VOL. 1

upRising

Innovative Ideas for Gender Equality

News from the Michelle. R. Clayman Institute
for Gender Research at Stanford University

Photo: Addison Arlow

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Dear Readers,

Welcome to the inaugural issue of *upRising: Innovative Ideas for Gender Equality*.

In its thirty-seven year history, the Clayman Institute has played a leading role in creating and promoting knowledge to advance gender equality. In 2008, I came to the Institute with the directive to see how far knowledge can travel, and I launched the *Gender News* service. We are now creating new ways to get the knowledge into conversations that matter.

Gender News translates the best gender research at Stanford in a twice-monthly newsletter. Written by a team of students, postdoctoral fellows, and dissertation fellows, *Gender News* answers the questions set by the Institute's strategic focus, Moving Beyond the Stalled Revolution. With our research and programs, we seek to understand why women's progress has plateaued and to identify ways to jumpstart progress once again.

This issue of *upRising* identifies some of the best research articles from *Gender News* and weaves them together to address bigger questions. This year we tackle two important conversations related to the stalled revolution:

- Why aren't more women in high-tech?
- What obstacles prevent women from entering leadership roles?

On behalf of the Clayman Institute, I thank you for being part of our efforts to move the conversation forward. Sometimes, research is the first stop on the way to change.

Lori Nishiura Mackenzie
Executive editor, *upRising*
Associate director, The Michelle R. Clayman Institute for Gender Research

This inaugural issue of *upRising* is dedicated to feminist pioneer Jing Lyman, in honor of her spirited activism at Stanford and nationwide. Since the 1960s, Jing has been a trailblazer for many women's causes. We are particularly indebted to her for her key role in founding the Clayman Institute and for her continued support over the years. Here's to you, Jing!

Moving Beyond the Stalled Gender Revolution

An Interview with Shelley Correll, the Barbara D. Finberg Director of the Michelle R. Clayman Institute for Gender Research

Shelley Correll

Q: What is the stalled gender revolution?

A: Across a great number of metrics, scholars have identified evidence of a stall in women's progress. The gender gap in wages, while narrowing over the 1970s and 1980s, has remained relatively constant since the mid-1990s. The movement of women into male-dominated fields of work has slowed. Women's participation in the paid labor market has leveled off. And, while women are earning an increasingly large share of bachelor's degrees overall, the percentage of women earning degrees in some fields, such as computer science, has actually declined since the mid-1990s. Even women's political office-holding at the state level seems to have peaked. Accompanying these trends, there is evidence that Americans' attitudes toward acceptable roles for women have taken a conservative turn after decades of moving toward more egalitarian views.

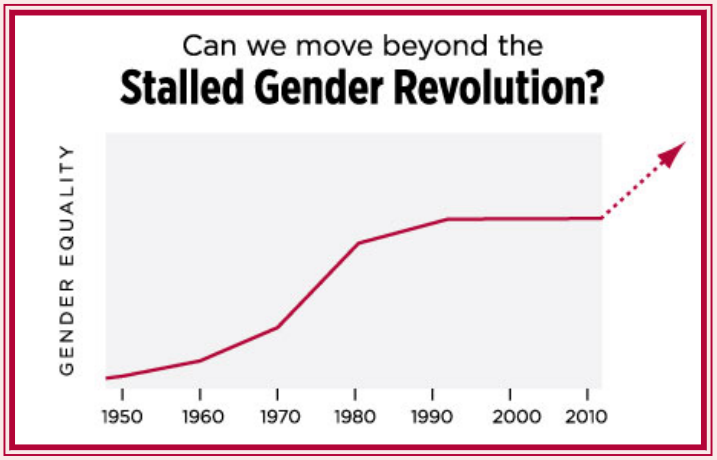
Q: What can research do to move us beyond the stall?

A: Research can help to provide new insights into the barriers to women's advancement and to propose novel and workable solutions to advancing gender equality.

Q: What will the Clayman Institute do?

A: We will focus on areas where we can promote promising new research directions. The first area is Redefining/Redesigning Work.

We are looking at how work in the twenty-first century can be redesigned to maximize talent and address a changing workforce. Next, we will look at redefining work itself—what makes a good and productive worker? To address these questions and more, we will bring together prominent academics, industry leaders, and government officials in a one-year working group, culminating in a larger conference in a year or two.



Q: How does redesigning and redefining work support women's advancement?

A: Anachronistic and outmoded ideas about what makes a good and successful worker are significant roadblocks to advancing gender equality. Despite major changes in the nature of work from how work is done (computers) to who now works (women, people 65+, Gen Y) many workplaces continue to associate workplace productivity with long hours at the office and "facetime." This conception of an ideal worker who is always able and willing to prioritize time at the office over other obligations disadvantages women, especially mothers, who often have competing responsibilities. To remove this barrier for women, work needs to be thought about and organized differently. New research suggests it can.

Stay tuned as this work develops!

Q: WHY AREN'T MORE WOMEN IN HIGH-TECH?

A:

Stereotypes discourage women from STEM careers | *Correll*

Men replaced women programmers in the 1960s | *Ensmenger*

Stereotypes are more influential in start-ups than in traditionally-structured firms | *Ridgeway*

We all know that computer companies are heavily male. But what's the reason? In 2005, former Harvard president Larry Summers famously suggested that women's underrepresentation in science and engineering fields (including computing) might stem from inferior ability. Another common explanation is that women simply aren't interested in these types of careers.

Shelley Correll, director of the Clayman Institute, argues that these conventional explanations—ability and desire—are insufficient. Instead, says Correll, we should look at the ways that gender stereotypes affect women's self-assessments, their career choices, and employers' ultimate hiring decisions.

Nathan L. Ensmenger, a University of Pennsylvania historian who spoke at an event co-sponsored by the Clayman Institute, sheds light on how these stereotypes were created. Ensmenger has traced the little-known story of the women programmers who worked in the early computer industry and has uncovered the process through which these workers were gradually replaced by men. By revealing the way that gender stereotypes were created, Ensmenger offers hope for change.

Cecilia L. Ridgeway, the Lucie Stern Professor of Social Sciences at Stanford University, explains why gender inequality persists in the places we would least expect. Gender stereotypes, she explains, are actually more influential in start-ups than in traditionally-structured firms.

A: Negative + Math + Stereotypes = Too Few Women

How Gendered Beliefs Funnel Women Away from Science and Engineering (and What Can Be Done about It)

by Susan Fisk

In 2009, women earned only 18 percent of all computer science degrees and made up less than 25 percent of the workers in engineering and computer fields. These statistics stand in stark contrast to the gains women have achieved in law, medicine, and other areas of the workforce. While observers often attribute the dearth of women in the science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields to lack of innate ability or interest on the part of women, sociologist Shelley Correll, director of the Clayman Institute, sees this explanation as incomplete. And she offers a competing one: stereotypes.

During her recent talk, "How Gender Stereotypes Influence Emerging Career Aspirations," Correll detailed the ways in which negative stereotypes about women can hinder their performance, depress their self-assessments of ability, and bias the evaluations made of them by key decision makers. Correll asserts that, combined, these factors can subtly influence women's aspirations and career decisions, funneling them away from degrees and careers in male-dominated STEM subjects.

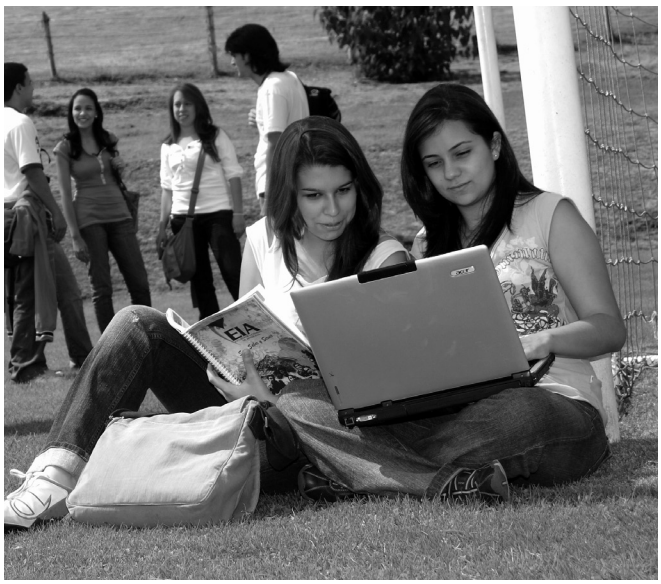
Stereotype Threat Decreases Performance

Correll explained that extensive empirical research has revealed a phenomenon that scholars call "stereotype threat." Here's how stereotype threat works: when people are exposed to a negative stereotype about a group to which they belong (for example, women, Asians, African Americans), they then perform worse on tasks related to the stereotype. Stereotype threat is problematic for women in the STEM fields, given the many societal beliefs suggesting that women do not have strong mathematical ability or that men make better engineers and scientists. If you tell women that they generally score lower on math and spatial tests than men do, women actually score lower on those tests than they would have had the stereotype not been made salient.

Stereotype threat has significant implications for real-world situations. For instance, researchers found that having women indicate their gender before taking the AP calculus exam was enough to trigger stereotype threat and to significantly suppress their scores. Researchers calculated that if the gender question had been moved to the end of the exam, 4,700 more women in the United States would have received AP calculus credit that year.

Stereotype Threat Decreases Confidence

Correll's own research shows that, in addition to decreasing performance, negative stereotypes can lower self-assessments of ability and can lead individuals to judge their performance by a harsher standard. In a laboratory experiment Correll performed, male and female students completed a "contrast sensitivity" task, in which they had to determine whether a given image was composed of more black or white squares. Unbeknownst to the subjects,



Wikimedia: comunicaciones

there was no correct answer, as all images had the same amount of black and white. However, the test allowed Correll to give all subjects the same score and to control the stereotypic beliefs associated with contrast-sensitivity performance.

Correll found that when researchers told subjects that men had higher ability in contrast sensitivity, women rated their aptitude lower than men, held their performance up to higher standards, and reported lower interest in entering fields requiring skill in contrast sensitivity. According to Correll, these effects make women less likely to enter STEM fields. Women are less likely to "...believe they have the skills necessary for that career in order to develop preferences for the career."

Negative stereotypes affect women's self-assessments of ability and their future career aspirations.

However, when subjects were told that women and men had the same abilities in contrast sensitivity, the disparities disappeared and there were no gender differences in ratings of aptitude, assessments of competence, or interest in fields requiring skill in contrast sensitivity. Correll's findings demonstrate the powerful effects of negative stereotypes on the psyche. Beyond diminishing performance, stereotypes decrease self-assessments of ability, lowering the likelihood that women will enter STEM fields.

Looking to the Future: How Do We Undo Stereotypes?

But how can change occur when gender stereotypes are everywhere? The first thing to keep in mind is that these effects are situational. For this reason, Correll says it is important to avoid the knee-jerk reaction that women should be fixed, and to focus instead on fixing organizations. "We need to understand that stereotypes affect not only people's own judgments of their competence, but they also affect the judgments of others." For instance, an experimental study on the evaluation of engineering internship applicants found that the same resume was judged by a harsher standard if it had a female, versus a male, name.

18%	of computer-science degrees go to women
25%	of workers in engineering and computer fields are women

Correll—who has advised organizations as diverse as Facebook, the National Science Foundation, and Cornell University on how to attract and retain women—named three key things that organizations can do to affect change. First, they can control the messages they are sending, thereby discouraging negative gendered beliefs from operating in the organization. Second, they can make performance standards unambiguous and communicate them clearly because, "When people don't know what to do, gender stereotypes fill in the gaps." Third, organizations can hold gatekeepers in senior management accountable for reporting on gender disparities in hiring, retention, and promotion of employees.

Correll remains optimistic about increasing the representation of women in STEM fields: "We can affect interest if we can figure out what's causing people to be less interested."

A video of Correll's talk can be found viewed on Stanford's YouTube Channel.

Shelley Correll is an associate professor of sociology at Stanford University and the Barbara D. Finberg Director of the Clayman Institute.

A: Researcher Reveals How "Computer Geeks" Replaced "Computer Girls"

by Brenda D. Frink

Asked to picture a computer programmer, most of us describe the archetypal computer geek, a brilliant but socially-awkward male. We imagine him as a largely nocturnal creature, passing sleepless nights writing computer code. According to workplace researchers, this stereotype of the lone male computer whiz is self-perpetuating, and it keeps the computer field overwhelming male. Not only do hiring managers tend to favor male applicants, but women are less likely to pursue careers in a field where they feel they won't fit in.

It may be surprising, then, to learn that the earliest computer programmers were women and that the programming field was once stereotyped as *female*.

The "Computer Girls"

As historian Nathan Ensmenger explained to a Stanford audience, as late as the 1960s many people perceived computer programming as a natural career choice for savvy young women. Even the trend-spotters at *Cosmopolitan Magazine* urged their fashionable female readership to consider careers in programming. In an article titled "The Computer Girls," the magazine described the field as offering better job opportunities for women than many other professional careers. As computer scientist Dr. Grace Hopper told a reporter, programming was "just like planning a dinner. You have to plan ahead and schedule everything so that it's ready when you need it.... Women are 'naturals' at computer programming." James Adams, the director of education for the Association for Computing Machinery, agreed: "I don't know of any other field, outside of teaching, where there's as much opportunity for a woman."

The world described in the *Cosmopolitan* article seems foreign to us today. In fact, says Ensmenger, change was already in the air at the time of the article's 1967 publication date. It's true, however, that the very first programmers were women and that the field remained open to women for many years thereafter. In the early 1940s, the University of Pennsylvania hired six women to work on its ENIAC machine, which was one of the world's first electronic computers. These six women, known by contemporaries as the "ENIAC girls," were charged with "setting up" the ENIAC to perform computation tasks. They are widely celebrated as the world's first computer programmers.

However, says Ensmenger, the presence of these women did not indicate that managers of the ENIAC project had modern attitudes toward women in the

Wikimedia:United States Army

Managers expected programming to be a low-skill clerical function, akin to filing, typing, or telephone switching. The result? They hired women to be programmers.

workforce. Rather, managers hired women because they expected programming to be a low-skill clerical function, akin to filing, typing, or telephone switching. Assuming that the real "brain work" in electronic computing would be limited to the hardware side, managers reserved these tasks for male engineers.

The idea that the development of software was less important (and less masculine) than the development of hardware persisted for many years, and women continued to work as computer programmers. Employers, says Ensmenger, were in for a surprise when they discovered a truth that we now take for granted: "Programming," he says with a smile, "is hard." The women involved in the ENIAC project distinguished themselves by engaging in complex problem-solving tasks and by advising their male colleagues on hardware improvements. For example, Betty Holbertson convinced skeptical engineers to include a Stop instruction in order to guard against human error.

As the intellectual challenge of writing efficient code became apparent, employers began to train men as computer programmers. Rather than equating programming with clerical work, employers now compared it to male-stereotyped activities such as chess-playing or mathematics. But even so, hiring managers facing a labor crunch caused by the rapid expansion of computing could not afford to be overly choosy. The quickest way to staff new programming positions was to recruit from both sexes, and employers continued to hire women alongside men.

The Masculinization of Computer Programming

In 1967, despite the optimistic tone of Cosmopolitan's "Computer Girls" article, the programming profession was already becoming masculinized. Male computer programmers sought to increase the prestige of their field, through creating professional associations, through erecting educational requirements for programming careers, and through discouraging the hiring of women. Increasingly, computer-industry ad campaigns linked women staffers to human error and inefficiency.

At the same time, new hiring tools—including tools that were seemingly objective—had the unintended result of making the programming profession harder for women to enter. Eager to identify talented individuals to train as

Source: Advertisement, Optical Scanning Corporation

computer programmers, employers relied on aptitude tests to make hiring decisions. With their focus on mathematical puzzle solving, the tests may have favored men, who were more likely to have taken math classes in school. More critically, the tests were widely compromised and their answers were available for study through all-male networks such as college fraternities and Elks lodges.

According to Ensmenger, a second type of test, the personality profile, was even more slanted to male applicants. Based on a series of preference questions, these tests sought to identify job applicants who were the ideal programming "type." According to test developers, successful programmers had most of the same personality traits as other white-collar professionals. The important distinction, however, was that programmers displayed "disinterest in people" and that they disliked "activities involving close personal interaction." It is these personality profiles, says Ensmenger, that originated our modern stereotype of the anti-social computer geek.

Aptitude tests and personality profiles were slanted toward male applicants. These hiring tools created the stereotype of the male computer geek.

Computer Programming Today

Today, we continue to assume that programmers are largely anti-social and that anti-socialness is a male trait. As long as these assumptions persist, says Ensmenger, the programming workforce will continue to be male dominated. Although the stereotype of the anti-social programmer was created in the 1960s, it is now self-perpetuating. Employers seek to hire new recruits who fit the existing mold. Young people self-select into careers where they believe they will fit in—for example, women currently comprise 18 percent of computer science undergraduate majors, down from 37 percent in 1985.

By uncovering the history of women programmers, Ensmenger seeks not only to remind us of women's forgotten contributions to the computing field. More broadly, he is interested in the process of how and why the field became predominantly male. The fact that stereotypes embedded in advertisements and hiring practices had such a profound effect on masculinizing this profession, says Ensmenger, sheds light on what can be done to reverse the trend, making programming and other computer professions more open to women.

Nathan L. Ensmenger is an assistant professor of the history & sociology of science at the University of Pennsylvania and the author of The Computer Boys Take Over *(2010). His talk at Stanford was jointly sponsored by the Science, Technology, and Society Program, by the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology Program, and by the Clayman Institute.*

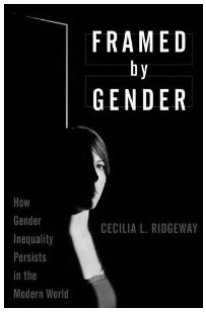
A:

Continue the Conversation Online

How Does Gender Inequality Persist? And Can We Predict its Emergence in Silicon Valley?

Given the many legal and cultural changes that work against gender discrimination, it is surprising to see how tenaciously gender inequality persists in the U.S. This puzzle is especially confounding in Silicon Valley. As a world of innovative companies that are too new to have an institutionalized history of discrimination, Silicon Valley seems like a place that should exemplify egalitarianism.

But in the world of start-up companies, says sociologist Cecilia L. Ridgeway, harmful gender stereotypes can be more influential than in traditionally-structured firms. Ridgeway, who spoke about her new book *Framed by Gender* (2011) as part of the Clayman Institute's winter lecture series, argues that people confront uncertain circumstances by recreating familiar social patterns such as gender. They instinctively draw on the too-convenient cultural frame of gender to help organize new ways of doing things, thereby re-inscribing gender stereotypes into the new activities, procedures, and forms of organization.



Cecilia L. Ridgeway is the Lucie Stern Professor of Social Sciences at Stanford University. To read more about her research—including how IT start-ups measure up against biotech—visit gendernews.stanford.edu.

Q: WHAT OBSTACLES PREVENT WOMEN FROM ENTERING LEADERSHIP ROLES?

A:

Unconsciously, we prefer male leaders | *Mo*

We judge male and female leaders differently, even if they behave identically | *Gruenfeld*

Black women and white women face different obstacles | *Phillips*

Of the 535 seats in the 111th U.S. Congress, women hold only 89. Of the 500 largest companies in the world in 2010, only 13 were headed by a woman. Why are there so few women in leadership roles?

Cecilia Hyunjung Mo, a Graduate Dissertation Fellow at the Clayman Institute, blames unconscious gender bias. She demonstrates that many people have difficulty associating women with leadership roles and that people with this difficulty are less likely to vote for a woman. Those who were most biased against women leaders were 12 percent more likely to vote for a male candidate over an equally-qualified female candidate. Mo found that, in order to win votes, a female candidate had to be seen as having significantly better qualifications than her male rival.

Deborah Gruenfeld, professor of leadership and organizational behavior at the Stanford Graduate School of Business and a Faculty Fellow at the Clayman Institute, links the lack of women in powerful positions to differences in how people perceive male and female leaders. Entrenched cultural ideas associate men with leadership qualities (decisiveness and authoritativeness) and women with nurturing qualities (warmth and kindness). Thus, when women behave in dominate ways they violate norms of female niceness and are seen as unlikeable. Alternatively, women displaying feminine behaviors are judged as less competent and capable. Gruenfeld explains how women can navigate this trade-off with non-verbal behavior.

Katherine W. Phillips, professor of leadership and ethics at the Columbia Business School, who spoke during the Clayman Institute's spring lecture series, looks at how race and gender come together to shape the backlash effect. She finds that African-American women are given more latitude to display leadership characteristics than white women are. Her research suggests that different groups of women face different types of barriers.

A: What? Me Sexist?

by Cecilia Hyunjung Mo

In a 1936 Gallup poll, only 30 percent of Americans said they would vote for a woman for president if she were qualified for the job. In contrast, by the late 1990s nearly 100 percent of Americans expressed a willingness to have a woman in the highest office in the country. With Hillary Clinton making a viable run for president and Nancy Pelosi elected as the 60th speaker of the House of Representatives, is it safe to say, then, that sexism is a thing of the past? Not quite.

iStockphoto: Mark Evans

While Gallup polls and high-profile female political leaders give the perception that men and women have reached parity in society, other measures raise questions about how far women have really come. For example, women make up only 16.6 percent of Congress even though they comprise half of the population. Such contradictions may suggest that what we think are big changes in attitudes toward women's leadership may instead be manifestations of political correctness. In other words, gender bias may have gone underground—taken out of daily conversation but remaining prevalent. These contradictions may also be manifestations of an unconscious and automatic preference for male leaders. Many voters may not even be aware that they possess gendered preferences.

The key, then, to understanding these persistent contradictions is going beyond what people say they believe. Instead, we must understand people's uncensored—even unconscious—thoughts. Psychologists argue they can.

1/2	Women comprise half of the U.S. population
16.6%	Women comprise 16.6% of the U.S. Congress

People Have Trouble Pairing Female Names with High-Level Executive Offices

With my colleague at Stanford University's Department of Communications, we used a measure designed to tap into hidden biases—the Implicit Association Test (IAT)—to assess whether gender bias affects vote choice. The IAT is a test to see how quickly a person can pair two concepts (for example, *woman* and *leadership*, or *man* and *leadership*). Mahzarin Banaji (Harvard University) and Anthony Greenwald (University of Washington) designed the IAT to test conscious and unconscious attitudes toward topics like race, age, and sex. My colleague and I tailored the

Wikimedia:Roger H. Goun

measure to pick up gender bias with respect to political leadership, and we looked at whether it affected vote choice. We conducted our study in the critical swing state of Florida.

The study yielded an intriguing finding. When following instructions to sort images rapidly, the average person found it easier to pair words like "president," "governor," and "executive" with male names, and to pair words like "secretary," "assistant," and "aide" with female names. In other words, many people had more difficulty associating women with leadership.

Why Does the IAT Matter?: It Predicts Voting Behavior

These results matter because they reflect not merely how people think but, importantly, how they vote. The more difficulty a person had in classifying a woman as a leader, the less likely the person was to vote for a woman. Those whom the IAT found to be the most biased against women leaders were 12 percent more likely to vote for a male candidate over an equally-qualified female candidate. We found this result even when explicit gender biases, like those measured by Gallup polls, were held constant.

Despite a society in which gender equality is politically correct and socially desirable, bias exists. You can see it in how people vote. Even when we consider only those who explicitly say that they would support a female candidate, we find that many have difficulty associating women with leadership attributes. As a result, they are less likely to vote for a woman candidate. So there appears to be a gulf between our conscious ideals of equality and our unconscious tendency to discriminate at the ballot box.

The Outlook for Female Political Candidates

The presence of bias does not mean that a woman can't ever win at the ballot box. To win, however, she has to be *more* qualified than her male opponent. Indeed, our study found that even the most sexist people among us were willing to vote for a female candidate if she were deemed to have more experience, better education credentials, or greater community involvement than her male counterpart.

Many people who explicitly say that they would support a female candidate nonetheless have difficulty associating female names with leadership roles.

These results do not suggest that people intend to be biased against women. Instead, negative gender stereotypes, traditional beliefs regarding gender roles, or authority beliefs that favor men unconsciously influence the decisions and choices many people make. These unconscious thought patterns remain real obstacles for the advancement of women in male-dominated fields like politics.

Given these findings, it is safe to say that sexism is not a thing of the past. Measures like the Gallup polls understate the effect gendered stereotypes and beliefs still have on the way people think about leadership. A more careful exploration of the linkage between gender attitudes and voting behavior shows that gender bias continues to exist among many voters in ways that advantage male candidates and disadvantage female candidates.

To test for your own unconscious biases visit https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/index.jsp.

Cecilia Hyunjung Mo is a PhD candidate in political economics at the Stanford Graduate School of Business and a Graduate Dissertation Fellow at the Clayman Institute.

A: For Women Leaders, Body Language Matters

by Marianne Cooper

Deborah Gruenfeld of Stanford's Graduate School of Business had some sobering news to share with a group of high-level women executives and entrepreneurs. "When it comes to leadership," Gruenfeld told the group, "there are very few differences in what men and women actually do and how they behave. But there are major differences in perception. Men and women doing the same things are perceived and evaluated differently." The group took in the news during the opening session of the Silicon Valley Thought Leadership Greenhouse, an eight-week program sponsored by the Clayman Institute and the OpEd Project in order to foster the public voices of innovators and leaders.

Competent or Likeable?: The Trade-Off for Women Leaders

As an example of the way men and women are viewed differently, Gruenfeld noted a recent study in which business school students were given two versions of a case study about a venture capitalist. The case studies were identical in every way, except in one version the venture capitalist was a woman and in the other, a man. The students were then asked to evaluate the VC. Students found the male and female versions to be equally competent and effective. However, when the students thought the venture capitalist was a woman, they found her to be less genuine, humble, and kind and more power-hungry, self-promoting, and disingenuous. And the more assertive a student found the female venture capitalist to be, the more they rejected her.

iStockphoto: Chris Hepburn

Upon hearing the results of the study, heads in the room nodded in agreement. What this kind of research illustrates, Gruenfeld said, is that people possess entrenched cultural ideas that associate men with leadership qualities like decisiveness, authoritativeness, and strength and women with nurturing qualities like warmth, friendliness, and kindness. Consequently, when women behave in dominant ways, they are seen as unlikeable because they violate norms of female niceness. Alternatively, women displaying feminine behaviors are judged as less competent and capable. Women, then, face a kind of trade-off: competency versus likeability. Men do not face this trade-off.

Body Language as a Key to Power

So, what are women to do? Gruenfeld told the women that they may be able to navigate this trade-off through non-verbal behavior.

Gruenfeld noted that research consistently shows differences in the non-verbal behaviors between those at the top and bottom of social hierarchies. Those with higher status take up more space through expansive postures like

Women venture capitalists were seen as less genuine, humble, and kind than their male counterparts. And more power-hungry, self-promoting, and disingenuous.

sitting with legs and arms spread apart, smile less, and stare directly into another person's eyes. Those with lower status take up less space through constrictive postures like crossed legs, smile more, and glance away.

"Women give away power all the time," Gruenfeld said, "by smiling or looking away when they are saying something authoritative." However, research shows that people unconsciously defer to those who use dominant physical postures. Thus, Gruenfeld suggested that using dominant postures may be a subtle way for women to overcome the trade-off they face, by enabling them to both assert power and remain likeable. Furthermore, using dominant postures may enable women to act more decisively. Gruenfeld found in a recent experiment she conducted that if people were asked to stare directly into someone's eyes they reported a much greater generalized sense of power than if they were asked to glance away intermittently.

"The most important thing is to recognize that these status dynamics are happening in every situation," Gruenfeld counseled the participants of the program. "You need to understand what is at stake and adjust. If you are saying something authoritative, stop smiling. On the other hand, if you sense someone is threatened by your competence, perhaps give them a smile."

Gina Bianchini, co-founder of Ning and a participant in the Greenhouse program, found Professor Gruenfeld's talk to have immediate impact, saying, "Her research provides useful tools to address power dynamics in the workplace. It's definitely effective to look directly into people's eyes when you have a serious message, but I've also found that it's effective to lighten things up from time to time with humor."


Gina Bianchini

Gruenfeld hopes that as more people are exposed to women in high-power positions, cultural beliefs connecting men with leadership qualities and women with nurturing qualities will change. She believes that it is this type of cultural change that will allow future generations of women leaders to avoid the kinds of trade-offs facing women leaders today.

Deborah Gruenfeld is the Moghadam Family Professor of Leadership and Organizational Behavior at the Stanford Graduate School of Business. She is a Faculty Fellow at the Clayman Institute.

A:

Continue the Conversation Online

Gender, Race, and Stereotypes

The "backlash effect," or the negative evaluation of women for behaving in dominant ways, is a well-established finding—but only for white women. In an analysis of how the backlash effect plays out for African-American women, Katherine W. Phillips, a professor of leadership and ethics at the Columbia Business School, found that African-American women are given more latitude than white women to display leadership characteristics. Phillips found that if a job candidate who exhibited dominant behaviors was a black female she was seen as more likable and more hirable. If that same job candidate was a white female she was judged to be less likeable and less hirable. Phillips' research suggests that race and gender come together and create different kinds of barriers for different groups of women. Phillips' talk at Stanford was part of the Clayman Institute's spring lecture series.

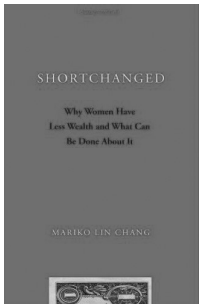
Katherine W. Phillips is the Paul Calello Professor of Leadership and Ethics at the Columbia Business School. To read more about her research visit gendernews.stanford.edu.

In Brief

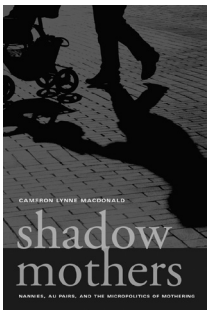
Women, Marriage, and Job Opportunity in the Muslim World Why would women support a social system that gives them less power than men? According to Lisa Blaydes, an expert in the Middle East, lack of job opportunity may be the answer. When a woman has limited career options, marriage becomes her best means to achieve economic security. By signaling support for patriarchy—for example, by wearing the veil—she raises her value on the marriage market. Blaydes analyzed survey data from 22,000 individual Muslim respondents in eighteen countries, determining that Muslim women are more likely to adopt patriarchal values in countries that lack economic opportunity for women—and less likely to adopt these values when economic opportunity is plentiful. Blaydes is a Faculty Fellow at the Clayman Institute.


Wikimedia: Mohamed Adel

Shortchanged: Woman and the Wealth Gap The wage gap between men and women stands at an all-time low. So why does the average women have only 36 cents for every dollar of wealth owned by the average man? According to sociologist Mariko Chang (*Shortchanged*, 2011), it's because men have greater access than women to the "wealth escalator." This phrase refers to a variety of financial benefits, from earnings, to fringe benefits (health insurance, stock options), to tax code advantages (capital gains tax) that allow income to be turned into wealth at a much faster rate than saving alone. Ostensibly, the elements of the wealth escalator are gender neutral. However, men are more likely to ride the wealth escalator because they have higher incomes, jobs with benefits, and assets that receive preferential tax treatment. Furthermore, because men have fewer caregiving responsibilities, they are more able to work full-time throughout their adult lives. Chang's talk at Stanford was part of the Clayman Institute's winter lecture series and was covered by graduate student reporter Alison Perlberg.



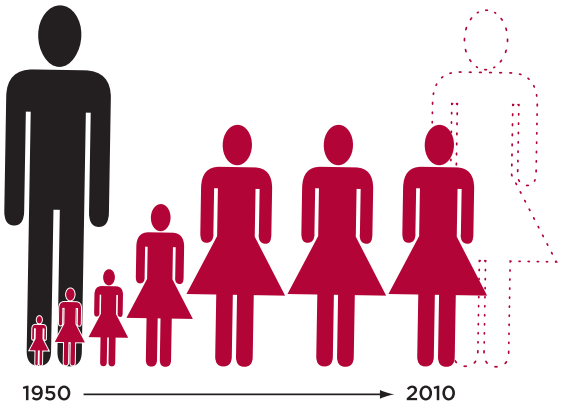
Shadow Mothers: Nannies, Au Pairs, and the Micropolitics Of Mothering According to Cameron MacDonald, professional-class women are caught between incompatible demands—an unrealistic ideal of intensive mothering combined with an out-of-control workplace culture that demands longer and longer workweeks. The resulting pressure leads to tension between professional mothers and the working-class women who care for their children. A nanny faces the impossible task of becoming a "shadow mother"—her employer expects her to fill in for the mother relationship during the workweek but to avoid threatening the mother's own identity as the child's primary caregiver. Nannies, by contrast, want their employers to recognize their job skills and to celebrate the attachments they form with children. MacDonald spoke at Stanford as part of the Clayman Institute's spring lecture series. Graduate student writer Sharon Jank reported on the event for *Gender News*.



The Motherhood Penalty: A Problem in the Workplace Are mothers judged by a harsher standard in the workplace? According to research conducted by Shelley Correll, director of the Clayman Institute, they are. Studies conducted by Correll and her colleagues found that mothers looking for employment are less likely to be hired, are offered lower salaries, and are perceived as being less committed to a job than fathers or women without children. What's more, the pay gap between mothers and childless women is actually bigger than the pay gap between women and men. Because mothers are judged more critically, they experience a "motherhood penalty" in getting hired and being offered a good salary.

Katha Pollitt Launches Jing Lyman Lecture Series Political pundit and columnist for *The Nation*, Katha Pollitt took the audience through a witty and hard-hitting discussion of the future of feminism in her talk, "What Do You Mean I'm Not Equal Yet?! Women in the 21st Century." Pollitt has been, according to Shelley Correll, director of the Clayman Institute, "the most consistent—and, indeed, relentless—defender of feminism in our nation." Pollitt was the perfect opening act in honor of the lecture series' namesake, Jing Lyman, a trailblazer who has been an activist for gender equality since the 1960s and who played an instrumental role in founding the Clayman Institute.

CLAYMAN INSTITUTE *for* GENDER RESEARCH



Beyond the Stalled Revolution

Reinvigorating Gender Equality in the Twenty-First Century

To all you trailblazers who have made our work possible, we give our greatest thanks.
We hope you will continue to join us in *upRising* for gender equality.

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