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REVOLUTION IN THE WORKPLACE

Marriage Structure and Resistance to the Gender Revolution in the Workplace

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The authors gratefully acknowledge comments and helpful suggestions from Steve Blader, Jeffrey Edwards, Noah Eisenkraft, Venkat Kuppuswamy, Katy Milkman, Batia Wiesenfeld and the Micro OB WIP group at NYU Stern. This research was supported by the *Women and Public Policy Program Fellowship* at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government and the *Edmond J. Safra Fellowship* at Harvard University. Jeeyeon Baik, Joseph Garcia, and Jazmin Molina provided research assistance. Please address correspondence concerning this article to sreedharidesai@gmail.com.

Abstract

In this article, we examine a heretofore neglected pocket of resistance to the gender revolution in the workplace: married male employees who have stay-at-home wives. We develop and empirically test the theoretical argument suggesting that such organizational members, compared to male employees in modern marriages, are more likely to exhibit attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that are harmful to women in the workplace. To assess this hypothesis, we conducted four studies with a total of 718 married, male participants. We found that employed husbands in traditional marriages, compared to those in modern marriages, tend to (a) view the presence of women in the workplace unfavorably, (b) perceive that organizations with higher numbers of female employees are operating less smoothly, (c) find organizations with female leaders as relatively unattractive, and (d) deny, more frequently, qualified female employees opportunities for promotion. The consistent pattern of results found across multiple studies employing multiple methods and samples demonstrates the robustness of the findings. We discuss the theoretical and practical import of our findings and suggest directions for future research.

Introduction

The word “revolution” often conjures up images of a sudden and violent societal change. We, however, are concerned with a largely peaceful transition that has unfolded since the 1960’s in the United States, the “gender revolution in the workplace” (e.g., Gerson, 2009, 2010). Signs of that revolution are summarized nicely by England and colleagues: the participation of women in the workforce increased dramatically (Cotter, Hermsen, & England, 2008), the percentage of female graduates rose sharply (Cotter, Hermsen, & Vanneman, 2004), there was a substantial desegregation of college majors (England & Li, 2006), the number of women earning doctorates as well as professional degrees in the fields of business and law increased substantially (England et al., 2007), more women forayed into previously male dominated occupations (Cotter et al., 2004), and several forms of gender discrimination became illegal in the realm of work and education (Burstein, 1989; Hirsh, 2009).

Indeed, thanks to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, sex segregation declined markedly into the 2000’s. Some, however, have observed that the revolution has begun to peter out, stalling progress towards gender equality (e.g., Cohen & Huffman, 2007; England, 2010; Percheski, 2008). Evidence backing such a claim includes, for example, (a) for married mothers with infants, the labor force participation rate peaked in 1997, declining to 53.5 percent by 2005 (Macunovich, 2010); (b) women’s share of seats on boards of Fortune 500 companies grew from 2006 to 2010 by only 1.1 percent, resulting in men retaining 84.3 percent of the seats (Catalyst, 2011); and (c) from 1998 to 2002, the percent of Americans who agreed or agreed strongly with the statement that “both the husband and the wife should contribute to the household income” did not budge from 57 percent (Pew Research Center, 2009).

A number of reasons for this slowdown have been identified, including: (a) The revolution has entailed women increasingly assuming male-typed jobs, with men failing to move into female-typed jobs to the same extent; thus, further gains rest on the revolution becoming more symmetric; and (b) the division of labor in the family remains deeply gender-based thereby reducing incentives for women to invest further in their human capital (e.g., Blau, Brinton, & Grusky, 2006). Both of these are aligned with a third reason, “gender essentialism” which is the idea that women and men are fundamentally and innately different in skills and interests (Blau et al., 2006; Charles & Bradley, 2002; 2009; Charles & Grusky, 2004; England, 2010; Ridgeway, 2009, 2011). Often, these differences are viewed as real, leading women to freely choose options that are not equality enhancing (Charles, 2011). This perspective places the responsibility for the slowdown clearly on the shoulders of women themselves.

Here, we approach the problem of stalled progress toward gender equality in a different way, exploring an alternative source of it and viewing that source as a pocket of resistance to the revolution. The potential resisters focused on are husbands embedded in marriages that structurally mirror the 1950s ideal American family portrayed in the “Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet” sitcom. We were led to consider this group by a question posed by Chugh and Brief (2008) in their attempt to suggest a research agenda for the study of diversity in organizations. They stated, “We wonder whether a domestic traditionalist can also be an organizational egalitarian?” (p. 332). The answer we posit is “no.” Our endeavor is somewhat empirical in the following sense: We are amongst the first to offer support for a heretofore undocumented empirical relationship of noteworthy concern to organizational scholars and policy makers. While we have carefully built our arguments using extant research to develop a contextualized theoretical motivation for our studies (e.g.,

Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004), we hope to spark further research and theorizing in probing the mechanisms underlying our findings.

The remainder of our paper unfolds as follows. First, we develop our theoretical rationale for proposing that employed husbands embedded in traditional (wife not employed) and neo-traditional (wife employed part-time) marriages compared to those embedded in more modern ones (wife employed full-time) are more likely to exhibit attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors harmful to women in the workplace. Next, we report four studies (with a total of 718 married, male participants across all 4 studies) that yielded results supportive of our proposition. That is, we found that employed husbands in traditional and neo-traditional marriages, compared to those in modern marriages, tend to (a) view the presence of women in the workplace unfavorably, (b) perceive that organizations with higher numbers of female employees are operating less smoothly, (c) find organizations with female leaders as relatively unattractive, and (d) deny, more frequently, qualified female employees opportunities for promotion. We believe that the results of these studies are important to understanding the stalled gender revolution as well as to theorizing about the effects of marriage structures in the workplace and, more pragmatically, effectively targeting efforts aimed at enhancing gender equality in work organizations.

Theory Development

The literatures concerning the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors indicative of the idea that women's place is in the home is neither new nor sparse. In sociology, for example, the first national surveys measuring attitudes towards the division of labor in marriage, with men as breadwinners and women as homemakers, were conducted in the mid-1960s, and, between 2000 and 2008, 168 articles on such attitudes were published (Davis & Greenstein, 2009). From this extensive body of work, we know that historically, work and family domains have been gendered, such that men have traditionally been in charge of the breadwinning role and

women have been in charge of the family role (Abbott, Wallace, & Tyler, 2005; Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; Lott, 1988). Even though in recent times, women have started to participate more in the workforce (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005), traditional gender roles continue to be endorsed by many in society (e.g., Belsky & Kelly, 1994; Erickson, 2005; Hochschild, 1989; Sayer, England, Bittman, & Bianchi, 2004; Thompson, 1993). People are guided by personal preferences, social expectations, and their individual experiences when formulating their gender identities and categorizing others. These categorizations have important implications for the kind of lives they lead and the relationships they form with others in both work and non-work domains (Donaghue & Fallon, 2003; Williams, Consalvo, Caplan, & Yee, 2009).

Traditional conceptions of gender roles are that women ought to fulfill family or private roles and men ought to fulfill work or public roles. Women are thus expected to excel in socially facilitative activities whereas men are expected to excel in task-oriented activities (Eagly & Karau, 1991; Williams, Consalvo, Caplan, & Yee, 2009). A slight variant of such gendered role expectation is the neo-traditional marriage wherein both husband and wife work but the husband continues to be the main wage earner and the wife remains the primary caregiver in the family (Clarkberg & Moen, 2001; Moen & Roehling 2005; Moen & Yu, 2000). Thus, to some extent, neo-traditional marriages continue to foster traditional gender roles such that men are expected to have goals consistent with work centrality whereas women are expected to align themselves with family centrality (Fortin, 2005; Lucke, 1998; MaCarthy, 1999). In stark contrast, an egalitarian gender role orientation is a mindset that gender is unrelated to role centrality, such that men and women can aspire equally to both roles (Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; Gerson, 2004; Maume, 2006). In other words, gender role orientation addresses an attitudinal identification with a gendered role and the degree of compliance with role expectations, with traditionalism and egalitarianism at the opposite ends

of the continuum (Harris & Firestone, 1998; Hochschild, 1989; Larsen & Long, 1988; Livingston & Judge, 2008).

Gender role orientation need not always be explicit; it may be implicit in nature such that an individual may possess a latent gender role orientation without being aware of its existence. For instance, Wang and Banaji (1999) documented the existence of unconscious beliefs about gender roles in the professional realm. Using the Implicit Association Test (IAT) originally created by Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz (1998), they found that people automatically think, “male” when they are exposed to words such as business, profession and work, and think “female” when they are exposed to words such as domestic, family and household. Likewise, Goodwin & Banaji (1999) found that people are more likely to associate men with leadership positions such as boss, CEO and director, and associate women with aide positions such as assistant, attendant and secretary. In another study concerning the strength of association between men, women and work or home domains, Gawronski et al. (2002) found that people’s IAT scores were correlated with their responses in the “who said what?” paradigm. When people were under a cognitive load and less able to retrieve information from memory, they were more likely to exhibit a bias and assign statements in a stereotype-consistent manner.

Why might men’s domestic arrangements and private life have a bearing on their attitudes and behavior toward women in their workplace? According to the open-systems theory, home environments can shape how we behave at work (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Katz & Kahn, 1978). One branch of this theory, the spillover hypothesis (Staines, 1980), suggests that thoughts, attitudes, and emotions generated at home may carry over to the workplace (Marshall, Chadwick, & Marshall, 1992; Payton-Miyazaki & Brayfield, 1976; Piotrkowski, 1979; Williams & Allinger, 1994). People are daily “border-crossers” between the domains of work and family (Clark, 2000) and research has shown that

people often bring with them their emotional and attitudinal baggage to the workplace (Scott, 1995). Among men, the sex of interest here, attitudes, in America, became more egalitarian in the 1990s (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). But there is some indication that men whose wives work less than full-time have more traditional gender beliefs than men whose wives work full-time (Ciabattari, 2001). Why might that be the case?

Borrowing from Bolzendahl and Myers' (2004) thinking, we identify two plausible explanations why husbands embedded in traditional and neo-traditional marriage structures may have less egalitarian gender beliefs. Bolzendahl and Myers asserted that attitudes toward gender equality may be "interest-based" or "exposure-based." An "interest-based" position would suggest that husbands adopt an egalitarian posture if they personally benefit from such attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors; conversely, their posture would be less egalitarian, the more costly egalitarianism were to them (Kane & Sanchez, 1994). In this regard, wives' employment should be highly relevant to their husbands' egalitarianism (e.g., Davis & Robinson, 1991; Huber & Spitze, 1981; Spitze & Waite, 1981); but, data testing this hypothesis are rather sparse (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). It does appear, however, that husbands whose wives are not employed do earn more (e.g., Pfeffer & Ross, 1982; Schneer & Reitman, 1993; Stroh & Brett, 1996; but see Jacobsen & Rayack, 1996). Moreover, it also appears that the total hours worked per week (paid plus unpaid) of husbands embedded in traditional and neo-traditional marriage structures is less than the total hours worked by husbands whose wives work full-time (Sayer, England, Bittman, & Bianchi, 2009). These fewer hours may carry considerable psychosocial benefits with them. That is, we speculate that by not doing laundry, making dinner, cleaning house, and caring for a child, men's masculinity is reinforced. As noted in a *Harvard Business Review* article, "men and their managers don't look upon competent homemaking as a badge of masculinity" (Kimmel, 1993, p. 57). This theme is supported by various sociological analyses (e.g., Arrighi &

Maume, 2000; Berks, 1985; Ferree, 1990; Hoschild, 1989; Pleck, 1993). In total, therefore, it seems plausible that husbands embedded in traditionally and neo-traditionally structured marriages benefit in both marital and non-marital ways, from the idea that women's place is in the home. Finally, another benefit may be spiritual in nature since specific tenets within religious doctrines sometimes focus on gender relations and men's and women's roles for childrearing (Davis & Greenstein, 2009). So, for instance, a follower of a particular religion may feel more spiritually endowed by believing that it is women's primary responsibility to nurture the children in her family (Hinckley, 1995).

Turning to perhaps the even more plausible "exposure-based" explanation, we begin with a definition: according to Bolzendahl and Myers (2004), "The fundamental concept in exposure-based approaches is that individuals develop or change their understanding of women's place in society and their attitudes when they encounter ideas and situations that resonate with feminist ideals" (pp. 761-762). We contend that the converse is also true (Davis & Greenstein, 2009); thus, we suspect that experiencing a traditional or neo-traditional marriage is associated with husbands being less egalitarian in regards to women than those experiencing a more modern marriage. In fact, evidence exists that people adjust their gender role attitudes to accommodate their family circumstances (e.g., Corrigall & Konrad, 2007). Particularly salient is the theorizing of Kroska (1997) and the empirical findings of Kroska and Elman (2009). Building on affect control theory (e.g., Heise, 1972, 2007), these researchers, in part, posited that individuals (married to a woman not employed) whose behaviors were atypical for their gender ideology (e.g., egalitarianism) would shift their ideology in a direction more consistent with their behavior (e.g., a woman's place is in the home). Kroska and Elman studied 793 women and 847 men twice over a five year time-span, finding that when individuals occupy roles inconsistent with their gender attitudes, they adjust their attitudes to match their behaviors. Such results are consistent with findings in

psychology that “dissonance” (e.g., Festinger, 1957) results whenever one’s behavior violates some self-standard (e.g., one’s gender ideology) (Stone & Cooper, 2001) and that such dissonance can result in attitude change (Cooper, 2011). Even more germane in psychology is the work of Eagly addressing the effects of structure on gender ideology (e.g., Eagly & Wood, 2011; Wood & Eagly, 2002). Indeed, Eagly and Steffen (1984) went so far as to assert, “Another implication of our idea that social structure underlies beliefs about gender is that change in these beliefs must await social change. Our theory and findings suggest that gender stereotypes—the beliefs that women in general differ from men in general—will not disappear until people divide social roles equally, that is until child and household responsibilities are shared equally by women and men and the responsibility to be employed outside the home is borne equally” (p. 752).

In sum, both interest-based and exposure-based explanations for a link between family structure and gender ideology appear plausible given the theories and empirical results that have been reviewed. Thus, we can conclude our position that husbands embedded in traditional and neo-traditional marriages (relative to husbands embedded in modern ones) exhibit attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that undermine the role of women in the workplace. We recognize that marriage structure itself may reflect a choice influenced by gender ideology; but, it should be noted that we could not isolate any direct empirical evidence demonstrating such.

Before moving on, we believe it is important to emphasize the nature of the attitudes and beliefs (and, perhaps even behaviors) that have been discussed. Ample theorizing and data indicate that the gender attitudes and behaviors we are concerned with can be thought of as explicit (conscious) or implicit (unconscious) (e.g., Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009; Petty, Fazio, & Brinol, 2009). Thus, the husbands we have posited to occupy a pocket of resistance should not necessarily be thought

of as cold-hearted, calculated sexists; rather, it is perhaps more the case that they are unaware of their gender biases.

Now we move on to report tests of hypotheses derived from our proposition that husbands embedded in traditional and neo-traditional marriages compared to those in more modern ones are more likely to exhibit attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors harmful to women in the workplace. Our studies address attitudes towards women in the workplace, perceptions of organizational efficiency as a function of the number of women in the workplace, and judgments regarding promotional opportunities for qualified female employees. The studies rely on a variety of methodologies (archival, survey, and laboratory experiment) with the intent of enhancing generalizability. Again, we believe the results of the studies are essential to understanding the stalled gender revolution as well as to design more effective public and organizational policies.

Study 1: Marriage Structures and Attitudes toward Working Women

We began our investigation by examining whether marriage structure is correlated with attitudes toward women in the workplace. Specifically, we examined if compared to men from modern marriages, men from traditional marriages are more likely to have negative attitudes toward women in the workplace (Hypothesis 1).

Method

Data and respondents. Data were drawn from the General Social Survey (GSS). The GSS is the U.S. national probability survey of non-institutionalized adults, administered most years since 1972 by the National Opinion Research Center and available through the Interuniversity Consortium of Political and Social Research (Davis & Smith, 2006). We included data for the year 1996, a year that included survey items related to our predictor and criterion variables. Specifically, we included only heterosexual, married men in our sample because we were interested in the association between marriage structures and men's

attitudes toward working women. Our final sample size consisted of three hundred and eleven men. Most (86.7%) of the participants were White and the remaining were Black (8.3%) or Hispanic, Asian, or Native American (4.9%).

Criterion variable: Attitude toward working women. Attitude toward working women was measured with 5 items that were averaged to yield a score (*Cronbach's* $\alpha = .70$). Items included, "Women should not work" (1=approve, 2=disapprove), "Wife should help husband's career first" (1=strongly agree to 4=strongly disagree), "It is better for man to work and woman to tend to home" (1=strongly agree to 4=strongly disagree), "Man alone should be responsible for providing household income" (1=yes, 2=no), and "If a mother chooses to work, it doesn't hurt the child" (1=strongly agree to 4=strongly disagree). We reverse coded the last item so that a higher score reflected more positive attitude toward working women. We used the average of all items as our measure of attitude toward working women.

Predictor variable: Marriage structure. Marriage structure was coded as 1 if it was traditional (i.e., wife stays at home), 0 if it was neo-traditional (i.e., wife works part time) and as -1 if it was modern (i.e., wife works full time).

Control variables. We included participants' age, education, income, whether the respondent's mother was a stay at home mom, and the respondent's mother's level of education in the analyses to control for potential demographic effects that might be associated with attitude toward working women¹.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 provides the means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations among the key variables. To test our hypothesis that marriage structure is correlated with attitude toward

¹ We also controlled for religious affiliation, ethnicity, number of children, and geography (urban versus rural) in *all* of the studies by creating dummy variables. However, due to space constraints, we report the regression coefficients of only 5 of the control variables, namely, age, education, income, whether the respondent's mother was a stay at home mom, and the respondent's mother's level of education.

working women, we conducted a hierarchical regression analysis on attitude toward working women, entering the predictor variables in the following order: (i) control variables – age, education, income, whether the respondent’s mother was a stay at home mom, and the respondent’s mother’s level of education; (ii) predictor variable – marriage structure. The results of the regression are provided in Table 2. The respondent’s education was positively correlated with attitude toward working women, such that the more highly educated the respondent was, the more egalitarian was his attitude ($\beta = 0.21, p < .001$). More importantly, as predicted, the marriage structure was negatively correlated with attitude toward working women ($\beta = -0.33, p < .001$). In other words, men in traditional marriages were more likely to endorse a negative attitude about women participating in the workforce.

We used an econometric model to analyze the robustness of our results to self-selection biases. As a preliminary step, we examined the impact of self-selection on the effect of marriage structure by estimating a treatment-effects model where the selection equation models men’s propensity to be in different marriage structures and the substantive equation models the effect of the marriage structure “treatment” on men’s attitudes toward working women. The model was estimated using Heckman’s two-step approach. Heckman’s approach requires the application of exclusion restrictions to at least one variable—which is included in the first-stage selection model but can legitimately be excluded from the second-stage regression because it is uncorrelated with the outcome. We identified one such instrumental variable, “general happiness,” that was correlated with men’s choice to be in traditional, neo-traditional, or modern marriages ($\beta = 0.10, p < .05$) but not with attitudes toward working women ($\beta = -0.04, n.s.$). The key result of interest was that, even after correcting for self-selection, marriage structure was negatively correlated with attitude toward working women ($\beta = -0.28, p < .05$).

These results were obtained from people in a wide variety of organizations and jobs. Our robustness checks reduce the potential threat of omitted variables bias. But, the results are subject to the shortcomings commonly associated with archival data and the correlations between key variables may have been inflated due to the study's reliance on self-reported data. Also, we cannot rule out reverse causality. Nonetheless, while these results must be cautiously interpreted, they offer support for Hypothesis 1 by showing that marriage structures are correlated with married heterosexual men's attitudes toward working women.

Study 2: Marriage Structures and Perceived Smoothness of Workplace Operations

In this study, we explored whether heterosexual, married men with different marriage structures respond differently to the presence of women in the workplace. Specifically, we examined if compared to men from modern marriages, men from traditional marriages perceive that their workplace is operating less smoothly when more women are present in their workplace (Hypothesis 2).

Method

Data and respondents. Data were drawn from two 2002 national surveys: the General Social Survey (GSS; Davis & Smith, 1991) and the National Organizations Survey (NOS; Kalleberg, Knoke, Marsden, & Spaeth, 1996). The GSS (conducted by the National Opinion Research Center and available through the Interuniversity Consortium of Political and Social Research) provides information on individual views and opinions spanning a variety of topics (Firebaugh & Davis, 1988). For the NOS, the employers of some of the GSS respondents (or the employers of the spouses of GSS respondents) were contacted and asked about the employment practices in their firms. The combined GSS-NOS data link organization-level information on human resource practices and organizational demographics with the individual responses of GSS respondents. From these responses, we excluded observations of GSS respondents' spouses because they were not queried about whether the workplace ran

in a smooth manner (our criterion variable) in the GSS. In addition, we included only married, heterosexual men who worked full-time; and, as the current study focused on the role of marriage structure on in their workplaces, we included only observations for which the marriage structure was traditional, neo-traditional or modern. The final sample of complete observations included 89 full-time male employees from the linked 2002 GSS-NOS. Most (88.6%) of the participants were White and the remaining were Black (9.4%) or Hispanic, Asian, or Native American (2.0%).

Criterion variable: Perceived smoothness of workplace operations. Perceived smoothness of workplace operations was measured using a single item asking respondents whether their workplace was run in a smooth manner (1=strongly agree to 4=strongly disagree). We reverse coded the item so that a higher score reflected more positive perception of smoothness of workplace operations.

Predictor variable: Marriage structure. Marriage structure was coded as 1 if it was traditional, 0 if it was neo-traditional and as -1 if it was modern.

Predictor variable: Percentage of women in the workplace. The NOS dataset contained information about the percentage of women in the workplace.

Control variables. We included participants' age, education, income, whether the respondent's mother was a stay at home mom, and the respondent's mother's level of education in the analyses to control for potential demographic effects that might be associated with respondents' attitude toward women in their workplace.

Results and Discussion

Table 3 provides the means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations among the key variables. To test our hypothesis that marriage structure and percentage of women in the workplace will interact to influence respondents' perceptions of smoothness of workplace operations, we conducted a hierarchical regression analysis on perceived smoothness of

workplace operations, entering the predictor variables in the following order: (i) control variables – age, education, income, whether the respondent’s mother was a stay at home mom, and the respondent’s mother’s level of education; (ii) predictor variables – marriage structure and percentage of women in the workplace; and (iii) their two way interaction. The results of the regression are provided in Table 4. As expected, the regression coefficient for the interaction term was significant. As depicted in Figure 1, we observed that men in traditional marriage structures were more likely to report that their work place was running less smoothly when the percentage of women in their workplace was high versus low, thus supporting Hypothesis 2.

These results were obtained, once again, from people from diverse organizations and jobs, and are in keeping with the pattern of results obtained in Study 1. The use of a single item in the perception of smoothness of workplace operations measure is a limitation of this study, but the GSS does not include additional items. The results are also subject to the shortcomings usually associated with small sample size and the study is based on self-reported data. Despite these shortcomings, the results cast a new light on how male employees’ domestic arrangements may influence how they react to the presence of women in their workplace.

Study 3: Marriage Structures and Attractiveness of Organizations with Women

Leaders

The findings from Studies 1 and 2 demonstrate that family arrangements do matter. However, both studies were correlational in nature and we cannot rule out reverse causality. To overcome this shortcoming, we conducted a controlled quasi-experiment using male undergraduate students who were married, working full time, and seeking new employment upon successful graduation. In this study, we explore whether heterosexual, married men with different marriage structures respond differently to the presence of women in the

workplace. Specifically, we examine if compared to men from modern marriages, men from traditional marriages are less attracted to organizations with female leaders (Hypothesis 3).

Participants

Two hundred and thirty two married, male managers were recruited from a large western university in the U.S. Most (90%) of the participants were White and the remaining were Asian/Pacific Islander (7.7%), Hispanic (2.4%), and Black or Native American (0.9%).

Manipulation and Measures

Participants evaluated a recruitment letter from a fictional company named INDISCO. This recruitment letter was adapted from a recruitment letter previously used by James, Brief, Dietz, and Cohen (2001) and contained the independent variable manipulation (gender composition). Participants were told that their help was needed to evaluate the letter because individuals like themselves would be the intended recipients of the letter and researchers therefore were particularly interested in their reactions to it. Their assessment of the letter included the dependent variable, organizational attractiveness.

The recruitment letter contained a paragraph introducing the fictional company, INDISCO, followed by a number of facts about the company and a paragraph asking those interested in the company to call and schedule an interview. The majority of the information contained in the recruitment letter was filler material to make it seem realistic and to disguise the true purpose of the study. For instance, the recruitment letter provided information regarding INDISCO's stock ownership plan, fringe benefits programs, management participation, and education programs.

Gender diversity. We manipulated gender diversity in the organization in part by embedding in the letter the ostensibly male recruiter names of Michael Drake, Christopher McBride, and Matthew Miller or the ostensibly female recruiter names of Jennifer Drake,

Amanda McBride, and Jessica Miller. Participants were assigned randomly to one of the two conditions.

We reinforced the gender diversity manipulation by embedding a description of INDISCO's board of directors in the letter. Participants in the manipulated condition read, "INDISCO's equal employment opportunity programs ensure that *all employees* can get ahead in our company. For example, representation of women on our board of directors far exceeds the average representation of women in Fortune 500 companies." In the control condition, they read, "INDISCO's equal employment opportunity programs ensure that *all employees* can get ahead in our company."

Organizational attractiveness. After reading the recruitment letter, participants were asked to respond to seven items, similar to those of Umphress et al. (2007) regarding the attractiveness of INDISCO as a potential employer (Cronbach's $\alpha=.85$). Examples of these items are "How attractive is INDISCO as a potential employer to you?" and "Would you schedule an interview with INDISCO?" Participants responded to these items using 7-point Likert-type scales, with higher values indicating that participants were more attracted to the company.

Predictor variable: Marriage structure. Marriage structure was coded as 1 if it was traditional, 0 if it was neo-traditional and as -1 if it was modern.

Control variables. We included participants' age, whether the respondent's mother was a stay at home mom, and the respondent's mother's level of education in the analyses to control for potential demographic effects that might be associated with respondents' attitude toward women in their workplace².

Results and Discussion

Manipulation Check

² We did not include education and income as control variables because of insufficient variance in these variables.

The effectiveness of the gender diversity manipulation was assessed with an independent sample of 35 undergraduate students enrolled in business classes. These individuals were randomly assigned to read either the recruitment letter with high or low egalitarianism depicted of gender diversity. Afterward, they responded to the manipulation check item “INDISCO is a gender-diverse organization” using a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*). An ANOVA indicated that the manipulation was successful, $F(1,37) = 74.1, p < .01$: Those in the high egalitarianism condition were more likely to agree that INDISCO was a gender diverse organization ($M = 6.27$) compared with those in the low egalitarianism condition ($M = 4.33$).

Hypothesis Testing

Table 5 presents the means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations for all variables. We performed hierarchical multiple regression analysis (Cohen & Cohen, 1983) to test our hypotheses that compared to men in modern marriages, those in traditional marriages would be less attracted to more egalitarian organizations (i.e., companies with more than average female representation in board of directors and female recruiters).

We conducted a hierarchical regression analysis on organizational attractiveness, entering the variables in the following order: (i) control variables – age, whether the respondent’s mother was a stay at home mom, and the respondent’s mother’s level of education; predictor variables – marriage structure and organizational egalitarianism; (ii) their two way interaction. The results of the regression are provided in Table 6. As expected, the regression coefficient for the two way interaction term was significant. As depicted in Figure 2, we observed that men in traditional marriages found more egalitarian organizations less attractive.

The results from Study 3, once again, demonstrate that marriage structures matter. The quasi-experimental nature of the study suggests that men in traditional marriage

structures are less likely to be attracted to organizations that espouse egalitarian gender attitudes, thus supporting Hypothesis 3.

Study 4: Marriage structure and Promotion of Female Subordinates

Studies 1-3 focused on passive attitudes of men in different marriage structures toward women. In Study 4, we examined whether these men would actively engage in actions that would prevent women in the organization from advancing their careers. A second goal of the study was to examine our hypothesis using a sample of men who might be accustomed to making important decisions—managers. To this end, we conducted a controlled quasi-experiment using male managers that were married and working full time. In this study, we examined if compared to men from modern marriages, men from traditional marriages deny qualified female employees opportunities for promotion (Hypothesis 4).

Participants

Two hundred and thirty two married, male managers were recruited from an accounting association in the Western US. Most (93%) of the participants were White and the remaining were Asian/Pacific Islander (5.2%), Hispanic (1.3%), and Black or Native American (0.5%).

Procedure

Participants were recruited to participate in an online study investigating how decision-makers form opinions about the leadership potential of others. We adapted an online simulation previously used by Brief and colleagues (Chan-Serafin, Bradley, Brief, & Baskerville, 2005) in which we manipulated the gender of the potential leader. In this simulation, participants assume the role of “Drew Anderson”, Chief Financial Officer (CFO) of a fictitious software company, “Infomitex.” In Part 1 of the simulation, the participants learned about Infomitex and the MBA program it sponsored as well as Drew Anderson and a candidate being considered for the MBA program. The Infomitex-sponsored MBA program

was presented as a highly important and sought-after opportunity, offering full salary plus full tuition coverage at a full-time MBA program of the employee's choosing. Upon completion of the degree, the individual would receive a promotion to Vice President. The participant was then presented with the candidate's resume.

Participants viewed the resume of a candidate for this employer-sponsored MBA program. In the control condition, participants viewed a resume with the name David Blake while in the experimental condition, participants viewed a resume with the name Diane Blake. The resumes were otherwise identical in both conditions (25 year old candidate with exemplary experience and award-winning leadership abilities).

In Part 2, participants were told that the candidate was one of several promising nominees for the program, each of whom had been interviewed by the CEO. The CEO was now asking for the CFO's input (the participant). Participants were told that Drew himself had participated in and benefited from this program, and that it was important to make an accurate assessment of the candidates. Furthermore, Drew was motivated to impress the CEO and felt that the future performance of the candidate would reflect upon Drew.

In Part 3, the participants completed assessments of the candidate. In Part 4, participants completed a demographic questionnaire.

Dependent Variable: Recommendation.

Participants responded to fourteen items using a 7-point Likert scale assessing whether the candidate ought to be recommended for the company sponsored MBA program. The items are presented in Appendix A. Responses to the items were averaged to create a scale score with higher numbers representing stronger recommendation for the candidate ($\alpha = .74$).

Predictor variable: Marriage structure. Marriage structure was coded as 1 if it was traditional (i.e., wife stays at home), 0 if it was neo-traditional (i.e., wife works part time) and as -1 if it was modern (i.e., wife works full time).

Control variables. We included participants' age, whether the respondent's mother was a stay at home mom, and the respondent's mother's level of education in the analyses to control for potential demographic effects that might be associated with respondents' attitude toward women in their workplace³.

Results and Discussion

Manipulation Check

The effectiveness of the gender diversity manipulation was assessed with an independent sample of 33 undergraduate students enrolled in business classes. These individuals were randomly assigned to read either the resume with the name Diane or David Blake. Afterward, they responded to the manipulation check item "Was the candidate male?" (1 = *yes* and 0 = *no*). A Chi-square analysis indicated that the manipulation was successful, $\chi^2(1, 32)=25.48, p=.000$: Those shown the name of David were more likely to answer "yes" (15 out of 16) compared with those shown the name of Diane (1 out of 17).

Although we already controlled for candidate's capability by providing participants in both conditions the *same* qualification information, we nevertheless wanted to ensure that any provision of training opportunities was due to the gender manipulation and *not* participants' perceptions of the candidate's capability. Hence, we measured participants' perception of the candidate's capability by asking them to rate on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*) the extent to which they agreed that the candidate was capable. There were no significant differences based on the gender of the candidate.

Hypothesis Testing

³ We did not include education and income as control variables because of insufficient variance in these variables across our participants.

The summary statistics and correlational matrix of all variables included in the study are provided in Table 7. To test our predictions, we conducted a hierarchical, moderated regression analysis (Cohen & Cohen, 1983; Stone & Hollenbeck, 1989) on recommendation, entering the predictor variables in the following order: (i) control variables – age, whether the respondent’s mother was a stay at home mom, and the respondent’s mother’s level of education; (ii) predictor variables – gender of the candidate and marriage structure; and (iii) their two-way interaction term. The results of the regression are provided in Table 8. The hypothesized 2-way interaction effect among gender of the candidate and marriage structure, on participants’ recommendation was observed ($\beta = -1.04, p < .01$), and is illustrated in Figure 3. As seen in the graph, men in traditional marriages gave significantly poor evaluations of the female employee compared to the male employee. Overall, these findings are consistent with Hypothesis 4 and suggest that men in traditional marriages are more likely to deny qualified women opportunities for promotion at work.

General Discussion

Our approach opens up new territory by questioning how marriage structure conditions the treatment of others at work. Specifically, we argued that men embedded in traditional and neo-traditional marriages represent a pocket of resistance to the gender revolution and, thus, one plausible explanation for its slowdown. Consistently, we reported the results of four studies that showed that men in more traditional marriages compared to those in modern ones tend to view the presence of women in the workplace unfavorably, perceive that organizations with higher number of female employees operate less smoothly, find organizations with female leaders unattractive, and are more likely to deny qualified female employees opportunities for promotions.

In addition to speaking to the broader literatures relating to the open-systems theory, (e.g. how home environments can shape our behavior at work; Kahn et al., 1964; Katz &

Kahn, 1978), our results pertain to a number of other lines of inquiry such as labor economics. That body of work has examined how the presence of a wife influences a husband's work effort and his earnings but not how it may influence his attitudes and behaviors towards women in the workplace. Our paper provides robust evidence that, indeed, marriage structures play an important role in economic life beyond the four walls of the house.

Theoretically, these findings are important because they add a distinctive dimension to social structure as addressed, for example, by Eagly and Steffen (1984). With their reasoning, we have shown that the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors exhibited towards women are a product of the structural position or social role one occupies, namely, that of male breadwinner (Bernard, 1981). Moreover, consistent with Eagly and Steffen's position, we believe that the posture of these men embedded in traditional and neo-traditional marriages is unlikely to change dramatically until the structure of their marriages changes, an exceedingly improbable event on a large scale. Thus, we do not see that this pocket of resistance to the gender revolution will fade away. Rather, the attitudes, beliefs, and corresponding behavioral tendencies these may bring to work likely will remain a fact of organizational life.

The resisters we identified represent a potentially influential group. Numerically, they are substantial, for example, with men embedded in traditional marriages totaling more than 11 million (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). In addition, these men, at least compared to women as we early on documented, are more likely to populate the upper echelons of organizations and thus, occupy more powerful positions. Moreover, these men, even compared to other husbands, earn more (e.g., Schneer & Reitman, 1993), another indicator of their influence. Alternately, some may assert that the small variance explained in the dependent variables studied across our studies might mitigate concern about the resisters identified. But, in the gender domain, relatively small effect sizes, it has been argued

persuasively, can yield practically significant results (e.g., Eagly, 1995; Martell, Lane, & Enrich, 1996).

Early on, we also noted the gender attitudes and beliefs of men embedded in traditional and neo-traditional marriages likely are implicit. Thus, these men's attitudes and beliefs are not likely to be overtly hostile towards women in the workplace. In addition, we observed considerable variance among these men in their thoughts and actions towards women. Therefore, we do not intend to, nor are we pointing a finger at those whom we have claimed constitute a pocket of resistance to the gender revolution. Some may be characterized as "benevolent sexists" (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1996) and others may be neither benevolent nor hostile sexists. We do not want to label, we also do not want to ignore a real problem.

Clearly, organizations should not seek to control the marital status of their male employees, for example, by means of selection. To do so would be unjust, likely illegal, and perhaps, bad business. Regarding the latter, some economists have argued that married men, in general, are more productive than their single counterparts (e.g., Becker, 1991; Lundberg, 2009). Brief et al. (2005) have noted that research on such factors as marriage structure may not be seen as useful, for they are not within the organization's control (also see Brief & Dukerich, 1991), but, Brief et al. argue this sort of research can inform how organizations respond to the realities of its "potentially powerful, extra-organizational, countervailing forces" (p. 839).

So what is an organization to do? The answer according to Kalev, Dobbin, and Kelly (2006) is to establish responsibility for diversity. This advice was a product of their analyses of federal data describing the workforces of 708 private sector establishments from 1971 to 2002, coupled with survey data on their employment practices. According to Kalev et al., responsibility can entail (1) assigning accountability for setting diversity goals, devising

means to achieve those goals, and evaluating progress, (2) appointing full-time staff members or creating diversity committees or task forces, comprised of people from different departments, professional backgrounds and management levels to overseeing diversity initiatives, brainstorming to identify remedies, and monitoring progress. Of course, these forms of responsibility pertain to promoting the representation of any protected class of workers, not just women, and as we have urged, they should not focus on men embedded in traditional or neo-traditional marriages but rather, reflect an awareness of where subtle prejudices and negative stereotypes may lie.

Limitations and Future Research

We acknowledge that our analysis has its fair share of limitations. First and foremost, is the concern that men may be self-selecting simultaneously into traditional marriage structures and non-egalitarian attitudes and behaviors towards women in the workplace. Because we could not randomly assign men to marriage structures, nor could we directly observe their actions via any field studies, we need to exercise some caution in interpreting our results. While our results are consistent with the proposition that being in modern marriages, as opposed to traditional marriages, activates more egalitarian values in male employees, we do not have any longitudinal data to support this hypothesis. It is also possible that other mechanisms might be at play. For example, a male employee's belief in a just world may be an important venue for further research, but the study of this and other mediating and moderating factors (such as, benevolent sexism, gender role orientation, and birth of a daughter) must await future work.

Second, we studied attitudes toward working women, perceived smoothness of workplace operation, organizational attractiveness, and promoting qualified female employees as our dependent variables of interest. While these are important variables, there are clearly many other organizational issues of importance such as job performance and

satisfaction. Investigating the role of marriage structure on these and other outcome variables would certainly help us to better understand employee and managerial behavior and the underlying psychology of workplace interactions.

Third, we used the US as our empirical context, chiefly because of data availability. It is not very obvious how much our results would generalize to other countries such as India, China, or Russia, where societal attitudes toward women and marriage are significantly different compared to those prevalent in the US. It is also unclear whether our findings will continue to prevail as attitudes toward gender equality continue to evolve in the face of altered governmental policies and economic reform. It is our hope that our work will spark more systematic research on how marriage structures influence workplace attitudes and behaviors.

Such organizational research could take a variety of tracks. For instance, Dahl, Dezo, and Ross (2011) in a highly provocative working paper, have demonstrated already that the wages of a male CEO's organization are higher after he has a daughter rather than a son. In addition, building on research that shows being a child of a working mother (e.g., being the product of a modern marriage) is associated with more egalitarianism (Davis & Greenstein, 2009; but see Davis, 2007), we would expect boys and girls reared by a working mother would enter the workforce with more egalitarian attitudes (e.g., with less benevolent sexist attitudes) than those reared in traditional families. Consistently, because it has been found that some religions are more supportive of a traditional mindset (e.g., Davis & Greenstein, 2009), we would predict children raised in such religious households might enter the world of work with a relatively strong endorsement of the belief that women's place is in the home. Another structural source of gender ideology has been identified that warrants study in the workplace. Zuo and Tang (2000) observed that men who earn less than their wives are more

egalitarian. It is important to study the effects of such slowly changing economic realities on workplace interactions (Gerson, 2010).

While the studies we reported relied on a variety of methodologies and data sources, adding credence to the robustness of our findings, none of them entailed tracking the gender ideologies of men as their marriage structures changed. But, Kroska and Elmon (2009) did observe in their longitudinal study, as we noted earlier, that as people occupy roles inconsistent with their gender attitudes, those attitudes change towards consistency with the roles they occupy. Nevertheless, the need to study gender ideology as a function of changes in marriage structure is apparent by the almost total lack of data. Given such future research would be valuable, it is not organizational per se, and our concern with gender attitudes here is that people carry them to work. Indeed, we hope our research spurs an interest among organizational scholars regarding other structural features of individual's non-work lives and their thoughts, feelings, and actions regarding egalitarianism at work.

Research also could expand to examine the consequences of gender ideology beyond those studied here. For instance, it is known that egalitarian men tend to define "success" more in terms of their relationships with their children than in terms of their financial contributions to their households or their business acumen (e.g., Coltrane, 1998; Gerson, 1993; Hoschild & Machung, 1989). Thus, might it be that more egalitarian men (e.g., those embedded in modern marriages with children) are less responsive to performance incentive compensation programs or less engaged in activities to develop their job related knowledge, skills, and abilities? Finally, we note that questions could be posed about non-work structural effects on the outcome of diversity training (e.g., Kalev et al., 2006; Kulik & Roberson, 2008). Might it be the case that diversity training is less effective with men embedded in traditional marriages than those in modern ones. We suspect so.

We see much research to be done to better document and explain how the lives we live outside of work affects how we treat others (e.g., women, Blacks, gays, and lesbians, and immigrants) at work. No, organizations should not seek to manipulate people's non-work lives; but we, as organizational scholars, should seek to understand better how the byproduct of those non-work lives can be accommodated in the workplace.

Conclusion

We have contributed to the theory and research attesting to the fact that social structure and one's position in it influences a person's stance towards egalitarianism. Specifically, we demonstrated an association between the structure of a man's marriage and his gender ideology. Perhaps most importantly, we provided evidence of linkages among marriage structure, gender ideology, and workplace attitudes and behaviors, thereby unmasking a pocket of resistance to the gender revolution.

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TABLE 1

Correlational analysis of included variables (Study 1).

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Attitude toward working women	2.08	0.26	(0.70)					
2. Age	42.32	11.39	0.18***					
3. Education	1.75	1.19	-0.12*	-0.01				
4. Income	11.42	10.31	0.01	0.02	-0.02			
5. Mother's employment	1.43	0.71	0.08 [†]	0.19***	-0.04	-0.05		
6. Mother's education	1.36	1.70	0.08 [†]	-0.13*	0.12*	-0.05	0.03	
7. Marriage structure	-0.54	0.75	0.21***	0.12*	-0.07	-0.04	0.04	0.01

Note. All tests of variables are two-tailed (N = 311).

[†]p ≤ .10; * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001

TABLE 2Summary of hierarchical regression analysis^a of attitude toward working women (Study 1).

Main effects	Step 1	Step 2
Age	-0.11 [*]	-0.07
Education	0.24 ^{***}	0.21 ^{***}
Income	0.01	-0.01
Mother's employment	-0.08	-0.08
Mother's education	-0.02	-0.01
Marriage structure		-0.33 ^{***}
Model F	5.21 ^{***}	11.70 ^{***}
R ² (%)	0.08 ^{***}	0.19 ^{***}
ΔR^2 (%)		0.11 ^{***}
Adjusted R ² (%)	0.06 ^{***}	0.17 ^{***}

Note. All tests of variables are two-tailed (N = 311).

^aBeta coefficients are standardized.

[†]p ≤ .10; * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001

TABLE 3

Correlational analysis of included variables (Study 2).

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Perception of smoothness of workplace operations	2.15	.78							
2. Age	43.58	11.94	-0.18*						
3. Education	1.65	1.17	-0.07	0.04					
4. Income	10.97	2.60	0.09	0.26**	0.10				
5. Mother's employment	1.44	0.85	0.09	-0.05	-0.09*	-0.20			
6. Mother's education	1.39	1.65	0.04	0.00	0.27**	-0.25**	0.34***		
7. Percentage of women in the workplace	0.17	0.80	0.19*	0.01	0.22*	0.07	0.05	0.01	
8. Marriage structure	32.65	31.17	0.07	-0.16 [†]	-0.05	0.22*	0.11	-0.11	-0.14 [†]

Note. All tests of variables are two-tailed (N = 89).

[†]p ≤ .10; * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001

TABLE 4

Summary of hierarchical regression analysis^a of perceived smoothness of workplace operations (Study 2).

Main effects	Step 1	Step 2
Age	-0.15	-0.16
Education	-0.14	-0.17
Income	0.07	0.05
Mother's employment	0.04	0.02
Mother's education	0.09	0.06
Percentage of women in the workplace	0.23	0.32**
Marriage structure	0.07*	0.36*
Two way interaction		-0.39*
Model F	1.23	1.90*
R ² (%)	0.09	0.16*
ΔR ² (%)		0.07*
Adjusted R ² (%)	0.02	0.08*

Note. All tests of variables are two-tailed (N = 89).

^aBeta coefficients are standardized.

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

TABLE 5

Correlational analysis of included variables (Study 3).

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1. Organizational attractiveness	4.85	1.12					
2. Age	23.44	2.17	-0.05				
3. Mother's employment	0.20	0.40	-0.10	0.09			
4. Mother's education	1.35	1.45	0.17 [†]	-0.09	0.18 [*]		
5. Gender diversity salience	0.48	0.50	0.28	-0.01	0.17	0.27 ^{**}	
6. Marriage structure	0.24	0.70	0.17 [†]	0.01	-0.03	0.22 [*]	0.31

Note. All tests of variables are two-tailed (N = 86).

[†]p ≤ .10; * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001

TABLE 6

Summary of hierarchical regression analysis^a of organizational attractiveness
(Study 3).

Main effects	Step 1	Step 2
Age	-0.02	-0.02
Mother's employment	-0.16	-0.16
Mother's education	0.11	0.07
Gender diversity salience	0.26*	0.17
Marriage structure	0.06	-0.19
Two way interaction		0.39*
Model F	2.19	2.84*
R ² (%)	0.12	0.18*
ΔR ² (%)		0.06*
Adjusted R ² (%)	0.07	0.12*

Note. All tests of variables are two-tailed (N = 86).

^aBeta coefficients are standardized.

* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001.

TABLE 7

Correlational analysis of included variables (Study 4).

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Recommendation	5.61	0.76						
2. Age	32.31	6.52	0.04					
3. Income	87.65	50.43	-0.02	0.33***				
4. Mother's employment	0.63	0.48	0.02	-0.07	-0.10 [†]			
5. Mother's education	0.72	0.59	0.01	-0.06	0.00	0.86***		
6. Gender of candidate			-0.06	-0.03	-0.07	-0.06	-0.11*	
7. Marriage structure	0.03	0.86	-0.02	-0.11*	-0.12*	0.03	0.04	-0.07

Note. All tests of variables are two-tailed (N = 232).

[†]p ≤ .10; *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

TABLE 8

Summary of hierarchical regression analysis^a of recommendation
(Study 4).

Main effects	Step 1	Step 2
Age	0.05	0.07
Income	-0.05	0.01
Mother's employment	0.04	-0.06
Mother's education	-0.03	0.09
Gender of candidate	-0.08	-0.04
Marriage structure	-0.03	0.70**
Gender of candidate X Marriage structure		-1.04**
Model F	0.32	50.12***
R ² (%)	0.01	0.69***
ΔR^2 (%)		0.68
Adjusted R ² (%)	0.02	0.68***

Note. All tests of variables are two-tailed (N = 232).

^aBeta coefficients are standardized.

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

FIGURE 1

Effect of marriage structure and percentage of women in the workplace on male employees' perceptions of smoothness of workplace operations (Study 2).

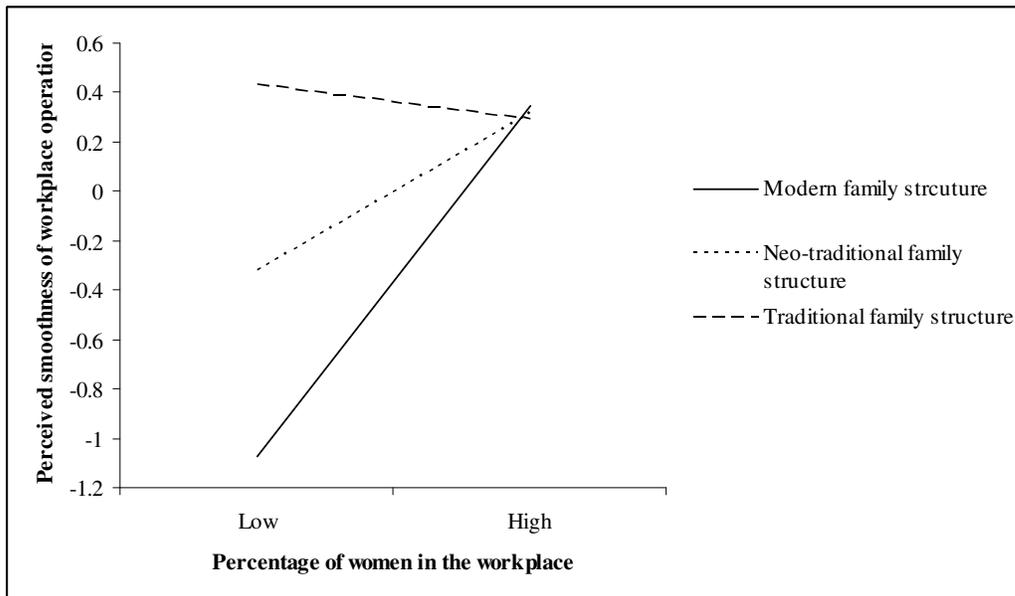


FIGURE 2

Effect of marriage structure and gender diversity salience in the workplace on male employees' perceptions of organizational attractiveness (Study 3).

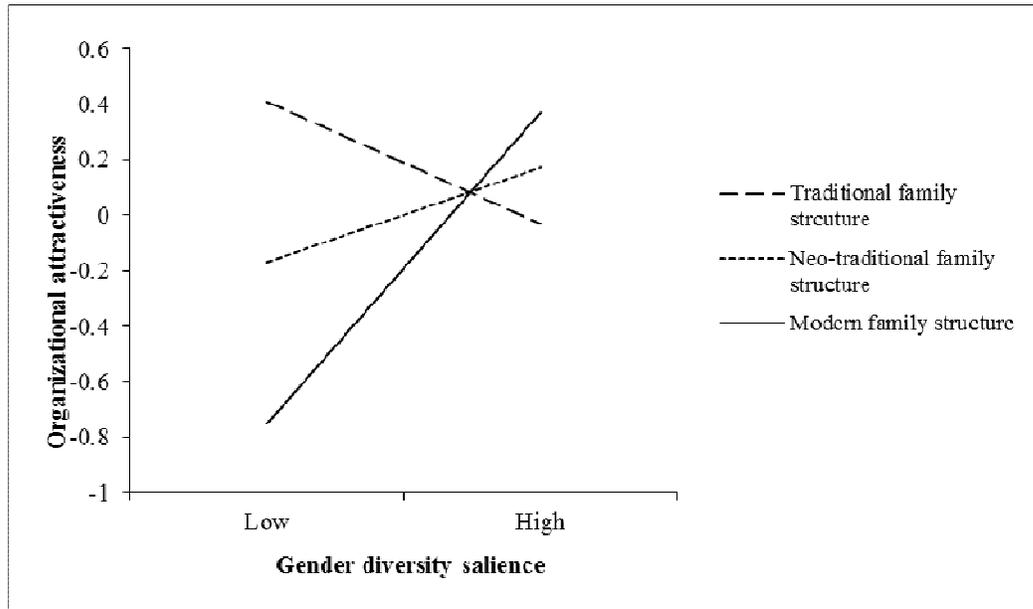
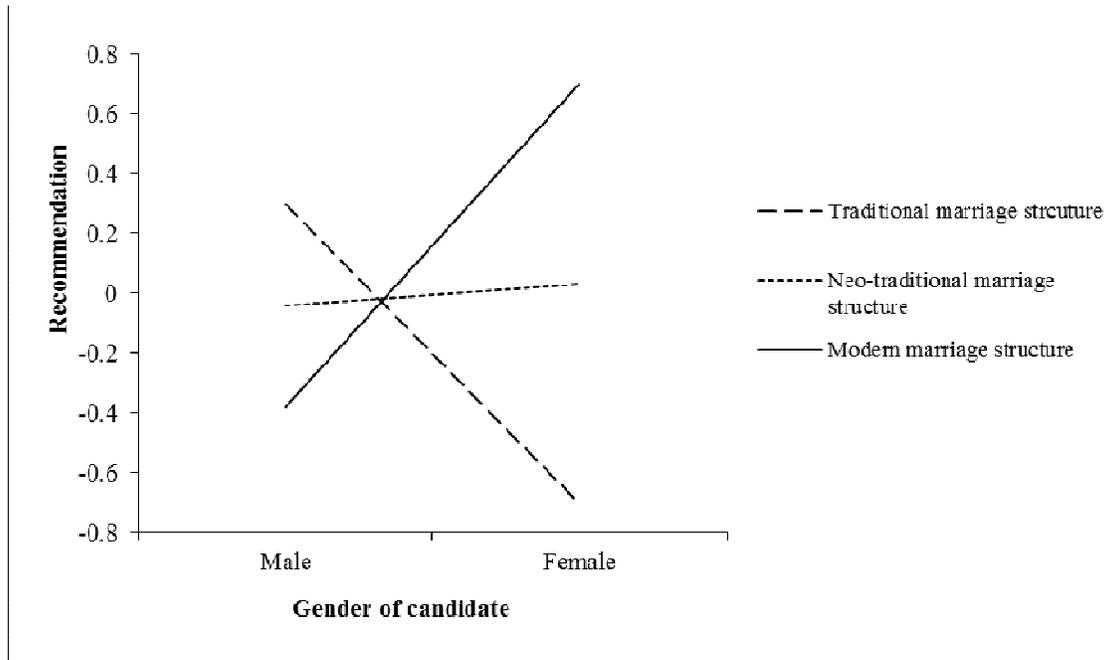


FIGURE 3

Effect of marriage structure and gender of the candidate on recommendation (Study 4).



APPENDIX A

Items used to assess the candidate

1. I would recommend that the candidate be selected for the MBA program.
2. The candidate has the makings of a fine leader and Vice President.
3. If given an opportunity to do an MBA, how likely would the candidate be to stay in the organization for the next five years?
4. If given an opportunity to do an MBA, how likely would the candidate be committed to Infomitex?
5. Would the candidate be a good fit for the position of a Vice President?
6. The candidate appears smart.
7. The candidate seems motivated to manage.
8. The candidate would be a successful leader.
9. The candidate has taken increasing responsibilities in his/her career.
10. The candidate has been creative in his/her work.
11. The candidate has shown initiative.
12. The candidate is a planner.
13. The candidate has successfully led others.
14. The candidate fits in at Infomitex.