

Literature review



Remarkable

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What is #lamRemarkable?

#lamRemarkable is a Google initiative that strives to empower everyone, particularly women and underrepresented groups, to celebrate their achievements in the workplace and beyond.

Our goal:

- Improve the motivation and self-promotion skills of women and other underrepresented groups
- Change social perceptions and refresh the conversation around self-promotion

Please learn more by visiting the Facilitator Hub on the #lamRemarkable website. This is your one stop shop to access all the materials, resources and information you need to be prepared for delivering impactful workshops.

Find out more at <u>g.co/lamRemarkable</u>

Introduction

Many organisations are investing in programs to advance diversity. However, women and other social, racial and ethnic minorities in executive roles are still significantly underrepresented.

Research shows that while women are well represented as middle managers, their numbers drop when making the jump to VP-level executives.¹ As a result, women and minorities only occupy about 31 percent of the board seats of Fortune 500.²

One of the big hurdles women face when tackling this gap is practicing self-promotion - or vocally expressing their achievements in a working environment.³ We believe this issue is also true for other underrepresented groups. And it needs addressing. Because the benefits of self-promotion — including taking control of how you're perceived by others, and making them understand the unique contribution you can make — are vast.

¹ Correll, Shelley, and Caroline Simard Simard. "Research: Vague Feedback Is Holding Women Back." Harvard Business Review. N.p., 29 Apr. 2016. Web. 22 Feb. 2017.

² Olson, Elizabeth. "Study Finds Only Modest Gains by Women and Minorities on Fortune 500 Boards." The New York Times, 5 Feb. 2017.

Accessed 2 Oct. 2017.

³ Kay, Katty, and Claire Shipman. The confidence code: the science and art of self-assurance--what women should know. New York, NY: HarperBusiness, Harper Collins Publishers, 2014. Print.

How to use this literature review

We've put together this literature review to help you wrap your head around some of the issues you might have to grapple with as a facilitator.

You're not expected to be an expert on any of these topics, but understanding the research can help you better guide the conversation and respond to the difficult questions that often arise in in a workshop.

As far as possible, we've tried to include flagship studies — those that are seen as the defining research on a given topic and are continuously referenced by other scholars. For that reason, some of the research dates back several decades. But just because it's "old" doesn't mean it's irrelevant. If you want to learn more about how the research is still being discussed and applied today, we recommend you look at some of the pieces in the further reading section, which are (with one exception) from 2012 onwards.

This literature review is structured into layers: the top layer, the research at a glance, gives you the "elevator pitch" for each topic. In most workshops, this is all you'll need. But sometimes participants have questions and want to dig into the research we're sharing.

The research in detail should help with that. Where possible, we've linked through to publicly available versions of the research, but we've also summed up the findings of each study. The further reading section is made up of non-academic pieces, which are useful to get a more contextually relevant understanding of the research.

Happy reading. If you'd like to share feedback, email us at iar@google.com

Understanding the Research

By understanding the science behind self-promotion for women and other underrepresented groups in the workplace, you will be better equipped to discuss it.

Think about your participants and pick the research and statistics that will best fit their needs and interests. While most of the research focuses on gender, these lessons and learnings can still be applied to other minority groups as well.

Contribution

Our perception of the performance/competency of others is fueled, in part, by gender constructs. These constructs include believing women to be less competent and disproportionately rewarding men for their ideas.

The study "It Had to Be You (Not Me)!" found that women tend to undervalue
their contributions in collaborative contexts. Women give more credit to their male
teammates and take less credit for themselves. However, women don't under credit
themselves when their teammate is a female.⁴

⁴ Haynes, Michelle C., and Madeline E. Heilman. "It had to be you (not me)! Women's attributional rationalization of their contribution to successful joint work outcomes." Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 39.7 (2013): 956-969.

- NYU researchers found that unless subjects explicitly provided information about female participants' excellent contributions or strong past performance, they judged female participants to be less competent, less influential, and less apt to have taken a leadership role than male participants. Importantly, there were no significant differences in the ratings of male and female research subjects.⁵
- The study "Light Bulbs or Seeds?" suggests that people find an idea more or less
 exceptional depending on the metaphors used to describe it. Those metaphors had
 different effects depending on the gender of the idea's creator. This study suggests
 that it benefits a man to downplay how much work went into his ideas. And it
 benefits a woman to prove how much work went into hers.⁶

Women's Unique Experience in the Workplace

Women and men have different experiences when it comes to promotion, pay and opportunity in the workplace. Women must also battle negative perceptions around bossiness and aggressiveness as they attempt to climb the career ladder.

• A study by Lean In organization and McKinsey & Company found that women start out equally hungry to get to the top as their male counterparts, but the workplace itself grinds them down. Women feel they have fewer opportunities than men. Women are not rewarded for pushing to advance or receiving higher pay, rather they are perceived as "bossy," "pushy," and "abrasive" — while men are perceived as "go getters" for the same behaviour.⁷

⁵ Heilman, Madeline E., and Michelle C. Haynes. "No credit where credit is due: attributional rationalization of women's success in malefemale teams." Journal of applied Psychology 90.5 (2005): 905.

⁶ Elmore, Kristen C., and Myra Luna-Lucero. "Light Bulbs or Seeds? How Metaphors for Ideas Influence Judgments About Genius." Social Psychological and Personality Science (2016).

⁷ Leanin.org, McKinsey & Company. Women In The Workplace 2016. 2016.

- "Elephant in the valley", a research organized by Silicon Valley women, shows women share similar workplace stories that most men are unaware of. In a survey among senior level women in Silicon Valley: 88% of women have had clients or colleagues address questions to their male peers that should be addressed to them, 75% were asked about their family life and marital status in interviews, and 66% felt excluded from key social and networking opportunities because of their gender.8
- The "Women in Technology" report by Catalyst found technical women were less likely to agree that management decisions were fair, that management trusted their judgement, that performance evaluations were fair, or that it was safe to speak up, compared to every other subgroup.⁹
- Following a deep performance reviews analysis, Stanford researchers point out that since women were less likely to be represented on high-visibility technical projects, they were also less likely to be seen as having the kind of skill set most valued by leaders. And because women were less likely to been seen as owning those highly valued technical skills, they were less likely to be picked for highly visible groups.¹⁰
- A new study concludes that men are far more comfortable with self promotion than women. In fact, when asked "what are your strengths?" in a job interview, how you answer may depend on your gender.¹¹

^{8 &}quot;Elephant in the Valley" Women in Tech.

⁹ Foust-Cummings, Heather, Laura Sabattini, and Nancy Carter. Women in technology: Maximizing talent, minimizing barriers. New York, NY: Catalyst, 2008.

¹⁰ Correll, Shelley, and Caroline Simard Simard. "Research: Vague Feedback Is Holding Women Back." Harvard Business Review. N.p., 29 Apr. 2016.

¹¹ Cahn, N. (2020). Do Women And Men Have A Confidence Gap? https://www.forbes.com/sites/naomicahn/2020/02/26/do-women-and-men-have-a-confidence-gap/

Women Vs Women

Women can be contributors to gender bias in the workplace.

- An article in Journal of Personality and Social Psychology argues that expectation for women to be modest may be more strongly defended by women than by men.
 Women (and men to a lesser extent) find self- promoting women less competent, less socially attractive, and subsequently less hireable than self- promoting men.¹²
- Women in positions of authority may be especially unlikely to lend support to other women. UC Berkeley researchers found that token women in male-dominated firms may be selected into leadership roles partly on their willingness to be 'team players' who act to protect the status quo. For token women, the price of being 'one of the boys' is a willingness to turn occasionally against "the girls".¹³
- Based on research conducted in large Dutch companies, researchers from the UK found women who started their careers with low levels of gender identification and subsequently experienced workplace discrimination were more likely to hold negative stereotypical views about other women's career commitment.¹⁴
- Cogs-in-the-machine perspective states that as women assume managerial
 roles, they will exert a negligible or even negative effect on the earnings of female
 employees. A UC Berkeley study found that women who switched from a male to a
 female supervisor had a lower salary in the following year than men who made the
 same switch.¹⁵

¹² Rudman, Laurie A. "Self-promotion as a risk factor for women: the costs and benefits of counter stereotypical impression management." Journal of personality and social psychology 74.3 (1998): 629.

¹³ Sameer B. Srivastava and Eliot L. Sherman, "Agents of Change or Cogs in the Machine? Reexamining the Influence of Female Managers on the Gender Wage Gap," American Journal of Sociology 120, no. 6 (May 2015): 1778-1808.

¹⁴ Derks, Belle, et al. "Do sexist organizational cultures create the Queen Bee?." British Journal of Social Psychology 50.3 (2011): 519-535

¹⁵ Sameer B. Srivastava and Eliot L. Sherman, "Agents of Change or Cogs in the Machine? Reexamining the Influence of Female Managers on the Gender Wage Gap," American Journal of Sociology 120, no. 6 (May 2015): 1778-1808.

Unconscious Bias

Although the motives behind gender bias may be unconscious and subtle, these biases still have a large and powerful effect.

- The paper "Investors Prefer Entrepreneurial Ventures Pitched By Attractive Men" argues that men's voices are perceived as more persuasive, fact-based, and logical than women's voices, even when they are reading identical pitches.¹⁶
- Women in tech are less likely to get their ideas green-lighted for development than men (30% vs 37%) according to a Center for Talent Innovation report.¹⁷
- A study of top MBA graduates found that when women receive mentorship, it's
 advice on how they should change and gain more self-knowledge. When men
 receive mentorship, it's public endorsement of their authority and concrete
 steps to take charge and make career moves. Men who received mentorship
 were statistically more likely to be promoted, but that wasn't true for women
 who were mentored.¹⁸
- Instructor gender has been shown to play an important role in influencing student ratings, In the paper "What's in a Name: Exposing Gender Bias in Student Ratings of Teaching", assistant instructors in an online class each operated under two different gender identities. Students rated the male identity significantly higher than the female identity, regardless of the instructor's actual gender demonstrating gender bias.¹⁹

¹⁶ Brooks, Alison Wood, et al. "Investors prefer entrepreneurial ventures pitched by attractive men." Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 111.12 (2014): 4427-4431.

¹⁷ Hewlett, Sylvia Ann, et al. "Athena factor 2.0: Accelerating female talent in science, engineering & technology." Center for Talent Innovation 2014 (2014).

¹⁸ Thomas, Rachel. "The Real Reason Women Quit Tech (and How to Address It)." Medium. Tech Diversity Files, 27 Oct. 2016.

¹⁹ MacNell, Lillian, Adam Driscoll, and Andrea N. Hunt. "What's in a name: Exposing gender bias in student ratings of teaching." Innovative Higher Education 40.4 (2015): 291-303.

- "What Happens Before? A Field Experiment Exploring How Pay and Representation Differentially Shape Bias on the Pathway Into Organization" found that when considering requests from prospective students seeking mentoring, faculty were significantly more responsive to white males than to all other categories of students, particularly in higher-paying disciplines and private institutions. Counterintuitively, the representation of women and minorities and discrimination were uncorrelated. 20
- Based on large set actual market data, an Israeli research study discovered that
 even on eBay, women sellers received about 80 cents for every dollar a man
 received when selling an identical new product. eBay doesn't reveal the seller's
 gender yet people are able to identify it based on typical information provided in
 the postings. ²¹

Implications of Identity

We are deeply uncomfortable with powerful, female leaders. Stereotypes about a woman's natural ability to be nurturing and be agreeable (above all else) are at odds with many of the leadership attributes needed to advance professionally.

 "Implications of identity" is defined as a sense of belonging to a social category, combined with a view about how people who belong to that category should behave. Departures from these norms are perceived as generating costs and hence people seek to avoid them. ²²

²⁰ Milkman, Katherine L., Modupe Akinola, and Dolly Chugh. "What happens before? A field experiment exploring how pay and representation differentially shape bias on the pathway into organizations." Journal of Applied Psychology 100.6 (2015):

²¹ Kricheli-Katz, Tamar, and Tali Regev. "How many cents on the dollar? Women and men in product markets." Science advances 2.2 (2016): e1500599.

²² Kahn, Lawrence M. "New evidence on gender and the labor market: A symposium." ILR Review 67.2 (2014): 283-286.

- A symposium on gender and the labor market argues that men but not women earn a premium for being disagreeable (untrusting, selfish, noncompliant, and unsympathetic). Thus, the gender difference in agreeableness contributed to the gender earnings gap both because men were considerably more disagreeable than women, but also because only men were rewarded for this trait. These findings hint at a double bind for women. As in the case of negotiation, women face potential penalties for not engaging in this behavior but, if they do, it may elicit negative or less positive responses than men. ²³
- An NYU research "Same Behavior, Different Consequences: Reactions to Men's and Women's Altruistic Citizenship Behavior" found that men are rated more highly for helping colleagues, and women are rated more negatively for not helping. Researchers asked participants to rate the performance of men and women who either agreed to stay late to help colleagues, or refused to stay late and help. Men who offered to stay were rated 14% more positively (whereas the women's rating remained the same). Women who refused to stay were rated 12% more negatively (compared with men, who were not). 24
- Based on performance evaluations, researchers from Stanford found that stereotypes about women's capabilities mean that reviewers are less likely to connect women's contributions to business outcomes or acknowledge their technical expertise. Stereotypes about women's care-giving abilities may cause reviewers to more frequently attribute women's accomplishments to teamwork rather than team leadership. ²⁵

²³ Kahn, Lawrence M. "New evidence on gender and the labor market: A symposium." ILR Review 67.2 (2014): 283-286.

²⁴ Heilman, Madeline E., and Julie J. Chen. "Same behavior, different consequences: reactions to men's and women's altruistic citizenship behavior." Journal of Applied Psychology 90.3 (2005): 431.

²⁵ Correll, Shelley, and Caroline Simard Simard. "Research: Vague Feedback Is Holding Women Back." Harvard Business Review. N.p., 29 Apr. 2016.

- Marianne Cooper of the Clayman Institute for Gender Research at Stanford argues
 that high-achieving women experience social backlash because their success –
 and specifically the behaviors that created that success violates our expectations
 about how women are supposed to behave. Women are expected to be nice, warm,
 friendly, and nurturing. Thus, if a woman...
 - · Acts assertively or competitively
 - · Pushes her team to perform
 - · Exhibits decisive and forceful leadership

...she is deviating from the social script that dictates how she 'should' behave. By violating beliefs about what women are like, successful women elicit pushback from others for being insufficiently feminine and too masculine. As descriptions like 'Ice Queen,' and 'Ballbuster' can attest, we are deeply uncomfortable with powerful women. In fact, we often don't really like them. ²⁶

Salary Negotiation, Promotion & Feedback

Salary and negotiation are a difficult area for women; not only are women penalized for asking for raises, they get them at a lower rate compared to men. Feedback also plays a critical role, with women receiving less direct feedback than males (which in turn inhibits their ability to improve).

A National Bureau of Economic Research study observes that women's lower propensity to negotiate over salaries, raises, or promotions, could reduce their pay relative to men's. The observed gender difference could reflect social factors, including women being socialized to feel they are being pushy or overbearing (unfeminine) if they negotiate – i.e., pursue their own goals in the face of conflict with others. However, gender differences in negotiating outcomes were reduced when negotiators did so on behalf of another individual. ²⁷

²⁶ Cooper, Marianne. "For Women Leaders, Likability and Success Hardly Go Hand-in-Hand." Harvard Business Review. N.p., 07 Aug.

²⁷ Blau, Francine D., and Lawrence M. Kahn. The gender wage gap: Extent, trends, and explanations. No. w21913. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2016.

- Harvard researchers have conducted multiple studies to show that participants
 were disinclined to work with female managers who negotiated for higher
 compensation. However, negotiating had little effect on their evaluation of male
 managers. ²⁸ Women may have learned that negotiating can trigger a negative
 response.
- The paper "Social Incentives For Gender Differences In The Propensity To Initiate
 Negotiations: Sometimes It Does Hurt To Ask" demonstrates that women are
 penalized for asking for raises: Researchers found that people judge women more
 harshly when they ask for a raise and that women don't ask for raises because
 they realistically assess the social cost of asking. ²⁹
- Stanford researchers found that women receive less helpful feedback than men. Women were also more likely to receive vague praise than were men, which included unhelpful comments like "You had a great year." Men were more likely to receive developmental feedback, and linked specifically to business outcomes. When women did receive developmental feedback, it tended to relate to their personalities rather than to their performance. 30
- The same researchers go on to argue that if reviewers do not specifically call out where women excel, where they need to build skills, and which technical projects they should target next, then women are at a subtle disadvantage for promotion. This general lack of sponsorship may cause them to exit the field or move to a new company. Missed opportunities to develop critical skills may also lead to women being 'tracked' into support functions, which are stereotypically female and do not lead to C-level roles or board seats. 31

²⁸ Bowles, Hannah Riley. "Psychological perspectives on gender in negotiation." The Sage handbook of gender and psychology (2013): 465-483.

²⁹ Bowles, Hannah Riley, Linda Babcock, and Lei Lai. "Social incentives for gender differences in the propensity to initiate negotiations: Sometimes it does hurt to ask," "Organizational Behavior and human decision Processes 103.1 (2007): 84-103

³⁰ Correll, Shelley, and Caroline Simard. "Research: Vague Feedback Is Holding Women Back." Harvard Business Review (2016).

³¹ Correll, Shelley, and Caroline Simard. "Research: Vague Feedback Is Holding Women Back." Harvard Business Review (2016).

- An Institute of Leadership & Management report titled "Ambition and Gender at work" found that British managers were surveyed about how confident they feel in their profession. Half the female respondents reported self doubt about their job performance and careers, compared with a third of male respondents. In general, compared to their male counterparts, female managers tend to lack self-belief and confidence which leads to a cautious approach to career opportunities and they therefore follow a less straightforward career path. 32
- The discussion paper "Do Women Ask?" found that when women ask for pay raises at the same rate as men, men are 25% more likely to receive "yes" as an answer. 33
- The book "The confidence Code" argues that men initiate salary negotiations 4x as often as women do, and when women do negotiate, they ask for 30% less money than men do. 34
- The paper "Disruptions in Women's Self-Promotion: The Backlash Avoidance Model" argues that women's fear of backlash (social and economic penalties) interferes with their self-promotion success. This was not evident for self-promoting men or peer-promoting women. 35
- The book "The Confidence Code" quotes an internal Hewlett Packard report showing that women will not seek promotion unless they feel they have close to 100 per cent of the required qualifications, while men think they need to have only 60 per cent and can learn the rest on the job. 36

³² Ambition and Gender at Work. Rep. Institute of Leadership & Management, 2011.

³³ Artz, Benjamin, Amanda H. Goodall, and Andrew J. Oswald. "Do women ask?." (2016).

³⁴ Kay, Katty, and Claire Shipman. The confidence code: the science and art of self-assurance–what women should know. New York, NY: HarperBusiness, Harper Collins Publishers, 2014.

³⁵ Moss-Racusin, Corinne A., and Laurie A. Rudman. "Disruptions in women's self-promotion: the backlash avoidance model." Psychology of women quarterly 34.2 (2010): 186-202.

³⁶ Kay, Katty, and Claire Shipman. The confidence code: the science and art of self-assurance–what women should know. New York, NY: HarperBusiness, Harper Collins Publishers, 2014.

Gender Pay Gap

Women think they deserve less, ask for less and negotiate less compared to their male counterparts. The discrepancies start early in a woman's career and follow her throughout her professional life.

- The book "The Confidence Code" quotes Marilyn Davidson from the UK's
 Manchester Business School. Davidson asks her students each year what they
 expect to earn, and what they deserve to earn, five years after graduation. She
 found that when asked how much annual salary they think they deserve to earn, on
 average, men think they deserve \$80,000 a year and the women \$64,000 or 20
 percent less than the men. 37
- Fortune 500 companies with the highest representation of women board directors outperformed those with the least representation by 53 percent, on average, according a Catalyst's report. On average, companies with the highest percentages of women board directors outperformed those with the least by 53 percent. 38
- American Association of University Women reported that one year out of college, women make 88% of what men do in engineering and 77% of what men do in computer and information science (this gap will increase over time).
- Some people dismiss the gender pay gap by arguing that women choose lowerpaying fields; however, the causality is opposite: a study done by NYU, UPenn, and the University of Haifa in Israel found that pay drops as women move into a previously male-dominated field. 40

³⁷ Kay, Katty, and Claire Shipman. The confidence code: the science and art of self-assurance--what women should know. New York, NY: HarperBusiness, Harper Collins Publishers, 2014.

³⁸ Christianne Corbett, and Catherine Hill. Graduating to a Pay Gap The Earnings of Women and Men One Year after College Graduation. Rep. Washington, DC: AAUW, 2012.

³⁹ Christianne Corbett, and Catherine Hill. Graduating to a Pay Gap The Earnings of Women and Men One Year after College Graduation. Rep. Washington, DC: AAUW, 2012.

⁴⁰ Levanon, A., P. England, and P. Allison. "Occupational Feminization and Pay: Assessing Causal Dynamics Using 1950-2000 U.S. Census Data." Social Forces 88.2 (2009): 865-91

 Researchers from MIT and Indiana University found that employees with the same performance evaluation scores, same job, same unit, and same manager receive different bonuses. 41

Other underrepresented groups

- Both implicitly and explicitly, respondents preferred, for example, white, young, abled, straight, and thin people over other categories. In the study, 75% of participants showed a preference for white people over black people.
- Without diverse leadership, women are 20% less likely than straight white men to win endorsement for their ideas; people of color are 24% less likely; and LGBTs are 21% less likely. 43
- Stereotypes are often automatic and unconscious. In the workplace, stereotypes can influence decisions we make about other people, preventing their ability to fully contribute in their jobs. Performance bias occurs when people who are part of dominant groups, such as whites or men, are judged by their expected potential, while those who are part of less dominant groups such as people of color or women, are judged by their proven accomplishments. 44
- Unconscious biases cause some people to be perceived as 'naturally talented', and others to have 'gotten lucky', Those who are perceived as 'gotten lucky' are less likely to receive credit for their ideas, are interrupted more often during team interactions and have less influence on teams. 45

⁴¹ Castilla, Emilio J., and Stephen Benard. "The paradox of meritocracy in organizations." Administrative Science Quarterly 55.4 (2010): 543-676.

⁴² Nosek, Brian A., et al. "Pervasiveness and correlates of implicit attitudes and stereotypes." European Review of Social Psychology 18.1 (2007): 36-88.

⁴³ Sherbin, Sylvia Ann Hewlett Melinda Marshall Laura. "How Diversity Can Drive Innovation." Harvard Business Review, 31 July 2014.

^{44 &}quot;Managing Bias." Managing Bias ,Facebook

^{45 &}quot;Managing Bias." Managing Bias ,Facebook

- White sounding names received 50% more callbacks for interviews than identical resumes with black sounding names. The researchers also found that race affects the benefits of a better resume. For white names, a higher quality resume elicits 30 percent more callbacks whereas for African Americans, it elicits a far smaller increase. 46
- Cross-racial teams interrupt racism by providing a new model of leadership.

Relevant published non-fiction

Fineman, M. (2020). *Brag better: Master the art of fearless self-promotion*. New York: Portfolio / Penguin.

Keys, A., & Burford, M. (2020). More myself: A journey. New York: Flatiron Books.

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Blau, Francine D., and Lawrence M. Kahn. *The gender wage gap: extent, trends, and explanations*. No. w21913. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2016.

⁴⁶ Bertrand, Marianne, and Sendhil Mullainathan. "Are emily and greg more employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination" (2003).

⁴⁷ DiAngelo, R., & Flynn, D. (2010). Showing What We Tell: Facilitating Antiracist Education in Cross-Racial Teams. Understanding & Dismantling Privilege, 1(1), 1-24.

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Still have questions?

Please contact us via <u>LinkedIn</u> or at <u>iar@google.com</u>

