme, 2008). Furthermore, this gender disparity in leadership is also prevalent in female dominated workplaces where there are a disproportionate number of male senior managers (Census, 2013). The overarching question is what causes this inequality? Are there systematic reasons why women are consistently overlooked in favor of men for leadership positions?

As discussed in Chapter 1, the influence of gender stereotypes substantially influences the inequity of women in leadership positions. This is a particular concern for women entering leadership positions because the characteristic traits typically associated with successful leaders are masculine (Eagly & Karau, 2002). For instance, it is not unusual to expect leaders to be decisive, analytical and strategic, all traits that are more representative of men. Whereas, women are believed to be helpful, considerate and interpersonal (Eagly & Johnson, 1990); all of which are traits that are less desirable in leaders. However, the gender inequality in leadership is more complex than the application of stereotypes.

For instance, it is possible that there are certain characteristic traits that are highly valuable in leadership but that are primarily associated with men. It might be that in order for women to progress in the workplace they need to prove themselves

with *past* performance, whereas men can progress on the promise of their *future* performance and leadership potential.

2.3.1 Performance Evaluations and Gender: A Measure of Leadership Potential?

In order to establish any relationship between leadership potential and gender I scrutinize the current evidence in the leadership performance literature. I examine performance evaluations of both men and women to establish i) the extent to which men and women are evaluated equally, and ii) to investigate any trait similarities between those expected in leadership potential frameworks and those that are found in performance assessments.

Leadership performance is very widely used as an assessment of leadership potential in companies (Church & Rotolo, 2013; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Poehlman & Newman, 2014; Silzer & Church, 2010). However, it might be that certain components of leadership performance are more aligned with leadership potential than previously believed. Assessments of leadership performance consist of a number of different leadership traits on which performance is rated (e.g. vision, interpersonal, task-orientated etc.). A significant amount of recent research has found that on the majority of leadership performance assessments women outperform men (Green et al., 2009; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012). However, on one particular measure men frequently outperform women – others perception of “vision”. Vision principally refers to the ability to effectively communicate and identify future vision, plans and performance (Manning, & Robertson, 2010). This would suggest that certain characteristic traits (e.g. leadership potential) are more

readily identifiable in men than they are in women, rather than men and women being evaluated differently.

Ibarra and Obodaru (2009) studied 2,816 male and female executives across 149 countries that were enrolled in executive education courses. They used data from 360-degree evaluations provided by the Global Executive Leadership Inventory (GELI; Kets de Vries, Vriegnaud, & Florent-Treacy, 2004) and in total this resulted in the analysis of 22,244 evaluations. In seven out of ten assessments of leadership women received higher ratings than men (e.g. team building, tenacity, reward and recognition) and on two further ratings women were evaluated equally as men (empowering and global-mind set).

However, ratings on one measure, “visioning”, defied this pattern and men were rated significantly higher than women. According to GELI, visioning refers to the ability to be able to put forward a compelling vision and strategy that will connect and inspire clients, employees and consumers on a global scale. In other words, it is the ability to develop a strategic vision, to identify opportunities and to be able to effectively communicate these ideas to a wide and diverse audience. All of which are probably character traits that are highly correlated to leadership potential (see leadership potential frameworks; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Silzer & Church, 2009)

Furthermore, 360-degree evaluations of 7,280 leaders found that women were rated as overall better leaders than their male counterparts (Zenger & Folkman, 2012). Participants were rated on 16 different leadership competencies; on 12 of these competencies women were more favorably evaluated than men (e.g. develops others, champions change, solves problems, collaboration and team work) and on three of the competencies (e.g. innovates) men and women were equally rated. However, on one

of the competencies men were rated significantly more positively on “develops strategic perspective” (e.g. measures include; perspective beyond the day-to-day, perspective of overall picture, perspective of details). In further research, Green et al. (2009) analysed the performance evaluations of 9,096 analysts on Wall Street between 1995 and 2005. They found that overall women are more likely to be rated as “All-Star” performers, however, on measures of confidence and accuracy in their future performance (e.g. on earnings forecasts etc.) men were rated significantly higher than women. In other words, this points to lower ratings for women on leadership potential.

Evidence from archival data of 972 military officers who participated in a five-week leadership development programme found that women were evaluated to have a significantly lower level of ‘strategy knowledge mastery’ than men (Hirschfeld & Thomas, 2011). Strategy knowledge mastery typically involves formulating strategies and creating a vision for the entire business (Finkelstein, Hambrick, & Cannella, 2009). Furthermore, this type of strategic knowledge is associated with some of the highest-ranking staff in the military, which like many other sectors is occupied almost exclusively by men (Hirschfeld & Thomas, 2011). Therefore, it would be expected for women to have less strategic knowledge as this is associated with high-level leadership that is incongruent with their gender. Furthermore, the ability to formulate and execute a company-wide strategy is a trait that is identified as being highly relevant to the identification of leadership potential.

Moreover, in a meta-analysis of field studies ($N = 45,733$) Roth et al. (2012) found that in overall job performance ratings (e.g. sales volume, job performance ratings etc.), completed by peers or supervisors, women were more favorably

evaluated than men. The researchers found that overall women had higher performance ratings than their male colleagues. The results included a measure of *promotability*, which involves the evaluation of future levels of performance rather than current levels of performance. The data showed that women are rated lower than men on their promotability potential. In other words, when asked to assess the future promotability, potential is considered more valuable in men than it is in women, regardless of the fact that women were rated higher than men on objective performance measures.

In a further study, Manning and Robertson (2010) examined leadership performance using 360-degree evaluations and found that women and men were similarly rated on performance-based traits (e.g. support for the vision, developing a culture of excellence). However, on one measure men had significantly higher ratings than women; “vision” – the ability to compellingly communicate future vision and innovative leadership (Manning & Robertson, 2010).

Taken together this research highlights that women are demonstrating equal, if not superior, leadership performance compared to their male counterparts. Women are consistently considered high performers on a larger number of performance indicators, which means they are more likely to be considered top performers or “All Stars”. Yet, despite high performance ratings women are less likely to be promoted or fast-tracked than men. This suggests that actual objective promotion decisions are decided on something more than just performance. And whilst organizations use performance indicators in the evaluation of promotion and hiring decisions, there is clearly an additional dimension to these evaluations in which women either under-perform or are under-evaluated.

As this research has shown, there is one aspect of performance ratings that women fall significantly short on – being “visionary”. Being visionary “encompasses the abilities to frame the current practices as inadequate, to generate ideas for new strategies, and to communicate possibilities in inspiring ways to others” (Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009, p. 65). In other words, it is about demonstrating leadership potential. The majority of theoretical and practical evidence on leadership potential suggests that the ability to be visionary and strategic is a fundamental component of leadership potential, furthermore, the ability to use this to communicate with, and to develop others, is vital to future leadership performance. This evidence suggests that it is vital for individuals to demonstrate leadership potential in order to be considered as being visionary, as being a strategist and, therefore, to stand a better chance of being promoted or hired into leadership roles.

However, this does not clearly tell us why it is such an obstacle for women, what is uncertain is how leadership potential is valued in men and women. For instance, is poor performance on leadership vision a trait that women do not exhibit because it is not part of their leadership style? Or, is it a trait that women do exhibit but it is not valued in the same way that it is valued in men? Next I examine specific evidence on leadership potential and gender to (i) establish if there are possible differences in the perception of potential in men and women, and (ii) if relevant, in which gender leadership potential might be more recognizable.

2.3.2 Leadership Potential and the Role of Gender

“The low proportion of women holding directorships suggests that British business is not using all of the skills and talents of the workforce effectively and women are being denied the opportunity to reach their true potential and contribute fully to the UK economy” (BIS, 2011)

Many studies have found that men and women often adopt different leadership styles (for a review see Eagly & Johnson, 1990), which are consistent with the masculine and feminine characterization of the leadership (Padgett et al., 2008). For instance, female leadership includes more interpersonal and communal qualities, whereas male leadership reflects a more agentic and autocratic style (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). Unsurprisingly, the attributes consistent with leadership potential do not deviate from this norm. Although it is yet to be empirically tested, the majority of the character traits and factors associated with leadership potential are masculine in nature. For example, one would expect traits such as; being visionary, strategic, self-promoting and ambitious to be more positively associated with men than with women.

Research has not yet looked into whether this preference for potential undermines gender equality in the workplace and it is still questionable whether perceived leadership potential is an asset to men alone or whether women are able to benefit from such a trend. However, very recent research has started to address gender in talent management systems (TMS) (Festing, Kornau, & Schäfer, 2015; Tatli, Vassilopoulou, & Özbilgin, 2012; Warren, 2009). For instance, Warren (2009)

found that traits which reflected masculine stereotypes were disproportionately represented in TMS. Furthermore, a recent review of women in management found that stereotypical perception of high-potential talent is distinctly masculine, as previous leadership examples are overwhelmingly male (Powell, 2011). There have also been questions raised about the gender inclusiveness of TMS, it is likely that the full potential of female employees is not equally identified and consequently their capacity to develop can often be overlooked (Tatli et al., 2012). This research was further qualified by the identification of five TMS elements (e.g. talent selection process) which depending on their implementation can influence gender bias in TMS (Festing et al., 2015). For instance, if a company has fewer talent development programs (e.g. networking, mentoring) then they are less likely to be gender inclusive (Festing et al., 2015). Furthermore, the study found that when organizations focus on 'elite' high-potential talent this is less favorable and less inclusive towards women.

Moreover, because the evaluation of potential in organizations is linked to how future team members are regarded by others, it is possible that it could be influenced by observable attributes such as gender (Powell & Butterfield, 2003). There is a strong indication from the current literature and some anecdotal evidence that there is a preference for potential in men, yet women need to provide evidence of past accomplishments. In other words, although people acknowledge women's leadership competencies they fail to recognize women's leadership potential (El et al., 2011). For instance, in the UK 54% of women working part-time have been found to be 'employed below their potential', which amounts to 2.8 million women (Women's Business Council, 2013).

Some anecdotal evidence on the link between leadership potential and gender can be found in a recent report by McKinsey (2011). The researchers analyzed interviews with executives in the US and found that men are promoted based on their potential and women are promoted based on their performance. Furthermore, Johnson and Cochran (2008) found that women received significantly higher ratings than men on the majority of performance dimensions but received lower ratings on the advancement of potential. The researchers also demonstrated that masculine performance dimensions were perceived to be more important than feminine performance dimensions. Therefore, although women received higher performance ratings, they were not the most essential having advancement potential (Johnson & Cochran, 2008).

As I have discussed, the impact of gender stereotypes in the promotion and selection of leaders is well established and highly persistent and many theoretical models (e.g. the *shifting standards model*) all render the same predictions - men will be evaluated more favorably than women (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat et al., 1991; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly et al., 2000; Wood & Eagly, 2010). As leadership potential is also associated with masculine-type traits and behaviors I would consequently expect leadership potential to be associated more with males than females. In other words, this leads to a form of prejudice towards female leaders as their leadership potential is evaluated less positively because leadership ability is more stereotypical of men than women (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

As a consequence, greater evidence of competence is needed to overcome the negative performance expectations that besiege women (but not men) in male gender-typed job domains if they are to be judged as warranting advancement (Lyness &

Heilman, 2006). That is, women are more likely to have to prove a successful background to show congruence in their skills and the leadership position. In a US study of upper-middle-level and senior-level managers in a large multinational financial company Lyness and Heilman (2006) found that promoted women had achieved higher performance ratings than men who had been promoted. This suggests that women need to demonstrate their accomplishments more than men in order to progress at a similar pace.

Research into hiring for leadership positions advocates that displaying certain characteristic traits e.g. competence and self-promotion can be harmful for women but not for men. In a series of experimental studies (Rudman, 1998) found that highlighting past accomplishments (e.g. previous performance) decreased women's likeability and ultimately their chances of being hired. However, when men portrayed identical traits they were described as highly competent and more likely to be hired. If the recognition of potential in future leaders is principally associated with the stereotypical beliefs about men then this could contribute to the current puzzle of the unequal advancement of women into senior management.

2.4 Summary and Conclusion

Overall there is a substantial amount of research that indicates that demonstrating leadership potential is fundamental to career progression (Church, 2014). Moreover, some evidence suggests that leadership potential might be more advantageous for men than it is for women (e.g. Festing et al., 2015). Research on leadership performance evaluations show that whilst women outperform men on the

majority of measures they still fail to advance into leadership at the same rate (Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Green et al., 2009; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Roth et al., 2012).

This suggests that there are alternative traits, such as leadership potential, that are more valuable than leadership performance in the pursuit of leadership roles.

Furthermore, across a number of studies women underperformed on measures that were related to leadership potential, such as being visionary and developing a strategic perspective. In these studies (e.g. Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Roth et al., 2012), despite a poorer score on most performance indicators, men who demonstrated leadership potential traits were more likely to be promoted over women.

Leadership potential is highly valuable in the workplace, particularly on the pathway to leadership roles. However, its value appears to be directly related to the gender of the individual displaying leadership potential. For instance, characteristic traits related to leadership potential are evaluated more positively in males than in females. This is highly problematic because if leadership potential is more advantageous for men than it is for women it is likely that the relationship between leadership potential and gender contributes to the significant gender inequity in leadership positions. However, at the moment there is no empirical or experimental evidence that has examined the relationship between gender and leadership potential.

This thesis explores if there is a relationship between gender, leadership potential, and selection and evaluation outcomes. Establishing a robust relationship between gender and leadership potential would provide crucial theoretical and empirical implications as to the selection and recruitment of women throughout their careers. Furthermore, it will also add further weight to the claim that leadership potential is highly valuable when making leadership judgments and choices. To do

this I propose a theoretical framework that outlines the proposed relationship between gender and leadership potential and the underlying psychological mechanisms.

Furthermore, I experimentally examine some of the conditions in which individuals might be more open to leadership potential in both men and women. In the following chapter I outline the theoretical framework for the current research as well as greater detail on the aims and overall scope of my thesis.

Chapter Three: A Conceptual Framework for the Current Research

Based on theoretical limitations identified in the review of the literature (see Chapter 1 & 2), I present a conceptual framework to support and direct future work. In the framework I focus on the mediating impact of individual level-factors (e.g. agentic and communal stereotypes), on the type of leadership trait displayed (e.g. leadership potential, leadership performance), and on behavioral and evaluation outcomes of leadership selection. Furthermore, I present gender as a moderating factor which impacts on the pathway between leadership traits and individual level-factors. This framework is the first to offer a theory-driven evaluation of the fundamental relationship between leadership potential and gender to further understand why and when people might make certain judgments about leadership suitability. In this chapter future directions for research are discussed that would expand and develop the current conceptual framework, both empirically and theoretically. I outline important concerns and suggestions for future research as well as consequences for applied settings (e.g. organizational recruitment and promotion processes). This chapter aims to advance and develop current thinking on the underlying relationship between leadership potential and gender, whilst supporting future research and providing guidance on what this might look like.

3.1 Introduction

Despite over a decade of discussion and debate about the ‘war on talent’ as one of the major organizational concerns of the 21st Century there has been very little theoretical or empirical research to address this issue (Collings & Mellahi, 2009; Dries, 2013). There is a modest, but expanding, body of academic evidence on the recognition of leadership potential (Balzer & Sulsky, 1992; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London et al., 2007; Marshall-Mies et al., 2000; Silzer & Church, 2009). However, its progress remains significantly behind the organizational demand to identify, recruit and promote effective future leaders (Church, 2014). Moreover, extensive research has confirmed that gender can have a substantial influence on women’s progress into leadership positions (Rudman & Glick, 2001; Blau & Devaro, 2007; Biernat, 2003; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lyness & Heilman, 2006), which as I have suggested may largely depend on the ability to effectively demonstrate leadership potential.

In Chapter 2 I explored the relationship between leadership potential traits and gender. I found that although women outperformed men on many of the performance evaluations, on those related to leadership potential women scored significantly lower than men. The incongruence between leadership potential and gender could conceivably have a significant impact on women’s ability to progress into leadership positions. Based on the theoretical and empirical evidence reviewed in the previous chapter I have developed a conceptual framework to provide greater clarity and insight into the relationship between gender and leadership potential.

The conceptual framework is designed to be a tentative theory of why certain leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential vs. leadership performance) may be evaluated differently depending on the gender of the individual. The aim of the

framework is to help establish accurate and significant research that effectively guides and develops current and future research questions. I hope to establish a clear relationship between leadership qualities (leadership potential, leadership performance), candidate gender, state-level factors (e.g. stereotypes about gender and leadership) and candidate evaluations (e.g. hiring intention, success). Furthermore, I seek to explain theoretically why any disparities might be expected in the evaluation of leadership potential or leadership performance in men and women. I now present a brief overview of the conceptual framework, summarizing theories and ideas discussed in previous chapters.

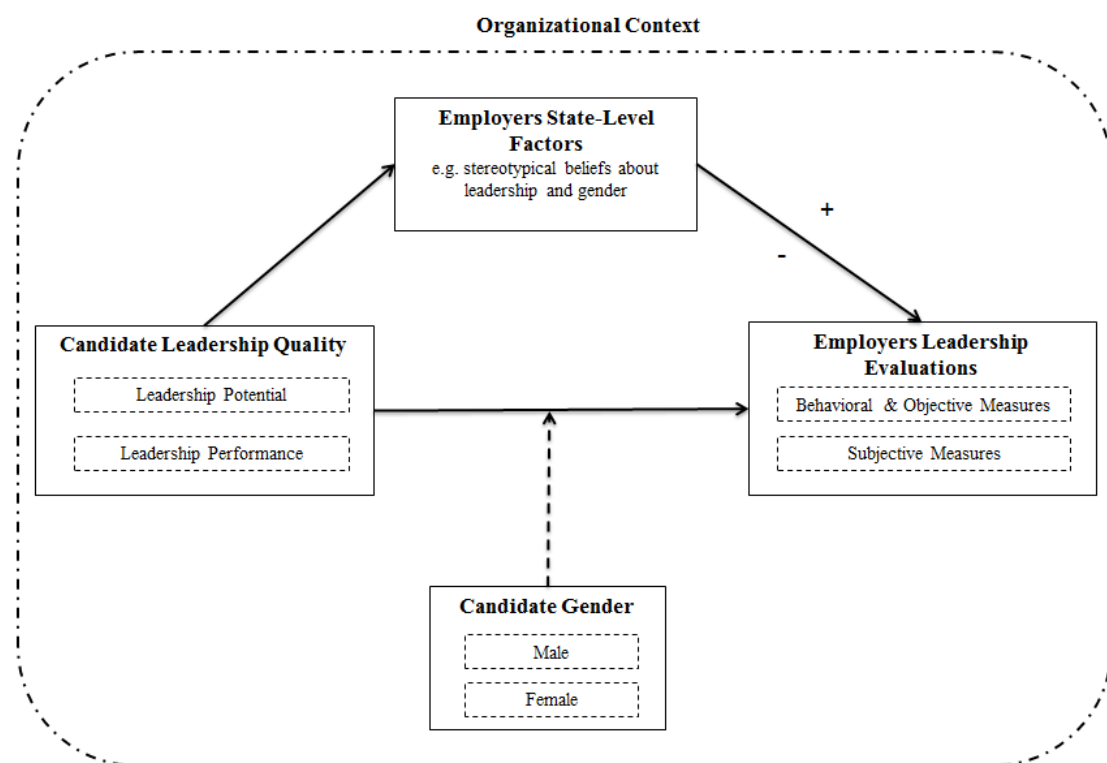


Figure 3.1. A conceptual framework of the relationship between Leadership Qualities (leadership potential and leadership performance) and the evaluation of leadership.

3.2 Conceptual Framework

3.2.1 Leadership Quality (Leadership Potential vs. Leadership Performance)

In the context of this framework *Leadership Quality* refers to the different characteristic traits associated with leadership potential and leadership performance. There is general consensus that they should be considered and measured as different paradigms (Church, 2014; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Silzer & Church, 2010). For instance, leadership potential is directly related with predicted future performance whereas leadership performance is linked to current and previous performance. That said, there are calls for further theoretical and empirical research on the differences between leadership potential and leadership performance (Balzer & Sulsky, 1992; Silzer & Church, 2009) and a need for greater distinctions on how leadership potential and leadership performance is identified and developed in organizational contexts (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Fulmer & Bleak, 2008).

For the purpose of this thesis I consider leadership potential and leadership performance to be independent leadership attributes. I define leadership potential as the ability to perform in wider, more diverse leadership roles in the future, and leadership performance, as current levels of demonstrated leadership performance and achievement, based on previous competence levels (*cf.* Church, 2014; Silzer & Church, 2010).

As previously discussed there are clear characteristic traits associated with leadership potential and leadership performance. Chapter 2 outlined current leadership potential frameworks in which leadership potential is identified using a number of characteristic traits, such as; strategic insight and foresight, emergent

leadership, vision, visibility and influence skills (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Marshall-Mies et al., 2000; Silzer & Church, 2009). These traits were identified across a number of frameworks as being a key component of leadership potential.

Moreover, leadership potential is becoming increasingly valuable in organizations and is now an essential part of the selection and promotion process (Church, 2014; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London et al., 2007; Silzer & Church, 2009). Understanding how employees will perform in future more diverse leadership roles is essential to the future economic success of businesses (Church & Silzer, 2014). Whilst identifying leadership potential is highly valuable at an organizational level, being identified as an individual with leadership potential also considerably improves career prospects. For instance, high-potential employees are more likely to be fast-tracked to leadership positions, more likely to be mentored and have better access to training and career development opportunities (e.g. networking) (Dries, 2013; Guan et al., 2014; Singh, Ragins, & Tharenou, 2009). Moreover, employees with leadership potential are more likely to be promoted and to be targeted for retention (Dries & Pepermans, 2007). In other words, leadership potential is widely considered to be highly advantageous for both the organization and the individual.

Whilst theoretical and empirical research on leadership potential is growing, there is a need for further empirical evidence. Currently job performance evaluations are one of the most frequently used tools when assessing an employee's ability to perform in future leadership roles (Silzer & Church, 2010). Assessments of leadership performance are frequently used to assess current levels of attainment, as well as being used as a key indicator in promotion decisions (Roth et al., 2012; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009). Often measures of leadership performance include traits such as;

tenacity, reward and recognition, teamwork, collaboration, innovation. The majority of these measures are directly related to previous and current levels of performance.

However, as I discussed in Chapter 2, many performance frameworks also include some traits that are associated with leadership potential. For example, some performance indicators also include measures that I suspect are highly correlated with leadership potential (Hirschfeld & Thomas, 2011; Green et al., 2009; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Manning & Robertson, 2010; Zenger & Folkman, 2012) such as; vision, strategic perspective and knowledge, confidence and accuracy in future performance. Although leadership potential is included in many performance frameworks, I consider them to be separate constructs. Firstly, the growing empirical, theoretical and organizational evidence clearly demonstrates that leadership potential should be considered as an independent paradigm (*cf.* Church et al., 2015). And secondly, research has highlighted that leadership potential traits and leadership performance traits are often evaluated differently when certain demographic information (e.g. gender) is available (e.g. Manning & Robertson, 2010).

Within this conceptual framework both leadership potential and leadership performance are considered to be key constructs of broader leadership behavior. However, they are considered to be different aspects of leadership. I propose that leadership performance and leadership potential are represented by different leadership traits and highlighting an individual's future performance or their previous performance is likely to result in different evaluations.

3.2.2 Leadership Evaluation

As leadership potential and leadership performance represent separate aspects of leadership, it is possible that they are likely to be assessed differently. It may be

that focusing on future performance or current performance can improve chances of being hired or promoted into leadership roles. Recent experimental evidence (Tormala et al., 2012) has confirmed that highlighting an applicant's potential for future leadership, over leadership performance, can result in an increased chance of being hired and in their future success. However, the researchers also found that candidates with leadership performance were more impressive 'on paper' which indicates that people make a clear distinction between leadership potential and leadership performance. Moreover, the perception of leadership performance on CVs is acknowledged, yet, the preference for leadership potential on hiring evaluations is more appealing. In further evidence (Poehlman & Newman, 2014), if an individual performs poorly but is associated with future potential they are more likely to be favorably appraised. In other words, highlighting leadership potential opposed to leadership performance can be advantageous in hiring and selection outcomes.

The evaluation of leadership is particularly important in hiring and promotion situations as assessors are often asked to estimate and weigh up both current and future performance. Moreover, these assessments are often based on objective (e.g. ranked data, scores etc.) and subjective measures (e.g. Likert scales; *very unsuccessful* > *very successful*) (Breuer, Nieken, & Sliwka, 2010; Feldman & Ng, 2007; Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005; Stumpf & Tymon, 2012; van Dijke, van Engen, & van Knippenberg, 2012). There is substantial evidence (see *shifting standard model*; Biernat & Fuegen, 2001; Biernat et al., 1991) to suggest that the use of subjective measures can hide contrast effects, as they require within-category comparisons on rated scales (e.g. *very bad* > *very good*).

Whereas, measures that require across-category comparisons on ranking scales (e.g. who is the best? *1st*, *2nd*, *3rd*, *4th*) that are more rooted in material reality are more

robust and can reveal effects that certain subjective measures do not detect. It may be that both leadership performance and leadership potential are both rated “very important” but when asked to compare both traits across-categories underlying preferences are revealed. Moreover, subjective rating evaluations can disguise bias and stereotypical thinking whereas objective evaluations are more likely to reveal any underlying stereotypes (Biernat et al., 1991).

In this thesis I propose that leadership potential and leadership performance are represented by different characteristic traits. Based on the evidence discussed in this thesis, it is likely that each leadership construct and the characteristic traits attached to them will be associated with certain stereotypes (e.g. masculine or feminine), which will affect how they are evaluated. There is a considerable amount of evidence to support claims that evaluating current leadership performance does not accurately predict future leadership performance (Silzer & Church 2010). For example, leadership performance evaluations are one of the key tools used in recruitment and promotion; however, over half of all senior hires fail in the first year of employment (Bauer, 2011). Moreover, as I discussed earlier (Chapter 2, p. 58), research based on the economic principles of the Peter Principle (Peter & Hull, 1969; Peter & Hull, 1996) suggest that based on past performance individuals can only progress to their highest level of incompetence. Therefore, further understanding how and why leadership potential and leadership performance is evaluated is both empirically important and highly relevant to modern workplaces.

3.2.3 State-Level Factors

State-level factors (e.g. stereotypical beliefs about gender and leadership) that are attached to the rater are often considered to have a mediating effect in leadership

models between independent factors (e.g. leadership ability) and outcome factors (e.g. hiring decisions) (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Frazer, 2009; Heilman, 2001). Extensive research has established the negative impact of gender stereotypes on women's progress into senior management roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001), which is principally driven by the congruence between masculinity and leadership. The association between female stereotypes and leadership is less congruent than the association between male stereotypes and leadership. However, what is yet unknown is how leadership potential and leadership performance are influenced by state-level factors. Specifically, when presented with candidates who possess either leadership potential or leadership performance, what is the mediating role of state-level factors on hiring outcomes?

As I established in Chapter 2, there are particular characteristic traits that are associated with leadership potential (e.g. strategic thinking, vision, emergent leadership etc.) that have been identified in both leadership potential frameworks and in leadership performance frameworks. Across a number of studies women outperformed men on the majority of leadership performance measures, *except* in the traits more aligned with leadership potential where men receive higher ratings (Green et al., 2009; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Manning & Robertson, 2010; Roth et al., 2012). This suggests that there may be a clear distinction between the stereotypical beliefs associated with leadership potential and leadership performance. It could be that the characteristic traits and behaviours associated with leadership potential are considered more stereotypically male than those associated with leadership performance. Moreover, it is likely that the strength of the relationship between leadership qualities (leadership potential or leadership performance) and state-level factors is influenced by the gender and leadership style of the candidate.

3.2.4 Candidate Gender

The relationship between gender and leadership has been extensively studied and the way in which people are evaluated for leadership roles can vary substantially depending on whether they are a man or a woman. For example women who display identical, or better, qualifications are less likely to be hired (Goldin & Rouse, 2000; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012), promoted (Pema & Mehay, 2010), mentored, have equal pay (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Uhlmann & Cohen, 2005) or contracts (Ginther & Kahn, 2006). Furthermore, women over-populate part-time employment, low-paid and low-skilled jobs (Low Pay Commission, 2007) and low-level management (Equalities & Human Rights Commission, 2011).

The extensive disparity between the gender composition of the working population and the number of men in senior leadership positions is highly disproportionate. For example, in Canada women represent 47.3% of the working population yet occupy just 35.4% of all management positions and 22.9% of all senior management positions (Statistics Canada, 2012). This evidence suggests that by simply being male, men are at an advantage in the workplace, and in particular, on the pathway to leadership positions. In other words, a person's gender is a substantial factor in the pursuit of leadership positions. Consequently, it is highly likely that gender has a substantial moderating relationship with the perception of both leadership potential and leadership performance, and state-level factors.

The inclusion of candidate gender in this conceptual framework is an important element. Firstly, it allows me to understand the extent to which gender influences the relationship between leadership qualities (leadership potential and leadership performance) and individual level factors (e.g. stereotypical beliefs about

gender and leadership qualities). Secondly, it will help to establish how effective any possible intervention might be for both males and females. Lastly, knowledge of any moderating influence of gender could encourage further research to develop greater understanding of how women are marginalized from occupying leadership roles.

3.2.5 Organizational Context

To appropriately activate and interpret the conceptual framework it is important to consider the organizational context. The hiring and promotion process takes place almost exclusively within organizational domains. Moreover, organizational context is known to influence a wide range of organizational outcomes including; higher job performance (Chuang & Lau, 2010), greater commitment (Gong, Law, Chang, & Xin, 2009), improved emotional display (Lam, Huang, & Janssen, 2010) and improved citizenship behaviors (Schneider, Ehrhart, Mayer, Saltz, & Niles-Jolly, 2005; Walumbwa, Hartnell, & Oke, 2010).

Organizational context is vital to consider in the evaluation of leadership potential and leadership performance as the selection process is already vulnerable to contextual influences. For example, in most working environments men have much greater access to leadership positions than men (Eagly, 2004; Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006; Jacobs, 1999). Moreover, workplace gender segregation has been widely documented across industries, occupation, management level, and sectors (Acker, 1999; Cabera, Sauer, & Thomas-Hunt, 2008; for review see Reskin, 1993). Women over populate roles more stereotypically associated with feminine traits (e.g. care-giving roles) and men overpopulate roles related with masculine traits (e.g. construction) (Cabera, et al., 2008; Eagly et al., 2000; Eagly & Karau 2002; Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006). Furthermore, organizational context can be

particularly important when considering the emergence of leaders and gender. For instance, in an experimental study Karakowsky and Siegel (1999) found that a gender-congruent leader was more likely to emerge when teams were either male- or female-dominated.

Considering the overall organizational and social context of this conceptual framework is important as it likely to influence organizational outcomes (e.g. evaluation of Leadership Quality). Experimentally exploring the organizational context is also fundamental in furthering the research on leadership evaluations and gender (see Studies 8 & 9).

3.2.6 Overview

Ultimately the conceptual framework aims to answer two main research questions; (a) can leadership potential be more advantageous in career development and, (b) is there is any difference between the employment opportunities for men and women who exhibit certain leadership traits (e.g. leadership potential vs. leadership performance)? Moreover, the framework suggests possible state-level factors that might mediate the outcome of hiring and promotion evaluations, for instance, stereotypes about leadership and gender. This framework is designed to be a conceptual representation of my research, it is intended to guide and inform concepts, relationships, and factors throughout my thesis and it is a fundamental part of the research design (Robson, 2011).

However, as the research on leadership potential is relatively limited and the empirical examination of its relationship with gender is non-existent it is currently only a tentative theory. The framework identifies a possible relationship between leadership traits (e.g. leadership potential and leadership performance), gender and

state-level factors that is likely to influence employment and career prospects. Currently the nature of the relationship is relatively unknown and the extent to which each component influences the outcome is not yet fully understood.

3.3 Aims of Thesis

There is substantial empirical evidence on the incongruence between leadership and women (Biernat, 2003; Blau & Devaro, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Rudman & Glick, 2001), which is supported in organizations, as there is a considerable deficit in female leadership roles. Presently there is a growing movement to develop future leaders and identify those with leadership potential (Church, 2014; Silzer & Church, 2009). Whilst leadership potential has been embraced at an organizational level, theoretical and empirical research is insufficient (Dries & Pepermans, 2012). Furthermore, evidence on the relationship between the value of leadership potential and gender is entirely unknown. If people are increasingly progressing through their careers based on leadership potential it is of great importance that further empirical research investigates factors that may influence the relationship between leadership potential and selection decisions.

In this thesis I propose that leadership potential will be more valuable than leadership performance (see Studies 1 & 2). However, when candidate gender is introduced as a factor, leadership potential will become advantageous for men, improving their chances of selection. On the contrary, in order for women to improve their leadership prospects, they must demonstrate previous leadership performance (see Studies 4-7). This could be highly problematic as leadership potential is

becoming increasingly popular in organizational culture and recruitment decisions are based on the ability to perform in future roles. Then, if leadership potential is an advantage for men this will only contribute to the current gender inequality in leadership.

The primary aim of this research is to ascertain whether the relationship between leadership potential and overall hiring intentions is influenced by the gender of the candidate. The under-utilization of high-potential women with the skills and talent to be future leaders is economically and socially problematic (Howlett & Rashid, 2011). Further understanding how, when and why leadership potential may hinder women's progress into leadership will contribute to the current research on leadership and gender, as well as establishing a new line of research on gender and leadership potential.

One of the principal factors in the prediction that leadership potential will be more beneficial for men than for women is because women are judged more positively on job performance evaluations. A high volume of research (Desvaux et al., 2008; Dunbar & Novick, 1988; Green et al., 2009; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012) has found that on the majority of job performance indicators women are rated more highly than men. Women are more likely to be labeled as "All-Stars", (e.g. having better job knowledge, being team orientated, being supportive) and this suggests that a good performance record is a benefit for women (see Chapter 2 for review).

However, despite as being perceived more positively than men on job performance evaluations, women are still *less* likely to be hired or promoted (Ibarra & Baroudi, 1995; Johnson & Cochran, 2008; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Roth et al., 2012). And if they are promoted they are more likely to be hired into positions that

are less advantageous and have limited leadership relevant experience (Callan & Paulsen, 2014; Githner & Kahn, 2009). This suggests that people are promoted and hired on *more* than previous leadership and job performance, for instance, leadership potential.

A second factor in the prediction that leadership potential will be more valuable in men is also based on job performance measures. Whilst women are rated more highly than men on the majority of leadership performance measures, on those associated with leadership potential men are more favorably rated than women. For example, in the same series of studies discussed above, men are more likely to be evaluated as having strategic judgment or as being visionary (Green et al., 2009; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012), both key components in leadership potential (*cf.* Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Silzer & Church 2009).

Lastly, there is some anecdotal evidence to suggest that leadership potential is more valuable in men than women. For instance, two think-tanks in the US produced reports suggesting that leadership potential is overlooked in women, yet highly valuable in men (Catalyst, 2013; McKinsey, 2012). Moreover, studies have suggested that men are judged to have more potential to progress in their careers than women (Biernat et al., 2012; Cochran, 1999; Hultin, 2003; Johnson & Cochran, 2008; Kabacoff, 2000).

I propose that whilst leadership potential is highly valuable, it is a benefit that advances men alone and leadership potential in women is disregarded in favor of previous performance history. Typically workplace performance in females is over-rated and over-valued comparative to male counterparts (Roth, et al., 2012; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009). In order for women to progress they need to prove themselves, they need to reassure people that they are already established as capable leaders and

women must possess a performance history that supports leadership claims. In other words, potential is overlooked in women but not in men.

In this thesis I explore when, how and why leadership potential might be evaluated more favorably in men than it is in women. More specifically, the aims of this thesis are to; i) experimentally test the value of future leadership potential and previous leadership performance in organizational contexts (see Studies 1-3, ii) specify the value of leadership potential and leadership performance in both male and female candidates (see Studies 4-9) and, iii) identify how this might impact hiring decisions (see studies 4-9). Gaining insight into the relationship between gender and leadership potential will not only provide the first empirical evidence of the relationship, but it will contribute significantly to the current organizational thinking on hiring and promotion.

3.4 Empirical Approach

3.4.1 Qualitative Approach

Study 1 is qualitative research and below I outline the main approach used to collate and analyse the data.

Methodology. In this thesis I used focus groups to collect data on leadership in higher educations. Focus groups were principally used as they facilitate a more natural conversational pattern and they encourage participants to generate and express their own ideas and opinions which may have been unexplored or neglected in one-to-one interviews (Gaiser, 2008; Kitzinger, 1995). Moreover, focus groups are more

reflective of the workplace as they represent commonplace human interaction and certain group norms (Hughes & Dumont, 1993).

Analytical approach. Theoretical thematic analysis was used to analyze the data in Study 1. A theoretical thematic approach allows multiple aspects of one research area to be explored (Boyatzis, 1998) whilst also considering the theoretical and conceptual interests of the researcher (Braun & Clarke, 2006; see Figure 3.1). In addition, the qualitative findings were also used to enhance the quantitative measures used in the experimental research.

3.4.2 Experimental Approach

Studies 2-9 are experimental research and in this section I address some the overall empirical approaches used throughout this thesis.

Sample size. In order to estimate the sample size required in the studies within this thesis I conducted an *a priori* power analysis with the program *G*Power* (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). Analysis was based on experimental research by Tormala et al. (N = 76, Experiment 3, 2012) who compared evaluations of leadership potential to leadership performance in hiring situations. I used 80% power as it is generally accepted to be the appropriate power requirement for social science (Cohen, 1988; 1992). The effect size in this study was .55, which according to Cohen (1988), is considered to be medium. The analysis showed that for a paired t-test 46 participants would be required to detect the same effect ($d = .55$) with 80% power and an alpha at .05.

To assess the required sample sizes for analysis of variance (ANOVA) I used Cohen's (1988) guidelines for η^2 scores (small, 0.01; medium, 0.059; large, 0.138). The analysis showed that for an ANOVA design the largest number of participants

required would be 128 to detect a medium effect size ($\eta^2 = .059$) with 80% power and alpha at .05. Moreover, the analysis indicated that 108 people would be needed to detect medium effects ($\eta^2 = .059$) with 80% power using a repeated measured ANOVA with alpha at .05. Thus, my planned sample sizes of 100 and above should be sufficient to provide an 80% chance of detecting effects significant at $<.05$.

Crowdsourcing samples. I used both *MTurk* and *CrowdFlower*, as they are well-known online recruitment pools and are widely used by behavioral scientists (Chandler, Mueller, & Paolacci, 2014). Research has found that samples from crowdsourcing platforms (e.g. *MTurk*, *CrowdFlower*) can be more representative of the general population than in-person convenience samples (Berinsky, Huber & Lenz, 2012; Paolacci & Chandler, 2014). Crowdsourcing platforms are particularly valuable in organizational and social research as respondents have more work experience, are older and more ethnically diverse (Behrend, Sharek, Meade, & Wiebe, 2011).

Crucially, online crowdsourcing allows access to a broader, more diverse pool of economically active participants (Barchard & Williams, 2008; Dandurand, Shultz, & Onishi, 2008). This addresses concerns over the homogenous nature of student samples from typically developed and industrialized societies (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). For instance, there have been concerns over the ability to generalize findings from student populations to working adults (Behrend et al., 2011; Ward, 1993). This is especially important as this thesis is concerned with further understanding career progression and using samples with more organizational experience is highly valuable.

Some concerns about the use of crowdsourcing are due to the participants' ability to learn over time and therefore understand more about social science procedures and become more aware of attention checks (Chandler et al., 2014; Hauser

& Schwarz, 2015). To address this concern, I ensured the same attention check was not repeatedly used in my studies (see Appendix C: Attention Check Examples) and restricted participant the access to future studies once they had completed a study (*cf.* Chandler et al., 2014).

Vignettes. Vignettes were used as they are known to be engaging and can be easily tailored to the relevant audience. They are regarded as a reliable method of addressing subject areas whilst maintaining control of the research process (Doz, 2011). Presenting hypothetical situations is an accurate way of investigating organizational judgments (Handley et al., 2007). However, I accept that it is not possible for vignettes to reflect neither the full complexity of organizational contexts nor all of the relationships that occur. However, in this thesis they are used illustrate the value of psychological variables in workplace settings.

To ensure that vignettes were as realistic and reliable as possible I used fictional news stories (e.g. Bloomberg Business News, Construction News, Financial News, Nursing Today etc.) to provide relevant context to the hypothetical organizations. Previous research has found using online news sites to be a reliable and accurate context for organizational decision-making (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010).

Measures and Manipulations. In order to measure the evaluation and selection of candidates I adopted a mix of measures and manipulation.

Subjective and objective items. This thesis included a mix of subjective rating and more behavioral, objective ranking scales. Firstly, I wanted to accurately represent situations in which candidates are evaluated and selected which involves using a mix of subjective and objective measures (Howard, 2001). Moreover, subjective and objective measures are used to evaluate career success (Abele & Spurk, 2009; Heslin, 2005; Ng et al., 2005), job effectiveness (Rockoff & Speroni,

2011) and organizational performance (Andrews, Boyne, & Walker, 2006). Secondly, including both subjective and objective measures ensures that any bias that might go undetected on subjective items is more likely to be exposed on objective items (See Chapter 1, *shifting standards model*; Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat, et al., 1991).

Manipulation of leadership quality. One of the most important components of the experimental design in this thesis is the manipulation of leadership potential and leadership performance which was adapted from Tormala and colleagues (2012). In order to manipulate leadership potential and leadership performance two scores on a hypothetical *leadership potential inventory* and *leadership achievement inventory* were presented to participants, either a high score (e.g. 96/100) or a more moderate score (83/100) was used to highlight leadership potential or leadership performance. As with Tormala et al. (2012,) I used relatively high scores (e.g. in the top 20%) as I was reflecting applicants who were strong candidates for leadership positions. In Studies 4-9 an additional manipulation of either leadership potential or leadership performance was included. This involved either or a quote from the hiring company CEO (e.g. Study 6) or a selection panel review. This additional manipulation was included to improve the salience of leadership potential or leadership performance.

Measures. To do this I have used a combination of items that assess hiring intention, career and job success (adapted from Turbin & Dougherty, 1994), future success (adapted from Tormala et al., 2012) and CV evaluation (adapted from Tormala et al., 2012). These are all factors considered in the evaluation and selection of leadership candidates (Howard, 2001) and are included to provide an overview of a candidates employment prospects.

3.5 Overview of the Studies

In this thesis I report nine studies investigating the influence of gender on the relationship between leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential versus leadership performance) and leadership opportunities. *Chapter 4* will explore the material context of leadership potential and gender in an organizational setting. I chose higher education to conduct a qualitative study using focus groups to explore the contextual boundaries of leadership potential in higher education (HE). Research has shown a general preference for potential (Tormala et al., 2012) and the recognition of leadership potential in HE is a particular challenge. Many higher education institutions (HEIs) do not have a systematic approach to identifying leadership potential (Spendlove, 2007) and this has negatively impacted on the population of leadership pipelines (Scott, Coates, & Anderson, 2008). Using theoretical thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) I will report one study (Study 1, Chapter 4), which shows the distinctive presence of leadership potential and leadership performance in Higher Education. These leadership qualities are compatible with two career streams – teaching focused and research focused. For instance, leadership potential is related to research-led careers, whereas, leadership performance is related to teaching-led careers. Moreover, I discuss the gender barriers in relation to career pathways concluding that several state-level factors (e.g. stereotypes) may influence the evaluation of leadership potential and leadership performance in women.

Chapter 5 investigates the research question using an experimental design. In *Chapter 5* I present three studies (Studies 2, 3 & 4) that underpin the theoretical framework and the remaining empirical research. It is clear that leadership potential is a rapidly growing area both empirically and in applied settings (Church, 2014; Dries

& Pepermans, 2012; Silzer & Church, 2009; Tormala et al., 2012). Moreover, with the continuing gender inequality in leadership positions it is vital to continue to deepen our understanding of the barriers facing women on the pathways to senior management. In this chapter I will present the first experimental evidence of the relationship between leadership potential and gender. I will firstly establish that candidates are presumed to be male regardless of whether they have displayed leadership potential or leadership performance, reinforcing previous evidence on the “think manager, think male” paradigm (Schein et al, 1996). Secondly, I will show that there is a general preference for potential when making future employment decisions; overall participants rated candidates with leadership potential as a more desirable prospect. Lastly, I demonstrate that whilst leadership potential is highly valuable, it is valuable to men alone. In order for women to improve their chances of career progression they must show their previous leadership performance.

Chapter 6 extends and develops the previous studies by establishing a robust relationship between Leadership Qualities (leadership potential vs. leadership performance) and Candidate Gender (male vs. female). Across three studies (Studies 5, 6 & 7) I find that leadership potential is significantly more valuable to men than it is to women. Moreover, leadership performance is more beneficial to women in hiring and selection situations. I extend the previous research by replicating these effects regardless of the level of seniority (e.g. junior or senior management) of the role candidates are being recruited to.

In *Chapter 7* I investigate how workplace context influences the dominance of male candidates with leadership potential in the recruitment process. In particular, the focus is on the masculinization and feminization of workplace contexts. It is well established that certain men and women face different challenges in gender atypical

working environments (e.g. glass escalator; Williams, 1992 vs. glass ceiling; see Barreto, Ryan, & Schmitt, 2009; Maume, 1999; Wall Street Journal, 1986). Across two studies (Studies 8 & 9) I test the influence of gender typical working environments on the appointment of male and female leaders with leadership potential and leadership performance. I find that in masculine typed contexts leadership potential becomes even more valuable to candidates; however this benefit is exclusive to men as women must prove their leadership performance. Moreover, feminine contexts tend to neutralise the influence of leadership potential in so far that all candidates are more equally rated on subjective measures of hiring and success.

I also test the relationship between gender stereotypes (agentic vs. communal) in Study 9. I find that the candidate most likely to be stereotyped is the female candidate with leadership potential on both agentic and communal traits. However, regardless of gender stereotypes, overall the most desirable employment prospect remained the male candidate with leadership potential regardless of the masculinization or feminization of the working environment.

In *Chapter 8* I discuss the empirical findings of my thesis and discuss their contribution to the research question and hypotheses proposed in each chapter. Importantly, I also discuss the theoretical and empirical implications of this research in the wider context of gender and leadership research. Moreover, I discuss the application of this research to current organizational models and suggest directions for future research.

Chapter Four: Qualitative Evidence on the Preference for Potential in Higher Education

There is a well-established literature on the connection between leadership and gender, and there is rapidly emerging evidence on leadership potential. However, there is no empirical or theoretical evidence that investigates how gender influences the perception of leadership potential and leadership performance. In this chapter I seek to provide relevant organizational context to the theoretical contributions of this thesis using a qualitative study. In order to further understand the link between leadership potential and gender, investigation of the physical setting of this relationship is fundamental to the accurate interpretation of future quantitative data. In this chapter I use focus groups to explore leadership opportunities in Higher Education (HE) and their relationships with leadership traits (leadership potential vs. leadership performance), gender, and state-level factors.

4.1 Theoretical Background

4.1.1 Higher Education and Leadership

Many universities do not have a systematic approach to identifying and developing leadership (Spendlove, 2007), which has led to the subsequent reduction in the available leadership talent pool (Scott et al., 2008). However, recognizing leadership potential in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) is becoming an increasingly important and clear steps are being taken to improve the recognition of leadership capabilities (Scott et al., 2008). Moreover, identifying potential in women is a priority in higher education. In recent years a number of flagship programs have been introduced to identify and develop high-potential women. For instance in the UK, Athena SWAN is designed to progress more women in STEM subjects and the Leadership Foundation's AURORA program offers development programs to future female leaders in HE.

In the last 20 years there has been a significant shift in the growth and diversity of students as well as the increase in information technology, that has dramatically changed the higher education landscape (Paewai, Meyer, & Houston, 2007; Vardi, 2011). Moreover, government pressure has increased on universities to prove culpability and productivity and as a result there has been an increase in the use of performance indicators (Burke & Modaressi, 2000). For many HEIs the use of performance indicators has filtered down and has become a key assessment tool used to evaluate school and employee performance (Taylor & Taylor, 2003). Consequently staff are being held increasingly responsible for a considerable number of performance indicators such as; student satisfaction scores (e.g. NSS), publication

numbers (e.g. REF), graduate employment rates and pass rates (Vardi, 2011). This shift in accountability has increased the workload of academic staff (Paewai et al., 2007; Vardi, 2009) and as a result staff work streams within HEIs are highly distinctive from each other. There are currently three main career pathways in academia; (i) learning and teaching, (ii) teaching and research and, (iii) research only. However, the opportunity to achieve promotion and tenure are substantially more elusive and inaccessible for those focused on teaching careers (Chalmers, 2011; Diamond, 1993; Huber, 2004).

4.1.2 Leadership Potential and Leadership Performance in Higher Education

Arguably the challenge is not the lack of staff with leadership potential but the ability to accurately identify and develop them because different academic career pathways (e.g. teaching vs. research) do not provide the same leadership opportunities. Decades of research have sought to rectify the disparity between the status of teaching and the status of research (Chalmers, 2011; Fairweather, 2005; Vardi, 2011).

There has been a prominent movement in the UK to improve the disparity between teaching excellence and research excellence (Dfes, 2003; Fairweather, 2005; Greenbank, 2006; Parker, 2008). In a bid to improve the reputation, quality and standard of teaching in the UK numerous government back reforms, reports and consultations have been introduced (e.g. Teaching Quality Assessment). Whilst incentives for funding and grants (e.g. *The future of higher education*; DfES, 2003) now include the promotion of effective learning and teaching at all institutions, teaching is still not perceived to offer equal leadership opportunities or status as research (Drennan, 2001; Young, 2006). Academics choosing to direct their careers

toward learning and teaching jeopardize progression into leadership roles and promotion opportunities (Diamond, 1993; Huber, 2004). For instance, Macfarlane (2013) found that 0.9% of professorial promotions were based on teaching excellence.

For centuries academic research has been associated with prestige and recognition, far beyond the acknowledgements of teaching (Drennan, 2001). It could be that different types of leadership traits (e.g. leadership potential vs. leadership performance) are unequally attached to teaching and research pathways. Both teaching and research contribute to the funding opportunities and ranking of HEIs (Moore, 2002), for example the REF (previously the RAE) and the Teaching Quality Assessment (TQA) are used to measure HEI performance. However, teaching is especially rooted in measures of performance. For instance, teaching is subject to a higher number of performance evaluations from both the institution and the student population (e.g. Vardi, 2011), for example; the introduction of NSS, module evaluations forms, student pass rates, and future employability rates. Whereas, explicit performance measures of research excellence are harder to identify as the number of measures used (e.g. citations, grants) is much lower than those in teaching. The principle indicator of research performance is citation-based measures (Mryglod, Kenna, Holocatch, & Berche, 2012), and whilst measures have been taken to improve the assessment and impact of research (e.g. REF, 2014) the way in which research excellence is evaluated is still widely debated (Mryglod et al., 2012; Smith, Ward, & House, 2011).

It is likely that leadership potential will be more highly associated with research excellence than teaching excellence. Firstly, the evaluation of teaching is more aligned with extrinsic measures of performance. Moreover, the ability to demonstrate research excellence is more ambiguous and research has suggested that

previous publication history is linked to future potential. For instance, van Dijk, Manor, and Carey (2014) found that academics who had a good publication record in highly rated journals were more likely to generate income in the future and be named as principle investigators (PI). Secondly, the dominance of research is reflected in the promotion and career opportunities available to academics (Parker, 2008). The value of research excellence is central in securing senior leadership roles (e.g. reader or professor). In an analysis of UK HEI promotion policies Parker (2008) found that on teaching activities alone it is not possible to match the promotion criteria required for more prestigious senior academic research positions. Consequently, senior leadership positions are far more challenging to achieve for those in teaching-led roles and therefore, their associated leadership potential will also be substantially limited.

4.1.3 Gender and Leadership in Higher Education

As with many other professions the under-representation of women in leadership positions in academia is a significant concern (Abrams & Houston, 2006). In the UK, men account for 83% of Vice Chancellor positions and 79% of professorial positions (Women Count, 2013). The gender gap in pay continues to be a significant barrier with little progress made since the 1970's (West & Curtis, 2006). For example, in the United States the average wage of a female academic staff member was 22% lower than a male academic (\$56,926 vs. \$69,337 respectively; Porter, Toutkoushian, & Moore, 2008) and in the UK female academics earn on average 13.6% less than male academics (Equalities Challenge Unit, 2013).

Moreover, women are less likely to occupy the most prestigious positions (e.g. first author or last author) on publications and women are significantly under-represented on single-author papers (West, Jacquet, King, Correll, & Bergstrom,

2013). Even when accounting for the gender disparity in publications men are more likely to go on to become principle investigators (PI) in future research. Moss and colleagues (2012) found that identical applicants who applied to be a lab manager were rated more highly if they were male. Furthermore, 52% of male professors occupy management positions compared to 37% of female professors (Macfarlane, 2013).

The gender inequality in career trajectories is also highly problematic in academia. Statistics suggest that women occupy more teaching-led roles than men in the UK higher education system. For instance, in the Research Assessment Framework 2001 (RAE, now the Research Excellence Framework) of UK university departments 74% of men were submitted compared with 58% of women (HEFCE, 2006), a similar pattern followed in the RAE 2008 (67% vs. 48% respectively; HEFCE, 2009) and in the REF 2014 (67% vs. 51% correspondingly; HEFCE, 2015). There is a clear distinction between the number of women occupying teaching-led roles and the number of men occupying research-led roles. The Equalities Challenge Unit (2009) cited “gender occupational segregation” as significant contributing factor to entrenched inequalities in the research careers of men and women. In so far that women face challenges both in terms of the area of their research (e.g. Arts vs. STEM) but also in terms of their academic career tracks (e.g. teaching vs. research). Moreover, women are more likely to occupy pastoral roles (Glazer-Raymo, 2008) and tend to exhibit a more positive orientation toward teaching (Poole et al., 1997).

As I discussed earlier in this chapter, it is possible that there may be a meaningful relationship between leadership traits (e.g. potential vs. performance) and academic career paths (e.g. teaching-led vs. research-led). Furthermore, it has been established that women are more likely to be found in teaching-based roles and men

Glazer-Raymond, 2008; Poole et al., 1997). Therefore, it might be possible that women are more associated with performance-based teaching roles and men are more associated with potential-based research roles. However, the extent to which these relationships exist is entirely unknown. In this chapter I aim to establish; (i) if there is an inequality of opportunity between research and teaching activity, (ii) could any inequality between teaching and research be explained by links to leadership opportunities and the differences between leadership potential and leadership performance, and (iii) what role does candidate gender play in the identification of leadership performance and leadership potential in academia.

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Analytic Approach

Quantitative research offers insight into actual changes (Bryman, Stephens, & à Campo, 2002; Holloway & Todres, 2003; Hughes & Dumont, 1993; Morgan, 1998). However, to interpret the quantitative data without a solid foundation of theoretical and empirical evidence diminishes its value and arguably any interpretation of the data would be speculative. As there is currently no empirical evidence of the relationship between leadership potential and gender in the workplace, it was decided that a qualitative study to understand people's experiences of leadership potential and gender would be conducted. Qualitative data collection and analysis are highly varied, intricate and diverse in their approach (Holloway & Todres, 2003).

The qualitative approach was based on a series of focus groups in multiple HEIs. As the overall thesis is mixed-methods I also used the qualitative study to

explore some of the quantitative measures that would be used in the upcoming quantitative studies. Focus groups were used to support the theoretical basis of the conceptual framework of leadership potential and gender (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.1) by understanding people's *own* experiences of leadership in the workplace. The inclusion of qualitative data in this thesis is designed to help identify and develop the conceptual framework, as well providing direction for future experimental research.

Qualitative methods have been widely used to understand social context and validating new areas of research both in leadership research and higher education. For instance, Prosser, Trigwell, and Taylor (1994) used a qualitative approach to establish how university teachers consider and understand learning and teaching. Moreover, Bryman et al. (2002) used qualitative research to investigate leadership in the police forces and whilst their findings supported current research new divergences emerged too. In a further example, open-ended interviews were also used to better understand the barriers preventing women from occupying leadership positions in academic medicine despite the growing number of women in medical training (Yedidia & Bickel, 2001). Additionally, Levine and colleagues (2011) used interviews to further understand why female academics leave careers at a higher rate than their male colleagues.

Given there is very limited qualitative and no quantitative research on the relationship between gender and leadership potential using a qualitative approach will firstly establish context, and secondly extend the literature by exploring the meaning of leadership in academia.

4.2.2 Focus Groups

There are two principle reasons that focus groups were used. Firstly, focus groups were decided on as the best method of data collection because they are an effective method of exploring the needs and attitudes of participants (Hughes & Dumont, 1993; Morgan, 1998). Focus groups are beneficial when the interviewer has a series of open-ended questions that are designed to encourage participants to create their own opinions, generate their own ideas and express them in their own words (Gaiser, 2008). This is particularly appropriate as focus groups use group processes to help people explore and clarify their views, that would be less accessible in one to one interviews (Kitzinger, 1995), and therefore, can often reveal new directions of research. For instance, this approach facilitates the exploration of ideas and views that may have been unexplored or neglected in a one to one interview (Gaiser, 2008; Kitzinger, 1995).

Secondly, focus groups reflect everyday communication (Gaiser, 2008) and tap into interpersonal communication that can highlight certain group norms and values (Hughes & Dumont, 1993). This is especially important considering the interaction between the status of research and teaching in HEIs. Using a group perspective also offers a deeper understanding and insight into the group dynamics between teaching and research, which could be highly valuable. Moreover, focus groups provide insight into the operation of social group processes, which in turn offers insight into the information that is expressed but also the information that is censored within the group (Kitzinger, 1994).

Participants. Participants (N = 19; 9 male, 10 female) were staff members recruited from four HEIs throughout England and Wales (see Table 4.1). Nineteen were concluded to be an appropriate sample size for thematic analysis as saturation points in thematic analysis tend to range between 16 - 20 participants (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). Participants were recruited via email (See Appendix A: HEI Outreach & HEI Outreach Letter) and participants self-selected to take part in a focus-group hosted at their university. Participants were all members of staff who were involved in teaching, research or administrative roles and 31.6% occupied leadership roles (senior lecturer or above).

Table 4.1

Study 4: Demographic and Professional Information about Focus Group Participants and Universities.

	University A	University B	University C	University D
Geographic Location	Wales	London	North East England	North West England
Gender	1 Male 3 Female	1 Male 1 Female	5 Male 5 Female	1 Male 1 Female
No. of Participants	4	2	10	2
Average Tenure at University (in years)	12.25	9.5	7.9 (1 case missing)	6
Average Time in Higher Education (in years)	14.5	14	16.1 (1 case missing)	6.5

Procedure. Participants were invited to take part in focus groups took place between 15th November 2012 and the 15th January 2013. Three of the focus groups were conducted face-to-face and one of the focus groups was conducted via Skype. An online focus group was deemed appropriate as virtual focus groups are considered to be a viable alternative to face-to-face focus groups (Gaiser, 2008; Reid & Reid, 2005; Stewart & Williams, 2005). With participant approval, I audio recorded the focus groups to ensure the accuracy of the transcription (Merriam, 2002). Notes were also taken during the focus group, firstly, to make it easier to return to key points at a later time, and secondly, to highlight areas of importance during the analysis period.

The first step of the focus group involved gaining participant consent (See Appendix A: Consent Form). I then reminded them of the purpose of the study, the research methods involved, their right to withdraw from the study either during the focus group or at any time after the focus group. I also offered the opportunity to ask me any questions about the format of the focus group or the research. Following this I introduced myself and asked other members to do the same in order to develop a bond and trust within the group (Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook, 2007).

Throughout the focus groups I used open-ended questions (see Appendix A: Focus Group Schedule) to encourage more general discussion around the topic (Stewart et al., 2007). Additionally, open-ended questions support participants to respond freely and spontaneously, they also encourage group-discussion. However, where appropriate some follow up questions were used if participants needed prompting or were required to elaborate on a particular point (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Once the focus groups were completed participants were thanked for their time and cooperation, I also provided with a verbal and written debrief (see Appendix

A: Focus Group Debrief). To ensure accuracy and inclusion of context the focus groups were transcribed as quickly as possible and all transcriptions were completed by the 28th January 2013.

Data Analysis. Qualitative data analysis is considered a process of creating meaning and capitalizes on a creative analytic process (Stake, 1995). The collection and analysis of data is considered to be a highly interactive method, where patterns and themes are identified throughout the research (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). To analyze the feedback from the focus groups I used a deductive approach. I considered the deductive approach to be the most appropriate. My current understanding of the theoretical and empirical research on leadership and gender suggested some predictability in participant responses. Therefore, the aim of the data was to improve my understanding of career progression, leadership potential and gender. Specifically, it was chosen that thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) would be most appropriate for this study. Principally, because its aim is to gain a greater understanding of the issues being studied, whilst maintaining a high degree of flexibility to allow for the emergence of new themes during the gathering and analysis of the data. Thematic analysis is often considered the cornerstone of qualitative data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and allows various aspects of one topic to be explored (Boyatzis, 1998).

The theoretical thematic analysis paradigm involves conducting research around broad research questions, transcripts of the research are then coded and themes (both current and emergent) are identified (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Theoretical thematic analysis was decided over inductive theoretical analysis, as the theoretical interests of the researcher rather than the current research or knowledge of the subject shapes inductive thematic analysis. Moreover, whilst an inductive approach can

provide a richer description of the overall data a deductive (theoretical) approach offers more detailed analysis of a particular aspect (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Before selecting the research paradigm a number of other qualitative approaches were considered; *grounded theory* and *inductive thematic analysis* (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). However, both were thought to be unsuitable as they require no, or very little, previous understanding of the research topic. *Interpretive phenomenological analysis* (for overview of IPA see Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009) was also considered as a possible analytic approach, however, its aim is to provide specific in-depth analysis of a small number of cases. *Content analysis* (Wilkinson, 2004) was also discussed as an option and whilst it can be treated as similar to thematic analysis (Meehan, Vermeer, & Windsor, 2000) it tends to focus more on micro level data that is then translated into quantitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

As the overall aim of this study is to use current evidence on leadership and gender and apply it specifically to the context and key themes surrounding leadership potential, it was decided that thematic theoretical analysis would be the most appropriate. Firstly, it provides a more detailed analysis of a certain aspect of the data whilst enabling flexibility in the findings (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Secondly, I wanted to use the qualitative research to inform the quantitative measures to be included in future research. The quantitative measures will provide a more accurate and rigorous indication of actual causal relationships between leadership potential and gender.

Braun and Clarke (2006) provide a valuable step-by-step guide to thematic analysis that I used to direct my analysis. They suggest using 6 main phases;

1. *Familiarise yourself with the data – understand the breadth and depth of the data set.* During this time I transcribed and reviewed the audiotapes from the focus groups. This also gave me the opportunity to reflect on the

overall content of the data and generate an initial list of ideas about what is in the data (Braun, & Clarke, 2006).

2. *Generate initial codes.* I used the theoretical evidence and my initial notes to guide the coding and as recommended began to organise my data into meaningful groups (Tuckett, 2005). Coding was done using NVivo.
3. *Search for themes.* This step involved reviewing the codes and grouping them into meaningful themes, ensuring that their content was coherent.
4. *Review themes.* I reviewed my themes to ensure they accurately reflected the whole dataset and ensured the evidence supported the inclusion of each theme
5. *Define and name themes.* During this phase I reviewed the themes and their content to ensure they were related to each other and identified any sub-themes.
6. *Report findings.*

4.3 Results

Three main themes were identified from the data:

1. Leadership pathways: The conflict between teaching and research.
2. Leadership potential and leadership performance in higher education.
3. Career Progression, research, and gender.

The themes in this chapter represent ideas and concepts that are the result of group discussions but also capture individual voices. The themes address multiple areas of

interest and consequently there is overlap and fluidity between each theme.

Participants' responses to questions and comments raised by myself and others often address more than one theme and in these cases data is reported where they fit best.

4.3.1 Leadership Pathways, the Conflict between Teaching and Research

This theme describes the conflict between teaching and research within HE. More specifically, it discusses the inequality of leadership opportunities and promotion between those in teaching positions and those in research positions. All participants acknowledged that the difference between the status of teaching and the status of research was problematic. Moreover, it has substantial disadvantages to those who wish to obtain senior academic positions (e.g. professor).

The first facet of this theme identifies clear distinctions between teaching and research that occur early on in academic careers. A senior lecturer describes a decision he made soon after his PhD and how this affected his career prospects:

“It was 17 years ago I made a deal with the devil, I was doing my PhD and I had a Nature publication, I had 4 JDP publications - a really good publication record. And the head of department said I don't need any more cognitive psychologists I need someone to take care of the teaching; I said fine I would do that. I didn't realise at that point how much I was actually closing the door to ever going anywhere for years and years and years and years.” (*Senior Lecturer, Male, University A*)

As well as a career disadvantage the same participant also pointed out a personal psychological penalty, “there were some very unhappy years waiting for something to happen”, associated with his own career choices and lack of leadership

opportunities. Career decisions about how much commitment an academic should make to learning and teaching was identified as problematic by a senior lecturer at University C:

“There are lots of people who would like to be able to take more of a lead in relation to learning and teaching (LT) but there isn’t the time within their role because they are so busy being head of subject, or managing staff, or the other things that impinge on their day to day activities so if there were people who had been rewarded for their excellence in LT... then they could potentially become people who would help with...LT development.” (*Senior Lecturer, Female, University C*)

Both of these extracts highlight frequent problems with prioritising learning and teaching within wider academic roles. Moreover, these extracts highlight a wider consensus that the commitment to a teaching career is not rewarded and recognised in the same way as a research career. As a result teaching has often been referred to as an inferior career pathway, with significantly limited leadership options.

Whilst there is some concern over how much to commit to a teaching career, it was acknowledged that there have been some improvements that to reduce the gap between research and teaching. However, the differentiation in status and promotion opportunities still remains problematic:

“There is a difference between policies and peoples’ perceptions and I think that there is a fairly strong perception amongst academics that research counts for the highest, even though the criteria are very clear about the 3 different areas of research,

learning and teaching and admin/management. They are looked at in the application form, they are looked at and graded at promotion panels but there is a culture which says actually the thing that really counts is research.” (*Pro-Vice Chancellor, Female, University B*)

This was supported by senior lecturer from University B, however there was also emphasis on the improvements made in the reward and recognition of teaching-led careers “There is always academic snobbery [about the status of teaching] but it has become reduced.” An HR advisor from the same university further supported this:

“Staff in the past have said that if they are from learning and teaching they don't feel as highly regarded as the researchers.

However, I think very recently that is beginning to change.” (*HR Advisor, Female, University B*)

In other words, in recent years there has been some improvement in the recognition and opportunities that focusing on a teaching career can offer (*cf. Dfes, 2003; Parker, 2008*). As a lecturer at University A pointed out, to unanimous agreement, “I must admit, I do feel that it's a bit like someone has just switched the light on after being in a dark room for quite a long time”. It is clear that there are processes and policies in place to encourage the promotion and status of teaching and those are resulting in real change. However, despite this there was unanimous agreement that compared to research or a management route, teaching does not offer the same career development opportunities. In other words, teaching careers do not offer the same access to leadership roles.

Part of the problem identified was the lack of reward and recognition available in teaching compared to research, particularly in terms of promotion opportunities:

“You have promotion, managerial promotion, but there is no promotion in terms of learning and teaching, which is a bit frustrating, as I don’t like being taken off any teaching responsibilities I have and it is that balance that I think is quite difficult. And then when you throw the research and specialism into the mix it becomes even more complex and you have to balance those and how to get reward and recognition for it.” (*Head of Programme, Male, University C*)

A senior lecturer from University D also confirmed “there is this obsession that you have to do research or you won’t get the recognition and promotion that comes with it”. Taken together their testimony confirms a broader agreement within the participants that the promotion of teaching is not equal to that of research.

One of the most problematic barriers is the lack of leadership opportunities available to those in teaching-focused careers, this was made clear in all of the focus groups. Promotion opportunities to senior leadership positions rely on international research excellence and currently there is no equivalent for teaching based roles and therefore promotion to Reader or Professor is much more challenging (Chalmers, 2011). This was a concern raised by an HR manager at University C:

“Our promotions criteria for academic promotion has been pulled back slowly over the years and now we just have professorial promotion, which doesn’t necessarily direct one to rewarding necessarily excellence in teaching” (*HR Manager, Female, University C*)

Within the focus group at University A, there was a particularly animated discussion about the senior leadership roles that teaching-led positions provide.

Collectively they identified that a substantial barrier to career development for teaching roles is the inability to reach professorial positions, one lecturer points out “it is notable that we have never had a professor who has been rewarded a professorship on the basis of learning and teaching”. One of the main obstructions is the inability for teaching to have the same international recognition as research, a key component of a professorial promotion (Chalmers, 2011). As a senior lecturer highlights “The challenge how do you get an international reputation when you are teaching full time?” This was met with further questions by other members of the group and summarised by the same senior lecturer:

“There is also the aspect that in terms of national and international reputation, the people with the international reputation are the researchers. They are the people with the big names and the famous people with the big publications. If you don't have that in the teaching quarter then it is inevitable that you are not going to be regarded in the same way. Until we start getting some people who are world class because of world famous teaching - it's just not going to be the case.” (*Senior Lecturer, Male, University A*)

Of notable importance throughout this theme is the unanimous agreement that research, or the perception of research, is valued above teaching. Despite efforts to improve equality between the two areas of academia teaching does not offer the same leadership or status opportunities as research. Taken together this theme demonstrates that analysis of promotion opportunities for teaching can help to identify barriers to career progression as well as the addressing the inequality of opportunity between teaching and research. Moreover, in line with the theoretical framework presented in

Chapter 3 the theme indicates a different set of leadership evaluations for research and teaching principally based on future (research) and previous (teaching) performance.

4.3.2 Leadership Potential and Leadership Performance in Higher Education

The second theme is related to the opportunities that research and teaching careers offer academics; the participants stressed the distinction between the two career paths. Moreover, I propose that the career of a researcher is one of leadership potential and the career of a teacher is one of leadership performance. Although this is not an extrinsic link that many of the participants made, there are clear references that highlight the leadership potential associated with research careers that is not present in teaching careers. In support of the theoretical framework, careers related more to either leadership potential or leadership performance can have differing outcomes on leadership opportunities and evaluations. For instance, it is likely that those in a career rooted more in leadership potential (e.g. research) are likely to achieve higher leadership positions than those in careers rooted in performance history (e.g. teaching).

All participants expressed a desire for teaching careers to have more leadership opportunities, they recognised the need for teaching to have more opportunities to allow the demonstration of leadership potential. The head of HR at University C highlighted the need for more leadership potential in teaching roles:

“You start to think can we... actually need people in posts who actually really contribute to our *vision* driving forward, kind of the business of the faculty really delivering real value. In order to do that we need to shape roles...” (*Head of HR, Female, University C*)

Leadership performance was more readily linked with teaching, this was described a senior lecturer in University A “I think the performance becomes before the award - you are selected for the award because of the teaching that you have been doing.” For instance, many participants identified teaching awards, student ratings and teaching fellows as acknowledgements of performance. This is especially relevant for more discreet accolades (e.g. teaching awards) unrelated to the institution or leadership opportunities because teaching is not acknowledged to the same extent as research on other measures (e.g. promotion). As the head of programme at University C says “there is a lot of that [reward] that goes on but you have to be aware that that is what it is.”

In addition, performance in research roles was linked far more with *future* promotion and leadership opportunities. For instance head of learning and teaching at University C said “the thing about research is...that it is quite often the thing that people see as the thing that has the potential to enhance their career.” A pro-vice chancellor at University B supported this further, “the rewards from research are being awarded funding, the opportunity to disseminate work at conferences...[and] applications for promotion which are based on research.” Moreover a lecturer from University C points out “what matters is that what defines an academic in HE is the fact that they research. So as far as your concerned they are inseparable, if an academic isn’t research what is he doing?”

Participants frequently referred to the opportunities available in research roles that are not available in teaching roles. The most commonly cited concern was access to future leadership positions; academia is rooted in research and knowledge innovation that does not always support teaching-led careers. This is particularly problematic as this also ensures that leadership potential, the ability to perform in

higher more diverse roles (Silzer & Church, 2010), is more congruent with research positions. Whereas leadership performance, which reflects current and previous leadership achievements, is more likely to be associated with learning and teaching as pathways to leadership roles are more limited. This finding is also supported by the theoretical framework that proposes a link between leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential vs. leadership performance) and leadership evaluations and opportunities.

4.3.3 Career Progression, Research and Gender

Participants frequently referred the increased time commitment that a career in research requires. There were numerous references to the compromises involved in investing in a research career, particularly with work-life balance, caring responsibilities and stereotypes around an “old boys network”. This was particularly problematic in research careers that are related more to leadership potential, and increased access to leadership positions. This supports the conceptual framework that suggests there is a mediating role of state-level factors (e.g. stereotypical judgments about gender and leadership) that influence the relationship between leadership qualities (potential vs. performance) and leadership evaluations or outcomes.

In addition, research has consistently found that the combination of balancing paid and unpaid work has been a challenge in female career advancement (Lewis, 2009; Perna, 2005). There were several discussions about gender inequality particularly referring to the ability to access positions of power, where women are significantly under-represented. Furthermore, there were suggestions that women take on more administrative and performance base tasks (e.g. room booking etc.). Therefore, it might be that gender has a moderating role within the relationship

between leadership potential (research career) and leadership performance (teaching career) and individual level factors. For instance, women in research positions (e.g. leadership potential) are more likely to be evaluated using stereotypical judgements (e.g. ability to manage research workload and family commitments) than women in teaching posts.

Firstly, participants refer to the ability to have a research career as an extra-curricular commitment. A senior lecturer at University D points out “how are you going to give me the time to do my research which is time-consuming to fit that into my day-to-day job when at the moment to get my publications into to REF I have to work in the holidays and I have to work in the evenings and weekends.” The head of programme at University C also supports this view “if you throw all of your energies into that [teaching] and you choose also to research that’s where your life/work balance disappears completely because your research is what happens - that’s your fun.” In other words, in order to effectively maintain a research profile and academic career there are some work-life balance sacrifices.

Secondly, the relationship between work-life balance and career progression is indirectly referred to be more problematic for female academics. The head of HR at University C says work-life balance is a common reason for limiting research careers for instance women often say, “I don’t have time to do research because I’ve got a family’. Additionally another colleague points out:

“I start work and I don't usually stop until 9 or 10 at night and I work on weekends and I don't take any break over the summer either. I don't know how people manage when they have a family, I don't have kids and I don't do anything except work. I think it must be very difficult to progress because essentially you are competing

with people who do work all the time and you are trying to carve out a career with family commitments and things that do stop you from working all the time. You are in competition with people that do work all the time - it's very difficult.” (*Senior Lecturer, Female, University A*)

This is reinforced by an HR professional at the same university, “in most organizations you get a replacement particularly if you are on a career break but if you are in competition and you are the specialism and you are the researcher then there is an issue.” An academic at University D also shares experiences of work-life balance as well as direct discrimination based on her gender:

“The people that I interact with are almost exclusively men in suits and I am also a lot younger than they are as well as being female. So I don't know if it is my own perception that I can't be female or if it is a reality. Certainly I have had comments such as 'you can't balance academic career with being a mum' – that is a direct quote from a senior manager. And I have also been told that is not acceptable for me to leave the office to pick up my baby from nursery, although I come in early and leave earlier. I am still putting in the hours in, but we went through a particular time kept being scheduled for when it was obvious that I needed to leave and I really had to put my foot down with that. It felt like it was just being done to prove appoint that I wasn't good enough to be part of this group of men's suits.” (*Lecturer and Management Role, Female, University D*)

The challenges faced by women in academia, especially when in pursuit of leadership positions, have been well documented (Equalities Challenge Unit, 2009; Glazer-Raymond, 2008; Moss-Racusin et al, 2012);Poole et al., 1997; West et al., 2013; Women Count, 2013). These challenges were also frequently referred to during the focus groups. For instance, members of University C referred to promotions being regularly awarded to “jolly good fellows” and participants of University D referenced promotion based on an “old boys network”. Both of these particularly exclude women, but it is worth noting that there were also concerns around social class. An academic at University D also cites subtle sexism as a workplace barrier, “I find there is some kind of weird agreement that I am the person who will do things like book the catering or car parking because I am a woman. It really annoys me, it really annoys me.”

Furthermore, there were concerns raised about the limited number of women applying for promotions. For instance, University A changed some of their promotion guidelines in order to improve gender equality, “part of the incentive for changing the promotion criteria was from an equality perspective to try and get a level playing field and try and get more women to apply. To try and get whatever was stopping them from trying to apply to change.” A similar pattern was also identified at University C:

“We are hoping to maybe, kind of, unpack some of that and understand a bit more of whether there are un-obvious barriers that women are maybe perceiving to career progression. Personally I don’t see any direct inequalities going on within the institution but quite often they can be quite subtle, for example, heads of programme used to have to be full-time – the consequence of that is we suddenly noticed that we had more men heads of programme than women, which is a promotional

opportunity here, and that's because more women who are part time for family reasons weren't able to [apply]." (*Head of HR, Female, University C*)

Working part-time (e.g. due to caring responsibilities) and being able to apply for a promotion was also an area of concern cited by the head of HR at University B who do not have clear guidelines on "what our view is on what their [part-time employees] equivalent output needs to be for promotion... It's strange I am getting calls saying I don't know if you know but there is this and this in my personal circumstances and is it the right time to apply for promotion and what are the guidelines?"

Two universities (University A & University C) also acknowledged concerns around the gender pay gap, which is problematic in almost every UK HEI, yet the inequity remains unresolved. The pro-vice chancellor at University A says "It's about what is valued in academia, it's also about I think gendered differences and constructions of gender. Its maybe how we might describe ourselves or how we talk about what we do...for an application for promotion and when you think about taking on new responsibilities."

Collectively this evidence suggests that women face a higher number of barriers in the workplace. Principally, this evidence supports the moderating role of gender within the theoretical framework. It is clear that women face increased barriers in roles that reflect leadership potential (e.g. research). Firstly, women are more likely to be perceived as not being able to balance work-life commitments and are therefore not expected to have the same amount of time to commit to work as men. Secondly, opportunities for promotion are restricted for people (the majority of whom are women) who are on part-time contracts – two universities identified senior positions that were not open to part-time workers. Finally, there is still a culture and a

number of negative stereotypes in academia that fosters an “old boys network” and promotes “jolly good fellows” that may prevent the promotion of female academics.

4.4 General Discussion

4.4.1 Summary of Results

Overall this chapter shows evidence to support the theoretical framework outlined in the previous chapter (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.1). Taken together the present study shows that research and teaching pathways may also be related to leadership performance and leadership potential and this is related to the way in which leadership is evaluated and the availability of leadership opportunities. This was demonstrated in the qualitative analysis where a clear link between the ability to perform in higher and more varied roles (e.g. leadership potential) was explicitly and repeatedly related to research and the improved promotion and career prospects associated with a career in research. Furthermore, this study demonstrates a clear distinction between the value of teaching and the value of research. In support of previous evidence, research has a higher status than teaching at an institutional, national and international level (Chalmers, 2011; Fairweather, 2005; Vardi, 2011). Moreover, the study confirms a unanimous belief that choosing a teaching career decreases your career opportunities, particularly the opportunity to occupy senior leadership positions.

In addition, this study identified a distinct disadvantage for women seeking to occupy leadership roles in academia. Firstly, a number of participants identified a commitment to research required a “24/7” devotion to work and having commitments

outside of the workplace made this especially challenging. As extensive research has proven women's commitment outside of the workplace is more extensive than men's (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009; Di Leonardo, 1992; European Social Survey, 2012; Treas & Drobic, 2010), therefore, this suggests that a research career for women with additional commitments may be more challenging. Secondly, there were a number of references to a promotion system that favours both researchers and men ("old boys network", "jolly good fellow") and this is supported by existing research that shows those in the most senior positions in academia are men in research careers (Equalities Challenge Unit, 2009; Glazer-Raymond, 2008). This is supported by the mediating role of state-level factors (e.g. stereotypes, work-life balance) and the moderating effect of gender on these factors. For instance, women in teaching positions (e.g. leadership performance) are more likely to be evaluated positively because they do not have the same work-life balance conflict, nor, are they in a position to challenge stereotypes (e.g. "group of men's suits) to achieve leadership positions.

The first theme in this chapter identified a number of key components that differentiate research and teaching and result in teaching being perceived as "lesser" than research. An important aspect of this theme concerns the context of leadership, specifically the challenges that those in teaching careers face when trying to attain high-level management roles. First, in terms of the reduced status of teaching often means that teaching contributions are not equally evaluated. Secondly, the promotion pathways in teaching do not support progress to senior academic positions (e.g. the severe lack of LT focused professorships, the lack of international recognition for teaching excellence).

The second theme revealed links between leadership potential and research, and leadership performance and teaching. Importantly, it was by linking leadership potential traits (e.g. the ability to perform in the future, having “vision”, the ability to progress throughout their career based on future performance and research) to research positions and leadership performance (e.g. awards for previous leadership performance, student feedback on previous performance and the inability to progress into senior leadership based on teaching alone). This demonstrates that the research career track is related to leadership potential as it allows those in research positions to achieve leadership positions by demonstrating their potential (e.g. publication rates, grants, future funding and publication opportunities). Whereas, teaching is deeply rooted in performance in so far that, the ability to demonstrate leadership potential and to progress into senior leadership roles is limited.

The final theme reveals a disadvantage for women who wish to pursue research posts and occupy leadership positions. There were many references to the challenges of work-life balance that was in relation to the requirements of research output to achieve promotion into leadership roles. Participants freely acknowledged that those who wish to pursue promotion or research careers but also had additional commitments outside of the workplace were at a disadvantage. Importantly, this disadvantage was aimed at women. This also suggests that women are less likely to be able to demonstrate their leadership potential as they do not have the same access to research opportunities.

Taken together these themes support the conceptual framework of leadership potential and gender. This research identified; i) different leadership opportunities available to individuals in teaching and research careers, ii) that teaching and research careers are linked with leadership potential (research) and leadership performance

(teaching), iii) leadership and research opportunities for women are particularly limited. Therefore, it is likely that leadership potential (e.g. research) is likely to be associated with men and leadership performance (e.g. teaching) is more likely to be associated with women.

It could be that the moderating role of gender in the relationship between leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential, leadership performance) and evaluation outcomes can be effectively applied to HE. For instance, for the most senior leadership posts (e.g. vice-chancellor) women represent just 17% and for roles that combine senior leadership and research excellence (e.g. professor positions) women account for just 21% (Women Count, 2013). Whereas in teaching-led roles, low-level management and part-time posts women significantly outnumber men (Equalities Challenge Unit, 2014). It might be that the relationship between leadership potential and gender can help to explain such significant disparities between leadership opportunities for both teaching and research, and for men and women. Moreover, further investigations of this relationship could provide interventions and resolutions to combat the career inequalities for women and those in teaching positions.

In the scope of this thesis Study One provides a robust organizational context and using theoretical thematic analysis has identified key areas of leadership (e.g. leadership potential and performance) that require further experimental research. The qualitative study also provides insights into the varying levels of leadership development that different roles offer, for example, teaching (e.g. leadership performance characteristics) does not have as many advantageous opportunities as research (e.g. leadership potential characteristics). This suggests that there may be a preference for leadership potential that should be further experimentally explored. Finally, Study One supports previous research in the challenges that women face in

pursing and achieving leadership roles, especially in teaching based roles. This further suggests that including gender as an exploratory component in further studies is important.

4.4.2 Implications, Limitations and Conclusion

Implications. The aim of this chapter was to establish organizational context for further quantitative exploration of leadership potential and leadership opportunities. Furthermore, I hoped to ascertain other factors that might contribute to the evaluation of leadership potential and investigate how this might fit in with current theoretical thinking around leadership potential. This study revealed several factors (e.g. gender, status, stereotypes) that are highly relevant to the evaluation of leadership potential and leadership performance. It also raises important questions about the role of leadership potential in terms of future leadership opportunities and gender.

This chapter offers insight into how leadership potential and leadership performance may be relevant to organizational contexts. Research has shown that leadership potential is becoming increasingly important in the development of future leaders and is now a cornerstone of human resource recruitment (Church, 2014). Moreover, this study has demonstrated how leadership potential and leadership performance can be relevant to different career paths (e.g. teaching versus research). It may be that this is increasingly relevant in other organizational contexts too where different career tracks are associated with different leadership opportunities.

Although not conclusive, these data also indicates a possible relationship between gender and leadership potential. The rich data qualified previous research that attaining leadership positions, especially via a research route can be particularly

challenging for women (Women Count, 2013; Glazer-Raymo, 2008). I develop this further by suggesting a barrier to research leadership opportunities may also be related to leadership potential. It could be that leadership potential is more related to research roles, moreover, leadership potential may be more related to men than women. Whereas, women may need to prove previous performance in order to progress or they may be in careers (e.g. teaching) that require a history of achievement.

Limitations. Despite the encouraging findings it is important to acknowledge a few limitations of the design and methodology of this study. First of all, whilst I believe that the theoretical, deductive approach to thematic analysis was the most appropriate for this thesis it is possible that by using a more guided approach certain themes or ideas may not have been identified. For instance, some researchers have argued that using a more inductive approach avoids the restrictions and early conclusion of analysis that can occur with a deductive approach (Mills, Durepos, & Wiebe, 2010).

Furthermore, in this study I did not directly ask about leadership performance or leadership potential in order not to influence or guide the outcome of the discussions. However, this limited the amount of direct information and opinion about the role of certain leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential vs. leadership performance) that may have been overlooked. This is particularly relevant for establishing a relationship between candidate gender and leadership potential. It is possible that by limiting the amount of information available participants were unable to directly respond to the core drivers behind the research (Maxwell, 2012).

There are also certain limitations to a qualitative approach and in particular theoretical thematic analysis. Firstly, working with such a low number of participants

reduces the ability to generalise the results to the broader population and consequently only a descriptive outline can be provided (Neergaard, Olesen, Andersen, & Sondergaard, 2009). However, when used within an existing theoretical framework a thematic analysis approach can anchor analytic claims (Braun, & Clarke, 2006). Secondly, the analysis does not allow the researcher to make conclusions about more fine-grained outcomes (e.g. language use.).

Conclusion. In this chapter I presented a qualitative study in support of the theoretical framework (Chapter 3, Figure 3.1) showing the relevance of leadership potential and leadership performance to the evaluation of leadership in higher education. I explored the relationship between leadership qualities (potential vs. performance) and specific career pathways in academia (e.g. research vs. teaching).

This study highlighted that leadership potential was linked with research careers, particularly as research careers offer far more opportunity to progress to leadership positions and the characteristic traits associated with leadership potential were more present in research pathways. In addition, the relationship between teaching and leadership performance was evident. Those in teaching roles are evaluated on significantly more performance based measures than those in research roles, but, because teaching career has limited leadership opportunities it is not possible to effectively demonstrate leadership potential. For instance, the career pathway associated with teaching does not involve the more senior academic posts and therefore those in teaching posts are more likely to be evaluated on previous performance rather than future potential.

These focus groups provided evidence for the mediating role of state-level factors (e.g. stereotypes, leadership perceptions, work-life balance, status) on the relationship between leadership qualities (e.g. potential vs. performance) and the

evaluation of leadership and leadership opportunities available. In addition, I presented evidence to suggest that gender may impact on the mediating relationship between leadership potential and individual level factors.

Moreover, this study confirmed my theoretical findings and provided me with evidence to pursue further studies. However, in order to establish an effect between leadership potential and gender it is necessary to concentrate on experimental studies. Consequently, I decided that continuing to focus on HE was beyond the scope of this thesis and decided to concentrate on broader working environments to ensure the studies were as applicable and relevant as possible.

Chapter 5 uses an experimental quantitative design to establish whether the evaluation of leadership is influenced by the presence of leadership potential versus leadership performance. Moreover, it explores the role of gender in the perception of different leadership qualities and the outcome of leadership evaluations. Whilst this chapter supports the current theoretical evidence of leadership potential and gender it does not test the causality of the relationship. Chapter 5 builds upon the findings of this chapter by establishing an empirical relationship between leadership potential and gender.

**Chapter Five: Preliminary Experimental Testing of the Preference for Potential
and the Role of Gender.**

Leadership potential is rapidly becoming one of the most desirable attributes in future leaders (Church, 2014), and experimental evidence suggests that there is preference for candidates displaying leadership potential (Tormala et al., 2012). However, what remains unexplored is how leadership potential is appraised and valued differently in male and female candidates. Some descriptive statistics and business insights suggest that gender might influence the perception of leadership potential, for example, it is possible that men are promoted on their future leadership potential whereas women are promoted on their past leadership achievements (Catalyst, 2013; McKinsey, 2012). However, this has yet to be experimentally tested. In this chapter I present three studies ($N_s = 121, 197, 98$) that represent the first experimental tests of the role of leadership potential and candidate gender in hiring simulations. In these studies participants were asked to evaluate and select candidates whose CV highlighted leadership potential *or* previous leadership performance. As predicted, results indicate that male candidates who demonstrate leadership potential are the most likely to be evaluated more positively and selected ahead of other equally qualified candidates. Implications and future directions of these findings are discussed.

5.1 Theoretical Background

Women are rated higher on general evaluations of job performance (Desvaux et al., 2008; Dunbar & Novick, 1988; Green et al., 2009), yet they are still less likely to be promoted and hired (Igbara & Baroudi, 1995; Johnson & Cochran, 2008; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Roth et al., 2012). This deficit in the selection of high-performing women for leadership positions suggests that people are selected and recruited on something more than performance, which leads me to re-address the question: *why* do women go unnoticed when they pursue leadership roles? In this thesis, I propose that men are perceived to outperform women on dimensions that are more valuable to the promotion and hiring process, such as *leadership potential*. Moreover, I predict that leadership potential will be significantly more valued in men than in women. The disparity between leadership potential and leadership performance results in an inevitable advantage for men, who are likely to be selected over equally qualified and competent women.

The strategy of applying masculine characteristics and expectations to leadership roles is a prominent factor in social psychological and organizational research (Biernat, 2003; Blau & Devaro, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Rudman & Glick, 2001). For instance, one would expect a leader to be strong, independent, and confident – all characteristics traditionally associated with men. Leadership issues and gender have been a challenge for millenniums, in Early Roman writing women were considered as “forever inferior” to men, and in leadership roles this is often still believed to be the case. Women face a far more challenging pathway to leadership roles, for instance, they are often paid less (CMI, 2013; DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2013; European Union, 2014), promoted less

(O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2011), and offered fewer development opportunities (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Rudman & Glick, 1999; Uhlmann & Cohen, 2005). In order to effectively address the gender inequity in leadership roles it is important to understand exactly which leadership traits are valued in men but overlooked in women.

Management literature has identified a fundamental characteristic required in the successful appointment to leadership roles; leadership potential, the ability to perform to a greater standard in the future (Church, 2014; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London et al., 2007; Silzer & Church, 2009). High levels of future leadership potential can be so valuable that it overshadows previous performance history (e.g. Tormala et al., 2012, Experiment 2 & 3). Furthermore, the future performance of employees and candidates is a strategic organizational priority because successful economic outlooks depend on effectively appointing and developing future leaders (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London et al., 2007; Silzer & Church, 2009). In this way, individuals who can demonstrate leadership potential in a recognizable way are at a distinctive advantage. However, whether this advantage of leadership potential is equally recognizable for men and for women remains empirically uncharted and has been highlighted as a possible barrier for women's success in the workplace (e.g. Catalyst, 2013; McKinsey, 2012).

I propose that whilst leadership potential is highly valuable, it is a benefit that advances men, and that leadership potential in women is disregarded in favor of previous performance history. Typically women rated more highly on overall performance ratings than their male counterparts (Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012). This suggests that in order for women to progress they need to prove

themselves, to reassure people that they are already established as capable leaders, and to possess a performance history that supports leadership claims. In other words, potential seems to be overlooked in women but not in men. This chapter investigates when, how, and why leadership potential might be evaluated more favorably in men than it is in women.

5.1.1 Women in Leadership Roles

Women are less likely to be leaders and to engage in leadership behaviors than men (Eagly & Karau, 1991). For example, women rate themselves as significantly less effective leaders (Paustian-Underdahl, Walker, & Woehr, 2014), women are less likely to initiate negotiations (Bowles, et al., 2007) and they are less likely to display power-like behaviors (Brescoll, 2012). Furthermore, compared to men women are less likely to be hired (Goldin & Rouse, 2000; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012) or promoted (Rudman & Glick, 2001), their access to career development opportunities is substantially limited (Callan & Paulsen, 2014; Hoobler et al., 2014), and they are not acknowledged to the same extent as men for their input in decision-making (Heilman & Haynes, 2007).

However, there is some evidence to suggest that although in general leadership traits are favored in men, there might be a distinction between leadership potential and leadership performance in men and women. For instance, women are consistently rated higher on performance-based traits and on the same ratings men are rated more positively on characteristic traits linked to leadership potential (e.g. Green et al., 2009; see Chapter 2 for review). Therefore, it may be that leadership

performance is evaluated more positively in female candidates, whereas leadership potential is rated more positively in male candidates.

Moreover, studies have found that women are more successful at obtaining senior leadership positions (e.g. CEO) when businesses are considered ‘at risk’ or failing (*glass cliff* see Haslam & Ryan, 2008; Ryan & Haslam, 2005). In these situations communal characteristics are highly valued (Rosette & Tost, 2010) and favoritism toward male leaders is contested (Ryan et al., 2011). This is because female leaders are perceived as being better at managing others and being accountable for organizational failures (Ryan et al., 2011).

Although, examples of the *glass cliff* and job performance ratings show that there are some exceptions to the preference for male leaders, overwhelmingly the evidence still suggests that women are less likely to be appointed to leadership roles (Burke & Attridge, 2011; Eagly, 2007; Levinson & Young, 2010; Rudman & Phelan, 2008; Spence & Buckner, 2000). Moreover, given that both leadership potential and leadership performance are directly associated with being a leader, and the overriding automatic bias between male characteristics and leadership, I would expect that candidates displaying leadership potential or leadership performance would generally be considered to be male. Therefore, the first step in this thesis is to empirically establish whether leadership potential or leadership performance would be associated more with men or women. To do this I test whether there will be a main effect of perceived gender of candidates displaying either leadership potential or leadership performance.

H1: There will be a main effect of candidate gender, such that people are more likely to predict that the candidate is male, regardless of whether they are displaying leadership potential or leadership performance.

5.1.2 Leadership Qualities

Leadership performance. Successful leadership is fundamental to the economic success of an organization (Church & Silzer, 2014). For example, positive performance evaluations can improve job satisfaction (Judge, Thoresen, Bono & Patton, 2001), job performance (Dhammika, Ahmad, & Sam, 2012), citizenship behavior (Johnson, Tolentino, Rodopmans, & Cho, 2010), and reduce turnover intention (Trevor, Gerhart, & Boudreau, 1997).

Performance evaluations are used as key tools in the assessment of candidates in hiring and promotion situations (Grabner & Moers, 2013; Pema & Mehay, 2010). However, its value in recruitment and selection situations is questionable, as the process principally requires the assessor to gage *future* levels of performance rather than current levels of performance. Measures of previous performance can only assess past accomplishments and as Tacitus said of the Roman Emperor Galba (AD 69) ‘*Omnium consensus capax imperii, nisi imperasset*’, ‘universally seen as capable of ruling, had he never ruled’. This same belief has been applied in management literature with the Peter Principle (Peter & Hull, 1969; Peter & Hull, 1996), which states that when a candidate is selected for a position based on their current performance, rather than their ability in a future role, they can only progress up to their highest level of incompetence.

In other words, whilst the use of performance measures provides information on current performance they say little about performance in future roles and situations. For example, when making promotion decisions weight placed on subjective performance measures (e.g. job performance) decreases when considering the future tasks upon promotion, and weight on objective assessments (e.g. future ability) increases (Grabner & Moers, 2013). Over half of all senior external hires fail within the first 18 months (Bauer, 2011), which implies that measures used in current recruitment processes do not necessarily correlate with future performance. It could be that the presence of unobserved factors also has a significant influence over future leadership success. Therefore, investigating the role additional leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential) is important in identifying leaders of the future.

Leadership potential. Given that performance evaluations are not always enough to ensure successful promotion and hiring choices, organizations are now looking more closely at future leadership performance or *leadership potential*. Leadership potential is the idea that a candidate will be better than they currently are in the future, for example, they will develop the ability to perform effectively in wider or different roles in the organization at a later stage (Silzer & Church, 2009). Consequently identifying leadership potential in future and current employees is now a priority in global human resource strategies (Church, 2014).

To support the development of leadership potential an increasing number of organizations have adopted Talent Management Systems (TMS) that actively identify and promote high-potential individuals (McDonnell, Lamare, Gunnigle, & Lavelle, 2010). For example, the Australian Public Service (APS) has recently announced that the need to retain and develop high-potential talent is essential to meet the challenges

of modern public service (Troth & Gyetvey, 2014) and McDonalds invest significant resources in the promotion of high-potentials and developing an effective leadership pipeline is a principal priority (Williams-Lee, 2008).

Leadership potential also warrants further attention as intuitively, people invest in those who stand out and who are more likely to provide future benefits (Sandberg, 2013). A recent study suggests that people prefer potential in candidates because it is more interesting and enticing to decision makers (Tormala, et al., 2012; Tormala et al., 2014). For example, bias towards future potential can be so convincing that it dominates more objective criteria (e.g. previous leadership performance) (Massey & Thaler, 2013), and it has also been shown that highlighting future potential makes people more likely to tolerate inferior performances in the present (Poehlman & Newman, 2013). Some research has found that in certain contexts having a large amount of information can actually result in reduced likeability (Norton, Frost, & Ariely, 2007). In other words, ambiguity can lead to more positive evaluations.

Therefore, it may be that overall leadership potential is more desirable in candidates than leadership performance because the appeal of future potential is more enticing than examples of previous or current performance. That is, that although performance history is important to ensure the candidate is qualified, the idea that they will be even better in the future is more attractive. Furthermore, when asked to consider the future performance of the candidate and the organization, leadership potential may be more appealing as it offers more reassurance about future performance opposed to past achievements. I therefore expect that leadership

potential will be more attractive in hiring situations than previous leadership performance.

H2: There will be a main effect of leadership potential, such that leadership potential will be evaluated more positively than leadership performance in candidates.

5.1.3 The Effect of Gender on the Evaluations of Leadership Potential and Leadership Performance

Leadership performance and gender. Career pathways to top positions are a direct measure of women's progress in the workplace (Eagly & Carli, 2007). One of the main methods used to appraise candidates throughout their careers are performance-based measures. A meta-analysis of field studies found that women were rated more highly than men on direct measures of job performance (Roth et al., 2012). For instance, women received better ratings on nine out of ten evaluations important for effective leadership (Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009), women are significantly more likely to be labeled as 'All-Stars' (Green et al., 2009), Lloyds TSB found that their female employees outperformed their male employees by 8% in performance evaluations (Desvaux et al., 2008) and women score higher on both procedural and declarative job knowledge (Dunbar & Novick, 1988), a fundamental measure of job performance (Roth et al., 2012).

Research has found that in order for women to progress they must demonstrate *more* performance than male counterparts (Pema & Mehay, 2010, yet are still less likely to be promoted or hired into leadership positions (Igbara & Baroudi, 1995;

Johnson & Cochran, 2008; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Roth et al., 2012). This suggests that whilst performance measures might be subjectively important to assess current behavior they are not able to accurately predict the outcome of hiring and promotion decisions. The research also proposes the question; what additional measures are candidates evaluated on?

A closer examination of the research on performance ratings reveals that women outperform men on almost every measure apart from those traits more associated with leadership potential (*cf.* Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Silzer & Church, 2009), such as being visionary and strategic thinking (for overview see Chapter 2; Green et al., 2009; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012). In other words, individuals need to demonstrate that they have leadership potential to be considered as future leaders and to progress up the career ladder.

In addition, when promotion opportunities are available they are less advantageous than those offered to men (Githner & Kahn, 2009). Callan and Paulsen (2014) compared the career and life trajectories of 60 male and female CEOs and found that limited access to career relevant experiences result in on-going limitations in women's ability to accrue capital. For example, it is less likely that women will have control over central parts of business operations (Bilhuber Galli & Muller-Stewens, 2012).

It might be that high levels of previous performance is associated with careers that are more administrative in nature, whereas high levels of leadership potential are associated with careers that are more strategic. Furthermore, it may be that organizations use alternative evaluations that assess additional characteristics that are

valued differently in men and women. This proposes the question, are leadership potential and leadership performance valued differently in men and women?

Leadership potential and gender. A crucial candidate attribute is leadership potential - how well are candidates going to perform in the future as leaders? (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London, et al., 2007; Silzer & Church, 2009). As I have outlined leadership potential is a very important to organizations and occupies an important role in the recruitment and selection process. It is therefore likely to be an important factor in improving our understanding of the disparity between high performance, career progression and gender. It is possible that leadership potential contributes to the gender inequality in leadership positions because it is evaluated and valued differently in men and women. However, the relationship between gender and leadership potential is, to my knowledge, entirely experimentally unexplored. Current available information is limited and principally focused on anecdotal evidence that has not been empirically tested.

There is some evidence to suggest that people identify leadership potential as a more important attribute in men, for instance women must prove their leadership capabilities in order to progress (see Pema & Mehay, 2010). Many high potential women are equal to their male counterparts in terms of qualifications, experience and ambition, but they are not achieving the same management positions, pay or responsibility essential to career progression (Catalyst, 2013; Fitzsimmons, Callan, & Paulsen, 2014). This indicates that women are subject to an additional assessment that they are failing to perform as well on as men.

Recent frameworks on leadership potential (see Chapter 2 for overview; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Silzer & Church, 2009) identify key characteristic traits that are

prominent in the recognition of high-potential individuals. One of the traits frequently attributed to leadership potential is emergent leadership, which is indicated by the capacity to be visionary and to develop and clearly communicate strategies (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Silzer & Church, 2009). Being visionary and strategic are also key characteristic traits used in evaluations of job performance (Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Green et al., 2009; Roth et al., 2012).

Moreover, two major think tanks in the US, Catalyst (2013) and McKinsey (2012), have recently found that women with high potential are consistently passed over in recruitment and selection processes in favor of high potential men. Additional research has found that people judge men to have more potential to advance in their careers (Johnson & Cochran, 2008; Kabacoff, 2000), and as women are often judged by different standards it could be expected that they have less promotability potential (Biernat et al., 2012; Hultin, 2003). Collectively this research suggests that (i) women are perceived as having less leadership potential, or (ii) their leadership potential is not recognized in the same way as men.

Whilst barriers to performance evaluations have improved, barriers to the upper echelons of management have remained resistant to change and as a result still men occupy the vast majority of leadership positions (European Union Committee, 2012; ONS, 2013). This implies that there are areas of leadership that remain unexplored and could also be a persistent impediment for women to progress up the career ladder and assume leadership posts.

In line with previous research I would expect that leadership potential would be more aligned with male candidates than with female candidates. Furthermore, the congruence of leadership potential with male candidates will be higher than with

female candidates, and the congruence with performance history will be higher with female candidates than with male candidates.

H3: (i) There will be an interaction effect of Candidate Gender and Leadership Qualities on hiring decisions, such that male candidates who demonstrate leadership potential will be more likely to be selected for hiring than male candidates who demonstrate leadership performance.

H3: (ii) There will be an interaction effect of Candidate Gender and Leadership Qualities on hiring decisions, such that women who demonstrate leadership performance will be rated more highly than women who demonstrate leadership potential.

H4: (i) There will be an interaction effect of Candidate Gender and Leadership Qualities on hiring decisions, such that male candidates who demonstrate leadership potential will be more likely to be selected for hiring than female candidates who demonstrate leadership potential.

H4: (ii) There will be an interaction effect of Candidate Gender and Leadership Qualities on hiring decisions, such that women who demonstrate leadership performance will be rated more highly than men who demonstrate leadership performance.

5.2 Study 2

In Study 2 I tested whether participants were more likely to associate leadership potential or leadership performance with either men or women. In line with

my first hypothesis I predict that it is likely that leadership candidates would be perceived to be male. Substantial evidence suggests that the stereotype of a typical leader is highly congruent with masculine traits (Biernat, 2003; Blau & Devaro, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Rudman & Glick, 1999). It is doubtful that this association will be challenged by the presence of leadership performance or leadership potential as they both represent leadership. For instance, leadership potential reflects some traditional leadership traits (e.g. confidence in future effectiveness, being visionary, being a strategist) and, moreover, because leadership is highly masculine in the present (e.g. leadership performance) and is highly likely that it will be considered equally masculine in the future (e.g. leadership potential).

However, it is also possible that there will be a gender differentiation between leadership potential and leadership performance given that women often receive more favorable performance evaluations (Igbara & Baroudi, 1995; Johnson & Cochran, 2008; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Roth et al., 2012).

In Study 2, in line with my second hypothesis, I also investigate whether there will be a preference for leadership potential or leadership performance. Previous evidence suggests that leadership potential will be more appealing (Poehlman & Newman, 2014; Sandberg, 2013; Tormala et al., 2012) than leadership performance. Yet, it might be that respondents prefer previous leadership performance over leadership potential as typically performance measures the most frequently used in hiring and selection processes (Grabner & Moers, 2013; Pema & Mehay, 2010).

To test these ideas I explored whether people generally assessed candidates as male or female when presented with individuals who displayed either leadership potential or leadership performance on their CVs.

5.2.1 Method

Participants and Design

One hundred and twenty one participants (54.5% male, $M_{\text{age}} = 35.50$, 81.8% employed) were recruited online using Amazon's *MTurk* and in return for their involvement in the study participants were financially compensated (\$0.70).

The study was a within-participants design; all participants were exposed to two candidates one of whose CV emphasized leadership potential and the other emphasized leadership performance. All educational and background information within the CVs was counterbalanced and candidate CV were presented in a random order.

Procedure and Materials

In Study 2 participants were exposed to a brief fictional news story about a telecommunications company who were recruiting a new management member. The news story contained a brief overview about the high level of the company's success and a quote from the CEO highlighting that the organization was looking to find 'the best possible candidate'. Following this participants were invited to read the following:

‘Imagine that you are a member of the team appointed to help select the next X position.

You have been asked to review the CVs of the shortlisted candidates who have applied to be the company's new X role. This will also include some comments from those involved in the selection and recruitment process as well as some leadership potential and leadership achievement test scores.’

Participants were then asked to rate two possible candidates; one candidate demonstrating leadership potential and the other candidate demonstrating leadership performance. Leadership potential and leadership performance were manipulated by presenting participants with a score on assessment of leadership achievement and an assessment of leadership potential (see Table 5.1).

To vary the extent to which the candidate was performance-orientated or potential-orientated I ensured that the test scores were high or moderate (one would not expect low scores for a high profile job). For instance, for candidates with leadership potential received a higher score (e.g. 96/100) on potential and more moderate score (83/100) on leadership achievement, whereas in candidates with leadership performance potential scores were more moderate (83/100) and performance scores were high (96/100).

High and moderate scores were used, opposed to high and low scores, in order to focus attention on the dimension at which the candidate excelled rather than was less successful on. Each score was accompanied by a brief description of the

assessment (e.g. see Tormala et al., 2012, Experiment 2 & 3 for previous use of this manipulation method).

Manipulation check. I incorporated a manipulation check to ensure the candidates reflected either leadership potential or leadership performance. Participants responded to the following item “Think about the candidate you have just reviewed, to what extent do you think the candidate displays...” responses were measured on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = *previous leadership achievements*, 9 = *future leadership potential*).

Table 5.1

Example of the Leadership Performance and Leadership Potential

Manipulations used in Studies 2-9

Leadership Achievement Scores	Leadership Potential Scores
“An individual’s observed (i.e., actual) leadership performance at the current stage in his or her career. An achievement score of X places this applicant in the top X% of people who have been assessed.”	“The employee’s predicted leadership performance in the near future. A score of X indicates that this applicant predicted future leadership performance is estimated to be in the top X% of people who have been assessed.”

Candidate gender: The participants were asked whether they thought the candidate was either male or female. Answers were dichotomous (male or female).

Hiring: Three items were used to measure hiring intention; “please think about the candidate you have just reviewed and indicate your agreement with the following...” (i) “I would hire this candidate”, (ii) “I would employ this candidate” and, (iii) “this candidate would be a good appointment” ($\alpha = .94$). Items were measured on a Likert scale and ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Career success. Career success was measured using three items; “how successful do you think the candidate’s career will be?”, “compared to other employees, how successful do you think this candidate career will be?” and, “how successful do you think the candidates significant others think their career will be?” ($\alpha = .90$). Items were measured on a 9-point scale (1= *very unsuccessful*, 9 = *very successful*).

Job performance: To measure job performance three items were used; “how well do you think the candidate will perform in the job?”, “compared to other employees, how well do you think the candidate will perform in the job?” and, “how well do you think the candidates significant others think they will perform in their new job?” ($\alpha = .87$). Participants responded on a Likert scale (1= *not very well*, 9= *very well*).

Hiring intention: A single item was used to evaluate hiring intention, participants were asked choose either Candidate A or Candidate B to the following question “which applicant would you hire?”.

Future success: Future success was measured using one item, participants were asked to choose between each candidate in response to the item, “which applicant do you think will be the most successful in their career?”.

Future performance: One item was used to measure predicted future response, “which applicant do you think will perform better by the 5th year?” Again participants were asked to choose between candidate A and candidate B.

CV evaluation: Participants directly compared candidates’ CVs using two items, “in your opinion, which applicant has the most impressive resume?” and “at present, which applicant had a more objectively impressive resume?”.

5.2.2 Results and Discussion

A paired samples t-test and a chi-square test of independence were used to examine the relationship between leadership potential and leadership performance. One participant on the Career Success measure was an outlier (more than 3 standard deviations from the mean) and excluded from the analysis. Degrees of freedom differ slightly for different dependent variables owing to missing data. Means and standard errors are reported in Table 5.2.

Manipulation check. As expected candidates who displayed leadership potential ($M = 7.28$, $SE = .16$) were rated as displaying significantly higher leadership potential than candidates with leadership performance ($M = 5.35$, $SE = .23$), $t(120) = 7.39$, $p < .001$.

Candidate gender. Participants were more likely to think that the candidates were men regardless of which leadership attributes were highlighted, leadership potential ($M = 1.30$, $SE = .04$) or leadership performance ($M = 1.27$, $SE = .04$), $t(120) = .40$, $p = .69$. This suggests that in future studies to appropriately test the role of candidate gender in hiring situations explicit information about gender is required.

Table 5.2

Study 2: Means and Standard Errors (in Parentheses) for all Dependent Variables.

	Leadership Quality	
	Leadership Potential	Leadership Performance
Manipulation Check	7.28 (0.16)	5.35 (0.23)
Candidate Gender	1.30 (0.04)	1.27 (0.04)
Hiring	7.48 (0.16)	6.60 (0.23)
Career Success	7.61 (0.10)	7.81 (0.09)
Job Performance	7.71 (0.09)	7.79 (0.10)
Hiring Intention	1.18 (0.04)	1.82 (0.04)
Future Success	1.20 (0.04)	1.80 (0.04)
Future Performance	1.19 (0.04)	1.81 (0.04)
CV Evaluation	1.19 (0.03)	1.80 (0.03)

NB: Evaluations of Manipulation, Hiring, Career Success and Job Performance is measured on a 9-point scale, where 9 is the most favorable. Candidate Gender, Hiring Intention, Future Success, Future Performance and CV Evaluation are dichotomous measures (Applicant A, Applicant B; 1=*male*, 2=*female*).

Hiring. There was no significant difference between hiring a candidate with leadership potential, ($M = 7.48$, $SE = .12$), or leadership performance ($M = 7.60$, $SE = .12$), $t(120) = -.94$, $p = .35$.

Career success. There was a marginally significant difference between the expected success of a candidate displaying leadership potential ($M = 7.61$, $SE = .10$), or a candidate displaying leadership performance ($M = 7.81$, $SE = .09$), $t(119) = -1.87$, $p = .064$. Candidates displaying leadership potential were considered somewhat less likely to succeed than candidates with leadership performance.

Job performance. Candidates were expected to perform equally in their jobs, $t(120) = -.87$, $p = .39$, regardless of whether they demonstrated leadership potential ($M = 7.71$, $SE = .09$), or leadership performance ($M = 7.79$, $SE = .10$).

Hiring intention. The relationship between leadership potential and leadership performance on hiring intention was significant, $X^2(2, N = 121) = 121.00$, $p < .001$. Candidates with leadership potential were ranked significantly more highly than candidates with leadership performance.

Future success. The relationship between leadership potential and leadership performance on future success was significant, $X^2(2, N = 121) = 121.00$, $p < .001$. Candidates with leadership potential were ranked significantly more highly than candidates with leadership performance.

Future performance. The relationship between leadership potential and leadership performance on future performance was significant, $X^2(2, N = 121) = 121.00$, $p < .001$. Candidates with leadership potential were ranked significantly more highly than candidates with leadership performance.

CV evaluation. The relationship between leadership potential and leadership performance on the evaluation of candidates' CV was significant, $X^2(4, N = 121) = 242.00, p < .001$. Candidate CVs with leadership potential were ranked significantly more highly than candidate CVs with leadership performance.

Study 2 shows the experimental application of leadership potential and leadership performance in hiring situations. Specifically, Study 2 shows support for the first two hypotheses by (i) establishing a clear relationship between gender and leadership as well as, (ii) a preference for leadership potential over leadership performance. Firstly, these responses demonstrate that the candidates, regardless of the leadership trait demonstrated (leadership potential, leadership performance), were presumed to be male. This supports existing evidence that leadership is highly masculine in nature and as a result men are believed to be more compatible with leadership positions (Heilman & Eagly, 2008; Levinson & Young, 2010; Schein et al., 1996; Spence & Buckner, 2000).

Secondly, the participants made a clear distinction between leadership potential and leadership performance on the manipulation check. This replicates previous research (*cf.* Tormala et al., 2012) that concludes leadership potential is more desirable in hiring situations than leadership performance.

Furthermore, in support of the second hypothesis, on objective measures where participants were asked to choose which candidate they would hire, those with leadership potential were consistently ranked higher than those with leadership performance. Indicating a clear preference for potential in hiring for leadership roles. This finding also supports evidence from Biernat and colleagues (2001, 2003, 2012)

about the way in which preferences and stereotypes can be masked on subjective measures, but exposed on more objective items.

Study 2 demonstrates the relevance and importance of leadership potential in hiring and selection practices, confirming previous research that leadership potential is highly desirable (Church, 2014; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London et al., 2007; Silzer & Church, 2009; Tormala et al., 2012). Moreover, it indicates that leadership potential is likely to be more congruent with men than with women. However, Study 2 does not investigate whether the advantage of leadership potential is a benefit for both male and female candidates.

5.3 Study 3

Study 2 showed that leadership potential is a more desirable leadership quality in candidates than previous leadership performance. Additionally, both leadership potential and leadership performance are more likely to be associated with men than women. Furthermore, men are far more likely to be associated with leadership positions than women (e.g. “think manager, think male”; Schein et al., 1996). However, what is unknown is whether knowing the gender of the candidate can influence judgments about leadership potential and leadership performance. For example, knowledge of candidate gender will activate certain expectations and norms about the role of men and women in leadership (Fiske, 1998; Martin, Hutchison, Slessor, Urquhart, Cunningham, & Smith, 2014). It is likely that leadership potential and leadership performance reflect different levels of masculinity and will be more congruent with men than with women.

Leadership potential includes characteristic traits that are specifically associated with future performance, for instance being strategic and envisioning. Men are rated more highly than women on traits that involve strategy, forward thinking, communicating and implementing a vision (for review see Chapter 2; e.g. Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009). I also expect leadership performance (e.g. job performance, confidence, previous leadership accomplishments) to be allied more than men than with women.

That said it is possible that previous performance could also be linked more with women. For instance, more recently women have been evaluated more positively on job performance evaluations and on all-round performance indicators (Desvaux et al., 2008; Roth et al., 2012). Moreover, the performance measures that women receive higher ratings on are directly related to current performance (e.g. team building, tenacity, reward and recognition) (Ibarra & Obodaru; 2009), and the traits that men are more favorably evaluated on are linked to leadership potential (e.g. promotability, strategic thinking).

In Study 3 I explore how candidate gender influences the interpretation of leadership potential and leadership performance. Study 2 established that participants generally believed the candidate was male when no information about candidate gender was provided. In other words, in order to establish if the gender of the candidate is connected to the perception of leadership potential and leadership performance it is necessary to explicitly state whether the candidate is male or female. Therefore, in Study 3 I specifically tested the preference for Leadership Quality (leadership potential vs. leadership performance) in an organizational context, and introduced Candidate Gender as an independent variable.

5.3.1 Method

Design and Participants

Two-hundred and fifteen participants were recruited from *Amazon MTurk*, a US national online participant database, however 18 failed the attention check and were not included in the data analysis. Therefore, one hundred and ninety-seven participants (119 male, $M_{\text{age}} = 34.29$, 74.3% employed) were included and participation was in exchange for monetary compensation (\$0.60). The design was a mixed factorial with Leadership Quality (leadership potential, leadership performance) as the within-participants factors and Candidate Gender (male vs. female) as the between-participants factor.

Procedure and Materials

Participants took part in the survey using an online survey system, *Qualtrics*, and the survey was distributed via *MTurk*. The surveys were described as being about the way in which individuals make decisions within an organizational context. It was explained that all responses would be treated confidentially and only the researchers had access to any of the questionnaire data, each participant received a full written debrief and contact information for any queries.

To frame the organizational setting, I first gave participants some information about a hypothetical consultancy company called AlphaTECH and asked them to imagine being a member of this organization. Following this participants were then informed that they would form part of AlphaTECH's hiring panel for the recruitment and selection of a new Junior Manager.

Following the introduction to the organization, participants were then introduced to the independent variables; candidate potential and candidate performance, and candidate gender (either male or female). Participants were asked to evaluate two CV's (see Appendix B: CV Between-Participants Example), which were either from male or female candidates (Applicant A: leadership potential, Applicant B: leadership performance).

As with Study 2 candidate potential and performance were manipulated by presenting participants with a score on assessment of leadership achievement and an assessment of leadership potential. In addition to the performance scores CV's included counterbalanced demographic information including educational background, age and previous experience (e.g. a Bachelors of Arts in 2007 from Cornell University, a Major in Accounting, a GPA score of 3.82 and an MBA from New York University in 2011).

Additionally, the questionnaire included an attention check to ensure that participants were sufficiently engaged with the study. Any cases that failed the attention check were removed from the analysis.

Measures

Study 3 specifically focused on measures that assessed the general suitability of the candidates (see Tormala et al., 2012).¹

Hiring. Two items were used to measure hiring: "As part of the hiring panel at ALPHATech, how interested would you be in hiring Applicant A (Applicant B)?" and

¹ The number of items was reduced on subjective measures (e.g. hiring and success) for Study 3, as results from Study 2 were non-significant.

“Would hiring Applicant A (Applicant B) at the company be a good decision or a bad one?” All of the responses were on a 9-point Likert scale with higher values indicating more favorable appraisals. Scales ranged from 1 (*not at all interested, very bad*) to 9 (*very interested, very good*).

Success. Two items were used to measure success: “How successful do you think Applicant A (Applicant B) will be in their career?”. Success was measured on a 9-point scale (1 = *not at all successful* > 9 = *very successful*).

Future performance. A single item was used to measure future performance: “Which applicant do you think will perform better by the 5th year at ALPHATech?” Responses were on a continuous 1 (*Definitely Applicant A*) to 9 (*Definitely Applicant B*) scale.

CV evaluation. A single item was used to evaluate candidate’s CV’s: “At present, which applicant had a more objectively impressive resume?”. Responses were on a continuous 1 (*Definitely Applicant A*) to 9 (*Definitely Applicant B*) scale.

5.3.2 Results and Discussion

A one-sample t-test (*cf.* Tormala et al., 2012) and a 2 (Leadership Quality: leadership potential, leadership performance) X 2 (Candidate Gender: male vs. female) mixed factorial ANOVA were used to analyze the results from Study 3. Two participants on Hiring measures and four participants on Success measures were outliers at 3 standard deviations from the mean and therefore excluded from all analyzes. Small differences in the degrees of freedom are due to missing cases.

Hiring. There was no main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 193) = 2.47, p = .117, \eta^2 = .01$, Leadership Quality, $F(1, 193) = .07, p = .79, \eta^2 = <.001$, and no

significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 193) = .39, p = .53, \eta^2 < .01$.

Success. The analysis showed a significant main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 191) = 6.63, p = .011, \eta^2 = .03$. The main effects were consistent with Study 2 showing that the candidate with leadership potential was evaluated as more likely to succeed ($M = 8.06, SE = .06$) than the performance candidate ($M = 7.88, SE = .07$), $t(192) = 2.08, p = .011$.

There was a non-significant main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 191) = .76, p = .38, \eta^2 < .001$, and the interaction effect between Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender was not significant, $F(1, 191) = .49, p = .48, \eta^2 < .001$.

Future performance. Participants expected Candidate A (leadership potential) to out-perform Candidate B (leadership performance) by their fifth year, as highlighted by a mean score on this item that was significantly below the midpoint of 5 ($M = 4.48, SE = .14$), $t(196) = -3.67, p < .001$. ANOVA results revealed the main effect of Candidate Gender was non-significant, $F(1, 195) = 1.15, p = .29, \eta^2 < .01$.

CV evaluation. When evaluating candidates' CVs participants judged the candidate with leadership potential to have a less impressive CV than the candidate with leadership performance, as highlighted by a mean score on this item that was significantly above the midpoint of 5 ($M = 5.56, SE = .14$), $t(196) = 4.15, p < .001$. An ANOVA with CV impressiveness as the dependent variable showed no significant results of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 195) = .10, p = .75, \eta^2 < .001$.

The results show a general preference toward the candidate who exhibited leadership potential, for instance candidates with leadership potential were expected to be more successful and have a higher level of performance in the future. This is

broadly consistent with Study 2 and my hypothesis of a preference for leadership potential over leadership performance. However, the predicted Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interactions was non-significant for all measures. This could be partly due to the design of the study. Participants were only exposed to male or female candidates and therefore were not in a position to make intergroup comparisons. Laboratory and field studies have shown that stereotypes and in-group favoritism can influence people's evaluation of other others and subsequently hiring decisions (Gorman, 2005). Moreover, research (Biernat et al., 2001; 2003; 2012) has established that stereotypical judgments are more likely to be exposed on measures that require direct comparison on more objective evaluations (e.g. rank scores). Although Study 3 required the direct comparison of leadership potential and leadership performance, it did not similarly demand that participants evaluate candidate gender.

Furthermore, it is possible that candidate gender is not applicable when assessing Leadership Quality. It might be that gender does not impact the evaluation of leadership candidates, however, the strength of the theoretical, experimental and empirical research suggests that I should pursue the relationship between leadership potential and candidate gender with more precise research designs. It is also unlikely, although not impossible, that when selecting a candidate evaluators would only be exposed to all male or all female candidates. In other words, this experimental design does not present the most realistic shortlist of candidates.

5.4 Study 4

The focus of Study 4 is on the intergroup context of hiring decisions. Specifically how a group's social identity might influence the perception of leadership potential and leadership performance. It is well established that a number of intergroup processes (e.g. group stereotyping, within-group similarities and between-group differences, ingroup favoritism etc.) contribute to expectations, attitudes and beliefs we have about others (for review see, Abrams & Hogg, 2001; Abrams & Hogg, 1990). For instance, when a group has the same social identity (e.g. male or female) they can identify with the group and have a similar definition of who they are and how they relate to others.

It is likely that intergroup comparison might have a significant impact on the decisions about candidates in hiring and promotion procedures. Study 4 investigates whether intergroup comparisons impact the evaluation of leadership potential and leadership performance in candidates by introducing both male and female candidates to the shortlist. Furthermore, presenting both male and female candidates represents a more realistic and representative selection of candidates.

5.4.1 Method

Participants and Design

One-hundred and ten participants were recruited from *Amazon MTurk*, a US national online participant database, however 12 participants failed the attention check and were not included in the data analysis. Therefore, ninety-eight participants (59 male & 39 female, $M_{\text{age}} = 36.38$, 79.6% employed) were included and financially compensated for their contribution (\$0.30). Participants who had previously been

involved in studies were not able to take part. The study was a 2 (Candidate Gender: male, female) X 2 (Leadership Quality: leadership potential, leadership performance) within-participants design. All candidate demographic information (e.g. qualifications, GPA etc.) was counterbalanced and CVs were presented to participants in a random order.

Procedure and Materials

As with Study 3 each participant was presented with a hypothetical organization 'ALPHATech' and asked to imagine that they are involved in the recruitment and selection of a new employee:

“ALPHATech is a successful business providing financial and economic advise (e.g. tax, investments, account management and pensions) to a number of different industries.

Imagine that you work in a human resources role and you are part of the team responsible for recruiting and hiring new employees.

ALPHATech are currently expanding their business and as part of this are recruiting for a number of positions within the company. Imagine that you are part of the hiring panel and you have been given some candidates to evaluate.”

Participants were then presented with four candidates simultaneously (male candidate with leadership potential, male candidate with leadership performance, female candidate with leadership potential, female candidate with leadership performance; see Appendix B: Within-Participants CV_Study 4). Like previous

studies candidate potential and performance were manipulated by adjusting the score on two assessments; leadership achievement and leadership potential. To further enhance the focus on leadership potential or leadership performance I introduced a panel review comment:

“This candidate has great prospects. She has some exciting new ideas for the future of the team and the organization, which could offer the opportunity to increase sales and performance in the future.”
[Leadership Potential]

“The applicant is highly capable, and has consistently performed above his own objectives and that of the organizations. The performance in his current role has exceeded expectations.” [Leadership Performance]

Measures

Hiring. To assess hiring participants were asked to rate the following two items on a 9-point Likert scale; “as part of the hiring panel at ALPHATech, how interested would you be in hiring each applicant?”, “to what extent do you think hiring each applicant at ALPHATech would be a good decision or a bad one?”. Lower values indicate less favorable responses (1- *not at all interested, very bad*, 9 – *very successful, very good*).

Success. Success was measured using one item: “How successful do you think each applicant will be in their career?” Responses were measured on a Likert scale (1- *not at all successful*, 9 – *very successful*).

Future performance: In Study 4 items evaluating future performance were reframed to provide a more objective measure of performance by asking participants to directly evaluate candidates in order of preference, “which applicant do you think will perform better by the 5th year at ALPHATech?”. Evaluations were ranked from most favorite (1^{st}) to least favorite (4^{th}).

CV evaluation. To evaluate candidate CVs participants directly compared each applicant using two items, “in your opinion, which applicant has the most impressive resume?” and “at present, which applicant had a more objectively impressive resume?”. Candidates were ranked (1^{st} , 2^{nd} , 3^{rd} or 4^{th}).

5.4.2 Results and Discussion

A Leadership Quality (leadership potential, leadership performance) X Candidate Gender (male, female) within-subjects ANOVA was used to analyze the dependent measures. One participant on measures of Hiring and Success was an outlier (3 SD from the mean) and deleted, therefore small differences in the degrees of freedom are due to missing cases. Means and standard errors are reported for subjective measures in Table 5.3 and objective measures in Table 5.4.

Hiring. The main effect of Leadership Quality was non-significant, $F(1, 96) = .91, p = .34, \eta^2 = .01$. There was a marginal main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 96) = 3.56, p = .062, \eta^2 = .04$. Women ($M = 7.38, SE = .10$) were rated marginally more highly than men ($M = 7.12, SE = .12$). Furthermore, the Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 96) = .82, p = .37, \eta^2 = .01$.

Table 5.3

Study 4: Means and Standard Errors (in Parentheses) for Effects of Leadership Quality and Candidate Gender on Subjective Dependent Measures.

	Leadership Quality			
	Leadership Potential		Leadership Performance	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Candidate	Candidate	Candidate	Candidate
	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)
Hiring	7.27 (0.13)	7.39 (0.12)	7.04 (0.17)	7.37 (0.14)
Success	7.66 (0.11)	7.62 (0.11)	7.35 (0.17)	7.60 (0.11)

Success. The analysis showed that both main effects were non-significant, Leadership Quality, $F(1, 96) = 1.98, p = .16, \eta^2 = .02$, and Candidate Gender, $F(1, 95) = .86, p = .35, \eta^2 = .02$. Furthermore, there was no significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 96) = 2.04, p = .15, \eta^2 = .02$.

Future performance. There was a main effect of Leadership Quality on performance by the 5th year, $F(1, 97) = 7.62, p = .007, \eta^2 = .07$, candidates with potential were ranked more highly ($M = 2.32$) than candidates with performance ($M = 2.67$). The main effect of Candidate Gender was not significant, $F(1, 96) = .19, p = .67, \eta^2 < .01$.

There was a significant interaction effect between Candidate Gender and Leadership Quality, $F(1, 97) = 92.36, p < .001, \eta^2 = .49$. Simple main effects show

that male candidates who exhibited leadership potential were ranked significantly higher ($M = 1.76, SE = .10$) than male candidates with leadership performance ($M = 3.25, SE = .11$), $F(1, 97) = 58.66, p < .001, \eta^2 = .83$. Female candidates who displayed previous leadership performance were ranked higher ($M = 2.10, SE = .09$) than female candidates who demonstrated leadership potential ($M = 2.86, SE = .09$), $F(1, 97) = 25.79, p < .001, \eta^2 = .21$. Female candidates who exhibited leadership potential were ranked significantly lower ($M = 2.86, SE = .09$) than male candidates with leadership potential ($M = 1.76, SE = .10$), $F(1, 97) = 54.17, p < .001, \eta^2 = .36$. Whereas, male candidates with leadership performance ($M = 3.25, SE = .11$) were ranked lower than female candidates who displayed leadership performance ($M = 2.10, SE = .09$), $F(1, 97) = 56.44, p < .001, \eta^2 = .37$.

CV evaluation. There was a main effect of Leadership Quality on the evaluation of candidate CVs, $F(1, 97) = 10.81, p = .001, \eta^2 = .10$. Analysis of the simple effects shows that leadership potential, ($M = 2.32, SE = .06$) was ranked more highly than leadership performance ($M = 2.68, SE = .06$), replicating studies 2 and 3. The main effect of Candidate Gender was non-significant, $F(1, 97) = .38, p = .54, \eta^2 < .01$.

There was a significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 97) = 156.44, p < .001, \eta^2 = .54$. Simple effects confirm male candidates who demonstrate leadership potential on their CV ($M = 1.75, SE = .09$) are ranked significantly higher than male candidates with leadership performance ($M = 3.31, SE = .10$), $F(1, 97) = 76.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .44$. Yet, female candidates who show previous leadership performance on their CV ($M = 2.06, SE = .08$) are ranked more highly than female candidates with leadership potential ($M = 2.89, SE = .08$), $F(1,$

97) = 40.73, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .30$. Leadership potential is not ranked as highly in on the CVs of female candidates ($M = 2.89$, $SE = .08$) as it is on the CVs of male candidates with leadership potential ($M = 1.75$, $SE = .09$), $F(1, 97) = 79.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .45$. Leadership performance is more favorably ranked on the CVs of female candidates ($M = 2.06$, $SE = .08$) over the CVs of male candidates with leadership performance ($M = 3.31$, $SE = .10$), $F(1, 97) = 71.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .42$.

Table 5.4

Study 4: Rank Score, Means and Standard Errors of Candidate Gender X Leadership Quality on Objective (Behavioral) Dependent Measures.

	<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>M_{rank}</i>	<i>SE</i>
Future	Male potential	1 st	1.79	0.10
Performance	Female performance	2 nd	2.10	0.09
	Female potential	3 rd	2.86	0.09
	Male performance	4 th	3.25	0.11
CV Evaluation	Male potential	1 st	1.76	0.09
	Female performance	2 nd	2.06	0.08
	Female potential	3 rd	2.89	0.08
	Male performance	4 th	3.31	0.10

NB: Future Performance and CV Evaluation is measured on a 4 point ranking scale, where lower scores are more positive evaluations.

Study 4 is the first experimental evidence that leadership potential and leadership performance are evaluated differently in men and women. Whilst overall leadership potential is more highly regarded, the advantage disproportionately favors men. In order for women to be seen as a more desirable employment prospect they must demonstrate previous leadership performance. Study 4 supports my hypotheses that leadership potential is more advantageous in male candidates than leadership performance and leadership performance is more advantageous than leadership potential in female candidates. Moreover, leadership potential in male candidates is more beneficial than in female candidates and leadership performance is more beneficial in female candidates than it is in male candidates.

5.5 General Discussion

Taken together these studies investigated the role of candidate gender in the perception of leader potential and leadership performance and support all of the hypothesis in this Chapter. Building on previous qualitative evidence from Chapter 4 and literature on leadership potential (Church, 2014; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Silzer & Church, 2009, Tormala et al., 2012) and, gender and leadership (Baretto et al., 2009; Biernat, 2003; Blau & Devaro, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Rudman & Glick, 2001), I predicted that if no gender was specified both leadership potential and leadership performance were more likely to be attributed to men over women. Secondly, I predicted that there would be an overall preference for leadership potential over leadership performance. In addition, I expected that leadership potential would be evaluated more positively in male candidates than

leadership performance. Moreover, leadership performance would be more valuable in women than leadership potential. Results from these studies supported my hypotheses.

Study 2 confirmed my first hypothesis and demonstrated that candidates applying for leadership positions are commonly considered to be men, regardless of whether they are displaying leadership potential or leadership performance. These results suggest that there is still a strong bias toward the expectation that leaders are predicted to be men. Moreover, Study 2 established that in order to effectively investigate the relationship between gender and leadership potential any information about candidate gender must be explicit.

In support of the second hypothesis, Study 3 showed a clear preference for leadership potential on objective measures related to future performance and success. Importantly, this study identified the prominence of leadership potential in leadership selection. This supports current organizational and management literature that leadership potential is increasingly valued in hiring and promotion situations (see Church, 2014). However, there was no significant relationship between Leadership Qualities (leadership potential vs. leadership performance) and Candidate Gender. I expect this was due to the lack of intergroup comparisons available to participants; previous research has shown that direct group (e.g. male vs. female) comparison influences the evaluation of others (Gorman, 2005). This design concern was addressed in Study 4.

Study 4 in support of my third and fourth hypotheses provided the first empirical evidence that leadership potential is more valuable in men than it is in women. Specifically, on more behavioral, objective items male candidates who

demonstrate leadership potential are better employment prospects than women who demonstrate leadership potential and leadership performance. However, in order for women to improve their employment chances they should demonstrate previous leadership performance. Furthermore, I established that this is particularly relevant in the actual employment decision-making (e.g. which candidate will you hire?), as more subjective measures (e.g. would you hire this candidate? *not at all likely* > *very likely*) masked underlying judgments about the actual selection of candidates. This is consistent with literature on shifting standards (Biernat et al., 2001, 2003, 2012), which predicts that men and women are evaluated by different benchmarks on the same measures.

5.5.1 Limitations, Future Directions and Conclusion

These studies extend previous research on leadership potential and establish a new area of interest on the relationship between leadership potential and gender. Specifically these studies have identified a preference toward leadership potential over leadership performance in the hiring of candidates for leadership roles. Furthermore, the studies have established a clear link between leadership potential and gender, whereby leadership potential offers a distinctive advantage to men in employment situations and past leadership performance is more beneficial for female candidates.

There are some potential limitations in the current studies. Firstly, experiments are not the only way to evaluate the impact of leadership potential on gender and our ability to generalize findings can limit their effectiveness. However, experiments do

allow for great control and improve causal testing (Antonakis, Bendahan, Jacquart, & Lalive, 2010; 2014), which is preferable when exploring new areas of research.

Moreover, there are some design limitations particularly due to the number of items used to measure certain dependent variables. This is principally because these studies were designed to be initial explorations of the relationship between leadership potential and leadership performance. Single-item measures can have acceptable psychometric properties (Bergkvist & Rossiter, 2007) and have been found to be as valid as multi-item measures (Gilbert & Kelloway 2014). Furthermore, single items reduce the questionnaire length, which improves participant engagement and response rates (e.g., Krosnick, 1999). However, single-item measures are widely regarded as having a much weaker predictive validity compared with multi-item measures (Diamantopoulos et al., 2012). It would therefore, be important to explore whether the same results can be observed using multi-item measures.

These studies have provided some important avenues for future research. Leadership potential appears to be an attribute highly valuable in men. For instance, male candidates who demonstrated leadership potential were considered be a better employment option. Moreover, women who demonstrated leadership performance were also more likely to be employed than men and women who displayed leadership potential. Firstly, this finding needs to be replicated. Secondly, it may be that leadership potential is particularly valuable at a certain career stage. For example, it is possible that leadership potential is more valuable earlier in career stages opposed to those pursuing senior management positions. On the other hand, it may be that leadership potential is equally valuable in senior management as well, leaving open

the question of how does career stage influence the evaluation of gender and leadership potential?

To conclude, the studies presented in this chapter are the first to demonstrate a relationship between leadership potential and gender. In the quest for leadership roles the demonstration of leadership potential is clearly an advantage, however, it is an advantage exclusive to men. In order for women to improve their chances to occupy leadership roles they must highlight their previous leadership achievements. Given that there is already a significant gender gap in leadership positions, finding ways in which to explain and improve this inequality is fundamental to improving social and economic outcomes for women and for organizations in general.

In the following chapter, Chapter 6, I examine the role of gender and leadership potential at different career stages. Typically leadership potential is associated with employees in the early to mid-stages of leadership (Dries & Pepermans, 2007). However, very few studies have tested the role of leadership potential and career stage and there is no record of evidence of career stage, leadership potential and gender. In Chapter 5, I empirically investigated the relationship between candidate gender and leadership potential. In Chapter 6 I extend this by looking at gender and leadership potential at junior and senior management level.

Chapter Six: Leadership Potential, Gender and Management Level

In Chapter 6 I report three experiments ($Ns = 104, 200, 150$) examining how participants evaluate leadership potential and leadership performance in men and women across multiple management levels (junior vs. senior). I investigate this relationship across between and within-participants designs to ensure the robustness of the results. In addition, I consider the gender group dynamics by including participant gender as a variable (Study 5). The experiments show that whilst leadership potential is a benefit in hiring situations, it is only advantageous for men. In order for women to enhance their chances of employment they must demonstrate leadership performance. Furthermore, the studies show that there is a preference for leadership potential in male candidates and previous leadership performance in female candidates regardless of the management level that the candidates are being recruited at (e.g. junior manager vs. senior manager), and the gender group of the participant. Implications and future directions of these findings are discussed.

6.1 Theoretical Background

In Chapters 4 and 5, across four studies, I demonstrated that leadership potential was a highly desirable trait in the recruitment and selection of leaders. Specifically, Study 1 showed the most beneficial leadership opportunities are more readily available to those in roles where the ability to demonstrate leadership potential is highly valued. Study 2 supported previous research that suggests leadership is a highly masculine trait (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Rudman & Glick, 2001), for instance, candidates with either leadership performance or leadership potential were generally believed to be men. Study 3 highlighted an overall preference for leadership potential over leadership performance in hiring situations, supporting previous empirical evidence (see Tormala et al., 2012) that leadership potential is more favorable in the pursuit of leadership opportunities. Whilst Study 4 found that leadership potential is a highly valuable trait, it is men alone who enjoy its advantages because female candidates were required to prove their previous leadership performance in order to improve their chances of progression.

In this chapter I propose to extend and confirm the results from the previous experiments. Firstly, I intend to replicate findings from Study 4, demonstrating that leadership potential is indeed a trait more valuable in men. Secondly, I investigate whether the evaluation of leadership potential and gender is impacted when the management level (e.g. junior vs. senior) is manipulated. And lastly, I explore the role of participant gender in the evaluation of leadership potential and candidate gender.

6.1.1 Senior versus Junior Management Positions

Available research on the identification and development of leadership potential at junior and senior management positions is limited. There is evidence to suggest that leadership potential is more aligned with those in senior positions as many of the assessments used on senior executives are highly correlated with those used for high potentials (Grabner & Moers, 2013). For example, assessments of leadership potential were principally conducted on those in more senior positions, for instance 90% of assessments targeted senior executives and 75% targeted high-potentials (Church & Rotolo, 2013).

Yet, on the other hand, many Talent Management Systems (TMS) and leadership potential programs are designed to identify those individuals who will be leaders in the future and occupy senior positions (Church et al., 2015). For instance, fast-track programs are specifically designed to develop young potential talent (Dries & Pepermans, 2007; Guan et al., 2014; Singh, Ragins, & Tharenou, 2009; Thomas, 2009). Moreover, the principle motivation behind identifying leadership potential is to generate a pipeline of future leaders and the earlier high potential employees are identified the more beneficial this is to the organization (Williams-Lee, 2008). Importantly, early identification of leadership potential offers businesses the opportunity to acquire young talent at a fraction of their future worth (Poehlman & Newman, 2014).

It may be that leadership potential is relevant and important at all career stages, regardless of seniority. For instance, regardless of the position being applied for people invest in those who are more likely to provide future benefits (Sandberg, 2013). Tormala et al. (2012) found a preference for future potential regardless of the

context or the occupation of the individual being evaluated. For instance, the researchers found potential to be more positively evaluated in artists, NBA players and comedians. Importantly, people overlook current poor performance if the target displays high-potential (Poehlman & Newman, 2014). Therefore, I expect that regardless of the seniority of position being recruited for candidates with leadership potential will be a better employment prospect than candidates with leadership performance.

H1: I explore whether there will be a difference in the evaluation of leadership potential in either junior or senior management positions.

It might be that at a more junior management level the evaluations and judgments of leadership potential and leadership performance are more equal in men and women. For instance, the equality between men and women at junior-level management is much higher than at senior-level management (Equalities & Human Rights Commission, 2011). This would suggest that there is more equality of opportunity at junior management levels for men and women than there is at senior management where men significantly over-populate leadership positions (Catalyst, 2014; Elacqua et al., 2009; United Nations Development Programme, 2008).

However, favoritism toward male leaders is prevalent across all management levels (Ibarra et al., 2010; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Eagly & Karau, 2002). For instance, regardless of management level women are less likely to get sponsorship (Ibarra et al., 2010) and be promoted (Lyness & Heilman, 2006). Furthermore, women are often rated more highly on characteristic traits related to performance, yet

men are rated more highly characteristic traits related to potential (e.g. Roth et al., 2012; see Chapter 2 for review). In addition, the stereotypical association between leadership and men is very robust; research has consistently found that this substantially influences the appointment of leaders (see Koeing, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). This would suggest that leadership performance will be more valuable in women and leadership potential will be more valuable in men, regardless of the management level.

H2(i): There will be a significant Candidate Gender (male, female) X Leadership Quality (potential, performance) interaction in that leadership potential will be more beneficial to men than leadership performance, and;

H2(ii): Leadership performance will be more beneficial to women than leadership potential, regardless of the seniority of the leadership role (e.g. junior management vs. senior management).

H3(i): There will be a significant Candidate Gender (male, female) X Leadership Quality (potential, performance) interaction in that leadership potential will be more beneficial to men than women, and;

H2(ii) leadership performance will be more beneficial to women than men, regardless of the seniority of the leadership role (e.g. junior management vs. senior management).

6.1.2 Gender Group Bias: Participant Gender and Candidate Gender

One of the most robust findings in the literature on *social identity theory* (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is that of in-group bias (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). For instance, there is a systematic propensity to evaluate one's own group (in-group) more favourably than a group to which one is not a member (out-group). Consequently, it is often found that people are more likely to behave in group-serving ways and show in-group favouritism (Abrams & Hogg, 2001; Brewer, 2001; Turner & Reynolds, 2004). In other words, one would expect people to show an automatic in-group bias toward a group to which they belong. This in-group bias has been found even when group membership is founded on the most minimal characteristics (e.g. *Minimal Group Paradigm*; Tajfel, 1970), for instance if group membership is decided on the flip of a coin people are still more likely to favor their own coin group (e.g. Billig & Tajfel, 1973).

Moreover, in-group bias has been found to be particularly prominent in more dominant and socially valued groups (Rudman, Feinberg, & Fairchild, 2002). For example, university students at Stanford demonstrated greater in-group bias than state college students in California (Joss, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002). However, one exception to this trend is gender because the more dominant group (e.g. men) are less likely to show in-group bias (Joss et al., 2002; Rudman & Goodwin, 2004). Across four experiments Rudman and Goodwin (2004) found that women possess a much stronger in-group bias and are more likely to promote own group preference, whereas, men displayed a relatively weaker in-group bias. In other words, women's in-group bias is particularly strong whereas men's in-group bias is significantly weaker. Therefore, it might be that female participants will show a bias toward female

participants, regardless of the leadership trait displayed. Yet, in-group bias in male participants would be fainter.

However, the relationship between one's own gender group and in-group bias becomes increasingly complex when selecting leadership candidates. As I have discussed in this thesis gender stereotypic beliefs about leadership still prevail, study after study has confirmed that male candidates are preferred over female candidates in leadership roles (for reviews see Davison & Burke, 2000; Koeing et al., 2011). It may be that the masculine typed stereotype of leadership is more dominant than one's own gender group identity.

For instance, in an experimental study on leadership selection Bosak and Sczesny (2011) found that there was in-group bias by male participants when explicit information about the leadership competencies of the candidates was unavailable. However, when information about leadership proficiency was available there was no in-group gender bias. In a further study (Richeson & Ambady, 2001) found that when male participants were evaluating interactions with a female candidate in a superior role had more negative evaluations of the out-group (e.g. women). Conversely, when evaluating interactions with a female candidate of equal status the out-group discrimination disappeared.

Research concludes that the strength expectations and masculine stereotypes associated with leadership ultimately overrides any in-group bias. For example, The Gallop Poll collated data from 22 nations between 1953-2000 found a strong preference for male leaders over female leaders, regardless of the respondent's gender (Simmons, 2001). Using data from a US law firm Gorman (2005) found that when recruiting for high-ranking positions there was no evaluator gender bias. A meta-

analysis on the factors that influence sex discrimination in organizational contexts found that ratings of males and females did not differ by the sex of the rater (Davison & Burke, 2000). A further meta-analysis examined the moderating effect of participant gender on differential correlates of subtle versus overt discrimination and found no significant difference (Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2013).

Importantly, the expected dominance of in-group bias is challenged in the context of leadership and gender. Firstly, evidence suggests that the less dominant group (e.g. women) often show greater in-group favoritism. Secondly, the power of stereotypes relating to both gender and leadership supersede group-serving behavior. Therefore, it is likely that the bias toward male leaders is more likely to prevail than bias toward one's own group.

H4: I explore whether there will be an interaction effect of Participant Gender and Candidate Gender on hiring decisions, such that both male and female candidates will be more likely to hire male candidates.

H5(i): The relationship between Leadership Quality (leadership potential, leadership performance) and Candidate Gender (male, female) will be unaffected by the Participant Gender (male vs. female), in so far that: leadership potential will be evaluated more positively in men than leadership performance, and;

H5(ii): Leadership performance will be more positively evaluated in women than leadership potential; (ii) leadership potential will be evaluated more positively in men than women, and leadership performance will be more positively evaluated in women than men.

6.2 Study 5

Research suggests that people are more likely to believe candidates who demonstrate leadership potential will be more successful in the future (Tormala et al., 2012; Church, 2014). Decisions and assessments made about performance and potential are a fundamental part of the hiring and promotion processes and can have a considerable impact on career progression (Abele & Spurk, 2009; Ng et al., 2005). However, to my knowledge no experimental research has investigated if the ability to identify, and value, leadership potential and leadership performance differs by gender.

Considerable evidence suggests that people can make substantial assumptions about ability and competence in the workplace based on whether the subject is a man or a woman (see Chapters 2 and 3). The way in which performance is valued in men and in women is substantially different (Lyness & Heilman, 2006), for example, what is considered good for a woman will not be considered as equally good for a man (Biernat et al., 2001). In other words, women may be rated more highly for having identical attributes as men because the standards for each gender are different.

Furthermore, in Study 5 I wanted to explore the relationship of participant gender to the evaluation of leadership qualities and gender. As I have mentioned in-group bias is highly powerful (Hewstone, et al., 2002) and as a result people are highly likely to evaluate their own in-group more positively (Abrams & Hogg, 2001; Brewer, 2001; Turner & Reynolds, 2004). An interesting twist to this rule is gender because men are less likely than women to show in-group bias (Joss et al., 2002; Rudman & Goodwin, 2004). Moreover, the relationship between one's own gender group and in-group evaluations becomes increasingly complex when selecting leadership candidates. For instance, it is likely that the dominance of gender

stereotypes will prevail over in-group bias, extensive research has established that in leadership roles male candidates are preferred regardless of the gender of the evaluator (Bosak & Sczesny, 2011; Davison & Burke, 2000; Gorman, 2005; Koenig et al. 2011; Richeson & Ambady, 2001; Simmons, 2001). Therefore, I expect that any gender group bias will be neutralized when evaluating and selecting leadership candidates.

Research into performance evaluations shows that women are likely to be rated more highly than their male counterparts for performing similar tasks (Powell & Butterfield, 2013; Roth et al., 2012). However, there is no research into gender and leadership potential. A requirement of leadership potential is that one *must* imagine how the candidate will perform as a leader in the future. A candidate with high-potential would be expected to be a high-performer in the future, yet the extent to which this will become true is somewhat uncertain.

Research has shown that leadership traits are more likely to be associated with men than they are with women (Koenig et al., 2011; Levinson & Young, 2010; Spence & Buckner, 2000). Consequently, as leadership potential is directly linked with the idea that an individual will be a successful leader in the future, one would expect that male candidates with leadership potential are more likely to be selected than male candidates with leadership performance, and female candidates with leadership performance are more likely to be selected than female candidates with leadership potential. Moreover, I predict that men with leadership potential are more likely to be selected than women with leadership potential, and women with leadership performance are more likely to be selected than men with leadership performance.

6.2.1 Method

Participants and Design

One-hundred and twenty participants were recruited from *CrowdFlower*, an international online participant database, however 16 failed the attention check and were not included in the data analysis. Therefore, one hundred and four participants (89 male, 15 female, $M_{\text{age}} = 29.23$, 78.8% in employment) were included and compensated for taking part in the research (\$0.73). The study was a within-participants design, all applicants were simultaneously exposed to a total of four CVs (male leadership potential, female leadership performance, female leadership potential, male leadership performance) and all background information was counterbalanced. Data was analyzed using a repeated measures ANOVA with Leadership Quality and Candidate Gender as the within-participants factor and Participant Gender as the between-participants factor.

Procedure and Materials

As with the preliminary studies vignettes were used as they are known to be engaging and can be easily tailored to the relevant audience. Participants were asked to imagine they work for a company called AlphaTECH, they were informed that they were part of a hiring panel reviewing some shortlisted CVs.

Measures

Following our previous studies items were developed further to more robustly measure the following constructs.

Hiring. Three items were used to measure hiring evaluation; “as part of the hiring panel at ALPHATech, how interested would you be in hiring the following candidates?”, “to what extent do you think hiring each applicant at ALPHATech would be a good decision or a bad one?” and one further item was included “please rate to what extent each applicant would be a good appointment” ($\alpha = .95$).

Participants rated each candidate using 9-point scales (1- *not at all interested, very bad*, 9 –*very interested, very good*).

Success. In Study 5 some amendments to the measure of success were introduced. First, combining the measures of career and job success with items requiring comparison to other improves the robustness and reliability of the measures (see Ashford, Rothbard, Piderit, & Dutton, 1998; Gibson, 1989). Six items were adapted from Gibson (1989) and Kossek, Colquitt, and Noe (2001) to examine career and job success “How successful do you think each applicant will be in their career [job]?”, “How successful do you think each applicant will be in their career [job], compared to other people?” and “How successful do you think each applicant will be in their career [job], compared to the applicants' significant others?” ($\alpha = .98$). Participants rated each candidate using 9-point scales (1- *not at all successful*, 9 – *very successful*).

Ultimately in the recruitment process, selectors must make a decision about who to hire or promote. Study 4 consistently found that when participants were asked to assess candidates on more behavioral, objective measures (e.g. rank candidates in order of preference), male candidates with leadership potential were evaluated more positively over male candidates with leadership performance and female candidates with leadership performance were evaluated more positively than female candidates

with leadership potential. Moreover, men with leadership potential were evaluated more favorably than women with leadership potential and women with leadership performance were evaluated more favorably than men with leadership performance. In order to explore this in more depth the measures were further developed and adapted:

Hiring intention. Three items were used to measure hiring intention; “which applicant would be the best appointment?”, “which applicant would you hire?” and “who do you think is the best applicant?”. Items were measured by rank (1^{st} , 2^{nd} , 3^{rd} or 4^{th}) and consequently candidates more hireable the lower the rank.

Overall success. Participants evaluated general success across 4 items; “which applicant do you think will perform better by the 5th year at ALPHATech?”, “which applicant do you think will be the most successful at their job?”, “which applicant do you think will be the most successful in their career?” and “who do you think will perform the best in the manager role?”. Items were measured on a ranking measure (1^{st} , 2^{nd} , 3^{rd} or 4^{th}), therefore the lower the score the more successful the candidate is expected to be.

6.2.2 Results and Discussion

I performed a Leadership Quality (leadership potential, leadership performance) X Candidate Gender (male, female) X Participant Gender (men vs. women) repeated measures ANOVA with Participant Gender as the between-participants factor. Means for the effects of all measures are presented in Table 6.1. Three participants scores on evaluations of Hiring and Success were outliers (3

standard deviations from the mean) and were removed from the analysis. Small differences in the degrees of freedom are due to missing cases.

Hiring. There was a significant main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 99) = 8.59, p = .004, \eta^2 = .08$. Overall candidates demonstrating previous leadership performance ($M = 6.85, SE = .19$) were rated more positively than candidates demonstrating leadership potential ($M = 6.39, SE = .21$). There was a main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 99) = 6.83, p = .01, \eta^2 = .07$, women ($M = 6.84, SE = .18$) were more favorably evaluated than men ($M = 6.39, SE = .22$). The main effect of Participant Gender was non-significant, $F(1, 99) = 0.42, p = .52, \eta^2 < .01$.

There was significant two-way interaction of Leadership Quality X Participant Gender, $F(1, 99) = 5.56, p = .02, \eta^2 = .05$. The simple main effects revealed that women value leadership performance ($M = 6.92, SE = .34$) over leadership potential ($M = 6.08, SE = .38$), $F(1, 99) = 8.12, p = .005, \eta^2 = .08$, whereas men valued both Leadership Quality traits relatively equally ($M_s = 6.78$ vs. 6.69 , respectively). The other simple main effects were non-significant $F_s < 2.14$.

There was a non-significant interaction effect between Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender, $F(1, 99) = 1.20, p = .27, \eta^2 = .01$. Scheduled analysis of the simple main effects showed that female candidates were more positively evaluated when they demonstrated leadership performance ($M = 7.17, SE = .26$) opposed to leadership potential ($M = 6.51, SE = .20$), $F(1, 99) = 9.02, p = .003, \eta^2 = .08$. Furthermore, leadership performance was more advantageous to women ($M = 7.17, SE = .26$) than it was to men ($M = 6.52, SE = .25$), $F(1, 99) = 5.07, p = .027, \eta^2 = .05$. Other simple main effects were not significant $F_s < 1.39$.

The Candidate Gender X Participant Gender interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 99) = 1.02$, $p = .31$, $\eta^2 = .01$. Yet, there was a significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Participant Gender interaction, $F(1, 99) = 4.93$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .04$ (means and standard errors are shown in Table 6.1). The simple main effects of Leadership Quality within Candidate Gender and Participant Gender show that female participants rated leadership performance ($M = 7.52$, $SE = .41$) significantly more highly than leadership potential ($M = 6.31$, $SE = .46$) in female candidates, $F(1, 99) = 12.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .11$. The remaining simple main effects of Leadership Quality within Candidate Gender and Participant Gender were non-significant, $F_s(1, 99) < 2.12$, $p > .15$, $\eta^2 < .02$.

The simple main effects of Candidate Gender within Leadership Quality and Participant Gender show that male participants evaluate female candidates with leadership potential ($M = 6.92$, $SE = .15$) as more employable than male candidates with leadership potential ($M = 6.45$, $SE = .19$), $F(1, 99) = 9.12$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .08$. The difference between male participants' evaluations of male ($M = 6.74$, $SE = .18$) and female candidates ($M = 6.82$, $SE = .16$) with leadership performance was non-significant, $F(1, 99) = 0.14$, $p = .703$, $\eta^2 < .01$. Female participants evaluated female candidates with leadership performance ($M = 7.52$, $SE = .41$) as more hireable than male candidates with leadership performance ($M = 6.74$, $SE = .18$), $F(1, 99) = 5.18$, $p = .025$, $\eta^2 = .05$, but evaluated male and female candidates who displayed leadership potential equally ($M_s = 6.07, 6.09$ respectively), $F(1, 99) = 0.04$, $p = .95$, $\eta^2 < .01$.

The simple main effects of Participant Gender within Leadership Quality and Candidate Gender show that female candidates with leadership potential are rated as more hireable than male candidates ($M = 6.46$, $SE = .19$) than by female candidates

($M = 6.07$, $SE = .48$), $F(1, 99) = 4.23$, $p = .042$, $\eta^2 = .02$. The remaining simple main effects for Participant Gender within Leadership Quality and Candidate Gender were non-significant, $F_s(1, 99) < 2.54$, $p > .12$, $\eta^2 < .03$.

Success. Results show a significant main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 99) = 7.19$, $p = .009$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Generally candidates who exhibited performance-based leadership qualities ($M = 6.95$, $SE = .19$) on their CV were evaluated more favorably than candidates who displayed future leadership potential ($M = 6.61$, $SE = .22$). There was also a significant main effect Candidate Gender, there is a preference for female candidates ($M = 6.92$, $SE = .19$) over male candidates ($M = 6.68$, $SE = .22$), $F(1, 100) = 4.77$, $p = .031$, $\eta^2 = .05$. The main effect of Participant Gender was non-significant, $F(1, 99) = .120$, $p = .73$, $\eta^2 < .01$.

The expected Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 99) = .50$, $p = .48$, $\eta^2 = .01$. However, planned contrasts reveal that women with leadership performance ($M = 7.15$, $SE = .25$) are evaluated as significantly more likely to succeed as women with leadership potential ($M = 6.89$, $SE = .22$), $F(1, 99) = 5.14$, $p = .022$, $\eta^2 = .05$. The other main effects were non-significant $F_s < 2.54$.

The Leadership Quality X Participant Gender interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 99) = 2.66$, $p = .068$, $\eta^2 = .03$, as was the Candidate Gender X Participant Gender interaction, $F(1, 99) = .19$, $p = .66$, $\eta^2 < .01$. Furthermore, there was no Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Participant Gender interaction, $F(1, 100) = 3.16$, $p = .078$, $\eta^2 = .03$.

Hiring intention. There was a significant main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 102) = 10.36$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .09$, such that candidates who demonstrated leadership

potential ($M = 2.29$, $SE = .07$) were ranked higher in hiring intention than candidates who demonstrated leadership performance ($M = 2.71$, $SE = .07$). In addition, there was a marginal main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 102) = 3.71$, $p = .057$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Male applicants ($M = 2.41$, $SE = .05$) were ranked as more likely to be hired than female candidates ($M = 2.59$, $SE = .05$). The main effect of Participant Gender was non-significant, $F(1, 102) < .01$, $p = 1.00$, $\eta^2 < .01$.

There was a highly significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 102) = 64.34$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .39$. Simple main effects showed that leadership potential was more valuable than leadership performance in male candidates, $F(1, 102) = 51.99$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .34$, and leadership performance was more valuable than leadership potential in female candidates, $F(1, 102) = 23.65$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .19$. In addition, when candidates were demonstrating leadership potential male candidates ($M = 1.76$, $SE = .13$) were ranked as more hireable than female candidates ($M = 2.83$, $SE = .10$), $F(1, 102) = 32.59$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .24$. In contrast, when leadership performance was promoted on candidates' CVs female candidates ($M = 1.99$, $SE = .09$) were more favorably ranked than male candidates ($M = 3.43$, $SE = .13$), $F(1, 102) = 67.84$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .40$.

Both the Leadership Quality X Participant Gender, $F(1, 102) = 1.87$, $p = .17$, $\eta^2 = .02$, and Candidate Gender X Participant Gender, $F(1, 102) = .22$, $p = .64$, $\eta^2 < .01$, interactions were non-significant. Moreover, the Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Participant Gender interaction was also non-significant, $F(1, 102) = .52$, $p = .47$, $\eta^2 < .01$.

Table 6.1

Study 5: Means and Standard Errors (in Parentheses) for Effects of Leadership Quality, Candidate Gender and Participant Gender on Dependent Variables.

	Participant Gender	Leadership Quality			
		Leadership Potential		Leadership Performance	
		Male Candidate (SE)	Female Candidate (SE)	Male Candidate (SE)	Female Candidate (SE)
Hiring	Men	6.46 (0.19)	6.92 (0.15)	6.74 (0.18)	6.82 (0.16)
	Women	6.07 (0.48)	6.10 (0.37)	6.31 (0.46)	7.52 (0.41)
Success	Men	6.46 (0.18)	6.86 (0.16)	6.75 (0.18)	6.79 (0.16)
	Women	6.61 (0.45)	6.51 (0.40)	6.76 (0.45)	7.51 (0.39)
Hiring Intention	Men	1.69 (0.09)	2.70 (0.08)	3.45 (0.10)	2.16 (0.07)
	Women	1.80 (0.24)	2.95 (0.47)	3.42 (0.23)	1.82 (0.17)
Overall Success	Men	1.74 (0.10)	2.76 (0.08)	3.40 (0.10)	2.10 (0.06)
	Women	1.87 (0.25)	2.88 (0.18)	3.35 (0.24)	1.90 (0.16)

NB: Evaluation of Hiring and Career Success is measured on a 9-point scale, where 9 is the most favorable. Overall Success and CV Impressiveness is measured on a 4 point ranking scale, where lower scores are more positive evaluations.

Overall success. There was a main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 102) = 8.69, p = .004, \eta^2 = .08$. Leadership potential ($M = 2.31, SE = .06$) was ranked as a more desirable attribute than leadership performance ($M = 2.69, SE = .06$). The main effect of Candidate Gender and Participant Gender was non-significant, $F_s(1, 102) < 2.84, p_s > .10, \eta^2_s < .01$.

The expected two-way interaction, Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender, was significant, $F(1, 102) = 73.54, p < .001, \eta^2 = .36$. Simple main effects reveal that leadership potential ($M = 1.80, SE = .13$) is more valuable in male candidates than leadership performance ($M = 3.83, SE = .13$), $F(1, 102) = 41.95, p < .001, \eta^2 = .29$. Whereas, for women displaying leadership performance ($M = 2.00, SE = .09$) is more advantageous than leadership potential ($M = 2.82, SE = .10$), $F(1, 102) = 28.94, p < .001, \eta^2 = .22$. Moreover, when candidates with leadership potential are men they are expected to be more successful compared to women, $F(1, 102) = 27.10, p < .001, \eta^2 = .21$ ($M_s = 1.80$ vs. 2.82 , respectively). By comparison, if previous leadership performance is emphasized, female candidates are ranked as significantly more successful than male candidates, $F(1, 102) = 56.82, p < .001, \eta^2 = .36$. ($M_s = 2.00$ vs. 3.38 , respectively).

As predicted Leadership Quality X Participant Gender, $F(1, 102) = .99, p = .32, \eta^2 = < .001$, and Candidate Gender X Participant Gender, $F(1, 102) = .14, p = .70, \eta^2 = < .001$, were non-significant. Additionally the three-way Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Participant Gender interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 102) = .05, p = .82, \eta^2 < .01$.

Study 5 shows that both Leadership Quality (e.g. future leadership potential, previous leadership performance) and Candidate Gender can have a powerful impact

on evaluations and decisions made about applicants. On subjective evaluations (e.g. to what extent each applicant would be a good appointment) candidates with past leadership performance were judged more positively than candidates with leadership potential. Furthermore, and in line with previous research, female candidates were also evaluated more favorably on subjective performance measures (*cf.* Biernat, 2003; Dohmen, 2004).

In line with my prediction evaluations of candidates on behavioral measures (“rank which applicant you think would be the best appointment?”) show that leadership potential is more desirable over leadership performance. Specifically, leadership potential is highly valuable in male candidates and leadership performance is more beneficial to female candidates.

These results reveal some important insights. Firstly, they show that the way in which candidates are evaluated (e.g. subjective vs. objective) can have a significant impact on the evaluation outcome. This is also supported by the *shifting standards model* (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat et al., 1991) as on the subjective evaluations biases towards leadership potential and male candidates were hidden, yet revealed on objective items. This is particularly important to consider in the hiring and promotion process where candidates are often rated on their performance, but final choices rely on objective selection criteria (e.g. ranking formats).

Secondly, the difference in measurements exposes a difference in the value placed on leadership potential and leadership performance. For instance, this study suggests that leadership performance is acknowledged as being important when candidates are rated on more subjective and abstract measures that do not require the direct comparison of possible employees. However, when participants were asked to

directly compare and choose which candidate they would hire, leadership potential emerges as more important than leadership performance. It could be that a history of previous leadership performance is more impressive on paper (Tormala et al., 2012). Yet, the appeal of spotting future talent of the ‘next big thing’ can be so appealing that it dominates more objective evaluations (Massey & Thaler, 2013).

Thirdly, this study has investigated my third hypothesis by confirming that the relationship between Leadership Qualities (leadership potential, leadership performance) is generally not affected by the gender of the participant. For example, leadership potential is not evaluated differently in either male or female candidates depending on the participant gender. In line with the literature, this suggests that bias towards gender-typical expectations of leadership (e.g. Eagly & Karau, 2002) are more powerful than in-group gender bias. However, there was a significant two-way (Leadership Quality X Participant Gender) and three-way (Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Participant Gender) interaction on the subjective evaluation of hiring. Evaluations on both male candidates and candidates with leadership potential were relatively stable, however, female candidates with leadership performance were evaluated substantially more positively by women. It might be that as women generally over-perform on performance measures (Ibarra, & Obodaru, 2009; Green et al., 2009; Roth, et al., 2012) leadership performance is more readily identified in women by female participants. Moreover, it could be that in-line with in-group bias (e.g. Rudman & Goodwin, 2004) women show a preference for leadership performance because having a female leader with a good track record is more likely to reflect more positively on the group. However, there is no further evidence from Study 5 to support this.

Fourthly, leadership potential is highly valuable in junior managers. This supports evidence that leadership potential is important in TMS and fast-track career pathways (Singh et al., 2009). Moreover, the results suggest that leadership potential is highly desirable to those in early career management posts looking to progress. Further exploration of this in comparison to more senior leadership is required (see Studies 6 & 7).

Lastly, and arguably most importantly, in line with my fourth and fifth hypotheses the value of performance and potential is different depending on whether the applicant is male or female. Crucially at the point when people make hiring decisions male candidates with leadership potential are considered the most desirable than if they demonstrate leadership performance, regardless of the fact that subjective evaluations suggest that performance history is more valuable. Furthermore, the study supports previous research (*cf.* Green et al, 2009) that women must demonstrate previous performance rather than leadership potential in order to be considered as a possible candidate and increase their chances of being hired. Moreover, leadership potential is more valuable in men than in women and leadership performance is more valuable in women than in men. However, this still does not guarantee that women will be hired, ultimately men who have the ability to establish their potential as future leaders are the most likely to be employed.

6.3 Study 6

Studies 2-5 have established that there distinction between the subjective and more objective, behavioral evaluations of leadership potential and leadership

performance, and candidate gender. I have demonstrated that performance is considered more valuable on inherent judgments, but when decisions about which candidate to hire are grounded in material reality there is a clear preference toward men with leadership potential and women with leadership performance history.

Studies 4 and 5 have been based on a career stage (Junior Manager) where it is expected leadership potential to be a particularly valuable quality as it is considered a key time to identify high-potential employees and candidates (Church, 2014). For instance, it is possible that leadership potential is more desirable at lower management levels as it is exactly the time that leadership opportunities start to develop. This has been reflected in organizations by the development of programs to robustly populate leadership pipelines such as Talent Management Systems that ensure high-potential employees are placed in key strategic positions to develop their careers (McDonnell et al., 2010). It might be that succession and development planning are specifically in place for more junior members of staff who are viewed as the next generation of future leaders (CIPD, 2006).

In Study 6 I explore the relationship between Candidate Gender and Leadership Quality in greater depth and establish whether leadership potential is a positive attribute principally reserved for more junior management roles or if it could also be applied to senior leadership positions. For example, it could be argued that organizations are also under increasing pressure to retain top leaders (Church, 2014) and senior level managers who also have the potential to occupy more diverse roles in the nearer more immediate future and therefore leadership potential is also valuable at senior levels of management.

This study focuses on the selection and recruitment of a new member of senior management, specifically a Director of Financial Affairs. This experiment remains in an organizational context, however, I introduce a further dependent variable (Impressiveness of CV) and an amended CV design (Appendix B: Study 6_Tell Inc. CV). For instance, I visibly increased the manipulation of leadership potential and leadership performance. To do this three statements were used which explicitly focus on either the candidate's leadership potential or leadership performance. This ensured that participants would be more aware of the potential or performance elements in each candidate.

Furthermore, overall the results from Study 5 indicated that participant gender did not influence the evaluation of Leadership Quality or Candidate Gender and therefore is excluded from further analysis in this thesis.

6.3.1 Method

Participants and Design

Two-hundred and nineteen were recruited from *Amazon MTurk*, a US national online participant database however nineteen failed the attention check and were not included in the data analysis. Therefore, two hundred participants (74 male, 126 female $M_{age} = 35.02$, 78.4% in full or part-time employment) were included and received financial compensation (\$0.25) for their accurate participation in the study and previous participants were automatically excluded from participating. The present study was a within-participants design, all applicants were exposed to four conditions; leadership potential (male and female candidate) and leadership performance (male and female candidate). In the previous studies all candidates were

presented simultaneously, however in the present study each candidate was presented individually and CVs were randomly displayed. As with previous studies background information (education, work experience etc.) was counterbalanced across conditions.

Procedure and Materials

Individuals were invited to take part in a study on organizational decision-making via an online platform, *Qualtrics*. The study consisted of two phases. Firstly, participants were presented with an imitation Bloomberg article that described the announcement of the retirement of a fictional company's, Tell Inc., Director of Financial Affairs and the subsequent search for their replacement:

‘In an open letter to Tell Inc. employees the CEO, Robin Metcalfe, announced the resignation of the company's Vice President of Financial Affairs, Alex Hepburn, adding ‘Alex has been a great asset to this company having immeasurably contributed to our progress over recent years.

Tell Inc. is a highly successful US based telecommunications company, consistently performing well on the global markets, with particular growth and expansion in Eastern Europe and China over the last year. Tell Inc. is well known for its dynamic and innovative approach to communication technology, having developed some of the most well-known products on the market today.

This is a very important role for Tell Inc. to fill and there will be significant interest in the technology community about who

will be appointed and which direction they will look to take the company in.’

Bloomberg Business News was used to provide background information about the organization and participants then read a brief description of Tell Inc., which described its role as a growing and successful telecommunications company. The article then highlighted the importance of recruiting the “best possible candidate”, this was further emphasized by quotes from the CEO of Tell Inc.

In the second phase the participants were then randomly presented each CV (male leadership potential, female leadership potential, male leadership performance, female leadership performance). Some elements of the CVs presented were different from the ones previously used in Studies 1-4, however, the background information and leadership scores (future leadership potential and previous leadership achievement) remained unchanged. To ensure the CVs were relevant to the hiring of a more senior candidate I changed the previous work experience to include at least one tech or communications company (e.g. Yahoo!) and reviews from other people (previous employer and Tell Inc. CEO) and the candidate. Each of the reviews reinforced either the candidates’ future leadership potential or previous leadership performance, for example; a quote from the CEO about the female candidate with leadership performance and about a male candidate with leadership potential:

‘Christine is clearly a candidate who has performed very highly throughout her career. She has shown from her past achievements and accomplishments that she is highly capable of performing to the

highest standard. Christine is certainly at the top of her group in her professional achievements.’

Rupert is clearly a candidate who has shown excellent potential throughout his career. You can see from his budding talent and promise that he is highly capable of being one of the best in his field. Rupert is absolutely at the top of his vocation in terms of his professional potential.’

Participants were asked to complete the subjective measures, which were identical to Study 5, immediately after reviewing each candidate. Once participants had evaluated each candidate they were then presented with all the CVs again in order to refresh their memory and to ensure there was no bias toward the most recently reviewed CV. Participants were then asked to complete the remaining dependent measures.

Measures

Both subjective and more behavioral, objective items were included in Study 6. First, because as I have previously shown there can be significant disparities between the outcome of subjective and more objective, behavioral items (*cf.* Biernat, 2003). Second, it might that stereotypical judgments about leadership are more prominent in senior positions (Sczesny, 2003) and, therefore, it might be that they are more likely to be exposed on subjective items. Third, it has been argued that there is no universal or stereotype of leadership (Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, & Bongiorno, 2010)

and consequently using multiple measures is more likely to capture a broader evaluation of leadership candidates.

Manipulation check. I included a manipulation check following the amendments to the CV to ensure that the candidate was perceived as having either future leadership potential or previous leadership performance. On a 9-point Likert scale we asked participants to think about “think about the candidate you have just reviewed, to what extent do you think the candidate displays...” (1 = *previous leadership achievements*, 9 = *future leadership potential*).

Hiring. This was measured using two items ($\alpha = .85$): “I would hire this candidate.” and “this candidate would be a good appointment.” Items were measured on a Likert scale and ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Success. Measures used were identical to Study 5 ($\alpha = .94$) and items were measured on a Likert scale and ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Overall success. This study combined predicted future success and hiring intention across 3 items; “which candidate do you think will perform better by the 5th year?”, “which applicant do you think will be the most successful in their career?” and “which applicant would you hire?”. Participants were asked to directly compare and rank each candidate (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th).

CV evaluation. CV evaluation was measured over 2 items: “in your opinion, which applicant has the most impressive résumé?” and “at present, which candidate had a more objectively impressive résumé?”. Participants were asked to directly compare and rank each candidate (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th).

6.3.2 Results and Discussion

A Leadership Quality (potential, performance) X Candidate Gender (male, female) ANOVA with repeated measures was used to evaluate the dependent measures. Three participants on the evaluation of Hiring and one participant on the evaluation Success were outliers (3 SD from the mean). Small variations in the degrees of freedom are due to missing cases. Means and standard errors for the effects for all conditions are presented in Table 6.2.

Manipulation Check. There was a main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 199) = 15.05, p < .001, \eta^2 = .30$. As expected candidates that displayed leadership potential ($M = 7.26, SE = .10$) were evaluated as having more potential than candidates with leadership performance ($M = 5.35, SE = .20$).

Hiring. There was a main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 195) = 16.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$. As expected performance candidates ($M = 7.81, SE = .08$) were believed to be more successful than candidates with potential ($M = 7.21, SE = .10$). The main effect of Candidate Gender was non-significant, $F(1, 195) = 1.76, p = .19, \eta^2 < .01$.

Furthermore, the Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, was marginally significant, $F(1, 195) = 3.38, p = .067, \eta^2 = .02$. The planned exploration of the simple main effects shows that leadership potential is significantly more valuable in men ($M = 7.35, SE = .11$) than in women ($M = 7.07, SE = .12$), $F(1, 195) = 4.86, p = .029, \eta^2 = .02$. Female applicants with leadership performance ($M = 7.64, SE = .10$) are evaluated as more successful than female candidates with leadership potential ($M = 7.07, SE = .12$), $F(1, 195) = 17.40, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$. The remaining main effects were non-significant, $F_s < 2.82$.

Success. There was a main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 197) = 17.14, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$. Candidates who showed leadership performance ($M = 7.78, SE = .06$) were more hireable than candidates that demonstrated leadership potential ($M = 7.53, SE = .07$). The main effect of Candidate Gender was marginally significant, $F(1, 197) = 3.43, p = .066, \eta^2 = .02$. Male candidates ($M = 7.72, SE = .07$) were rated as being more successful than female candidates ($M = 7.60, SE = .07$).

The Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 197) = 2.45, p = .12, \eta^2 = .01$. Planned examination of the simple main effects show that leadership performance ($M = 7.74, SE = .08$) is more beneficial to female candidates than leadership potential ($M = 7.43, SE = .09$), $F(1, 197) = 15.42, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$. On measures of success leadership performance ($M = 7.79, SE = .08$), is rated more favorably in male candidates than leadership potential ($M = 7.64, SE = .08$), $F(1, 197) = 3.78, p = .053, \eta^2 = .02$. Leadership potential is rated more positively in men ($M = 7.64, SE = .08$) than in women ($M = 7.43, SE = .09$), $F(1, 197) = 6.26, p = .013, \eta^2 = .03$ but there was no significant difference between the evaluation of men and women who displayed leadership performance, $F(1, 197) = 0.09, p = .76, \eta^2 < .01$.

Overall success. Analysis revealed a main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 198) = 34.27, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$. As with previous studies, candidates with leadership potential ($M = 2.26, SE = .04$) were more likely to be hired than candidates with leadership performance ($M = 2.75, SE = .04$). There was no main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 198) = 0.23, p = .63, \eta^2 < .01$.

Table 6.2

*Study 6: Means and Standard Errors for Effects of Leadership Quality and Candidate Gender on Evaluations of Hiring and Success in an Organizational Context.*²³

Measure	Candidate	Leadership Quality				
		Leadership Potential		Leadership Performance		
		Gender	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
Hiring	Male		7.35	0.11	7.57	0.10
	Female		7.07	0.12	7.64	0.10
Success	Male		7.64	0.08	7.79	0.08
	Female		7.43	0.09	7.77	0.08
Overall Success	Male		1.76	0.06	3.27	0.07
	Female		2.76	0.06	2.22	0.05
CV Evaluation	Male		1.62	0.06	3.28	0.08
	Female		2.90	0.06	2.21	0.05

NB: Evaluations of Hiring and Success is measured on a 9-point scale, where 9 is the most favorable. Hiring Intention, Overall Success and CV Evaluation is measured on a 4 point ranking scale, where lower scores are more positive evaluations.

² During the analysis of this study I realized that the questions regarding Overall Success and CV Impressiveness were not clear enough in the request to rank the data. In order to confirm the initial results I removed all results that reflected the pattern in which the candidates were displayed on the items (e.g. Candidate A, Candidate B, Candidate C, Candidate D) and re-analyzed the data. I repeated this for studies 4-6. The results replicated the initial findings and consequently I included all of the original data present these findings in this thesis.

³ For rank measures used in this thesis see; Appendix C: Objective items.

As predicted there was a significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 198) = 170.66, p < .001, \eta^2 = .46$. The simple main effects showed that men with leadership potential are more likely to be hired over men with leadership performance, $F(1, 198) = 147.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = .43$, and women with leadership performance are more likely to be hired over women with leadership potential, $F(1, 198) = 26.96, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. Male candidates with leadership potential ($M = 1.76, SE = .06$) are ranked higher on measures of success than female candidates with leadership potential ($M = 2.76, SE = .06$), $F(1, 198) = 113.51, p < .001, \eta^2 = .36$. A female candidate with previous leadership performance ($M = 3.27, SE = .07$) is ranked more favorably than a male candidate with leadership performance ($M = 2.22, SE = .05$), $F(1, 198) = 114.34, p < .001, \eta^2 = .37$.

CV evaluation. There was a main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 198) = 41.01, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$, such that candidates showing leadership potential were thought to have a more impressive CV ($M = 2.26, SE = .04$) than those with leadership performance ($M = 2.74, SE = .04$). There was no main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 198) = 3.04, p = .08, \eta^2 = .02$.

There was a significant two-way interaction between Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender, $F(1, 198) = 252.00, p < .001, \eta^2 = .56$. An examination of the simple main effects confirms that leadership potential ($M = 1.62, SE = .06$) was ranked as significantly more impressive on a CV than leadership performance ($M = 3.28, SE = .08$) for male candidates, $F(1, 198) = 183.01, p < .001, \eta^2 = .48$, and women with CVs highlighting previous leadership performance ($M = 2.21, SE = .05$) were ranked as significantly more impressive on a CV than women with leadership potential ($M = 2.89, SE = .05$), $F(1, 198) = 64.24, p < .001, \eta^2 = .25$. CVs with

leadership potential are more impressive in a male candidate than in a female candidate, $F(1, 198) = 228.50, p < .001, \eta^2 = .54$, and CVs with leadership performance are more impressive in female candidates than in male candidates, $F(1, 198) = 109.86, p < .001, \eta^2 = .36$.

Study 6 further endorses my fourth and fifth hypotheses that leadership potential is a trait far more valuable to men than it is to women and leadership performance is more beneficial to women than it is to men. Furthermore, leadership is also highly regarded in candidates applying for senior management positions as well as those applying for junior management positions. As with Study 5, leadership performance was perceived as more desirable in ratings of success and hiring decisions. Whilst leadership performance is valued more highly than leadership potential on the same measures there is still a distinction between the value of leadership potential in men and women. In so far that, leadership potential is most beneficial for male candidates than leadership performance, yet it is leadership performance that is most beneficial for female candidates than leadership potential. Furthermore, leadership potential is more valuable in men than in women and leadership performance is more valuable in women than in men.

The difference between the value of leadership potential in men and women was further reinforced by the ranking measures of overall success and CV evaluations, which overwhelmingly approves of the appointment of male candidates with leadership potential to senior management posts. By contrast, women must highlight their previous leadership performance in order to improve their chances of success and future employment.

Study 6 suggests that participants acknowledge on subjective items that previous leadership performance is likely to lead to future success and increased hiring opportunities. However, on subjective ratings of hiring and success participants also recognize leadership potential as being more valuable in male candidates, whereas, leadership performance is appreciated more in female candidates. Yet, when asked to make a decision about which candidate to hire (e.g. on objective items) there is a clear preference towards leadership potential in men, yet in women there is a preference for leadership performance. This partially supports current thinking in the management literature that the allure of finding the ‘next big thing’ or spotting unrealized leadership talent is more appealing than an individual who has already proven their past performance (Massey & Thaler, 2013; Poehlman & Newman, 2014).

6.4 Study 7

Study 7 was designed to replicate and validate the findings of Studies 1-6. I introduce Management Level (junior vs. senior) as a dependent variable, to assess the specific effect of management level on the evaluation of leadership potential and leadership performance in candidates. Furthermore, I conceptually replicate Studies 5 and 6 that showed there was no significant difference between the context of hiring for a junior or senior management position in the evaluation of leadership potential in men and women.

6.4.1 Method

Participants and Design

One-hundred and sixty one participants were recruited via *Amazon MTurk*, however 11 failed the attention check and were not included in the analysis. Therefore, one hundred and fifty participants (34% male, $M_{\text{age}} = 34.04$, 82.2% employed) included and were compensated \$0.60 for taking part in the study. In Study 7 participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (Candidate Gender: male vs. female) x 2 (Leadership Quality: leadership potential vs. leadership performance) x 2 (Management Level: junior, senior) mixed factorial design, with repeated measures on the Management Level factor. As with Study 6, candidates were displayed individually but a random order to preclude any bias. Precautions were taken to ensure participants who had completed the previous studies were not included in this sample. One participant on the evaluation of Hiring and Success was considered an outlier (3 standard deviations from the mean) and deleted. Small differences in the degrees of freedom are due to missing cases.

Procedure and Materials

The procedure was identical to Study 6; participants were directed to an online survey (via *Qualtrics*) and presented with a fictitious Bloomberg article about a imagined company (Tell Inc.). Participants responded to the questionnaire in two sections, evaluating each candidate individually and then comparing all four candidates (male leadership potential, female leadership potential, male leadership performance, female leadership performance). Some changes were made to the

materials (e.g. the Bloomberg article) to highlight the level at which the participant was recruiting for:

‘In an open letter to Tell Inc. employees the CEO, Robin Metcalfe, announced that the company will be recruiting a number of junior managers throughout their operations...

‘In an open letter to Tell Inc. employees the CEO, Robin Metcalfe, announced that the company will be recruiting a number of new managers to expand and develop their senior management team.’

The CVs presented were similar to the ones used in Study 5, each CV highlighted previous work experience in the telecommunications industry (e.g. Vodafone, Verizon, Google etc.), educational background (all matched and tested on previous studies), the candidate name and contained three evaluations highlighting either the leadership performance or leadership potential. The CVs used in each condition were identical and presented in a random order to participants.

Measures

Hiring. This was measured using three items ($\alpha = .92$): “I would hire this candidate”, “This candidate would be a good appointment” and “I would employ this candidate”. Items were measured on a Likert scale and ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Success. Measures used were identical to Studies 5 and 6 ($\alpha = .94$). Items were measured on a Likert scale and ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Hiring intention. To improve the robustness of the measure I adapted measures from Studies 4 and 5 to better capture hiring intention. Hiring intention was measured across 3 items: “Which applicant would you hire?”, “Which candidate would you employ?”, “Which applicant do you think will be the best appointment” ($\alpha > .87$). Hiring intention was evaluated on a ranking measure (*1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th*).

Overall success. Overall success was measured over 3 items; “Which applicant do you think will perform better by the 5th year at Tell Inc.?” , “Which applicant do you think will be the most successful at their job?” , “Which applicant do you think will be the most successful in their career?” ($\alpha > .80$). Overall success was evaluated on a ranking measure (*1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th*).

CV evaluation: The evaluation of candidates’ CVs was identical to Study 5 and 6 and was evaluated on a ranking measure (*1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th*).

6.4.2 Results and Discussion

Means and standard errors for all measures are in Table 6.3.

Hiring. There was no main effect of Management Level, $F(1, 147) = 0.10, p = .76, \eta^2 < .01$, or Candidate Gender, $F(1, 147) = .032, p = .86, \eta^2 < .01$. As with previous studies there was a main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 147) = 4.60, p = .034, \eta^2 = .03$, candidates with leadership performance ($M = 7.79, SE = .08$) were more likely to be a better employment prospect than a candidate with leadership potential ($M = 7.58, SE = .10$).

There was a significant two-way Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 147) = 5.06, p = .015, \eta^2 = .04$. Analysis of the simple slopes revealed that female candidates with leadership performance ($M = 7.88, SE = .09$) were rated as significantly more employable than female candidates with leadership potential ($M = 7.47, SE = .12$), $F(1, 145) = 9.79, p = .002, \eta^2 = .06$. Moreover, male candidates with leadership potential ($M = 7.69, SE = .10$) were also rated as significantly more hireable than female candidates with leadership potential ($M = 7.47, SE = .12$), $F(1, 147) = 4.31, p = .04, \eta^2 = .03$. The remaining main effects were not significant $F_s < 2.79$.

Further interactions were non-significant, Leadership Quality X Management Level, $F_s(1, 147) < .54, p_s > .46, \eta^2_s < .01$.

Success. Results show that there was a significant main effect of Management Level, $F(1, 148) = 4.96, p = .028, \eta^2 = .03$, insofar that candidates applying for senior management positions ($M = 7.82, SE = .09$) were rated more highly than those applying for junior management positions ($M = 7.53, SE = .09$). The main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 148) = 2.82, p = .09, \eta^2 = .02$, and Candidate Gender, $F(1, 148) = 0.31, p = .57, \eta^2 < .01$, were non-significant.

Furthermore, no significant two-way or three-way interactions effects were found, $F_s(1, 148) < 2.99, p_s > .086, \eta_s^2 < .02$. However, the planned investigation of the simple effects revealed that in female candidates leadership performance ($M = 7.77, SE = .08$) is more valuable than leadership potential ($M = 7.54, SE = .10$), $F(1, 148) = 5.80, p = .017, \eta^2 = .04$.

Hiring intention. The main effect of Management Level, Leadership Quality, and Candidate Gender were non-significant, $F_s(1, 148) < 2.73, p_s > .10, \eta_s^2 < .02$.

Moreover there was a non-significant interaction between Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender, $F(1,148) = 2.34, p = .14, \eta^2 = .02$, Leadership Quality X Management Level, $F(1,148) = 1.62, p = .21, \eta^2 < .01$, and Candidate Gender X Management Level, $F(1,148) = 0.10, p = .75, \eta^2 < .01$.

However, there was a significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Management Level interaction, $F(1, 148) = 4.34, p = .04, \eta^2 = .03$. See Figure 6.1 for simple effects.

Overall success. There were no main effects of Management Level, Leadership Quality or Candidate Gender, $F_s(1, 148) < 1.52, p_s > .22, \eta^2 < .01$. However, as expected there was a marginal Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 148) = 3.04, p = .08, \eta^2 = .02$. The simple main effects demonstrate that men were ranked as more successful if they demonstrated leadership potential ($M = 2.41, SE = .07$) opposed to leadership performance ($M = 2.68, SE = .09$), $F(1, 148) = 4.14, p = .044, \eta^2 = .03$. Moreover, a marginally significant effect revealed that women ($M = 2.44, SE = .07$) who show leadership performance are evaluated as more successful than men ($M = 2.68, SE = .09$) who show leadership performance, $F(1, 148) = 3.60, p = .06, \eta^2 = .02$. The other expected simple main effects were not significant, $F_s < .21$.

There was no Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Management Level interaction, $F(1, 148) = 2.68, p = .10, \eta^2 = .02$.

CV evaluation. There no main effect of Management Level, $F(1, 148) = 1.00, p = .32, \eta^2 < .001$, Leadership Quality, $F(1, 148) = .07, p = .80, \eta^2 < .001$, or Candidate Gender, $F(1, 148) = .131, p = .72, \eta^2 < .001$. Moreover, no two or three-

Table 6.3

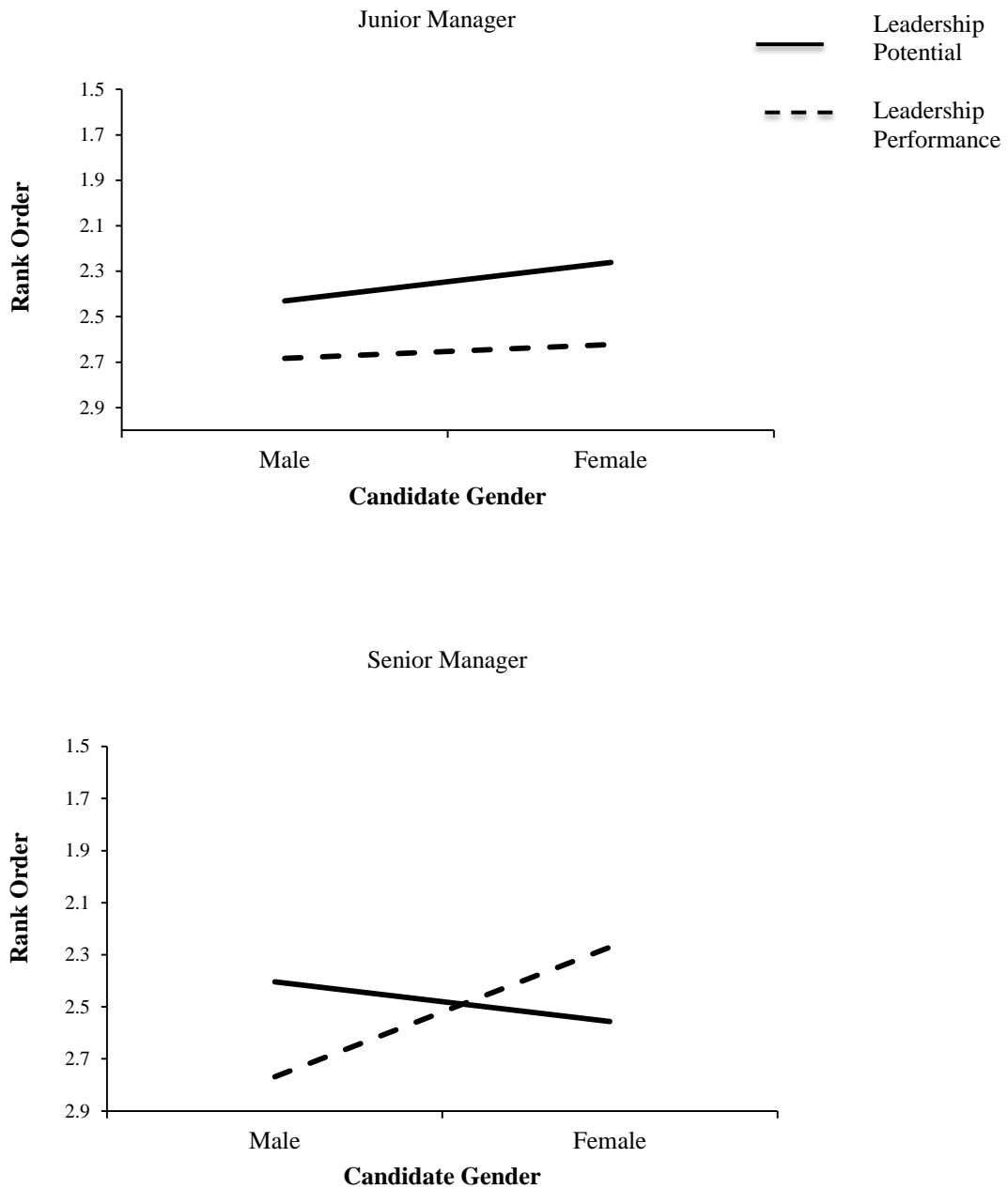
Study 7: Means and Standard Errors for Effects of Leadership Quality, Candidate Gender and Participant Gender on Dependent Variables.

Measure	Candidate Gender	Leadership Quality							
		Leadership Potential				Leadership Performance			
		Junior Manager		Senior Manager		Junior Manager		Senior Manager	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
Hiring	Male	7.69	0.14	7.68	0.14	7.41	0.17	7.54	0.18
	Female	7.41	0.17	7.68	0.16	7.86	0.13	7.90	0.13
Success	Male	7.56	0.11	7.82	0.12	7.52	0.13	7.87	0.13
	Female	7.34	0.14	7.74	0.14	7.69	0.12	7.85	0.12
Hiring Intention	Male	2.43	0.10	2.40	0.10	2.68	0.14	2.77	0.14
	Female	2.26	0.12	2.56	0.12	2.62	0.11	2.27	0.11
Overall Success	Male	2.44	0.10	2.39	0.10	2.72	0.13	2.65	0.13
	Female	2.29	0.13	2.64	0.13	2.55	0.10	2.33	0.10
CV Evaluation	Male	2.35	0.10	2.35	0.10	2.53	0.12	2.69	0.12
	Female	2.57	0.15	2.67	0.15	2.54	0.10	2.29	0.10

NB: Evaluations of Manipulation, Hiring and Success = is measured on a 9-point scale, where 9 is the most favorable. Hiring Intention, Overall Success and CV Evaluation is measured on a 4 point ranking scale, where lower scores are more positive evaluations

Figure 6.1

Study 7: Simple Main Effects of Leadership Quality, Candidate Gender and Management Level on Objective Hiring Intentions.



way no interaction effects were found with Management Level, $F_s(1, 148) < 2.34$, $p_s > .17$, $\eta^2_s < .01$.

However, there was a significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 148) = 6.60$, $p = .011$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Analysis of the simple main effects show that leadership potential was ranked marginally more highly in male candidates ($M = 2.35$, $SE = .07$) than leadership performance ($M = 2.61$, $SE = .09$), $F(1, 148) = 3.31$, $p = .071$, $\eta^2 = .02$. The difference between leadership performance ($M = 2.42$, $SE = .07$) and leadership potential ($M = 2.62$, $SE = .10$) in female candidates was non-significant, $F(1, 148) = 2.23$, $p = .14$, $\eta^2 = .02$. Leadership potential is ranked as significantly more highly on male CVs ($M = 2.35$, $SE = .07$) than female CVs ($M = 2.62$, $SE = .10$), $F(1, 148) = 4.70$, $p = .032$, $\eta^2 = .03$. There was a non-significant difference between male ($M = 2.61$, $SE = .09$) and female ($M = 2.42$, $SE = .07$) CVs that demonstrated leadership performance, $F(1, 148) = 2.05$, $p = .15$, $\eta^2 < .01$.

Study 7 replicates findings from my previous studies; male candidates who establish their leadership potential are considered to be *more* valuable and *more* successful than male candidates with leadership potential and female candidates with leadership performance are considered to be more hireable and successful than female candidates with leadership potential. Moreover, male candidates with leadership potential are evaluated more positively than female candidates with leadership potential on hiring and success, and female candidates with leadership performance are evaluated as more hireable and successful than male candidates with leadership performance. However, it should be noted that although a similar rank pattern was replicated in CV evaluation for the first time not all of the simple main effects were significant.

This is highly problematic in applied hiring situations, as this study shows overall leadership potential is more valuable, however, when it is associated with women its value is significantly diminished and leadership performance history is more beneficial. Yet, if people intrinsically prefer leadership potential and it is actively being promoted within organizations (e.g. Talent Management Systems) it is likely that the preference for potential in male candidates is a significant hurdle in female career progression. Moreover, this pattern was observed regardless of whether candidates were applying for a senior or junior management role. In other words, the importance of the relationship between gender and leadership potential emerges irrespective of the hiring context.

Although overall Management Level did not make a significant impact on the outcome of hiring decisions, there was an interesting Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Management Level significant interaction on objective hiring intentions. In so far that, leadership potential was considered to be the most valuable trait in both male and female candidates at junior management levels. However, when hiring for more senior leadership roles leadership potential is still beneficial but only for male candidates, whereas women must prove their previous performance history.

This supports current evidence that women are well-represented at lower-level management positions, however, when looking further up the career ladder female representation is highly limited (CMI, 2013; DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2013; European Union, 2014). Moreover, this backs findings that when women are looking to capitalize on senior leadership opportunities they are promoted less, hired less and offered fewer development opportunities (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Rudman & Glick, 1999; Uhlmann & Cohen, 2005).

Study 7 is consistent with my hypothesis and suggests that leadership potential is preferable in male candidates regardless of the level of management. Indeed, only one of the Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Management Level three-way ANOVAs was significant and the remainder interactions were non-significant. Whilst the Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interactions on the objective measures continue to support of line of research proposing a significant between the value of leadership potential and gender.

However, it should be noted that on the subjective measure of hiring and success, where there had previously been a significant main effect of Leadership Quality, there was no significant effect. Yet, importantly, when examining the relationship between Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender on subjective measures of hiring, there was a preference for leadership potential over leadership performance in male candidates, and a preference for leadership performance over leadership potential in female candidates. This adds further weight to the research in this thesis that proposes there is a bias towards leadership potential in male candidates and leadership performance in female candidates.

6.5 General Discussion

These studies examined how individuals evaluated leadership potential and leadership performance in men and women when hiring for junior and senior management positions. I predicted that overall, there would be no effect of Management Level (junior, senior) on the evaluation of Leadership Quality (leadership potential, leadership performance). In addition, I hypothesized that

regardless of the seniority of the position being recruited there would be a preference for leadership potential over leadership performance in male candidates, and leadership performance over leadership potential in female candidates. Moreover, in these studies I considered the role of Participant Gender, predicting that there would be no Candidate Gender X Participant Gender interaction on the evaluation of candidates and that any Management Level X Candidate Gender interaction would also be unrelated to the gender of the participant. Across three studies, involving participants from multiple countries and using two different paradigms, results supported my hypotheses.

Across Studies 4-7 the empirical evidence has focused on two main predictions, the results of which can be summarized meta-analytically using objective measures of Overall Success. First, leadership potential is valued over leadership performance in male candidates. The meta-analytic Z (weighted by sample size = 502) = 13.38, mean $R^2 = 1.28$, $p < .001$. Second, leadership potential is valued less than leadership performance in female candidates. The meta-analytic Z (weighted by sample size = 502) = -7.16, $R^2 = -.63$, $p < .001$.

This confirms the most consistent finding throughout these studies, regardless of management level and participant gender, is the relationship between leadership potential and candidate gender. On objective (e.g. ranking) measures, every study has found that male candidates with leadership potential are the most desirable applicant. They are judged to be a more successful employment prospect both in terms of future performance and their career credentials (e.g. Overall Success). Whilst leadership potential is advantageous for men, leadership performance is the most beneficial trait for women. Moreover, these findings are further supported in Studies 6 and 7 where

significant bias towards leadership potential in male candidates and leadership performance in female candidates was also found on subjective measures.

These findings are consistent with the idea that leadership traits and leadership positions are more aligned with men than with women (Biernat, 2003; Blau & Devaro, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Rudman & Glick, 2001). These data suggests that it is likely the majority of the characteristic traits and factors associated with leadership potential are masculine in nature and the traits associated with leadership performance may be more feminine. For instance, female leadership includes more interpersonal and communal qualities, whereas male leadership reflects a more agentic and autocratic style (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). Unsurprisingly, the attributes consistent with leadership potential do not deviate from this norm (see Chapter 2 for overview). However, to understand exactly which traits are associated with leadership potential and leadership performance is a task for future research opportunity. Prospective research should focus on the differences between the stereotypical associations and individual level factors that influence the evaluations of gender and leadership qualities.

Another interesting feature of these findings is that overall the role of seniority in the hiring process did not have a significant effect. Importantly, the Management Level X Candidate Gender interaction was present regardless of the leadership roles that candidates were being recruited into. However, in Study 7 there was an interesting Management Level X Candidate Gender X Participant Gender interaction which suggests that leadership potential is equally beneficial to candidates in the earlier stages of their career, however when pursuing more senior positions leadership potential becomes an advantage for men alone.

Indeed, this pattern mimics current leadership patterns where women overpopulate lower level management, yet fail to progress into the upper echelons of leadership (Catalyst, 2014; Elacqua, Beehr, Hansen, & Webster, 2009; Ibarra, Ely, & Kolb, 2013; Powell, 2011; United Nations Development Programme, 2008). However, in order to further understand the role of management level more experimental research would be required. Future research should examine the hiring context, the level of different leadership positions as well as the wider group norms, such as working environments that are typically masculine or feminine.

Study 5 explored the role of participant gender in the evaluation of leadership potential and candidate gender. Whilst, there was some indication that women were more likely to support other women with leadership performance these results were not consistent across the remaining measures. This supports the hypothesis that participant gender will not affect the evaluation of leadership potential or leadership performance in male and female candidates.

Moreover, the results are in line with other leadership research that suggests the masculine stereotypes associated with leadership are more robust and powerful than possible gender in-group bias (Davison & Burke, 2000; Gorman, 2005; Jones et al., 2013; Simmons, 2001). Nonetheless, there may be situations in which gender in-group bias is highly prominent (Derks, Ellemers, van Laar, & de Groot, 2011) and future research should address more extensively the boundaries of this relationship in leadership.

6.5.1 Future Directions and Conclusion

The studies in this chapter are the first to experimentally test the relationship between candidate gender and leadership potential. Whilst leadership potential is generally considered to be more valuable, the key finding is that when making objective hiring decisions this value is only applicable to male candidates. In line with current evidence on stereotypes and leadership, it is likely that when faced with a choice between leadership potential and leadership performance in men and women the congruence between masculinity and leadership potential is more powerful than between masculinity and leadership performance. Consequently men with leadership potential become the most favorably choice for leadership roles.

This set of studies opens up a number of interesting research questions about the context in which the relationship between leadership qualities and gender exists. In particular, future research should examine how different organizational contexts that are traditionally associated with specific genders (e.g. nursing vs. construction).

In the next chapter, I explore whether group contexts traditionally believed to be masculine or feminine influence the perception of leadership potential and leadership performance in men and women. On one hand, these studies have established a highly robust and consistent relationship between leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential and leadership performance) and gender. However, it may be that when the organizational norm is highly correlated with a certain gender the value of leadership potential and leadership performance in both men and women shifts. These questions are addressed in two studies in Chapter 7.

**Chapter Seven: Masculine and Feminine Workplace Domains – Does Context
Affect the Perception of Leadership Potential in Men and Women?**

Across two studies ($Ns = 139, 116$) Chapter 7 investigates the evaluation and selection of leadership candidates in masculine and feminine workplace domains. First, this chapter, Study 8 considers how leadership potential and leadership performance are evaluated in leadership candidates across four different working environments. Second, Study 9 starts to investigate the underlying psychological process behind the evaluation of leadership potential as a function of gender. Studies 8 and 9 show that in masculine working environments the value of leadership potential, particularly in male candidates, remains advantageous. Whilst in feminine working environments leadership performance is more valuable and the benefit of leadership potential is neutralized. In addition, Study 9 finds that gender stereotypes are the most congruent with female candidates displaying leadership performance. Implications and future directions are discussed.

7.1 Theoretical Background

In this chapter, I investigate how the evaluation of leadership qualities (leadership potential vs. leadership performance) is affected by masculine and feminine work domains. Furthermore, I begin to test additional aspects of the conceptual framework (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.1) by introducing state-level factors (e.g. gender stereotypes) that could influence the relationship between leadership quality and candidate selection.

Further understanding of how the gender typing of industries influences the expectations of male and female leaders can help to improve career progression of both men and women and ultimately influence organizational performance. Consequently, it is helpful to establish whether there is any bias toward leadership potential or leadership performance in different working environments, and how this relates to candidate gender. Whilst the relationship between gender and gender segregation in certain occupations has been extensively researched (Cabera et al., 2008; Eagly et al., 2000; Eagly & Karau 2002; Garcia-Retamero, & López-Zafra, 2006), there is currently no empirical evidence considering how gender typical working environments might influence the evaluation of leadership potential or leadership performance in men and women.

Furthermore, I examine how gender and leadership qualities are related to gender stereotypes. As I discussed in Chapter 1 it has been theoretically, empirically and experimentally established that a dependence on stereotypes is key in the persistent gender inequity found in leadership (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman & Eagly, 2008). Such that, the characteristic traits valued in leaders are typically

masculine, which leaves women at a disadvantage as they often automatically associated with feminine traits which are incongruent with leadership roles (Eagly, 2007). However, it is currently unknown how stereotypical perceptions are influenced by the presence of leadership potential and leadership performance.

Study 8 investigates how men and women leadership potential or leadership performance are evaluated in two highly gendered working contexts (third sector vs. finance). Study 9 replicates the design of Study 8 using different working contexts (nursing vs. construction) and examines how gender stereotypes are related to the evaluation and selection of leadership candidates. Both studies explore hiring intention in the pursuit of leadership positions.

7.1.1 Masculine and Feminine Workplaces

In most working environments women's access to leadership positions is not equal to that of men's (Eagly, 2004; Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006; Jacobs, 1999). As I have discussed earlier in this thesis (see Chapter 1 for an extensive overview), characteristics typical of those expected in leaders are also typical of those expected in men (see Eagly & Karau, 2002). As a result men compose a significant proportion of roles associated with authority and power (Women's Business Council, 2013) and are therefore highly visible in senior leadership roles whilst women dominate lower-level management positions (Catalyst, 2009; 2012; Lyness & Heilman, 2006).

Workplace gender segregation has been widely documented across industries, occupation, management level, and sectors (Acker, 1999; Cabera, Sauer, & Thomas-Hunt, 2008; for review see Reskin, 1993). Women over populate roles more

stereotypically associated with feminine traits (e.g. care-giving roles) and men overpopulate roles related with masculine traits (e.g. construction) (Cabera, et al., 2008; Eagly et al., 2000; Eagly & Karau 2002; Garcia-Retamero, & López-Zafra, 2006). As a result, gender typical workplaces are over-populated by the relevant gender group (Hakim, 2000). For instance, nursing was the most common profession occupation for women (ONS, 2013) in the UK, 92% of nurses are female (NHS, 2014), whereas, men account for 89% of the construction workforce (UCATT, 2015).

According to Eagly and Karau's (2002) *role congruity theory* the prejudice women face is due to the incongruence of their gender stereotype with the stereotypical characteristics associated with certain occupational roles and leadership. The communal characteristics (affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic) ascribed to women, contrast those agentic traits (assertive, controlling, confident) stereotypically ascribed to men. *Role congruity theory* argues that women's gender stereotype is incongruent with a masculine occupational ideal whereas men's gender stereotype succeeds in congruity. Certain occupation roles are often assumed to be masculine (e.g. leader, builder, computer software) requiring agentic attributes such as ambition, strength and assertiveness (Madera et al., 2009). Therefore, attitudes to women occupying masculine-type roles are less positive than those towards males (Eagly & Karau, 2002). However, the prejudice against women varies dependent upon the level on incongruity between the leadership role and feminine gender role (Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006; Heilman, 2001).

The system of associating gender stereotypes to occupation roles results in certain jobs and industries becoming both descriptively and prescriptively appropriate for either men or women (Cabera et al., 2008; Eagly & Karau 2002; Heilman, 2001).

Therefore, when individuals occupy gender typical jobs (e.g. women in nursing, men in construction) they are more positively evaluated (Cabera et al., 2008; Davison & Burke, 2000; Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006; Lyness & Heilman, 2006).

In an experimental study Garcia-Retamero and López-Zafra (2006) found that women were more negatively evaluated when being considered for a position incongruent with their gender role (leader in a car manufacturing company). In a separate study, Cabera and colleagues (2008) found that performance expectations were higher when the leader's gender was congruent with the industry's gender typing (e.g. men for private equity firms). This finding was consistent across both men and women.

In light of these studies, what is currently unknown is how the selection of leadership candidates (male or female), with certain leadership qualities (leadership potential, leadership performance), changes when the context of the hiring situation is either masculine or feminine. Based on the results from our previous studies it is possible that in a masculinized context leadership potential becomes even more valuable, and that, in a feminized working environment is leadership performance preferable. Moreover, how might these evaluations of leadership potential and leadership performance be further moderated by candidate gender?

7.1.2 The Glass Escalator

Despite the general dominance of women in feminine working environments (e.g. social care, nursing, teaching, art) men still occupy the majority of leadership positions in these professions - a phenomenon known as the *glass escalator* (Williams, 1992). In so far that men in female dominated professions experience an

accelerated upward mobility toward leadership roles that is not applicable to women in male dominated workplaces (McMurry, 2011; Williams, 1992). In other words, men monopolize senior leadership positions in traditionally female professions despite the incongruence between men and feminine stereotypes (Simpson, 2004). For instance, although women make up over 90% of nurses, male nurses are more likely to earn a higher salary than female nurses (Muench, Sindelar, Busch, & Buerhaus, 2015) and male nurses are twice as likely to occupy management positions (Nursing Times, 2010). Moreover, research has found that men receive preferential promotion and hiring opportunities in gender atypical working environments (Berkery, Tiernan, & Morley, 2014; McMurry, 2011; Williams, 1993).

The glass escalator is a benefit exclusive to men. Women who have roles in masculine professions (e.g. manufacturing, construction, private equity, technology) or pursue typically masculine roles (e.g. leadership) report the opposite effect, and rather than a glass escalator women face a *glass ceiling* (see Barreto et al., 2009; Maume, 1999; Wall Street Journal, 1986). Extensive research has highlighted that women face a significant number of barriers on the pathway to leadership positions and these hinder gender equity in management (for overviews see Barreto et al, 2009; Bruckmüller, Ryan, Haslam, & Peters, 2013; Eagly & Carli, 2007). Moreover, these pathways are especially precarious and challenging because women do not match the masculine stereotypes typically associated with many professions and leadership positions (Eagly & Carli, 2007).

Overall, the research demonstrates that men have a prominent advantage over women on the pathway to leadership positions, regardless of the occupational context. However, what is yet unknown is how the perception of leadership potential and

leadership performance is influenced by gender typical working environments.

Furthermore, there is no evidence on how the perception of leadership qualities (like potential and performance) might change according to the context in which they are being evaluated.

7.1.3 Agentic and Communal Stereotypes

When individuals challenge gender roles, they can suffer consequences that undermine and de-value their social and financial status (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). In a study of high-level leaders (60% multi-millionaires or millionaires, 59.3% female) the majority of male and female participants acknowledged that traditional gender-role expectations and sexism issues were still a substantial issue on the pathway to leadership (Burke & Attridge, 2011). Moreover, the differences in the beliefs, judgments and expectations of men and women in leadership positions are largely attributed to gender stereotypes (Caleo & Heilman, 2013). For instance, agentic stereotypes are more readily associated with men, whereas communal stereotypes are believed to be more typical of women (Levinson & Young, 2010; Spence & Buckner, 2000).

However, it might be that in the relationship between candidate gender, leadership potential and hiring outcomes, gender stereotypes are not a key factor. For example, it could be that the stereotypes associated with leadership potential and gender are more specific than typical agentic and communal stereotypes. Moreover, it might be that other state-level factors (e.g. status, identity) are more influential than gender stereotypes.

In Chapter 3 I presented a conceptual framework of my research and the theoretical paradigms used to guide this research. One of the most prominent individual level factors discussed in this thesis is the mediating role of gender stereotypes on the evaluation and selection of leaders based on potential and performance. In this thesis Studies 1-7 have consistently demonstrated that leadership potential is preferred in male candidates, whereas leadership performance is preferred in female candidates. Considering this persistent relationship, and the available evidence on leadership and gender stereotypes, it is likely that leadership potential could be more associated with masculine agentic traits, whereas leadership performance is more associated with feminine communal traits. I pursue this further in this Chapter.

7.1.4 Overview of Studies and Hypotheses

In the case of leadership evaluation breaching the masculine norm, I have already shown that in this situation leadership potential is more valuable in men and previous leadership performance is more valuable in women (Studies 4-7). Therefore in this chapter I extend my current thinking on gender and leadership potential by examining judgments of leadership characteristics (potential and performance) in different working contexts (Studies 8 and 9).

In Studies 8 and 9, I examine the evaluation of leadership potential and gender in gender typical working environments. No research to date has investigated how individuals evaluate male and female candidates with either leadership potential or leadership performance in gender typical occupations. I predict that participants will value leadership potential over leadership performance in masculine typed contexts.

Moreover, the reverse will be true in feminine typed contexts where leadership performance will become more valuable than leadership potential.

H1: Leadership potential will be evaluated more positively in masculine working domains.

H2: Leadership performance will be evaluated more positively in feminine working domains.

In contrast to the expectations about the value of leadership potential and leadership performance in difference working contexts, a different hypothesis emerges from the evidence on gender stereotypes and leadership (e.g. Baretto et al, 2009; Bruckmüller et al., 2013; Eagly & Carli, 2007). In this thesis I have established a clear preference for potential in male candidates and performance in female candidates; therefore, it is possible that these preferences will be transferred accordingly to feminine or masculine of working contexts. Evidence has confirmed a preference for male leaders in masculine-typed domains (e.g. Lyness & Heilman, 2006).

H3(i): Leadership potential will be valued more highly than leadership performance in male candidates in masculine working environments.

H3(ii): Leadership performance will be valued more highly than leadership potential in female candidates in masculine working environments.

H4(i): Leadership potential will be valued more highly in male candidates than female candidates in masculine working environments.

H4(ii): Leadership performance will be valued more highly in female candidates than male in masculine working environments.

However, the evidence on male leaders in feminine typed contexts is more complex. For example, it might be that candidates are more positively evaluated when they are more representative of the occupation (Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006). Or, on the other hand, it could be that the congruence between leadership and men is more powerful than the gender typing of the working environment (e.g. Berkery et al., 2014 Muench et al., 2015). However, most evidence supports the *glass escalator* effect (Williams, 1992), which suggests that men will be more favorably evaluated in the pursuit of leadership positions in gender incongruent environments.

H5(i): Leadership potential will be valued more highly than leadership performance in male candidates in feminine working environments.

H5(ii): Leadership performance will be valued more highly than leadership potential in female candidates in feminine working environments.

H6(i): Leadership potential will be valued more highly in male candidates than female candidates in feminine working environments.

H6(ii): Leadership performance will be valued more highly in female candidates than male in feminine working environments.

Furthermore, in Study 9 I start to explore the relationship between leadership selection and evaluation, and leadership potential, performance and gender by

introducing measures on agentic and communal traits. I expect more communal traits to be associated with female candidates and more agentic traits to be associated with male candidates. Moreover it might be that agentic items are more aligned with leadership potential and communal items are more aligned with leadership performance (e.g. Green et al., 2009; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012). However, what is currently unclear is the extent to which stereotypical judgments is explicitly associated with leadership qualities (leadership potential, leadership performance) and candidate gender.

7.2 Study 8

Study 8 tests whether candidates with leadership potential and leadership performance will be evaluated differently in masculine and feminine workplace contexts. In order to do this I selected one gender typical working environment that is dominated by women (third sector) and one working environment typically associated with men (finance). I chose these two working environments as although women account for 50% (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2009) of the roles in the finance industry, men account for 82.3% of senior-level positions (Catalyst, 2014). Whereas in the third sector women account for 66% of the working population (NCVO, 2014).

It is important to further test the Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender relationship in broader workplace environments, as it will inform the extent to which the perception of leadership traits (e.g. potential and performance) vary depending on

the context. Moreover, examining this in masculine and feminine workplace enables further understanding career advancement barriers.

7.2.1 Method

Participants and Design

One-hundred and seventy four participants were recruited via *Amazon MTurk*, however 35 failed the attention check and were not included in the analysis. Therefore, one hundred and thirty nine participants (75 male, $M_{age} = 36.08$, $SD = 11.47$, 76.7% in employment) were included and the sample included participants from 12 different countries, including the USA (44.6%), UK (23.7%), Canada (23.7%), India (1.4%) and Venezuela (1.4%). Participants were compensated \$0.86 for completing the study.

Procedure and Materials

Data was collected using *CrowdFlower* and *Qualtrics*. In Study 8 participants read a replica news article on either a charity (CARE International) or a financial company (United Bank Group) (see Appendix B: Workplace Context Conditions_Finance & Charity), explaining that the organization was expanding and as part of that growth they were recruiting “new managers”.

As with previous studies, following the news articles participants were asked to form part of a hiring panel responsible for the selection of the new manager. Participants were then asked to evaluate four CVs (male candidate with leadership potential, male candidate with leadership performance, female candidate with leadership potential, female candidate with leadership performance) (See Appendix

B: Finance & Charity CV). As with the previous studies leadership potential and leadership performance were manipulated to highlight either previous achievements or possible future achievements using a score on leadership achievement and leadership potential. This was accompanied by a quote from the panel highlighting either the candidates' leadership potential or leadership performance. All information was counter-balanced to ensure equality between candidate information.

Measures

Manipulation check. A manipulation check was included to ensure that the two workplace contexts were considered to be masculine or feminine. Participants were asked 'to what extent do you think United Bank Limited [CARE International] is...' on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = *very masculine*, 5 = *neutral*, 9 = *very feminine*).

Hiring. Hiring was measured across three items ($\alpha = .93$): "I would hire this candidate", "this candidate would be a good appointment" and "I would employ this candidate". Items were measured on a Likert scale and ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Success. Items used were identical to Studies 5-7 ($\alpha = .95$). Items were measured on a Likert scale and ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Hiring intention. Hiring intention was measured across three items; "which applicant would you hire?", "which applicant would you employ?" and, "overall, who do you think is the best candidate?". Participants were asked to directly compare and rank each candidate (*1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th*).

Overall success. Overall success was measured over three items; “which applicant do you think will be the most successful at their job?”, “which applicant do you think will be the most successful in their career?” and “which applicant do you think will perform the best by the 5th year?”. Participants were asked to directly compare and rank each candidate (1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th).

CV evaluation. The CV evaluation replicated Studies 5-8. Participants were asked to directly compare and rank each candidate (1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th).

7.2.2 Results

Manipulation check. The manipulation check showed that participants evaluated the female context (CARE International) to be feminine, as highlighted by a score significantly above the midpoint of 5 ($M = 6.35$, $SE = .11$), $t(68) = 11.95$, $p < .001$. Unexpectedly, the masculine context was also rated as being more feminine than masculine, with a score also significantly above the midpoint of 5 ($M = 5.41$, $SE = .19$), $t(69) = 2.16$, $p = .034$. Further analysis revealed that the masculine context was rated as significantly less feminine than the feminine context, $t(137) = -4.19$, $p < .001$.

Repeated measures ANOVA on each measure was used, with Leadership Quality (leadership potential, leadership performance) and Candidate Gender (male, female) as the within-participants factors and Context (masculine vs. feminine) as the between-participants factor. One participant on measures of Hiring and Success was an outlier (3 standard deviations from the mean) and excluded. Degrees of freedom differ slightly for different dependent variables owing to missing data. Means and standard errors are in Table 7.1.

Hiring. The main effects of Context, $F(1, 136) = 1.20, p = .28, \eta^2 = .01$, and Leadership Quality, $F(1, 136) = 1.34, p = .072, \eta^2 = < .01$, were non-significant. There was a significant main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 136) = 6.62, p = .011, \eta^2 = .005$, with female candidates ($M = 7.50, SE = .10$) evaluated as more hireable overall than male candidates ($M = 7.33, SE = .10$). The Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender, $F(1, 136) = 3.56, p = .072, \eta^2 = .02$, and Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Context, $F(1, 136) = 1.98, p = .161, \eta^2 = .01$, interactions were non-significant.

Success. The main effects of Context, $F(1, 136) = 0.01, p = .92, \eta^2 = < .001$, and Candidate Gender, $F(1, 136) = 0.04, p = .84, \eta^2 = < .001$, was non-significant. However, there was a significant main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 136) = 8.60, p = .005, \eta^2 = .06$. Participants rated candidates with leadership performance ($M = 7.46, SE = .09$) as more likely to succeed over candidates with leadership potential ($M = 7.22, SE = .10$).

There was a significant Candidate Gender X Context interaction, $F(1, 136) = 7.44, p = .004, \eta^2 = < .001$. In the feminine condition (charity) candidates with leadership performance are rated as more likely to succeed ($M = 7.56, SE = .13$) than those with leadership potential ($M = 7.09, SE = .14$), $F(1, 136) = 16.03, p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$. The remaining main effects were non-significant, $F_s < 1.61$. Furthermore, the additional interaction effects were non-significant, $F_s(1, 136) < .92, p_s > .34, \eta_s^2 > .01$.

Hiring intention. All main effects were non-significant, $F_s(1, 137) < 2.36, p_s > .13, \eta_s^2 < .02$. There was a significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 137) = 3.87, p = .05, \eta^2 = .03$. An examination of the simple main

effects show male candidates with leadership potential ($M = 2.42$, $SE = .08$) were ranked higher than male candidates with leadership performance ($M = 2.71$, $SE = .09$), $F(1, 137) = 3.96$, $p = .049$, $\eta^2 = .03$. The difference between female candidates with leadership potential and leadership performance was non-significant, $F(1, 137) = 0.39$, $p = .53$, $\eta^2 < .01$. There expected simple main effect of male candidates with leadership potential being ranked more highly than female candidates was non-significant, $F(1, 137) = 0.21$, $p = .65$, $\eta^2 < .01$. However, there was a significant simple main effect of female candidates with leadership performance ($M = 2.39$, $SE = .08$) being ranked significantly more highly than male candidates leadership performance ($M = 2.71$, $SE = .09$), $F(1, 137) = 5.64$, $p = .019$, $\eta^2 = .04$.

There were no significant interactions of Leadership Quality X Context, $F(1, 137) = 0.01$, $p = .94$, $\eta^2 < .01$, Candidate Gender X Context, $F(1, 137) = 3.63$, $p = .06$, $\eta^2 = .03$, or Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Context, $F(1, 137) = 1.27$, $p = .26$, $\eta^2 = .01$.

Overall success. There was a significant main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 137) = 4.37$, $p = .039$, $\eta^2 = .03$, in so far that women ($M = 2.42$, $SE = .04$) were ranked higher overall than men ($M = 2.59$, $SE = .04$). The main effect of both Context and Leadership Quality was non-significant, $F_s(1, 137) < 1.71$, $ps > .19$, $\eta_s^2 < .01$. There was the expected interaction effect of Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender, $F(1, 137) = 6.91$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .05$. The simple main effects revealed that leadership potential ($M = 2.39$, $SE = .07$) in was ranked more highly than leadership performance ($M = 2.78$, $SE = .09$) in male candidates, $F(1, 137) = 7.89$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .05$. The predicted simple main effect of leadership performance being ranked more highly than leadership potential in female candidates was non-significant, $F(1, 137) = 0.69$,

Table 7.1

Study 8: Means and Standard Errors (in Parentheses) for Effects of Leadership Quality, Candidate Gender and Organizational Context on Dependent Variables.

	Context	Leadership Quality			
		Leadership Potential		Leadership Performance	
		Male Candidate (SE)	Female Candidate (SE)	Male Candidate (SE)	Female Candidate (SE)
Hiring	Masculine	7.27 (0.18)	7.49 (0.14)	7.25 (0.17)	7.34 (0.16)
	Feminine	7.14 (0.18)	7.67 (0.14)	7.66 (0.17)	7.67 (0.16)
Success	Masculine	7.30 (0.16)	7.37 (0.16)	7.30 (0.15)	7.41 (0.14)
	Feminine	7.12 (0.16)	7.08 (0.16)	7.61 (0.15)	7.51 (0.14)
Hiring Intention	Masculine	2.39 (0.10)	2.52 (0.13)	2.73 (0.13)	2.36 (0.12)
	Feminine	2.46 (0.11)	2.44 (0.13)	2.69 (0.13)	2.42 (0.12)
Overall Success	Masculine	2.44 (0.10)	2.47 (0.12)	2.80 (0.12)	2.78 (0.12)
	Feminine	2.34 (0.11)	2.48 (0.12)	2.75 (0.12)	2.44 (0.12)
CV Evaluation	Masculine	2.49 (0.11)	2.54 (0.12)	2.81 (0.13)	2.15 (0.12)
	Feminine	2.48 (0.11)	2.64 (0.12)	2.50 (0.13)	2.38 (0.12)

NB: Evaluations of Manipulation, Hiring and Success is measured on a 9-point scale, where 9 is the most favorable. Hiring Intention, Overall Success and CV Evaluation is measured on a 4 point ranking scale, where lower scores are more positive evaluations

$p = .40, \eta^2 < .01$. The expected simple main effect for the preference for leadership potential in male candidates over female candidates was non-significant, $F(1, 137) = 0.52, p = .47, \eta^2 < .01$. The simple main effect for the preference for leadership performance in female candidates ($M = 2.35, SE = .08$) over male candidates ($M = 2.78, SE = .09$) was significant, $F(1, 137) = 9.90, p = .002, \eta^2 = .07$.

Other interaction effects were not significant, $F_s(1, 137) < 1.04, p_s > .31, \eta_s^2 < .01$, see Table 7.1 for means and standard errors.

CV evaluation. There were no significant main effects of Leadership Quality, Candidate Gender or Context, $F_s(1, 137) < 2.73, p_s > .10, \eta_s^2 < .02$. There was a significant two-way interaction of Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender, $F(1, 137) = 6.46, p = .012, \eta^2 = .05$.

An investigation of the simple main effects revealed that male candidates with leadership potential were not ranked significantly more highly than male candidates with leadership performance, $F(1, 137) = 1.28, p = .36, \eta^2 < .051$. Female candidates with leadership performance ($M = 2.27, SE = .08$) was significantly better evaluated than female candidates with leadership potential ($M = 2.59, SE = .09$) in the evaluation of CVs, $F(1, 137) = 4.98, p = .027, \eta^2 = .04$. Furthermore, the predicted preference for leadership potential in male candidates over female candidates was non-significant, $F(1, 137) = 0.75, p = .38, \eta^2 < .01$. Leadership performance was more valuable in female candidates ($M = 2.27, SE = .08$) than in male candidates ($M = 2.66, SE = .09$), $F(1, 137) = 7.92, p = .006, \eta^2 = .06$.

The Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Context three-way interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 137) = 1.27, p = .262, \eta^2 < .01$. See Table 7.1 for means and standard errors.

In addition there was a marginally significant Candidate Gender X Context interaction, $F(1, 137) = 3.63, p = .059, \eta^2 = .03$. Planned analysis of the simple main effects shows that female CVs ($M = 2.35, SE = .06$) were ranked as significantly more impressive than male CVs ($M = 2.65, SE = .06$) in the masculine condition (finance), $F(1, 137) = 6.38, p = .013, \eta^2 = .04$. The remaining simple main effects were not significant $F_s < .30$.

Other interaction effects were not significant, $F_s(1, 137) < 1.67, p_s > .26, \eta_s^2 < .01$.

7.2.3 Discussion

Study 8 reflects a similar pattern seen in previous experiments (Studies 4-7), in that participants subjectively value previous leadership performance over future potential. However, on actual hiring decisions the results re-confirm the advantage of leadership potential in male candidates and the value of previous leadership performance in female candidates, regardless of the context. In so far that men who demonstrate leadership potential are the most likely to be hired and the most likely to be perceived as successful in both masculine and feminine environments. Moreover, women need to continue to advertise their previous leadership achievements in order to improve their chances of being hired. However, the consistency of the support for the hypothesis that there would be a preference for leadership potential over leadership performance in men, and visa-versa in women, was not as substantial as in previous studies. Similar inconsistencies were also exposed in the predicted preference for leadership potential in male candidates over female candidates and the preference for leadership performance in female candidates over male candidates.

Although the three-way interactions were non-significant the change in the level of significance of the results suggests that organizational context could have an important role. A next step in Study 9 is to extend the research more into organizational context.

I also hypothesized that the strength of preference towards either leadership potential or leadership performance would vary depending on the type of working environment. Overall Study 8 does not reflect the significant differences between the masculine and feminine contexts. This could be because whilst the conditions were considered to be significantly different from each other on the manipulation check, they were both still considered to be more feminine than masculine ($M_s = 5.41, 6.35$) by participants. Therefore, as both contexts were considered to be relatively feminine it is possible that the effects I hypothesized were diluted.

However, in partial support of my hypothesis, the subjective measures reveal an overall preference for leadership performance in the feminine conditions, $F_s > 7.31$, regardless of candidate gender. The overall more feminine context of Study 8, across both conditions, also reveals that female candidates are evaluated more favorably than male candidates on both subjective and ranking measures. Moreover, the value of leadership performance in women was also more advantageous. Interestingly, for the first time in this thesis and regardless of the workplace context, on the subjective measure of success leadership performance was rated more highly than leadership potential in male candidates. Considering these findings, it might be that in workplace contexts evaluated as more feminine, leadership performance is more valuable. This extends the research in this thesis by suggesting that the type of

working environment could also influence the evaluation of leadership potential and leadership performance. However, further exploration of these findings is required.

7.3 Study 9

In Study 9 I explore the role of workplace context further by introducing contexts that are typically considered highly feminine (e.g. nursing) and highly masculine (e.g. construction) (see Simpson, 2004; Watts, 2009).

Furthermore, in Study 9 I investigate the state-level factors component of my conceptual framework (see Chapter 3). I propose that certain individual level factors (e.g. gender stereotypes, status etc.) have a mediating role in the evaluation and selection of leadership candidates. Study 9 examines the role of explicit gender stereotypes in the evaluation and selection of male and female candidates with leadership performance and leadership potential. Women receive higher ratings for leadership performance based qualities, and on qualities related more to leadership potential men receive more favorable ratings (Green et al., 2009; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012). Therefore, as I proposed in my conceptual framework, it might be that certain gender stereotypes are also associated with male candidates with leadership potential (e.g. agentic stereotypes) and female candidates with leadership performance (e.g. communal stereotypes).

That said, it may also be that although the presence of gender stereotyping and leadership is well established (for review see Koenig et al., 2011) the presence of leadership potential and leadership performance neutralizes the effect of gender stereotyping. It is valuable to test the role of gender stereotypes as it can offer further

understanding in the disparity between gender and leadership evaluation, as well as providing clues to possible interventions.

7.3.1 Method

Participants and Design

One-hundred and thirty-nine participants were recruited via *CrowdFlower*, however 23 failed the attention check and were not included in the analysis. Therefore, one hundred and sixteen participants (61 male, $M_{age} = 37.72$, $SD = 12.26$, 76.7% in full or part-time employment) were included from a worldwide sample, including the USA (39.7%), UK (25%), Canada (25.9%) and China (4.3%) and compensated for completing the experiment (\$0.88). Participants were assigned randomly to conditions in a 2 (Leadership Quality: leadership potential, leadership performance) X 2 (Candidate Gender: male, female) X 2 (Workplace Context: masculine vs. feminine) mixed factorial design with Workplace Context as the between-participants factor. One participant on measure of Success was an outlier, more than 3 standard deviations from the mean, and removed. Small differences in the degrees of freedom are due to missing cases. Means and SE for all conditions are in Table 7.2.

Procedure and Materials

Data was collected using *Qualtrics* and *CrowdFlower*. Similar to Study 8, the Context condition was manipulated by presenting participants with a replica news article on either JG Construction Group or Medacs Nursing Group (see Appendix B: Workplace Context Conditions_Construction & Nursing) explaining that the

organization was expanding and as part of that growth they were recruiting “new managers”. The CVs were similar to previous studies (see Appendix B: Construction & Nursing CV), however, some information was altered to reflect either a nursing specific or construction specific background. The remainder of the procedure was identical to Study 8.

Measures

Manipulation check. A manipulation check was included to ensure that the two workplace contexts were considered to be masculine or feminine. Participants were asked ‘to what extent do you think JG Construction Group [Medacs Nursing Group] is...’ on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = *very masculine*, 5 = *neutral*, 9 = *very feminine*).

Hiring. This was measured using two items ($\alpha = .85$): “I would hire this candidate”, and “this candidate would be a good appointment”. Items were measured on a Likert scale and ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Success. Measures used were identical to Studies 5, 6, 7 and 8 ($\alpha = .77$).

Hiring intention. Hiring intention was measured across two items: “Which applicant would you hire?” and “Which applicant do you think will perform best by the 5th year?”. Participants were asked to directly compare and rank each candidate (*1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th*). Items were measured on a Likert scale and ranged from 1 (*not at all successful*) to 9 (*very successful*).

Overall success. Overall success was measured over two items; “Which applicant do you think will be the most successful at their job?” and “Which

applicant do you think will be the most successful in their career?”. Participants were asked to directly compare and rank each candidate (*1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th*).

CV evaluation. The evaluation of candidates’ CVs was a duplicate of the items used in Studies 5, 6, 7 and 8. Participants were asked to directly compare and rank each candidate (*1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th*).

Agentic traits. Participants were asked to consider how much each candidate reflected the following: “individualistic”, “independent”, “competitive”, “self-sufficient”, “autonomous”. Responses were on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = *definitely not like the Candidate*, 9 = *definitely like the Candidate*).

Communal traits. Participants were asked to consider how much each candidate reflected the following: “communal”, “cooperative”, “supportive”, “kinship-orientated”, “connected”. Responses were on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = *definitely not like the Candidate*, 9 = *definitely like the Candidate*).

Measures for gender stereotypes were based on agentic and communal traits. These traits used to measure gender stereotypes were founded on the qualities typically associated with men and women (Caleo & Heilman, 2013; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Eagly et al., 2000; Fiske & Stevens 1993; Koenig et al., 2011). High reliability was found for both measures of agentic ($\alpha = > .87$) and communal ($\alpha = > .86$) traits.

7.3.2 Results

Manipulation check. Participants evaluated the construction condition to be significantly more masculine, as highlighted by a mean score on this item that was significantly below the midpoint of 5 ($M = 4.44$, $SE = .25$), $t(56) = -2.34$, $p = .029$. Participants also considered the nursing condition to be a more feminine working

environment, as demonstrated by a mean score significantly above the midpoint of 5, ($M = 7.40, SE = .21$), $t(58) = 10.99, p < .001$. Overall, the feminine condition (nursing) was rated as significantly less masculine than the masculine condition (construction), $t(114) = -8.78, p < .001$.

A 2 (Leadership Quality: potential, performance) X 2 (Candidate Gender: male, female) X 2 (Workplace Context: masculine vs. feminine) repeated measures ANOVA with Context as the between-participants factor was used to analyze the data.

Hiring. There was a significant main effect of Context, $F(1, 114) = 7.10, p = .009, \eta^2 = .06$. Overall candidates in the feminine condition ($M = 7.68, SE = .13$) were evaluated more positively than candidates in the masculine condition ($M = 7.20, SE = .13$). Furthermore, there was a main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 114) = 5.32, p = .02, \eta^2 = .05$. Main effects show that women ($M = 7.57, SE = .10$) were evaluated as significantly more hireable than men ($M = 7.32, SE = .11$).

There was no main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 114) = 1.18, p = .28, \eta^2 < .01$. There were no significant interactions between, Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender, $F(1, 114) = 0.02, p = .90, \eta^2 < .01$, Leadership Quality X Context, $F(1, 114) = 2.73, p = .10, \eta^2 = .02$, or Candidate Gender X Context, $F(1, 114) = 0.18, p = .67, \eta^2 < .01$. Moreover the Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Context interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 114) = 1.34, p = .25, \eta^2 < .01$.

Success. There was a main effect of Context, $F(1, 113) = 4.63, p = .033, \eta^2 = .04$, candidates in the nursing condition ($M = 7.59, SE = .11$) were rated as more successful than candidates in the construction condition ($M = 7.24, SE = .12$). The main effect of Leadership Quality was significant, $F(1, 113) = 4.89, p = .03, \eta^2 = .04$,

candidates with leadership performance ($M = 7.50$, $SE = .09$) were evaluated as more successful than those with leadership potential ($M = 7.33$, $SE = .09$). The main effect of Candidate Gender was non-significant, $F(1, 113) = 2.11$, $p = .15$, $\eta^2 = .02$.

All two and three-way interaction effects were non-significant, $F_s(1, 113) < 2.32$ $p_s > .13$, $\eta_s^2 < .02$.

Hiring intention. There was a significant main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 114) = 7.21$, $p = .008$, $\eta^2 = .06$, candidates with leadership potential ($M = 2.37$, $SE = .05$) were ranked more highly and therefore more likely to be employed over a candidate with leadership performance ($M = 2.64$, $SE = .05$). There were no significant main effects of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 114) = 2.26$, $p = .14$, $\eta^2 = .02$, or Context, $F(1, 114) = 0.96$, $p = .33$, $\eta^2 < .01$.

There was a significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 114) = 24.46$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .18$. The simple main effects show that male candidates with leadership potential ($M = 2.14$, $SE = .09$) are more hireable than male candidates with leadership performance ($M = 2.99$, $SE = .10$), $F(1, 114) = 24.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .18$. Female candidates with leadership performance ($M = 2.27$, $SE = .08$) are ranked as more hireable than female candidates with leadership potential ($M = 2.59$, $SE = .08$), $F(1, 114) = 5.51$, $p = .021$, $\eta^2 = .05$. Men with leadership potential ($M = 2.14$, $SE = .09$) are more likely than women with leadership potential to be the preferred candidate for employment ($M = 2.59$, $SE = .08$), $F(1, 114) = 9.91$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .08$. Women with leadership performance ($M = 2.27$, $SE = .08$) are more likely to be ranked as more employable than men with leadership performance ($M = 2.99$, $SE = .10$), $F(1, 114) = 22.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$.

Table 7.2

Study 9: Means and Standard Errors (in Parentheses) for Effects of Leadership Quality, Candidate Gender and Organizational Context on Dependent Variables.

	Context	Leadership Quality			
		Leadership Potential		Leadership Performance	
		Male Candidate (SE)	Female Candidate (SE)	Male Candidate (SE)	Female Candidate (SE)
Hiring	Masculine	6.97 (0.18)	7.18 (0.16)	7.18 (0.16)	7.56 (0.17)
	Feminine	7.55 (0.18)	7.61 (0.19)	7.87 (0.15)	7.70 (0.17)
Success	Masculine	6.97 (0.15)	7.29 (0.16)	7.22 (0.14)	7.47 (0.15)
	Feminine	7.49 (0.15)	7.64 (0.16)	7.63 (0.14)	7.58 (0.15)
Hiring Intention	Masculine	1.78 (0.13)	2.66 (0.12)	3.29 (0.14)	2.32 (0.12)
	Feminine	2.50 (0.13)	2.51 (0.11)	2.76 (0.14)	2.24 (0.11)
Overall Success	Masculine	1.75 (0.10)	2.82 (0.11)	2.22 (0.12)	3.22 (0.15)
	Feminine	2.61 (0.13)	2.42 (0.11)	2.23 (0.12)	2.71 (0.14)
CV Evaluation	Masculine	1.67 (0.13)	3.33 (0.14)	2.79 (0.11)	2.21 (0.12)
	Feminine	2.60 (0.12)	2.57 (0.14)	2.53 (0.10)	2.98 (0.12)
Agentic Traits	Masculine	6.84 (0.16)	6.91 (0.18)	6.67 (0.14)	7.20 (0.14)
	Feminine	7.03 (0.16)	7.16 (0.18)	7.02 (0.14)	7.18 (0.14)
Communal Traits	Masculine	6.68 (0.15)	6.56 (0.18)	6.69 (0.15)	6.97 (0.14)
	Feminine	7.08 (0.15)	6.96 (0.15)	7.13 (0.14)	7.19 (0.14)

NB: Evaluations of Manipulation, Hiring, Success, Agentic Traits and Communal Traits is measured on a 9-point scale, where 9 is the most favorable. Hiring Intention, Overall Success and CV Evaluation is measured on a 4 point ranking scale, where lower scores are more positive evaluations

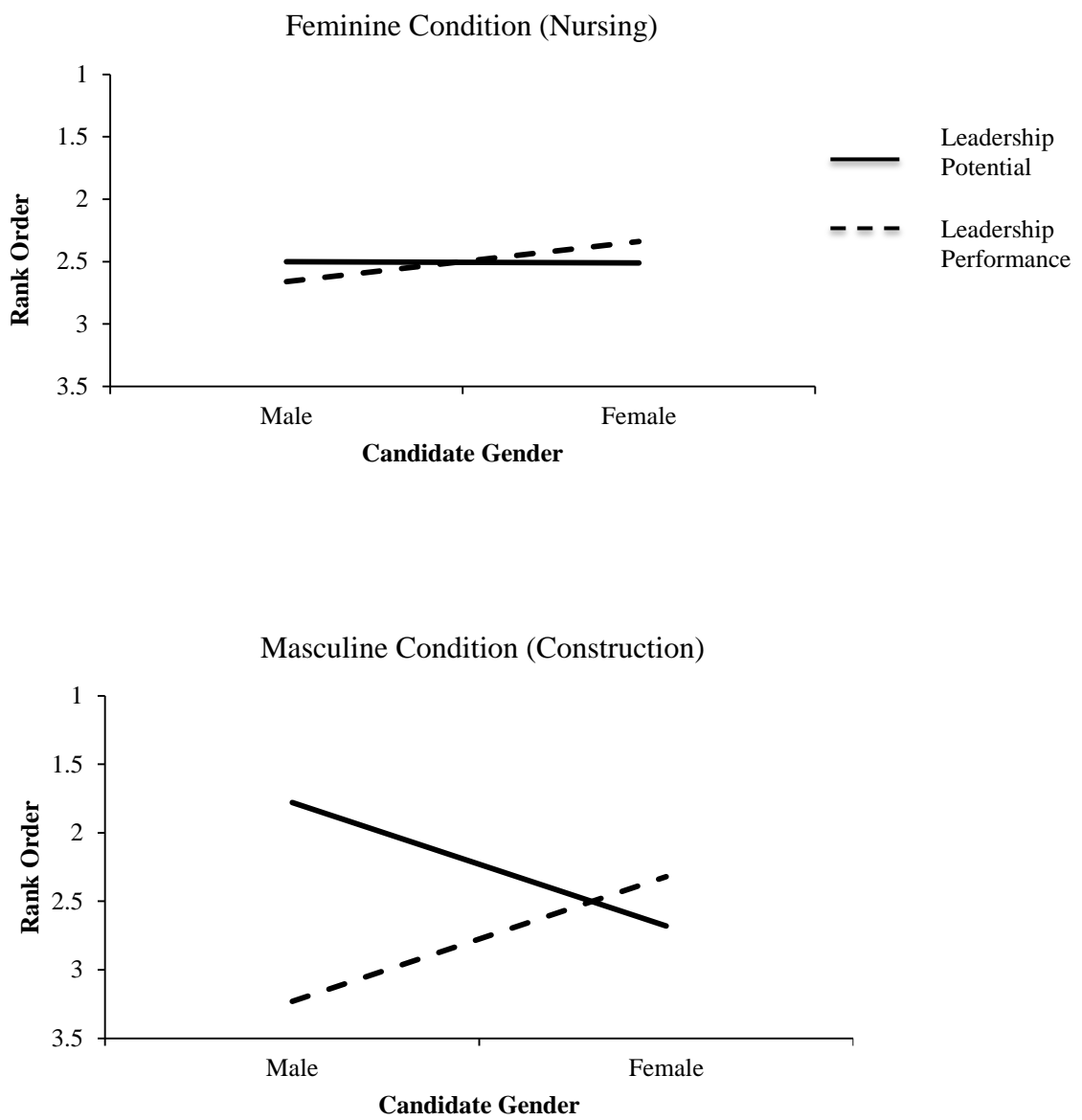
There was a further significant interaction, Leadership Quality X Context, $F(1, 114) = 7.44, p = .007, \eta^2 = .06$. The simple main effects show that in the masculine condition (construction) leadership potential ($M = 2.23, SE = .07$) was ranked significantly more highly than leadership performance ($M = 2.77, SE = .07$), $F(1, 114) = 14.40, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. Whereas, in the feminine condition (nursing) there was no difference in the mean scores between leadership potential ($M = 2.50, SE = .07$) and leadership performance ($M = 2.50, SE = .07$), $F(1, 114) < .01, p = .97, \eta^2 < .01$.

These interaction effects were qualified by a significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Context interaction, $F(1, 114) = 7.24, p = .008, \eta^2 = .06$ (see Figure 7.1 and Table 7.2). The simple main effects of Leadership Quality within Candidate Gender and Context show that leadership potential ($M = 1.78, SE = .13$) were ranked more highly than leadership performance ($M = 3.23, SE = .14$) in male candidate within the masculine condition, $F(1, 114) = 34.16, p < .001, \eta^2 = .23$. The remaining simple main effects of Leadership Quality within Candidate Gender and Context were non-significant, $F_s(1, 114) < 3.52, p_s > .063, \eta_s^2 < .03$.

The simple main effects of Candidate Gender within Leadership Quality and Context show that male candidates ($M = 1.78, SE = .13$) with leadership potential were ranked more highly than in female candidates ($M = 2.68, SE = .12$) in the masculine condition, $F(1, 114) = 19.12, p < .001, \eta^2 = .14$. Women ($M = 2.32, SE = .12$) with leadership performance were ranked more highly than men ($M = 3.23, SE = .14$) in the masculine condition, $F(1, 114) = 17.60, p < .001, \eta^2 = .13$. Moreover, women with leadership performance ($M = 2.24, SE = .11$) were ranked more highly

Figure 7.1

Study 9: Simple Main Effects of Leadership Quality, Candidate Gender and Organizational Context on Objective Hiring Intentions.



than men with leadership performance ($M = 2.76, SE = .14$) in the feminine condition (nursing), $F(1, 114) = 6.04, p = .015, \eta^2 = .05$, whereas leadership potential was equally ranked in both men and women ($M = 2.50, 2.51$ respectively), $F(1, 114) = 0.02, p = .966, \eta^2 < .01$. The analysis of the simple main effects of Context within Leadership Quality and Context reveal that in the masculine condition leadership potential is ranked more highly in male candidates ($M = 1.78, SE = .13$) than in the feminine condition ($M = 2.50, SE = .13$), $F(1, 114) = 14.66, p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$, and in the feminine condition ($M = 2.76, SE = .14$) leadership performance was ranked more highly in men than in the masculine condition ($M = 3.23, SE = .14$), $F(1, 114) = 5.31, p = .023, \eta^2 = .05$. The remaining simple main effects were non-significant, $F_s(1, 114) < 1.07, p > .303, \eta^2 < .01$.

Overall success. There was no main effect of either Leadership Quality, $F(1, 114) = 3.29, p = .072, \eta^2 = .03$, or Context, $F(1, 114) = 3.00, p = .086, \eta^2 = .03$. There was a significant main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 115) = 27.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = .19$, overall men ($M = 2.20, SE = .06$) were ranked more highly than women ($M = 2.79, SE = .06$).

There was a significant Leadership Quality X Context interaction, $F(1, 114) = 5.04, p = .027, \eta^2 = .04$. Simple main effects show that candidates who demonstrated leadership potential ($M = 2.28, SE = .08$) in the masculine condition (construction) were ranked more favorably than candidates with leadership performance ($M = 2.72, SE = .08$), $F(1, 114) = 8.10, p = .005, \eta^2 = .07$, yet candidates in the feminine condition were evaluated similarly regardless of leadership quality, $F(1, 114) = 0.10, p = .76, \eta^2 < .01$. Candidates with leadership potential were evaluated more positively in the masculine condition ($M = 2.28, SE = .08$) than in the feminine condition ($M =$

2.52, $SE = .08$), $F(1, 114) = 4.76, p = .031, \eta^2 = .04$. Candidates with leadership performance were evaluated more positively in the feminine condition ($M = 2.47, SE = .08$), than in the masculine condition ($M = 2.72, SE = .08$), $F(1, 114) = 5.32, p = .023, \eta^2 = .05$.

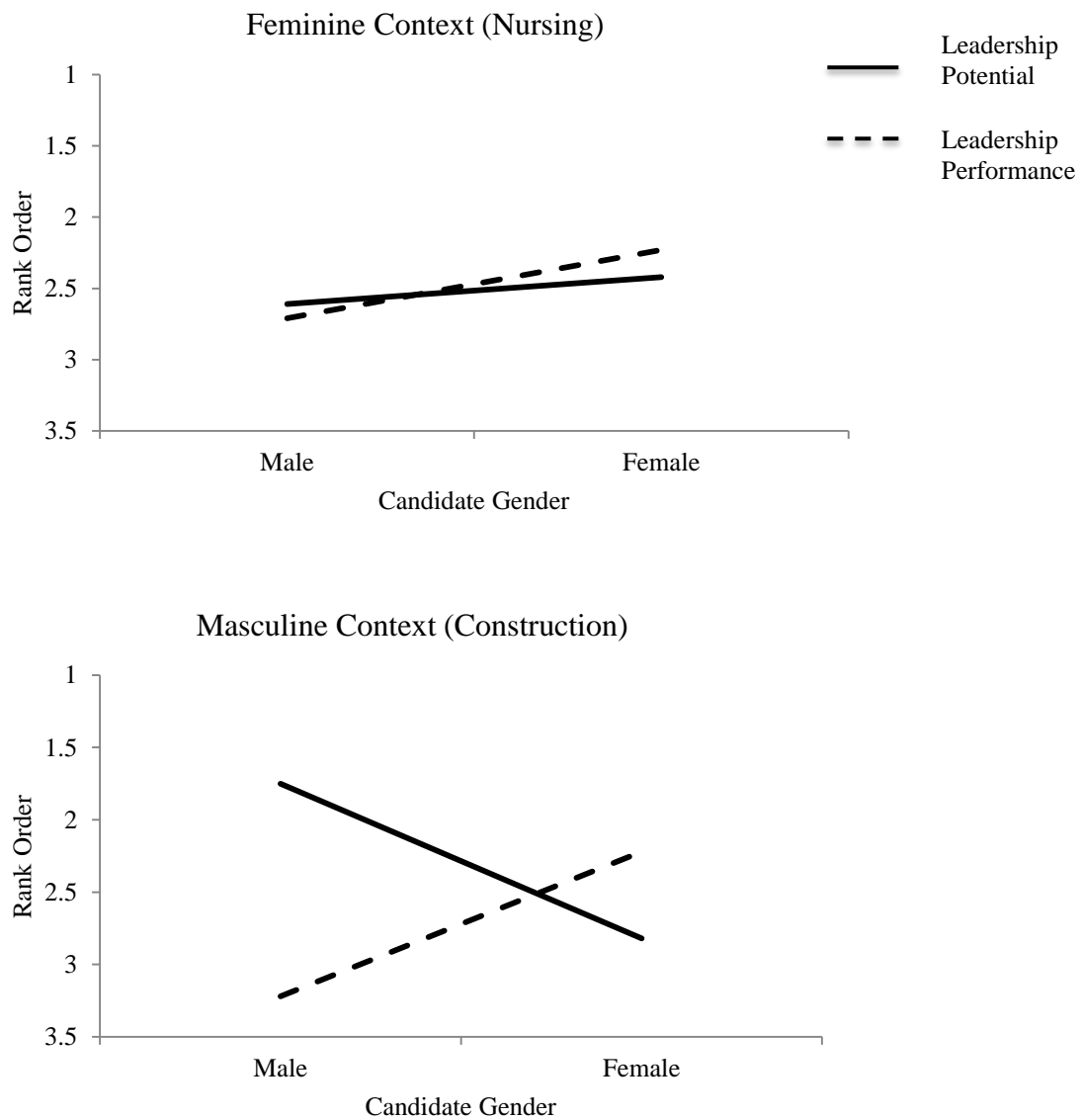
There was a significant Candidate Gender X Context interaction, $F(1, 114) = 15.37, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. In the masculine condition there was a strong preference for male candidates ($M = 1.98, SE = .08$) over female candidates ($M = 3.02, SE = .08$), $F(1, 114) = 41.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .27$. In the feminine condition both male ($M = 2.42, SE = .08$) and female ($M = 2.57, SE = .08$) candidates were evaluated similarly, $F(1, 114) = 0.88, p = .35, \eta^2 < .01$. Men were ranked more highly in the masculine condition ($M = 1.98, SE = .08$) than in the feminine condition ($M = 2.42, SE = .08$), $F(1, 114) = 14.93, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. Women were ranked more highly in the feminine condition ($M = 2.57, SE = .08$) than in the masculine condition ($M = 3.02, SE = .08$), $F(1, 114) = 14.93, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$.

The expected Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 114) = 2.94, p = .089, \eta^2 = .03$. However, the scheduled analysis of the simple main effects reveal the difference between male candidates and leadership quality was non-significant, $F(1, 114) = 0.12, p = .073, \eta^2 < .01$. However, women with leadership potential ($M = 2.62, SE = .08$) were more favorably ranked than women with leadership performance ($M = 2.96, SE = .10$), $F(1, 114) = 14.93, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. Male candidates with leadership potential ($M = 2.18, SE = .09$) were rated significantly more highly than female candidates with leadership potential ($M = 2.62, SE = .08$), $F(1, 114) = 10.95, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$. Male candidates with leadership performance ($M = 2.22, SE = .08$) were ranked more highly than female

candidates with leadership performance ($M = 2.97$, $SE = .10$), $F(1, 114) = 23.87$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .17$.

Figure 7.2

Study 9: Simple Main Effects of Leadership Quality, Candidate Gender and Organizational Context on Overall Success Evaluations.



The two-way interaction effects were further qualified by a significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Context three-way interaction, (see Table 7.2 and Figure 7.2). The simple main effects of Leadership Quality within Candidate Gender and Context show that leadership potential ($M = 1.75$, $SE = .13$) is ranked more highly than leadership performance ($M = 2.22$, $SE = .12$) in male candidates in the masculine condition, $F(1, 114) = 6.04$, $p = .015$, $\eta^2 = .05$. Leadership potential ($M = 2.82$, $SE = .11$) is also preferred over leadership performance ($M = 3.22$, $SE = .15$) in female candidates in the masculine condition, $F(1, 114) = 3.93$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Moreover, leadership potential ($M = 2.61$, $SE = .13$) is ranked more highly than leadership performance ($M = 2.23$, $SE = .12$) in male candidates in the feminine condition, $F(1, 114) = 4.05$, $p = .046$, $\eta^2 = .03$, however, the difference between leadership quality in female candidates in the feminine condition was non-significant, $F(1, 114) = 2.07$, $p = .15$, $\eta^2 = .02$.

The simple main effects of Candidate Gender within Leadership Quality and Context show that male candidates (potential: $M = 1.75$, $SE = .13$, performance: $M = 2.22$, $SE = .12$) were ranked more highly than female candidates (potential: $M = 2.82$, $SE = .11$, performance: $M = 3.22$, $SE = .15$) on leadership potential, $F(1, 114) = 31.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .22$, and leadership performance, $F(1, 114) = 21.34$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$, in the masculine condition. Yet, leadership performance was ranked more highly in male candidates ($M = 2.23$, $SE = .12$) than in female candidates ($M = 2.71$, $SE = .14$) in the feminine condition, $F(1, 114) = 5.15$, $p = .025$, $\eta^2 = .04$, there was no candidate gender difference in the evaluation of leadership potential, $F(1, 114) = 0.99$, $p = .321$, $\eta^2 < .01$.

The simple main effects of Context within Leadership Quality and Candidate Gender reveal that in the masculine condition ($M = 1.76, SE = .13$) leadership potential is ranked more favorably in male candidates than in the feminine condition ($M = 2.61, SE = .13$), $F(1, 114) = 21.65, p < .001, \eta^2 = .16$. However, in the feminine condition ($M = 2.42, SE = .11$) leadership potential is ranked more favorably in female candidates than in the masculine condition ($M = 2.82, SE = .11$), $F(1, 114) = 6.26, p = .014, \eta^2 = .05$. In both the masculine ($M = 2.22, SE = .12$) and feminine conditions ($M = 2.23, SE = .12$) leadership performance is ranked evenly in male candidates, $F(1, 114) = 0.03, p = .954, \eta^2 < .01$. In the feminine condition ($M = 2.71, SE = .14$) leadership performance is ranked more highly in female candidates than in the masculine condition ($M = 3.22, SE = .14$), $F(1, 114) = 7.47, p = .015, \eta^2 = .05$.

CV evaluation. There was a significant main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 114) = 4.03, p = .047, \eta^2 = .03$. The simple effects show that candidate CVs who demonstrated leadership potential ($M = 2.30, SE = .51$) were evaluated more favorably than those with leadership performance ($M = 2.60, SE = .51$). There was no main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 114) = .83, p = .85, \eta^2 < .01$.

As predicted there was a significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction. Investigation of the simple main effects reveals that leadership potential ($M = 2.13, SE = .09$) is ranked more highly than leadership performance ($M = 2.95, SE = .10$) in male candidates, $F(1, 114) = 25.13, p < .001, \eta^2 = .18$. Leadership performance ($M = 2.25, SE = .09$) is ranked more highly than leadership potential ($M = 2.66, SE = .08$) in female candidates, $F(1, 114) = 9.55, p = .003, \eta^2 = .08$. Men who demonstrate exactly the same leadership potential ($M = 2.13, SE = .09$) on their CVs are rated more highly than women who show leadership potential ($M = 2.66, SE =$

.08), $F(1, 114) = 16.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. On the other hand, women who demonstrate exactly the same leadership performance ($M = 2.25, SE = .09$) are more highly ranked than men who demonstrate leadership performance on their CVs ($M = 2.95, SE = .10$), $F(1, 114) = 21.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .16$.

These results were further qualified by a significant three-way interaction of Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Context, $F(1, 114) = 22.37, p < .001, \eta^2 = .16$. My hypothesis is that gender atypical working environments influence the perception of leadership qualities (potential and performance) in male and female candidates. The simple main effects of Context within Leadership Quality and Candidate Gender showed that men with leadership potential were ranked more highly in the masculine condition ($M = 1.66, SE = .13$) than in the feminine condition ($M = 2.60, SE = .13$), $F(1, 114) = 26.62, p < .001, \eta^2 = .29$. Moreover, men with leadership performance were ranked more highly in the feminine condition ($M = 2.57, SE = .14$) than in the masculine condition ($M = 3.33, SE = .14$), $F(1, 114) = 15.83, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. Other simple main effects of Context were not significant $F_s < 2.94$.

An inspection of the simple main effects of Candidate Gender within Leadership Quality and Context reveal that male candidates with leadership potential ($M = 1.67, SE = .13$) are rated more highly than female candidates with leadership potential ($M = 2.79, SE = .11$) in the masculine condition, $F(1, 114) = 36.03, p < .001, \eta^2 = .24$. Whereas, leadership performance was ranked more highly in female candidates ($M = 2.21, SE = .12$) than in male candidates ($M = 3.33, SE = .14$) in the masculine condition, $F(1, 114) = 27.01, p < .001, \eta^2 = .19$. The remaining simple effects of Candidate Gender were non-significant, $F_s = < 1.63$.

Agentic traits. There was a main effect of Leadership Quality, $F(1, 114) = 12.06, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$. Candidates with leadership performance ($M = 7.11, SE = .10$) were rated more highly on agentic traits than candidates with leadership potential ($M = 6.89, SE = .10$). The remaining main effects were non-significant, $F_s(1, 114) < 1.13, p_s > .29, \eta_s^2 < .01$.

Results indicated a marginal Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 114) = 3.58, p = .061, \eta^2 = .03$. Planned analysis of the simple main effects show that female candidates who demonstrated leadership performance ($M = 7.19, SE = .10$) were rated as significantly more agentic than female candidates who exhibited leadership potential ($M = 6.84, SE = .10$), $F(1, 114) = 17.14, p < .001, \eta^2 = .13$. This difference was not significant for male candidates, $F(1, 114) = 0.09, p = .303, \eta^2 < .01$. The remaining simple main effects were not significant, $F_s < 1.85$.

Further two and three way interaction effects were non-significant, $F_s(1, 114) < 1.27, p_s > .106, \eta_s^2 < .02$.

Communal traits. There was a marginal main effect of Context, $F(1, 114) = 3.86, p = .052, \eta^2 = .03$, candidates in the nursing condition ($M = 7.12, SE = .13$) were rated more highly on communal traits than construction condition ($M = 6.66, SE = .13$). There was also a main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 114) = 3.47, p = .013, \eta^2 = .05$, in so far that female candidates ($M = 6.99, SE = .09$) are rated as more communal than male candidates ($M = 6.82, SE = .10$). The main effect of Leadership Quality was non-significant, $F(1, 114) = .132, p = .71, \eta^2 < .001$.

There was a significant Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interaction, $F(1, 114) = 4.56, p = .035, \eta^2 = .04$. An examination of the simple effects shows that on evaluations of leadership performance female candidates ($M = 7.08, SE = .10$) are

rated as more communal than male candidates ($M = 6.76, SE = .12$), $F(1, 114) = 8.67$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Moreover, female candidates who demonstrate leadership performance ($M = 6.91, SE = .10$) are rated as significantly more communal than female candidates who demonstrate leadership potential ($M = 7.07, SE = .10$), $F(1, 114) = 4.88$, $p = .029$, $\eta^2 = .03$. The remaining simple effects are non-significant $F_s = <1.39$.

There were no further significant interaction effects, $F_s(1, 114) < .87$, $p_s > .35$, $\eta_s^2 < .01$.

7.3.3 Discussion

Study 9 replicates previous findings in this thesis using a different scenario. As one would expect, across a number of measures there is still a preference for leadership potential. Moreover, this inclination towards leadership potential is exclusive to male candidates and in order for women to be considered a possible employment prospect they must demonstrate their leadership performance.

However, Study 9 extends my research by establishing a significant interaction between organizational context and the value of leadership qualities. In so far that, leadership potential is significantly more valuable than leadership performance but *only* in masculine typed contexts and *only* for men. Moreover, as predicted in typically masculine workplaces (e.g. construction) previous leadership performance becomes increasingly important for women and increasingly unimportant for men. This is consistent with the hypothesis that leadership potential will be considered more valuable in masculine working environments.

The results further support the association of leadership potential with masculinity. Firstly, leadership potential is more valuable in men, and secondly, it is especially valuable to men in masculine contexts. This extends previous research in this thesis by establishing the preference for leadership potential not only in male candidates but also in working environments that are typically associated with men. In addition, leadership potential is significantly less valuable in working environments normally associated with women, where leadership performance in both men and women is viewed more favorably.

Whilst there is a highly favorably bias toward male candidates with leadership potential in highly masculinized working environments, we do not see these results mirrored in feminine contexts as a bias towards female candidates with performance. For instance, there is no significant difference between the value of leadership potential and leadership performance in either men or women, $F_s < .10$. This suggests that whilst women are faced with a significant disadvantage in gender atypical working environments, men do not have the same handicap in female typed workplaces. It might be that feminine working environments neutralize the overall advantage of leadership potential that typically benefit men. Moreover, the results show that the disparity between leadership potential and leadership performance in male candidates virtually disappears in gender atypical working environments.

The results show that men have a relatively equal chance of securing a leadership position in feminine contexts, regardless of the type of leadership trait demonstrated (e.g. potential vs. performance). This supports the 'glass escalator' theory (McMurry, 2011; Williams, 1992), which suggests that gender typical working environments are far more challenging for women than they are for men. This is

especially true in the pursuit of leadership positions as it might be that the strength of the masculine leadership stereotype is more powerful than the feminine stereotype associated with the occupation. Moreover, in a masculine typed context women face a double-tiered bias, in so far that, they are in a masculine working environment pursuing a leadership role both of which significantly favor men (see Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004).

Importantly, the results also demonstrate some interesting Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender interactions on communal and agentic traits. In so far that, leadership performance in women was associated more with both agentic and communal traits than leadership potential. Moreover, leadership performance is considered to be more agentic, and female applicants are considered to be more communal. I expected agentic traits to be more highly associated with male leadership potential candidates and communal traits to be linked with female leadership performance candidates. Whilst these results do not directly support my hypothesis they do provide some evidence that state-level factors have a relationship with the way in which leadership potential and leadership performance is evaluated in male and female candidates.

7.4 General Discussion

These studies investigated how masculine and feminine working environments influence the evaluation of leadership potential and leadership performance in male and female candidates. I proposed that candidates with leadership potential would be evaluated more positively in masculine conditions and candidates with leadership

performance would receive better evaluations in feminine contexts. In addition, despite the influence of context, I predicted male candidates with leadership potential would still be the most likely candidate to be employed. Across two studies, with participants from multiple countries and using two different paradigms, overall results supported my hypotheses.

Study 8 demonstrated a general preference for leadership performance in feminine contexts but this was only found across subjective hiring measures that can often mask bias (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat et al., 1991). However, this finding is qualified by results in Study 9 that, in comparison to previous studies (e.g. Studies 4-7), leadership performance does become more valuable in feminine working environments. Although leadership performance does not become *more* beneficial than leadership potential it is evaluated as *equally* important in both male and female candidates. Therefore, it may be that the advantage of leadership potential is neutralized in feminine contexts rather than leadership performance being more valuable.

Study 9 showed that in masculine contexts leadership potential becomes increasingly important in hiring situations. This pattern is consistent with the masculinization of leadership potential and the current literature on gender and leadership (*cf.* Heilman & Eagly, 2008; Baretto et al, 2009; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Spence & Buckner, 2000). In other words, typically masculine traits (e.g. leadership potential) are more valuable when the group norm is highly masculinized (e.g. gender typical working environment).

Furthermore, Study 9 revealed the first empirical evidence that agentic and communal traits are significantly related to the perception of leadership qualities and

candidate gender. The results show that overall leadership performance is especially congruent with gender stereotypes in female candidates. Moreover, this partially supports the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 3 that state-level factors (e.g. gender stereotypes) may influence the evaluation and selection of candidates. Importantly, this confirms that there are stereotypical beliefs associated with the evaluation of leadership qualities and candidate gender.

However, there was no significant relationship with leadership potential and gender stereotypes. It may be that as I only included subjective measures, that can sometimes mask stereotypical judgments (Biernat et al, 2001), there are some additional items that could be included to investigate this relationship further. For example, it would be worth examining the specific characteristic traits associated with leadership potential and masculinity and testing those in an experimental context.

In both Study 8 and 9, male candidates with leadership potential continue to be the most desirable leadership prospects, regardless of the gender typicality of the workplace context. This suggests that leadership potential is still a significant advantage for men in the workplace, and moreover, in order for women to be considered as a possible leadership candidate they must demonstrate previous leadership performance. These findings are consistent with evidence on the glass escalator (McMurry, 2011; Williams, 1992). This is an example of how men are at an advantage in both gender typical and atypical working environments. Moreover, these findings extend current research by establishing that the male advantage is increased further by the presence of leadership potential.

7.4.1 Limitations, Future Directions and Conclusion

Despite these findings there are a couple of critical points with regard to the theoretical and methodological aspects of Studies 8 and 9.

Firstly, there is a slight concern over the manipulation of masculine and feminine contexts. In Study 9 there was a clear distinction between the two conditions, in that construction was significantly masculine, $t(115) = -3.38, p = .004$, and nursing was significantly feminine, $t(115) = 3.15, p = .007$. However, in Study 8 both the masculine (finance) and feminine (charity) conditions were considered to be more masculine than feminine. Although, the charity condition was believed to be significantly more feminine than the finance condition, it might be that the feminization of both of the conditions influenced the results found in Study 8. It would be interesting to further explore different gender typical contexts to test the femininity of leadership performance and the masculinity of leadership potential as well as the state-level factors associated with these traits.

Secondly, experimental methods are not the only way to test the impact of context individuals' perceptions of different leadership qualities in men and women. It would be beneficial to consider additional research in working populations within gender typical environments. However, experimental designs do provide the advantage of guaranteeing greater control over the research and testing causal claims (*cf.* Antonakis, Bendahan, Jacquart, & Lalive, 2010).

Lastly, the measure of agentic and communal stereotypes may not have been relevant enough to the dimensions of leadership potential and leadership performance. Additionally, in the previous studies there has been a distinctive difference between the evaluation of candidates on subjective and objective evaluations and it would be

worth examining gender stereotypes on objective items in future research. Moreover, it would be interesting to investigate stereotypical beliefs directly associated with leadership potential and leadership performance.

Results from these studies have implications for a number of working environments, especially those over-populated by either men or women (e.g. nursing, construction, engineering, social work etc.). In contexts that are either considered to be highly masculine women can face substantial disadvantages when pursuing leadership positions (Cabera et al., 2008; Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006). In fact women face a substantially greater penalty in gender atypical working environments than men. For instance, men can often benefit from fast-tracked career progression in female dominated workplaces (McMurry, 2011; Williams, 1992).

The present studies support this evidence, whilst women face a substantial leadership penalty in masculine working environments men are offered an equal playing field in feminine workplaces. In many gender typical working environments the gender inequality within the workforce can often go unchecked by those in influential positions. Although there are numerous initiatives to reduce this bias (e.g. Athena SWAN, UN Women, Lean In), many policies do not include central strategies to improve gender equality (Squires, 2007). This means that women are still facing tougher, more challenging pathways to leadership roles. Thus, the perception of leadership performance and leadership potential may have significant implications for further understanding career progression in gender archetypal working environments.

The application of the experiments from this chapter suggest that the characteristic traits associated with men and women pursuing leadership roles are linked with their future leadership potential and their previous leadership

performance. Moreover, that the perception of these leadership qualities can be directly influenced by the masculine or feminine nature of the working environment. Thus, it may be that hiring leaders in gender typical working environments is influenced by the candidate's gender (Cabera et al., 2008; Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006; McMurry, 2011; Williams, 1992) and their ability to demonstrate leadership potential and leadership performance.

Chapter Eight: General Discussion

In this chapter I discuss the findings of the studies reported in the empirical chapters of this thesis. I review the nine studies that investigated how the type of leadership quality exhibited (leadership potential, leadership performance) and candidate gender influenced the way in which candidates are evaluated in hiring situations. In addition, I tested how individuals assessed candidates in a number of workplace contexts.

Results show that leadership potential is an advantage to those in pursuit of leadership roles, however, the benefit is exclusive to men. In order for women to improve their employment prospects they must demonstrate previous leadership performance. I discuss both contributions of both the empirical and theoretical findings of this thesis. I also address limitations of this thesis as well as highlighting applied applications of the research. Finally, I recommend some directions for future research.

8.1 Theoretical Approach

Anecdotally there is some evidence to suggest that men progress more rapidly than women through their careers because they are promoted on their potential, whereas women are promoted on their previous performance (Catalyst, 2013; McKinsey, 2012). Drawing on current management literature and frameworks on leadership potential (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London et al., 2007; Marshall-Mies et al., 2000; Silzer & Church, 2009; Troth & Gyetvey, 2014), and social psychological theories on leadership and gender (Baretto et al., 2009; Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat et al., 1991; Caleo & Heilman, 2013; Eagly, 1986; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly et al., 2000; Glick et al., 1988; Heilman, 1983; Fiske & Stevens, 1993; Koenig et al., 2011; Levinson & Young, 2010; Phelan & Rudman, 2010; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Spence & Buckner, 2000), I designed nine studies to examine how evaluations of leadership potential and leadership performance differ by gender. I have explored this across different contexts and paradigms with participants from multiple countries and found that leadership potential is significantly more valuable in men than leadership performance. Moreover, previous leadership performance is significantly more beneficial than leadership potential to women seeking leadership positions.

In the second and third chapters of this thesis I used evidence from social-psychological processes to provide a new perspective on gender inequity in leadership positions, specifically the value *leadership potential* in men and women. I suggested that in order for women to most efficiently progress through their careers they must demonstrate their previous leadership performance, whereas men were more likely to

benefit from demonstrating leadership potential. To do this I examined literature specific to the career pathways to leadership roles.

Firstly, I outlined the current evidence on leadership potential, principally focusing on three main theoretical frameworks (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Marshall-Mies et al., 2000; Silzer & Church, 2009). Taken together the research identifies a number of characteristic traits one would expect of future leaders, for example, intellectual capability, analytical skills, drive and ambition. However, all of the models identified one specific trait key to leadership potential, emergent leadership. Importantly, emergent leadership is based on the ability to communicate, deliver and capitalize on a strategic vision (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Marshall-Mies et al., 2000; Silzer & Church, 2009). In other words, do individuals have the *vision* and *strategic thinking* to develop into potential leaders?

Secondly, I explored the current evidence on performance ratings and promotion specifically with a focus on gender. I presented research on performance and promotion that suggests women are more likely to be rated more favorably than men but less likely to be promoted (Green et al., 2009; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012). This is a pattern reflected in empirical research but also in applied organizational settings where men dramatically overpopulate leadership roles (Catalyst, 2009; European Union Committee, 2012; Ogden et al., 2006; United Nations Development Group Task Team on Gender Equality, 2010). However, a closer inspection of the more positive ratings women receive shows that the benefit applies only to the majority of measures (e.g. team building, tenacity, reward and recognition). Crucially, on a number of measures related to “vision” and “strategy”

men are rated significantly more highly than women (Hirschfeld & Thomas, 2011; Manning & Robertson, 2010; Roth et al., 2012).

Importantly, “vision” and “strategy” are consistently referred to as a key component of the identification of leadership potential (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Marshall-Mies et al., 2000; Silzer & Church, 2009). The combination of literature on leadership potential and, leadership progression and gender, suggests that measures of performance in which women receive lower ratings for might be a measure of leadership potential. Moreover, in support of the management literature (for overview see Church, 2014), this evidence suggests that leadership potential is more valuable than leadership performance in the pursuit of leadership posts. For example, women are receiving higher ratings on the majority of measures in performance reviews (e.g. those that represent previous leadership performance) and still not being promoted as frequently. Yet, men who are being rated more highly on leadership potential traits are more likely to be promoted. This suggests that leadership potential may be more congruent with men and leadership performance is more congruent with women. For instance, the higher ratings on characteristic traits associated with leadership potential were received by men, whereas, higher ratings for characteristic traits associated with leadership performance were received by women (Green et al., 2009; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012).

To develop this theory further, in Chapter 3 I presented a conceptual framework to help answer two main research questions. Firstly, can leadership potential be more advantageous in career development? And secondly, is there is any difference between the employment opportunities of men and women who exhibit certain leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential vs. leadership performance)? The

framework provided a theoretical representation of my research (Robson, 2011) to help guide and inform the concepts, relationships and studies that were included in this thesis.

The framework proposes that possible state-level factors might mediate the outcome of hiring and promotion evaluations, for instance, stereotypes about leadership and gender. The framework acknowledged a possible relationship between leadership traits (e.g. leadership potential and leadership performance), gender and state-level factors that is likely to influence the leadership opportunities available to both men and women.

Building on this line of research, in this thesis I extend the current evidence on leadership potential in four ways. First, I examined the relationship between leadership potential and candidate gender (Chapter 4 & 5). Second, I investigated how the evaluation of leadership potential in men and women might be perceived at different management levels (e.g. junior vs. senior) (Chapter 6). Third, I explored how the relationship between leadership qualities (e.g. potential vs. performance) might be influenced by organizational context (Chapter 7). Last, in line with the conceptual framework (Chapter 3) I began to investigate how state-level factors influenced the evaluations of leadership qualities and candidate gender (Chapter 7).

8.2 Overview of Studies

The aims of this thesis were to i) experimentally test the value of future leadership potential and previous leadership performance in organizational contexts; ii) examine the value of leadership potential and leadership performance in both male

and female candidates and; iii) identify how this might impact hiring decisions.

Across nine studies I demonstrated when, how and why a) leadership potential is evaluated more favorably in men than in women and b) leadership performance is evaluated more favorably in women than in men.

8.2.1 Study 1

Study 1 was designed to provide relevant organizational context to the theoretical contributions of this thesis using a qualitative approach. As the link between the evaluation of candidates with leadership potential and gender was purely theoretical it was important to explore the material context of this relationship. A qualitative approach contributed to initial testing of the conceptual framework (see Chapter 3) of leadership potential and gender by understanding people's *own* experiences of leadership in the workplace (Bryman et al., 2002; Levine et al., 2011; Prosser et al., 1994; Yedidia & Bickel, 2001).

Using focus groups across four UK based HEIs, with participants from a range of management levels, I used a theoretical thematic approach to investigate leadership opportunities in HE. I found three main themes that emerged from the analysis. Firstly, the career of a researcher is one of leadership potential and the career of a teacher is one of leadership performance. Secondly, those on performance based career tracks (e.g. teaching) had reduced access to leadership and promotion opportunities than those on potential based career tracks (e.g. research). Lastly, there was a gender dimension to teaching and research careers, in so far that it was more challenging for women than for men, to occupy leadership and research careers (e.g. leadership potential).

8.2.2 Studies 2 and 3

Studies 2 and 3 started to investigate the relationship between evaluations of leadership qualities (leadership potential vs. leadership performance) and candidate gender. In Study 2 I used evidence from the congruence of gender stereotypes and leadership (Biernat, 2003; Blau & Devaro, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Rudman & Glick, 2001) to predict that both leadership potential and leadership performance would be associated more with men than with women. Results indicated that regardless of the leadership quality (leadership potential, leadership performance) demonstrated participants were significantly more likely to believe that candidates were male rather than female. Moreover, participants made a clear distinction between leadership potential and leadership performance on objective measures where candidates with leadership potential consistently outperformed those with leadership performance (*cf.* Biernat et al., 1991, 2001; 2003; 2012).

I used Study 3 to explicitly state the gender of the candidate in order to experimentally explore how participants judged male and female candidates with leadership potential and leadership performance. Study 3 was a mixed model design with leadership potential and leadership performance as the within-participants factors and candidate gender as the between-participants factor. Study 3 replicated previous findings (*cf.* Tormala et al, 2012; 2014) by demonstrating that overall there was a tendency to evaluate candidates with leadership potential as more successful and as higher performers than candidates with leadership performance. However, in Study 3 any Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender effects were non-significant. This was partly due to the experimental design, for example, there was no gender intergroup

context, which can contribute to expectations, thoughts and ideas we have about others (Abrams & Hogg, 2001; Abrams & Hogg, 1990).

8.2.3 Study 4

Study 4 was the first experiment to establish a significant relationship between certain leadership qualities (leadership potential, leadership performance) and the gender of the candidates. I used similar paradigms to Studies 2 and 3, however, an intergroup context was introduced whereby participants directly compared male and female candidates as well as leadership quality. Specifically, I found that male candidates with leadership potential traits were the top employment option. However, order for women to improve their employment prospects it was beneficial to demonstrate leadership performance over leadership potential.

Study 4 suggests that the type of measures (e.g. objective vs. subjective) is particularly important to consider. Judgments on the association of leadership potential and gender were significantly more visible on the ranked objective measures (e.g. which candidate will you hire? 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th) compared to subjective measures (e.g. would you hire this candidate? not at all likely > very likely). In line with research on the *shifting standards model* (Biernat et al., 2001; 2003; 2012) Study 4 suggests that more subjective measures mask underlying stereotypical judgments.

8.2.4 Studies 5-7

Studies 5-7 experimentally investigated the hiring evaluations of candidate gender and candidate leadership attributes (e.g. leadership potential vs. leadership performance) in more detail. Specifically, I examined this relationship in the context

of leadership seniority (junior manager, senior manager). Evidence suggests leadership potential is likely to be valuable at various levels of seniority. For instance, it is highly desirable in TMS (Dries & Pepermans, 2007; Guan et al., 2014; Singh et al., 2009; Thomas, 2009) as well as being used in the recruitment of more senior positions (Church & Rotolo, 2013). Studies 5-7 showed that both leadership quality (e.g. leadership potential, leadership performance) and candidate gender can have a powerful impact on evaluations and decisions made about applicants. For instance, leadership potential was the most valuable over leadership performance in male candidates whereas leadership performance was the most valuable trait over leadership potential in female candidates, regardless of the leadership level being recruited.

In Study 5 participants were exposed to the same experimental design as Study 4, however, I introduced participant gender as a variable. Study 5 found that male candidates with potential were ranked as the best employment prospect, followed by female candidates with leadership potential. Furthermore, there was a distinctive difference in the evaluation of leadership potential and leadership performance on subjective and objective items. For instance, leadership performance is rated as being more important on subjective and abstract measures that do not require the direct comparison of possible employees. However, when participants were asked to directly compare and choose which candidate they would hire (e.g. on objective measures), leadership potential emerges as more important than leadership performance. Moreover, as predicted the evaluation of leadership potential or leadership performance and candidate gender was not influenced by the gender of the participant on all but one measure.

Study 6 explored the assessment of candidates applying for more senior roles (e.g. senior manager). I introduced a slightly amended experimental design where by each participant was exposed to a fictional news article to improve reliability of the company (*cf.* Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010) (see Appendix B: Bloomberg).

Interestingly, as with previous studies the results showed that male candidates with leadership potential were the most desirable applicant, whereas female candidates were more favorably evaluated if they demonstrated previous leadership performance. This further supports the previous findings in this thesis that regardless of the seniority level at which candidates are being recruited for, leadership potential and leadership performance are valued differently in men and women.

Study 7 was used to conceptually and empirically replicate the findings from Studies 5 and 6. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (Candidate Gender: male, female) x 2 (Leadership Quality: potential, performance) x 2 (Management Level: junior vs. senior) mixed factorial design with repeated measures on the Management Level factor. Consistent with my hypothesis, Study 7 replicated the results of the previous studies in so far that leadership potential was preferred in male candidates and leadership performance was preferred in female candidates. However, the results show an interesting Leadership Quality X Candidate Gender X Management Level interaction on objective hiring intentions. For instance, at junior management level leadership potential was considered to be the most beneficial trait in both male and female candidates. However, when hiring for more senior leadership roles leadership potential is still beneficial but only for male candidates, whereas women must prove their previous performance history. Although this finding is only on one factor it warrants further investigation in future research.

8.2.5 Studies 8 and 9

Studies 8 and 9 examined the social context of the relationship between leadership potential and gender. A similar methodology to Study 7 was applied, however studies 8 and 9 focused on the masculinized (e.g. construction, finance) and feminized (e.g. nursing, charity) working environments.

Study 8 replicated previous findings (studies 3-7), participants continued to value leadership performance on subjective measure and leadership potential on objective measures. Moreover, across both masculine (e.g. finance) and feminine (e.g. charity) conditions leadership potential was most valuable in men whilst leadership performance is most valuable in women. However, whilst the masculine and feminine conditions were considered to be significantly different from each other, they were both still considered to be more feminine than masculine ($M_s = 5.41, 6.35$).

In Study 9 participants evaluated candidates applying for a leadership role in either a feminine working environment (e.g. nursing) or a masculine working environment (e.g. construction). Results showed that overall participants still favored leadership potential in male candidates and leadership performance in female candidates. However, masculine and feminine working environments have a significant impact on the evaluation of leadership quality (leadership potential, leadership performance). Study 9 found that leadership potential is significantly more valuable than leadership performance but *only* in masculine typed contexts and *only* for men. This suggests that in a masculine-typed context women face a triple-level penalty. For example, leadership potential, masculine working domains and leadership roles all significantly favor men, which leads to a substantial disadvantage

for women (see Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman & Eagly, 2008; Rudman, & Glick, 2001; Spence, & Buckner, 2000).

Yet, in feminine working environments there is no significant difference between the value of leadership potential and leadership performance in either men or women. In other words, men do not face the same disadvantage in a gender incongruent workplace, as there is equality of opportunity for both men and women in feminine working environments. However, interestingly in Study 9 the benefit of leadership potential in male candidates was neutralized in highly feminine domains.

Importantly, Study 9 started to investigate *why* such disparities between the evaluation of leadership potential and leadership performance occurred in men and women. The study examined leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential, leadership performance), candidate gender and the evaluation of agentic and communal stereotypes. Study 9 confirmed that leadership performance, especially in female candidates, was highly congruent with gender stereotypes, however, leadership potential did not have the expected significant relationship with gender stereotypes. However, these findings do partially support the theoretical evidence behind the conceptual framework and suggest that future exploration of state-level factors is important.

8.3 Theoretical Implications

8.3.1 Leadership Potential and Gender

Research on career progression and gender has repeatedly reported that women are at a distinct disadvantage in the pursuit of leadership positions (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Kark & Eagly, 2010; Ryan & Branscombe, 2012). This has substantial challenges for women's ability to improve their economic, social and political positions within society (Pema & Mehay; 2010). In addition, over the last decade management researchers have found substantial evidence that demonstrating leadership potential is critical to improving chances of progressing into leadership roles (Church, 2014; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; London et al., 2007; Silzer & Church, 2009). The main objective of this thesis was to investigate how leadership potential and gender are evaluated in the selection of leaders. The main contribution has demonstrated that leadership potential and leadership performance offer distinctly different outcomes to men and women.

The studies presented in this thesis extend the current thinking on gender, leadership potential and career progression by showing the selection and evaluation of candidates can depend on the type of leadership trait demonstrated (e.g. leadership potential, leadership performance) and the gender of the candidate. It has been shown that there is a preference for leadership potential at an experimental level (Tormala et al., 2012) and at an organizational level (Church, 2014; Collings & Mellahi, 2009; Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Silzer & Church, 2009), in so far that candidates with leadership potential are the most desirable choice in hiring situations. It suggests that leadership potential is a highly valuable asset to candidates applying to leadership

posts, despite the uncertainty that can surround future performance (Tormala et al., 2015; Poehlman & Newman, 2014).

This research shows that whilst leadership potential is important to in the pursuit of leadership posts, it is a benefit to men *alone*. Across nine studies in this thesis I consistently found that whilst leadership potential was more advantageous for men to demonstrate over leadership performance, the opposite was true for women. In order to have the greatest chance of selection women needed to demonstrate their previous leadership performance over their leadership potential.

The results (Study 9) also show that gender stereotypical beliefs are related to the perception of leadership performance and leadership potential. It also supports current evidence that gender stereotypes are more likely to be applied to female candidates applying for jobs, and for candidates who demonstrate leadership performance. This suggests that women and leadership performance are more vulnerable to stereotypical judgments than either men or candidates with leadership potential.

These findings show that the perception of leadership potential can be either a help or hindrance to career advancement, it also supports current evidence that despite higher perceptions of performance women are still less likely to progress than men (Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012). Ultimately these studies suggest there is still inequality in the leadership opportunities available to men and women.

8.3.2 Subjective vs. Objective Evaluations

Stereotypes can act as a measure by which individuals of stereotyped groups are assessed (Biernat et al, 1991). In other words, people are judged by different

standards according to their group membership and this can influence the way individuals are evaluated, examined, and communicated about. For instance, what is considered “high performance” for a male candidate may not be the same as “high performance” for a female candidate because they belong to different gender groups and are judged by different standards.

Consequently, many subjective approaches to asking questions are related to the performance of a specific group, for example men and women might receive “very good” ratings on the same item yet they are not measured by the same standards (Annett, 2002; Biernat et al., 2001). Therefore, the way in which questions are asked about performance or success becomes increasingly important particularly in hiring situations where often only one candidate is selected.

The findings in this thesis show that subjective items are less likely to indicate bias. For instance, the subjective items show that leadership performance is overall more impressive and candidates demonstrating their previous achievements are subjectively more likely to be hired. However, when the similar items are asked on objective items the results indicate that the most desirable trait is leadership potential. Moreover leadership potential, not leadership performance, is especially valuable in male candidates. Yet, for female candidates leadership performance is substantially more advantageous than leadership potential. The differentiation on subjective and objective items shows that the perception of leadership potential and leadership performance is also susceptible to bias. Moreover, the combination of the standards used to judge leadership traits and gender are also can significantly influence the outcome of hiring decisions.

This thesis provides additional support to the *Shifting Standards Model* (Biernat et al., 1991; 2001; 2003; 2012) and the literature on objective and subjective measures (Annett, 2010; Kayes & McPherson, 2010). First, by demonstrating that leadership traits are evaluated differently on objective and subjective measures and, second, that the bias associated with leadership traits *and* gender is only exposed on more objective items.

8.3.3 Organizational Context

Working environments. The organizational context of leadership is highly important in the assessment and selection of leaders, neglecting to examine the social context in which a leader is established reduces the complexity of leaders to an individual level (Haslam, Reicher, & Platow, 2011; Thomas et al., 2013). Moreover, evaluations of male and female candidates can be altered depending on the compatibility of the gender stereotype with the social context (Gorman, 2005).

The studies in this thesis yield further evidence for the role of organizational context in leadership selection. Across a number of studies the organizational context of the qualitative and experimental research demonstrates that leadership potential and leadership performance can be associated with different career paths (Study 1). Moreover, when a candidate's gender corresponds with gender typical working environments that can significantly impact the evaluation and selection of individuals (Study 8 & 9).

Importantly the organizational context did have some impact on how men and women with leadership potential and leadership performance were evaluated. In so far that, leadership potential in male candidates became increasingly valuable in

masculine-typed contexts and this affect was neutralized in feminine typed contexts. This is particularly informative in regards to Study 9. In Study 9 participants were exposed to either highly masculinized or highly feminized environments and then asked to evaluate leadership candidates. In the masculine condition male candidates with leadership potential became even more desirable, whereas in the feminine condition this advantage was completely reduced and all candidates were rated as relatively equal.

Overall, these studies provide additional weight to the challenges that women face advancing into leadership positions in male dominated working environments (Caleo & Heilman, 2014) and moreover how the perception of leadership qualities can be strengthened and weakened depending on the social context of the leadership role.

Leadership potential and management level. In addition to the evaluation of working environments this thesis also examined the role of leadership levels and the perception of leadership potential, leadership performance and gender. There is evidence to suggest leadership potential is more allied with individuals in senior positions (Church & Rotolo, 2013). However, on the other hand leadership potential is highly relevant to organizational systems (e.g. Talent Management Systems, fast-track career programs), which are specifically designed to develop future talent (Dries, 2013; Dries & Pepermans, 2007; Guan et al., 2014; Singh et al., 2009; Thomas, 2009). In addition, identifying leadership potential early gives organizations to chance acquire talent early and at a fraction of their future worth (Poehlman & Newman, 2014).

Findings within this thesis (Studies 4, 5 and 6) suggest that leadership potential is important at junior and senior management levels. These studies show that regardless of the seniority level, leadership potential is more valuable in male candidates than leadership performance, and leadership performance is more important in women than leadership potential. In other words, irrespective of the position being applied for people's judgments remained the same. However, interestingly in Study 7 there was some indication that leadership potential is more valuable in both men and women at junior management positions.

Overall, these findings are consistent with the idea that seniority does not influence the outcome of evaluation and selection decisions. However, unlike evidence that suggest there is a general preference for potential (Church & Pepermans, 2014; Dries & Pepermans, 2007; Poehlman & Newman, 2014; Tormala et al., 2012), the results in this thesis propose that the preference for leadership potential is exclusive to male candidates and female candidates need to exhibit their past leadership performance to increase their chances of selection.

8.3.4 Conceptual Framework

The aim of the conceptual framework was to answer two main empirical questions; (i) is leadership potential more beneficial in career advancement and, (ii) does candidate gender effect the evaluation of leadership potential and leadership performance? In support of the conceptual framework, current research and organizational strategies on leadership potential (Church, 2015; Tormala et al., 2012) the research in this thesis confirmed that leadership potential was an advantage in career progression. Moreover, and fundamental to the future direction of leadership

potential research, the evidence in this thesis proposes that leadership potential is an advantage to men alone as women must demonstrate leadership performance to improve chances of progression. This highlights a significant problem in women's ability to advance into leadership roles as leadership potential is the most desirable trait in future leaders (Church, 2014) yet, it is less valuable in women than it is in men. That said, the proposed moderating role of candidate gender is yet to be fully tested and future research should consider this.

The conceptual framework also provided some guidance on the state-level factors that might mediate the evaluation of leadership qualities (potential, performance). The framework proposed that stereotypical beliefs about gender and leadership might influence the outcome of hiring decisions. Results from Study 9 show a distinct relationship between gender stereotypes and female candidates with leadership performance. However, future research needs to explore state-level factors as mediators between the independent factors (e.g. leadership qualities) and outcome factors (e.g. hiring decisions) in this leadership model.

Importantly, organizational context was included in the conceptual framework to ensure that the model addressed the group and state-level of the selection and hiring of leaders. The impact of organizational context can considerably influence the assessment of candidates (Gorman, 2005), particularly when investigating the compatibility of gender and leadership stereotypes. For instance, in Study 9 a highly feminine working context altered the preference for potential in male candidates, in so far that all candidates were much more similarly evaluated regardless of gender or leadership quality. However, this pattern was not consistently repeated, in other social

contexts (see Study 8), the preference for leadership potential in men and leadership performance in women is consistent.

Overall, the conceptual framework provided a vital theoretical guide to the research in this thesis by consolidating evidence from multiple academic and organizational fields and presenting a new leadership model. Moreover, components of the framework have been validated in this thesis, however, future research should address the mediating role of state-level factors as well as expanding the current model to look beyond gender.

8.4 Limitations

Despite the empirical evidence presented in this thesis there are a few critical limitations regarding the generalizability of the findings that need to be addressed.

State-level factors. Whilst Chapter 7 suggested that gender stereotypes might be an important underlying psychological mechanism it is important to investigate this further. It would be valuable to refine items that related to gender stereotypes and develop measures that investigated specific characteristic traits associated with leadership potential and leadership performance (see outline in Chapter 2).

Subjective vs. objective measures. Throughout my research I have used a combination of subjective and objective measures to investigate how judgments about leadership candidates is influenced by certain leadership qualities (e.g. leadership potential, leadership performance) and candidate gender. Using a combination of subjective and objective items provided insight into the importance of material

context when evaluating future leaders as more subjective, abstract measurements can often mask bias and discrimination (Biernat et al., 1991; 2003; 2012). On objective measures the preference for leadership potential in male candidates and the preference for leadership potential in female candidates was consistently significant. However, this finding was not replicated on more subjective items where all candidates were rated relatively equally. Moreover, using ranking items is more representative of organizational recruitment situations.

Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that whilst the physical distance between 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th might not be meaningful, the psychological distance is (O'Brien, 1985). For example, the magnitude of meaning associated with first will not be equal to that of third or fourth (Gevers, Reynvoet & Fias, 2003).

Explicit measures. Furthermore, the consistency of the findings in the on the objective items suggests that there is a substantial preference for leadership potential in male candidates and a preference for leadership performance in female candidates. However, these findings are not being consistently identified on the more subjective items. This suggests that the items being measured may be too explicit to pick up on implicit biases. Therefore, in order to fully understand why the bias is not being identified on subjective items more implicit measures of stereotypes should be introduced. For instance, although there is some evidence that implicit measures of attitudes are vulnerable to context bias (for review, see Blair, 2002), they are often considered to be stable evaluative constructs (Fazio & Olson, 2003; Schwartz & Bohner, 2001).

Single item measures. In the initial studies included in this thesis a number of the measures included were single-items. Single-item measures are considered to have

appropriate psychometric properties (Bergkvist & Rossiter, 2007; Gilbert & Kelloway 2014) and they reduce the length of the questionnaire, which can improve response and attention rates (e.g., Krosnick, 1999). However, single-item measures are widely regarded as having a much weaker predictive validity compared with multi-item measures (Diamantopoulos et al., 2012).

Manipulations of leadership potential and leadership performance. The scores included on the CVs indicated a high performance in either the *leadership potential inventory* or the *leadership achievement inventory* (see Tormala et al., 2012) in later studies I included fictional statements about either the leadership potential or the leadership performance of the candidate. Whilst this was included to strengthen the manipulation of Leadership Quality it is possible that the panel reviews could be a potential confound, however the statements were counterbalanced and randomized between applicants to reduce any confounds. That said, the panel reviews could benefit from more consistent language across leadership potential and leadership performance to improve control over the experimental design. In particular, additional ways to manipulate leadership potential (e.g. including strategy and vision) could be investigated to improve the scope of the manipulation.

Conceptual framework. The conceptual framework provided a valuable guide to the theoretical and empirical evidence in this thesis however it was not possible to fully test the model within the scope of this thesis. Its application is limited as the mediation effect of state-level factors has not been empirically tested. The proposed mediation needs further refinement to focus on the both the stereotypes associated with leadership quality and the stereotypes associated with gender. Furthermore, the

relationship between leadership quality stereotypes and gender stereotypes needs further investigation.

Manipulation check. The manipulation check is a double-barrelled question, which can be problematic as it asks two separate questions which can limit the reliability of the data. However, this was only used to confirm the differentiation between leadership potential and leadership performance in the applicants and across all of the studies the results were highly consistent.

Analytic approach. Using rank data was important to accurately represent organizational contexts and they prevent very large differences in variance. However, using rank data as a measure presented a challenge for data analysis. For example, ranked data violates of assumption of normality required for parametric analysis. That said, normality grows less serious as the number of participants and studies increases and in this thesis there are 1144 participants over nine studies. Moreover, a meta-analysis confirmed the consistency and reliability of the results ($N = 504$, $Z_s > 7.16$, $ps < .001$). In further support, some rank data parametric tests are as good as or better than non-parametric approaches (Judd & McClelland, 1989; Ruxton, 2006). I decided to use a parametric approach to data analysis because being able to analyze multiple factors and interaction effects in a within-participants design was essential to understanding the relationship between leadership qualities (leadership potential, leadership performance) and candidate gender. In a recent study Wobbrick and colleagues (2011) re-examined multiple studies that had used non-parametric data analysis and re-analyzed them using parametric data analysis (ANOVA) and found the same results but also some valuable interaction effects.

Despite this evidence using parametric tests to analyze ranked data could be problematic. Therefore, alongside the parametric analysis I ran a series of non-parametric analyses to test the hypotheses included in this thesis. I consistently found the same pattern of results in the ranked data and the analysis continued to replicate the significant findings. For example, a comparison of the repeated measures in Study 6 on measures of overall success was performed using Friedman's test which showed a statistically significant difference between the ranked data, $X^2(4, N = 198) = 161.90, p < .001$. Further research needs to look at innovative ways of looking at these differences, for example item response theory (Brown, in press) might be suitable or alternatively confidence in ranks (Bosak & Sczesny, 2011)

8.5 Future Directions and Practical Implications

The research used different paradigms, social contexts and vignettes to investigate how leadership traits and candidate gender influence the evaluation and selection of leadership candidates. Results offer exciting evidence that leadership potential and leadership performance yield different hiring and evaluation outcomes for men and women. Consequently, there is scope to develop this research in a number of ways.

It would be interesting to investigate more fully how gender stereotypes influence the decision-making when hiring high-potential candidates. The priority should be to explore the mediating role of gender stereotypes in the effect of gender on leadership potential in hiring decisions. This could also be developed further to exploring which gender stereotypes are associated with leadership performance and

leadership potential. Are certain traits directly associated with men who demonstrate leadership potential that are not visible in women who show leadership performance? Moreover, examining additional state-level factors (e.g. status, identity etc.) would be valuable to establish a deeper understanding of the relationship between gender, leadership potential and hiring outcomes.

Although experimental research provides valuable insights its generalizability should be carefully managed. Future research would benefit from working with organizational samples to assess the mechanisms underlying the selection of candidates to leadership roles. It would also be useful to replicate these findings in applied contexts, situations and samples. For example, studies in organizations and with previous hiring data (e.g. archival studies) or empirical research within an organization would be a valuable addition to this research. Moreover, the concept of leadership potential and leadership performance could be applied to many different contexts. For instance, it might be that having a leader with high-potential/performance in a sports team improves outcomes.

There is also scope to look further at group norms. For example, it may be that if group norms were more performance or potential based this would challenge the hiring outcome. Or it may be that potential becomes even more desirable in a performance based context as it is more visible. Future research could manipulate the group norm to test how this impacts on the appointment of leaders.

Importantly, this research also has practical implications for organizations and beyond. The way in which candidates are hired and selected is a direct measure of career advancement (Eagly, & Carli, 2007) and it is the only direct route to senior leadership. Therefore ensuring that there is equality of opportunity in the way in

which people are hired and selected is fundamental in safeguarding gender equity in leadership positions. These results suggest that there is an additional bias towards women with leadership performance and men with leadership potential. Considering that leadership potential is now the most desirable trait in future leaders (Church, 2014), recognizing that this might not be the case for women could help organizations to improve diversity and equality in hiring processes and in leadership.

Leadership is often considered as the most central role within a group (Zaccaro, Ritman, & Marks, 2002) and establishing how performance and potential traits influences the evaluation, judgments and beliefs about leaders could ensure that the best leader is selected. Beyond organizational contexts the preference for leadership potential and the advantage it offers men can be applied more broadly. For example, it might be that high-potential men could have an advantage in political elections, negotiation situations and online-dating sites.

8.6 Conclusion

The selection and appointment of the best leaders continues to be a top concern among organizations. The results of the research presented in this thesis suggest that leadership potential is highly desirable in future leaders, yet, it is an advantage available to men alone. In order for women to improve their chances of advancing into leadership roles they must demonstrate previous leadership performance. This is highly problematic in organizational systems that continually promote and support employees and candidates with “high potential”. It is likely that the different evaluations of leadership potential and leadership performance in men

and women is contributing to the overwhelming under-representation of women in leadership positions.

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APPENDIX A – Study 1 Invitation to Participate

2. In partnership with the Higher Education Academy the University of Kent is holding a number of focus groups across the UK with HEIs.
3. Part of our research will investigate how HEIs reward and recognise various aspects of employees' performance (leadership, learning and teaching, research etc.).
4. In order to ensure that we have an accurate picture of current views and opinions on this, we would be very interested in working with the University of XXXXX. It would be invaluable to gain the professional opinions of such a highly regarded and respected HEI and its employees.
5. We are looking to work with *teaching and research staff* and would not require any more than an hour of your time, all participation be completely confidential and it will of course include refreshments (cake!).
6. If you are interested in this opportunity please contact Abigail Player:

psyhea@kent.ac.uk / 01227 823718

THANK YOU!



CONSENT FORM

Name of Researcher: Abigail Player (supervised by Dr Georgina Randsley de Moura and Prof Dominic Abrams)

Please tick box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that only the research team from the University of Kent who are working on the project will have access to my details.
4. I understand that any data or information used in any publications which arise from this study will be anonymous.
5. I understand that all data will be stored securely and is covered by the data protection act.
6. I agree to take part in the study.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Focus Group Schedule

Abigail Player, supervised by Dr Georgina Randsley de Moura and Prof. Dominic Abrams at the University of Kent

We are working with the Higher Education Academy to look at how different HEIs currently reward and recognise different types of activities academics are involved in (*LT, research, enterprise, and management*).

A couple of **housekeeping** points:

- You will not be identified in any reports.
- The tape will be used to transcribe the discussion today and to inform future questionnaires and will be kept completely confidential.
- You will also need to respect each other's confidentiality.

And a couple of **ground rules**:

- There are no right or wrong answers at all.
- We are really interested in all of your opinions.
- Only one person talking at a time and phones off please.

Ice breaker:

- Very helpful if you could tell us your name, your department, your main duties and how long you have worked here.

Initial Questions:

- What is your overall opinion/experience of current reward policies in this institution?
- In what way is your contribution recognised (e.g. prizes, awards, colleagues)?

Main Questions:

- How do you think the structure of current Reward and Recognition (R&R) policies influence your **performance**?
- How do you think the structure of current R&R policies influence your **sense of belonging** with your HEI?
- How do you think the structure of current R&R policies influence your **satisfaction with work and home life**?

Closing Question:

- What would you change about the current R&R system?
- What would be your top three current R&R policies?

Prompts if required:

- How do you think the structure of current R&R policies reflect the true nature of your current job role with your HEI?
- How do you think the structure of current R&R policies influence your **sense of equality** with your HEI?

Focus Group Debrief

Recognition and reward in Higher Education Institutions

Thank you very much for your participation in this research. We would like to provide some further information about the purpose of the study and what we expect to find.

Taking part in this research will help us to understand more about how different methods of reward and recognition affect psychological and behavioural processes, and how these in turn affect performance of quality of learning, teaching and research within Higher Education Institutions.

The research outcomes will inform a practical tool-kit for HEIs. These research insights for practice will directly feed into the national agenda for employee engagement as a means to improve organizational productivity and efficiency. Any information that you have provided is completely confidential and will be analyzed anonymously. If you have any questions or concerns about the research please do not hesitate to contact the researcher.

If you have any queries about this research or would like to ask any further questions, please contact the researcher or research supervisor using the contact details below.

If you would like to withdraw your data from analysis at any point, please contact the Psychology office on **01227 823961**. You have been given a participant code and you need to cite this if you wish to withdraw your data. You do not have to give a reason for your withdrawal.

Once again, we would like to thank you for your valuable contribution to this research. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,
Abigail Player

Researcher contact details:

Abigail Player

e-mail: psyhea@kent.ac.uk

Supervisor contact details:

Dr Georgina Randsley de Moura

e-mail: psyhea@kent.ac.uk

If you have any serious concerns about the ethical conduct of this study, please inform the Chair of the Psychology Research Ethics Panel (via the Psychology Office) in writing, providing a detailed account of your concern.

APPENDIX B

CV with Leadership Quality as the Between-Participants Factor

Applicant A	Applicant B
Birthday: 09/21/1986	Birthday: 05/13/1987
Educational Background: B.A., 2007, Cornell University Major: Accounting, GPA: 3.82 M.B.A., 2011, New York University	Educational Background: B.A., 2008, University of California, Berkeley Major: Finance, GPA: 3.90 M.S., 2011, Management Science, UCLA
Internships: Ernst & Young Morgan Stanley	Internships: Morgan Stanley Fidelity Investments
Job Testing: 83/100 on the Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The LAI gauges leadership achievement, defined as an individual's observed (i.e., actual) leadership performance at the current stage in his or her career. An achievement score of 83 places this applicant in the top 17% of people who have been assessed.</i> 96/100 on the Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The ALP gauges leadership potential, defined as the employee's predicted leadership performance in the near future. A score of 96 indicates that this applicant predicted future leadership performance is estimated to be in the top 4% of people who have been assessed.</i> 	Job Testing: 96/100 on the Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The LAI gauges leadership achievement, defined as an individual's observed (i.e., actual) leadership performance at the current stage in his or her career. An achievement score of 96 places this applicant in the top 4% of people who have been assessed.</i> 83/100 on the Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The ALP gauges leadership potential, defined as the employee's predicted leadership performance in the near future. A score of 83 indicates that this applicant predicted future leadership performance is estimated to be in the top 17% of people who have been assessed.</i>

<p>Applicant A</p> <p>Gender: Male Birthday: 09/21/1986</p>	<p>Applicant B</p> <p>Gender: Male Birthday: 05/13/1987</p>
<p>Educational Background:</p> <p>B.A., 2007, Cornell University Major: Accounting, GPA: 3.82 M.B.A., 2011, New York University</p>	<p>Educational Background:</p> <p>B.A., 2008, University of California, Berkeley Major: Finance, GPA: 3.90 M.S., 2011, Management Science, UCLA</p>
<p>Internships:</p> <p>Ernst & Young Morgan Stanley</p>	<p>Internships:</p> <p>Morgan Stanley Fidelity Investments</p>
<p>Job Testing:</p> <p>83/100 on the Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The LAI gauges leadership achievement, defined as an individual's observed (i.e., actual) leadership performance at the current stage in his or her career. An achievement score of 83 places this applicant in the top 17% of people who have been assessed.</i> <p>96/100 on the Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The ALP gauges leadership potential, defined as the employee's predicted leadership performance in the near future. A score of 96 indicates that this applicant predicted future leadership performance is estimated to be in the top 4% of people who have been assessed.</i> 	<p>Job Testing:</p> <p>96/100 on the Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The LAI gauges leadership achievement, defined as an individual's observed (i.e., actual) leadership performance at the current stage in his or her career. An achievement score of 96 places this applicant in the top 4% of people who have been assessed.</i> <p>83/100 on the Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The ALP gauges leadership potential, defined as the employee's predicted leadership performance in the near future. A score of 83 indicates that this applicant predicted future leadership performance is estimated to be in the top 17% of people who have been assessed.</i>

Applicant A	Applicant B	Applicant C	Applicant D
Sex: Male Birthday: 09/21/1986	Sex: Female Birthday: 05/13/1987	Sex: Female Birthday: 30/08/1985	Sex: Male Birthday: 19/12/1984
Educational Background: B.A., 2007, Cornell University Major: Accounting, GPA: 3.82 M.B.A., 2011, New York University	Educational Background: B.A., 2008, University of California, Berkeley Major: Economics, GPA: 3.90 M.S., 2011, Management Science, UCLA	Educational Background: B.A., 2006, Brown University Major: Management Accountancy, GPA: 3.79 M.B.A., 2009, University of Washington	Educational Background: B.A., 2005, University of Notre Dame Major: Finance, GPA: 3.91 M.S., 2008, Operational Research & Management Science, University of Michigan
Internships: Ernst & Young Morgan Stanley	Internships: Morgan Stanley Fidelity Investments	Internships: Merrill Lynch Susquehanna International Group	Internships: American Express General Electric
Panel review: “This applicant has a budding career in front of him. He has clearly demonstrated some highly valuable attributes that would make significant contributions to this organization. Great potential!”	Panel review: “This candidate has an excellent track-record, she has consistently achieved to a high standard. In addition she has made significant contributions to the performance of the company by exceeding her targets.”	Panel review: “This candidate has great prospects. She has some exciting new ideas for the future of the team and the organization, which could offer the opportunity to increase sales and performance in the future.”	Panel review: “The applicant is highly capable, and has consistently performed above his own objectives and that of the organizations. The performance in his current role has exceeded expectations.”
Job Testing: 83/100 on the Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI) 96/100 on the Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP)	Job Testing: 96/100 on the Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI) 83/100 on the Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP)	Job Testing: 84/100 on the Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI) 94/100 on the Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP)	Job Testing: 94/100 on the Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI) 84/100 on the Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP)

PLEASE NOTE

- *The Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI) gauges leadership achievement, defined as an individual’s observed (i.e., actual) leadership performance at the current stage in his or her career. An achievement score of 96 places this applicant in the top 4% of people who have been assessed.*
- *The Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP) gauges leadership potential, defined as the employee’s predicted leadership performance in the near future. A score of 83 indicates that this applicant predicted future leadership performance is estimated to be in the top 17% of people who have been assessed.*

Study 6 - Bloomberg News

The screenshot shows a web browser displaying the Bloomberg Businessweek website. The URL in the address bar is www.businessweek.com/articles/2014-09-03/tellinc-on-hunt-for-senior-management. The page features the Bloomberg Businessweek logo and navigation tabs for various categories like Global Economics, Companies & Industries, Politics & Policy, Technology, Markets & Finance, Innovation & Design, Lifestyle, Business Schools, Small Business, and Video & Multimedia. The main article title is "Tell Inc. on the hunt for new member of senior management team". The article text discusses the CEO's search for a new VP and mentions the resignation of Alex Hepburn. A sidebar on the right contains a "Most Popular" section with several article titles and a newsletter subscription form.

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Tell Inc. on the hunt for new member of senior management team

CEO looking for new VP and wants 'best possible candidate' to shape the company's 'bright future'

By Cynthia Brick | September 03, 2014

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In an open letter to Tell Inc. employees the CEO, Robin Metcalfe, announced the resignation of the company's Vice President of Financial Affairs, Alex Hepburn, adding 'Alex has been a great asset to this company having immeasurably contributed to our progress over recent years.'

Tell Inc. is a highly successful US based telecommunications company, consistently performing well on the global markets, with particular growth and expansion in Eastern Europe and China over the last year. Tell Inc. is well known for its dynamic and innovative approach to communication technology, having developed some of the most well-known products on the market today.

This is a very important role for Tell Inc. to fill and there will be significant interest in the technology community about who will be appointed and which direction they will look to take the company in.

CEO, Robin Metcalfe, said that they are looking to find 'the best possible candidate to help lead and shape the bright future of Tell Inc.'

All eyes are on the CEO and the Board of Directors to see who they choose.

Bloomberg Businessweek

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Three Pie Charts That Prove You Shouldn't Slack Off in College

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**Candidate Information:****Christine Harplin***Educational background:*

B.A., University of California, Berkeley

Major: Finance, GPA: 3.90

M.S., Management Science, UCLA

Previous Employers:

KPMG

Google

References:

Georgina Cook, KPMG - 'Christine is an excellent Financial Director, and has many achievements. As her direct manager I am in a good position to evaluate Christine's achievements - she is highly competent and consistently performed very well. She has been partly responsible for a significant growth in profits for KPMG Financial Resources division.'

Robin Metcalfe, Tell Inc. CEO - 'Christine is clearly a candidate who has performed very highly throughout her career. She has shown from her past achievements and accomplishments that she is highly capable of performing to the highest standard. Christine is certainly at the top of her group in her professional achievements'

Christine Harplin, Candidate - 'When you are a manager in a business like ours you need to show how much you have achieved and exactly what you have achieved in order to really progress.'

*Job Testing:***In the top 5% on the Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI)**

• *The LAI gauges leadership achievement, defined as an individual's observed (i.e., actual) leadership performance at the current stage in his or her career.*

In the top 17% on the Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP)

• *The ALP gauges leadership potential, defined as the employee's predicted leadership performance in the near future*

← → ↻ 🏠 www.efinancialnews.com/people/unitedbankgroup_announce_new_recruitment_drive

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United Bank Group announces recruitment drive for new managers

By Alex Hamersley 🐦

A recent internal memo from the United Bank Group reveals that the company is recruiting a number of new members to expand its management team.

United Bank Group is a global financial company, specialising in investments and fund management. The company is well known for its diverse and innovative approach to finance and investment and has many high profile contracts and clients.

It is an important announcement for United Bank Group. Their recent success means that they will want to keep up this momentum and to continue growing the bank. No doubt there will be significant interest in the finance community about their new recruitment strategy.

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CARE International announces recruitment drive for new managers

By Alex Hamersley 🐦

A recent internal memo from the CARE International reveals that the company is recruiting a number of new members to expand its management team.

CARE International is a global charity who strive to eliminate world poverty. They have a presence in over 84 countries and reach over 83 million people. The company is well known for its diverse and innovative approach to humanitarian aid and has been fundamental in delivering care packages since 1943.

It is an important announcement for CARE International. Their long-running success in means that they will want to keep up this momentum and to continue growing the charity. No doubt there will be significant interest in the third sector about their new recruitment strategy.


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Third Sector
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www.FundraisingWeek.co.uk

← → ↻ 🏠 www.cnplus.co.uk/news/JG_Construction_Group_Announces_New_Recruitment_Strategy


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JG Construction Group News



JG Construction Group announces recruitment drive for new managers

By Alex Hamersley |

A recent internal memo from the JG Construction Group reveals that the company is recruiting a number of new managers throughout their operations.

JG Construction Group is a UK wide construction company and its projects involve a number of industries from oil and gas to utilities and waste. The company is well known for its diverse and innovative approach to construction and has many high profile contracts.

It is an important announcement for JG Construction Group. Their recent success in the UK means that they will want to keep up this momentum and to continue growing the company. No doubt there will be significant interest in the construction community about their new recruitment strategy.

← → ↻ 🏠 www.nursingtimes.net/home/news/medacs_nursing_group_announces_new_recruitment_strategy

Nursing Times.net

'Who will step up and lead community nurse drive?'
Jenni Middleton, Editor

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Medacs Nursing Group announces recruitment drive for new managers

By Alex Hamersley |

A recent internal memo from the Medacs Nursing Group reveals that the company is recruiting a number of new managers throughout their operations.

Medacs Nursing Group is a UK wide nursing and healthcare company and has contracts in a variety of settings from residential care to public hospitals. The company is well known for its diverse and innovative approach to nursing and healthcare and has many high profile contracts.

It is an important announcement for Medacs Nursing Group. Their recent success in the UK means that they will want to keep up this momentum and to continue growing the company. No doubt there will be significant interest in the nursing and healthcare about their new recruitment strategy.

Charity Example CV

CANDIDATE INFORMATION

Gender: Female

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

B.A., University of California, Berkeley

Major: International Development, GPA: 3.90

M.S., Management Science, UCLA

WORK EXPERIENCE AND INTERNSHIPS

Save the Children

The Red Cross

PANEL REVIEW

“This candidate has an excellent track-record, she has consistently achieved to a high standard. In addition she has made significant contributions to the performance of her previous companies by exceeding her targets. She is certainly at the top of the group in her professional achievements”

JOB TESTING

In the top **5%** on the **Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI)**

- *The LAI gauges **leadership achievement**, defined as an individual’s **observed (i.e., actual) leadership performance** at the current stage in his or her career.*

In the top **19%** on the **Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP)**

- *The ALP gauges **leadership potential**, defined as the **employee’s predicted leadership performance** in the near future.*

Finance Example CV

CANDIDATE INFORMATION

Gender: Male

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

B.A., Cornell University

Major: Accounting, GPA: 3.82

M.B.A., New York University

WORK EXPERIENCE

HSBC

Barclays

PANEL REVIEW

“This applicant has a very promising career in front of him. He has clearly demonstrated some highly valuable attributes and excellent ideas that would make significant contributions to the company. He is right at the top of the vocation in terms of his future professional and leadership potential”

JOB TESTING

In the top **16%** on the **Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI)**

• *The LAI gauges **leadership achievement**, defined as an individual’s **observed (i.e., actual) leadership performance** at the current stage in his or her career.*

In the top **4%** on the **Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP)**

• *The ALP gauges **leadership potential**, defined as the **employee’s predicted leadership performance** in the near future.*

Nursing CV Example

CANDIDATE INFORMATION

Gender: Female

Educational Background

University: BSc in Construction Engineering, Staffordshire University

WORK EXPERIENCE AND INTERNSHIPS

Turner Construction

MACE Group

PANEL REVIEW

“This candidate has excellent prospects and potential. She has some exciting new ideas for the future, which could offer the opportunity to increase performance and productivity. You can see from her budding talent and leadership potential that she has the chance to be one of the best in the field”

JOB TESTING

In the top **18%** on the **Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI)**

- *The LAI gauges **leadership achievement**, defined as an individual’s **observed (i.e., actual) leadership performance** at the current stage in his or her career.*

In the top **3%** on the **Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP)**

- *The ALP gauges **leadership potential**, defined as the **employee’s predicted leadership performance** in the near future.*

Construction CV Example

CANDIDATE INFORMATION

Gender: Male

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

University: BSc in Nursing (Adult), University of York

WORK EXPERIENCE AND INTERNSHIPS

Auckland Park Hospital

Buckingham Hospital

Broomfield Residential

PANEL REVIEW

“The applicant is highly capable, and has consistently performed significantly above his own targets and that of his previous employers contributing to increased performance and productivity. He is in the top tier in terms of his professional performance - highly accomplished and competent clearly demonstrated by his previous achievements.”

JOB TESTING

In the top **4%** on the **Leadership Achievement Inventory (LAI)**

- *The LAI gauges **leadership achievement**, defined as an individual’s **observed (i.e., actual) leadership performance** at the current stage in his or her career.*

In the top **19%** on the **Assessment of Leadership Potential (ALP)**

- *The ALP gauges **leadership potential**, defined as the **employee’s predicted leadership performance** in the near future.*

APPENDIX C**Examples of Objective & Rank Measures****Study 3**

Which applicant do you think will be the most successful in their career?

_____ Applicant A (1)

_____ Applicant B (2)

Study 5

Which applicant would be the best appointment?

_____ Applicant A (1)

_____ Applicant B (2)

_____ Applicant C (3)

_____ Applicant D (4)

Study 6

Which applicant do you think will perform better by the 5th year?

_____ Rupert Blake (1)

_____ Christine Harplin (2)

_____ Sarah Davidson (3)

_____ Mark Grapper (4)

Study 7

Please rank candidates in order of preference (e.g. 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th). At present, which applicant would you employ?

_____ Rupert Blake (1)

_____ Christine Harplin (2)

_____ Sarah Davidson (3)

_____ Mark Grapper (4)

Study 9

Please rank candidates in order of preference (e.g. 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th). Which applicant would you hire?

_____ Applicant A (1)

_____ Applicant B (2)

_____ Applicant C (3)

_____ Applicant D (4)

Attention Check Examples

Example One

Recent research on decision-making shows that choices are affected by the context. Differences in how people feel, their previous knowledge and experience, and their environment can affect choices. To help us understand how people make decisions, we are interested in information about you. Specifically, we are interested in whether you actually take the time to read the directions; if not, some results may not tell us very much about decision making in the real world. To show that you have read the instructions, please ignore the question below about how you are feeling and instead check only Nervous. Thank you very much. Please, note that you will not be paid if you check something else.

Please use the options below to indicate how you are feeling (you can choose more than one option).

- Interested (1)
- Distressed (2)
- Excited (3)
- Proud (4)
- Upset (5)
- Strong (6)
- Guilty (7)
- Scared (8)
- Hostile (9)
- Enthusiastic (10)
- Irritable (11)
- Alert (12)
- Ashamed (13)
- Inspired (14)
- Nervous (15)
- Determined (16)
- Attentive (17)
- Jittery (18)
- Active (19)
- Afraid (20)
- None of the above (21)

Example Four

Please think about the candidate that you have just reviewed:

	Previous leadership achievements 1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)	7 (7)	8 (8)	Future leadership potential 9 (9)
To what extent do you think the candidate displays... (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Example Five

Which applicant do you think will perform better by the 5th year?

- _____ Rupert Blake (1)
 _____ Christine Harplin (2)
 _____ Attention Check – rank 5th
 _____ Sarah Davidson (3)
 _____ Mark Grapper (4)