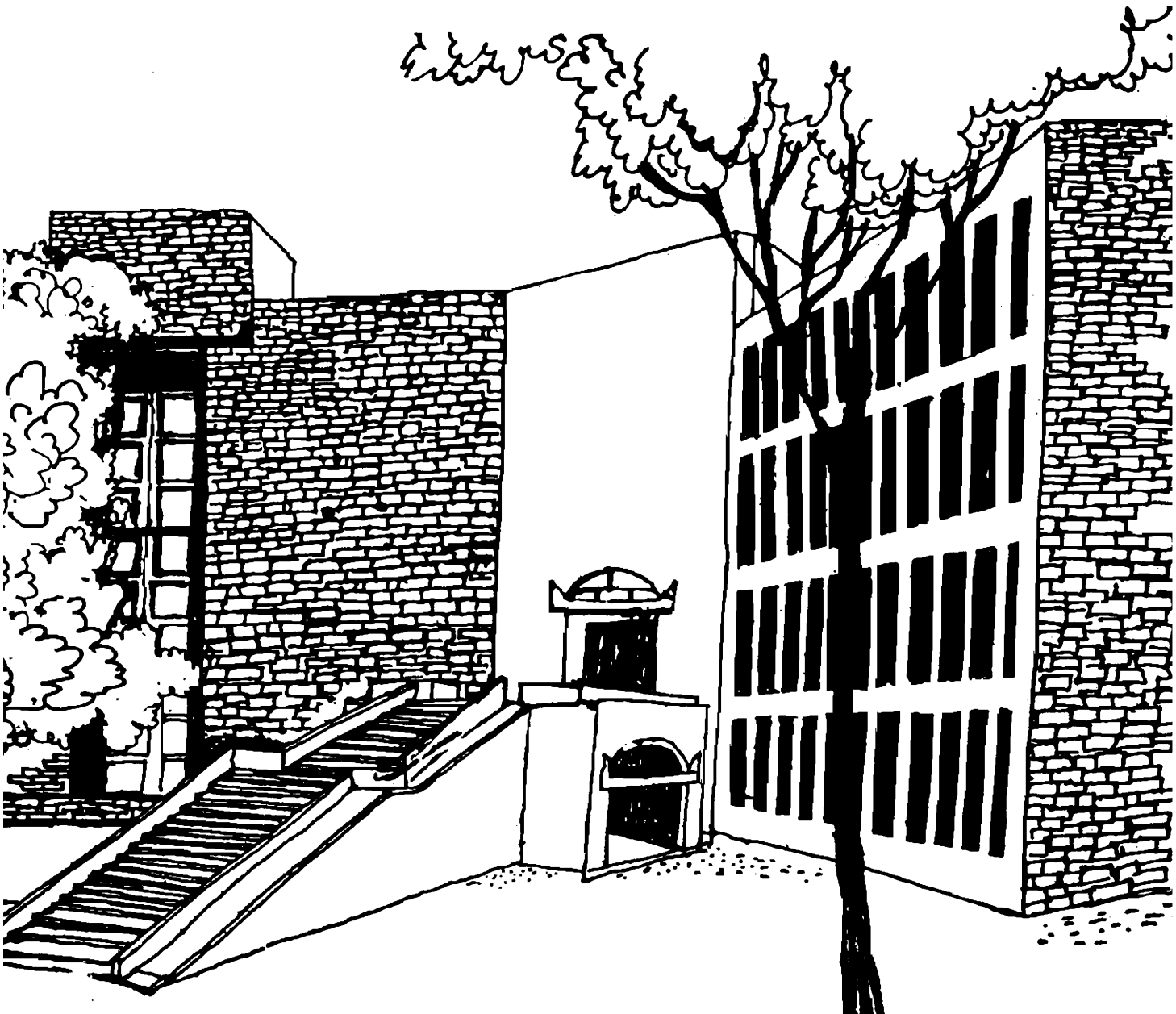विद्याविनियोगाद्विकासः

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Working Paper

ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN AS MANAGERS:
DO EXTENT OF EXPOSURE AND SATISFACTION
WITH EXPOSURE MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

By
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&
Ranjini Swamy

The main objective of the working paper series
of the IIMA is to help faculty members to test
out their research findings at the pre-publi-
cation stage.

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ABSTRACT

For changing the discriminatory attitudes of male managers towards women as managers, two approaches are possible. The first one, suggesting organizational responsibility, assumes a positive relationship between the extent of exposure to women managers and attitudes towards women as managers. The second approach, emphasizing the responsibility of women managers for change, assumes a positive relationship between the extent of satisfaction perceived in task-related exposures to women and attitudes towards them. Both these assumptions are examined in this study. In the first phase, data were collected from 101 male bank managers who had interacted with women managers. The second phase was carried out to examine, additionally, if exposure to women clerks was associated with attitudes towards women as managers. Results showed that (a) the extent of exposure to women managers and clerks did not significantly correlate with attiudes and (b) satisfaction with exposure to women officers and (to a much lesser extent) clerks, correlated positively with attitudes. Interviews with ten male managers led the authors to believe that satisfaction tends to occur when women are perceived to satisfy the task-related expectations of women. These expectations pertain to what should be accomplished in the exposures and how it should be accomplished. Implications for research and practice are discussed.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN AS MANAGERS: DO EXTENT OF EXPOSURE AND SATISFACTION WITH EXPOSURE MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

Social scientists, in their role as potential intellectual activists (Cooperrider and Pasmore, 1991) have time and again raised for scrutiny the issue of the treatment of disadvantaged groups in a society which proclaims equality and equity to be its important guiding values. Race and gender are two such categories which attract social scientists and researchers. At the macro level the concern for the disadvantaged groups has found expression in an examination of the development of labour-market dynamics through different phases of the industrial history. One such analysis shows labour passing through the process of `proletariasing` through the imposition of wage contracts, the process of `homogenisation` of labour services through the routinisation of tasks, and the process of `segmentalising` the labour along the salient categories of gender and race, etc. (Gordon et. al. 1982). A perusal of the history of industrialization shows the relegation of blacks as well as women during phases of economic and technological growth, to the lower level positions in the market which may offer these groups familiarity with but not `power over the knowledge base of a new technology. A collective identity of such stigmatised groups may emerge during periods of decline to safeguard their interests but "new forms of collective representation affirm and reinforce the subordination of those occupying lower positions in the hierarchy" (Loveridge, 198c, 183). Women consigned to low-paid

positions have been available as a particularly valuable buffer against employment fluctuations necessitated by technological changes.

At the enterprise level, an important concern is whether the disadvantaged groups in categories such as blacks and women have been fully integrated at the workplace, or do they continue to receive discriminatory treatment. With regard to the racial minorities, Cox and Nkomo (1990) carried out a comprehensive review of journal literature on the impact of race in organizations. They found evidence of overt racial discrimination in more than two thirds of the empirical studies. While it is not the purpose of this paper to review research addressing issues of race in organizations, it may be relevant to mention here that some studies of intersection of race and gender (Fernandez, 1981; Alderfer et al., 1980; Nkomo and Cox, 1989) have come up with interesting results. For example, Fernandez (1981) found that black women are more sensitive to racism than black men because of the gender discrimination experienced by them.

Gender discrimination:

Theorising gender as a social category, Connell (1985) discusses the limitations of social theory which emphasises attitudes and social expectations around the idea of 'sex roles' as being simplistic like the dichotomisation of social class resting on biological basis of gender. A synthesis of both perspectives is suggested so that an integrated understanding can be developed

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of a social structure which "...is, among other things, a struc-
ture of power, inequality and oppression; a structure of great
scope, complexity, and consequence in our affairs..." (Connell,
1985), 260). Viewing gender not merely as a biological differ-
ence but as a power relationship, Harvey (1986), asserts that
this involves creating a `stigmatised difference' in which women
are perceived not merely as being different from but inferior to
men. This section reviews research dealing with experiences of
women, particularly professional women, at the workplace. If
women perform like men but are accorded unfavourable treatment on
the basis of their gender, discrimination is understood to take
place. Two main streams of research on gender-related issues at
the workplace run concurrently. The first one explores whether
professional women perform like, or differently from, men in
similar positions. The second one explores whether the organiza-
tions treat women in the same way or differently from the way
they treat men.

In answer to the first question, research findings suggest
that women in organizations perform and behave in the same ways
as do men. Donnell and Hall (1980) wanted to know whether women
whose career choice is management do in fact manage differently
from their counterparts. After rigorously comparing the manage-
rial behaviour of nearly 2,000 managers in a way designed to
indicate sex-based differences, Donnell and Hall (1980) reported
"a significant case of no significant differences" between men
and women as managers. More recently Dobbins and Platz (1986)
carried out a meta-analytic review of 17 studies of sex differ-

ences in leadership and concluded that male and female leaders do not exhibit any noticeable differences in initiating structure and consideration, and both seem to have equally satisfied subordinates. In fact Dobbins and Platz suggest a moratorium on research comparing male and female leaders and urge the future researcher instead to investigate <u>the processes which bias the evaluation of male and female leaders</u> (emphasis ours).

Coming to the second stream of research namely the treatment of women in organizations, the important issues are whether women perceive and experience differential treatment, and whether research confirms discriminatory treatment. Gender discrimination must first be felt if it is said to exist. Individuals must first perceive that inequality exists and then decide that this inequality is unfair and that some corrective action is warranted. Davis and Robinson (1991) in their study of men's and women's consciousness of gender inequality in Australia, West Germany, Great Britain and the United States found that women perceived more gender inequality than men and were more favourable toward efforts to combat such inequality. A recent study on perceived differences in the organizational setting (Ragins and Cotton, 1991) found that women perceived greater barriers to gaining mentors at the workplace than men.

As regards the next important question of whether research confirms discriminatory treatment of women, the answer appears to be in the affirmative. Research evidence lends support to the

prevalence of discrimination at the workplace. Their gender is reported to be a major obstacle to women's advancement in organizations (Martin, Harrison and Dinitto, 1983), and discrimination seems to be a key source of stress experienced by professional women (Nelson and Quick, 1985). In the elite profession of law, for example, women lawyers are subjected to a differential treatment which leads to their disadvantaged position vis-a-vis men (Podmore and Spencer, 1986). Women lawyers are underrepresented in senior positions and experience difficulty in getting promoted; women barristers are paid only 50-60 per cent of salary paid to men for similar work (Royal Commission of Legal Services, 1979, cited in Podmore and Spencer, 1986), and women are heavily concentrated in certain areas of legal practice enjoying relatively low prestige within the profession.

Likewise, professional women in academia report experiencing discriminatory treatment. Lott (1985) reviewed research on the evaluation of competent women in the context of the experiences of some eminent academic women. She concluded that the typical responses to a capable woman include prejudice, stereotyped beliefs, and overt or subtle discrimination. Yoder (1985) in recounting her own experiences as one of the first civilian faculty members at an United States military academy gave rich details and analysis of the consequences of tokenism for her in terms of visibility, contrast, and role encapsulation.

Review of research on professional women has confirmed time and again the existence of discrimination against women in terms of devaluation of their performance, unfavorable attribution of their work (Deaux, 1984), and often unintended discrimination in selection, placement, salary fixation, appraisal and promotion decisions (Bhatnagar, 1988a). On the basis of a review of research on the evaluation of the qualifications and performance of men and women, Nieva and Gutek (1980) observed that there seems to exist a different reward system for males and females which rewards success and competence in men, and mediocrity and incompetence in women. The evaluation bias causes special problems for successful women in situations that are ambiguous and sex-role incongruent. There are differences in the organizational treatment of the same phenomenon depending upon whether it is demonstrated by men or women. For example, a study of female professionals' communication proficiency and organizational advancement reported a negative relationship between a supervisor's ability to handle conflict and her achievement level (Shockley - Zalabak, Staley, and Morley, 1988). The research supported the earlier finding that conflict behavior is less acceptable for female professionals than for their male counterparts. At a more subtle level once again the reality experienced by women at work is different from and more disadvantageous than the experiences of men placed in comparable situations. In a study comparing men's and women's experiences in situations concerning sex-role spillover, Gutek and Cohen (1987) found that the fallout of the gender-based roles into the work setting is

more visibly negative for women than for men. Heilman (1983) reviewed the studies comparing attributes like aggression, dependency, verbal skills, mathematical skills and social orientation of men and women. While some studies reported differences, other did not. She found a pervasive and intransigent expectation about a `lack of fit' between the achievement-oriented qualities deemed essential for success in male-dominated occupations and the attributes profile of professional women (Heilman, 1983). Expectations of incompetence which underlie the discriminatory treatment of women managers derive from stereotypic attitudes of men towards women's managerial capabilities (O'Leary, 1977; Terborg, 1977; Martin, 1980). For a reduction in discrimination, then these attitudes need to become less stereotypic.

Stereotypes can be viewed as having a structure which evolves through experience and a change can be affected through accumulation of experiences that are incongruent with the established stereotype (the book-keeping model in Weber and Crocker, 1983). Such a change can be facilitated if male managers are exposed to experiences with women which contradict the stereotype of nonperformance and incompetence. In trying to remove negative attitudes towards women, an important issue is: who is responsible for bringing about such a change? Some researchers emphasize the responsibility of organizations to correct these stereotypic notions about women. Others seem to emphasize the responsibility of women to disprove the stereotypes about them.

(a) Researchers who emphasize the organizations' responsibility to change attitudes recommend structural changes to increase the exposure of male managers to women managers (e.g. Karter, 1977). The assumption seems to be that greater exposure to women managers would be associated with more positive attitudes toward women as managers.

Exposure could be defined as a condition whereby the stimulus (here, a woman manager) becomes accessible to a person's perception (adapted from Zajonc, 1968). Exposure could vary from access, to secondary information about the stimulus, through visual access to the more complex interactions with the stimulus. Some studies which examine the exposure-attitudes relationship report a positive relation between the two variable (e.g. Johnson, Thomson and Frincke, 1960; Zajonc, 1968). Zajonc, for instance, varied the frequency with which respondents were visually exposed to novel stimuli such as nonsense words, Chinese characters and photographs. He found that greater visual exposure was associated with more positive attitudes toward the stimulus. He hypothesized that with greater exposure, the respondent's initial anxiety towards or fear of the stimulus would gradually decrease. The respondent would develop a greater acceptance of the stimulus, and this is likely to translate into more positive attitudes toward the stimulus.

Other studies (e.g. Brophy, 1945; Deutsch and Collings, 1951; Ashmore, 1970; Spangenberg & NSP, 1983; Muir & McGlamery, 1984) found that greater exposure to a stimulus was also associated with more positive attitudes toward other stimuli of the same category. Thus, for instance, greater exposure to one or a few blacks would be associated with more positive attitudes toward all blacks. Brophy (1945) examined the attitudes of white sailors toward blacks. Some of his respondents had sailed with black sailors and others had not. Exposure to blacks was measured in terms of the number of times the respondents had sailed with blacks. He found that with greater exposure to blacks, attitudes of respondents toward blacks became progressively more positive. These findings led some researchers and practitioners to conclude that exposure was critical to the development of more positive attitudes toward a community. They believed that with greater exposure, attitudes would become progressively more positive. Many student-exchange programmes and athletic meets were initiated with this belief in mind. The basic premise was that men are basically good and seek understanding and mutual appreciation. If opportunities for exposure are provided, members of one community would better understand the lifestyle and circumstances of the members of the other community. This would enable them to revise misconceptions and stereotypes about this other community, leading thereby to the development of more positive attitudes towards the community (Amir, 1969).

If these arguments are generizable to our context, then greater exposure to women managers may be associated with more positive attitudes toward women as managers. Greater exposure to women managers would enable male managers to get over the initial anxiety or hostility they experience towards women. It would also enable them to develop a better understanding of how women work, their problems and needs and so on. This can motivate men to reexamine their stereotypes about women and modify those which appear inappropriate. In the process, they can develop more positive attitudes toward women as managers.

In this study, we propose to test the hypothesis that greater exposure to women managers is associated with more positive attitudes toward women as managers (H1).

(b)   Researchers who emphasize women's responsibility to change stereotype attitudes of men, exhort women to perform their tasks well (Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Larwood and Kaplan, 1980). Demonstrated competence on the job could have at least two consequences. First, superiors would start perceiving women managers as competent performers rather than as women. Second, subordinates would become more accepting of women managers whom they see as facilitating their effective performance (Hennig and Jardim, 1977). Both these consequences could translate into more positive attitudes toward women's managerial capabilities.

If this is true, a mere increase in exposure may not be sufficient to change attitudes of men. What may be required is that male managers perceive women managers as performing well or satisfying task-related expectations. This would generate feelings of satisfaction following exposures to women managers, which could translate into more positive attitudes toward women as managers.

Some studies on inter-ethnic relations seem to support this contention. They report that an increase in the extent of exposure to members of a community was often associated with more stereotypic attitudes toward the community. Attitudes however, were observed to become less stereotypic when the exposures were perceived as rewarding or satisfying. Mannheimer and Williams (1949) studied the attitudes of white soldiers toward blacks. Some of their respondents were posted in platoons with black soldiers, while others were posted in platoons with only white soldiers. They found that white soldiers who were exposed to blacks in their platoons had more positive attitudes toward blacks than those who had not been exposed to blacks. The data suggested that attitudes became more positive because the black soldiers were perceived to 'behave well' and to be courageous in combat. Perhaps these were the respondents' expectations of good soldiers. Since the black soldiers satisfied these expectations, attitudes toward blacks became more positive. In a recent study, Heilm and Martell (1986) found evidence that exposure to successful women in heretofore male-dominated occupations can under

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certain conditions reduce sex bias in personnel selection decisions.

In this study, we propose to test the hypothesis that greater satisfaction reported with work-related exposures to women managers is associated with more positive attitudes toward women as managers (H2).

Method

Research Setting:

The study was conducted in the main branches of six banks at Ahmedabad city. Banks were chosen because (a) they employ a fairly large number of women in managerial positions, and (b) the physical layout of branches - with several employees working in close proximity to each other - provides ample opportunity for employee interaction. The six banks were randomly chosen from a standard list of banks.

Respondents:

Data were collected from 101 male managers who were approached personally at their work sites. About ninety percent of them were over 30 years old and married. Eighty seven percent were graduates. Eighty percent occupied junior or middle management positions.

Measures:

1. **Exposure:** Exposure has been defined as a condition which makes the given stimulus accessible to the individual's perception. In the present study, it was measured in terms of interactions between women managers (the stimuli) and male managers within the organization, on task matters.

    a) **The extent of exposure:** This was measured using two scales. In one, the participant was asked to indicate the total number of women managers he had met on task matters in his career. The other scale asked the participant to rate how frequently he interacted with women managers on task matters, on a 7-point scale. The rating of 1 indicated low levels of exposure (very low frequency of interactions), while the rating of 7 indicated a high level of exposure.

    b) **Satisfaction with exposure:** This refers to the extent to which interactions with women managers on task matters were perceived as rewarding or satisfying. A single item 7-point scale was used to measure this. A rating of 1 indicated that the task interactions with women managers were perceived to be extremely unsatisfactory. A rating of 7 indicated the task interactions with women managers were perceived to be extremely satisfactory.

2. **Attitudes toward women as managers**: This was defined as the evaluative beliefs held by male managers about women in the role of a manager. Attitudes were measured using two scales. The first scale was the Women As Managers Scale (WAMS) developed by Peters, Terborg, and Taynor (1974). The original scale had 21 items. Another item was added, based on the data collected by Bhatnagar (1987) from a similar respondent sample. Of these 22 items, 11 were negatively worded. Each item was scored from 1 to 7. Negatively worded statements were reverse scored. The participant's total score was obtained by summing his scores on the 22 items.

The second scale was a 21-point scale (ALTWAMS). Participants rated their overall assessment of women as managers on this scale. The scale ranged from -10 through 0 to +10. The rating of -10 indicated that the participant believed men to be far superior to women as managers. The rating of 0 indicated that the participant believed women were as good managers as were men. The rating of +10 indicated that the participants believed women to be far superior to men as managers. This measure was included to determine the face validity of the WAMS. A relatively high correlation between the two measures would indicate that WAMS had face validity. Appendix A presents the modified WAMS and ALTWAMS scales to measure exposure (Part I), the modified WAMS (Part II) and ALTWAMS (Part III).

Psychometric properties of the WAMS

Peters et. al. (1974) reported an internal consistency coefficient of .84 for the WAMS. For the present sample of 101 respondents, the scale had an odd-even reliability of .852. A principal-component factor analysis was conducted to determine the dimensionality of WAMS. Appendix 8 presents the factors obtained, the variables on each factor and the percentage variance explained. Although there were six factors, the first factor explained as much as 30.4% of the variance. The second factor explained only 7.4% of the variance, and the others were much lower. Therefore WAMS could be considered as unidimensional.

Relationship between WAMS and ALTWAMS

The product moment correlation between the two measures of attitudes was a significant .62. This value suggests that WAMS has face validity. However, it also indicates that the two measures do not completely overlap. Hence the relationship of each attitude measure with the exposure variables has been reported separately.

Results

Relationship between the extent of exposure to women managers and attitudes

The correlations between the number of women managers met and attitudes and between the frequency of interactions and attitudes were computed from the responses of the 101 participants.

Table 1 indicates that the correlations were not significant.

TABLE 1   ABOUT HERE

The correlations were recomputed after excluding the re-
sponses of 29 participants who had not met any women manager (n =
101-29 = 72).

Table 1 indicates that the correlations between the number of
women managers met and the two measures of attitudes became
stronger, with one of the correlations becoming significant.

Relationship between satisfaction with exposure to women managers and attitudes

Twentynine participants had not met any women manager.   So
they did not respond to the question on satisfaction with expo-
sures to women managers.

The correlations were therefore computed from responses of
72 participants.

Table 1 indicates that the correlations between satisfaction
and attitudes were significant.

In sum, the results do not support the hypothesized rela-
tionship between the extent of exposure to women managers and
attitudes.   The results however, support the hypothesized rela-
tionship between satisfaction with exposure to women managers and

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attitudes.   Greater satisfaction was associated with more posi-
tive attitudes toward women as managers.

Discussions

In conversations with participants, it appeared that some of
them were making evaluations of women's managerial capabilities,
based on their exposure to women clerks.   In other words, on the
basis of their experience with one category of women (namely
women clerks), they were making evaluations about another catego-
ry of women (namely, women managers).   This behaviour appears
similar to behaviour observed in the field of consumer behaviour.
Howard and Sheth (1969) argue that in the absence of much experi-
ence with a product class, consumers tend to generalize their
experiences with other physically or romantically similar
products to make a purchase decision.   Such a generalization
could be occurring in respect to women managers also.   Taylor
and Ilgen (1981) have demonstrated that exposure to competent
women in one field has favourable consequences for the personnel
decisions made about a woman in a different field.   Within the
same field such as banking, such transference is quite likely to
occur. In Indian banks, where 83.2% of women employees are clerks
and only 9.1% are officers (Bhatnagar, 1988b), often male manag-
ers get greater exposure to women clerks than to women managers.
In the absence of exposure to women managers, they may be gener-
alizing from their experiences with women clerks.

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It is important to examine if exposure to women clerks can predict attitudes toward women as managers. For, if it is does, the focus of change attempts must include women clerks. A second study was proposed, partly to reexamine the earlier hypothesis and partly also to examine if the extent of exposure and satis-faction with exposure to women clerks predicted attitudes.

It was proposed that (a) greater exposure to women clerks would be associated with more positive attitudes toward women as managers and (b) greater satisfaction with exposure to women clerks would be associated with more positive attitudes toward women as managers.

Exposure and attitudes: The second study

Method

The study was conducted in the main branches of nine other nationalized banks in Ahmedabad city. These banks were selected through a procedure similar to that adopted in the earlier study. Data were obtained from 99 male managers. The demographic pro-file of these participants was almost identical to the profile of participants in the earlier study.

Exposure to women managers was measured using the same scale as in the earlier study. In addition, similar scales were de-veloped to measure exposure to women clerks. Attitudes were measured with the same scales as in the earlier study.

Results

Relationship between the extent of exposure to women managers and attitudes toward women as managers

The correlations between the number of women managers met and attitudes and between the frequency of interactions and attitudes were computed from the responses of 99 participants.

Table 2 indicates that three of the four correlations were not significant. The correlation between the number of women managers and one measure of attitudes (ALTWAMS) was significant.

TABLE 2   ABOUT HERE

The correlations were recomputed after excluding the responses of 32 participants who had not met any woman manager.

Table 2 indicates that the relationship between the number of women managers met and attitudes became stronger. The pattern of relationships persisted.

Relationship between satisfaction with exposure to women managers and attitudes toward women as managers

32 participants had not met any woman manager. So they did not respond to the question on satisfaction with exposure to women managers.

The correlations were computed from responses of the rest (n = 99-32 = 67) of the participants.

Table 2 indicates that the correlations between satisfaction and attitudes were significant.

Results

Relationship between the extent of exposure to women clerks and attitudes toward women as managers

The correlations between the number of women clerks met and attitudes and between frequency of interaction with women clerks and attitudes were computed from responses of the 99 participants.

TABLE 3   ABOUT HERE

Table 3 indicates that three of the correlations were not significant.   Only the correlation between the number of women clerks met and one measure of attitudes (ALTWAMS) was significant.

The correlations were recomputed after excluding the responses of eight participants who had not met any woman clerk.

Table 3 indicates that there was a marginal decline in the correlations. None of the correlations was significant.

Relationship between satisfaction with exposure to women clerks and attitudes toward women as managers

Eight participants had not met any woman clerk. So, they did not respond to the question on satisfaction with exposure to women clerks.

The correlations were computed from responses of 91 participants. Table 3 indicates that the correlations between satisfaction and attitudes were in the expected direction. However, only one of the correlations was significant.

Summary of findings of the two studies

The two studies correlated measures of the extent of exposure and satisfaction with exposure to women managers, with measures of attitudes toward women as managers.

The findings of the two studies in respect to these relationships are summarized below:

a. Five of the eight correlations between the number of women managers met and attitudes were not significant. However, they were all in the expected direction. The correlations tended to become stronger when responses of participants who had not met any woman manager, were excluded.

b. All eight correlations between the frequency of interactions with women managers and attitudes were not significant. The magnitude of these correlations was very small.

c. All four correlations between satisfaction with exposure to women managers and attitudes were positive and significant.

d. The second study correlated measures of the extent of exposure and satisfaction with exposure to women clerks with measures of attitudes toward women as managers. None of the correlations between measures of the extent of exposure to women clerks and attitudes was significant. The correlations between satisfaction with exposure to women clerks and attitudes were in the expected direction. However, only one of the correlations was significant.

In sum, where exposure to women on task matters is perceived as satisfying, attitudes toward women as managers are likely to be relatively more positive or less stereotypic. Where exposure to women on task metters is perceived as unsatisfying, attitudes toward women as managers are likely to be relatively less positive or more stereotypic.

Meaning of satisfying exposure

What governs a male manager's perception of his exposure to women in his organization? We have assumed that his perceptions would be a function of whether women have met his expectations. In task-related exposures, these expectations would presumably pertain to accomplishment of the task at hand.

To examine this assumption, we interviewed ten male managers from four nationalized banks. (More than half of these interviewees had been our respondents earlier). We asked them to describe satisfying and unsatisfying exposures to women employees. As illustrations we present below, two caselets describing satisfying exposures and three describing unsatisfying exposures to women. Interestingly, many of our respondents found it difficult to recall instances of satisfying exposures to women. Respondents tended to be more prolific in their recall of unsatisfying exposures.

Satisfying Exposures

Caselet - 1: Mr. A (the respondent) had been posted to a new branch as an officer. He came from a much smaller branch where some of the banking functions (in this case, the clearing of cheques) were non-existent. When he reported to the new branch, he faced a peculiar situation. The branch manager was away on leave and the accountant was officiating as the branch manager. Mr. A was therefore straightaway asked to assume the accountant's position for the day. His ignorance of the clearing procedures for cheques immediately became a handicap. The accountant was hardly in a position to instruct Mr. A on the clearing procedures. His attempts at explaining were also futile since the respondent could not understand what he said. In this uncomfortable situation, two women clerks came to Mr. A's rescue. They listened carefully to his problem and patiently explained the

clearing procedures. Thereafter, they were always close at hand, pointing out some of the mistakes he made and guiding him where necessary.

Caselet - 2: Mr. B (the respondent) wanted his provident fund account to be transferred from one city to another. So he approached the woman officer responsible for this activity and requested her to do this job for him. She followed up his case promptly and accomplished the transfer of his account in a very short time.

Some expectations shared by the respondents: As subordinates, women were expected to obey the instructions of their superiors and to express differences of opinion with them in a "persuasive" rather than "hostile" manner. Women were expected not to talk back to or talk disparagingly of their superiors. As superiors, women were expected to recognize their subordinates' abilities, provide guidance in respect of their immediate and long term career development, be receptive to ideas from them and give and receive feedback on task matters.

Unsatisfying Exposures

Caselet-1: Decisions in banks mostly proceed as per the Reserve Bank of India guidelines. However, on one occasion, a woman manager had to make a decision which required a 'slight' deviation from these guidelines. She did not know how to respond to this situation. In interactions with Mr. C (the respondent) she

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kept expressing doubts as to what the right decision was. Even after deciding, she expressed a lot of doubts and constantly sought Mr. C to determine whether or not she had done the right thing.

Caselet-2: A woman clerk was approached by one of the bank's customers. He had not updated his pass-book for the past two years and requested her to do the same. She refused to do the job immediately, despite Mr. D's (the respondent's) intervention on behalf of the customer. Mr. D told her that the customer cannot always come at the bank's convenience. Therefore, it was her duty to fill out the pass-book. After a lot of argument, she did the job.

Caselet-3: A crucial task of the managers in the credit appraisal department of a bank is to visit and follow up on clients at their residence or work site. However, Mr. E (the respondent) came across a woman manager in this department who refused to fulfil this task on weak grounds like 'It is raining today','It is too hot', 'I will get late', and so on. Mr. E found it difficult to force her to make these visits because he believed that she must return to her family in time.

Summary

The caselets support our contention that satisfaction with exposure to women depends (at least partially) on whether women meet the task-related expectations of male managers. Caselets

also provide an insight into the nature of these expectations. Task-related expectations relate not only to what is accomplished but also to how it is accomplished. It is not sufficient that a clerk finally fills out a client's pass-book or attends to a client's vouchers. She is expected to do the job without antagonizing her superiors. It is not enough for a manager to make a decision. She is expected to show confidence in it.

What these caselets seem to indicate is that women must be perceived as facilitating the accomplishment of tasks and as adhering to the norms or rules that attend the accomplishment of these tasks. Only then would male managers be satisfied with exposures to women on task-matters.

Conclusions and Implications

Our study suggests that the extent of exposure to women employees does not predict attitudes toward women as managers. It is the satisfaction with exposure to women managers and (to a much lesser extent) women clerks that predicts attitudes toward women as managers. Interviews with male managers indicate that satisfaction tends to occur when women are perceived to meet the task-related expectations of the male managers. These expectations pertain to what is to be accomplished and how it should be accomplished. Where women are perceived to meet these expectations, attitudes toward them are likely to be relatively more positive or less stereotypic.

Some of the implications of the findings of this study are presented below:

Theoretical Implication: Increase in exposure and attitude do not appear to correlate. Thus Zajonc's proposition is not supported. Zajonc found that mere increase in exposure to a stimulus was sufficient to create more positive attitudes toward it. He had wondered whether this relationship could be generalized.

Our findings suggest that such a generalization does not occur. The extent of exposure to women employees was not correlated with attitudes toward women as managers. It appears that mere increase in exposure to the stimuli (in terms of increased interactions) is not sufficient to create positive attitudes toward all stimuli belonging to the same or similar category. In their study of exposure to successful women as an antidote to sex discrimination, Heilman and Martell (1986) argued that only under certain circumstances does exposure lead to a weakening of stereotypes which mediate discrimination. The relevance of the information presented and its representativeness of a group of women were two important factors which influenced the impact of exposure to successful women in their simulation study with college students as subjects. They observed that even greater restrictiveness may operate in an actual situation.

In the present study which was carried out on male managers who actually interacted with women in work situations, and was

therefore a snapshot of reality, the issues of relevance and representativeness as essential elements of information were automatically taken care of. Our findings suggest that in addition to the above, satisfaction with exposure emerges as an important variable associated with less discriminatory and more positive attitudes.

Practical Implications: Assuming that satisfaction with exposures leads to the development of more positive attitudes toward women as managers, the following practical implications follow:

*   Merely increasing the exposure to women managers would not reduce the discriminatory behaviour of male managers. Therefore reserving a proportion of managerial positions for women or recruiting women in large numbers at lower levels alone would not be sufficient to improve attitudes towards them. However such measures can help increase the presence of women at the workplace and give women employees the opportunity to perform well and thus help shape positive attitudes towards women.

*   Women managers have a significant role to play in reducing the discrimination against them. They must identify and meet the task related expectations of male managers. This can lead to male managers forming positive attitudes towards women managers and demonstrating less discriminatory behaviour against women.

*   For making male managers' attitudes more positive, women managers must meet task-related expectations. In order to do this women managers need to have information about the expectations held of them and feedback about how well they meet these expectations. If women are either not aware of the expectations of others or of how well they are doing to meet these expectations they could continue to behave in ways that reinforce stereotypic attitudes.

    Our interviews suggest that often male managers do not provide women with such information for a variety of reasons. Male managers need to develop skills in communicating their expectations in a forthright manner. Also they need to have skills in giving women feedback, particularly negative feedback and deal with the receiver's responses effectively.

*   In organizations where there is some degree of overlap in the tasks of junior officers and clerks, women clerks can similarly facilitate a change in the overall impressions of men regarding women's competence. This may result in less discriminatory behaviour against women.

*   If it is possible to generalize our findings to other disadvantaged groups such as blacks in the west and scheduled castes in India, our findings suggest that in order to make a difference, both the employing organizations as well as members of disadvantaged groups need to work actively towards weakening the stereotypic attitudes. Organizations

need to create greater opportunities for exposure of such members through proactive recruitment policies, appropriate placement, etc., and the disadvantaged members need to uti lize these opportunities effectively to convert exposure into satisfying work-related experiences for others. Thus cognitive inputs such as relevant information about compe- tence may not be sufficient to weaken the negative stereo- types; emotive reactions such as satisfaction arising out of personal experience of competent performance by disad- vantaged members may help significantly in making dominant group members' attitudes more favourable.

Future research: In our study we have implicitly assumed that the stereotypic attitudes of male managers lead to discrimination against women. The direction of causality in this relationship needs to be empirically verified by the future research. Follow- ing are some more areas in which future research can throw useful light:

*   Our study has correlated measures of satisfaction with meas ures of attitudes. Yet, the implications assume that satis- faction leads to the development of more positive attitudes. The direction of causality of this relationship also needs to be empirically verified.

*   Future research can use alternative, less explicit measures of attitudes toward women as managers, so as to overcome the bias of socially-desirable responses. For instance, the use

of projective tests to measure attitudes toward women as managers may throw up different results.

*   This study raises some complex issues about expectations and conformity. First, in order to reduce discrimination, should women conform to all the expectations of male managers? To what extent and at what cost? Hennig and Jardim (1977) report that successful women managers in American organizations spent a considerable part of their time dressing, talking and behaving like men. Such an expectation may require women to suppress their individuality. If it has detrimental psychological consequences for them, should women conform to such expectations? Second, what should women do if male managers have conflicting expectations? Caselet 3 for example, illustrates a situation in which the respondent expected the woman manager to visit the clients at their work sites and follow up on the recovery of loans. At the same time he expected her to reach home in time to fulfil her family responsibilities. He appears to have perceived these expectations as conflicting because he hesitated to ask the woman manager to perform her work responsibilities. Women themselves face such work-family role conflicts. The issue becomes more complex when they receive such conflicting expectations from significant others at the workplace. How do male managers reconcile

their own conflicting expectations from women, how do women managers cope with such conflicts, and with what consequences, are important areas for future research.

Research along these lines can enhance our understanding of some processes that can contribute to decrement of gender discrimination and may also indicate ways of mitigating similar discrimination against other disadvantaged groups. Admittedly such changes are not easy to achieve but our findings provide reasons for hope.

Weber and Crocker (1983) propose the book-keeping model as a significant process of stereotype change in which considerable change gradully takes place with the accumulation of evidence which systematically disconfirms the stereotype. Our study shows that personal experiences of satisfying work-related experiences with members of stigmatised groups seem to make significant difference between a favourable and unfavourable attitude towards such groups. Workplace thus is an important arena for intensifying the quest for a more equitable order, and competent performance an effective tactic for members of disadvantaged groups. Organizations hold the important responsibility of creating a structure of opportunity where such performance can be enacted and noticed.

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Table 1

Correlations between exposure to women managers and attitudes toward women as managers

Correlation with Exposure variables	WAMS (n=101)	ALTWAMS (n=101)	WAMS (n=72)	ALTWAMS (n=72)
1. Extent of exposure				
a. Number of women managers met	.12	.12	.27*	.19
b. Frequency of interactions with women managers	-.08	-.02	.03	.01
2. Satisfaction with interactions with women managers	NA	NA	.44*	.32*

NA: Not Applicable   * : $P < .05$

Table 2

Correlations between exposure to women managers and attitudes toward women as managers

Correlation with Exposure variables	WAMS (n=99)	ALTWAMS (n=99)	WAMS (n=67)	ALTWAMS (n=67)
1. Extent of exposure				
a. Number of women managers met	.13	.25*	.16	.34*
b. Frequency of interactions with women managers	-.03	-.05	-.02	-.15
2. Satisfaction with interactions with women managers	NA	NA	.28*	.35*

NA: Not Applicable   * : $P < .05$

40

Table 3

<u>Correlations</u> <u>between</u> <u>exposure to</u> <u>women</u> <u>clerks</u> <u>and</u> <u>attitudes</u>
<u>toward</u> <u>women</u> <u>as</u> <u>managers</u>

Correlation with Exposure variables	WAMS (n=99)	ALTWAMS (n=99)	WAMS (n=91)	ALTWAMS (n=91)
1. Extent of exposure				
a. Number of women clerks met	.15	.22*	.14	.20
b. Frequency of interactions with women clerks	.01	.01	.02	-.1
2. Satisfaction with interactions with women clerks	NA	NA	.17	.23*

NA: Not Applicable   * : P < .05

Part I

The following items are an attempt to assess the nature and extent of your interaction with women managers. The word "managers" includes officers, managers and executives. Please indicate your response to each question (except the first) by putting a tick mark in the appropriate box of the scale. You are requested to answer all questions.

a) In your total work experience how many women managers have you interacted with on job-related matters? (Please write the number)

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_____
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b) On an average, how often do you interact with women managers on job-related matters?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never (less than once a year	Very rarely (once in 3-4 months)	Once in a while (one in a month)	Some-times (once in a fort-night	Quite often (once a week)	Very often (twice or thrice a week	Always (more than five times a week)

c) In general, how would you describe your interactions with women managers on job-related matters ?

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Extremely satisfact-ory			Neither satis-factory nor un-satis-factory			Extremely unsatis-factory

d)   How would you describe your interactions with women managers in general ?

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Extremely close (Discuss personal as well as task-related matters. Feel free to share concerns and feelings about anything)			Neither close nor distant			Extremely distant (Discuss only impersonal and strictly task-related matters)

Instructions

The following items are intended to assess the attitude people have about women in business. The statements cover many different and opposite points of view. You may find yourself agreeing strongly with some statements, disgreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about some. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many people feel the same way as you do. There is no right or wrong answer. The best answer to each statement is your personal opinion.

Your agreement or disagreement will be expressed using 1 to 7 numbers. Please look at the meaning of the seven numbers given below:

Rating Scale

1. Strongly Disgree
2. Disagree
3. Slightly Disgree

4. Neither Agree or Disagree
5. Slightly Agree
6. Agree
7. Strongly Agree

Statements

1. It is less desirable for women than for men to have a job that requires responsibility.

2. Women are good at realistic assessment of business situations.

3. Challenging work is more important to men than it is to women.

4. Men and women should be given equal opportunity for participation in management training programmes.

5. Women have the capability to acquire the necessar skills to be successful managers.

6. On the average, women managers are less capable of contributing to an organization's overall goals than are men.

7. It is not acceptable that women assume leadership roles as often as men.

8. The business community should someday accept women in key managerial positions.

9. Society should regard work by female managers as valuable as work my male managers.

10. It is acceptable for women to compete with men for top executive positions.

11. The possibility of pregenancy does not make women less desirable managers than men.

12. Women tend to allow their emotions to influence their managerial behaviour more than do men.

13. Problems associated with menstruation (i.e., mensus) should not make women less desirable than men as managers.

14. To be a successful executive, a woman does not have to sacrifice some of her femininity (i.e. womanly qualities).

15. On the average, a woman who stays at home all the time with her children is a better mother than a women who works outside the home at least half-time.

16. Women are less capable of learning mathematical and mechanical skills than are men.

17. Women are not ambitious enough to be successful in the business world.

18. Women cannot be assertive in business situations that demand it.

19. Women possess the self-confidence required of a good leader.

20. Women are not competitive enough to be successful in the business world.

21. Women cannot be aggressive in business situations that demand it.

22. Women are at least as capable as men in controlling their subordinate staff.

Appendix B

Unroatated factor matrix of Women As Managers Scale (n=101)

Items / FACTORS	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. It is less desirable for women than for men to have a job that requires responsibility	.64	.15	-.13	-.47	-.15	.08
2. Women are good at realistic assessment of business situations	.60	-.1	-.32	-.14	-.24	-.21
3. Challenging work is more important to men than it is to women	.63	-.02	-.03	-.24	-.01	-.39
4. Women have the capability to acquire the necessary skills to be successful managers	.62	.24	-.06	.09	-.06	.07
5. On the average, women managers are less capable of contributing to an organization's overall goals than are men	.76	.15	.02	-.08	.15	.02
6. It is not acceptable that women assume leadership roles as often as men	.60	-.05	.26	-.19	.24	.15
7. The business community should some day accept women in key managerial functions	.63	.48	.09	-.1	.11	-.01
8. Society should regard work by female managers as valuable as worm by male managers	.48	.17	-.17	.45	-.23	.01
9. Women are less capable of learning mathematical and meahcnical skills than are men	.57	-.11	-.33	.30	.19	-.23
10. Women are not ambitious enough to be successful in the business world	.61	-.27	.2	.08	.18	.16

FACTORS Items	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Women cannot be assertive in business situations that demand it	.69	-.39	-.12	.19	-.02	-.12
12. Women possess the self confidence required of a good leader	.6	-.21	-.33	.08	.22	.20
13. Women are not competitive enough to be successful in the business world	.73	-.09	.28	-.21	-.06	.04
14. Women cannot be aggressive in business situations that demand it	.67	-.3	.15	.12	-.01	-.20
15. Women are at least as capable as men in controlling their subordinate staff	.53	-.24	-.05	-.20	-.06	-.27

FACTOR 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Problems associated with menstruation should not make women less desirable than men as managers	.31	.62	-.18	-.01	.46	-.32
17. To be a successful executive, a woman does not have to sacrifice some of her femininity (i.e., womanly qualities)	.21	.58	-.17	-.02	.47	-.08

FACTOR 3

	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Women tend to allow their emotions to influence their managerial behaviour more than do men	.21	-.01	-.67	-.16	.23	-.16

FACTOR 4

	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Men and women should be given equal opportunity for participation in management training programs	.37	-.09	-.3	.6	.08	-.02

FACTOR 5

20. It is acceptable for women
    to compete with men for
    top executive positions   .52   .04   -.03   -.04   -.64   .06

FACTOR 6

21. On the average, a woman who
    stays home all the time
    with her children is better
    mother than a women who works
    outside home at least half-
    time   .31   .30   .29   .15   -.21 -.57

Percent variance explained
by each factor   30.4   7.4   6.2   5.8   5.3   4.6

Cumulative percentage of
variance explained   30.4   37.8   44.0   49.8   55.1 59.7

Part III-ALTVANS

Please rate your overall assessment of women as managers. Place a tick mark in any one of the boxes of the following scale.

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--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
-10   -9   -8   -7   -6   -5   -4   -3   -2   -1   0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
 !                                                 !                                  :
 !                                                 :                                  :
 !                                                 :                                  :
Men are                                           Women are as                       Women are
far superior                                      good managers                      far supe-
to women as                                       as men                             rior to
managers                                                                             to men as
                                                                                     managers
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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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