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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PERCEIVED ORGANIZATIONAL EXCLUSIONINCLUSION: THE IMPORTANCE OF STATUS CLOSURE AND ROLE INVESTMENTS

A dissertation

by

RENÉ CARAPINHA

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of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

Creating gender equality in situations of perceived organization exclusioninclusion (OEI-the degree to which individuals feel a part of critical organizational
processes such as access to information and influencing decision making processes) is a
critical social and organizational justice concern (Mor Barak, 2011). Given the lack of
understanding about gender differences in OEI, this study investigated this issue, as well
as, the determinants of OEI, and the sources of gender differences in OEI across multiple
worksites in different countries. Job status, work- and family-role investments, perception
of work-family culture and gender-role beliefs were hypothesized as the main
determinants and sources of gender differences in OEI.

Data collected by the Sloan Center on Aging & Work for the Generations of Talent Study (GOT) in 2010-2011 were used to investigate the gender differences in OEI. Bivariate statistics, multivariate fixed effects models, and Blinder-Oaxaca regression decomposition analyses were used to test the hypotheses.

Findings suggest that women's sense of OEI is significantly lower than that of men. This difference, although smaller, remains statistically significant after accounting for job status, work- and family-role investments, perception of work-family culture, gender-role beliefs, worksite variances, and control variables (age, race/ethnicity, optimism). Of these factors, job status and work-role investment differences between men and women are the greatest sources of the gender gap in OEI. No support was found for the influence of gender differences in family-role investments, gender-role beliefs, and perception of work-family culture on the gender OEI gap. Finally, women's more optimistic outlook on life, compared to men, attenuated the gender OEI gap.



Guided by these findings, potential policy and/or practice interventions should be aimed at advancing greater gender equity in job status and supporting women's work-role investments. However, interventions aimed at changing women's work attitudes should not promote conformity to gendered organizational norms. Future research should aim to better understand the relationship between contextual factors and gender differences in OEI, and to examine the role of positive psychological characteristics (e.g. optimism) in OEI and the consequences of gender differences in OEI.



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Chapter One: Introduction

Background

Although women's participation in the labor force is increasing in most countries, significant gender inequities and inequalities persist in the world of work (Hausmann, Tyson & Zahidi, 2011). The dominant discourse about the reasons for these problems were and are still often attributed to heterogeneity or diversity, in terms of numerical composition of the workplace and individual characteristics of men and women (Cox, 2001; Thomas & Ely, 1996; Thomas, 1992). Contrary to this perspective, the inclusive workplace model propose that problems related to a diverse workforce are not due to heterogeneity in and of itself, but due to the organizational exclusion of lower status employees, such as women and/or racial/ethnic minorities (Mor Barak, 1999).

Perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion refers to "a continuum of the degree to which individuals feel a part of critical organizational processes, such as access to information, connectedness to coworkers, and ability to participate and influence the decision making process" (Mor Barak, 2011, p. 7). Studies suggest that systematic patterns of organizational exclusion by gender and/or race/ethnicity could, for example, threaten intergroup relations (Nkomo & Kossek, 1999) and hinder women from "fully contributing and benefiting from their involvement" in work (Mor Barak, 1999, p.48). Gender based differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion, therefore, could limit the benefits that organizations can derive from a gender diverse workforce (Knippenberg van, De Dreu, & Homan, 2004; Knippenberg van & Schippers, 2010) and



significantly hinder gender equality in the social, economic, and psychological benefits derived from work.

For example, from a psychological perspective, perceived exclusion, could have deleterious consequences on the health and well-being of an individual (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Williams, 2001; Williams, Forgas, & Hippel, 2005). It jeopardizes the psychological need for belonging, threatens self-esteem, sense of control, and meaningful existence. As a result, it unleashes a variety of physiological, affective, cognitive, and behavioral responses. The responses can include, pain, disengagement, frustration, and aggression (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Blackhart, Nelson, Knowles, & Baumeister, 2009; Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003; MacDonald & Leary, 2005; Williams & Nida, 2011).

Moreover from a sociological perspective, exclusion and inclusion serve as the relational mechanisms through which power is exerted in order to maintain advantage and deny access to reward or positive life-chances to members of 'other' groups (Scott & Marshall, 2005, p. 77). Weber's (1978) social closure theory and Tilly's (1999) theory of durable social inequality propose that social inequality is produced out of relational mechanisms (e.g. social inclusion and exclusion) (Murphy, 1988). According to Weber (1978 [1921]), social closure is most often based upon belonging to a specific identity group through. The mechanisms of social closure, exclusion and inclusion, whether overt or covert, therefore contribute to generating inequalities (Murphy, 1984; Tilly, 1999; Weber, 1978).

The main proposition of the inclusive workplace model is that organizational exclusion-inclusion is a "bridge" between interpersonal differences, and individual well-



being and work outcomes including productivity, commitment and satisfaction (Mor-Barak & Cherin, 1998; Mor-Barak & Levin, 2002). Specifically, the model proposes that 1) lower status employees, such as women or racial/ethnic minorities are more likely to perceive lower levels of organizational inclusion; 2) diversity characteristics and perception of organizational inclusion are correlates of personal and organizational outcomes; and 3) employees' perception of exclusion-inclusion will mediate the relationship between socio-demographic characteristics and individual and organizational outcomes (Mor Barak, 1999; Mor Barak, 2011).

An emerging body of literature provides support for the potential significance of organizational exclusion-inclusion. Specifically, Findler, Wind, and Mor-Barak (2007) found that perceived organizational inclusion is positively associated with job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and employee well-being in a high-tech company in Israel after accounting for the effects of education and job type. A study conducted in a large corporation in South Korea provided further support for the association between perceived organizational inclusion and job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Cho & Mor-Barak, 2008). In a similar study conducted in the high-tech industry in Southern California, perceived organizational exclusion was linked to job dissatisfaction and lower sense of well-being (Mor-Barak & Levin, 2002). This study also found support for the mediating role of perceived organizational inclusion between race, gender, and employees' job satisfaction and well-being after taking into account employees' sense of fairness. Recently, Matz-Costa (2011) found support for the positive association between perceived organizational inclusion in decision making and employee psychological engagement across all age groups. Specifically, Matz-Costa



(2011) found that the relationship is positive among adults younger than 35, between 35 and 49, and those age 50 and older.

Given the growing evidence from empirical studies, organizational exclusion-inclusion has the potential to be an important focus for diversity policy and practice interventions (Mor-Barak & Levin, 2002; Roberson, 2006; Thomas & Ely, 1996; Wentling & Palma-Rivas, 2000). Studies highlight the areas where organizations should focus their diversity inclusion efforts by investigating who tend to be included and excluded (e.g., Cho & Mor-Barak, 2008; Findler, Wind, & Mor-Barak, 2007; Mor-Barak & Cherin, 1998; Mor-Barak & Levin, 2002). Among these studies, women's lower perception of organizational inclusion compared to their male counterparts is most evident and consistent (Cho & Mor Barak, 2008; Findler, Wind, & Mor Barak, 2007; Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Mor Barak & Levin, 2002). Likewise, studies using objective measures of inclusion and exclusion, and social network analysis, found that women have less access to information networks and workplace authority compared to their male counterparts (Ibarra, 1992; Reskin, McBrier, & Kmec, 1999; Wright, Baxter, & Birkelund, 1995).

Although the emergent literature seems to support a gender difference in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion, studies focusing on the reasons for this difference are limited. Against the background of the ever increasing rise in the rate of labor participation among women, the growing demand for equal gender rights and opportunities, and continued gender inequalities in work outcomes such as women's lower earnings and rates of advancement compared to men, the need for creating gender inclusive workplaces are critical.



Limitations of Past Studies

Existing studies that provide evidence of a gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion are limited in two important ways. First, most studies are based on highly clustered data -- that is, samples are drawn from single work organizations in one locale. Possibilities for inference across work organizations and different cultural/country contexts are therefore limited. More importantly, the lack of workplace heterogeneity in studies does not allow for the influence of context on gender differences to be identified. Lessons or recommendations from prior studies have therefore little to offer to employers with multiple worksites such as large national, international, multinational, or global corporations. Although this micro-macro divide is not unique to the field of diversity inclusion management (Bamberger, 2008), the lack of evidence for understanding the influence context on employees' perception of organizational exclusion-inclusion hinders diversity inclusion management across multiple worksites and within worksites.

Second, no literature was found that systematically investigated the reasons for gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion and the relative importance of these reasons. Yet, given the relevance of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion for diversity inclusion management - both in terms of social justice, individual well-being, and organizational outcomes - it is not only important to identify gender differences, but also understand the sources of the gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. Such evidence could support the development and improvement of programs, policies, and practices aimed at creating gender inclusive workplaces.



Study Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to 1) identify the gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion in a cross-national sample of multiple worksites, and 2) investigate the possible reasons for these differences and their relative importance.

The study addresses the following research questions:

- 1. After taking into account variability across different worksites, are there differences between men and women in their levels of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion?
- 2. If gender differences are indeed present, what are the sources of these differences?, and
- 3. What is the relative importance of the sources of gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion?

The study addresses the limitations of prior studies in two ways. First, gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion are examined across several worksites of multinational companies in 11different countries. To investigate the gender differences across multiple worksites, data collected by the Sloan Center on Aging & Work at Boston College for the Generations of Talent (GOT) study in 2010^{1,2} are used. The GOT dataset offers a unique opportunity to explore gender differences in perceived

¹ The Generations of Talent Study was supported by a grant from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundations' Program on Workplace, Work Force and Working Families to the Sloan Center on Aging & Work at Boston College.

² The data of the Generations of Talent Study was used in a way that is in accordance with the intent of the Generations of Talent Study. Analysis and synthesis of findings was done in consultation with the study's principal investigators - Dr. M Pitt-Catsouphes and Dr. N Sarkisian - who both served as dissertation committee members.

organizational exclusion-inclusion across different contexts, since the data was collected at multiple worksites of seven multinational corporations, from five different industries, based in eleven countries, including Brazil, Botswana, China, India, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Spain, South Africa, the United States, and the United Kingdom (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2011). Although the worksites in different countries were purposefully selected by the participating employers, the heterogeneity of worksites in different contexts allows for identifying and separating the effect of individual-level effects from contextual- level effects.

Second, the study develops and tests hypotheses about the sources of gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. The discussion of potential sources of gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion focuses on 1) Status closure or gender differences in job position and status. 2) Gender differences in work- and family-role investments, that is, "specific attitudes and behaviors associated with people's devotion to their work and family-roles", respectively (Lobel, 1991, p. 508). 3) Culture, specifically the role of perception of work-family culture and gender-role beliefs.

Hypotheses derived for the status closure approach are guided by Schein's (1971) seminal work on organizational structure and inclusion and the literature on job segregation and stratification by gender (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993). Schein (1971) originally proposed that an employee's inclusion in an organization will be influenced by his or her position in the organization. The literature on gender based sex/gender segregation and stratification of jobs and the workplace has long provided significant evidence of gender differences in levels of authority (Huffman & Cohen, 2004; Hultin,



1998; Wright et al., 1995), positions in the corporate hierarchy (Frankforter, 1996), earnings (e.g., Blau & Beller, 1992; Firestone, Harris, & Lambert, 1999; Gauchat, Kelly, & Wallace, 2012), and occupation type (England, 1982; Gauchat et al., 2012; Huffman & Cohen, 2004; Maume, 1999). This study tests to what extent gender differences in job position and status are associated with the gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion.

A competing, albeit related view is that women and men differ in terms of involvement and commitment to paid work and un-paid work-roles. Guided by the work of Schein (1971), O'Hare et al. (1999) suggested that organizational exclusion-inclusion will be "filtered" by employees' work attitudes or commitment toward their work.

Accordingly, this study tests to what extent gender differences in work- and family-role investments are associated with the gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. Moreover, hypotheses about the role of perceived workplace work-family culture and gender-role beliefs are also tested.

Finally, given the variety in the sources of gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion, the study compares the relative importance of gender based status closure, gender divergent work- and family-role investments, and perception of work-family culture and gender-role beliefs. Based on these findings recommendations for practice, policy, and future research are made.

Dissertation Outline

The outline of the dissertation is as follows:



Chapter two lays the theoretical foundation of exclusion-inclusion. In the first part of the chapter, theory from sociology and social psychology is reviewed to explain the nature and importance of exclusion-inclusion. In the second part, exclusion-inclusion in work organizations is defined both theoretically and operationally.

Chapter three reviews the theoretical and empirical literature about the determinants of organizational exclusion-inclusion and the sources of gender differences. Based on the review of the literature, several hypotheses about gender differences and their importance in relation to organizational exclusion-inclusion are proposed.

Chapter four presents the research methods used to test the hypotheses outlined in chapter three. The chapter is comprised of three sections. The first section describes the design of the study and the data source -- the Generations of Talent study. Measures used to assess perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion, its determinants, and the sources of gender differences are detailed in the second section. The chapter ends with an outline of the data analysis strategy that was followed to test the hypotheses.

In chapter five the results of the data analyses are presented. After the sample description, the bivariate relationships and differences between men and women are presented. This is followed by the results of multivariate statistics about the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. In the final section of the chapter the influence and importance of gender based social closure and divergent work and family-role investments as sources of gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion are presented.

In chapter six the results presented in chapter five are discussed against the background of the theory and literature presented in earlier chapters. Implications for



theory and policy, practice, and the role of the profession of social work are outlined. A summary of the limitations of the study and recommendations for future research is provided.



Chapter Two: The Theoretical Foundation of Exclusion and Inclusion

In this chapter the theory and empirical literature focused on exclusion-inclusion are reviewed in two sections. In the first section the bodies of literature in sociology and social psychology is reviewed to explain the nature and reasons for exclusion-inclusion and its consequences. In the second section, the construct organizational exclusion-inclusion is conceptualized and issues about its measurement in work organizations are discussed.

The Nature of Exclusion and Inclusion

Forms of social exclusion and inclusion are prevalent in almost all social institutions, from personal family life to public arenas, such as schools, churches, workplaces, and communities (Williams et al., 2005). Exclusionary behavior can be passive, such as giving another the silent treatment or ignoring another, or it can be active, such as giving curt responses, teasing, harassing, bullying, or ridiculing (Williams, 2001). The term social exclusion is a "broader, more encompassing term, insofar as it denotes all phenomena in which one person is put into a condition of being alone or is denied social contact" (Blackhart et al., 2009, p. 270).

In its extreme, social exclusion is a form of ostracism. Ostracism is defined as "targeted refusals of social interaction, such as by repeatedly and intentionally not replying to someone who attempts to converse" (Blackhart et al., 2009, p. 270).

Ostracism, however, unlike other forms of social exclusion (e.g. rejection) has multiple



adverse effects, including belongingness, desire for control, and meaningful life (Williams, 2001; Williams et al., 2005).

When exclusion of some and inclusion of others are based on socio-demographic characteristics, such as gender, race and age, social exclusion-inclusion could be viewed as discrimination (Mor Barak, 2011). Social exclusion therefore could have legal implications in countries where discrimination based on race, age, gender, religion etc. are illegal. For example, in the gender discrimination case of Dr. Carol Warfield against Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Hospital in Boston, Dr. Warfield claimed that she was openly ignored during meetings (Kowalczyk, 2013). The case between Dr. Warfield and Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Hospital was settled for \$7 million dollars in 2013. This case might have been the largest ever gender discrimination settlement in the State of Massachusetts in the U.S.,

It is also important to recognize that exclusion-inclusion can be overt (e.g., behaviors, policies, and practices) or covert (e.g. cultures and climates) (Mor Barak, 2011). This differentiation introduces another complexity - whether exclusion-inclusion is perceived (subjective) and actual (objective). Schein (1971) acknowledged potential limitations in his conceptualization of inclusion as it does not discriminate between (a) perception of inclusion and/or exclusion and (b) some objective criterion of actual position in the organization's social structure. Schein (1971, p. 408) suggested that a person's organizational exclusion-inclusion can be measured objectively in terms of "the degree to which (company) information are entrusted to him, by ratings of others of his position, and by his actual power". A person's subjective rating of exclusion-inclusion might correlate highly with objective measures and thus might prove to be a simpler



measuring device. However, a person might also misperceive his/her own position (Schein, 1971). Leary (2001) investigated whether there are differences between perceived (subjective) and actual (objective) exclusion-inclusion and found that the mere perception of being excluded is just as emotionally detrimental to individuals if not more compared to actual exclusion (Leary, 2001). Thus, these findings provide support for Thomas's Theorem about the salience of subjective perceptions or the social construction of situations and their influence on consequences (Thomas & Thomas, 1928).

Theoretical Underpinning

Belongingness

The influence of the basic, innate motivation to form positive associations on the human psyche, has been part of various psychological theories including Adler's (1927) work on inferiority, Ryan and Deci's (2000) work on self-determination and Maslow's (1954) work on self-actualization. For example the satisfaction of the need for a sense of belonging is a key determinant of self-determination (Ryan & Deci, 2000) and self-actualization (Maslow, 1954).

The construct "belongingness" refers to the need to form and maintain strong, stable interpersonal relationships (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). The importance of belongingness is founded upon the assumption that humans are innately social and that we depend upon one another for survival. Our desire for belongingness is therefore an fundamental psychological motivation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

Given the centrality of belongingness, individuals continuously evaluate themselves and assess their standing within a group or social environment (Festinger, 1962). This assessment, according to the symbolic interaction theory (Mead, 1982), is based on individual's interpretation and synthesis of symbols and objects in their environment which in turn influences the self and consequent perceptions and behavior (Mead, 2009). This evaluation process of the self, relative to the social environment, and resulting perception of social inclusion or exclusion, is continuous and motivated by the individual's desire to secure positive association and social identification.

Optimal distinctiveness

The social component of the identity is informed by social identification or belonging to a social group (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Brewer, 1991). Identity, however, also "contains a personal component that involves defining oneself as an individual" (Brewer & Gardner, 1996 in Shore et al., 2010, p. 2). Brewer's optimal distinctiveness theory "explains tensions associated with human needs for validation and similarity to other (on the one hand) and a countervailing need for uniqueness and individuation (on the other)" (1991 in Shore et al., 2010, p.3). Optimal distinctiveness theory is based on the assumption that human's developed unique/distinctive ways that would not allow them to live independently of other people. Therefore, belongingness and acceptance of uniqueness are desired in group inclusion (Brewer, 1991). Perception of inclusion is therefore based on both satisfaction of belongingness and acceptance of uniqueness (Shore et al., 2010).

The interpersonal nature of exclusion-inclusion

Reasons why certain individuals may be excluded or included can be found in social psychology theory, specifically the combination of self-categorization theory (Abrams & Hogg, 1988) and social identity theory of intergroup behavior (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social categorization forms the basis for distinctions that people make between those who are similar to and dissimilar from themselves (Hogg, 2000). In combination, the social categorization and identity theories propose that individuals will classify themselves and others into social categories based on their personal identity. The personal identity is derived from, amongst other factors, observable characteristics such as age, race and sex. Social identity is derived from the social categorization of the personal identity (i.e. group memberships). The social identity influences self-esteem or self-definition, and provides some identity continuity over time (Adler & Adler, 1987; B. Schneider, Hall, & Nygren, 1971). If social identity servers a positive function (e.g. high self-esteem, access to exclusive benefits), individuals and groups would aim to protect their social identity. Situations of social identity threat generally occur when the personal interests of people are "jeopardized because their group has to compete with other groups for scarce resources" (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999, p. 36).

The meaning that individuals attach to their identity group will determine the way individuals interact with others from their own identity group, and with others not from their own identity group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For example, in organizational demography studies, the formation and functioning of in-groups and out-groups are observed. It is theorized that people feel generally more comfortable with people who share important characteristics. As a result, similar individuals will be attracted to each



other. This process is referred to as similarity-attraction and is based on the principle of homophily (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954). By contrast, the dissimilarity-repulsion hypothesis suggests that dissimilar individuals and groups will not be attracted to each other, and therefore will be shunned away, ignored, excluded, and/or rejected (Singh & Tan, 1992). In group bias and stereotypes serve to maintain and/or protect a social identity especially under situations of identity threat (Mor Barak, 2011).

Based on the combination of self-categorization and social identity theory of intergroup behavior theory, different social identities can be used to categorize and value people (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As a result, individuals may be vulnerable to exclusion in the workplace based on different identities. Identities could be based on observable or readily detectable characteristics (e.g. visible diversity) such as gender, age, race-ethnicity, or less visible or detectable factors such as religion, education, undisclosed sexual orientation (Mor Barak, 2000).

Research shows that categorization based on socio-demographic characteristics tend to be a more prominent source of differential or unequal treatment in the workplace (Pelled, Ledford & Mohrman, 1999; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992). Mor Barak (2000) made two important observations when explaining this phenomenon. First, she argued that "it is easier to develop or harbor prejudices, biases, and stereotypes and to discriminate against people" (p.51) who are visibly different than oneself. And second, visible and invisible diversity factors are often closely related. That is, observable characteristics are correlated with complex and implicit differences in perspectives, assumptions, and beliefs (Milliken & Martins, 1996 cited in Mor Barak, 2000).

Dissimilar employees and/or those from lower status socio-demographic groups, such as



women and members of underrepresented racial and ethnicity groups, therefore, commonly find themselves excluded from networks of information, opportunities, and authority (Findler et al., 2007; Reskin et al., 1999).

Defining Perceived Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion in the Workplace

Conceptual definition

Within the workplace, perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion as a subject of social justice and business management has received notable attention in the diversity management literature. It has also been featured in related fields including, intraorganizational careers (O'Hare et al., 1994; Schein, 1971); workplace bullying (Salin & Hoel, 2013; Workplace Bullying Taskforce Report, 2002), incivility (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001); retaliatory behavior (Miceli & Near, 1986; Williams, 2001), rejection (Hitlan, Cliffton, & DeSoto, 2006), workplace empowerment (Prasad, 2001), and harassment (Schneider, Hitlan, & Radhakrishnan, 2000).

As discussed in the preceding section, the theoretical basis of exclusion-inclusion varies, and despite its currency in diversity management literature, the conceptualization of organizational exclusion-inclusion varies accordingly (Roberson, 2006; Shore et al., 2010). Three major themes in defining organizational exclusion-inclusion are however apparent from the literature. These themes are: 1) integration or centrality (Schein, 1971; O'Hara, Beehr & Colarelli, 1994), 2) belongingness or positive affiliation (Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Mor Barak, 2010; Pelled, Ledford & Mohram; 1999; Shore et al., 2010), and 3) acceptance of uniqueness (Shore et al., 2010).



From a structural perspective, Schein (1971) and later O'Hara et al. (1999) emphasized inclusion as an employee's radial position within the organization. Radial movement corresponds to the notion of "increasing or decreasing one's centrality in the organization, one's degree of being more or less on the inside" (Schein, 1971, p. 403). As opposed to the traditional notions of vertical (hierarchical position, i.e. rank) and circumferential (functional position, i.e. unit or department) dimensions in organizations, organizational exclusion-inclusion (radial position) is the third dimension of intraorganizational career movement (O'Hare et al., 1999) (see Figure 3, Appendix A, p.116). Organizational exclusion-inclusion (or centrality) represents "the extent to which an employee is integrated into the network of interpersonal relationships within the work system" (O'Hare et al., 1999, p. 198). Such integration is dependent on "the degree of acceptance" by other members of the work system (O'Hare et al., 1999, p. 200). Building on the work of Schein (1971), O'Hare et al. (1999) explained that an employee will form a perception of the extent of integration and acceptance though actions and events that symbolize the acceptance of organizational members. These events or actions include access to sensitive information and participation in decision making.

Other scholars have emphasized employees' sense of belongingness, or their sense of being a part of work groups and organizations (Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Mor Barak, 2000). As discussed in the preceding section, the assessment of belongingness is a continuous process that is motivated by the need for positive group affiliation that influences one's social identity and self-esteem (Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998). Given its theoretical underpinning in group process literature and sociological theory, inclusion as a sense of being a part of organizational processes, has gained a lot of traction and several



studies have investigated the role of exclusion-inclusion in relation to employees' wellbeing and work outcomes (Cho & Mor Barak, 2008; Findler, Wind, & Mor Barak, 2007; Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Mor Barak & Levin, 2002).

The final theme evident in the inclusion-exclusion literature is uniqueness (Shore et al., 2010). Shore et al. (2010) explains that uniqueness refers to being valued for one's distinctiveness which is not necessarily related to numerical uniqueness. For example, inclusion as valuing uniqueness is evident in definitions that refer to inclusion as a sense of unobstructed opportunity to fully participate in and contribute to the organization (Miller, 1998; Roberson, 2006); or inclusion entails eliciting and valuing the contributions of all employees regardless of their socio-demographic characteristics or work status (Lirio, Lee, Williams, Haugen, & Kossek, 2008).

Although the value of uniqueness is evident in some definitions of inclusion, Shore et al. (2010) argued that the uniqueness value has been overlooked in relation to belongingness. They defined inclusion as "the degree to which an employee perceives that he or she is an esteemed member of the work group through experiencing treatment that satisfies his or her needs for belongingness and uniqueness" (Shore et al., 2010, p.4). The dual focus on belongingness and uniqueness is important because it has implications for measurement and practice. If the assessment of inclusion is centered only on belongingness (e.g. sense of being a part of), studies will overlook the impact of employees' efforts to assimilate in order to be included (e.g. the suppression of backgrounds, experiences, and opinions) (Shore et al., 2010). On the other hand, if inclusion is only about value in uniqueness (e.g., differentiation) interpersonal



interactions could be strained due to emphasis of differences and an overreliance on stereotypes (Shore et al., 2010).

The conceptualization of organizational exclusion-inclusion as belongingness and value in uniqueness is a valuable theoretical contribution. Shore et al. (2010) have also proposed alternative measurement of organizational exclusion-inclusion. However, this measure has yet to be tested empirically and compared to other measures of organizational exclusion-inclusion. In the following section the operationalization of organizational exclusion-inclusion is discussed in more detail.

Operational definition

Various scholars have used perceived (self-reported), supervisor reported, and some sort of objective measurement of employees' inclusion in critical organizational processes such as decision making and information sharing as measures of organizational exclusion-inclusion. Mor Barak (2000, p. 48) assessed organizational exclusion-inclusion as employees perception of their "access to information and resources, involvement in work groups, and ability to influence the decision making process". Likewise, Pelled et al. (1999) operationalized organizational exclusion-inclusion as employees perception of inclusion practices such as decision making and information sharing.

Although Shore et al. (2010) introduced an alternative measurement of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion, an accepted measure of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion assesses the degree to which individuals are included or excluded in critical organizational processes such as access to information and ability to influence the decision making process (Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Pelled et al..1999; O'Hara, Beehr



& Colarelli, 1994). The present study builds on this conceptualization and measurement of organizational exclusion-inclusion by focusing on the extent to which employees' feel a part of decision making processes and information networks within their organization.



Chapter Three: Predictors of Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion and Sources of Gender Differences

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature about the determinants of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion and the potential sources of gender differences in order to develop hypotheses. This review serves to inform the gender gap hypotheses advanced and tested in this study. The discussion of potential sources of gender difference in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion focuses on status closure, work- and family-role investments, and culture. The chapter ends with a summary of the main theoretical argument and the conceptual framework.

Predictors of Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion

The relationship between organizational exclusion-inclusion and gender

Several studies in different organizational and national and international contexts have found a significant relationship between gender and perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. Specifically, in organizational studies conducted at workplaces in the U.S., women reported a greater sense of organizational exclusion compared to their male counterparts (Cho & Mor-Barak, 2008; Hitlan et al., 2006; Hitlan & Noel, 2009; Mor-Barak & Levin, 2002; Pelled et al., 1999). Similar results were found in a study conducted at a workplace in Israel (Findler et al., 2007) and in South Korea (Cho & Mor-Barak, 2008). Female employees were more likely to perceive a low sense of inclusion, both in relation to access to information networks and participation in decision making,



independent of job type, management status, education, and organizational tenure (Findler et al., 2007).

It is important to note that although these studies relied on a "perception" measure of exclusion-inclusion, studies relying on objective measures and social network analysis to assess information flow, access to resources, and participation in decision making and authority, also found significant gender differences (Huffman & Cohen, 2004; Hultin, 1998; Ibarra, 1992; Wright et al., 1995). In addition, findings related to gender differences tend to be more consistent compared to differences related to race-ethnicity and age. That is, gender differences are significant, with women perceiving less organizational inclusion compared to men. Finding about age are not consistent. This might be because the age range in studies is variable. Race-ethnicity is often omitted or is observed in homogenous samples (Cho & Mor-Barak, 2008; Findler et al., 2007; Mor-Barak & Levin, 2002). The inconsistency of findings may imply that different identities are not equally salient across different social contexts.

Given the role of social identities in influencing inter-group behavior and consequent perceptions and behaviors of exclusion and inclusion (see discussion in chapter 2), and the evidence of significant gender differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion, notably women's lower levels of perceived organizational inclusion compared to men, the difference between male and female employees' perception of organizational inclusion is tested. In addition, given that race-ethnicity and age, like gender, could influence inter-group behavior, the effects of race-ethnicity and age are controlled in order to identify the main effects of gender. On the basis of the emerging body of



published research on women's lower levels of perceived organizational inclusion, the following hypothesis will be tested in this study:

On average, women perceive significantly less organizational inclusion compared to men. (Hypothesis 1)

The relationship between organizational exclusion-inclusion and organizational status

Schein (1971) originally advanced the hypothesis that organizational exclusioninclusion is a function of an employee's structural position and status within the organization (O'Hara, Beehr, & Colarelli, 1994; Schein, 1971). Specifically, organizational exclusion-inclusion is directly related to organizational vertical (e.g. rank, earnings, supervisory status) and circumferential positions (e.g. occupation or job type) in work organizations (O'Hara et al., 1994; Schein, 1971). O'Hare and colleagues (1994) explained that employees are privy to certain task related information and decision making processes because of their vertical position in the organization and their level of expertise (e.g. management, sales). This association between organizational exclusioninclusion-exclusion and vertical and hierarchical positions was originally illustrated by Schein (1971) in his use of a cone rather than a cylinder or any other geometric shape to represent his model of organizational position and inclusion-exclusion (see Figure 3, Appendix A, p.116). In using a cone, upward movement (e.g. rank) also entails some degree of radial movement (inclusion), because "upper levels of a cone are closer to the center of the organization than are lower levels" (O'Hare et al., 1999, p. 203).

Empirical studies provide support for the relationship between status and organizational exclusion-inclusion. Using salary as an indicator of vertical position, or



the value of an employee to an employer, O'Hare et al. (1999) found a significant positive association between self-reported and supervisor ratings of employee organizational exclusion-inclusion and earnings. Similarly, Cho and Mor Barak (2008) observed a significant positive association between perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion and managerial/supervisory status.

The work of Schein (1971) and O'Hare et al. (1999) and the aforementioned empirical literature inform the hypothesis about the association between employees' level of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion and their organizational position.

Accordingly, the following hypothesis will be tested in this study:

Employees with organizational positions that are higher in the organizational hierarchy and that have more status (indicated by supervisory status, job/occupation type, and earnings) will perceive greater organizational inclusion. (Hypothesis 2)

The relationship between organizational exclusion-inclusion and role investments

Individuals can hold multiple social roles that are derived from their social identities. However, all roles or identities are not equally important or have equal utility for an individual (Rothbard & Edwards, 2003). Findings suggest that identification with a role (e.g., identity salience) is positively related to investment in that role (e.g., time, education) (Rothbard & Edwards, 2003). Role investment refer to "specific attitudes and behaviors associated" with people's devotion to their roles (Lobel, 1991). Career or work investment "refers to specific attitudes and behaviors associated with people's devotion to work-roles" (Lobel, 1991, p.508). Family-role investments in turn refers to "specific



attitudes and behaviors associated with people's devotion to family-roles" (Lobel, 1991, p.508). The attitude components of role investments include for example, commitment to a role and centrality or importance of a role. Behavioral components of role investments are often measured in terms of inputs, such as time or extent of participation in activities (e.g., hours of caregiving to dependents, housework, paid-work hours) and quality of role performance (Lobel, 1991). "The more a person expresses attitudes and behaviors in support of a role, the greater that person' degree of role investment" (Lobel, 1991, p.508). Although a person's identification with a role is positively related to his or her investment in that role, identification does not necessarily depend on nor vary according to favorable net role rewards (Rothbard, 2003).

Generally, it is widely accepted in organizational research that employers and managers prefer employees that are devoted to their work (Morrow, 1983, p. 486). Thus, employers tend to reward high career/work investments as evidenced by preferred attitudes and behaviors. This argument underlies human capital theory that propose that rewards increase with each unit increase in human capital investments such as education, specialized training, years working, organizational tenure, work attitudes such as high commitment, involvement, work centrality etc.

This logic has also been extended to organizational exclusion-inclusion.

Specifically, O'Hare et al. (1999) proposed that employees' extent of role investment as evidenced for example by their work commitment will be an important determinant of self-reported and supervisor reported organizational exclusion-inclusion. They found that commitment explained a significant amount of variance in self-perceived organizational

exclusion-inclusion. Much less variance was however explained when supervisory ratings of inclusion were used as the dependent variable.

As suggested by Lobel (1991), role investments could be measured by attitudes and behaviors. Accordingly, in this study indicators of work-role behavior investments will be assessed using investments in human capital (e.g., level of education) and time dedicated to work (e.g., work hours and years working for the organization). Career/work centrality will be studied as an indicator of work-role attitude investments. Like work hours, years working at a workplace provide insight into an employee's devotion toward his/her work at a specific work organization. Moreover, institutional expertise, knowledge, and interpersonal relationships (e.g. trust, support) are built over time and therefore employees with longer tenure will be rewarded with greater inclusion compared to those with shorter tenure (O'Hare et al., 1999). O'Hare et al. (1999) tested this hypothesis and found that organizational tenure is positively associated with supervisor reported organizational exclusion-inclusion but not employee perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. In discussion of this finding, O'Hare at al. (1999) explained:

That organizational tenure should be related to centrality appears to be a very basic proposition to the model, because gaining trust and acceptance from other organizational members requires time. Therefore, it is important to speculate why self-ratings were unrelated to tenure, and superior ratings, although significant, correlated modestly with organizational tenure. Further analysis did not support the presence of a curvilinear relationship between the variables. Self and superior differences in perceptions and focus may provide an explanation. Because superior ratings are more likely to involve a comparative perspective, as well as a



focus on aspects of centrality that are visible to superiors, superior ratings are more likely to be associated with external outcomes (such as tenure) than internal states. (p. 212)

Career/work centrality as defined by Sweet, Sarkisian, Matz-Costa & Pitt-Catsouphes (under review), will be used as an attitude indicator of work-role investment. The construct centrality refers to the degree of importance of work or a career in one's life. Although some studies assess centrality as the relative standing of work compared to other non-work-roles (e.g., family) by using forced-ranking, work/career centrality can also be conceptualize as an "absolute value" of importance. Similar to Sweet et al. (under review) this study treats career/work centrality not relative to other domains, but as the extent to which one's work/career is an important aspect of one's identity and the desire to stay in one's line of work/career irrespective of financial concerns.

Employees' role investments in non-work-role identities (e.g., family-role investment) could also impact their investment in work-role identities, the importance of their work-role identities, and the rewards they receive from their work-role identity investments (Lobel, 1991; Rothbard & Edwards, 2003). The impact of investment in one role on another role is particularly evident in relation to employees' investments in family-roles and work-roles (and vice versa). For example, in investigating men and women's role investments in work and family-roles, Rothbard and Edwards (2003) observed the following:

Gender analyses suggested that, for men, increased work time investment reduced time devoted to family, but increased family time investment did not affect time



devoted to work. However, for women, increased time investment in either work or family, reduced time devoted to the other role. (2003, p. 699).

It is important to note, that although some of the effects of family-roles on work-roles might be actual (real), the observed effects in relation to work outcomes such as earnings and promotions might also be due to bias and stereotypes. For example, some employers believe that family responsibilities detract from women's investments in careers/work and therefore are more likely to a) expect work performances at work to decline as family responsibilities increase, and b) be wary of hiring or promoting employees with high family-role demands (Lobel, 1991).

Thus, informed by the idea that individuals will be rewarded by the workplace for investments in their work-role investments, and empirical support for the positive association between organizational exclusion-inclusion and organizational tenure and work commitment, respectively, this study investigates whether perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion is positively associated with an expanded set of behavior and attitude indicators of work-role investment, including work hours, years working at the organization, education type, and work/career centrality. Conversely, based on assertions that family-role investments could detract from work/career-role investments, the negative association between perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion and investments in family-roles (indicated by hours taking care of children and elderly parents, hours of housework, partnership status) will be explored. Specifically, the following hypothesis will be tested.



Employees with higher levels of investments in work-roles (indicated by work hours, organizational tenure, education level, work/career centrality) will perceive greater organizational inclusion. (**Hypothesis 3**)

Employees with higher levels of investment in family-roles (indicated by hours taking care of children and elderly parents/in-laws, hours of housework, marital/partnership status) will perceive less organizational inclusion.

(Hypothesis 4)

The Sources of Gender Differences in Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion

The influence of gender differences in status

A significant body of literature has been dedicated to understanding gender and its association with power. Developed by Connell (1987) the Theory of Gender and Power highlights how gender relations are characterized by power and structure. From the perspective of intergroup relations, gender as an identity used in social categorization might become particularly salient if gender serves a positive function for one group (e.g., access to power or status, access to exclusive benefits). In such instances, those who benefit from the identity will aim to protect it. Feminist theory refers to such efforts as patriarchy. The goal of patriarchy, whether overt and/or covert, is to advance and preserve male (or masculine) advantage. (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993).

Tomaskovic-Devey (1993) introduced the construct status closure to explain how gender operates in the labor market to create the conditions that disadvantage women.



Status closure refers to the "workplace discrimination processes by which status characteristics, such as sex and race, determine who has access to valuable employment positions" (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993, p. 6). In his argument about the sources of job segregation, Tomaskovic-Devey (1993) suggested that discrimination is not a constant, but that it rises as the quality of the job increase. Therefore, in addition to sexist or racist beliefs, discrimination is conditioned by the competition for the best jobs (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993). As a result, jobs higher up in the organizational hierarchy and jobs with greater status will be more exclusive. That is, higher level or valuable jobs are less accessible to women on the basis of their gender rather than for lack of ability to handle jobs at higher levels. Additionally, women and minorities are concentrated in lower level or marginalized jobs hierarchy (Frankforter, 1996).

Investigations of gender based status closure have focused on various employment characteristics including levels of authority (Huffman & Cohen, 2004; Hultin, 1998; Wright et al., 1995), positions in the corporate hierarchy (Frankforter, 1996), earnings (e.g., Blau & Beller, 1992; Firestone, Harris, & Lambert, 1999; Gauchat, Kelly, & Wallace, 2012), and occupation type (England, 1982; Gauchat et al., 2012; Huffman & Cohen, 2004; Maume, 1999). The findings from these studies suggest that significant gender based status closure occur in the labor force. Various metaphors have been used to illustrate status closure. For example "the glass ceiling" and "glass cages" (Connell, 2006; Cotter, Hermsen, Ovadia, & Vanneman, 2001; Jackson & Leon, 2010; Kalev, 2009; Maume, 1999). The glass ceiling metaphor refers to the "unseen, yet unbreachable barrier that keeps minorities and women from rising to the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements" (Federal Glass



Ceiling Commission, 1995, p. 4). The metaphor, glass cage, in turn, refers to the segregation or concentration of women and minorities in lower-level and marginalized jobs (Kalev, 2009). Scholars have observed that glass cages reinforce negative stereotypes about the capabilities and aspirations of women and minorities (Kanter, 1977; Reskin, 2008). Segregated jobs therefore "institutionalize informal barriers to advancement" and reinforces the glass ceiling (Kalev, 2009, p.1592).

Some progress to eliminate status closure has been made, with women and minorities making some inroads into higher status jobs. Generally, results have been modest and slow (Connell, 2006). The World Economic Forum's annual assessment of the gender gap in remuneration and advancement (the ratio of women to men among legislators, senior officials and managers, and the ratio of women to men among technical and professional workers) shows that gender based status closure remains a problem in both developed and developing countries. Some countries have closed the gender gap much faster than others, whilst others have regressed (Appold, Siengthai, & Kasarda, 1998; Hausmann, Tyson, & Zahidi, 2011; Zahidi & Ibarra, 2010). Progress in addressing gender social closure (especially in relation to equal pay) can be attributed to equal opportunity, affirmative action, and anti-discrimination laws. Still, some progress can be attributed to tokenism (Kanter, 1977). Kanter (1977) defined tokenism as the advancement or appointment of a person who is part of a numerical minority group, making up less than 15% of the total workplace population. Token appointments are used by employers to create an appearance of inclusiveness and deflect accusations of discrimination (Kanter, 1977).



Informed by the literature on gender based status closure and evidence from various studies validating the existence of the glass ceiling and glass cages, this study investigates whether there are gender differences in levels of authority (supervisory status), earnings, and occupation/job type in order to identify gender based status closure effects. Furthermore, given the importance of hierarchical positions and status on levels of exclusion-inclusion as proposed by Schein (1971) and O'Hare et al. (1999), it is hypothesized that gender based status closure (significant gender differences authority, earnings, and job/occupation types) will have implications on women's organizational exclusion-inclusion. Accordingly, the hypotheses that will be tested in this study include:

Men are more likely to have jobs with greater status compared to women (indicated by supervisory responsibilities, earnings, and job/occupational type, respectively). (Hypothesis 5)

Gender differences in job status explain a portion of the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. (Hypothesis 6)

The influence of gender divergent investments in work and family-roles

It has long been asserted that employees' divergent investments in work/careers are the basis of differential work outcomes. Specifically, explanations about the gender differences in work rewards as advanced by supply-side social science approaches focus on the difference between men and women's dedication to their role identities as evidenced by, for example, human capital investments (e.g., level and type of



qualifications, specialized training), labor force attachment (e.g., work hours, tenure, work continuity), and work attitudes (e.g. career centrality) (Becker, 1985; Mincer & Polachek, 1978; Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993). The idea that men and women would make different investments in work and family-roles underlies the utilitarian approach to the division of labor between husband and wife, preference theory (Hakim, 2001), and early childhood socialization for labor force positioning, attachment, and acceptance of sex segregated roles (Lorber, 1994).

Various studies in the literature provide evidence of how work outcomes are different between men and women because of the gender differences in investments in work and family-roles. For example, gender differences in human capital has been used to partially explain sex differences in earnings (Mincer & Polachek, 1978), occupational sex segregation (England, 1982; Polachek, 1981), and the sexual division of labor (Becker, 1985). Similarly, a growing body of empirical evidence suggests that women are penalized in the labor force due to actual caregiving demands – in terms of wages, recruitment, and advancement - irrespective of their work input and human capital (Anderson, Binder, & Krause, 2003; Budig & England, 2001; Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007). The motivation of employers (e.g., actions perpetuated by bias and stereotypes such as statistical discrimination) and the effect of work effort have been used as explanations for these findings. For example Becker (1985) described the effect of effort as follows:

Increasing returns from specialized human capital is a powerful force creating a division of labor in the allocation of time and investments in human capital between married men and married women. Moreover, since child care and



housework are more effort intensive than leisure and other household activities, married women spend less effort on each hour of market work than married men working the same number of hours. Hence, married women have lower hourly earnings than married men with the same market human capital, and they economize on the effort expended on market work by seeking less demanding jobs. The responsibility of married women for child care and housework has major implications for earnings and occupational differences between men and women. (p. S33)

Moreover, studies show that gender ideology, as a widespread societal belief could legitimate gender inequality or bias against women and caregivers (Lorber, 1994). Gender ideology refers to the beliefs or attitudes that a person has about gender roles. Gender role ideology as a construct is unidimensional and range from traditional or conservative to egalitarian or liberal. Kroska (2007) described the difference between traditional and egalitarian attitudes as follows:

Traditional gender ideologies emphasize the value of distinctive roles for women and men. According to a traditional gender ideology about the family, for example, men fulfill their family-roles through instrumental, breadwinning activities and women fulfill their roles through nurturant, homemaker, and parenting activities. Egalitarian ideologies regarding the family, by contrast, endorse and value men's and women's equal and shared breadwinning and nurturant family-roles. (Kroska, A, 2007, p. online)

Firestone, Harris and Lambert (1999) found that traditional gender beliefs are associated with lower earnings and type of occupational positions held by both men and



women, independent of the influences of human capital characteristics, occupational context, and ascribed characteristics. Similarly, Nordenmark (2004) found that gender role ideology, employment status, and work hours, were positively correlated among a sample of women across 13 countries. Specifically, women with egalitarian gender beliefs were more likely to be employed and to work many hours compared to women with more traditional gender views (Nordenmark, 2004). Various studies using crossnational samples have found that men and women generally have different beliefs about gender roles (Nordenmark, 2004; Panayotova & Brayfield, 1997). Women are typically more egalitarian whereas men tend be more traditional. Therefore, women are generally more supportive of women's employment compared to men that have traditional views. This suggests that men and not women may be more likely to oppose or exclude women in the workplace. However, women who have traditional views might also oppose women with egalitarian views. Similarly, men who need to access work-family resources and benefits for managing family-role demands might also face bias due to gender role non-conformity (Dowd, 1989; Greenberg, 2003; J. Williams, 2010). Although the author could not find any specific research about gender role ideology and organizational exclusion-inclusions, the forgoing literature suggests that traditional views of gender roles by both men and women might be associated with greater exclusion of those with caregiving responsibilities - whether it be men or women. However, findings based on women's participation in the workforce suggests traditional gender role believes may have a negative effect on women's sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion.

Furthermore, attitudes expressed by coworkers and management about men, women and work ideology, specifically the separation of work (public) and home



(private) pervade organizational cultures (Rutherford, 2001). Studies suggest that work climates or employees' perception of the work culture, that is favorable or accommodating work and non-work integration are advantageous to all employees, but particularly beneficial advancement of female employees (Williams, 2010). For example, Kalev (2009) found that women benefit disproportionately from employers' work/family supports. In contrast, in workplaces where there is a lack of sensitivity to the burden faced by employees who are primary caregivers, the discourse around work and family perpetuated bias against women and caregivers in general. For example, using qualitative methodology, Rutherford (2001) observed that women had much fewer advancement opportunities and were less likely to have jobs with authority in organizations with negative work-family climates.

In summary, it is expected that role investments will be associated with perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. Specifically, employees with high work-role investments will perceive greater organizational inclusion. In contrast, employees with high family-role investments will perceive less organizational inclusion. Moreover, work-family cultures and gender-role beliefs will attenuate the effects of family-role investments on perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. Guided by the aforementioned literature six hypotheses that relate to the role of work- and family-role investments in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion, gender divergent role investments, and the influence gender role beliefs and perception of work-family culture will be tested. Specifically, these hypotheses are:



On average, men's investments in work-roles are greater compared to women's work-role investments (indicated by work hours, organizational tenure, education level, work/career centrality). (**Hypothesis 7**)

On average, women's investments in family-roles are greater compared to men's family-role investments (indicated by hours taking care of children and elderly parents/in-laws, hours of housework, marital/partnership status). (Hypothesis 8)

Gender differences in investments in work-roles (indicated by work hours, organizational tenure, education level, work/career centrality) will explain a portion of the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion.

(Hypothesis 9)

Gender differences in investments in family-roles (indicated by hours taking care of children and elderly parents, and hours of housework) will explain a portion of the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. (Hypothesis 10)

Perceived work-family culture will be positively associated with perceived organizational inclusion, for both men and women. Gender differences in perceived work-family culture will explain a portion of the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion.. (Hypothesis 11.1 & 11.2)



Traditional gender role beliefs will be negatively associated with organizational inclusion. Gender differences in gender role beliefs will explain a portion of the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. (Hypothesis 12.1 & 12.2)

Other factors: Personality

Arguably, certain personality factors could co-vary with different role investments and organizational exclusion-inclusion. Williams (2001) however, discussed the role of personal characteristics in relation to being excluded as follows:

Some individuals may simply possess certain undesirable characteristics or behave in ways that cause others to ostracize them. These characteristics may include insensitivity to others, obnoxiousness, chronic complaining, loudness, perceived dangerousness, or other unpleasant characteristics. (p. 58)

Williams (2001) acknowledged that focusing on personal traits as determinants of exclusion could be interpreted as *blaming the victim*. He argued however, that "it would be imprudent not to consider the possibility that some people elicit exclusion because of what they do or say" (Williams, 2001). Given this argument, it is important to at least control for some personal traits.

Some gender arguments in relation to individual work outcomes (e.g., work commitment) do revolve around sex differences in personality, "the evidence for such gender differences is, however, at most equivocal" (Marsden, Kalleberg, & Cook, 1993). In a review of the literature, the author could not find any studies that specifically addressed the role of gender differences in psychological traits that would predispose men and women toward different levels of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion.



However, a significant body of literature has been produced about the role of depression, negative mood, and pessimistic outlook in social acceptance versus rejection. For example, (Carver, Kus, & Scheier, 1994) found that negative mood and pessimistic outlook (reflections of depression) influence social acceptance, defined as a willingness to engage in social interaction. More specifically, they found that outlook had a stronger effect than mood on acceptance, and that pessimism was more likely to be associated with rejection compared to optimism (Carver et al., 1994).

Optimism is the opposite of pessimism and refers specifically to "the extent to which people hold generalized favorable expectancies for their future" (Carver, Scheier, & Segerstrom, 2010, p. 879). Higher levels of optimism have been associated with better subjective well-being in times of adversity or difficulty, higher levels of engagement coping and proactive behavior and lower levels of avoidance, or disengagement, coping (Carver et al., 2010). Optimists tend to be confident and persistent in the face of diverse life challenges (even when progress is difficult or slow). Given their energetic, task focused approach, optimists also achieve greater socioeconomic status in later life e.g., higher education and income. Generally, optimists appear to fare better than pessimists in inter-personal relationships (Carver et al., 2010). Additionally, optimists are generally perceived as more credible and confident -- two attributes that are very important in the workplace. Given these advantages of optimism, it is very likely that people with higher optimism will be less likely to experience organizational exclusion and if they do, they might be able to cope better with exclusion because of greater resiliency and determinism in the face of adversity (e.g., Carver et al., 2010; Williams & Nida, 2011). Therefore, in order to identify the unique effects of status and role-investments in organizational



exclusion-inclusion, the effects of optimism will be controlled in this study. If other personality differences exist between men and women and are associated with organizational exclusion-inclusion, these differences will be pooled with other unmeasured differences between men and women in the empirical results.

Summary and Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, guiding theoretical models and literature about the determinants of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion and the sources of gender differences were discussed. These models and literature form the basis for the hypotheses in this study. Figure 1 below shows a summary of the proposed relationships that will be tested in this study. First, the relationships between gender and perceived organizational inclusion will be tested, it is expected that women will perceive less organizational inclusion compared to men (see 1 in Figure 1 below). Next, gender differences in the four groups of predictor variables of organizational exclusion-inclusion will also be assessed. Specifically, it is expected that women compared to men (1) have jobs with less organizational status, (2) have fewer work-role investments, (3) have greater family-role investments, (4) are less traditional, and (5) perceive work-family culture as less positive. Finally, it hypothesized that these gender differences will individually and collectively explain a significant portion of the gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion (6-9), after controlling for the effects of age, race, and optimism (not shown).

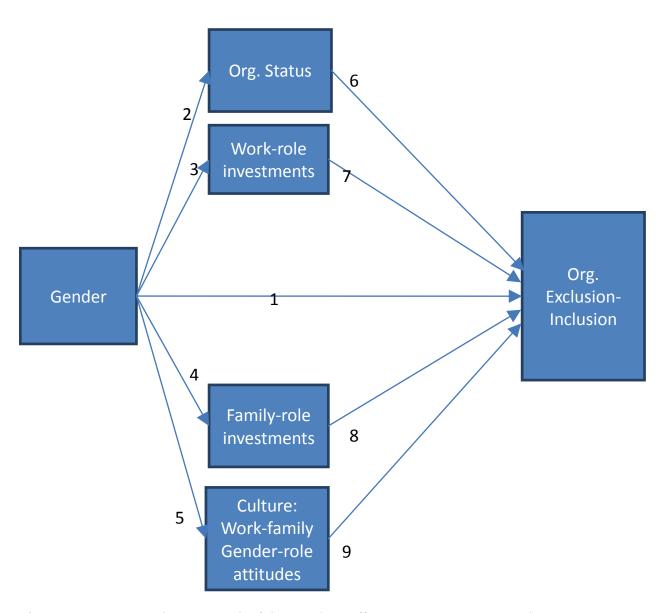


Figure 1 A Conceptual Framework of the Gender Differences in Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion and the Sources of These Differences

Chapter Four: Methods

In this chapter, I discuss the methods used to examine multi-organizational and cross-national gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. The chapter is divided into three major sections. The first section describes the data source used in this study - the Generations of Talent (GOT) study. The nature and design of the GOT study, the sampling strategy, and the data collection procedures are discussed in detail. The second section describes the measures used to assess the dependent variable - perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion, and the independent and control variables. The data management procedures and analytical strategy are discussed in the third section.

Study Design

Cross-sectional data that were collected for the GOT study conducted by the Sloan Center on Aging & Work at Boston College in 2010-2011 were employed to examine cross-national gender differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion. The GOT study was funded by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation from 2009 to 2011 and aimed to assess the work experiences, attitudes and a range of outcomes for employees working at multinational corporations (MNCs) at one point in time and across multiple countries and organizations (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2011). Specifically, the GOT study collected data from employees from 24 different workplaces that were located in 11 countries. Given the cross-national and multi-organizational nature of the data, the GOT dataset offers a unique opportunity to examine cross-national gender differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion across countries and organizations.



I was involved in the study design, data collection, and research dissemination phases of the GOT study as a research associate. I also served as the country liaison for South Africa, one of the countries where data were collected. In this capacity I was responsible for the recruitment and engagement of the worksites in South Africa and Botswana.

Sampling Strategy

Sampling companies and company worksites within countries. A convenience sample was employed to identify multinational corporations that have expressed interest in the aging of the workforce or multigenerational workforce issues globally. Seven multinational corporations were identified and recruited to participate in the GOT study. These seven multinational corporations were from a range of industry sectors, including: information technology; professional services; banking; electricity production, distribution and transport; and pharmaceuticals. The multinational corporations were predominantly headquartered in the U.S. and Europe.

A company representative was assigned within each of the MNCs and/or each worksite to serve as the liaison between the Center and the company/worksite. Liaisons were typically in the roles of director or manager in HR. In collaboration with the organizational liaison, each MNC identified between one and six of its global worksites to participate in the study. In total, the MNCs identified worksites located in eleven countries, including: Brazil, Botswana, China, India, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, South Africa, the United States, and the United Kingdom.



Sampling employee respondents at worksites. Due to corporate policies at the different worksites, both random and non-random sampling techniques were used to sample employee participants at worksites. Of the 24 worksites, 12 opted for random or representative sampling (with between 3.3 and 59.1 percent of all employees at each site invited to the survey via e-mail), 11 used population sampling (inviting all employees at the site via web announcements), and 1 used a pre-identified sample (inviting a group of employees pre-identified based on job type to the survey via e-mail). While the overall response rate was 13.3 percent, for sites conducting random sampling the response rates averaged 31.1 percent (range of 13.7 to 74.8 percent). The population sampling approach yielded far lower response rates, ranging from 0.5 to 50.2 percent, with a median of 26.0 percent. Given that participation in the study was voluntary rather than mandatory, we did not expect to obtain a full response at any of the worksites. It is particularly challenging to achieve high response rates in organizational settings during work hours. While the response rates are not as high as would be ideal, they are typical for organizational studies such as these where study design and follow-up is limited by company practice (Tomaskovic-Devey, Leiter, & Thompson, 1994).

Procedures

Employee data collection. Data in the GOT Study were collected using a 30-minute web-based survey. Respondents were invited to complete the survey via email and/or an URL link on the company's website. Invitations and reminder emails were sent by the employers or the survey administrating vendor. The invitations and URL



announcements of the study contained information about the nature of study, details regarding participation in the study (i.e., voluntary and confidential participation), information on how to access the survey, and the contact details of the principal investigators and the worksite liaisons.

Prior to accessing the survey, respondents were directed to a page that detailed the nature of the study, and potential risks and benefits of the study. All respondents were required to provide their informed consent to voluntarily participate in the study.

Survey structure and content. The survey included core (those that were included in each respondent' survey) and module questions (additional, complementary questions, a subset of which was randomly assigned to the respondents). There were four sets of module questions. All respondents were asked to complete the core survey (approximately 20 minutes) and one randomly assigned module section (approximately 10 minutes). The four modules each included questions on specific themes.

Organizational exclusion-inclusion measures were in the second module.

Core and module questions were organized into eight sections that focused on the respondent's 1) job; 2) preferences, opinions and beliefs; 3) experiences at work; 4) career history and plans; 5) overall assessments; 6) health; 7) family and personal life; and 8) socio-demographic information. A number of questions were conditional. For example, if a respondent indicated that s/he does not have any dependents, detailed questions about the nature of caregiving for dependents were not asked.

Survey translation. The survey was first developed in English and then translated to Brazilian Portuguese, European Spanish, Japanese, and Mandarin Chinese, to accommodate respondents whose native language is not English. The Center on Aging



and Work contracted professional translation services from local translators in the Boston area for the Japanese, Portuguese and Spanish translation. The Chinese translation was conducted by a research team member who had experience in translating surveys from English to Chinese and conducting survey research in China.

The translation process was based on the recommendations for cross-cultural adaptation suggested by (Beaton, Bombardier, Guillemin, & Ferraz, 2000). Accordingly, the surveys were translated by one translator and then 'blind' back translation was done by a different translator who did not participate in the original translation effort. The translators involved in the translation and back translation compared the back translated survey to the original survey and amended the translation where necessary. The back translated survey was then individually reviewed by two research assistants that were involved in the survey design. Back translated items that did not correspond to or that had different meanings compared to the original survey were identified as problematic items. These items were presented to a committee comprising of country liaisons, translators, and organizational liaisons. The translated surveys were reviewed by this committee and then submitted for programming by the survey administrator. The programmed translated surveys were pretested by the country liaisons and/or a student at Boston College who were native speakers in the respective languages. The programmed translated surveys were tested online and the reviewers were asked to identify any questions that were difficult to understand. Additional, minor issues were identified in the Japanese survey. These were presented to the translators and the country liaison and necessary changes were made to the survey.



Human subjects review. The Generations of Talent study was reviewed by Boston College Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research using an expedited review procedure. The study was categorized as minimal risk and received initial approval on October 29th, 2009 (IRB Protocol Number: 10.107.01). The research presented no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects, and involved no procedures for which written consent is normally required outside the research context. The IRB waived the requirement for obtaining the signature of participants in the consent form. The protocol was switched over to data analysis only on July 11th, 2011. As a research associate on the project, I was on the IRB-approved list of research staff allowed to interact with the data for the purpose of secondary analyses.

Measurement

Dependent variable

Perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion

Five items that were adapted from Mor Barak's (2005) perception of exclusion-inclusion scale were included in the GOT study. Items included: 1) I have a say in the way my work group performs its tasks; 2) My coworkers openly share work-related information with me; 3) I am able to influence decisions that affect my work group; 4) I am usually among the last to know about important changes in the organization (R); 5) I am usually invited to important meetings in my organization. Items that were reverse coded are marked with an R. The perception of exclusion-inclusion scale was reduced from its original length to take into account the limited time and resources that organizations could devote to the data collection effort. Respondents were asked to



indicate the extent to which they agreed with each item on a response scale of (1) "strongly disagree" to (6) "strongly agree". These items were subjected to an exploratory factor analysis using principal factors extraction and varimax rotation to assess their factorial structure in the sample (Kim & Mueller, 1978). Within all worksites, items converged to form one factor. A forced two factor solution was explored for information sharing and decision making separately as was reported in some previous studies (Matz-Costa, Carapinha, & Pitt-Catsouphes, 2012; Pelled et al., 1999). The data, however, did not support such a distinction. The Cronbach's alpha for the overall scale in this sample is .80. Accordingly, the five response items were averaged, and then squared to reduce a slight negative skew.

Independent variables

Gender

The key independent variable of interest, *gender*, is measured as a binary variable with female coded as 1 and male as 0 (the reference group). In addition to gender, three sets of predictors are used including: job position and status, family and work-role investments, and control variables.

Family-role Investments

Family-role investments are assessed using four variables including: 1) partnerships status, 2) hours of child care responsibilities, 3) hours of elder care responsibilities, and 4) hours of housework responsibilities. *Partnership status* is measured using a dichotomy based on respondents indicating that they live with a partner or are married (1). Respondents that indicated that they do not live with a partner or are

separated, divorced, widowed, never married, or other were coded as the reference category (0). Hours of caregiving and housework responsibilities are based on the responses of respondents to three separate questions: 1) On average, how many hours per week (including weekends) do you spend on housework in your own home, such as cooking, doing laundry, washing dishes, cleaning, and paying bills? 2) On average, how many hours per week do you spend directly interacting with your children and taking care of their needs? 3) On average, how many hours of practical assistance per week do you provide to your parents and parents-in-law? If no assistance/care was provided, respondents were instructed to write down zero. As Table 6 shows, the range for hours of caring for child/children was 0-150 with a mean of 8.8. The range for hours caring for a parent(s)/in-law(s) was 0-150 with a mean of 1.1. The range for hours doing housework was 0-100 with a mean of 9.2. However, after identifying extreme values, these three variables were top-coded at the 99th percentile, that is: 40 hours for housework; 68 hours for caring for a child/children, and 20 hours caring for a parent(s)/in-law(s) to deal with outliers. In addition, to correct the positive skew of housework hours, the variable was log transformed after adding a constant of 1 as recommended by Norman and Streiner (2007) (the addition of a constant is needed in order to accurately log transform a variable with observations of 0).

Work-role Investments

Work-role investments are assessed using four variables including: 1) weekly work hours, 2) years working at the organization, 3) level of education, and 4) career/work centrality. To determine *number of hours worked per week*, respondents were asked to indicate how many hours they usually work per week in their job with this



company (regardless of how many hours they were scheduled to work). Work hours were top-coded at 80 hours (99th percentile) to deal with extreme values. The use of dichotomies for less than 35 hours, 35-44 hours, and more than 45 hours was explored. Given the similarity of results and the need for parsimony, results presented here are based on work hours measured as a continuous variable. Organizational tenure is measured as total years worked for the current employer. Extreme values were top-coded at the 99th percentile, that is, 35 years. To address a positive skew, tenure was log transformed after the addition of a constant (1). Education is coded as a series of binary variables representing different levels of education including: less than a bachelor's or undergraduate degree, a bachelor's or undergraduate degree (reference group), and graduate degree. Work/career centrality is measured with three items including 1) I like this line of work/career too well to give it up; 2) If I had all the money I needed without working, I would probably still continue to work in this line of work/career; 3) My line of work/career field is an important part of who I am (Sweet et al., under review). Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree with these statements on a 6-point Likert type agreement scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (6) strongly agree. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale is .81.

Culture: Perceived work-family culture and gender role beliefs

Two items from the Work-Family Organizational Culture scale developed by Thompson, Beauvais and Lyness (1999) and two items from the National Study of the Changing Workforce were included in the GOT employee survey to assess employees' perception of the work-family culture in their work environment. To maintain response



scale consistency in the GOT employee survey, the response scale for the Thompson et al. (1999) items was changed from a 7-point to a 6-point Likert agreement scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6). Specifically, employees were asked to indicate to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: 1)

Employees are regularly expected to put their jobs ahead of their personal or family lives (R), 2) In this organization employees who participate in available work-family programs (e.g., job sharing, part-time work) are viewed as less serious about their careers than those who do not participate in these programs (R), 3) My supervisor really cares about the effects that work demands have on my personal and family life, and 4) Overall, I have access to the flexible work options I need to fulfill my work and personal needs. The scores of items one and two were reversed before the four items were averaged to represent a score of perceived work-family culture. Higher scores indicated a positive work-family culture. The Cronbach's alpha for the scale is 56.

Gender role beliefs are measured with six items assessing egalitarian vs. traditional gender role beliefs. Three of the items were from the 1998 International Social Survey Program (ISSP). The ISSP is a continuing annual program of cross-national collaboration on surveys covering topics important for social science research for example families and changing gender roles. The other three items were from the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS), the National Survey of Families and Households Wave I (NSFH), and Midlife in the United States-A Study of Health and Well-being Wave 1 (1994/5) (MIDUS) respectively. All three of these studies are national in scope, and collected demographic, behavioral, health, and attitudinal data. The items used from these surveys included (source in parenthesis): 1) An employed mother can establish just as



warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work for pay (R) (ISSP); 2) All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full time job (ISSP); 3) A man's job is to earn money; a women's job is to look after the home and the family (ISSP); 4) It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself (GSS, 1996); 5) If a husband and wife both work full-time, they should share household tasks equally (R) (NSFH Wave I - 1987-88), and 6) Men should share equally with their wives in taking care of young children (R) (MIDUS). For the GOT study, the items were slightly modified and response scales were adapted to a six point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6). The scores of three items were reversed before the items were averaged to create a total score for gender beliefs (those items that are marked with an R). The range was 1-6 but the variable was top coded at 5 (99th percentile) to deal with extreme cases thereby also addressing a positive skew. Lower scores indicated egalitarian gender role orientation and higher scores indicated traditional gender role beliefs. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale is .72. Work/career centrality is measured with three items including 1) I like this line of work/career too well to give it up; 2) If I had all the money I needed without working, I would probably still continue to work in this line of work/career; 3) My line of work/career field is an important part of who I am. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree with these statements on a 6-point Likert type agreement scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (6) strongly agree. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale is .81.

Job position and status

Three variables are used to assess job position and status, including 1) the job type, 2) supervisory status, and 3) annual earnings. *Job type* is coded as a series of five binary



variables for managerial, professional or technical, service or sales, administrative or clerical, and other job. The reference group is managerial employee. *Supervisory status* is coded as binary variable with no supervisory responsibilities (0) as the reference category. *Earnings* are based on respondent's personal earnings in the last calendar year in their local currency. Respondents who did not disclose their exact income were prompted to report their income using income categories (approximately 20 categories were provided in each country). In one company, all respondents reported their income using these categories. Such categorical responses were coded to midpoint of each income interval. In order to standardize across various currencies and within-nation income distributions, all responses were then coded into deciles (1 to 10) for each country.

Control Variables

Race/ethnicity

Given that each country has a different racial/ethnic composition and a different racial/ethnic history, a unique series of racial/ethnic or population group options were developed specifically for each country. Each respondent was asked to identify their race/ethnicity from the list of racial/ethnic or population groups associated with their country. The question about race/ethnicity, however, was excluded from the customized surveys in India as per the requests of the employers in India. The employers indicated that there is a general move away from classifying people by race/ethnicity in India given the sensitive nature of its relationship with the caste system. These missing data were

imputed and models with and without this data were compared to identify differences in estimates (refer to Statistical Analysis section).

A dichotomy of dominant versus minority race/ethnicity was created for each country. This dichotomy was created based on preliminary analysis and comparison with country demographic data. In Table 1 below, the ethnic/racial breakdown by worksite is summarized and compared to the race/ethnic profile of that country.

Table 1 Worksite Race/Ethnicity Composition by Country Compared to Country Racial/Ethnicity Profile

Racial/Ethnic Profile			_
Country/ Company	Dominant race- ethnicity (%)	Other race- ethnicity groups (%)	Country Race/Ethnic Profile ¹
Botswana Bank	Tswana 71.0%	30.0%	Tswana (or Setswana) 79%, Kalanga 11%, Basarwa 3%, other, including Kgalagadi and White 7%
Brazil Pharma 1	White 81.0%	19.0%	White 53.7%, Mulatto (mixed white and black) 38.5%, black 6.2%, other (includes Japanese, Arab, Amerindian) 0.9%, unspecified 0.7%
Brazil Pharma 2	White 72.2%	27.8%	
Brazil Professional services	White 72.9%	27.1%	
China Pharma 1	Han Chinese 87.2%	12.8%	Han Chinese 91.5%, Zhuang, Manchu, Hui, Miao, Uighur, Tujia, Yi, Mongol, Tibetan, Buyi, Dong, Yao, Korean, and other nationalities 8.5%
China Pharma 2	Han Chinese 94.3%	5.7%	
Japan Pharma 2	Japanese 99.0	1.0%	Japanese 98.5%, Koreans 0.5%, Chinese 0.4%, other 0.6%
Japan Professional services	Japanese 99.1%	.9%	-
Mexico Pharma 2	Mestizo/Hispanico 77.8%	22.2%	Mestizo (Amerindian-Spanish) 60%, Amerindian or predominantly Amerindian 30%, White 9%, other 1%
Mexico Professional services	Mestizo/Hispanico 82.1%	17.9%	
Netherlands Professional services	Dutch 96.0%	4.0%	Dutch 80.7%, EU 5%, Indonesian 2.4%, Turkish 2.2%, Surinamese 2%, Moroccan 2%, Caribbean 0.8%, other 4.8%
South Africa	White 53.7%	46.3%	Black African 79%, White 9.6%, Colored



Bank			8.9%, Indian/Asian 2.5%
Spain	White Spanish	3.5%	composite of Mediterranean and Nordic types
Pharma 2	96.5%		
United	White 71.8%	28.2%	White (of which English 83.6%, Scottish
Kingdom			8.6%, Welsh 4.9%, Northern Irish 2.9%)
Pharma 1			92.1%, Black 2%, Indian 1.8%, Pakistani
			1.3%, mixed 1.2%, other 1.6%
United	White 86.5%	13.5%	White 79.96%, Black 12.85%, Asian 4.43%,
States			Amerindian and Alaska native 0.97%, native
Pharma 1			Hawaiian and other Pacific islander 0.18%,
United	White 70.7%	29.3%	two or more races 1.61%
States			
Pharma 2			

¹ Country race/ethnicity data was sourced from the United States, Central Intelligence Agency Country Factbook

At all the worksites, with the exception of the worksite in South Africa, there is a racial/ethnic group that represents at least 70% of the workplace sample and is similar to the country racial/ethnic profile. At the worksite in South Africa, the dominance is less distinct as the dominant group represented 53% of respondents. This less distinct distribution between majority and minority race/ethnicity groups could be representative of South Africa's affirmative action policy that was implemented soon after the end of the Apartheid regime. These policies were aimed to ensure that all workplaces are representative of the population. In addition, as shown in Table 1, the dominant population group in the South African worksite is White (53%). Although the majority of South Africans are Black Africans, historically the minority White population used to hold the majority of skilled positions in the private sector. The distribution of skilled versus semi- and unskilled job are still somewhat skewed today, almost two decades since the end of Apartheid. Whites are more likely to occupy skilled jobs in the private sector compared to Black South Africans who are more likely to occupy jobs across all levels in the public service sector, and semi-skilled and low skilled jobs in general. Therefore, given South Africa's affirmative action policy and the general racial profile of



the private industry, the race/ethnicity composition of the worksite in South Africa is not surprising.

Age

For all but four of the worksites, chronological age is assessed based on respondents' birth year. Accordingly, age is calculated in years based on the difference between the year of the respondent's date of birth and the year the survey was taken. At the remaining four worksites age was determined based on age cohorts. Age cohorts were measured in four intervals (<30; 30-39; 40-49; 50+) that were then coded to midpoint. Age is top- and bottom-coded to deal with extreme values at 18 and 65 years (1st and 99th percentile), respectively.

General life orientation

General life orientation is assessed with the use of the Life Orientation Test developed by Scheier, Carver and Bridges (1994). Six items of the original ten item scale were included in the survey. In particular, employees were asked to indicate to what extent they agree with the following items: 1) In uncertain times, I usually expect the best; 2) If something can go wrong for me, it will (R); 3) I'm always optimistic about my future; 4) I hardly ever expect things to go my way (R); 5) I rarely count on good things happening to me (R); 6) Overall, I expect more good things to happen to me than bad. In the GOT study, the response scale was changed from a 5-point Likert scale to a 6-point agreement scale. After reverse coding three of the six items (items marked R), individual

responses were averaged, with higher scores indicating optimism and lower scores a pessimistic orientation. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale is .75.

Analytical Strategy

Missing data

As with most surveys where responses are voluntary, the GOT dataset contains missing data due to item non-response. Typically, the reasons for non-response are refusal, inability to participate, or no contact. Item non-response impacts the sample size and can have underlying patterns of selectivity, that is, the responses of some groups can be over-or underrepresented in the survey. Reduced sample size does not necessarily lead to incorrect conclusions; however, it can affect the precision of estimations (i.e., reduce it) by increasing the standard errors. Selectivity processes introduce potential bias when non-response is higher or lower among certain groups; this can lead to biased estimation (Allison, 2001).

Several methods have been developed to deal with missing data when conducting analyses. Recent findings based on sensitivity analyses and simulation studies suggest that modern methods, including imputation and maximum likelihood approaches, are much more reliable compared to traditional methods such as mean substitution (Johnson & Young, 2011). Moreover, based on their comparison of modern methods, Johnson and Young (2011) found that the differences among modern methods had minor effects on estimates and substantive conclusions. Accordingly, I choose to handle missing values for all variables in my analysis using the multiple imputations by chained equations



(MICE) method in Stata 12.1. Marchenko (2011, p. 9) describe MICE as "an iterative imputation method that imputes multiple variables using chained equations, a sequence of univariate imputation methods with fully conditional specification of prediction equations." MICE can handle the imputation of multiple variables of different types (ordinal, nominal, count, etc.) at the same time and is therefore ideal for the current study. Specifically, for binary variables (coded 0 and 1), such as supervisory responsibility and gender, binary/logistic regression models were used as part of MICE procedure. For multinomial variables, including highest level of education and job type, I used multinomial logistic regression models. For ordinal level variables, such as variables measured using Likert response scale, I used ordinal logistic regression models in MICE. For variables that were top-coded and/or bottom-coded, that is, age and work hours, interval regression models were with specifications for the upper and lower limits.

Using the MI procedure, multiple imputed datasets are created where the missing values are replaced with different values so that each dataset is complete but slightly different to reflect the uncertainty of prediction. Coefficient estimates from multiple datasets are then averaged, and standard errors are combined using a special formula that incorporates the uncertainty of imputation into these errors (Marchenko, 2011). The objective of MI is not to predict missing values as close as possible to the true ones but to handle missing data in a way resulting in valid statistical inference (Rubin, 1996).

It was assumed that the data were missing at random (MAR) for all but three variables at specific worksites. Missing at random type of missing data assumes that the probability of an observation being missing does not depend on the actual values of unobserved data (Allison, 2011). MAR is a more realistic assumption compared to



missing completely at random (MCAR), but estimations can potentially be biased if correct imputation methods are not used (Little & Rubin, 2002). The variables that cannot be assumed to be MAR are race/ethnicity where the question was asked in the two worksites in India, and marital status and gender role beliefs that were not collected at the four worksites of the Information Technology company. Given that the participating companies could customize up to 20 percent of their surveys, some employers chose to omit some items from their surveys. The missing values on these variables were imputed under the MAR assumption; however, analyses that include these variables were compared to analyses without these imputed values for the observations in the specific sites. By comparing the final model and the model without the imputed values for the specific observations, I determined that there were no differences in estimates for race/ethnicity coefficient; the standard error estimates were very similar as well (-.03 difference between the imputed and unimputed model). Similarly, there was no difference in the coefficient and the standard error for marital/partnership status. A very slight difference was observed in the coefficient for gender role beliefs (.07 difference) and the standard error (-.03). Given that no substantive conclusions were affected and the estimations were similar, the imputed data for race/ethnicity, marital/partnership status and gender role beliefs were included in the final analysis. Table 2 below lists the percent missing values on each of the variables for the full sample and the analytical sample. The full sample comprised of all the worksites (n=21) that included the module questions in their surveys. Missing data were imputed for all the sites that included the module questions. The analytical sample, however, comprise of the responses for respondents (n=2,446) that received the module two questions in addition to the core question in the



survey. Given that the dependent variable, organizational exclusion-inclusion, was observed only among respondents that were assigned to answer the module two questions, only the data and imputations for cases in the analytical sample were used for analyses. As shown Table 2 below, the percent of missing values among the independent variables in the analytical sample was the highest for race/ethnicity (28%), partnership/marital status (25.4%), and income (17.5%). Supervisor and occupation group did not contain any missing data in the analytical sample.



Table 2 Percent Missing Data for the Full and Analytical Samples

	% Missing Values		
	Full Sample*	Analytic Sample	
Variable	n=10,731	n=2,446	
Race/ethnicity	33.8	28.0	
Married/partnership status	34.3	25.4	
Annual earnings	27.0	17.5	
Hours house work	27.7	15.8	
Hours child caregiving	23.2	15.8	
Hours elder caregiving	23.7	15.7	
Education	22.5	15.7	
Gender	22.5	15.7	
Years at organization	20.4	13.5	
Work/career centrality**	17.9	13.0	
Weekly work hours	27.7	11.0	
Age	18.4	10.7	
Organizational exclusion-inclusion**	-	4.9	
Life orientation**	6.5	1.2	
Occupation/job type	1.6	0.0	
Supervisor status	.00	0.0	

^{*}Sites that included Module II questions

As shown in Table 2, 4.9% of observations in the analytic sample had all values missing on the dependent variable items. As recommended, all variables included in the analysis, including the items used to create the dependent variable, were used in imputation (Graham, 2009). Whether to include imputed values of the dependent variable in analyses is a contested topic. In determining whether to add these imputed dependent variable values in analysis, researchers have generally followed the multiple imputation then delete (MID) suggestion of von Hippel (2007), who illustrated that it is important to include the dependent variable in the imputation model, but then to delete those cases with missing dependent variable values, especially in extreme cases of missingness (20% to 50%). However, when less data are missing on the dependent variable, it might not be necessary to follow von Hippel's MID rule. Johnson and Young (2011) illustrated

^{**}Percent of cases that are missing observations on all items used to create the scale

through sensitivity analysis that models with about five percent or less missing data on the dependent variable do not necessitate the use of the MID method, as it does not make any discernible difference. Given that about five percent of observations in the analytical sample have all items on the dependent variable missing (considered a moderate and typical for survey data), I imputed the missing values on the scale items of the dependent variable and included those cases with imputed values for the dependent variable in my analysis as per the recommendation made by Johnson and Young (2011).

I have generated and used 20 sets of imputed data to ensure high efficiency of estimates. The regression results presented have been averaged across the 20 complete datasets using Stata's multiple imputation features. Only those cases that were assigned Module II questions (the module that contained organizational exclusion-inclusion) were included in the analyses (n=2,446).

Weighting

As it typically happens in survey research, some employees selected to participate in the Generations of Talent study chose not to participate. To minimize biases due to such refusals, all univariate and bivariate analyses presented in this doctoral dissertation use post-stratification weights that were created using a raking algorithm in Stata 12.1. The raking process was based on the information about the actual distribution of age, gender, and part-time/full-time status in the employee population at each worksite. Information about composition of each worksite was provided to the research team by representatives of multinational organizations or their specific worksites. Application of the resulting weights adjusted the sample distribution for each worksite to age, gender,

and part-time/full-time status composition of that particular worksite. The poststratification weight was not used in multivariate analyses, however, because gender, age, and hours of work were included in these models as independent variables.

Accommodating the nested data structure

The GOT Study data are clustered or multi-level in nature. Clustered data can be defined as "data sets in which the dependent variables is measured once for each subject (the unit of analysis), and the units of analysis are grouped into, or nested within, clusters of units" (West, Welch, & Galecki, 2007, p. 9). The GOT study data have multiple levels of nesting which are presented in Table 3 below. Employees are nested in worksites (a simple two-level model) or in companies nested in countries. However, each company did not have a site in every country and companies did not have worksites in the same combination of countries. Such clustering is referred to as cross-classification.

Table 3 *The Hierarchical Structure of the GOT Study Dataset*

	Data Type and Total Cases					
Data level	Total Sample	GOT Module II - Analytical sample				
Subject/unit of analysis (i) employee	Employee data n _i = 11,298	Employee data n _i = 2, 446				
Cluster of units (<i>j</i>) worksite	Worksite data n _i = 24	Worksite data n _i = 21				
Cluster of units (k) company	Company data n _k = 7	Company data n _k = 5				
Cluster of clusters (<i>l</i>) – country	Country data n _i = 11	Country data n _i = 11				

The nested nature of the data structure and the heterogeneity resulting from worksites operating in different contexts (i.e., company and country) present a unique analytical opportunity to separate unit effects attributed to the individual and the cluster. However, in doing so, some statistical challenges must be addressed, including determining the degree of dependence within clusters and the relative importance of cluster effects as sources of variation in employee's sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion

To test for non-independence, I assessed the similarity (dependence) of employees that are located within the same cluster. The following equation was used to calculate the interclass correlation coefficient:

$$\rho = \frac{\sigma_{u0}^2}{(\sigma_{u0}^2 + \sigma_r^2)}$$

where ρ indicates the interclass correlation, σ_{u0}^2 is the estimated level-2 or cluster-level variability, and σ_r^2 is the estimated level-1 or employee (within cluster) variability. The sum $\sigma_{u0}^2 + \sigma_r^2$ represents the total estimated outcome variance. In other words, the ICC indicates both the average correlation of organizational exclusion-inclusion among employees within the cluster unit and the proportion of variance in the outcome that can be attributed to differences across clusters.

In addition, variance partition coefficients (VPCs) were calculated to assess the relative importance of each cluster (i.e. worksite, country, and company). Variance partition coefficients (VPCs) report the proportion of the observed response variation that lies at each level of the model hierarchy.



The results of a unconditional two-level model (i.e., employee in worksite) and a cross-classified model (i.e., employee within company in country) are presented in Table 4. As seen in Table 4, organizational exclusion-inclusion varies significantly between employees, and across worksites, companies, and countries. The greatest amount of variance in observed between employees. The between employee variance within worksites is 7.16 and 7.24 when employees are cross-classified within companies in countries. The smaller variance between employees nested in the worksites as opposed to employees nested in companies cross-nested in countries provides some support for the nesting of employees within worksites as opposed to employees nested in companies cross-nested in countries.

Table 4 Proportion of Variance to be Explained in Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion by Unit Effects

	Two-lev	el model	Cross-classified model				
	Employee	Worksite	Employee	Company	Country		
Variance	7.16	1.77	7.24	.96	.62		
Variance partition coefficients	.80	.20	.82	.11	.07		
Intraclass correlation coefficients	.80	.20	.18	.11	.07		

As shown in Table 4, we see that 20% of the variation in employees' sense of exclusion-inclusion lies between worksites, while 11% lies between companies and 7% between countries. Thus, there are greater differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion across the 21 worksites than there are across the 5 companies cross-nested in the 11 countries. Furthermore, looking at the ICC results we see that in the two-level

model the worksite ICC is .20 while the ICC for employees-within a worksites is .80. In contrast for the cross-nested model we see that the ICC for company is .11, the country ICC is .07, while the ICC for employees nested with a common company and country combination is .18. Thus, employees' sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion in the same country, but different companies, are marginally correlated (.07), while employees' sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion within the same company, but different countries, have a somewhat higher correlation (.11). The greatest homogeneity, however, is seen for employees who both live and work together. This inter-correlation or non-independence is best represented by worksite (ICC=.20) as opposed to the cross-nesting of company in country (ICC=.18). In summary, the VPCs and ICCs show that there is a moderate degree of clustering in the data; 20% of the response variation is at the worksite level.

Mor Barak (1999) proposed that worksite context will have a significant effect on employees' sense of inclusion. In this study, worksite is the most proximal environment and served as the referent point for employees when they answered questions about exclusion-inclusion. Given these factors and the results presented above, I will control for the effect of worksite by estimating a two-level model with fixed effects for worksites (see Statistical Analysis for detailed discussion on model estimation). I decided to use fixed effects rather than random effects models to deal with the interdependence of observations within worksites because the number of worksites in this study is relatively low (21 worksites) for an in-depth investigation of worksite characteristics that might contribute to the gender gap in organizational exclusion-inclusion. Furthermore, fixed effects models do not require me to assume either that unique influences of worksites



follow a normal distribution (which can be a problematic assumption with only 21 level 2 units) or that they are uncorrelated with the predictors included in the model (and therefore individual-level influences and worksite-level influences operate in the same way). Therefore, I choose to explore the individual factors that contribute to the gender gap in depth after controlling for any possible observed or unobserved differences among website by including worksite fixed effects.

Although the clustered nature of the data introduces various analytical challenges that need to be addressed, it presents an opportunity to identify the effect of the worksite environment on the gender gap in organizational exclusion-inclusion. Notable studies about organizational exclusion-inclusion have all relied on homogenous samples or single organizational samples within a country, thereby limiting broader generalization and knowledge development about the role of context (Findler et al., 2007; Mor Barak & Levin, 2002, Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999; Reskin, McBrier, & Kmec, 1999; Rutherford, 2001). Leading scholars in the area of workplace inclusion (Mor Barak, 1999; Shore et al., 2010) have long hypothesized that context, or, more specifically, the workplace environment is a critical factor in determining employees' sense of inclusion. Although the specific worksite factors that might contribute to variance in organizational exclusion-inclusion are not assessed in this study due to data limitations, the identification of worksite contribution to variance in employee organizational exclusion-inclusion is a significant contribution to the literature (see discussion section).

Statistical analysis. Three stages of analysis correspond to the three research questions. First, a series of bivariate statistics were obtained to assess the differences



between men and women in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion as well as on the independent variables across all the worksites. For the dependent variable and the continuous independent variables, the weighted means for each of the variables were calculated and significance tests by gender were performed. Estimates of proportions were calculated using Stata's proportion command to determine the difference between men and women in variables measured at the nominal level. For all the bivariate analyses, I adjusted the standard errors for the clustered nature of the data (employees in worksites) by specifying worksites as the clustering unit.

The second part of the analyses was aimed at identifying the sources of the gender differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion and assessing whether family and work-role investments, culture, job status, and controls jointly explain the gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion across organizations in different countries. To this end, regression models with fixed effects for worksites were estimated. Fixed effects models focus on the within-worksite differences among employees and control for the observable and unobservable worksite differences; therefore, they help address potential heteroskedasticity problems resulting from unique effects of worksites. Accordingly, each worksite had its own intercept that represented the average organizational exclusion-inclusion at that worksite. To account for the non-independence of observations, as discussed in the previous section, fixed effects models with an adjustment to the standard errors for clustering were estimated. All models were estimated using maximum likelihood methods.

As discussed in the measurement section, nominal level variables were dummy-coded (0 and 1). All the continuous independent variables were grand mean centered.



Centering is advised for variables that do not have a meaningful zero value because the estimate of the intercept will otherwise be arbitrary and difficult to interpret. Centering improves interpretation and precision because after centering, the zero values fall in the middle of the distribution. Grand mean centering simply entails subtracting the grand mean of a variable from each value of that variable. For example, a score of 0 on the grand mean centered work hours variable represents the average number of work hours per week.

Six fixed effects regression models were estimated; all of them used the square of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion as the dependent variable. The first model only included the fixed effects of worksites with no covariates. This model is referred to as the null model or the unconditional model. This model is used to determine the share of variance in organizational exclusion-inclusion that is attributable to worksite. The portion of variance in organizational exclusion-inclusion associated with worksite is the estimated intercept variance divided by the total estimated outcome variance; that ratio is called the intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC). Results of the null model are not discussed in the results section, but are shown in Table 4 and discussed in the previous section on accommodating the nested data structure.

For model 1, referred to as the gender difference model, the square of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion was regressed on gender, where female was coded as 1 and male as zero. This model estimated the average gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion while controlling for the effect of worksites on employees' sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion.



The effects of family-role and work-role investments are presented in models 2 and 3, respectively. Culture, as indicated by gender role beliefs and perceived workfamily culture, was entered in model 4. Finally, the association between organization exclusion-inclusion and job status are tested in model 4. By first entering gender and then the set of explanatory variables, I was able to examine the change in the gender variable coefficient and assess whether these predictors jointly explained the gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion. The order in which the sets of predictors are entered is based on social closure theory, that is, closure can only be assessed once differences in role investments (e.g., human capital) are controlled. Given that these groups of factors are interrelated each group of predictors were also entered one at a time. The results were similar than the stepwise strategy. Results based on the stepwise strategy outline above are presented in order to illustrate to what extent these groups of predictors jointly explained the gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion. In addition, interactions between gender and the predictor variables were assessed; however, no significant interactional effects were identified during preliminary analyses (i.e. intersectional gender effects (race/gender); gender and childcare; gender and education; gender and job status). The findings of these results are not presented. Lack of interaction effects was additional impetus for focusing on gender compositional differences as the main sources of gender differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion.

For the third part of the analysis, I conducted a Blinder-Oaxaca regression decomposition analysis in order to assess the relative importance of personal/family responsibilities, work-family and gender culture, human capital factors, socioeconomic status, and controls in explaining gender differences in organizational exclusion-



estimate the sources of differentials in outcome variables, for example, wage differentials in labor markets. The method divides the differential in an outcome variable between two groups into a part that is "explained" by group differences in predictor variables (compositional effects), and a residual part that cannot be accounted for by differences in the specified predictors (Jann, 2008). The unexplained part has often been attributed to discrimination, but, statistically, it includes the effects of unmeasured group differences or the effects of differences in processes between groups (Jann, 2008). Because the subject of my investigation is the relative contribution of sets of predictors to generating gender differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion, I computed a detailed twofold decomposition. Compositional effects were calculated as:

$$\frac{1}{2}(\hat{\beta}_{\textit{female}} + \hat{\beta}_{\textit{male}})(\overline{X}_{\textit{female}} - \overline{X}_{\textit{male}})$$

where \overline{X}_{female} and \overline{X}_{male} represent the means of an independent variable for women and men and $\hat{\beta}_{female}$ and $\hat{\beta}_{male}$ represent the coefficients for that variable from separate fixed effects regression models for women and men, respectively (Madden, 2010; Sarkisian, 2007).

As recommended by Jones and Kelley (1984), I do not further decompose the unexplained part because the other two components are greatly affected by the selection of zero-points for the independent variables (Jones & Kelley, 1984). To calculate the decomposition, I used a user-written command 'oaxaca' version 4.0.5 in Stata. To get

correct estimates of composition effects for dichotomies and sets of categorical variables with the omitted reference category, I estimated five separate decomposition models, one for each set--race/ethnicity, marital/partnership status, job type, education, and supervisory status. Across these models, the standard errors and coefficients of the other predictors remained constant. The compositional effect estimates for all the variables in each set of predictors -job position and status, work and family-role investments, and controls - were added up in order to evaluate the joint impact of each group of factors.

The data were screened prior to analysis to assess univariate distributions, linearity, and influential cases. Variables were assessed for normality prior to analysis with the use of histograms, diagnostic plots, and an exploration of ladder of powers to examine potential transformations that could bring variables' distributions closer to normal. Accordingly, the dependent variable was squared to address a negative skew. Several of the independent variables were top and/or bottom coded to deal with extreme values, as was discussed in the measurement section. Bivariate linearity was graphically assessed by examining a locally weighted regression plots using the lowess command in Stata 12.1. The model residuals were plotted in a similar way against the dependent variable. Throughout the model building process, I ensured that assumptions were adequately met, including linearity, lack of multicolinearity, additivety, homoscedasticity, and normality of level-1 residuals.

Chapter Five: Results

Sample Characteristics

This study is based on data from a sub-sample of respondents that were randomly assigned to respond to questions contained in the second module (n =2,446) in the Generations of Talent (GOT) study. Of the 24 worksites that participated in the study, three worksites excluded the module sections from their surveys in order to shorten their surveys (see the detailed discussion of this issue in Chapter 4). Therefore, the analytical sample for this study consists of 21 worksites from five multinational corporations. A summary of the type and number of worksites of the respective multinational corporations in the different countries is presented in Table 5 below. Of those worksites included in the analytical sample, ten were in the pharmaceutical industry, five were in the professional/consulting service industry, four were in the information technology industry, and another two were in the banking/finance industry. The analyses for the present study are based on the data from the worksites described in Table 5 below. In general, the worksites included in this study were mostly corporate and/or office type workplaces. None of the worksites included manufacturing sites.



Table 5 The Type and Number of Worksites of the Five Multi-National Corporations by Country

		C	Total			
Country	Country Pharmaceutical 1	Pharma- ceutical 2	Professional Services & Consulting	Finance/ Banking	Information Technology	Worksites per Country
Brazil	Corporate office	All non- manufacturing employees	Corporate office			3
Botswana				Corporate office and branches		1
China	Research and development	All non- manufacturing employees			Corporate office	3
India			Corporate office		Corporate office	2
Japan		All non- manufacturing employees	Corporate office			2
Mexico		All non- manufacturing employees	Corporate office			2
Netherlands			Corporate office			1
Spain		All non- manufacturing employees				1
South Africa				Corporate office and branches		1
United States	Corporate, sales, and research and development	All non- manufacturing employees			Corporate office	3
United	Corporate and				Corporate office	2
Total worksites per company	sales 4	6	5	2	4	21

The characteristics of the analytic sample are summarized in Table 6 below. Table 6 shows that 37% of the respondents are female. The average age of respondents was 38 years and the majority of respondents (82%) are from a race/ethnicity group that is in the majority in their country. Respondents spent about 11 hours caring for children per week, 1 hour caring for a parent(s) or parent(s) in law per week, and 2 hours on housework per week (refer to Table 7 for gender differences). The majority of respondents were living with a spouse or partner (77%). In general, the sample can be described as well-educated given that forty percent of respondents have an undergraduate degree; an additional 37% of the sample reported having a graduate degree, while 23% of respondents had less than an undergraduate degree. Almost half of the respondents (47%) described their job/occupation as professional/technical work. A quarter of respondents indicated that their job is in management (25%). The remainder of respondents had service/sales (14%) jobs, administrative/clerical (9%) jobs, or other jobs (4%). Just over a third of respondents had some supervisory responsibilities (34%). Just less than half (46%) of the respondents worked between 35 and 45 hours per week and 39% worked more than 45 hours per week. Very few (15%) respondents worked less than 35 hours.

Table 6 Sample Description: Weighted Means, Standard Errors, and Ranges of Study Variables (N=2,446)

	Mean	Std. Error	Range
Dependent Variable			
Organizational exclusion-inclusion	4.59	.09	1-6
Independent Variables			
Female	.37	.07	0-1
Family-role investments			
Hours child care responsibility	10.67	1.07	0-68
Hours elder care responsibility	1.43	.35	0-20
Hours housework (log)	2.30	.08	0-3.71
Lives with spouse/partner	.77	.07	0-1
Work-role investments			
Less than College/university	.23	.07	0-1
College/university	.40	.07	0-1
Graduate degree or more	.37	.04	0-1
Years working at organization	1.90	.11	0-3.60
Average weekly work hours	43.70	3.18	0-80
Work/career centrality	4.25	.10	1-6
Work-family and gender culture			
Perception of work-family culture	4.03	.13	1-6
Gender traditionalism	2.11	.12	1-5
Job position and status			
Management employee	.25	.02	0-1
Professional/technical employee	.47	.06	0-1
Service/sales employee	.14	.03	0-1
Clerical/administrative employee	.09	.04	0-1
Other employee	.04	.01	0-1
Has supervisory responsibilities	.34	.04	0-1
Annual earnings (decile)	5.11	.50	1-10
Controls			
Dominant race/ethnicity	.82	.07	0-1
Age	38.12	1.70	18-65
Life orientation	4.66	.09	1-6

Gender Differences

Bivariate statistics

A series of bivariate statistics were used to assess whether female employees differ from male employees in their sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion and in relation to their work and family-role investments, job status, gender role beliefs, and



perceptions of work-family culture. Hypothesis 1 proposed that women perceive significantly less organizational exclusion-inclusion compared to men. As Table 7 shows, women perceive a significantly lower sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion compared to men (p<.01), thus providing support for hypothesis 1. In addition, women differ from men on several of the independent variables used to predict gender variation in organizational exclusion-inclusion. First, hypothesis 5 proposed that men are more likely to have jobs with greater status. As Table 7 shows, a significantly greater percentage of men have managerial jobs (p<.05). In contrast, a significantly greater percentage of women have administrative jobs, compared to men (p<.001). The percent of men and women that are professional/technical and service/sales employees are not significantly different. Although 31% of women have supervisory responsibilities compared to 38% of men, this difference is not statistically significant (p=.06). In terms of annual earnings, a significant gender difference, is observed with men reporting greater income compared to women (p<.001). Specifically men's average income is in the fifth decile whilst women's income is the fourth decile. These results provide partial support for hypothesis 2.1 that men have higher status jobs as indicated by higher earnings, greater representation in managerial jobs (i.e., higher status jobs), and lower representation in administrative/clerical roles (i.e., lower status jobs). In addition, among all job positions the difference between men and women in terms of the percent of administrative employees is the greatest (11% difference), indicating that women are in general overrepresented in this type of employment.



Table 7 Variable Means and Proportions by Gender (N=2,446)

	Men		Wo	omen	
	n=1	,547	n=	899	
	Mean	SE	Mean	SE	Sig. Diff
<u>Dependent Variable</u>					
Organizational exclusion-inclusion	21.60	.46	20.16	.47	**
Independent Variables					
Family-role investments					
Hours child care responsibility	8.42	1.00	9.88	1.17	
Hours elder care responsibility	1.19	.19	1.55	.15	*
Hours housework (log)	1.85	.12	2.20	.10	*
Lives with spouse/partner	.77	.04	.61	.05	**
Work-role investments					
Less than college/university	.16	.03	.20	.04	
College/university degree	.53	.08	.50	.04	
Graduate degree or more	.30	.06	.29	.04	
Years working at organization (log)	1.96	.16	1.75	.15	
Average weekly work hours	48.90	1.72	45.85	1.10	*
Work/career centrality	4.55	.07	4.34	.09	*
Work-family and gender culture					
Perceived work-family culture	3.81	.06	3.74	.08	
Gender traditionalism	2.48	.18	2.06	.12	*
Job position and status					
Management employee	.28	.03	.20	.03	*
Professional/technical employee	.28	.06	.31	.06	
Service/sales employee	.35	.09	.26	.06	
Clerical/administrative employee	.05	.02	.16	.03	***
Other employee	.04	.01	.05	.01	
Has supervisory responsibilities	.38	.04	.31	.04	
Annual earnings (decile)	5.73	.16	4.65	.19	***
Controls					
Dominant race/ethnicity	.89	.04	.81	.04	*
Age	38.32	1.46	35.67	1.78	
Life orientation	4.42	.19	4.71	.08	*

^{*}*p*<.05, ***p*<.01, ****p*<.001

Hypothesis 7 proposed that men make greater investments in work-roles compared to women as evidenced in their behaviors (education level, work hours, organizational tenure) and attitudes (work/career centrality). As Table 7 shows, on



average men work more hours per week compared to women (p<.05). In addition, on average, men's work centrality is significantly higher compared to women's (p<.05). However, there is no difference in the average years that men and women are employed at the current organization. Even though a greater percentage of women have less than college/university education, and a greater percent of men have college/university degrees and graduate degrees, these differences were not statistically significant. Thus, hypothesis 7 is partially supported given that no difference was observed between men's and women's work behaviors but there was a difference in terms of their work attitudes (i.e., work/career centrality).

Hypothesis 8 proposed that women make greater investments in family-roles compared to men as evidenced in their behaviors (hours taking care of children, hours taking care of elder parents, hours spent on housework, and partnership status). As Table 7 shows, women spend more hours taking care of elder family members and doing housework compared to men (p<.05). However, fewer women compared to men are living with a spouse or a partner (p<.05). The number of hours that women and men spend taking care of children is not significantly different. Thus, hypothesis 8 is partially supported as women's investment in family-roles is greater than men's as evidenced by housework and caregiving to older family members.

Some differences were observed in relation to race/ethnicity and optimism. Men were more likely than women to be from a dominant race/ethnicity group and women were generally more optimistic than men (p<.05).



Determinants of Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion

Multivariate statistics

Next, using multivariate analyses, the relationships between organizational exclusion-inclusion and each of the groups of explanatory variables are investigated. In addition, the extent to which work and family-role investments, cultural beliefs, job status, and controls help explain the gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion is assessed. Table 8 presents five multilevel models for organizational exclusion-inclusion with worksite fixed effects.

The null model or unconditional model with no independent variables is not presented in Table 8, but summarized in Table 4. Results suggest that about 8% of the variance in organizational exclusion-inclusion can be attributed to variation across worksites. The remaining variance in organizational exclusion-inclusion is due to differences among employees, and that variance is the focus of all the following analyses. To explore the effects of differences among employees, employee-level variables are entered into the model systematically and presented in models 1 to 5 in Table 8. In model 1, only gender was entered into the model in order to test whether women perceive significantly less organizational exclusion-inclusion compared to men (hypothesis 1). As expected, being a woman was associated with 1.68 units lower organizational exclusion-inclusion compared to being a man (B = -1.68, SE = 0.37, p<0.01).

Table 8 Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion Regressed on Gender, Family and Work Investments, Culture, Job Status, and Controls using Multilevel Regression Analyses with Worksite Fixed Effects (N=2.446)

		Iodel 1			10del 2			1odel 3			Model 4			Model 5	ī
	Coef	SE	p												
Intercept	21.70	.15	***	20.73	.40	***	21.02	.48	***	20.78	.44	***	20.66	.59	***
Female	-1.68	.37	**	1.66	.35	***	-1.24	.35	**	-1.21	.32	**	84	.33	*
Family-role investments															
Hours child care responsibility				01	.01		.008	.01		.000	.01		002	.009	
Hours elder care responsibility				09	.04		10	.04	**	06	.04		06	.04	
Hours housework (log)				38	.25		32	.26		25	.25		20	.25	
Lives with spouse/partner				.48	.35		.13	.39		.43	.37		.20	.39	
Work-role investments															
Less than college/university ¹							62	.47		90	.45		35	.39	
Graduate degree ¹							31	.37		20	.34		36	.33	
Years working at organization							.65	.23	*	.96	.24	**	.57	.21	*
Average weekly work hours							.02	.01	*	.05	.01	**	.03	.01	*
Work/career centrality							2.01	.19	***	1.52	.16	***	1.44	.15	***
Work-family and gender culture															
Perceived work-family culture										2.78	.21	***	2.83	.21	***
Gender traditionalism										46	.25		42	.25	
Job status															
Has supervisory responsibilities													1.71	.57	**
Professional/technical employee ²													69	.54	
Service/sales employee ²													.01	.40	
Clerical/administrative employee ²													-1.95	.76	*
Other employee ²													-1.05	.94	
Annual earnings (decile)													.18	.06	**
Controls															
Dominant race/ethnicity				.70	.39		.77	.39		.81	.39		.76	.40	
Age				002	.02		04	.02		05	.02	*	08	.02	***
Optimism				2.17	.34	***	1.71	.35	***	1.15	.33	**	1.06	.30	**

Variance components	Var. Comp				
Employee-level variance	7.12	6.93	6.56	6.47	6.02
Worksite-level variance	2.16	1.69	1.87	1.87	1.34
Variance due to worksite-level	.08	.05	.07	.07	.05
Employee-level Pseudo-R ²	.02	.05	.10	.11	.17

Reference group = College/university. Reference group = Managerial employee. Statistical significance is indicated as follows: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001



Comparing the gender only model (model 1) to the explanatory models (models 2-5) we see that the joint introduction of family and work-role investments, cultural beliefs, job status, and controls did not completely explain (remove) the gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion. Even after accounting for family and work-role investments, culture, job status, and controls, women employees' perception of organizational exclusion-inclusion was .84 units lower than that of men (B = -.84, SE = 0.33, p < 0.05). Thus, the gender gap was reduced in half but not fully removed.

The explanatory models (models 2-5) in Table 8 show that several other factors were associated with organizational exclusion-inclusion. Hypothesis 4 proposed that family-role investments are negatively associated with organizational exclusion-inclusion. As shown in model 2 in Table 8, hours of care for children and elderly parents/parents in-law, hours of housework, and partnership status do not explain any unique variance in organizational exclusion-inclusion. Hours of care for elder parents/parents in-law, however, were negatively associated with organizational exclusion-inclusion after taking into account work-role investments (B = -0.10, SE = 0.04, p < 0.05). This relationship is, however, attenuated by the effect of perceived work-family culture in model 4.

Hypothesis 3 proposed that work-role investments are positively associated with organizational exclusion-inclusion. As shown in model 3 in Table 8, a one year increase in the employee's tenure at the organization yielded .65 units increase in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion (B = .65, SE = 0.23, p < 0.05). Similarly, as expected, work hours were positively associated with organizational exclusion-inclusion. This positive relationship is somewhat weak as for each additional hour that an employee

worked per week, perception of organizational exclusion-inclusion increased by .02 units (B=0.02, SE=0.01, p<0.05). Career/work centrality was also positively associated with organizational exclusion-inclusion (B=2.01, SE=0.19, p<0.001). The significant positive associations between organizational exclusion-inclusion and work hours, tenure, and work centrality remained significant after accounting for perceived work-family culture, gender role beliefs, and job status.

In relation to work-family and gender role culture, a one unit increase in employees' perception of the workplace's work-family culture yielded a 2.78 unit increase in employees' sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion (B = 2.78, SE = 0.21, p < 0.001). No association was observed between gender role beliefs and perceptions of organizational exclusion-inclusion.

Hypothesis 2 proposed that higher status jobs are positively associated with perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. As model 5 shows, supervisors in general perceive 1.71 units higher organizational exclusion-inclusion compared to employees without supervisory responsibilities (B = 1.71, SE = 0.57, p < 0.01). No differences were observed among managerial employees and professional/technical and service/sales employees, respectively. However, clerical/administrative employees perceived 1.90 units lower organizational exclusion-inclusion compared to managerial employees (B = 1.95, SE = 0.76, p < 0.05). Also, one decile increase in annual earnings was associated with a .18 units increase in organizational exclusion-inclusion (B = 1.18, BE = 0.06, BE = 0.01).

Among the control variables, age and life orientation were associated with organizational inclusion. Age was found to be negatively related to perceived



organizational inclusion. Specifically, with each year increase in age, employees' perception of organizational inclusion decreased by .08 units (B = -0.08, SE = 0.02, p < 0.001), after taking into account family and work-role investments, job status, and cultural beliefs. Finally, optimism is positively associated with organizational inclusion. One unit increase in optimism yielded a 1.06 unit increase in organizational inclusion (B = 1.06, SE = 0.30, p < 0.001).

The Relative Importance of Different Groups of Factors in Explaining the Gender Gap in Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion

The final set of analyses focused on investigating the relative importance of: 1) family-role investments, 2) work-roles investments, 3) cultural beliefs about work-family and gender roles, and 4) job status in explaining the gender differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion. Results from a weighted regression decomposition analysis are presented in Table 9, Table 10, and Figure 2. The first section of Table 9 represents means for women and men and their initial observed difference. Specifically, the square of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion was 21.60 for men and 20.16 for women, yielding a gender organizational exclusion-inclusion gap of 1.44, that is statistically significant at the p<.001 level. As shown in the first section of Table 9, about 58% (.83/1.44) of the observed difference between men and women in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion was explained by the compositional differences - that is, differences between men and women in terms of their average levels of family and work-role investments, cultural beliefs about work-family and gender roles, job status,

and control variables. In contrast, about 42% (.61/1.44) of the gender differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion remained unexplained.

Table 9 Summary of Blinder-Oaxaca Decomposition Analysis for Gender Gap in Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion

	Coef.	SE	p
Men	21.60	.55	***
Women	20.16	.47	***
Observed gender gap	1.44	.41	***
Explained	.83	.25	**
Unexplained	.61	.33	
Summary by Factor			
Family-role investments	.21	.14	
Work-role investments	.46	.14	**
Culture	.05	.19	
Job status	.50	.13	***
Race/ethnicity	.08	.05	
Age	- 18	.11	
Life orientation	28	.14	*

Statistical significance is indicated as follows: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

The second part of Table 9 summarizes the contribution of each set of predictors in explaining the gender gap in organizational inclusion (a detailed output of the individual contributions of the predictors to the explained component of the decomposition are presented in Table 10). The observed gender gap and the explained variance components for each group of factors reported in Table 9 are also graphically illustrated in Figure 2. The first bar in Figure 1 represents the size of the existing gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion (the average of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion for men minus average of organizational exclusion-inclusion among women). The bar is directed upward (i.e., located above zero) because the gender gap favors men (men perceive greater organizational exclusion-inclusion

compared to women). The second bar displays the total amount of the gender differential that can be attributed to the gender differences in the mean of each group of explanatory variables (i.e., family-role investments, work-role investments, cultural beliefs, job status, and controls). The portions contributed by each set of predictors presented in Table 9 are represented in Figure 1 as stacked portions of a bar to depict their joint ability to explain the gender gap as well as to demonstrate each group's contribution to explaining that gap.

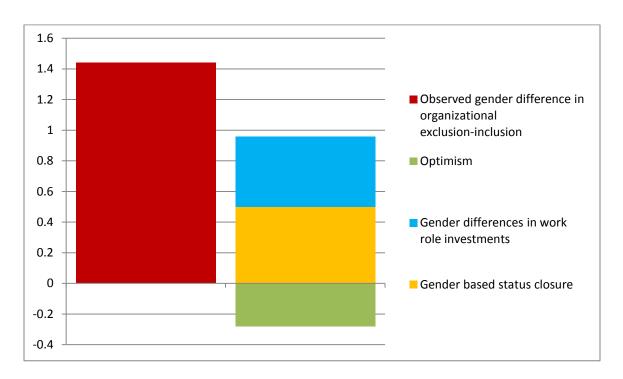


Figure 2 Composition Effects for Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion (N=2,446)

In assessing the broad contributions of family and work-role investments, cultural beliefs about gender roles and work-family, job status, and control variables, I will refer to Table 7 and Table 8 as well as draw from the overall decomposition results presented in Table 9 and detailed regression decomposition results presented in Table 10. As shown in Table 9, the greatest part (.50, or about 35%) of the gender difference in organizational

exclusion-inclusion can be explained by gender differences in job status. Significant job status differences were observed between men and women in the percentage of managerial and administrative/clerical employees and earnings. As Table 7 shows, men were more likely to be managerial employees and women were more likely to be administrative/clerical employees. In addition, men had on average higher annual earnings compared to women. Table 8 shows that administrative employees perceive significantly lower organizational inclusion compared to managerial employees. In addition, annual earnings were positively associated with organizational inclusion. Looking at Table 10, one can see that the gender difference in earnings accounted for the greatest portion (.16 or about 11%) of the gender difference in organizational exclusioninclusion. Women's overrepresentation in administrative jobs and underrepresentation in managerial jobs accounts for about 7% (.12) of the gender gap in organizational exclusion-inclusion. These gender differences in job status are illustrated in Figure 1 as the yellow portion in the second bar. As shown in Figure 1, this portion was the largest and is directed upward (or positive). This indicates that gender differences in job status were the greatest source of the gender gap in organizational exclusion-inclusion. In addition, the upward direction of the bar indicated that the gender disparity in job status is conducive for men's sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion but detrimental for women's sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion.



Table 10 Details of Blinder-Oaxaca Decomposition Analysis for Gender Gap in Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion

	Coef.	SE	р
Men	21.6	0.55	***
Women	20.16	0.47	***
Observed gender gap	1.44	0.41	***
Explained	0.83	0.25	**
Unexplained	0.61	0.33	
Family-role investments			
Hours child care responsibility	0.07	0.07	
Hours elder care responsibility	0.01	0.02	
Hours housework	0.11	0.09	
Is not married/partnered	0.03	0.04	
Is married/partnered	0.03	0.04	
Work-role investments			
Less than College/university	-0.01	0.01	
College/University degree	0.00	0.01	
Graduate degree	0.00	0.01	
Years working at organization	0.12	0.07	
Average weekly work hours	0.10	0.06	
Work/career centrality	0.23	0.08	***
Work-family and gender culture			
Perceived work-family culture	0.21	0.15	
Gender role beliefs	-0.16	0.11	
Job status			
Management employee	0.05	0.03	
Professional/technical employee	-0.01	0.01	
Service/sales employee	0.04	0.04	
Clerical/administrative employee	0.12	0.07	*
Other employee	0.00	0.01	
Has supervisory responsibilities	0.06	0.04	
Do not have supervisory	0.06	0.04	
responsibilities			
Annual earnings (decile)	0.16	0.05	***
Controls			
Minority race/ethnicity	0.04	0.02	
Dominant race/ethnicity	0.04	0.02	
Age	-0.19	0.11	
Life orientation	-0.29	0.14	*

Statistical significance is indicated as follows: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001



Next, as shown in Table 9, like job status, gender divergent investments in work also explained a large portion (.46, or about 32%) of the gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion. Table 7 shows that on average men worked longer hours and had a greater sense of career/work centrality compared to women. Both these work-role investments were positively related to organizational inclusion (see Table 8). However, as Table 10 shows, only the gender difference in career/work centrality explained a significant portion of the gender gap in inclusion. The contribution of divergent work-role investments in explaining organizational exclusion-inclusion is illustrated in Figure 2 as the blue portion in the second bar. As Figure 2 shows, this portion is almost as large as the portion explained by job status differences. Given that career/work centrality was positively associated with organizational inclusion, and men have higher career/work centrality compared to women, the difference in career centrality was advantageous for men's sense of organizational inclusion and not advantageous for women's sense of organizational inclusion. Hereby, the gender difference in work-role investments, specifically career/work centrality, contributed to the gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion.

Differences between women and men in terms of their average personal/family responsibilities that were reported in Table 7 did not seem to matter much for explaining the gender gap. Similarly, neither perceived work-family culture nor gender role beliefs contributed much to explaining the gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion. The insignificant portions explained by these factors are not presented in Figure 2.



Lastly, optimism as a control variable was also related to the gender differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion. Unlike the other factors (e.g., job status and work-role investments) the compositional effect of optimism was negative, meaning that it did not explain the gender difference but rather explained why the difference is not larger. Specifically, as Table 7 shows, women were slightly more optimistic than men and optimism was positively associated with organizational inclusion (see Table 8). Given that organizational exclusion-inclusion increased with optimism, and women are generally more optimistic than men, women would have probably reported a slightly higher inclusion, if not for all the other factors. The effect of optimism is illustrated in Figure 2 as a green downward bar that shows by how much (-.28, or about 19%) the gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion was reduced because of the gender difference in optimism.

When taken together, all variables accounted for about 58% of the gender gap in organizational exclusion-inclusion. As shown in Table 8, the gender difference in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion remained statistically significant after accounting for the differences in men's and women's family and work-role investments, work-family and gender beliefs, job status, and control variables.

Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusion

The need for creating gender inclusive workplaces are critical given the ever increasing rise in the rate of labor participation among women, the growing demand for equal gender rights and opportunities, and continued gender inequalities in job outcomes and status. Knowledge about the extent of gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion and the reasons for these differences are however limited. The current study set out to investigate the 1) gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion in a cross-national sample of multiple worksites, and 2) the possible reasons for these differences and their relative importance.

Guided by emerging literature and theoretical models about organizational exclusion-inclusion and gender differences, both from diversity management literature and the fields of social psychology and sociology, hypotheses were developed about the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion and the sources of these differences. The investigation of potential sources of gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion distinguished between: 1) a status closure, 2) gender divergent work- and family-role investments, and culture in terms of workplace work-family culture and gender-role beliefs.

Hypotheses were tested using data collected by the Sloan Center on Aging & Work for the Generations of Talent Study (GOT) in 2010-2011. The sample (n=2,446) comprised of employees working at 21 worksites for five different multinational corporations in 21 different countries, including: Brazil, Botswana, China, India, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Spain, South Africa, the United States, and the United



Kingdom. Bivariate statistics, multivariate fixed effects models, and Blinder-Oaxaca regression decomposition analyses were used to test the hypotheses.

Results are summarized in Table 11 below. As predicted by inclusive workplace models and emerging literature in the area of diversity and inclusion, a significant difference in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion between men and women across worksites was observed in this study. Specifically, after accounting for possible observable and unobservable worksite differences with fixed effects models, and between employee differences (family and work-role investments, job status, work-family culture and gender role beliefs, and control variables), female employees' sense of organizational inclusion was still significantly lower than that of male employees. Collectively, family and work-role investments, job status, work-family culture and gender role beliefs, workplace context, and controls, therefore do not fully explain the differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion between women and men. These factors, however, account for about half of the gender difference in perceived organizational exclusioninclusion. Although the study assessed a more comprehensive list of determinants of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion compared to previous studies, including controlling for the potential worksite level effects and personality (e.g., life orientation), the results suggest that there might be additional important factors that influence men and women's perception of organizational exclusion-inclusion.

In order to understand the reasons for women's lower sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion compared to men, three sets of hypotheses were developed. The first set of hypotheses was aimed at identifying the main predictors of organizational exclusion-inclusion (hypotheses 3-4). The second set of hypotheses aimed to describe



gender differences in terms of job status (hypothesis 5) and role investments (hypotheses 7 & 9). Finally, the third set of hypotheses aimed to identify the role of job status and gender divergent role investments, respectively, in gender differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion (hypotheses 8, 10, 11 & 12).

Table 11 Summary of Support for Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis	Hypothesis #	Expected relationship between variables	Found relationship
Gender Gap			
On average, women perceive significantly less organizational inclusion compared to men.	1	Women < Men	< supported
Determinants of OEI			
Employees with organizational positions that are higher in the organizational	2	Supervisor > non- supervisor	> supported
hierarchy and that have more status (indicated by supervisory status,		Management > professional employees	N.S
job/occupation type, and earnings) will perceive greater organizational inclusion.		Management > service employees	N.S
		Management > administrative employees	> supported
		Earnings→OI (+)	+ supported
Employees with higher levels of	3	Work hours→OI (+)	N.S
investments in work-roles (indicated by		Tenure→OI (+)	+ supported
work hours, organizational tenure, education level, work/career centrality) will perceive greater organizational		Graduate >Undergraduate>less than undergraduate	N.S
inclusion.		Career centrality→OI (+)	+ supported
Employees with higher levels of	4	Care of children →OI (-)	N.S
investment in family-roles (indicated by hours taking care of children and elderly		Care of elder parents → OI (-)	N.S
parents/in-laws, hours of housework,		Housework→OI (-)	N.S
marital/partnership status) will perceive less organizational inclusion		Partnership status → OI(-)	N.S
Status Closure			
Men are more likely to have jobs with greater status compared to women	5	Supervisor men > Supervisor women	N.S

Hypothesis	Hypothesis #	Expected relationship between variables	Found relationship
(indicated by supervisory responsibilities, earnings, and job/occupational type, respectively).		Male managerial employees > female managerial employees	> supported
		Administration Men <women< td=""><td>< supported</td></women<>	< supported
		Earnings Men>Women	> supported
Gender differences in job status explain a portion of the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion.	6	Job status gender difference→OI gender difference	Supported
Gender Divergent Role Investments			
On average, men's investments in work-roles are greater compared to women's work-role investments (indicated by work hours, organizational tenure, education level, work/career centrality).	7	Men work hours>women Men tenure>women tenure	> supported > supported
		Men education>women education	N.S
		Men career centrality>women career centrality	> supported
Gender differences in investments in work-roles (indicated by work hours, organizational tenure, education level, work/career centrality) will explain a portion of the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion.	9	Gender difference in work-role investment →OI gender difference (+)	Supported
On average, women's investments in	8	Men child care < women	N.S
family-roles are greater compared to		Men elder care < women	< supported
men's family-role investments (indicated		Men housework < women	N.S
by hours taking care of children and elderly parents/in-laws, hours of housework, marital/partnership status).		Men married/partnered < women	> N.S
Gender differences in investments in family-roles (indicated by hours taking care of children and elderly parents, and hours of housework) will explain a portion of the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion.	10	Gender difference in family-role investment→OI gender difference	N.S
Perceived work-family culture will be positively associated with perceived organizational inclusion, for both men and women. Gender differences in perceived work-family culture will explain a portion of the gender gap in	11.1 & 11.2	Work-family culture→OI (+) Gender difference in perceived work-family culture →OI gender difference	+ N.S



Hypothesis	Hypothesis #	Expected relationship between variables	Found relationship
inclusion.			
Traditional gender role beliefs will be	12.1 &12.2	Traditional gender beliefs	N.S.
negatively associated with organizational		→OI (-)	
inclusion. Gender differences in gender		Gender difference in	N.S.
role beliefs will explain a portion of the		gender beliefs →OI	
gender gap in perceived organizational		gender difference (-)	
exclusion-inclusion.			

Note: OI = Perceived Organizational Inclusion, N.S = not significant

Determinants of Perceived Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion

In relation to the determinants of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion, this study found significant support for Schein's (1971) proposition that organizational exclusion-inclusion is a function of an employee's position and status within the organization (O'Hara et al., 1994; Schein, 1971). In this study, status was crudely measured using three indicators, including supervisory status, job type, and annual earnings. Supervisors, managerial employees, and employees with higher earnings all reported greater sense of organizational inclusion compared to employees without supervisory responsibilities, administrative/clerical employees, and lower wage earning employees. These findings suggest that perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion is related to position and status in an organization. In other words, employees are privy to certain task related information and decision making processes because of their position in the organization (O'Hare et al., 1999).

Like previous studies, work hours and organizational tenure were also found to be important determinants of organizational inclusion (Cho & Mor-Barak, 2008; Findler et al., 2007; O'Hara et al., 1994). These findings suggest that employee behaviors that demonstrate work and organizational devotion (e.g., long work hours and years working



for the organization) are rewarded. Although work hours and tenure are generally associated with higher status jobs, the effect of work hours and tenure remained significant after taking into account job status. This suggests that time commitment to work --both in terms of work hours and years working for the organization-- is an important predictor of organizational exclusion-inclusion, irrespective of job status. As argued by O'Hare et al. (1999) the effects of organizational tenure and work hours might be indicative of the importance of trust and acceptance as necessary conditions for organizational inclusion. Both trust and acceptance are likely to increase over time.

According to my knowledge and review of the literature, the relationship between organizational exclusion-inclusion and career centrality has not been investigated previously. Career centrality or the degree of importance of work in one's life is a typical marker of employees' attitude toward their work-role (Lobel, 1991; Sweet et al., under review). Findings in this study suggest that perception of organizational inclusion will increase with career/work centrality. Moreover, career/work centrality remains a significant predictor of organizational exclusion-inclusion even after accounting for other work-role investments (e.g., education) and job status. Findings related to the positive relationship between perceived organizational inclusion and work hours, years working at the organization, and career centrality provide significant support for the hypothesis that employees will be positively rewarded in the workplace for high work-role investments (i.e. Lobel, 1991, Rothbard, et al., 2003)

In addition to work-role investments, the study also investigated the relationship between family-role investments and organizational exclusion-inclusion. It was argued in this study that coworkers and managers might be biased towards workers with high



family-role investments, or workers might be less invested in their work-roles when they have high family-role investments, and therefore more likely to be vulnerable to organizational exclusion compared to workers with fewer family-role investments. No support was found for this hypothesis. Upon further exploration, it was tested whether gender moderated the effect of caregiving responsibilities on perceived organizational inclusion. No interaction effect was found between gender and caregiving responsibilities. This suggests that caregiving responsibilities do not have any significant effect and/or a different effect on organizational inclusion perceptions of men and women.

However, hours of caregiving to parent(s)/in-law(s) was negatively related to perceived organizational inclusion after taking into account employees' work- role investments (work hours, tenure, education, and career centrality). Closer investigation of correlation coefficients revealed that whilst hours of caregiving to parent(s)/in-law(s) were negatively related to work hours and tenure, it was positively related to career/work centrality. Moreover, in the multivariate model, the negative relationship between caregiving to parent(s)/in-law(s) and organizational inclusion was significant after career/work centrality was entered into the model. This finding suggests that employees with elder caregiving responsibilities might be increasingly vulnerable to less organizational inclusion, even though they have high career/work centrality. This vulnerability is particularly concerning given that the demand for eldercare is ever increasing due to the aging of the population in both developed and developing countries. This demand is particularly high in countries with little public eldercare supports, such as the U.S. where in 2009 at least 70% of family members who take care of aging parents



are employed (Merrill, 1997; National Alliance for Caregiving & American Association of Retired Persons, 2009). Employers are also aware that typical work-family practices and policies might not be as effective in supporting employees with elder caregiving responsibilities (Barr, Johnson, & Warshaw, 1992; Dembe & Partridge, 2011; Mains, Fairchild, & René, 2006; Wagner & Neal, 1994).

Furthermore, given that large employers, such as those in this study, typically have work-family policies and practices in place to mitigate the negative effects of workfamily conflict, for example, on individual work and well-being outcomes, it is possible that these interventions could also alleviate the negative effects of family demands on employees' sense of organizational inclusion (Ryan & Kossek, 2008). Preliminary findings from an unpublished study suggest that access to and use of flexible workplace practices have a positive effect on perceived organizational inclusion (Carapinha, Lee, Pitt-Catsouphes, & Sarkisian, Unpublished). Although, testing whether specific workfamily practices and policies influence employees sense of organizational exclusioninclusion was beyond the scope of the current study, this study assessed whether employees' perception of the work-family culture within their organization might influence the effects of family-role investments in organizational exclusion-inclusion. Findings showed that perception of work-family culture and perceived organizational inclusion are positively associated, even after taking into account job status (work-family policies and practices typically become more accessible with increase in job status (Swanberg, Pitt-Catsouphes, & Drescher-Burke, 2005)). Not surprisingly, after taking into account perceived work-family culture, the negative relationship between hours of caregiving to parent(s)/in-law(s) and perception of organizational inclusion were no



longer significant. This finding provides some support for the emerging calls for paying closer attention to the effects of work-life efforts on perceived organizational inclusion (Ryan & Kossek, 2008).

Sources of Gender Differences in Perception of Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion

As expected significant job status differences between men and women were observed. Specifically, women were more likely to be administrative/clerical employees compared to men, and men were more likely to be managerial employees compared to women. Men also had significantly higher earnings compared to women. Furthermore, several gender differences in work and family-role investments were identified. For example, on average men worked longer hours and had higher job centrality compared to women. In turn, women spend more hours taking care of aging parent(s)/in-law(s) and doing housework. Interestingly, no gender differences were identified in this study in terms of hours taking care of children. There are two possible reasons for this finding. First, women who work might have less child caregiving responsibilities compared to women who are not employed in the paid labor force, thus masking the gender difference in child care responsibilities. Women in this sample might have less child care responsibilities because they have a) access to adequate family or non-family child care due to their socio-economic status, or b) they have less (dependent) children compared to women who are not employed in the paid labor force. Second, studies have reported that men are increasingly taking greater responsibility for caregiving compared to men in the past (Aumann, Galinsky, & Matos, 2011; Galinsky, Aumann, & Bond, 2009). Men's gender role beliefs are also less traditional than what it was in the past and national



studies from the US report that men are experiencing even greater work-family conflict compared to women (Aumann et al., 2011; Galinsky et al., 2009). However, significant differences in gender role beliefs continue to exist between men and women, as was observed in this study. Like other cross-national studies (Boehnke, 2011; Inglehart & Baker, 2000), men in this sample had more traditional gender role beliefs compared women. Neither traditionalism nor gender differences in gender role beliefs were related to perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion.

Furthermore, it is important to note that unlike other family-role investments, the extent of child caregiving responsibilities was positively correlated with perceived organizational inclusion. Although, this relationship was attenuated in multivariate models, issues of gender-role non-conformity might be another source of bias that could influence employees' sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion (e.g., women and men that do not conform to gender role such as women that do not have children/primary caregiving and men that do have primary caregiving responsibilities).

How do gender differences observed in organizational status and work-role investments relate to gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion? As stated earlier, these differences between men and women in the workforce explained about half of the gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion. Just over half of this explained portion can be attributed to gender differences in organizational status. This finding provide support for gender power theory (Connell, 1987) and (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993) work on gender status closure as a source of workplace inequality. A closer look at the data reveals that women's over representation in administrative/clerical jobs and their lower annual earnings compared to men contributed to gender differences in



perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. Specifically, these differences are to the advantage of men and to the disadvantage of women's perception of organizational inclusion. With a low sense of organizational inclusion, hierarchical movement or advancement to jobs with greater authority is less likely. If women cannot get into jobs or positions with greater status their sense of organizational inclusion cannot improve. Inequity in organizational inclusion, therefore, could reinforce women's lower levels of opportunities for advancement in the organization both in terms of their structural position and level of authority. Tilly (1999) argued that this reinforcing process contributes to the durability of inequalities.

Without longitudinal research in this area it would be difficult to identify the cause and effect relationship between status closure and gender differences in organizational exclusion-inclusion. However, even without such studies it could be presumed that these two problems are part of a reinforcing cycle that reproduces gender inequity in access to resources and inequalities in individual work outcomes within the workplace.

A competing, albeit related view to the status closure approach is role investments. The main premise is that women and men differ in terms of involvement and commitment to paid work and un-paid work-roles and therefore will have differential returns or rewards for their efforts. The reasons for gender differences in role investments, in turn, are based on utilitarian theory, gender socialization theory, and preference theory. As discussed earlier, gender differences in role investments were observed in this study. These differences influenced the gender gap in organizational exclusion-inclusion. Although, the portion explained by differential role investments is



smaller than gender status differences, both of these approaches are relevant in understanding why women perceive less organizational inclusion compared to men. Although these approaches are arguably interrelated it is important to note that they each explain a unique portion of the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. Practice and policy interventions should therefore be aimed at both areas in order to make workplaces more gender inclusive.

Two final observations warrant some discussion. First, life orientation (optimistic outlook) was treated as a control variable in this study to account for the possible role of personality in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion and personality differences between men and women. Given that women's expectations compared to men's in relation to work relations and outcomes remain a relatively unexplored area, no specific hypotheses were developed about the role of optimistic outlook. Significant differences in optimism were observed between men and women, with women being more optimistic compared to men. Optimism was positively associated with perceived organizational inclusion. This does not necessarily mean that people who are more optimistic are unaware of organizational exclusion, but rather, people who are optimistic are more likely to be accepted or liked (Carver et al., 1994). In addition, optimistic people come across as more confident and credible (de Jong, Ruyter, & Wetzels, 2006). Optimism and other related personal attributes such as positive self-concept are also associated with increased work performance (Judge, Erez, & Bono, 1998; Seligman & Schulman, 1986; Youssef & Luthans, 2007). All of these factors could perhaps explain the positive association between optimistic outlook and perceived organizational inclusion.



Given women's greater optimistic outlook on life, and the positive association between optimism and organizational inclusion, optimism as a positive psychological resource, attenuated the gender organizational exclusion-inclusion gap. To understand this finding better it is perhaps necessary to recognize how optimism operates to make people more resilient. Carver, Scheier, and Segerstrom (2010) defined optimism as a generalized tendency to expect positive outcomes even in the face of obstacles. Resilience, is conceptually distinct from optimism and broadly refers to "the maintenance of positive adaptation by individuals despite experiences of significant adversity" (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000, p. 543), or simply stated, an individual's capacity to bounce back from adversity (Youssef & Luthans, 2007). Optimism and resilience are both positive psychological capacities that help individuals overcome adversity. Organizational exclusion can produce considerable stress and individuals can react differentially when experiencing or perceiving exclusion. Although this study did not assess the role of resilience in organizational exclusion-inclusion, the association between optimism and organizational exclusion-inclusion and its attenuating effect on the gender gap merits further investigation about optimism and resilience --collectively referred to as positive organizational behavior or psychological capital (Luthans, Luthans, & Luthans, 2004; Youssef & Luthans, 2007)-- as either mediators or moderators of the effects of organizational exclusion on employee's work and well-being outcomes (e.g., stress, job satisfaction, work engagement).

Finally, employees' perceptions of organizational exclusion-inclusion within worksites were closely related to each other, suggesting that the workplace context has a significant impact of the perception of organizational exclusion-inclusion. This finding



provides support for Mor Borak's (1999) proposition that workplace context will have direct effects on employees' sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion. In preliminary analysis the effect of workplace composition, workplace work-family culture, and the availability of gender equality policies and practices were explored. However, due to data limitations (limited number of worksite units, missing data on organizational policy, etc.) it was beyond the scope of the current study to further explore with methodological confidence which particular workplace contextual factors are related to employees' perceptions of organizational exclusion-inclusion. Given the unique variance explained by worksite, future studies should investigate how worksite contextual factors such as culture, leadership style, organizational demography etc. influence employees' sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion. Moreover, the differential effects of these workplace contextual factors on the exclusion-inclusion experiences, perceptions, and behaviors of men and women, respectively, merits further investigation (see for example the work of (Acker, 1990) regarding gendered organizations, and the work of (Tsui, Porter, & Egan, 2002) on organizational and relational demographics).

Implications and Recommendations

Research

This dissertation made several contributions to theory and knowledge building in the area of gender and perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. First, this study started to addresses the gap in the literature about the possible explanations for gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. The results suggest that compositional differences between men and women in terms of their job status and work-



role-investments are both important factors that contribute to the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. By focusing on both status closure and role-investment approaches, about half of the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion was explained. As such, significant attention should be paid to both job status and work-role investments in future research about gender differences in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion.

Results about the importance of job status gender differences in explaining the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion offer interesting points of discussion about how gender inequalities at work might be sustained. Closure Theory (Murphy, 1988) and Tilly's work on the durability of inequalities (Tilly, 1999), provide some guidance for understating how gender differences in organizational exclusioninclusion (e.g. perceived inequity in access to information sharing and decision making) might operate as a mechanism within the workplace to sustain gender work inequalities in job status (e.g., authority and earnings). In order to advance knowledge about the reinforcing relationship between perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion and job status, future research should consider how perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion influences job status and compare it to the evidence presented in this research. Insights from theory about how inequalities are sustained, and the paucity of research in this area, particularly within the workplace, require that alternative pathways be identified of how job status and perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion is conceptualized and hypothesized. Linear methodologies might not necessarily be the best way to analyze this complex relationship. Systems research methodologies as used in epidemiology might be more appropriate.



Further, results did not support the idea that women's greater family-role investments compared to those of men influence the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion, even after taking into account the possible effects of perceived work-family culture and gender role ideology. However, high family-role investments do not necessarily mean that caregivers are struggling to integrate or balance their work and family demands. Future research could perhaps further investigate the relationship between family-role investments and perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion by including the effects of family-work negative spillover or work-conflict. Hereby, the direct effect of family-role investments on work-role investments could be modeled more accurately.

An interesting observation transpired from this study regarding the positive effect of women's greater optimistic outlook compared to men. Specifically, women's optimistic outlook actually narrowed the gender gap in perceived organizational inclusion. This finding suggests that individual resources could enable lower status employees such as women to partially overcome problems that might be structural nature. As such, future research should investigate the relationship between other positive psychological attributes and perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. Such research could further advance knowledge and understanding of how personal strengths or psychological capital (Luthans et al., 2004) could be used to overcome adversities.

Finally, the current study made a contribution by investigating perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion across a multi-worksite sample. Data used in these analyses were from employees working for five different multinational companies at 21 different worksites across 11 countries. This variation allowed the assessment of the



extent to which perceptions of organizational exclusion-inclusion vary within and between worksites. Various theoretical models about diversity and organizational exclusion-inclusion have proposed that both individual and contextual factors could play a role in employees' perception of organizational exclusion-inclusion (Cox, 1991, 2001; Mor Barak, 1999). Notably, despite the emphasis placed on context in theoretical models, the role of context has not received a lot of attention, especially using quantitative methods. Lack of agreed upon conceptualization and measurement of organizational exclusion-inclusion, comparable data, multi-organizational and cross-national data, and until recently the lack of sophisticated statistical methodology and technology to investigate multi-level or hierarchical models may have contributed to the deficiency of comprehensive research that focuses both on contextual and individual determinants of organizational exclusion-inclusion.

This study focused on the proximal worksite as an important context that would influence employees' sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion. As predicted by Mor Barak (1999), the exclusion-inclusion perceptions of employees within worksites were very similar compared to the perceptions of employees at different worksites. This suggests that context (e.g., worksite) does matter. This study, unlike other studies accounted for this interdependence of observations within worksites and then modeled the effect of individual difference across the worksites using fixed effect models.

Although the variance in organizational exclusion-inclusion explained by worksite was not a lot (in this study about 9%), future studies should theorize context by directly specifying and investigating the nature of the relationship between contextual



factors (e.g., organizational demography, leadership style, culture, policy) and gender difference in organizational exclusion-inclusion.

Social work practice and policy

With its emphasis on social justice, person-in-environment (the importance of understanding an individual and individual behavior in light of the environmental contexts in which that person lives and acts), and cultural sensitivity, the social work profession is ideally positioned to contribute to knowledge building, and individual and organizational interventions aimed at addressing organizational exclusion-inclusion of women and other vulnerable populations in the workplace, including but not limited to ethnic/racial minorities, older adults, lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgender, queer, and disabled employees. The general paucity of literature about the factors that influence the gender gap in organizational exclusion-inclusion has however limited policy and practice efforts aimed at creating gender inclusive workplaces.

Unlike studies that investigate gender inequality in relation to wages, advancement, and other individual work outcomes, perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion is a psychosocial variable that has not only job advancement and performance consequences (due to limited access to resources and opportunities) but also direct health and mental health implications. Ensuring that that employees do not perceive/experience differential organizational exclusion-inclusion because of their gender is therefore of importance to both micro and macro social workers.

First, for social workers working as occupational social workers or as human resource personnel and those working in workforce development or labor policy, the findings in this study can offer support to advocate for policies and programs aimed at



workplace equality. Specifically, as the findings in the current study illustrate, gender differences in job status can have detrimental consequences for women's perception of organizational inclusion. Thus, promotion and hiring practices should be gender sensitive so as to promote gender equity in job status (indicated by rank, salary, job type etc.).

Second, as shown is this study, women's lower career centrality compared to men, disadvantages them from being fully included in the organization. If women's work-role investments (e.g., behaviors and attitudes) are the target of intervention, one is potentially at risk of forcing women to conform to gendered workplace norms (e.g., the 'ideal' worker) (Acker, 1990). Workshops or special mentoring programs aimed at nurturing women's careers and helping them design successful careers could be offered to enhance greater career/work centrality. However, interventions should also be aimed at creating workplace cultures that accommodate and value different career pathways.

Third, findings from the current study highlight the importance of equal earnings. As this study showed, gender differences in earnings exacerbate the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion and it is to women's disadvantage. Using these finding presented in this study, social workers could illustrate how unequal earnings have exclusionary effects on women's perceptions of organizational inclusion. This information could be used to advocate for equal wages.

Finally, social workers involved in workforce development programs or training and development efforts should consider a greater focus on positive psychological capacities. Positive psychological capacities are not fixed individual traits but are amenable personal characteristics and include for example optimism, hope, resilience, and self-efficacy. These capacities could all be developed or enhanced (Luthans et al.,



2004, p. 48). As showed in this study, women's greater optimistic outlook served as a mitigating factor that partially countered the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. Although more research is needed to better understand this association, and perhaps the relationship between other positive capacities and perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion, proven practice guidelines already exist to for the enhancement of positive capacities (Bandura, 1997, 2006).

Limitations

To fully understand what instigates perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion, information about the source, characteristics of the target, and characteristics of the situation are needed (Williams, 2001). This study focused mainly on target characteristics (behavior, perceptions, beliefs etc.) in order to understand the occurrence of gender based organizational exclusion-inclusion. Given that about half of the gender gap in perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion can be explained by only focusing on target characteristics suggest that other important antecedents of perceived exclusion-inclusion are omitted. For example, we cannot assume that it is only men that are the perpetrators or the actors that exclude women from organizational processes. Studies have shown that women also act against women in the workplace (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011). Furthermore, social or situational forces may act to facilitate or inhibit the use of exclusion-inclusion (Williams et al., 2005). As alluded to in the discussion section, several workplace contextual factors and even broader societal factors can influence women's sense of organizational exclusion-inclusion. Unlike previous studies, the current study has controlled for the effect of context with fixed effect models. Future studies



should make use of mixed or random effect models to more fully explore the effects of context on the perception of organizational exclusion-inclusion.

Second, unlike in experimental and longitudinal designs, causality cannot be established using cross-sectional data (Singleton & Straits, 2010). This study, therefore, made assumptions about causal directionality based on theoretical understanding of potential relationships among variables. Some of the concerns regarding directionality were already alluded to in the discussion section, notably the relationship between organizational status and perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion. As a result, causal inference is made with less confidence as compared to an experimental design. Statistical controls were used in order to rule out other plausible explanations. In order to make stronger causal inference, future studies should use either experimental or longitudinal designs.

Third, organizational exclusion-inclusion was assessed using and existing measure that focuses on employees' perceptions of their inclusion in key organizational processes (e.g., decision making and information sharing). Self-report bias could potentially limit full understanding of perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion in and organization. O'Hare et al. (1999) found a high correlation between self-report and supervisor reported organizational exclusion-inclusion. The limitations associated with method bias might thus not be that severe.

Going forward, self-reported data could be complemented with data from coworkers and supervisors. Social network analysis, especially the measurement of centrality in relation to information sharing and decision making processes, could provide additional information about patterns of exclusion and inclusion in the workplace.



Another shortcoming of the organizational exclusion-inclusion measure used in this study is that it does not directly measure underlying theoretical constructs, including: belongingness, uniqueness, and acceptance. Shore et al. (2010) recently developed an alternative measure of perceived exclusion-inclusion which aims to measure belonging and uniqueness directly. A comparison of the measure developed by Mor Barak (2001) that was used in this study and the measure developed by Shore et al. (2010) will provide very useful information that could advance the conceptualization and operationalization of organizational exclusion-inclusion.

Finally, as is the case with many cross-sectional surveys, the data used in this study were self-reported and collected using a single method. The use of self-report data only, for both independent and dependent variables, is commonly associated with common method or mono-method bias. Using common methods could introduce bias if variables are indirectly related to another common variable (i.e. a latent construct). In order to limit potential bias it was recognized that the dependent variable in this study - perceived organizational exclusion-inclusion - could be influenced by respondent social desirability. However, most of the independent variables are less likely to be influenced by social desirability. Correlations are therefore less likely to be inflated (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Jeong-Yeon Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Exploratory factor analysis was used as a rudimental assessment of possible covariant structures between the dependent and independent scale variables. The factor analysis did not converge to form a single factor and neither did one general factors account for the majority of the covariance among the measures. Additionally, respondent anonymity was protected. Podsakoff et al., (2003)

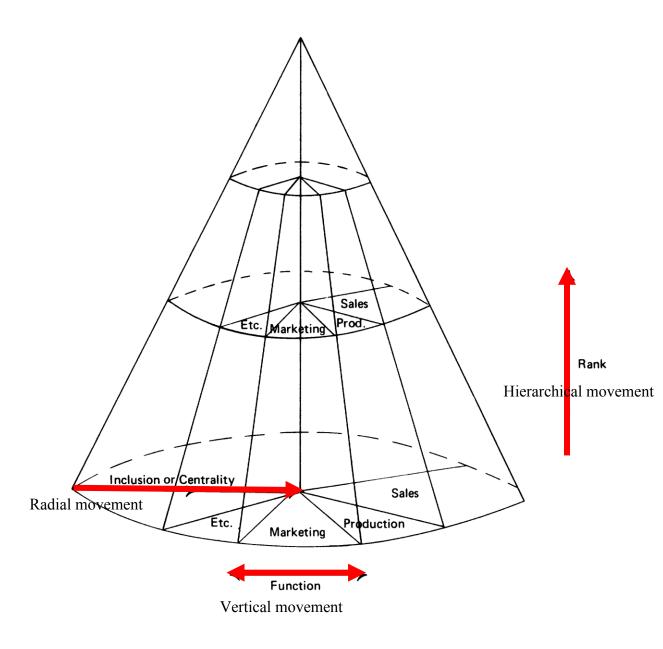


argued that anonymity reduces evaluation apprehension and therefore respondents will be less likely to respond in a socially desirable way.



Appendix - A

Figure 3 Schein's (1971) Illustration of Organizational Exclusion-Inclusion as the Third Dimension of Organizational Movement in a Three Dimensional Model of an Organization



SOURCE: Adapted from Schein, E. H. (1971). The Individual, the Organization, and the

Career: A Conceptual Scheme. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 7(4), p.404.

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